Deconstructing the myth of the British military masculine ideal. Military masculinities in the British Army, 1960-2020

Deconstructing the myth of the British military masculine ideal. Military masculinities in the British Army, 1960-2020

Lee Arnott

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Birkbeck, University of London

June 2022

I confirm that this work is my own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

Lee Arnott

Abstract

This thesis looks at the historical British military ideal from 1960 to 2020, using four stages of a soldier's career to examine military masculinities. An analysis of recruitment materials shows which qualities were deemed officially desirable for soldiers and reveals the repeated tropes which affirmed the standards of military masculinity. These standards were inculcated into new recruits in the training process and analysis of training materials reveals a training regime which was unchanged by time and which took place in masculinised environments. These environments placed specifically gendered expectations upon recruits and the thesis explores the various resources of capital recruits could draw upon in which to assert their fledgling military identities and masculinities.

The thesis explores the early part of the Northern Ireland conflict to analyse military masculinities in active service and looks at the drivers of masculinities in the conflict and the situational capital and resources soldiers could use to consolidate their own masculinity. The conflict's effects continue into the present, evidenced by the consideration of what happens to soldiers when their careers are over, and their avenues for masculine expression are ended. While some suffered with psychological effects of the conflict, there is also a yearning and nostalgia for the past, expressed in online military forums. These forums are found to be a place where masculine capital is also available, whether that be through displays of technical prowess and knowledge, or the reliving of past sexual glories.

Finally, the thesis looks at the experience of gay, female and trans-female soldiers, analysing how institutionally the army has historically tried to exclude anything which was outside the mould of the heterosexual male. Unearthing the strategies these subordinated groups deployed to successfully perform their own military masculinities exposes the constructed nature of gender and challenges essentialist notions of masculinity as a fixed, stable trait which is the sole preserve of heterosexual men.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am especially grateful to my two supervisors, Professor Matt Cook and Rebecca Newell. Throughout the production of this thesis, their support, input, wisdom and knowledge has been invaluable. I realise how blessed I was to have them both and it has been a joy to have them both on this journey with me.

I also wish to thank Dr Sean Brady and Professor Joanna Bourke for their kindness in helping me with my initial proposal for this thesis and for Dr Brady's continued mentoring throughout its production.

My heartfelt thanks are reserved for two unwavering sources of support – my friends Jonathan and Jason. Jonathan for providing the means to kickstart my academic adventure and Jason for being there to aid it along the way. Their support and encouragement has been constant. I've got to also thank my mam, Ellen, who has been so proud and endlessly championed me.

I would like to thank Dr Peter Johnston, who initially helped assuage my fears and doubts about the project and the team at the IWM archives, who although weren't initially able to help, offered endless support. Thanks also go to the Arts and Humanities Research Council who funded my studies throughout the Collaborative Doctoral Partnership scheme.

And finally, I would like to thank the soldiers who participated in this project. Any initial fears I had about connecting with them were quickly dispelled and I thank them for their candour and willingness to help. This project has removed my cliched preconceptions and given me a new appreciation of the work they have done and continue to do around the world.

Table of Contents

List of Posters & Pictures

Deconstructing the myth of the British military masculine ideal. Military masculinities in the British Army, 1960-2020.

When British troops entered the streets of Northern Ireland in 1969, it would prove to be a transformative conflict, part of a process of change for the British Army which had started with the demobbing of the last National Serviceman in 1963. As empire had dwindled, colonial incursions enacted out of the gaze of the British public allowed domestic discourses of British colonial and military superiority to remain unchallenged, but the events of 1969 exposed the truth of such fallacies. Amongst the frenetic violence of the early part of the Northern Ireland conflict, existential notions of soldiering were scrutinised and found lacking; techniques which had been honed in the colonial theatres of war in places like Aden or Kenya were shown to be obsolete. Soldiering had been situationally forced to evolve and the Falklands/Malvinas conflict of 1982 would be the army's last 'traditional' conflict, as the new technologies and military strategies employed in the Gulf War of the 1990-1991 would prove. The late twentieth century also transformed the military corpus as the composition of who was actually soldiering changed. Although the decline of traditionally male working-class industries in the 1970s and 1980s had resulted in the army becoming one of this demographic's last bastions of 'male' employment, as wider society looked to the army to diversify, this privileging of the straight male soldier was diminished when women were integrated into the regular army in 1992, and the ban on gay soldiers was lifted in 2000.

And yet, despite these changes there was a constancy in the myth of the British military masculine ideal, embodied by the figure of the soldier. As a cultural stereotype, images of soldiers at Remembrancetide or on occasions such as Trooping the Colour, nostalgically activate a particular set of public associations which overlook the realities of soldiering. The component parts of this ideal remained steadfast, whether they be the elements foregrounded in recruitment materials chosen to activate a longing in potential recruits, or in training, when recruits begin to engage with the realities

of soldiering. However, the confusion of conflict situations and displaced military identities when military service ends, point to an ideal that, despite its careful promotion within the army, is at odds with the lived experience of soldiers. This thesis will examine the meeting point of the idealised form of the soldier and the lived realities of soldiering and in doing so, reveals the construction of this particularly gendered form of manhood, bound up as it was with notions of physical strength, the power to kill, and enduring sometimes the most gruelling of conditions.

This thesis will move beyond the ideal and examine the play of masculinities in the army which come into focus at different times and in different places. I show too that it is this mesh of masculinities that makes army life liveable and bearable for serving soldiers who inevitably fall short of homogenised cultural imaginings of the ultimate representation of manhood, the soldier. The thesis uses four stages of soldiering as a framework of analysis, investigating how potential soldiers were historically recruited and then trained, the active service they undertook, and then what happened to soldiers after military service had ended. The thesis then turns to the experiences of gay men and women, usually marginalised by masculinity, to consolidate the work of the previous chapters and examine what effect their presence had on military masculinities. The first two chapters establish the army's ideal of military masculinity, a theoretical model elucidated through an interrogation of recruitment materials and training programmes. Recruitment materials are a useful benchmark with which to gauge which elements the army were foregrounding as desirable when trying to appeal to potential recruits and at some level, they also reflected how the army viewed itself. Upon inspection, certain elements are constantly repeated: men are seen operating complex machinery and technology, homosocial environments offer men places to be men with other men, and the wearing of uniforms or the brandishing of weaponry grants the soldiers an extra masculine capital which the viewer can psychically share. Meanwhile, the soldiers depicted were approachable and identifiable, deployed to activate a viewer's fantasies without alienating the observer.

When the work of recruitment is done, and fledgling soldiers begin their Basic Training, another process begins as civilians are turned into soldiers, done within a framework which strips away their former identities and moulds new ones. It is a process which has remained unchanged throughout the period of study and one in which the ethos of the military ideal is easy to ascertain, its desired qualities apparent. Physical fitness is lionised and exacting standards take the gendered sting out of 'feminine' activities such as uniform and boots maintenance and cleanliness. Homosociality becomes a useful tool for cohering recruits and its standards insist that femininity is denounced, women are objectified, and excessive drinking and swearing are deployable resources of masculinity. Along the way, milestones which the trainee passes, and positive peer reactions to their identity work, consolidate each other until a soldierly identity coalesces, and is then crystallised by training's end.

The remaining chapters then test this theoretical model, firstly using the conflict in Northern Ireland as a case study for soldiers in active service, and then looking at what happens to soldierly identities after military service has ended. Initially conceived as an easy deployment, when British troops arrived in Northern Ireland they were quickly disabused of this notion as the conflict rapidly escalated into a maelstrom of violence. The nature of soldiering itself was challenged as techniques which had proved reliable in other theatres of conflict were revealed as inadequate and the location of the conflict, so familiar to the soldiers themselves, forced existential angst upon them as the familiarity of enemies and locations blurred them into incongruity. The ability to soldier was compromised by restrictions placed upon it by government and soldiers used compensatory strategies to re-assert and embody their own military manliness. The conflict in Northern Ireland continues to bleed into the present, its horrors historicised but its effects lingering. How some of the soldiers who fought in that conflict remembered it is one of the strands used to uncover what happens to military identities when military service has ended and military masculinities are rendered redundant. Becoming a soldier is a complicated process, becoming an ex-soldier just as much so, and although many former soldiers are

successful (if success is judged on economic merit) many struggle with life after service as domestically, their soldierly identities have no outlet for expression. Online participation however, can provide succour for those missing military life, and military identities continue to flourish through active participation on military forums.

The thesis then turns to testimonies of those who were usually seen to fall short of the military masculine ideal, namely gay men and women, and in doing so, highlights the constructed nature of masculinities, a positioning which further denies them their exclusivity as the preserve of the heterosexual male. The thesis situates the soldier in a world that was culturally and institutionally masculinist and addresses how ideas and standards of masculinities were formed and circulated within the army. It looks at the sociology and culture of the army during this time, creating a narrative of a culture that was difficult to change, born of the homosociality of the majority of its members and its stringent expectations of manliness and its behaviours. And yet the experiences of these gay men and women and their successful manifestations of military masculinities reveals the borders of gender performance to be permeable and their qualities mutable.

The thesis is initially grounded in visual materials before undergoing a methodological shift to include oral history testimonials, the stories contained within them shedding new light on military masculinities, the compulsory homosociality in which they were enacted and the positioning of homosexuals and women. With the exception of chapter one, this experiential evidence is a thread which runs throughout the thesis, and as well as the field of visual materials, the testimonies gathered here then also work in conjunction with additional approaches from the fields of art, sociology, geography and psychology, and draw on official literature and policy documents in an intersection of approaches which illuminates how military masculinities were constructed and embodied.

In this introduction I examine how the soldier uneasily embodies the British military masculine ideal. Whilst that stereotype remains relatively constant, how soldiers negotiated the experience of soldiering changed, tugging in different ways, at different moments, and in different places at this ideal. New technologies such as the satellite systems introduced in the first Gulf War of 1990-1991, and existential adaptations such as the psychological reframing instigated by peacekeeping missions such as those in Bosnia in 1992, may have altered the soldiering experience, but the stereotype's core elements have remained remarkably consistent. I outline and account for them here to form an anchor and a reference point for the chapters that follow. Developments in masculinities research are introduced to this section, acting as a counterpoint to the transformation of soldiering I describe, the stereotype's longevity a contrast to shifting understandings of masculinities uncovered by historical and sociological research. I then explain the rationale of the project, discussing the organic changes which shifted the focus of the thesis before expanding on its overall structure. In the final section I elaborate on the different methodologies I have used and how their various theoretical frameworks have coalesced to paint a picture of the lived experience of soldiers and their respective masculinities, often a contrast to the state sanctioned and officially desirable version of the military masculine ideal.

The military masculine ideal

Familiar but strange, the soldier belongs to a world of which most of us will have no direct experience, and comes from a world which is ever-diminishing. In 1960 the army had 258,000 personnel, three years later, when National Service ended, this figure had decreased to 177,000[1] and since then there has been a steady decline to today's population of 74,400 full-time and fully-trained troops.[2] The chances, therefore, of the majority of the population encountering the British Army or its soldiers

---

[1] Ministry of Defence, 2017. *Freedom of information request.* [Online] Available at: <https://bootcampmilitaryfitnessinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/FOI-Size-of-the-UK-Armed-Forces-Since-1700.pdf> [Accessed 7th April 2022]
[2] BBC news, 2019. *Strength of British Military Falls for Ninth Year.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-49365599> [Accessed 7th March 2020]

grow steadily smaller and from an outsider's eyes, this world and its inhabitants can appear opaque

and enigmatic. And yet the soldier is much more than a mere icon, serving as a paragon of a very

specific, martial masculinity, an ideal that invites other men 'to recognise themselves in the masculine

myth.'[3] For historian Graham Dawson, the soldier, that 'most masculine of men,'[4] is the product of a

particular psychic nexus of combat, the heroic and the masculine. He has the qualities that apparently

go to the heart of manhood: what historian Joanna Bourke would label the ideals of the 'honourable

exchange, compassion and altruism' sit uneasily alongside the love of 'restless adventure and (a) high-

minded disdain of death.'[5]

He encapsulates the concept of the warrior-hero and cultural historian Christopher E. Gittings argues

that in doing so, becomes the idealised form of masculinity in Europe and North America.[6] The military

historian David Morgan argues that war and the military have some of the most direct associations

with the construction, reproduction and deployment of masculinities[7] while the political and feminist

theorist Lynne Segal has further demonstrated that not only do soldiers represent a type of peak-

masculinity, but as agents of the state, their license to use violence is legitimated and contextualised

within heightened gender ideologies[8]: the strong male is called upon to defend not only the weak and

passive female but also a feminised concept of nation. Their very status as soldier is the end product

of a process that has transformed them from men into soldiers, a rite of passage that makes them 'not

just a man, but a privileged kind of 'real man.'[9] And yet, for the majority of men, (and even for a large

---

[3] Easthope, Antony. *What a Man's Gotta Do. The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture.* Unwin Hyman, Boston, 1990, p166

[4] Dawson, Graham. 'The Blond Bedouin. Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity.' In Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.) *Manful Assertions: Masculinity in Britain since 1800.* Routledge. London, 1991, p113

[5] Bourke, Joanna. *An Intimate History of Killing. Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare.* Granta Books, London, 1999, p46

[6] Gittings, Christopher E., *Imperialism and Gender: Constructions of Masculinity.* Dangerous Press, Hebden Bridge, 1996, p4

[7] Morgan, David H. J. 'Theater of War. Combat, the Military and Masculinities.' In Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (eds.) *Theorizing Masculinities.* Sage Publications, London, 1994, p165

[8] Segal, Lynne. *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Man.* Basingstoke & New York, 2007, p82

[9] Woodward, Rachel and Trish Winter, *Sexing the Soldier: the Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army.* Routledge, Oxon, 2007, p61

number of soldiers themselves), he is the standard bearer of a fantastical mode of manliness which is impossible to achieve.

There is a particularity to the British model of military manhood, the result of over three hundred and fifty years of military history. Throughout that period one ideal has prevailed, that of the warrior-hero, situated in an English-British context. Born of the seventeenth century civil wars of the nations of the United Kingdom, and then forged in an imperial furnace, for political journalist Chris Hedges, the soldier personifies war and combat, both sold as exciting to young men culturally conditioned to see war as the ultimate expression of masculinity.[10] The myth of it is redolent with 'the allure of heroism'[11] and men whose only power is the sanction to kill, are glorified and exalted,[12] facilitating potent public narratives which consume the realities and horrors of war in a nostalgic glow. Not only does this man represent an idealised form of masculinity which ignores the hierarchical and subservient nature of soldiering, and the actuality and everyday mechanics of soldiering itself, he also brings the weight of history and the weight of past conflict (and glory) with him.

The historian George L. Mosse, has also demonstrated how he formed into a cultural stereotype 'only at the start of the modern age.'[13] The child of an aggressive Christianity, imperial expansion and an idealism born of English public-schools,[14] Mosse has argued that he became an integral part of an age that was becoming more visually oriented.[15] Harsher late nineteenth-century masculinities - promoted by the writings of Thomas Carlyle and Charles Kingsley - resulted in what Segal has labelled a new 'English pugilistic masculinity'[16] whose code was laid bare by Thomas Hughes:

---

[10] Hedges, Chris. *War is a Force that gives us Meaning*. Publica Affairs Ltd., Oxford, 2002, p84
[11] Hedges, *War,* p83
[12] Hedges, *War,* p101
[13] Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford University Press. Oxford and New York, 1996, p5
[14] Kaiksow, Sarah A. 'Subjectivity and Imperial Masculinity: A British Soldier in Dhofar (1968-1970)', *Journal of Middle Eastern Women's Studies,* Vol 4, No. 2, 2008, p61
[15] Mosse, *Image,* p5
[16] Segal, *Slow*, p90

What would life be without fighting?...from the cradle to the grave, fighting, rightly

understood, is the business, the real, highest, honestest business of every son of man.[17]

He would defend the empire in the name of Christ, serving with an army that was 'despatched to

conquer the heathen and save souls.'[18] Dawson has argued that the qualities and virtues of this

English-British manhood became conflated with imaginings of empire, a configuration that was

ideologically potent and the core of which was an inherent belief in an English-British superiority.[19]

When combined with a military adventure tradition, the 'imaginings of a secure, powerful and indeed,

virtually omnipotent English-British masculinity'[20] became fully realised in soldier-form. It was a

stereotype which would have a longevity that Mosse argues remained 'astonishingly constant' from

its formation into contemporary life,[21] stubbornly resistant to wider societal changes and personifying

the 'extreme durability'[22] of such cultural stereotypes.

The First World War saw nationalism raise these warrior men to emblems of a national character,[23]

their manliness now personifying the nation's spiritual health and economic vitality.[24] For historian

Michael Roper, it was in the events of 1914 – 1918 that the stereotype of military masculinity was

created and he argues that the conflict 'continues to loom large on the historiography of twentieth-

[17] Hughes, Thomas. *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, Part II, chapter 5, para 3. [Online] Available at: <https://en.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Tom_Brown%27s_School_Days_(6th_ed)/Chapter_14> [Accessed 28th November 2018]

[18] Caesar, Adrian. *Taking it Like a Man. Suffering, Sexuality and the War Poets.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1993, p225

[19] Dawson, *Blond*, p119

[20] Dawson, *Blond*, p120

[21] Mosse, *Image*, p76

[22] Fallin Hunzaker, M. B. 'Making Sense of Misfortune: Cultural Schemas, Victim Redefinition, and the Perpetuation of Stereotypes', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 77, No. 2, 2014, p166

[23] Mosse, *Image*, p110

[24] Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe.* Howard Fertog Inc., New York, 1985, p23

century masculinity.'[25] Men could attempt to attain its standards through 'steeling their bodies, passing the test of war, defending their honour and moulding their characters accordingly.'[26] The motors of this imperial fighting machine were the Tommies, who, according to the historian, Susan Bassnet, had the 'pluck, the energy, the perseverance, the good temper, the self-control, the discipline, the co-operation, the "esprit de corps".'[27] Sociologist R. W. Connell has noted how this new model of manliness channelled an Orientalism which fetishised imperial subjects as dirty, morally loose, effeminate and infant-like,[28] a contrast to the Tommy's own virility and superior morality. Forty years after the end of the First World War, Peter Burns, on tour in Egypt as part of his National Service, (and quoted in military historian B.S. Johnson's 1973 collection of soldiers' testimonials) drew on these tropes to construct his own 'right' and morally superior form of militarism when summarising his Egyptian experience: '"there was simply a big fat fool called Farouk who had venereal disease and lots of women".'[29] He elaborated, '"he was a joke. All Egyptians were jokes, their army was a joke, the whole nation was a joke".'[30] Always morally superior to his enemy, unlike them, the British soldier would never kill civilians, use torture against their enemies or needlessly destroy cities.[31]

However, the brutal mechanisation of the First World War laid bare the hollowness of the heroic standard and shifted paradigms irrevocably. Previously accepted principles of humanity had been shattered by the senseless desolation and the horror of the trenches, the nobility of the soldier and his heroism revealed as inconsequential and helpless in the face of industrial slaughter.[32] The maimed and dismembered soldiers who returned from the battlefields were a stark and jarring contrast to the

[25] Roper, Michael, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950.' *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005, p343

[26] Mosse, *Image*, p76

[27] Bassnett, Susan. 'Lost in the Past: A Tale of Heroes and Englishness' in Christopher E. Gittings (ed.) *Imperialism and Gender: Constructions of Masculinity.* Dangerous Press, Hebden Bridge, 1996, p49

[28] Connell, R.W. *The Men and the Boys*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000, p49

[29] Johnson, B.S. *All Bull: The National Servicemen.* Allison & Busby, London, 1973, p87

[30] Johnson, *All,* p87

[31] Johnson, *All,* p231

[32] Hedges, *War*, p85

bright and noble fighters portrayed by the propaganda machine. Come the democratised conflict of the Second World War - which saw civilian involvement at its highest levels - this iteration of masculinity - as bound up in the romanticism of lost youth willing to sacrifice themselves at the altar of battle - was replaced, as the historian Martin Francis has argued, with the 'little man,' whose courage and self-deprecation became the new exemplar.[33] His good humour and kindliness would now sit uneasily alongside his heroism and bravery.[34] Historian Sonya O. Rose has demonstrated that when placed in comparison with the humourless, ruthless hyper-masculinity of Nazism, the lines of good and evil were clearly demarcated, and a distinctly British, tempered form of masculinity had flowered.[35]

Post-war disillusionment did not diminish the soldier's lustre and Bourke has argued for the period's continuing attraction to depictions of combat that were patriotic and heroic,[36] providing psychic fodder and vicarious satisfaction for men missing military life. Tom Harrison, returning home from Borneo in 1945, already sensed in his demobilised comrades 'a pathetic nostalgia for those days of comradeship, discomfort, and at least the feel of masculine adventure.' [37] They also provided satisfaction for young men or boys dazzled by the military's glamour, young men such as Ian Carr, again quoted in Johnson, who, when asked why he was looking forward to his National Service, was quite clear: '"well, from a quite crude sense of adventure, sir"!'[38] It was a nostalgia for the certainty of war and its positioning of men at its apex which resonated with men whose post-war masculinities were weakened by the erosion of the strictly segregated world of male breadwinners and female

---

[33] Francis, Martin. 'A Flight from Commitment? Domesticity, Adventure and the Masculine Imaginary in Britain after the Second World War,' *Gender & History,* Vol. 19, No.1. 2007, p165

[34] Rose, Sonya O. *'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain.'* In Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann & John Tosh (eds.) *Masculinity in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004, pp192-193

[35] Rose, *Temperate*, p179

[36] Bourke, *Intimate*, p5

[37] Allport, Alan. *Demobbed. Coming Home after World War Two.* Yale University Press, Newport and London, 2010, p.165

[38] Johnson, *All,* p105

housewives.[39] As femininity became less tied to motherhood and more women found themselves in work, established understandings of sexualities – and especially working-class sexualities - were becoming destabilised.[40] The lived experience and established discursive expressions of manhood sat uneasily alongside newer articulations of gender identity, disruptively creating a sense of unease for working men. As a result, historian Stephen Brooke has argued that two models of expression came to dominate: a celebration of an aggressive working-class masculinity which lauded misogyny, and a nostalgia for a simpler past, uncomplicated by recent developments and in which the gender order, and mens' position within it, was comfortingly assured.[41]

Such nostalgia found expression in boys' adventure stories and comics – what Rose would argue were 'training manuals for masculine identity'[42] - and the 'unapologetically homosocial fantasies'[43] of British cinema military epics which proliferated in the 1940s and 1950s. For historian Abigail Wills, such materials demonstrate the continuing influence of ideas of martial masculinity on the national imagination.[44] Segal has demonstrated they were typical of adventure stories that linked masculinity with a hardened individualism.[45] Yet films such as *The Dam Busters* and *The Colditz Story* (both 1955) were also helping to assuage the psychological trauma of a diminishing national standing. The war may have been 'won', but as Britain struggled to rebuild itself, there was an uneasy awareness that its empire was disintegrating. Bassnet has highlighted the racist charge of this literature, with its depictions of the 'cool, calm, English hero,'[46] battling 'snarling, incompetent foreigners'[47] while military historian John Newsinger has shown how this literature contributed to a feeling of imperialist

---

[39] Brooke, Stephen. 'Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s'. *Journal of Social History.* Vol. 34, No. 4, 2001, p775
[40] Brooke, *Gender*, p775
[41] Brooke, *Gender*, p775
[42] Rose, *Temperate*, p182
[43] Francis, *Flight* p175
[44] Wills, Abigail. 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950 – 1970'. *Past & Present,* No. 187, 2005, p168
[45] Segal, *Slow*, p16
[46] Bassnett, *Lost,* p48
[47] Bassnett, *Lost,* p48

self-confidence,[48] an inevitable paradox in an age of imperial decline, a decline made startlingly tangible by the Suez crisis in 1956. For one ignoble week, British troops and their French and Israeli allies waged war on Egypt, the only tangible results for the endeavour being the realisation that Britain no longer had the logistical power nor the finances to do so.[49] Amid United Nations censure, American opposition, Russian threats and a domestic financial crisis, the only conclusion possible was a 'humiliating'[50] one. It would be the last time Britain launched a major military operation without the support of the United States, a seismic shift of the world order and a humbling episode for Britain to come to terms with.

Imperial ghosts would be ultimately laid to rest by a domestic conflict. Colonial excursions into Aden and Kenya had been comfortably far away and out of the public gaze and domestically had reiterated comforting imperial narratives. However, when British troops entered the streets of Northern Ireland in 1969, the full glare of publicity and the incongruity of images of British troops fighting on British streets emphasised not only the loss of Britain's imperial past but also exposed the fantasy of British military supremacy. This was a new type of conflict, waged against an enemy who looked like the very soldiers themselves and its theatre of conflict – streets and shops which were recognisable to any soldier and which were far from the heat and dust, or the jungles of imperial territories – demanded a new type of soldiering. Troops were now fighting for 'hearts and minds' and atrocities perpetrated on all sides of the conflict blurred the boundaries between 'enemies' and 'friends'. Under such scrutiny, it was difficult to maintain notions of imperial superiority and historian David French has argued that by the 1970s, the British imperial project was 'all but over.'[51] Military historian Hew Strachan has argued how the former qualities of empire and its soldier-agents - those qualities of

[48] Newsinger, John. *Dangerous Men: The SAS and Popular Culture.* Pluto Press. London, Chicago, Illinois, 1997, p143
[49] Marwick, Arthur. *British Society since 1945.* Penguin, London, 2003, p75
[50] Marwick, *British,* p76
[51] French, David. *Military Identities. The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People. C. 1870-2000.* Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2007, p290

order, clarity and a British homogeneity - were rapidly proving illusory against a backdrop of bombings and fighting on the streets of Belfast, while a changing society on the mainland now also questioned formerly valued attributes such as discipline, respect for authority and self-denial.[52]

Strachan has also argued that with the spectacle and lure of combat fading, a 'desperate clutching at military reputation'[53] became a feature of the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, the stereotype was augmented by the actions of the ultra-masculine and (apparently) ultra-heterosexual Paras and the SAS. The 1980 SAS storming of the Iranian Embassy in London, a propaganda coup seized on by Thatcher's government, exposed the SAS to a public hungry for heroes, valorising them as the ultimate in British manhood.[54] The Falklands/Malvinas conflict saw them again pushed into the limelight, now mythologised as a crack team of supermen, fighting seemingly insurmountable odds in equally hostile terrain, succeeding in the most dangerous of endeavours.[55] Young boys could live out new fantasies with their SAS-inspired, genitally neutered, 'Action Man' (one of the top selling toys of 1982).[56] The 'legend' of the SAS promised tales of 'unparalleled bravery and loyalty,'[57] (the company's authorised history promises a 'rattling adventure story' redolent with the 'meaning of courage'[58]). More traditional military figures may have viewed SAS ops as 'unsporting' but government-directed media portrayed them as 'Britain's most romantic, most daring and most secret army.'[59] Military scholar John Hockey has shown how Ministry of Defence literature stressed the conflation of being a soldier with being a 'real man'[60] and historian Matt Houlbrook has linked the discourse around their physicality and strength as constituting a particularly potent and masculine personification of Britishness, albeit

[52] Strachan, Hew. *The British Army, Manpower and Society in the Twenty First Century.* Frank Cass, Abingdon, 2000 p.xv
[53] Newsinger, *Dangerous,* p59
[54] Newsinger, *Dangerous* p2
[55] Newsinger, *Dangerous,* p5
[56] Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes. British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities.* Routledge. London & New York, 1994, p239
[57] Macintyre, Ben *SAS: Rogue Heroes. The Authorised Wartime History.* Viking Books, London, 2016, p xiv
[58] MacIntyre, *SAS,* p xvi
[59] MacIntyre, *SAS,* p273
[60] Hockey, John. *Squaddies: Portrait of a Subculture.* Exeter University Publications, Exeter, 1986, p33

one who could also be transgressively erotic to queer Civvie Street.[61] They became, according to Newsinger, one of the last symbols of a Britain that was virile and dynamic,[62] a panacea for the sections of British society that favoured fantastical heroes over actual military contributions,[63] and for whom that heroism was still seeped in an imperial glow. Military writer Ben MacIntyre unwittingly demonstrates the imperial paradigm of the SAS when describing the dreams of honour and nobility of those joining it,[64] and it is present in the letters home that were redolent with a chivalric crusading zeal.[65] Imperialist overtones are not difficult to spot in tales of the 'derring-do' of 'swashbuckling desert fighters.'[66]

Masculinities under inspection

As the SAS became the latest version of masculinity foregrounded in British culture, new lines of research into masculinities themselves were flourishing in academia, undertaken by the social sciences and humanities.[67] Since Robert Stoller had introduced the concept of gender to differentiate from biological sex in 1968, a concept which was then popularised by Anne Oakley in the early 1970s,[68] gender was often understood not as a fixed biological state but the result of social, psychological and physical construction.[69] Gender became something mutable, a fluid entity which could be drawn on to conform or resist normative gender standards.[70] Further theoretical models of masculinity drew on psychoanalytical models, feminist and gay liberation theory, and research into power structures,

---

[61] Houlbrook, Matt. *'*Soldier Heroes and Rent Boys: Homosexuality, Masculinities, and Britishness in the Brigade of Guards, circa 1900-1960.' *Journal of British Studies.* Vol. 42, 2003, p353
[62] Newsinger, *Dangerous,* p3
[63] Newsinger, *Dangerous*, p4
[64] MacIntyre, *SAS*, p46
[65] MacIntyre, *SAS,* p46
[66] MacIntyre, *SAS,* p139
[67] Segal, *Slow*, px
[68] Berger, Maurice, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson. 'Introduction.' In Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity.* Routledge, New York, 1995, p38
[69] Segal, *Slow*, p56
[70] Segal, *Slow*, p56

challenging long-held notions of normality. [71] Initially a body of work that was 'intellectually disorganised, even erratic,'[72] the study of masculinities morphed through 1970s permutations which attempted to portray men as oppressed as women into a genre of masculinity studies which debated masculinity and its social expression.[73]

By the end of the 1970s feminist sociologists were arguing that the sex role framework was obsolete, its framework masking issues of power and inequality, the incoherence of a 'role' readily apparent.[74] Works such as Joseph Pleck's *The Myth of Masculinity* (1982), although criticised for replacing one version of sex role theory for another,[75] critically reassessed the literature on sex role theory, and began to address the pressures on men to conform to sex roles, exposing their constraining and unrealistic nature.[76] Sex-roles began to be criticised as static containers that contained a 'false cultural universalism'[77] which ignored the power dynamics which both defined masculinity and femininity and which continued to reproduce societal power imbalances.[78] Sex role theory was seen to overlook the impact of socialisation and social lives while simultaneously underplaying social inequality and power.[79] It could not take into account the acts of resistance by those who did not perform their roles adequately.[80]

The theoretical concept of a single masculinity became a multiplicity of masculinities when addressed for the first time in works such as Andrew Tolson's *The Limits of Masculinity* (1977) or Paul Willis's *Learning to Labour* (1977) which exposed the different permutations of class-based masculinities.[81]

---

[71] Segal, *Slow*, pxi
[72] Carrigan, Tim, Bob Connell and John Lee. 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity'. *Theory and Society.* Vol. 14, No. 5, 1985, p563
[73] Carrigan *et al, Toward,* p567
[74] Carrigan *et al, Toward*, p559
[75] Carrigan *et al, Toward*, p570
[76] Segal, *Slow*, p57
[77] Kimmel, Michael S. & Michael A. Messner (eds.) *Men's Lives.* Macmillan, New York, 1989 p8
[78] Kimmel & Messner, *Men's*, p8
[79] Connell, R.W. *Masculinities. Second Edition.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2005, p26
[80] Connell, *Masculinities*, p27
[81] Segal, *Slow*, pp79-80

Contemporary work by gay activists which challenged heteronormative assumptions further illuminated the nature of intra-male relations.[82] It was research that would lead Carrigan *et al* to posit their hugely influential theory of hegemonic masculinity, a theoretical tool that permitted 'the beginnings of a dynamic conception of masculinities as a structure of social relations.'[83] Their work was furthered throughout the 1980s as post-structuralists continued to stress an inevitable plurality of masculinities and their instabilities. [84] Meanwhile, feminist research moved away from the socio/economic focus of the 1970s into research which interrogated language and discourse.[85] The work of Judith Butler and her use of diverse poststructuralist positions re-articulated feminist research,[86] but also consolidated the work on the performativity of gender undertaken by Candace West and Don Zimmerman who had conceptualised gender as an accomplishment in 1985.[87] Butler's concept of the heterosexual matrix, aligned with Jeffrey Weeks' normative masculinity, demonstrated how 'discourses of gender and sexuality are entangled and mutually sustaining/informing.'[88] Research began to loosen the ties of masculinity to men; Eve Sedgwick, writing in 1985, questioned the boundaries of masculinity and femininity and interrogated qualities of 'maleness' and 'femaleness.'[89] By 1989, Jack Halberstam would argue that masculinity could no longer be the sole preserve of male bodies and their effects. [90] Masculinities became mutable and adaptable, standards of manhood contingent and no longer drawn as a coherent identity. Masculinities became a new strand of historical study, a novel lens through which to view the past and analyse historical constructions of men and manliness. By historicising military masculinities, this thesis adds to that literature.

---

[82] Carrigan *et al, Toward*, p586
[83] Carrigan *et al, Toward*, p587
[84] Segal, *Slow*, pxxv
[85] Segal, *Slow*, pxxv
[86] Segal, *Slow*, pxxv
[87] West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society,* Vol. 1, No. 2, 1986, p126
[88] Gutterman, David S. 'Postmodernism and the Interrogation of Masculinity'. In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2006, p62
[89] Sedgwick, Eve Kosofksy. *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.* Columbia University Press, New York & Chichester, 1985, p5
[90] Halberstam, Jack. *Female Masculinity.* Duke University Press, Durham & London, 1998, p1

The adaptability of masculinities and their qualities found expression in the 1990s wars of the Gulf whereby the nature of soldiering changed from what had been experienced in the Falklands/Malvinas conflict. However, despite new technologies dehumanising the battle experience and rewriting the standards of what constituted soldiering (and forcing a re-examination militarily of what constituted a military masculinity), in wider culture, the stereotype remained, perpetuated by bestselling accounts of the conflict like those by Chris Ryan or Andy McNab. Their legacy of the conflict was that of the image of the solitary British soldier, under fire and under stress, battling the elements and terrain in the most taxing of conditions.[91] Hedges has discussed how contemporary media reports fed into the psychic need to perpetuate the archaic myth of the courageous soldier hero,[92] their reports over-emphasising the SAS scud hunt behind enemy lines and promoting the image of the underdog 'overcoming vastly superior odds by sheer guts.'[93] For Newsinger, McNab's high-octane stories are a demonstration of 'the last human activity at which the British male can excel. Our elite killers are, we are told, the best in the world.'[94]

The inspirational aspect of these 'elite killers' could become part of the male repertoire which contemporaneous masculinities researchers Michael S. Kimmel and Michael A. Messner described in their work on the performative nature of gender whereby 'men make themselves, actively constructing their masculinity within a social and historical context.'[95] Masculinities were now recognised as being neither transhistorical nor universal, the cultural varieties which shaped them resulting in what they would label a 'matrix of masculinities,'[96] the masculinities which held sway in the nineteenth century a contrast to those of the twentieth,[97] with the soldier remaining an archetype of masculinity throughout. Despite such work, David Morgan would still bemoan the 'relative absence

---

[91] Newsinger, *Dangerous*, p38
[92] Hedges, *War*, p86
[93] Newsinger, *Dangerous,* p37
[94] Newsinger, *Dangerous*, p141
[95] Kimmel & Messner, *Men's*, p10
[96] Kimmel & Messner, *Men's*, p11
[97] Brittan, Arthur. *Masculinity and Power.* Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford & New York, 1989, p1

of the problematisation of men' in 1992.[98] Essentialist views of sexuality were still prevalent and retained their power,[99] the reasons why and the problems they caused feeding into research into masculinities as they became 'one of the growth areas of sociological enquiry.'[100] Debates around masculinity now interrogated masculine displays such as aggression and dominance which were looking increasingly anachronistic.[101]

By 2005, Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard had identified four distinct methodological approaches to the histories of masculinities. From initial gender analysis of patriarchal relations, the field had widened to incorporate analysis of the social relations of power with considerations of factors such as class or race. The field then widened further to incorporate the male subjective experience through psychological research and then expanded even further with research into historical representations of manliness and masculinity. They suggested that the best strategy for research into masculinities was a combination of the four,[102] a call echoed by Connell in the same year.[103] Connell herself acknowledged that although by 2005, 'no huge crowds of men have become feminists,'[104] the frames of the debate had changed: now the denial of rights to the marginalised needed justification.[105] Despite the changes and challenges to the hegemony however, and despite 'evident multiplicity of masculine expression, traditional masculinities and associated values still prevail in most cultural settings,'[106] the gulf between theory and analysis and popular understandings of gender difficult to traverse. Nevertheless, the developing body of masculinities theory has enabled me to deconstruct the conventions of manhood and gauge its culturally modulated rhythms in the testimonies I have

---

[98] Morgan, David H.J., *Discovering Men.* Routledge, London & New York, 1992, p29
[99] Morgan, *Discovering*, p41
[100] Whitehead, Stephen M. & Frank J. Barrett. 'Introduction: The Sociology of Masculinity' in Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.), *The Masculinities Reader,* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2006 edition, p1
[101] Whitehead & Barrett, *Introduction*, p6
[102] Harvey, Karen & Alexandra Shepard. 'What have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500 – 1950'. *Journal of British Studies.* Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005, p275
[103] Connell, *Masculinities*, pxix
[104] Connell, *Masculinities*, p226
[105] Connell, *Masculinities*, p226
[106] Whitehead & Barrett, *Introduction*, p7

gathered. As I will show in the chapters that follow, the soldier remained – and remains – a model of masculinity to which only a few could subscribe, an ideal whose standards are stringent and inflexible and are often, for the very soldiers themselves, impossible to attain.

Today, the soldier is largely taken for granted, only crossing into the civilian world in times of crisis, pageantry or during Remembrancetide, when the modern soldier becomes an archetype, an emblem who encapsulates the romanticism, the glamour, the tragedy and the success of previous conflicts and who brings a sense of validation through historical glory. It is an existence far removed from the day-to-day mundanity of real army life, but the myth of the warrior-hero endures, not surprising if, as Dawson asserts, 'among the most durable and powerful imaginings of idealised masculinity in western cultural traditions are those which have crystallised around the figure of the soldier as hero.'[107] The army may eschew their 'heroes' valorisation, but it is a product of a society which celebrates, according to the former soldier Adrian Weale and his fellow author, the journalist Christian Jennings, 'a military tradition more glorious than that of any other country,'[108] and which makes an ordinary soldier a source of adulation.[109] The unspoken and accepted qualities which make him a soldier, his 'aggression, strength, courage and endurance'[110] are inherently bound up with the history of his nation. He is an ideal that for most men is impossible to attain and yet he remains a key symbol for masculinity,[111] a stereotype that was constant and durable enough to survive the rapid and far-reaching modifications the army has undergone throughout this period of study.

The 1956 debacle in Suez and then the 1969 start of the conflict in Northern Ireland challenged the army's traditional colonial experience while the Falklands/Malvinas conflict would become the last

---

[107] Dawson, *Blond*, p119
[108] Jennings, Christian & Adrian Weale, *Green Eyed Boys: 3 Para and the Battle for Mount Longdon*, Harper Collins, London, 1996, p2
[109] Morgan, David H. J. *'No More Heroes? Masculinity, Violence and the Civilising Process.'* In Lynn Jamieson & Helen Corr (eds.) *State, Private Life and Political Change.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1990, p25
[110] Dawson, *Soldier,* p1
[111] Morgan, *Theater*, p165

conflict drawn from an older model of warfare, rendered obsolete by the technological advances ushered in with the 1990 Kuwait conflict. That conflict saw stealth bombers, cruise missiles and precision-guided bombs, almost fictionalised by the computer-game style images that were beamed into television sets, and whose presence made it difficult to paint the conflict as a 'celebration of heroism, endurance and self-sacrifice.'[112] Technology had altered the role of the soldier and the dynamics of warfare irrevocably. Peace-keeping missions in places like Bosnia would further challenge notions of soldiering, the 'hearts and minds' aspect of such operations rewriting the rules of military masculinities and demonstrating their mutability. Formerly viewed as inferior to fighting, soldiers would reposition such operations as masculine, aspects of them such as forming bonds with community leaders over coffee or calming tense situations, framed as exemplars of a different kind of superior masculinity.[113]

Societal expectations of the role of the army would also change in the 1990s. The 2000 lifting of the ban on gay soldiers was the result of concerns that the army was increasingly looking out of touch. Not only was society becoming driven by a new individualism, the army's qualities of collective loyalty seemed increasingly antithetical[114] and it became interrogated about its treatment of soldiers from minority groups. The 1992 government paper, *Options for Change,* promoted an armed forces that would be socially engaged,[115] the first steps of which included the disbanding of the WRAC (Women's Royal Army Corps) in the same year, and female soldiers were integrated with male. The 1997 Equal Opportunities Action Plan increased the potential roles for women from forty-seven percent to seventy percent[116] and yet, the army remained – and still remains - overwhelmingly male. The number

---

[112] Newsinger, *Dangerous,* p37
[113] Duncanson, Claire. 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics.* Vol*.* 11, No. 1, 2009, pp68-70
[114] Beevor, Antony. 'The Army and Modern Society.' In Hew Strachan (ed.) *The British Army: Manpower and Society in the Twenty-First Centuries.* Frank Cass, Abingdon, 2000, p.64
[115] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p42
[116] Woodward, Rachel & Patricia Winter. 'Gender: the Limits to Diversity in the Contemporary British Army.' *Gender, Work and Organisation.* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006*,* p7

of female personnel may have steadily increased between 1997 and 2010 but women still make up less than ten percent of the wider corpus[117] and 'still remain overwhelmingly clustered in intelligence, logistic, and administrative functions.'[118] Tellingly, of the one hundred and seven roles listed on the British Army website[119] only six female operatives are depicted.

The gender theorist Silva Gherardi has argued that this gender-majority – both visual and literal - ensures that army environments and army culture remain 'pervasively masculine,'[120] a sexualised organisation 'in which gendered concepts still inform individual and collective practice.'[121] It embeds those who operate within it in a culture which constantly produces and reproduces what it means to be masculine (and conversely, defines through opposition, what it means to be un-masculine).[122] Military culture has been stubbornly resistant to change, deliberately excluding those who were not heterosexual males and then institutionally compromising their abilities when their involvement was permitted. It is a culture that has remained masculinist and filled with continuities, from the training regimes recruits underwent to the recruitment campaigns which got them there.

White elephants

There is an elephant in the room and it is white in colour. The recruitment materials I analyse did not feature faces from minority ethnic groups until 1991, the 1960 photographs of training I examined only depicted one face from an ethnic minority while the 1999 documentary series *Soldiers to Be* only

---

[117] King, Anthony. *The Combat Soldier. Infantry Tactics and Cohesion in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, p385

[118] King, *Combat,* p386

[119] Ministry of Defence, 2018. *Home: British Army Jobs.* [online] Available at: <https://www.apply.army.mod.uk> [Accessed 1st November 2018]

[120] Gherardi, Silva. 'The Gender we Think, the Gender we do in our Everyday Organisational Lives.' *Human Relations.* Vol. 47, No. 6, 1994, p591

[121] King, *Combat,* p417

[122] Paechter, Carrie. 'Masculinities and Femininities as Communities of Practice.' *Women's Studies International Forum.* Vol. 26, No. 1, 2002, p72

featured white faces. The photographs of the Northern Ireland conflict present in the literature I encountered and which were posted on the online ARRSE forum (a web-based community forum for serving and formerly serving soldiers) had no people of colour. The same forum often displayed a contemporary racism which manifested itself by denying such a racism existed. These sources have revealed another dimension of the stereotype of British military masculinity, namely that it is white in colour. Undoubtedly, people of colour – just like female soldiers - were a minority within the wider corpus but they *were* present. And they were ignored, often passed over for promotion, never considered in the optics of Service after 1945. When one looks at the history of the British Army since the Second World War, one could be forgiven for thinking that all of its soldiers were white, a curious fact given the long history of integration which the army has employed. From the use of indigenous Indian troops in the sepoy armies of initially the East India Company and then later, the Indian army, to the employment of West Indian soldiers drafted in against the French following the French Revolution in the wars in the Caribbean, the army has been no stranger to the involvement of people of colour. Such use, however, was often born of expediency: with insufficient numbers of white soldiers to defend Britain's colonies, the benefits of using local soldiers seemed clear. Despite indigenous troops repeatedly proving their worth, a constancy throughout this period was an inherent belief in their inferiority when compared to British troops.[123] Military historian, Michael Lieven, has described how nineteenth century soldiers of empire were expected to embrace the ideologies of imperial expansion which encompassed notions of not only military supremacy but predictable superiorities of race and gender.[124] Such ideologies have undoubtedly left a lingering legacy on the modern British Army.

Some indigenous troops would be celebrated and lauded. The fallout from the 1857 sepoy rebellion in India perpetuated the idea of the 'martial race', a concept which still has contemporary resonance.

---

[123] Crawford, S. 'Racial Integration in the Army. An Historical Perspective'. *Militaire Spectator.* Vol. 2, 1996, p77
[124] Lieven, Michael. 'The British Soldiery and the Ideology of Empire: Letters from Zululand.' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 80, No. 322, 2002, p128

Believing the rebellion had been started by high caste Brahmins, the British looked to the Gurkhas, the Sikhs, the Marathas, and the Rajputs as examples of peoples who understood the value of honour and duty. It was the Sikh's 'natural profession' to be a soldier, while 'the Punjabi' was 'probably the best type of fighting Mahommedan in India.'[125] Although these groups used to be implacable enemies, their loyalty to the British had not wavered during the rebellion[126] and thus was born the concept of the honourable and loyal 'martial race'. Military historian, Jeffrey Greenhut, in his account of the creation of the concept, has demonstrated how its use was beneficial to British interests. By restricting military service to 'backward' and uneducated minorities, it bestowed a privilege on these minorities that was only guaranteed by the presence of British colonial rule. Drawing on the caste system and the inherent racism of social Darwinism, a romantic view of 'martial castes' blossomed[127] and was placed in opposition against the non-martial – the educated and less pliable – who were defined as cowards when compared to the brave and compliant 'martial race.'[128] Very quickly the concept was embraced by newspapers and politicians alike[129] and became most popularly personified by the Gurkha Regiment. The Gurkhas' reputation survived the British departure from India in the 1940s, and such was their notoriety as knife-wielding, natural-born killing machines that a unit of Argentine soldiers fled from their presence during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict.[130] The stories of their cannibalism and savagery which preceded them were useful enough to be unchallenged by British authorities.[131] Such a 'race' could be tolerated, even lauded, without threatening the status quo and the 'natural' superiority of white British soldiers. They could also be used to exclude the vast majority of soldiers of colour who did not come from those certain favoured ethnic groups.

---

[125] Healy, Michael Scott. *Empire, Race and War: Black Participation in British Military Efforts During the Twentieth Century.* [Online] PhD for Loyola University, Chicago. 1998 Available at: <https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4737&context=luc_diss> [Accessed 23rd March 2022]*, p29

[126] Barua, Pradeep. 'Inventing Race: The British and India's Martial Races.' *The Historian*, Vol. 58, No. 1, 1995 p111

[127] Greenhut, Jeffrey. 'Sahib and Sepoy: An Inquiry into the Relationship between the British Officers and Native Soldiers of the British Indian Army.' *Military Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1984, p15

[128] Greenhut, *Sahib,* p16

[129] Barua, *Inventing,* p112

[130] Barua, *Inventing,* p107

[131] Healy, *Empire,* p268

When the Second World War was over, and the need for soldiers of colour faded, the shutters came down fast. The 471, 974 soldiers,[132] drawn from Britain's colonial territories, and who were fighting for Britain in 1945, were rejected when their usefulness was at an end. In a 1998 thesis, Michael Scott Healy suggested that one of the reasons for this rejection was that successful Black troops threatened to expose the fallacy of white supremacy.[133] Ethnic minority soldiers created an existential dilemma in the age of colonial operations and imperial endeavours. With an expectation that indigenous populations should behave and be treated as subordinate, soldiers who appeared to be from those territories were a conundrum, a possible threat to British prestige.[134] The 1945 Report of the Committee on the Post-War Regulations Respecting the Nationality and Descent of Candidates for Entry to the Army declared that cultural differences would make it impossible for British soldiers to follow orders from non-white officers, or that that non-white soldiers would not have the same domestic issues or concerns as white soldiers (and thus would threaten cohesion). A unit must 'as far as possible be homogenous… it must surely be undesirable for British soldiers to be commanded by men of another race.'[135] An informal colour bar had been established and authorities were so resistant to Black participation in the Army, there were no official statistics concerning numbers of Black soldiers.[136] Black soldiers needed to be controlled, never allowed to rise in the ranks and never allowed to threaten white superiority as a result.

Those who were serving faced outright racism, physical violence, or stereotyping by white soldiers and made a 'pet.'[137] Ben A, a Black soldier I interviewed for this project, recalled an officer from one of the Guards regiments telling him in the mid 1990s about a drummer they used to have:

---

[132] Healy, *Empire,* p3
[133] Healy, *Empire,* p25
[134] Healy, *Empire,* p52
[135] Healy, *Empire,* p259
[136] Healy, *Empire,* p270
[137] Healy, *Empire,* p272

I think he thought he was trying to be clever, funny or whatever and he was saying 'you know,

we didn't have, we used to have a Black drummer or something like that we'd call Chalkie'.

You know, he was, he basically came out with stuff that was really quite racist. It was worse

than that, actually. I can't recall what it was, 'we call him blackie' or 'sambo' or something like

that, and he thought I'd be pleased to be hearing that. That was the only Black person he had…

I actually reported that to my director who was furious.[138]

The 1976 Race Relations Act may have made racial discrimination unlawful but the army resisted the opportunity to match the proportion of people of colour in its ranks to the wider population's. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart Crawford, writing in 1996, argued that although the army could appreciate the benefits of such a policy, and an army which did not represent the population it served may find itself increasingly alienated from that population, there was little concrete effort to recruit more soldiers of colour.[139] The 1980s saw a real decline in recruitment of people of colour and by 1990 there were only a handful of regiments with a discernible contingent.[140] The army already had a reputation for racism as Ben A attested; his family had tried to dissuade him from signing up in 1992 because of it.[141] The more public of the regiments, those with glittering ceremonial duties, stubbornly resisted ethnic minority inclusion, using failed medical examinations or a lack of vacancies as excuses. Prince Charles – in opposition to his father – criticised the colour bar and begrudgingly, the Grenadier Guards admitted Richard Stokes in 1988. That same year the Ministry of Defence rejected demands that it monitor the number of enlisted Black soldiers, a refusal that sanctioned their continued exclusion.[142] Accusations of racial abuse and bullying mounted and citing racist threats and bullying,

---

[138] Ben Amponsah, interviewed by author, Manchester, interview 7th December 2019
[139] Crawford, *Racial*, p76
[140] Healy, *Empire,* p274
[141] Ben Amponsah interview
[142] Healy, *Empire,* p277

Stokes left the Guards in 1990.[143] He was not the only soldier to receive damages for racial harassment and discrimination in this period as a 'series of embarrassing allegations of discrimination and harassment'[144] rocked the army.

It was an environment Ben A had to traverse. 'Oh, the racism was endemic,' he told me. 'There were some, it was subtle and not-so-subtle… there were a lot of sort of micro-aggressions'. He was 'much more conscious of racism coming from squaddies, (a) kind of quite casual racism.'[145] Aware there was an issue, in late 1994, the Ministry of Defence created a Department for Equal Opportunities, again in an attempt to try to compensate for the shortfall. With 6% of the British population coming from minority ethnic groups, the 1.4% population for the Services as a whole (and only 0.9% of the officer class) was seen to be wanting.[146] A nadir was reached in 1996 when the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) threatened legal action against the elite Household Calvary, a situation only resolved in 1998 by the establishment of a 'partnership agreement' between the CRE and the MOD. Whereas previously the CRE had felt 'there had not been enough progress to recruit more ethnic minority personnel or remove racist attitudes, where these might exist' they had been sufficiently impressed with progress and 'the resolve of the Armed Forces to put their house in order', and decided not to proceed with the legal action.[147] Recognising (perhaps fully for the first time) that the under-representation of ethnic minorities was a problem, the Ministry of Defence agreed to set targets for minority recruitment[148] and worked with the CRE to develop more effective equal opportunities policies, which were given voice in the 1998 Strategic Defence Review.[149] The Review prioritised a 'highly trained but

---

[143] Healy, *Empire,* p275

[144] Dandeker, Christopher & David Mason. 'The British armed services and the participation of minority ethnic communities: from equal opportunities to diversity?' *The Sociological Review.* Vol. 49, No. 2, 2001, p222

[145] Ben Amponsah interview

[146] Crawford, *Racial,* p76

[147] *Letter from the Minister of State for the Armed Forces on Racism within the Armed Forces*. 27th March 1998. [Online[Available at:
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199899/cmselect/cmdfence/273/273r07.htm> [Accessed 29th March 2022]

[148] Hussain, Asifa. 'Careers in the British Armed Forces: A Black African Caribbean Viewpoint.' *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2003, p314

[149] Dandeker & Mason. *British*, p219

flexible military workforce' arguing that 'the UK's military power lies less in its equipment than in the quality of personnel.'[150]

Although the army led an increase in recruitment out of the Forces (its minority population rose from 1% in 1998 to 2.4% in 2001, compared to a rise of .3% for the navy and an actual decrease in numbers for the RAF[151]), uptake was still small. Social scientist Asifa Hussain has argued that a 'transparent'[152] culture of racism was to blame and in a 2003 survey she undertook among minority ethnic Londoners, 42% of respondents cited racism and the lack of equal opportunities as the single biggest factor in their reluctance to consider a career in the military.[153] Attempts to promote the army as an equal opportunities employer and improve race relations had largely gone unnoticed (70% of respondents had no idea that these measures had been taken).[154] However, in the period since, the army *has* made good ground. Relative to the other branches of the Armed Forces, the army has been successful in the recruitment of personnel of colour. In 2001, 2.4% of the corpus were classed as BAME while by 2010 this figure had increased to 10%.[155] Military historian Anthony King has argued that with these figures the army had 'for the first time become a genuinely multicultural force.'[156] But did multiculturalism promote a new culture? The conclusion to this thesis may offer some indications.

Undoubtedly the army is attempting to change but this thesis will demonstrate that until relatively very recently, along with its treatment of women and homosexual personnel, it resisted. It is difficult to refute the notion that people of colour were included but only conditionally; promotion was

---

[150] Dodd, Tom & Mark Oakes. *The Strategic Defence Review White Paper*. 15th October 1998. Available at: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP98-91/RP98-91.pdf> [Accessed 28th March 2022] p65
[151] Dandeker, Christopher & David Mason. 'Diversifying the Uniform? The Participation of Minority Ethnic Personnel in the British Armed Services.' *Armed Forces & Society,* Vol. 29, No. 4, 2003, p485
[152] Hussain, *Careers,* p313
[153] Hussain, *Careers,* p317
[154] Hussain, *Careers,* p327
[155] King, Anthony. 'Decolonizing the British Army: a Preliminary Response'. *International Affairs* Vol. 97, No. 2, 2021, p447
[156] King, *Decolonizing,* p447

continually denied them, they remained at a subservient level, or were included as part of a fetishised hired imperial mercenary troop like the Gurkhas. My findings confirm notions that the army was very much a 'quintessentially socially exclusive organisation' which was 'white, male and class-based.'[157] Furthermore, it has shown a consistency of efforts to exclude the different. As Ben A told me, the same excuses were used and repeated for any soldier which did not fit this mould:

> We can't allow gay people to serve because look what would happen to the moral fabric of the regiment and stuff. It was just a load of bollocks… That's what they used to say to stop women from serving, to stop black people, every time that's the argument. Cohesion, cohesion. It was just absolute nonsense really. Absolute nonsense.[158]

Such 'absolute nonsense' was drawn upon constantly to protect this white, straight, male enclave, possibly one of the last of its kind in modern British society. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore the whiteness of British military masculinity, exposing the mechanisms and machinations which historically excluded other minority groups can also resonate with, and address, this racial disparity. Much work remains to be done, however.

Structure of the thesis

Using four stages of a soldier's career allows me to flesh out the constituent parts of the military masculine ideal and expose what happens to the ideal in service and then after. From the recruitment materials which appealed to potential trainees, to the training regimes in which training was taken, and from the streets of Belfast with soldiers on active service, to the lives lived after service has ended, the ideal's constraints and expectations are continually present.

---

[157] Dandeker & Mason, *Diversifying,* p494
[158] Ben Amponsah interview

Chapter one, *'It's a man's life!'* examines the military ideal promoted in army recruitment materials. It contrasts the foregrounding that was present during National Service and how this changed when compulsory conscription ended. It considers the types of mobilisation strategies the army used to promote recruitment based on content analysis of selected recruitment posters and television campaigns. Using Barthes' schema for advertising,[159] and considering Mulvey's concept of the male gaze,[160] the chapter shows how the army used several strategies to promote a narcissistic investment on the part of the viewer across the period of study. The analysis also paints a narrative of an institution responding to changing advertising trends, from the burgeoning advertising industry conventions established in the 1960s, to its adoption of gaming motifs and virtual reality in the 2000s. Throughout, the army used a constant 'everyman' motif which ignored transient media permutations of manhood such as 1960s dandies or 1970s glam rockers, and studiously avoided the 1980s sexualisation of the male body. The chapter explores the army's use of images and activities that were coded in stereotypically masculine ways, such as highlighting a male mastery over technology[161] and considers the attraction of such images to men whose breadwinning status seemed uncertain as traditional masculine occupations began to wither in the 1970s and 1980s.

What happens to new recruits is the focus of chapter two, *'You can run but you can't hide!'* Using a combination of different sources from differing time periods, the chapter paints a picture of a training regime unchanged for decades. The chapter outlines the Basic Training process which all new recruits underwent and considers the masculinised spaces such in which training took place and which placed gendered expectations of behaviour upon new recruits. The chapter unearths the mechanism of

---

[159] Barrett, Terry. *Criticising Photographs. An Introduction to Understanding Images.* Mayfield Publishing Company. Mountain View, California, London, Toronto, 1996 p40
[160] Mulvey, Laura. 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.' In Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (eds.) *Film Theory and Criticism : Introductory Readings.* Oxford University Press. New York, Oxford, 1999 p12
[161] Barrett, Frank J. 'The Organisational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: the Case of the US Navy.' In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader.* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2000, p95

creating soldiers, from the processes of cultural realignment recruits underwent, to the psychological and physical ordeals which training inevitably incurred. It uses photographs and television documentaries - produced decades apart – to unearth the commonalities and consistencies of training over time before considering the homosocial nature of training, unlocking the requirements of, and strategies employed, to successfully undertake military masculinity.

Chapter three, *'Jesus Christ, I'm bleedin' 'ome!,',* is situated in the early years of the Northern Ireland conflict and looks at what happens to military masculinities when deployed on active service. This period of peak violence in the conflict paints a narrative of existential challenges, not only to the British Army but also the very soldiers themselves and their perceptions of what constituted soldiering. Techniques and strategies which had proven effective in imperial endeavours were rendered obsolete in the guerrilla warfare which prevailed. The struggle to capture hearts and minds was a new kind of soldiering, giving the perception that initial deployments to the region were 'easy' but as the violence intensified, tours of service there became very real tests of soldiering. However, the ability to soldier effectively was limited officially and the chapter demonstrates how soldiers who felt emasculated were able to draw on other strategies to assert their military manliness through the sexual objectification of women or the use of unofficial violence. Such violent acts threatened the image of the soldier as a benevolent force for good and the chapter considers the efforts of the state and media on the mainland to control the image of the soldiers serving in the region. The chapter exposes the disparity between the lived experience of soldiering with the image of the soldier that was deployed in recruitment materials and the ethos inculcated into soldiers in Basic Training.

What happens to masculinities in life after the army is examined in chapter four, *'I was looking forward to civvy street…'.* The chapter interrogates the identity work done by those leaving military service and discusses the prevalence of literature on negative experiences of ex-Service personnel, charting some of the issues of a minority of soldiers who struggle with life after service. It uses two of my interviews

to explore the difficulties in reconciling gender identities which were incompatible with military service to life outside service, highlighting the complexities of this transitional process. The focus of the chapter then moves onto online identities and how ex-Service personnel are able to replicate their military experiences in Northern Ireland in the threads of the ARRSE.co.uk forum, reliving and reproducing a time when they were positioned at the apex of the gender order, reaffirming their soldierly identities and the masculine capital they could once draw upon. The chapter comments on how the Northern Ireland conflict is excluded from remembrance of war and what happens when soldiers are unable to use public representations of the conflict to make sense of their own experiences there. The chapter also explores those whose masculinities are uncertain, as soldiers troubled by events in the region are able to share the traumas which bleed into the present day. The investigation reveals online forums to be a place where military masculinities are alive and well, the nostalgia of the past expressed there a panacea for the loss of former glories.

Chapter five consolidates the previous chapters and attempts to unlock the dynamics of masculinities further by exploring the military masculinities undertaken by those usually marginalised, namely homosexual and female soldiers in *'You have to work harder...'* The chapter looks at the strategies and practices that those rendered additionally peripheral have had to deploy to negotiate the army's cultural norms and considers the processes of acculturation which allowed them to assimilate. Such acculturation could be gained through the successful adoption of behavioural markers of military masculinity but also through successfully embodying and attaining the physicality of soldiering. The chapter also shows what happens to masculinities when their essentialism is threatened by the successful embodiment by the marginalised, and demonstrates how army culture reacted to the integration of minorities into its corpus, exploring the commonalities of reasoning behind their former exclusion. These have included general concerns over troop cohesion and morale, but for women, has also included more specific issues, problematising their female physicality.[162] The chapter uses two

---

[162] Woodward & Winter, *Gender*, p17

interviews as case studies to illustrate the experience of being a serving woman in the army at a time of integration and change.

The conclusion considers the changes the thesis underwent, impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic but also the reticence of gay soldiers to be interviewed. It discusses the findings of the thesis before considering contemporary events in its light. The *Women in the Armed Forces* review of 2020 and the Winston Report of 2019 has shone a light on the hold and prevalence of military masculinities on military culture. Despite legislation designed to further inclusion and diversity, it appears that the army remains stubbornly resistant to change, the notion of it as a protected enclave for the heterosexual white male a difficult one to contest in the light of recent evidence. Finally, the surprising and unexpected effects my research had on me is highlighted, reflecting the very personal journey I have been on in the thesis's production. .

Methodologies

This thesis employs a number of methodologies and theoretical frameworks to interrogate and deconstruct the military masculine ideal. The oral history interviews I conducted are used throughout the thesis and are joined in chapter three by testimonials contained in published accounts and oral history testimonials held at the Imperial War Museum (IWM). These testimonials were collected by IWM between 1992 and 2007 and the soldiers interviewed recount the general histories of their military careers. The interviews are accessible on the IWM website.

 For the first chapter, I analysed visual materials such as recruitment posters and television campaigns, while for the second chapter, a 1960 series of photographs of a regiment training its new recruits work in tandem with a 1999 BBC television documentary series on training which together suggest historical continuities across the period. Another television documentary, this time based on the experiences of

soldiers in the Northern Ireland conflict and produced for the History Channel, is used in chapter three. Although the date of production of this documentary is unknown, it offers a twenty first century perspective (at one point a 2007 military report is referenced[163]) on the conflict. Both documentaries are available to view on YouTube. Throughout, official publications – often produced solely for internal use – all too often show the disparities between reality and desirability while internal publications and memorandum reveal how the army attempted to often resist change and weaponise perceived failings of minorities to avoid their inclusion. Online voices – where the past meets the present - are heard in chapters three and four, often with enlightening results. It is the synthesis of these approaches which allows me to map the standards and expectations of military masculinity onto real experience, unearthing the choreography of the dance between the sanctioned desirable attributes produced in official materials and methodologies, and the realities of life in military service.

This thesis began life as an oral history project and with the exception of chapter one which looks at army recruitment materials, each of the chapters draws on oral history testimony. Perhaps tellingly, none of the soldiers I interviewed recalled being inspired by army recruitment materials (and indeed, none of the oral histories I used touched upon this topic either). In order to examine these recruitment materials further, I draw upon a different range of theoretical models to elucidate what the army promoted as desirable to potential recruits, how those attributes were designed to appeal to male viewers and why they may have done so. It is an examination that reveals the component parts of the army's idealised version of soldiering whose experiential formation is then discussed in chapter two, on Basic Training, when the oral history's lived evidence is introduced to work in tandem with the visual.

---

[163] *Soldiers Stories: Northern Ireland.* (2018) YouTube video, added by James Buchan. [Online]. Available at <https://youtu.be/JZCf67rQrWg> [Accessed 3 December 2020] 01:30:21

The initial focus was on the experience of gay male soldiers, and oral history was an opportunity to give voice to this group, the discipline's democratising nature long celebrated as giving voice to the marginalised or those who have been 'formerly silenced by official policy.'[164] It is particularly relevant when historicising cultural discrimination and repression,[165] and for oral historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, this capability gives it a value as 'the single most important source of evidence concerning the internal working of the gay world.'[166] Through several avenues I was able to arrange a number of interviews with gay soldiers, some of whom were still serving and some who were now ex-Service. My interviews with them were not just experientially focussed; emotional cadence was just as important and sometimes their stories were deeply moving. Four interviewees trained at Sandhurst: GF signed up in 1974 and would spend most of his military career as a troop commander in the Royal Corps of Transport. Serving a long career, he would leave the army in 1993. Ben Amponsah began his military career in 1992 and would eventually become a Captain in the Royal Armoured Corps but would leave in 1998, unable to reconcile his sexuality with his military career. Robert Ridley enlisted in 2002 and following his Sandhurst training, underwent further training at the Royal Military School of Engineering and now serves as a Major. In 2006, Frazer Stark began his training and would ultimately become an Infantry Officer in the Royal Regiment of Scotland where he still serves. Meanwhile, Trevor Skingle joined the Army in 1974 and following his Basic Training was attached to the Royal Corps of Signals. He would be discharged because of his homosexuality in 1979. Sarah Ellis – who began to transition from male to female during her army career – undertook a career in the Royal Medical Corps following her Basic Training in 1995 and would ultimately be discharged in 2011. The voices of my interviewees weave through the chapters on the four stages of soldiering and join the voices of female soldiers in the final chapter.

---

[164] Estes, Steve. 'Ask and Tell: Gay Veterans, Identity, and Oral History on a Civil Rights Frontier.' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 32, No. 2, 2005, p47

[165] Wyatt, Victoria. 'Oral History in the Study of Discrimination and Cultural Repression' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 15, No. 1, Fieldwork in Oral History, 1987, p129

[166] Alamilla Boyd, Nan 'Who is the Subject? Queer Theory Meets Oral History' *Journal of the History of Sexuality.* Vol 17, No. 2, 2008, p177

Circumstances conspired to shift the focus of the thesis, however. The reticence of gay soldiers to speak with me was an obstacle I had not foreseen. The Covid-19 outbreak shut down avenues of research and as a consequence, the research topic expanded, becoming a wider study of military masculinities and which included the voices of female soldiers which I listened to in further interviews. Gaynor Ward signed up in 1996, joining the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers as an Apprentice Tradesman and remained in the REME until commissioning into the Adjutant General's Corps (AGC) in 2019. Louise Walters joined the Army Apprentices College in 1999 before also beginning her career in the REME. Following a ten year period in the Dental Corps, she transferred back into the REME as a Regimental Specialist Instructor. She commissioned into the AGC in 2021. Charlotte Folly began her military career in 2006 with the Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps and spent ten years as a qualified nurse before leaving the army in 2016. For convenience, when referencing the soldiers I interviewed, I have given the soldier's first name and the initial of their surname (apart from 'GF' who wished to remain anonymous).

Once these interviews were sourced, each interviewee was sent a basic, information-gathering questionnaire and advised their input could be anonymised if they wished. Participants completed a permissions form prior to the interview and were given a copy. It was repeatedly stressed that they could withdraw from the study any time they wished. Interviews were semi-structured and free-flowing, usually lasting an hour to an hour and half, and were recorded for later transcription. Interviews were transcribed and then triple-checked before being sent to the subject for review. Apart from one or two minor adjustments, interviewees were happy with the finished testimonies. I had also received fact-finding questionnaires from serving and former soldiers whose interviews, for various reasons, did not come to fruition. Filled with information, these questionnaires helped paint a fuller, sometimes surprising, sometimes shocking picture of the masculine culture of the British Army. Their responses feed into the experiences of my interviewees.

As I read more about the processes of producing oral history, I became increasingly aware that the interviews I conducted were a 'complex cultural product,'[167] the result of a dynamic process which challenges the historical imagination by casting new light on previously ignored areas of research. This illumination was present in the oral history collections I was also using and they made tangible what sociologist Gary Okihiro has argued is one of the key strengths of the discipline, that of its capacity to observe human behaviour first-hand and engage directly in a dialogue with a historical actors.[168] Framing the past through a contemporary prism liberated their experiences from the 'biases and pressures of the period which produced it, however much it may have been shaped by the biases of its own day.'[169] The actors involved – whether speaking to me or another interviewer – were no longer necessarily hidebound by silencing regulation, the former ideologies which dominated them having slid into obsolescence.

However, oral history is not a methodology without challenges. Groundbreaking works by Ronald Grele, Luisa Passerini and Alessandro Portelli may have laid the foundations of the discipline's methodologies but Grele has argued that left in their wake a was a dearth of theoretical knowledge and an approach floundering aimlessly, endlessly occupied but without any purpose or meaning.[170] The early 1970s saw memory becoming the discipline's 'object, not merely the method,'[171] and then the work of the Popular Memory Group in Britain shifted the focus for oral historians onto the 'social and cultural contexts shaping memories of the past.'[172] This new appreciation of memory invariably

---

[167] Barber, Sarah & Corinna M. Peniston-Bird. *History Beyond the Text.* Routledge, Abingdon, 2009, p117
[168] Okihiro, Gary Y. 'Oral History and the Writing of Ethnic History.' In David K. Dunaway & Willa K. Baum (eds.) *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology.* Altamira Press, Plymouth. 1996, p204
[169] Lummis, Trevor. *Listening to History.* Hutchinson Education, London, 1987 p27
[170] Grele, Ronald J. 'Movement without Aim. Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History.' In Robert Perks & Alistair Thomson (eds.) *The Oral History Reader.* Routledge, London & New York, 1998 p42
[171] Beard, Martha Rose. 'Re-thinking Oral History – a Study of Narrative Performance.' *Rethinking History.* Vol.21, No.4, 2017, p530
[172] Green, Anna 'Individual Remembering and "Collective Memory": Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates.' *Oral History,* Vol. 32, No. 2, 2004, p35

raised questions over the validity of subjectivity and the reliability of the sources it produced, and justifying the transience and mutability of memories for use as historical sources has been a recurrent element of the literature. Traditional historical study explicitly privileges the written word and this has led to what the historian Trevor Lummis would label a somewhat 'sterile'[173] debate about the validity and 'inferiority' of oral documents, a debate which continues to this day.[174] To counter criticism, the discipline has learned to justify the value of its evidence, highlighting that historical documents too can be edited, manipulated, or doctored,[175] and it is just their 'specious air of being trustworthy accounts of that period'[176] that lends them authority. Other 'problems' previously considered, such as omissions and inaccuracies, self-serving representations, or an interviewer's influence, have now been acknowledged as opportunities for analysis,[177] valued too for the meanings which lie behind them.[178]

The discipline has also debated the ethics of attaining information through interview, the inequality of the relationship contained within an oral history interview long being the source of angst, although historian Linda Shopes has decried this discussion as hubristic.[179] Many other practitioners have described ways to mitigate against the inequality dynamic. Historians Tracey E. K'Meyer and A. Glenn Crothers have demonstrated how the reciprocal nature of the oral history interview and its 'shared authority' can resolve these ethical dilemmas.[180] Barber and Peniston-Bird caution against objectifying interviewees as an 'other'[181] in order to equalise the power dynamic, while historian Penny

---

[173] Lummis, *Listening,* p155
[174] Beard, *Re-thinking,* p534
[175] Hoffman, Alice, 'Reliability and Validity in Oral History' in David K. Runaway & Willa K. Baum (eds.) *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology.* Altamira Press, Plymouth, 1996, p92
[176] Lummis, *Listening,* p13
[177] Summerfield, Penny & Corinna Peniston-Bird. *Contesting Home Defence. Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War.* Manchester University Press. Manchester and New York. 2007 p208
[178] Portelli, Alessandro. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories. Form and Meaning in Oral History.* State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991, p2
[179] Shopes, Linda. 'Legal and Ethical Issues in Oral History' in Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers & Rebecca Sharples (eds.) *Handbook of Oral History.* Altamaria Press. Oxford. 2006, pp151-152
[180] K'Meyer, Tracey E. & Glenn A. Crothers. '"If I See Some of This in Writing, I'm Going to Shoot You": Reluctant Narrators, Taboo Topics and the Ethical Dilemma of the Oral Historian.' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 34, No. 1, 2007, p84
[181] Barber & Peniston-Bird, *History,* p111

Summerfield has argued that giving the subject some responsibility for the project, and the interviewer situating themselves subjectively within the interview,[182] can ease the power imbalance. Transparency about the purpose of the research and a willingness to repeat explanations for particular lines of questioning ensures the material produced 'becomes a historical text that is open for use and interpretation'[183] and is why I decided to have the interviewees read their testimonies and correct them if necessary. Historian Valerie Yow advocates a frankness and openness on the part of the historian as crucial when dealing with intimate stories. Beneficial for leading to a shared understanding (and therefore, reassurance) of the motivation of the historian, the rationale behind potentially painful or uncomfortable lines of questioning is made clear.[184]

Oral testimony may be 'more messy, more paradoxical, (and) more contradiction-laden'[185] than other historical source material, but, working with live subjects ensures its strength lies not in the minutiae of historical accuracy but in the reconstruction of felt realities and lived experience.[186] As Thompson asserts, by giving people back their history, through self-verbalisation, 'it also helps them towards a future of their own making.'[187] As a window into institutional worlds and those who occupied them, oral history offered me a chance to get some sense of the subjective experience of those who did so and often their experiences came alive in interviews. Such vibrancy was not solely present in my own interviews, but also in the recollections and stories present in the other collections which used interviews to make history. These histories were filled with emotion, something historian Joanna Bourke has argued should not inspire fear in historians. Not only do they 'link the individual with the

---

[182] Summerfield & Peniston-Bird, *Reconstructing* p24

[183] K'Meyer & Crothers, *If,* p92

[184] Yow, Valerie. 'Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research'. *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 22, No. 1, Summer 1995 pp61-62

[185] James, Daniel. *Doña Maria's Story. Life, History, Memory and Political Identity.* Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2000. p242

[186] Okihiro, *Oral,* p.205

[187] Thompson, Paul. *The Voice of the Past. Oral History.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, p.226

social in dynamic ways'[188] but emotions also act as a bridge between institutional expectation and subjective experience,[189] traversing the fissure between them. The emotional resonance of these stories was another fragment to be explored; the contrast between the messiness of human experience and the stringent orderliness of military life – and what happens when the two become proximate – impossible to ignore.

Undoubtedly, the testimonies I gathered could only elaborate singular viewpoints and life stories, but as Trevor Lummis argues, their usage foregoes the official histories of formal institutions and permits an examination of 'all levels of the social,'[190] unearthing the contrasts between official accounts and the personal. The interviews with gay, lesbian and trans soldiers illuminate the disparity between the official policy changes the army attempted to install while these soldiers were serving and the cultural change which remained lacking. The voices from the Northern Ireland conflict illustrate not only the minutiae of the conflict, but also the lived experience of active service and how, when in active service, standards could be adapted and the careful and ordered construction of soldiering revealed as uncertain and fluid, often challenging official narratives and remembrance of events. The testimonies I gathered are used illustratively since I did not set out to interview soldiers specifically about military masculinities (military masculinities were also far from the remit of the interviews conducted with soldiers about their memories of the Northern Ireland conflict) but their illustrative use works in triangulation with other sources to consolidate or challenge these voices and to peel away the layers of soldierly identities and ideas of military masculinities.

Visual materials were invaluable in the construction of this thesis and to highlight their importance, each chapter opens with descriptions of images of soldiers or actual photographs which illustrate the

---

[188] Bourke, Joanna. 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History'. *History Workshop Journal.* Vol. 55, 2003, p113
[189] Bourke, *Fear,* p117
[190] Lummis, *Listening,* p141

chapter's subject. These images offer a timeline for each chapter and a visual marker of the lived experience of soldiering; they anchor the described experiences which follow. Military masculinities favour a lack of emotionality and the emotional pulse which beats in these opening descriptions and photographs are unpicked in the chapters they accompany. Emotions are also present in the television documentaries which contribute to two of the chapters. Such documentaries, with their collision of oral history and the visual, offered me historical experience in another form and indeed, Alistair Thomson has lauded such documentaries for providing 'the richness and complexity of individual experience.'[191] The chapter on training uses episodes from a 1990s BBC documentary series on new recruits to draw the continuities of military training across the decades while the chapter on Northern Ireland draws on a documentary from the History Channel in which soldiers recollect their experiences of the 1970s and 1980s, a temporal collision which reveals how such history has impacted on their lives. These historical shadows also feed into the experiences of ex-Service personnel whose online stories and interactions on the ARRSE.co.uk forum contribute to chapters three and four.

Established in 2002, ARRSE (the Army Rumour Service) brands itself as 'the unofficial voice of the British Army'. Its membership runs to over 100,000 members and the site receives over five million hits a month.[192] There, the observer can browse hundreds of discussion threads on a bewildering range of topics. Whimsical threads such as 'I would have been a General if…' detail the fantasy army careers its contributors have imagined for themselves, while the more prosaic thread, 'push fit copper fittings,' is a quite intense discussion on the efficacy of such fittings. More relevantly, the forum is a place where the past collides with the present and where hitherto hidden aspects of history are brought into the now. Its data captures historical moments, evoking the 'texture of particular periods and the important events of the time.'[193] The memories of the Northern Ireland conflict presented

---

[191] Thomson, Alistair. 'Ten Pound Poms and Television Oral History', *Oral History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1997, p85
[192] Fandom.com, 2014, *The Army Rumour Service*, [Online] Available at:
<https://military.wikia.org/wiki/The_Army_Rumour_Service> [Accessed 14th February 2022]
[193] Layder, Derek. *New Strategies in Social Research.* Polity Press. Cambridge, 1993, p193

there as well as their effects on the present day permitted me a historical avenue rich in content and the experiences which come to light in these chapters help to elaborate on the human experience of being a soldier.

Using online forums for research raised ethical considerations and illuminates the challenge of identifying what is public and what is private on the internet, the division between them blurred online. Certainly the forum is aware of its public nature as a place for solders and ex-soldiers to 'have their own little corner of the Internet'[194] and there is some validity in the argument that the use of online content was akin to using letters written to newspapers.[195] In a 2006 article, psychologists Karen Rodham and Jeff Gavin argued that since the ARRSE forum is an 'open message board' – and access to its contents is not dependent on being a member of the forum - it is therefore in the public domain and 'consequently not subject to the requirement that the researcher obtains informed consent prior to using data collected from such environments.'[196] They further argued that since postings on forums are public acts, 'deliberately intended for public consumption,' as long as the anonymity of posters is maintained, then ethical boundaries are not violated.[197]

Initially, I had included the original user names of posters on the forum, given that the users are already anonymised (it is only the forum's administrators who are privy to the personal information of its members) but subsequent literature on the ethics of using online materials made me aware that although the forum was public, this did not mean that users could expect to have their postings

[194] Maltby, Sarah, Helen Thornham & Daniel Bennett. 'Beyond "pseudonymity": The Sociotechnical Structure of Online Military Forums.' *New Media & Society*. Vol. 20, No. 5, 2018 p1776

[195] Hopton, John, 'Mixed Martial Arts and Internet Forums: A Case Study in Treating Internet Sources as Oral History'. *Oral History,* Vol. 35, No. 2, Conflicts and Continuity, 2007, p94

[196] Rodham, Karen and Jeff Gavin. 'The ethics of using the internet to collect qualitative research data.' *Research Ethics Review*, Vol 2, No 3, 2006 p94

[197] Rodham & Gavin, *Ethics*, p95

analysed and published or that they had become unwitting research subjects.[198] A 2017 report by the British Sociological Association stressed the need for users to be 'afforded the protection of anonymity'[199] and although the users of the forum *are* anonymised, I now felt that the posts on the forum had been solely intended for their friends and peers and consequently, I refrained from using actual user names. I was also mindful of the advice of the 2017 report which recommended that when undertaking research on online forums, the researcher consult the policy of the forum itself in terms of how the forum positions itself in the debate on public and the private.[200] The ARRSE forum's policy states that although users granted the forum a 'non-exclusive, permanent, irrevocable, unlimited license to use, publish, or re-publish' the users' posts, this usage was stated as being 'in connection with the Service' and that users retained copyright over their content.[201] This further reinforced the need to protect the anonymity of the forum users I quote.

Posters which contain artwork and photographs, as well as officially sanctioned photographs form the bedrock of chapters one and two (and work in tandem with a television documentary in chapter two). Photography scholar, Liz Wells, has argued that analyses of photographic materials can invariably include discussions on 'semiotics, psychoanalysis, art history, social history, the history of media technologies, aesthetics, philosophy and the sociology of culture.'[202] Indeed, my own use of images take in several of these approaches. The chapter on recruitment, which focuses on posters and television campaigns, draws on the semiotics and psychological aspects of advertising and also looks to contemporary social history to paint a picture of the circumstances viewers of these advertisements may have been experiencing, as well as considering which aspects of contemporary masculinities the

---

[198] Sugiura, Lisa. British Sociological Association. 2017, *Researching Online Forums,* [Online] Available at: <https://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24834/j000208_researching_online_forums_-cs1-_v3.pdf> [Accessed 10 January 2023] p3
[199] Sugiura, *Researching,* p6
[200] Sugiura, *Researching,* p4
[201] ARRSE.co.uk. Year unknown. *Terms and Rules*, [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/help/terms/> [Accessed 26 January 2023], paragraph 6
[202] Wells, Liz. *The Photography Reader. History and Theory.* Routledge. Abingdon & New York, 2019*,* p6

army was resisting or using. The chapter also looks at the impact of the history of media technology to show how the army was keeping pace with media trends in its advertising and examine which viewer fantasies were being activated while doing so. Such elements are overtly present in recruitment advertising (after all, advertising is an industry whose function is to activate such psychological elements) but they are also present in the photographs which form one of the central tenets of chapter two, the chapter on training. The photographs which form the backbone of this particular chapter were never meant for wider distribution, instead being a record of a relatively new army regiment, but their contents are telling and again foreground the same desirable elements as recruitment campaigns, exposing the image the army wanted to give itself and the continuities of military life.

These continuities and the desire to maintain them are present in the official publications, guidelines and minutes of internal meetings which are used across the thesis. The chapter on training combines the photographs with documentary evidence such as Army Doctrine or Ministry of Defence publications, whose various contents acted as a guide for both trainers and recruits. Additional publications such as *A Soldiers Pocket Book* laid down the expectations and requirements for soldiers themselves. In their own way, these publications also promoted an ideal soldier and detailed his desirable qualities as well as exposing the negative qualities deemed antithetical to good soldiering. In the chapter on gay and female soldiers, minutes from meetings and internal memorandum all point to a protectionist establishment, reluctant to change and obstructing change through institutional barriers.

I use four stages of a soldier's career to deconstruct the military masculine ideal, the elements unearthed informing my argument. Examining the army's recruitment materials will show the qualities of soldiering that were foregrounded as desirable. How soldiers were formed and embodied their identities as soldiers during training, and the environments in which this occurred, will expose the

ideal's component parts and how it was constructed. What happened to the ideal when placed in the messy and uncertain field of combat in Northern Ireland will reveal how active service placed the ideal under stress. The ideal's effect on soldiers after their service had finished highlights the psychological and physical impact of ascribing to the ideal's standards. Finally, how women and gay men have lived up to the ideal and the methods they used to do so tell us how those with difference construct and perform masculinity. These human experiences – with their messy emotions, their paradoxical characteristics, their moments when things just go wrong - collide with the ordered, methodical minutiae of military life and its idealisation of the male. Chaos lurks beneath the surface, from the blistering assault on the senses of training, to the explosive drama of active service, from that drama as it is replicated in advertising, to its echoes which haunt the minds of some today. By examining the myth, I will uncover its fragility and mutability, and lay bare the mythos of the soldier and its standards and expectations of manliness.

Chapter One. 'It's a real man's life!': Masculinities in British Army recruitment materials, 1950 – 2010.

It is 1966. He stands on a rocky beach, the antennae of his equipment a contrasting black spear against the blue sky. He looks intently at something on the horizon, a radio in one hand, his other hand pointing at a map. His wax coat and beret only just hide the smart uniform underneath them. His purpose is unknown, the mystery of it hinting at something tantalising and exciting.[1] He is there again in 1969, delving into the technological maze of the innards of a helicopter cockpit. The sleeves on his overalls are neatly rolled up, revealing forearms streaked with engine oil. Armed with a screwdriver, his focus is on the panel of sophisticated controls he is manipulating.[2] He stands in front of a wintry landscape in 1980, his eyes squinting against the glare of the snow. His snow goggles sit atop his head, framed by the fur trim of the hood of his white overcoat, his gloved hand clutching his rifle to his chest.[3] And he is there again in 1995. His rifle points directly at you, the reflection of the landscape behind you visible in its sights. His young face is streaked with camouflage cream, its lines and patterns blending him into the blur of rushes and grasses behind him. A picture of measured calm, he does not see you; his focus is on something past you.[4]

Images such as these have been used by the British Army for over sixty years, the figures within them chosen to represent an occupation which has long been considered one of the most masculine.[5] This chapter looks at the representations of masculinity contained in army recruitment materials since the 1950s and examines the commonalities displayed within them, revealing what these themes demonstrate about how masculinities (and specifically, military masculinities) were framed and

---

[1] One of Today's Great Careers. (1966) *One of Today's Great Careers.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1966-2

[2] The Army. One of Today's Great Careers. (1969) *The Army. One of Today's Great Careers.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1969-4

[3] Peacework. (1980) *Peacework.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1980-2

[4] Infantry. (1995) *Infantry.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1995-4

[5] Woodward, Rachel & Trish Winter. *Sexing the Soldier: the Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army.* Routledge, Oxon. 2007, p15

displayed, as well as the qualities of military masculinities which were foregrounded as the most desirable. It will show that the army in some ways was a reactive institution, changing which benefits and advantages it chose to highlight to bring it in line with wider societal developments, as well as demonstrating a repetition of certain component elements, deliberately employed to invoke 'narcissistic identification and homosocial desire'[6] in their primarily male target audience. Images of soldiers are 'as old as the musket and pike'[7] and cultural historian Sean Nixon has argued that repeated images of him in action, such as operating hardware or technology, address 'men self-consciously as men.'[8] The use of such images in recruitment materials was to 'enable men not only to be encouraged to join the army but to stay in it once they have joined.'[9] The army consistently drew upon an approachable form of masculinity to do so, embodied by the 'lad next door', an evergreen 'everyman' image of manhood which avoided media-driven permutations of 'new' masculinities. Over sixty years, the same tropes and motifs repeat themselves, the same masculinities were represented in the same environments, and thus, the same set of subliminal messages were called into action. For gender theorist Diana Saco, the symbols employed rendered masculinity as 'given and obvious':[10] men have *always* mastered machinery and technical skills, men have *always* liked guns and violence, soldiers have always been masculine.

A progression can be traced in the advertising strategies the army used. Despite initial internal resistance, the end of National Service saw army advertising having to appeal to a newly powerful audience that had greater freedoms and spending power: benefits such as foreign travel or excitement

[6] Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. 'Male Trouble' in Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity.* Routledge, New York, 1995, p75
[7] Allsep, L. Michael. 'The Myth of the Warrior: Martial Masculinity and the End of Don't Ask, Don't Tell.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 60, No. 2, 2013, p382
[8] Nixon, Sean. *Hard Looks. Masculinities, Spectatorship & Contemporary Consumption.* UCL Press, London. 1996, p202
[9] Glyn, Dr. Alan. 1960. *House of Commons debate.* 6th March 1960. Available at:
<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1960-03-09/debates> [Accessed 10th September 2019] Col. 540
[10] Saco, Diana. 'Masculinity as Signs. Poststructuralist Feminist Approaches to the Study of Gender.' In Steve Craig (ed.) *Men, Masculinity, and the Media.* Sage Publications, Newbury Park & London, 1992, p23

and adventure became key selling points. Professionalism came to the fore in the 1970s as the army not only tried to lose its old unappealing image but also tried to appeal to men whose traditional industries were in decline. A recruitment crisis in the late 1980s, as well as a sense that the army and its ethos were increasingly at odds with a society in which individualism was becoming one of that society's driving tenets, meant that materials from the 1990s shifted focus. Now, it was the transformative power of the institution which was promoted, its ability to turn potential recruits into something else - something *better* - seemingly offering an escape from the mundane nine-to-five. Through the years, the advertising strategies employed may have changed, but the component parts remained the same: the soldier represented is always the 'everyman' and he is constantly in full kit operating or repairing hardware, an invitation to the viewer to join him in his manly enterprise.

The materials employed reflect both the changing trends of the advertising industry and how the army was situated within them. The bland pencil drawn sketches of National Service posters were in line with an advertising industry that hadn't adopted photography as its main medium until 1960.[11] When National Service ended, the new wish-fulfilment ethos of advertising began to influence army recruitment, and montages and dynamic texts (in fonts which are always inherently 'masculine'[12]) began to proliferate, highlighting the benefits and opportunities the army had to offer. It is unclear if the army employed outside agencies at this period, but there is a continuity between the posters of the 1960s, and their depictions of masculinity are certainly in line with contemporary advertisements which were aimed at, and which feature, men.

From 1972, and throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Collet, Dickenson and Pearce – the company who poured Cinzano over Joan Collins, declared that happiness was a cigar called Hamlet, and 'even

---

[11] Jobling, Paul *Advertising Menswear. Masculinity and Fashion in the British Media since 1945.* Bloomsbury Academic, London & New York, 2014, p92
[12] Garfield, Simon. *Just my Type. A Book about Fonts.* Profile Books, London, 2010, p33

managed to make Clark's shoes look sexy'[13] – oversaw the army's account. They were responsible for

a huge number of ground-breaking commercials and slogans throughout the 1960s and 1970s, but

perhaps mindful of the traditional ethos of their military client, they too resisted – or were directed

to resist - wider advertising trends, and instead maintained a consistency in their depiction of army

images. There was no eroticising of the male body here, no influences of New Romantics or New Man,

or any other fashionable new constructions of masculinities which emerged throughout the decades.

The form of manhood in army recruitment remained steadfastly approachable and impervious to

trends. The 1990s ushered in new advertising techniques, of which Saatchi and Saatchi – who took

over the army account in 1994 – were well positioned to take advantage. They were the first agency

to create television adverts for the army filmed from a first-person perspective, an innovation quickly

copied by the RAF and the Royal Navy.[14] The army's website – launched in 1996[15] - embraced

interactivity from 1997 with an 'Army Challenge' game which invited the player to work through

missions[16] and which won the design company, Corsellis Montford Interactive, a British Institute of

Marketing award.[17] However, negative perceptions of the army (unfairly based upon the war in Iraq

but more fairly based on allegations of bullying) and falling recruitment[18] saw the army embrace

interactive and experiential marketing trends with their 'Start Thinking Soldier' campaign, whose

[13] Tungate, Mark. *Adland. A Global History of Advertising.* Kogan Page. London, Philadelphia, New Delhi. 2007, p74

[14] Carter, Meg, 1997. *Campaign Direct Awards: Campaign of the Year – The Army.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/campaign-direct-awards-campaign-year-army/23261> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

[15] Rosen, Nick, 1998, *British Army recruits more online business.* [online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/british-army-recruits-online-business/122922> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

[16] Lord, Richard, 1997, *Now Showing.* [online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/showing/124018> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

[17] Rosen, Nick, 1998, *Army revamps officer recruitment site.* [online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/army-revamps-officer-recruitment-site/120101> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

[18]Tiltman, David, 2006, *Brand Health Check: British Army.* [online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/brand-health-check-british-army/539121> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

adverts placed the viewer in direct, *Call of Duty* type situations, backed up by online gaming experiences.[19]

Perhaps reflecting the steadfastness of the institution, the elements used by the army to recruit new soldiers vary little throughout the decades. Different agencies may have handled the account and taken advantage of evolving advertising techniques, new benefits may have been promoted to appeal to the changing circumstances of its potential recruits, but there is a notable consistency of which aspects of military life are drawn upon to do so. And there is also a notable consistency of the colour of the soldiers employed to do so. In the majority of source materials I use for this chapter, the represented soldiers are white men. There are no ethnic minority faces on any of the posters I analysed until 1991. Absent from decades of recruitment material, the army's masculinity and culture was white. Even in 1991, when two posters unobtrusively included the faces of ethnic minority soldiers and female soldiers for the first time, their images were reduced, lost in a sea of whiteness. Other posters from the same year and subsequent years omit them once again. It would not be until 1996, and the publication of a report by the Office of Public Management, that a Black face would be foregrounded for the first time. Set up to review recruitment initiatives of the Armed Forces, the report found the army lacking. Racially offensive language, behaviour and attitudes remained a 'significant feature of life in the Army'. The report recommended a reformation of recruitment policies for ethnic minority personnel.[20]

---

[19] Thomas, Joe, 2009, *Why the army sees the answer to its recruitment problem in experiential marketing.* [online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/why-army-sees-answer-its-recruitment-problem-experiential-marketing/898253> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

[20] Healy, Michael Scott. *Empire, Race and War: Black Participation in British Military Efforts During the Twentieth Century.* [Online] PhD for Loyola University, Chicago. 1998 Available at: <https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4737&context=luc_diss> [Accessed 23rd March 2022]*, p280

In response to this, the iconic updated version of the Kitchener 'Your Country Needs You' poster was born, Kitchener's face replaced by the face of a Black Royal Artillery officer.[21] 'Britain is a multi-racial country,' the poster informed the viewer. 'Find out how we're making the army a better place for ethnic minorities', it continued. Television adverts used throughout the 2000s included ethnic minority faces when the format of the advert permitted although it would still be white voices speaking. However, the white homosociality which had been foregrounded throughout the decades was now being depicted as multi-ethnic. Again pointing to the steadfastness of army advertising, when people of colour *were* finally included, the component parts remained unchanged: the same consistency of depicted actions and scenarios, and the same qualities deemed desirable were employed to activate a viewer response.

Researching the visual

Ironically, none of the soldiers who I interviewed for this study recalled being inspired to join the army on the strength of its advertising campaigns. Consequently, this chapter draws on visual theory, photographic theory and advertising theory to analyse what mobilisation strategies were deployed by the army to attract new recruits.

The historian of photographic culture, Liz Wells, has noted how researching photography can be challenging due to the image's ubiquity and its diversity of everyday appearances and uses.[22] Meanwhile, photographer Victor Burgin has commented on the broad range of fields or disciplines which can be drawn upon to analyse the photographic image.[23] These factors can render the field somewhat ethereal and difficult to classify.[24] Furthermore, perceptions of photographs have changed,

---

[21] Your Country Needs You. (1996.) *Your Country Needs You* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1998-10-244-1

[22] Wells, Liz. *The Photography Reader. History and Theory.* Routledge. Abingdon & New York, 2019*,* p6

[23] Burgin, Victor. 'Something About Photographic Theory', *Screen*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1984, p65

[24] Wells, *Photography,* p19

developing from nineteenth-century beliefs which classified photographs as automatic records of reality, to that notion latterly contested by an understanding of the interceding role of the image-maker in the production of the image's meaning. In advertising, this role is even more tangible given that this intercession becomes one of very deliberate manipulation. Literary theorist Roland Barthes has noted how this process juxtaposes text and images, manipulating the viewer into focussing on the positive attributes of whatever is being advertised.[25]

From the collection at the National Army Museum archive in Stevenage (of approximately 120 viewed items), I shortlisted 48 recruitment posters which captured the tenor of national campaigns. Specific regimental posters were discounted as not being representative of overriding national campaigns. Similarly, posters for exhibitions or pageants, or posters advertising specific roles within the army, were also discounted on grounds of over-specificity. Unfortunately, the collection has only one poster from the 1980s although another two were located from other sources.[26] Despite appeals to the National Archives, the History of Advertising Trust and the Advertising Archives, attempts to find other posters from this decade were fruitless. A Freedom of Information Request to the Ministry of Defence was similarly unproductive. I also looked at television adverts from the 1990s and 2000s, with one or two ads from key campaigns selected as representative of output from this period.

This chapter traces shifts in army advertising strategies contained within these posters and looks at the impact of wider societal changes upon them, establishing if the army was following trends or setting them (or both). It shows how the army regularly used a particular type of man - the man next door – who was unaffected by wider, urban trends of masculinities and who, as representative of a

---

[25] Barthes, Roland. 'Rhetoric of the Image.' In Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (eds.) *Visual Culture: the Reader.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1999, pp37-38

[26] *Peacework.* National Army Museum, item no. 177-1980-2, Johnston, Peter, 2018, *Charting the army's recruitment battle for hearts and minds through history.* [online] Available at: <https://inews.co.uk/news/long-reads/british-army-recruitment-posters-video-history/> [Accessed 22 June 2019]; D&AD (eds.) *The Copy Book. How some of the best advertisers in the world write their advertising.* Taschen GmbH, Germany, 2018 p207

peak form of masculinity, was surprisingly prosaic. He was deployed because advertising is an industry based on wish-fulfilment, an activation of desires made tangible by representation, and one in which men were 'invited to recognise themselves in the masculine myth.' [27] His approachability was therefore key in this process. Most viewers of army recruitment material would never have had direct army experience, but would have been influenced by what the military scholar Richard Godfrey labels the 'significant and sustained attention' [28] the army receives culturally. The psychologists Bob M. Fennis and Wolfgang Stroebe have noted how viewers can never have a fixed response to adverts, nor see them 'innocently,' their viewing experience occurring within a paradigm of individual thoughts and responses.[29] The spectator's own imaginings will have been heavily influenced by the way the military has been represented in television, film, books and games,[30] factors which, as Victor Burgin argues, colour the viewing process.[31]

The viewer's perceptions of the image, therefore, will reflect the viewer's reality,[32] what Barthes refers to as *déja-lu.*[33] Images can still inspire an emotional response without a viewer necessarily knowing what they mean,[34] a process of interpretation which masculinities theorists Rachel Adams and David Savran have argued allows the viewer to selectively adopt or reject a set of meanings pertinent or desirable to themselves.[35] It is this process which advertising presumes upon, activating the viewer's *a priori* knowledge and engendering feelings of familiarity with 'certain attributes of the product.'[36] For proponents of photographic theory, this mediation ensures that the viewer is not a passive

---

[27] Easthope, Antony. *What a Man's Gotta Do. The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture.* Unwin Hyman, Boston, 1990, p166

[28] Godfrey, Richard. 'Military, masculinity and mediated representations: (con) fusing the real and the reel.' *Culture and Organisation.* Vol. 15, No. 2, 2009, p204

[29] Fennis, Bob M. & Wolfgang Stroebe. *The Psychology of Advertising.* Psychology Press, Hove, 2000, p34

[30] Godfrey, *Military,* p204

[31] Burgin, *Something* p65

[32] Barrett, Terry. *Criticising Photographs. An Introduction to Understanding Images.* Mayfield Publishing Company. Mountain View, California, London, Toronto, 1996, p38

[33] Burgin, *Something* p64

[34] Wells, *Photography* p61

[35] Adams, Rachel & David Savran, 'Representations' in Adams R. & Savran D. (eds.) *The Masculinity Studies Reader.* Blackwell, Malden & Oxford, 2002, p154

[36] Barthes, *Rhetoric*, p33

recipient, but instead subconsciously collaborates with the manipulated image, their own rules, knowledge and stereotypes colliding with it to produce a desired effect.[37] As Wells describes, this collision is a crossing of the fluid and dynamic textual space between the image and the viewer, a space which contains an endless potential of meanings and whose imprecision and intangibility gives rise to a democratic process of spectatorship.[38]

To traverse this space, army recruitment material had to present representations of manhood that were both attainable and aspirational, readily identifiable and apparently within the easy reach of the viewer. Alienation was anathema. Film theorists Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark have demonstrated the need to include identifiable factors that can stimulate a narcissistic response of self-projection, a response that facilitates a powerful ego experience of actively imagining the self fulfilling the depicted roles.[39] Recruitment material must go beyond film theorist Laura Mulvey's concept of the fetishistic gaze and be captivated by what it sees, a captivation which inflames 'curious, inquiring, (and) demanding' voyeuristic tendencies that inspire a longing for direct involvement.[40] Consequently, the soldiers represented in recruitment material are not models: they are the 'everyman', the man on the street, primed to stoke a particular imagining and identification. As drivers for a narcissistic response, they had to provide a resonance for the viewer, a site of potential fascination and self-recognition.[41] If, as historian Graham Dawson asserts, 'masculine identities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination'[42] then recruitment material needed to be able to ignite these fantasies.

---

[37] Fennis & Stroebe, *Psychology,* p34
[38] Wells, *Photography,* p37
[39] Cohan, Steven & Hark, *Screening the Male. Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema.* Routledge, London & New York, 1994, p11
[40] Neale, Steve. *Masculinity as Spectacle. Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema.* Downloaded from [https://academic.oup.com/screen/article-abstract/24/6/2/1653405] pp12-13
[41] Mulvey, Laura. 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.' In Leo Braudy & Marshall Cohen (eds.) *Film Theory and Criticism : Introductory Readings.* Oxford University Press. New York, Oxford, 1999 p835
[42] Dawson, Graham. 'The Blond Bedouin. Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity.' In Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.) *Manful Assertions: Masculinity in Britain since 1800.* Routledge. London, 1991, p118

This everyman is a constant throughout the decades, whatever societal and cultural changes may be happening off camera. 1950s teddy boys, 1960s mods and 1970s punks[43] may have loomed large in the national psyche, but they are absent from the world of army recruitment. There are no feather haircuts or mohicans in the worlds represented here. The consciously feminine consumerism of the 'peacocks' who strode down Carnaby Street into Pathé newsreels[44] are firmly kept at bay. David Bowie and the Glam Rock exemplars of a 1970s 'hard-soft masculinity' remain firmly on *Top of the Pops*. The baby-holding, sensitive 'New Man' of the 1980s, made famous on an Athena poster that adorned a thousand households, is invisible.[45] Army recruitment instead demonstrates a consistency of representation and a continued shunning of wider fashion and trends. Only in the 1990s did it finally meet wider advertising trends, now in the throes of celebrating the 'reappearance' of the 'New Lad' but since the army has always presented some version of this lad who was anything but 'new', it was an inevitable convergence. Although the army has always presented this archetype throughout the decades, his presence in the 1990s posters and television adverts is depicted in a very different way from those posters created in the dying days of National Service.

National Service and its end

I selected eleven posters from the period of National Service to analyse in greater depth. Minimal in their depictions of army life, they offer the viewer very little information. All of them have the slogan 'Join the Regular Army' and all of them denote men doing *something.* One has a soldier consulting a

[43] Beynon, John. *Masculinities and Culture.* Open University Press, Buckingham, 2002, p90

[44] British Pathé, 2014. *Carnaby Street, 1967.* [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/HX5bQQoiNbs>, British Pathé, 2014. *Pop Groups in Carnaby Street, 1969.* [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/mmeZIBmPGgc>, British Pathé, 2014. *London – Teenagers Wear These (1965)* [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/1TVCkq7Uu6c> [All accessed 16th November 2019]

[45] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p102

map while a tank rumbles in the background,[46] another depicts a soldier repairing some equipment[47], while another sees a soldier shouldering his rifle.[48] The Ladybird book style images are dull, the information contained within them, scant. They reflect a resistance to offer marketplace inducements to potential recruits, highlighted by the findings of the 1957 Grigg Committee which had been established to analyse the issue of army recruitment, and quoted by the military commentator, C. Downes. Despite their finding that civilian life had become more pleasant and more materially rewarding,[49] it was felt that showcasing advantages of a military career ran the risk of not only recruiting only a limited number of men they described as worthy, but worryingly, risked attracting large numbers of they described as '"Queen's bad bargains".'[50] They elaborated that:

> The answer is not to use high pay or large bounties to bribe (or try to bribe) men… who are
> not keen on Service life to enter the Forces; it is to make conditions of service such that they
> will not deter those whom service life attracts.[51]

The method employed to do so was directly appealing to manhood, tapping into contemporary concerns over the seeming demise of the 'natural' orders in post-war society exemplified by the homosexual panic of the 1950s (itself whipped into a frenzy by the mass media[52]), and a notable increase in the number of married women in employment.[53] As a result, the army's advertising

---

[46] Soldier of the Queen (1959) *Soldier of the Queen.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1959-5

[47] Soldier of the Queen (1959) *Soldier of the Queen.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1959-4

[48] A Soldier of the Queen (1959) *A Soldier of the Queen.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1959-2

[49] Downes, C. 'Great Britain' in C. C. Moskos & F. Wood (eds.) *The Military. More than Just a Job?* Pergamon-Brassey's, Washington, New York & London, 1988, p158

[50] Downes, *Great,* p160

[51] Downes, *Great,* p160

[52] Bengry, Justin. 'Queer Profits: Homosexual Scandal and the Origins of Legal Reform in Britain.' In H. Bauer & M. Cook (eds.) *Queer 1950s. Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012, p167

[53] Brooke, Stephen. 'Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s'. *Journal of Social History.* Vol. 34, No. 4, 2001, p778

promoted a reassertion of an institution and ethos which were 'naturally' male. National Service era posters are the only ones in the collection which contain any direct appeals to manhood: all but two of the posters promote army life as 'a real man's life.' This appeal to a 'real man's life' was part of what media and masculinities historian Mark Moss has described as a 'constant exhortation of men to be strong and reassert their traditional and historical rights as men'[54] during a time of extreme ambivalence about flawed, and especially queer, masculinities.[55] Men many have been able to express their own masculinity through DIY and gardening, and the skills men acquired in the army put to use in domestic environments, but dissatisfied and nostalgic men may have found solace in advertising representations of a Service homosociality they missed domestically, or even that their fathers and uncles had experienced.

Investigation of posters produced before 1950 also demonstrates that these National Service appeals to manhood are unique in the history of military recruitment. Posters in the NAM collection which predate the First World War tend to be either solely informative or subliminally try to show the excitement of army life, expressed in one 1900 poster by the thrill – or power - of seeing a Coldstream Guard drumming. 'Follow the drum! If we have more marching music, we'll soon get more men!'[56] the poster tells us. Posters produced on the eve of the Second World War appealed to notions of British liberty and values. 'Safeguard your liberties!'[57] clamours one, portraying a soldier standing astride a map of the United Kingdom. There is only one poster in the collection which has a direct appeal to a domestic masculinity, the famous (and guilt-inducing) 'Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?',[58] its sole appearance in the collection a result of the negative contemporary reactions it inspired. Other posters may make appeals to 'men' and 'boys' but since conscription was only open to males this is

---

[54] Moss, Mark. *The Media and the Models of Masculinity.* Lexington Books, Lanham & Plymouth, 2011, p7
[55] Moss, *Media,* p87
[56] Follow the Drum. (1900c.) *Follow the Drum*. [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1977-06-81-34
[57] Cattermole, Lance (1938) *Safeguard your Liberties! [*Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1984-01-54-1
[58] Lumley, Savile (1915) *Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?'* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number, 1977-06-81-16

not unexpected. Rarely are soldiers depicted in them; instead, famous London landmarks such as the Houses of Parliament or St Paul's are used to inspire the viewer. When soldiers *are* depicted, appeals to manhood are subtly present. 'Remember Belgium?'[59] asks one, its depiction of a British soldier standing in front of a burning village, the women and children refugees fleeing from the flames behind him affirming his position at the apex of gender relations. Soldiering was rescuing women and children, or safeguarding the phallus of Big Ben. Only once was it explicitly about becoming a 'real man'.

The end of National Service in 1963, however, precipitated the need for new advertising strategies. Situated in a climate of emergent and troublingly transgressive teenage youth culture,[60] the army had to appeal to a male market that had greater freedoms than ever before. Advertising historian Paul Jobling has drawn attention to how young men were marrying in fewer numbers and had more spending power [61] while cultural historian Frank Mort has described how reformed familial relationships in the post-war decade had created a consumer with new demands and opportunities.[62] Such freedoms must have cast the army as a grimmer option and National Service, especially, had created a poor image of military life[63] garnering – as media and cultural historian John Beynon has argued – a reputation of being a 'violent, dog-eat-dog world of bullying and homophobia.'[64]

Parliamentary discussions had been underway for some time to tackle the 'all-important problem of the recruitment of officers.'[65] Military bands may have been considered useful because of their

[59] Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (1914) *Remember Belgium. Enlist Today.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number, 1977-06-81-5
[60] Jobling, *Advertising,* p79
[61] Jobling, *Advertising,* p80
[62] Mort, Frank. *Cultures of Consumption. Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain.* Routledge, London, 1996 p142
[63] Downes, *Great,* p160
[64] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p69
[65] Soames, Mr Christopher. Secretary of State for War, House of Commons debate 6th March 1960. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1960-03-09/debates> [Accessed 10th September 2019] Column 435

'tremendous emotional effect' and the updating of the army's uniform may have been 'a great recruiting sergeant,'[66] but there was still an unease about recruitment, especially when compared to other branches of the Armed Forces whose hardware seemingly did the advertiser's work for them, as Sir Otho Prior-Palmer argued in a 1960 parliamentary debate:

> Everything possible must be done by publicity and advertisement to get men to join the army. I do not think that publicity in the army is as good as it might be. Publicity in the navy is better. This is an easy matter for the navy. It has only to throw open an aircraft carrier in order to get 3,000 people to look over it. The army has never had quite the popularity of the navy.[67]

This new wave of army advertising would have to work harder to be successful, not being able to offer viewer satisfaction in their own right. Instead, they had to be able to displace viewer satisfaction and inspire a feeling in the viewer that something was lacking in their own life and raising the viewer's awareness that fulfilment could only be achieved if the viewer signed up for military service.[68]

This strategy was clear in two posters which date from 1965 and 1966.[69] The incentives on offer in these posters will be repeated throughout the coming decades: foreign travel, a 'great career,' technical training and even 'long holidays,' the latter particularly appealing to working-class viewers whose annual two-week break disappeared all too quickly.[70] The lure of foreign travel chimed with

---

[66] Prior-Palmer Sir Otho, House of Commons debate 6th March 1960. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1960-03-09/debates> [Accessed 10th September 2019] Column 494
[67] Prior-Palmer, Commons, 6/3/60. Column 494
[68] Kolbowski, Silvia. 'Playing with Dolls.' In Carol Squiers (ed.) *The Critical Image.* Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1990, p140
[69] Want to Travel? Ask Us! (1965) *Want to Travel? Ask Us!* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1965-4, One of Today's Great Careers. (1966) *One of Today's Great Careers.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1966-2
[70] TUC History Online, *Holidays with pay for you,* [Online] Available at: <http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/Tl_Display.php?irn=100265&QueryPage=..%2FAdvSearch.php> [Accessed 14th November 2019]; Under the Christmas Tree, 2014, *Holidays in the 1960s* [online.] Available at: <https://www.underthechristmastree.co.uk/holidays-in-the-1960s/>; Rice, Alison, *How Times have Changed: A Social History of Holidays.* [online.] Available at: <https://familyholidaycharity.org.uk/our-story/how-times-have-changed-social-history-holidays> [All accessed 14th November 2019]

the domestic rise of foreign travel as Franco transformed the south coast of Spain into a playground

for nervous Britons facing their fears of alien cultures and foreign food. In 1960, Benidorm attracted

'more than 30,000 British and German visitors' that summer alone, and although foreign holidays

were taken by less than 4% of the British population in 1966,[71] it was clear the world was opening up

and holidays were becoming increasingly aspirational. 'Want to travel? Ask us!' [72] asks a 1965

recruitment poster atop a photo-montage of various scenes, the dark green colour of the background

highlighting the sunshine of some of the more 'exotic' locations featured (figure 3). This is an advert

which offers a different kind of excitement, made explicit by the collection of images: soldiers board

a plane at a sunny airport, a close-up of a soldier in a 'jungle' looks directly at the camera, a tank rolls

down a historic, sun-kissed street that is clearly not from any British city, scuba-diving soldiers chat in

blazing sunshine in front of ancient ruins, a soldier stalks a snowy landscape, and another tank ploughs

through another 'jungle', exhaust fumes in its wake. Twenty-two potential destinations are listed at

the top to further pique the interest. Another poster from 1966 shows two tanned soldiers in khaki

shorts fixing a helicopter against a blazing blue sky. The riches on offer are laid bare in the text: 'first

class technical training. Higher pay and rapid promotion for technicians. World travel. Long holidays.'[73]

The differences in the advertising strategies of the National Service era and the period which

immediately followed, are obvious. The 1950s posters show an institution untouched by advertising

industry changes and reluctant to employ methods which recruited the 'wrong sort' of soldier.

However, appealing to manhood and tapping into the desires of men who felt redundant or dislocated

after the end of the Second World War, was replaced by glossy new adverts promising holidays,

excitement and adventure. They were designed to appeal to a 'young man who seeks a career which

couples service, travel, adventure and comradeship with a high material standard of life'[74] and for

---

[71] Sandbrook, Dominic. *White Heat. A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties.* Abacus, London, 2006, p194
[72] NAM collection, *Want to Travel?* 175-1965-4
[73] He Chose the Army. (1966) *He Chose the Army.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item no. 175-1966-3
[74] Soames, *6/3/1960,* Column 435

whom 'a real man's life' may have had less appeal than spending the extra money in his pocket each week on the new and exciting youth culture that was blossoming around him. To avoid potentially alienating the viewer further, the everyman would be deployed time and again, his face and body looking like the viewer himself or the friends he socialised with.

The 'everyman' in action

The pencil sketches of soldiers used in the National Service era posters have an intangibility about them and it is not until the use of photography that we get our first real glimpse of this everyman. One 1960 poster[75] has him highlighted (figure 4). Billing itself as 'a grand team,' he is at the centre of a photo montage of men performing activities, cast in a sepia-tinted angelic glow. Around him are ten smaller images of soldiers performing various roles and all of them – with their missing teeth and half-smoked cigarettes hanging out of their mouths - are everymen too. Some are smiling, some are podgy, none of them threaten, none of them alienate. All of them frame the soldier in the middle, the epitome of the regular Tommy, smart in his uniform, his rifle ready and his kit in place. He could be anybody you know.

The ten men who appeared in two posters from 1969 and 1970 could be anyone too.[76] Shot in a photographic studio against a white background, these images – album cover-like in their composition – invite the viewer in a whimsical game of psychological dress-up (figures 5 and 6). In the 1969 poster the men stare seriously at the camera: a soldier in flight technician overalls, a soldier in snow gear, a Para with his gun, a radio operator and a regular infantryman. These are 'the professionals,' (not to be confused with the television series *The Professionals* which began broadcasting in 1977) the poster

---

[75] A Grand Team. (1960) *A Grand Team.* [Poster]. National Army Museum, item no. 175-1960-8
[76] Join the Professionals. (1969) *Join the Professionals.* [Poster]. National Army Museum, item number 175-1969-2. Join the Professionals. (1970) *Join the Professionals.* [Poster]. National Army Museum, item number 175-1970-2

exhorts. The second has a similar composition, but this time the men are relaxed, smiling as they look directly at the camera. Perhaps even more 'dress-up' than the first, the possibilities on offer are a regular soldier, a Para, a soldier in full ceremonial uniform, a scuba diver and a soldier in a judo outfit. These mannequins appear to be something out of a shop window display: which would you like to try on?

These posters, which look like something contemporary photographer Terence Donovan would have shot, were produced during peacetime and at a time when military uniforms had been appropriated by Sergeant Pepper into the world of fashion and music, becoming symbols of rebellion and revolution for an anti-establishment youth culture.[77] As fashion historian Jennifer Craik argues, uniforms are laden with meaning and significance and may ostensibly represent 'order, conformity and discipline' yet are also a 'fetishised cultural artefact embodying ambitious erotic impulses and moral rectitude.'[78] The interplay present in these posters – between the symbolised unity and regulation of a uniform on one hand, and the informal invitation to try on and interpret for the self, on the other[79] – may well have fed off contemporary pop culture tropes. It is unknown whether the army deliberately attempted to invoke these tropes, but their cultural resonance must have riffed with some viewers.

These everymen were present in a 1977 poster for the Territorial and Army Volunteer Reserve, the TAVR.[80] Four shouting men in khaki appear over a brow of ferns, guns at the ready. It is a dynamic picture, the captions over their heads revealing the mens' identities out of uniform. 'Adrian Cunliffe' is a clerk, 'Bob Child' a painter, 'Roger Seymour' is a chemist and 'Tony Cook' a labourer. Four disparate careers away from army life, these men (and it can be no accident that two of the men are in working-class careers) again represent a democratisation of army recruits, a possibility for anyone to join in

---

[77] Craik, Jennifer. *Uniforms Exposed. From Conformity to Transgression.* Berg, Oxford & New York, 2005, p192
[78] Craik, *Uniforms,* p3
[79] Craik, *Uniforms,* p7
[80] It's Part-time but it's a Real Soldier's Job. (1977) *It's Part-time but it's a Real Soldier's Job* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1977-5

the fun. The rural setting of the poster points to a subliminal permitting of a 'freedom for men to behave in a boyish manner.'[81] Liberated from breadwinning shackles, they can behave boisterously[82] and there is something of a 'playing soldiers' feel in this poster. The viewer could be doing this too, no matter what walk of life they're from.

This everyman was resistant to the 'whole new range of commercially driven masculinities performed through fashion'[83] which media and cultural historian John Beynon has argued emerged throughout the 1980s. Indeed, army recruitment posters did not take up these fashionable reins. Although there is only one poster from 1980 in the NAM collection,[84] this poster, along with another from 1983,[85] suggest that the everyman was still a recurring motif. He was still there in 1988, pictured alongside his colleagues and a tank,[86] in a poster that could have been taken from the 1972 'Join the Professionals' range. This continuity suggests there was no place here for the narcissistic New Man who was 'self-confident, well-groomed, muscular but also sensitive.'[87] Born of the sexual ambiguity and femininity of artists such as Boy George, Prince, and the stars of the New Romantics movements,[88] he may have hit his peak between 1985 and 1987,[89] but in the world of army recruitment was notably absent.

Perhaps with good reason. New Man came into being when fashion, advertising and marketing conspired to create him, but contemporary research suggested he had little impact on the wider public, drily observed by the 25th January 1996 edition of *The Glasgow Herald* who decried that 'the

[81] Strate, Lance. 'Beer Commercials. A Manual on Masculinity.' In Steve Craig (ed.) *Men, Masculinity and the Media.* Sage Publications Inc. Newbury Park, California, London, 1999 p83
[82] Moss, *Media,* p95
[83] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p11
[84] *Peacework.* National Army Museum, item no. 177-1980-2
[85] Johnston, *Charting,* [online]
[86] D&AD, *Copy Book,* p207
[87] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p104
[88] Gill, Rosalind. 'Power and the production of subjects: a genealogy of the New Man and the New Lad.' In Bethan Benwell (ed.) *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines.* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2001, p45
[89] McMahon, Anthony. *Taking care of men: sexual politics in the public mind.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 1999 p102

average British man seems to be more old boy than New Man when it comes to housework.'[90] Very much a metropolitan phenomena (if indeed, a phenomena at all), his myth was further exploded by 1993 surveys that revealed that 90% of men agreed that household chores should be shared, but less than a fifth ever did so, or another which revealed that the number of men who shared household tasks was less than 1% of couples surveyed.[91] New Man was seemingly far from the lives of Everyday Man. There would be no eye shadow on YOP scheme trainees in Northumberland, no frilled cuffs on apprentices in Truro and no sight of a man vacuuming in Slough.

The cultural historian Jonathan Rutherford has discussed how New Man's presence - along with an increasing consumer society and the introduction of new legislation governing divorce and sexuality - fed into a challenge of the 'styles of manliness and modes of power'[92] which had formerly prioritised heterosexual male relations. A 1990s backlash against him, personified by *Loaded* magazine (1993) promoted the ethos of the newest permutation of masculinity: the 'New Lads.' These New Lads were after good times and fun, the knockabout power and banter of the everyman now something to be celebrated as a distinct riposte to the 'stiff, fake "new man" crap'[93] of the 1980s. The 'frequently leery and boorish'[94] adverts in which he appeared may only have been a 'profit-driven, middle class version of the archetypal working-class "jack-the-lad",' but his image was everywhere, promoting everything from washing powders to shirts, from alcohol to education.[95] New Lads didn't replace New Men and both masculinities jostled alongside each other, available resources for men to draw upon, but only one – the New Lad - represented the elusive and seemingly lost sense of manhood, lamented in a 1998 report by marketing consultants, Mellors Reay and Partners. *The State of Men* (quoted in Rutherford) bemoaned the current insecurity of men, suggesting the best advertising strategy to combat it was to

---

[90] McMahon, *Taking,* p104
[91] McMahon, *Taking,* p11
[92] Rutherford, Jonathan. *Preface.* 2001*.* In Bethan Benwell (ed.) *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines.* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2001, p2
[93] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p110
[94] Jobling, *Advertising,* p201
[95] Jobling, *Advertising,* p169

'"reflect the soul of primal man. Man the warrior, the hero".'[96] A 'particularly classed articulation of masculinity,'[97] the anti-aspirational New Lad led a life characterised by reading *Viz* and 'socialising, college, and fairly frequent job changes.'[98] Page Three girls, porn and jokes about mothers-in-law and women drivers still had currency with him in 1998[99] and by always representing an everyday and approachable masculinity with their own version of the New Lad, in effect, and trying to locate this figure out in the world, the army came into line with wider advertising sensibilities.

A 1995 poster[100] embraced New Laddism to the extent that there were no representations of traditional army activities in any of the images it contains. Three men in football strip celebrate a goal score in one image, in another, three men socialise at a bar, while in another, three men are laughing while they steer a yacht. Two women in overalls (the first time women appear on the same poster as men reflecting the 1992 disbanding of women's only units and the army's need to recruit female soldiers) are in the fourth image. However, their presence is reduced, as their downward gaze and the lack of focus on their faces, render them passive, their appearance on the poster begrudgingly apologetic. We are told the army is a 'young person's environment,' that it is not 'all work and no play' and that it promises 'fun and good pay.' With no uniforms and no weapons on display, the images have the blandness of stock photos, rendering them the ultimate in potential sources of viewer identification. What was on offer here was fun, beer, football and (arbitrarily) yachting.

Forgoing advertising trends for a constant representation of the 'ordinary Joe,' the army has consistently represented a certain exemplar of military masculinity. Unthreatening and non-alienating, his purpose was to inspire recruitment by firing the imaginary fantasies of the ego. Perhaps realising that these trends of new and fleeting permutations of masculinities and their fashions were

---

[96] Rutherford, *Preface,* p2
[97] Gill, *Power* p37
[98] Rutherford, *Preface,* p3
[99] MacInnes, John. *The End of Masculinity.* Open University Press, Buckingham, 1998, p49
[100] NAM collection, press no. 177-1995-3

transient and most likely metropolitan, they did not compete alongside him for attention. It was he alone who was the powerful tool deployed to appeal to the majority of the country who were unmoved and untouched by media constructed sexualities. When *Arena* launched a new wave of metropolitan masculinity in 1986 [101] the 'politically sensitive and feminist-aware new man' [102] temporarily took centre stage, but a pushback ensured a more 'natural' gender order was back in vogue, personified by the sexism of the New Lad.[103] Newly feted by the media, this literal man next door had always been a constant and potent source of identification for the army and although, new Laddism itself may have also been and gone, the everyman persists. Attainable, aspirational and normal, he will never stray far from the army advertiser's toolkit.

Working men: machinery, technology and angst

Another constant in army recruitment material throughout the decades was depictions of men working. The identity theorist Alan Petersen argues that the self-discipline work requires, aligned with masculine values such as control and conquest, means that 'real men' not only undertake hard work but also have 'to be *seen* to be *at work.'*[104] The men in these materials are portrayed successfully operating complex, heavyweight technology, an extra resonance of manliness granted them because of the 'almost synonymous'[105] equation of masculinity with technology. Management theorist Frank J. Barrett has described how power over machinery, the ability to control it, and the rationality needed to operate its complicated interfaces, offer opportunities for displays which consolidate masculine

---

[101] Benwell, Bethan. 'Ironic Discourse. Evasive Masculinity in Men's Lifestyle Magazines.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 7, No. 1, 2004, p4
[102] Benwell, *Ironic* p6
[103] Benwell, *Ironic* p6
[104] Petersen, Alan. *Unmasking the Masculine. 'Men' and 'Identity' in a Sceptical Age.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1998, p49
[105] Moss, *Media,* pxvii

capital.[106] There is also a phallicism in these posters, granting what literary theorist John Zuern argues is a 'privilege within the social field'[107] on the men who wield them. If there is 'no escape from the phallus'[108] for men, some of these posters positively revelled in it.

Imagining themselves handling such hardware may have comforted men coming to terms with the loss of male working spaces and adjustment of domestic gender roles taking place in post-war Britain, and which Beynon has argued, fuelled a 'nostalgia for a pre-war society in which male privilege was assured.'[109] Sociologists such as Linda McDowell have demonstrated a 'substantial increase in female labour' occurring in this period: there was a 20% increase in married female workers in the 1950s alone[110] while the 1970s saw female employment rise by a third of a million. Men lost three million full-time jobs in the same period. Not only was the workplace becoming more female, there was also a real decline in jobs for men and a loss of potential employment for the majority of boys who left school in this period with no qualifications.[111] Men held 62% of the job market in 1971 but that figure had dropped to just over 50% by 1996,[112] a period which also witnessed the highest rates of male unemployment in the UK.[113] Late 1960s decline and de-industrialisation[114] was followed by bitter 1970s industrial breakups and deteriorating labour relations.[115] Thatcher's policies on free-market economics[116] and the 1980s and 1990s demise of traditional heavy industry, including mining and

---

[106] Barrett, Frank J. 'The Organisational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: the Case of the US Navy.' In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader.* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2000, p91

[107] Zuern, John. 'The Future of the Phallus. Time, Mastery and the Male Body.' In Nancy Tuana, William Cowling, Maurice Hamington, Greg Johnson and Terrance MacMullan (eds.) *Revealing Male Bodies.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2002 p62

[108] Richardson, Diane. *Theorising Heterosexuality.* Open University Press, Maidenhead, 1996, p8

[109] Beynon, *Masculinities,* p92

[110] Brooke, *Gender,* p778

[111] McDowell, Linda. 'Learning to Serve? Employment aspiration and attitudes of young working-class men in an era of labour market restructuring.' *Gender, Place and Culture.* Vol.7, No. 4, 2000, p389

[112] MacInnes, *End,* p51

[113] McDowell, *Learning,* p393

[114] Nixon, *Hard,* p23

[115] Brooke, *Gender,* p773

[116] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p16

shipbuilding,[117] further challenged working-class masculine identities. For sociologists David Collinson and Jeff Hearn, these decades of erosion threatened one of the central tenets of 'masculine identity, status and power':[118] the importance of paid work. Working-class masculinities, which, as social historian Pat Ayres has demonstrated, had traditionally conflated work-based identities with heavy work,[119] were cored out as these traditional grafting jobs fell away.

Areas of the country traditionally sustained by heavy industry and manufacturing looked to the army recruitment office as a possible entry into the world of employment. In the period 1978-1984, the North-East, which included Country Durham, Tyne and Wear, Northumberland and parts of North Yorkshire, saw heavy job losses. 38% of the region's manufacturing jobs were lost and although multinational companies may have established themselves in the region (such as Siemens and Nissan did in North Tyneside), job security was minimal: big companies could close down operations at any time, as Fujitsu did in 1998 with the loss of 555 jobs from its County Durham plant.[120] It can be no coincidence that in 2003, 23% of the British Armed Forces were North-easterners, an astonishing figure for a region which makes up just 3.7% of the general population.[121] Social geographer Anoop Nayak, has suggested that men, 'in the absence of secure physical labour, appear attracted to an established masculine-affirmative occupation.'[122] With a career that offered long-term stability *and* affirmed a recruit's own masculinity, the army must have been doubly appealing.

[117] Beynon, *Masculinities*, p14
[118] Collinson, David & Jeff Hearn. 1996. '"Men" at "work": multiple masculinities/multiple workplaces' In Mac An Ghaill, M. (ed.). *Understanding Masculinities*. Open University Press, Buckingham, 1996, p62
[119] Ayers, Pat. 'Work, Culture and Gender: The Making of Masculinities in Post-War Liverpool' *Labour History Review.* Vol. 69, No. 2, 2004, pp155-156
[120] Nayak, Anoop. '"Boyz to Men": masculinities, schooling and labour transitions in de-industrial times.' *Educational Review,* Vol. 55, No. 2, 2003, p149
[121] North East Local Enterprise Partnership, 2021, *Population by age group*, [online.] Available at: < https://evidencehub.northeastlep.co.uk/report/population-by-age-group>, Accessed [11th April 2022]
[122] Nayak, *Boyz,* p150

As the British economy became increasingly dominated by service sector employment,[123] traditionally male environments of homosociality were disappearing. Gender theorist Christine Heward has shown how factory floors and heavy industry were 'working-class milieus which emphasised toughness and associated men with machinery.'[124] Characterised by macho performances, jokes, swearing and Page Three pinups, these spaces were disappearing. However, continuities in the demands of masculinities remained, and as traditional professions disappeared, potentially depriving men of 'an integral part' of their identity,[125] the army began to highlight the opportunities it offered for forging a masculine career. The concept of being a 'professional' within the army began to take root; it was a career that valued - and in which a man could demonstrate - traditional working-class values of strength, loyalty, humour and physical stature.[126] McDowell has drawn attention to the centrality of earning a wage to working-class masculinities[127] and so the offers of £17.50 a week[128] in 1971 or £19.53 a week[129] in 1972 must have been attractive to men fretful of their breadwinning potential and who clung onto notions of 'desk work' or work in the 'service industry' as soft or feminine.[130]

'Join The Professionals' became one of the army's key slogans of the 1960s and 1970s and the phrase appeared in eleven of the fifteen shortlisted posters from this period, (and continued onto the one poster from 1980).[131] Sometimes the message was considered powerful enough to be presented solely,[132] but frequently, there is an allusion to the loss of traditional careers for men. 1960s posters

---

[123] McDowell, *Learning,* p391

[124] Heward, Christine. 'Masculinities and Families' in M. Mac An Ghaill (ed.) *Understanding Masculinities*. Open University Press, Buckingham, 1996 p39

[125] Strate, *Beer*, p80

[126] Nayak, *Boyz,* p152

[127] McDowell, *Learning,* p389

[128] The Professionals. (1971). *The Professionals.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1971-2

[129] Take a 3-year job with the Professionals. (1972) *Take a 3-year job with the Professionals.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1972-1; Take a 3-year job with the Professionals. (1972) *Take a 3-year job with the Professionals.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1972-2

[130] Nayak, *Boyz,* p152

[131] *Peacework,* NAM item number 177-1980-2

[132] *Join the Professionals,* NAM item numbers 175-1969-2 and 175-1970-2

claimed that the army was 'one of today's great careers' [133] that offered 'first class' [134] technical training, and the chance to apply oneself to 'skilled work.' [135] One promised that 'trade unions recognise many of the army trade qualifications,' [136] a theme which continued into the 1990s with promises of a 'wide variety of craft trades and technician trades' and 'career prospects for skilled tradesmen' which were no less than 'excellent.' [137]

Some of the posters from the 'Join the Professionals' campaign demonstrably draw on a phallic power with their depictions of men operating enormous machines. Sexualities theorist Diane Richardson has discussed the centrality of the phallus to western cultural constructions of gender and sexuality, [138] and these posters make apparent the conflation of machinery with the penis. The philosophers Susan Bordo argues that like the idealised female body, the cultural fantasy of the humongous penis is something which can be drawn upon to excite the male imaginary, [139] while for Terrance MacMullan, the phallus bestows a potentiality of 'intellectual authority, political power, and cultural pre-eminence.' [140] It has regularly been used in advertising: A 1960s Chevrolet ad, for example, and highlighted by Bordo, promised the buyer of a particular car – '"the fifteen footer"' – would be '"the LONGEST of the LOT!"' [141] 'Think Tank,' [142] (figure 7) a poster from 1968, highlights the capability of the Chieftan tank, its huge gun dominating the picture, dwarfing the men behind it. Another poster, 'Five men and their 'bird,' [143] (1969) (figure 8) depicts five soldiers standing underneath a Thunderbird

---

[133] *One of Today's,* NAM item number 175-1966-2 and: The Army. One of Today's Great Careers. (1969) *The Army. One of Today's Great Careers.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1969-4

[134] *He Chose,* NAM item number 175-1966-3

[135] *Join the Professionals,* NAM item number 197-5-1969-2

[136] *The Army,* NAM item number 175-5-1969-4

[137] If you're fed up with 9 to 5 we can improve your chances. (1991) *If you're fed up with 9 to 5 we can improve your chances.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 177-1991-8

[138] Richardson, *Theorising,* p8

[139] Bordo, Susan. *The Male Body.* Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 2000 p71

[140] MacMullan, Terrance. 2002. 'Introduction. What is male embodiment?' In Nancy Tuana, William Cowling, Maurice Hamington, Greg Johnson and Terrance MacMullan (eds.) *Revealing Male Bodies.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2002, p7

[141] Bordo, *Male,* p86

[142] Think tank (1968) *Think tank.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1968-1

[143] Five men & their 'bird (1969(*Five men & their 'bird* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1969-2

surface-to-air missile. The missile may dominate the picture but the text assures us that mastery over it is easy, achieved through 'team work, skilled work.' The pun of 'bird' nods to a feminised missile which is in their control and murkily alludes to a pornographic gang-bang, these men able to assert their superiority over the female body of 'their 'bird.'[144]

Whether they were radio operatives or bridge-builders, missile technicians or helicopter engineers, men in control of machines was a constant theme of recruitment posters, and the men depicted embodied a manliness affirmed through being seen to control such hardware.[145] For men worried about the disappearance of traditional male jobs and a troubling feminisation of the job market, these images may have reassured. Offers of steady careers and technical training which began to proliferate from the mid-1960s hinted at the army as a bastion of manly work, and of being trained in, and doing work, that was skilled and recognised by trade unions. Elements of this theme were also present in 1990s posters, a period 'particularly problematic' for working-class boys who saw their options for going from school to waged work in former industries such as car manufacturing, mining, shipbuilding and steelworks closing or being reduced.[146] 'Jobs for men' must have resonated with men fearful of the end of usual industries which had promoted and perpetuated a distinct type of working-class, breadwinning masculinity.

(Homo)erotica

Advertising for men which uses the male image is fraught with homosexual potential and advertisers carefully navigated the line between the erotic and the prosaic. When the first volume of the Kinsey report was published in 1948, it exposed an unsettling fluidity of both sex and gender roles and

---

[144] Bordo, Susan. 'Reading the Male Body.' In L. Goldstein (ed.) *The Male Body. Features, Destinies, Exposures.* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1994, p274
[145] Shilling, Chris. *The Body and Social Theory.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi. 1993, p99
[146] McDowell, *Learning,* p391

ushered in a decade which recent scholarship has reviewed as neither as repressed nor restricted as previously thought. Historians Heike Bauer and Matt Cook have pointed out the disparity of the lives of everyday people with the sexual and gender conventions perpetuated by contemporary media, literature and legislation.[147] In this seemingly uncertain new world, and with men now positioned on a spectrum of potential homosexual encounters, men looking at men could be dangerously transgressive.[148] It revealed a tension between the passivity of being observed and the expectations of patriarchal dominance,[149] a power imbalance which hitherto favoured the male's gaze over the female's.[150]

Paranoia about homosexuality was heightened throughout the 1950s, exacerbated by mass-market newspapers who took an 'obsessive interest in male homosexuality.' Their 'generally hostile and sensationalist reporting' painted lurid pictures of "male degenerates" who had the power to corrupt the innocent, and who not only proliferated in London's West End but also the provincial heartlands of the nation.[151] However, Matt Houlbrook has described the pushback against the tabloid media frenzy about homosexuality that was undertaken by the broadsheets and respected weeklies.[152] Battle lines were drawn after the famous 1954 trial of Peter Wildeblood, who had received a custodial sentence after being accused of conspiracy to incite acts of gross indecency. Confessing his homosexuality in court, his case fed into the febrile atmosphere which culminated in the 1957 publication of the Wolfenden report.[153] The centre of a media storm, homosexuals seemed to be

---

[147] Bauer, Heike and Matt Cook. *Queer 1950s. Rethinking Sexuality in Postwar Years.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012

[148] Baker, Brian. *Masculinity in Fiction and Film. Representing Men in Popular Genres. 1945-2000.* Continuum Literary Studies. London & New York, 2007 p4

[149] Kirkham, Pat & Janet Thumin. 'You Tarzan' in Pat Kirkham & Janet Thumin (eds.) *You Tarzan. Masculinity, Movies and Men.* Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1993, p12

[150] Bordo, *Reading,* p286

[151] Bengry, *Queer,* p167

[152] Houlbrook, Matt and Chris Waters, '"The Heart in Exile": Detachment and Desire in 1950s London.' *History Workshop Journal.* No. 62, 2006, p145

[153] Oram, Alison. 'Love "Off the Rails" or "Over the Teacups"? Lesbian Desire and Female Sexualities in the 1950s British Popular Press.' In Heike Bauer & Matt Cook (eds.) *Queer 1950s. Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012 p43

everywhere and men looking at men - or images of them – ran the risk of being called out as one of them.

To offset the tension in representing the male body, the art historian John Berger has argued the case for a set of 'implicit cultural paradigms' of representations of gender that result in men being depicted in action and women in passive inaction. It is a convention apparent in 'both classical painting and commercial advertisements.'[154] As Bordo summarises, 'men act and women appear'[155] (as indeed both did in the aforementioned 1992 poster which, for the first time, depicted women in the same place as men). Eadweard Muybridge's 1887 photographic nudes (see figures 1 and 2) perpetuated this convention, his images depicting passive, decorous females - seemingly happy to be gazed upon – who were a sharp contrast to the active, dynamic males who were portrayed as doing *something.*[156] Demonstrations of masculine skills and endurance can therefore permit a 'safe' look at the male body,[157] disavowing any hint of passivity as they do.[158] The professional and amateur bodybuilders of magazines such as *Vim, Superman, Strength and Health* (some of which dated back to the 1900s[159]) were displayed to 'inspire sportsman-like admiration and emulation, not prurient interest.'[160] They are part of the tradition of men being portrayed as so intent on their work they are 'utterly oblivious to their beauty (or lack of it).' It is a convention present in 'everything from war paintings to jeans and cologne ads'[161] and the vast majority of posters in the collection follow this formula of showing men demonstrating some prowess, whether that be driving lorries and trucks, [162] operating radio

---

[154] Bordo, *Male,* p196
[155] Bordo, *Male,* p196
[156] Dyer, Richard. 'Don't Look Now: the Male Pin-Up.' *Screen,* Vol. 23, No. 3/4, 1982*,* pp66-67
[157] Kirkham & Thumin, *You,* p13
[158] Dyer, *Don't,* p66
[159] Aletti, Vince. 'The Masculine Mystique: Physique Magazine Photography.' *Aperture,* No. 187, 2007, p55
[160] Aletti, *Masculine,* p55
[161] Bordo, *Male,* p198
[162] Join the Regular Army (1960) *Join the Regular Army.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1960-4; Join the Regular Army (1956) *Join the Regular Army.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1956-6, Get into the driver's seat (1971) *Get into the driver's seat.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1971-1, The 3-minute bridgelayers. (19710 *The 3-minute bridgelayers* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1971-4

equipment,[163] fixing technical equipment,[164] driving tanks[165] or operating weaponry.[166] It is the

collision of masculinities present in these images - the military environment in which they take place,

the soldiers themselves as the embodiments of an 'ultimate' mode of masculinity, as well as the

masculine-coded tasks they undertake – that are enough to subsume any dangerously erotic

elements. These men can be looked at safely because they are clearly 'men' doing 'manly things' in

'manly spaces'. They never seek the viewer's approval. They embody a potential of power that

demonstrates what they are capable of doing *to* the viewer or *for* the viewer.[167]
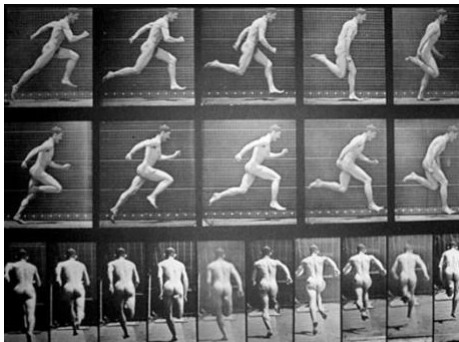
Figures 1 & 2: Muybridge's men of action and decorous women (1887)

One way to further mitigate against the male body's potential erotic power was to portray it under

stress or maimed in some way and gender theorists Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford have

discussed how committing acts of violence and being seen to do so is an easy way to signpost

manliness and attain masculine capital.[168] Violence hints at a physical hardness, a mental and physical

indifference to being scarred, and an interiorised quality gleaned after the body has been damaged.

---

[163] *One of Today's,* NAM item number 175-1966-2; *The Professionals,* NAM item number 175-1971-2
[164] *He Chose,* NAM item number 175-1966-3; *The Army,* NAM item number 175-1969-4,
[165] *Think tank,* NAM item number 175-1968-1; *Take a 3-year job,* NAM item number 175-1972-1
[166] Gunners of the '70s. (1973) *Gunners of the '70s.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 175-1973-3, Army. Protecting Britain's Future. (1993) *Army. Protecting Britain's Future.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1993-3, Infantry. (1995) *Infantry.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1995-4
[167] Bordo, *Male,* p196 & p199
[168] Chapman, Rowena & Rutherford, Jonathan. *Male Order. Unwrapping Masculinity.* Lawrence & Wishart. London, 1988, p29

These 'hard' men are not concerned with vanity and are consequently willing to risk their bodies.[169]

While only present in one recruitment poster from 1995,[170] television campaigns are full of these types of images, and often resemble war movies with their mutual narratives of 'boys becoming men, of comradeship and loyalty, of bravery and endurance, of pain and suffering, of the horror and the excitement of battle.'[171] They also portray an extreme comradeship under pressure, a 'legitimised' homosociality that is deep and enduring. In a 2008 TV advert,[172] a northern soldier, surrounded by his colleagues and in the back of a moving truck, tells us 'we always have a laugh. You've got to have a laugh. We work hard and play harder.' His colleagues agree, laughing and nodding with him. They could be men on a night out and channel a particular form of working-class masculinity characterised by what McDowell would describe as 'aggressive joking and physical camaraderie.'[173]

Of course, the challenge of presenting a uniformed male, with all of his potent erotic power is something beyond the army's control, and presentations of men in uniforms were deliberately not fetishised, speaking of their prevalence (and subsequent invisibility) within army culture. There is, after all, nothing extraordinary about seeing a soldier in a uniform. Since the Napoleonic wars, when 'men in uniform became sex objects', military uniforms have culturally permitted an idealisation of the male military frame, not only offering a 'heady alignment of heroism (and) muscularity' but also giving the wearer a titillating erotic charge, redolent of sexual prowess.[174] There is an ambivalence in a military uniform; even though they submerge the personality of their wearer within the identity of a larger collective, they have an element of machismo about them. Even though they also 'convey

---

[169] Jefferson, Tony. 'Muscle, "Hard Men" and "Iron" Mike Tyson: Reflections on Desire, Anxiety and the Embodiment of Masculinity.' *Body & Society.* Vol. 4, No.1, 1988, p81
[170] *Infantry,* NAM item number 177-1995-4
[171] Kirkham & Thumin, *You,* p126
[172] *Nurse, Infantry and Driver (2008-2009)* British Army Commercial (TV/Online/Cinema) Available at: < https://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/ca7b75c5-962f-403e-8dcd-66f6e454b288> Accessed 22nd June 2019
[173] McDowell, *Learning*, p395
[174] Craik, *Uniforms,* p36

authority and status' there is a degree of glamour attached to them.[175] It is not surprising they hold

such allure, both as agents of wish-fulfilment but also to a fashion industry which insists on regularly

revisiting and reviving them.[176] For the army, however, putting a man in a uniform in recruitment

material was a statement of being; soldiers would inevitably wear one. Uniforms are just *there*,

presented routinely, not lingered over and never the object of close-up photos or slow-pans.

Just as the presence of uniforms are de-fetishised through their depictions as ordinary and everyday,

so too is the soldier and the environments in which he operates. Indeed, recruitment materials rarely

contained elements which could be considered 'classically' homoerotic. An anodyne, 'safe' form of

manliness was usually present, even after the male body started to be used erotically in the wider

culture of the 1980s.[177] The only two examples of 'potentially erotic'[178] semi-naked bodies in the

whole collection (and both from the 1960s) are rendered safe by their context: three scuba divers in

swimming trunks all have snorkelling equipment while the main model wields a manliness-affirming

spear,[179] two topless soldiers in shorts are united in focus on the task of repairing a helicopter.[180] The

men portrayed within these pictures, emotionally detached and focussed on their tasks, are able to

enjoy each other's company without fear of transgressing any sexual boundaries.[181] These images not

only mitigate against the erotic but also confirm same-sex spaces as a feature of army life and

undoubtedly point to a commensurate - and 'safe' - homosociality.

Images of the male body, with their potential to contain a potentially troubling homoeroticism, have

always proved problematic for those who deploy them. Convention dictates that the male form is seen

---

[175] Craik, *Uniforms,* p187

[176] Craik, *Uniforms,* p39

[177] Adams & Savran, *Representations,* p263

[178] Sedgwick, Eve Kosofksy. *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.* Columbia University Press, New York & Chichester, 1985 p1

[179] *Want to Travel?* NAM item no. 175-1965-4

[180] *He chose the army,* NAM item no. 175-1966-3

[181] Bird, Sharon R. 'Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity' *Gender and Society.* Vol. 10, No. 2, 1996, p125

in action to prevent any troubling accusations of passivity or femininity, a tradition the army has resolutely maintained and images of soldiers operating machinery, intently focussed on tasks, driving vehicles or handling weapons were commonplace. Another strategy employed to assert manliness was to portray the male body under attack or being stressed. Meanwhile, 1980s objectification of the male body was completely ignored or deliberately sidestepped, and the few representations of near-nakedness in the collection were rendered safe by their masculinised environments and actions. Certain viewers may have fetishised the uniforms and the men who wear them, and indeed, may even have signed up on the basis of this frisson, but the army determinedly presents uniforms as just another everyday facet of service life, This reluctance to engage in the potential eroticism of its soldiers is perhaps a tacit admission of the potential of danger to its carefully policed sexualities such an admission would bring.

Transformations and the imaginary

For military historian David Morgan, the soldier 'still seems to be a key symbol of masculinity'[182] and representations of him harnessed for advertising purposes needed to inspire narcissistic identification. Recruitment campaigns conveyed a set of ideas about male military participation and the masculinities contained within them, representations which invited the viewer to psychically project themselves into the scenarios portrayed. Depictions of masculine traits such as 'competition…adventure-seeking…physicality…technical/rational competence' [183] - qualities which bestowed gender privilege and status[184] - were rich nourishment for both the ego and the ego ideal[185] and valuable fuel for army advertisers. Even seemingly innocuous images were redolent with elements that could trigger self-

---

[182] Morgan, David H. J. 'Theater of War. Combat, the Military and Masculinities.' In Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (eds.) *Theorizing Masculinities.* Sage Publications, London, 1994, p165

[183] Cottingham, Marci D. 'Recruiting Men, Constructing Manhood: How Healthcare Organisations Mobilise Masculinities as Nursing Recruitment Strategy.' *Gender and Society.* Vol.28, No. 1, 2014*,* p140

[184] Woodward, Rachel. 'Warrior Heroes and Little Green Men: Soldiers, Military Training and the Construction of Rural Masculinities.' *Rural Sociology.* Dec 2000, Vol. 65, No. 4, 2000, p655

[185] Easthope, *What,* p53

identification. The denoted images may have appeared obvious, but their connotations ran deeper; the mere presence of a uniform could be enough to fire the imagination, signifying 'the correspondence between psychical and physical masculinity.'[186] Cultural historian Jeffrey Schneider has noted that for the male viewer, the chance to wear a military uniform is the chance to adopt a mantle which functions 'theoretically as the stable identity of masculinity.'[187] It is clothing that bestows the sense of an inherent interiorised masculinity upon its wearer with more potency and validity than any enacted masculinity.

Fundamentally basic elements like a uniform represent an aspirational and normative heterosexuality[188] and the static five soldiers in the two aforementioned 'mannequin' posters[189] invited the viewer to have a rummage in the psychological costume box. Likewise, the single motorcyclist of a 1950 poster[190] or the motorcyclist and truck driver present in a 1960 poster[191] may have appeared simply as 'men driving vehicles' but they also served a function to permit an imagining of the viewer doing the same. The viewer too could also put on a uniform and ride a motorbike or drive a lorry; they could also be – quite literally – 'going places.' The 1969-1973 range of posters[192] which showed soldiers operating the Chieftain tank or the Thunderbird missile, hinted at the training the soldiers have received in order to operate these machines, but also inferred that the viewer too could get to play with these toys. Recruits were tempted by the chance to get their hands on 'sophisticated and hi-tech weapons'[193] in 1996.

---

[186] Schneider, Jeffrey. '"The Pleasure of the Uniform": Masculinity, Transvestism, and Militarism In Heinrich Mann's *Der Untertan* and Magnus Hirschfeld's *Die Transvestiten.' The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory.* Vol. 72, No. 3, 1997 p186
[187] Schneider, *Pleasure,* p186
[188] Craik, *Uniforms,* p202
[189] *Join the Professionals,* NAM item no. 175-1969-2, *Join the Professionals,* NAM item no. 175-1970-2
[190] It's a real man's life. (1950) *It's a real man's life.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item no. 175-1950-5
[191] *Join the regular army,* NAM item no. 175-1960-4
[192] *Think tank,* NAM item no. 175-1968-1; *Get into the driver's seat,* NAM item no. 175-1971-1, *The 3-minute bridgelayers,* NAM item no. 175-1971-4, *Gunners of the '70s,* NAM item no. 175-1973-3, *Join the Professionals,* NAM item no. 175-5-1969-2
[193] Power through performance (1996) *Power through performance.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1996-1

The army could transform your entire life, promising potential recruits new friends and new adventures. The lure of male camaraderie drew on the notion of the group as 'the dominant social context for male interaction'[194] and may have chimed with contemporary working-class men who sought solace in male companionship [195]. As hallmarks of the ideal of military masculinities, [196] teamwork and loyalty were highly prized, and posters which highlighted this aspect of army life drew on notions of masculine bonding, illuminating the process of how a soldier became part of a fighting team (and therefore, became 'a man').[197] By 1995, this teamwork was now framed as a 'whole new family,' of which membership would bring 'fun and good pay' in a 'young person's environment.' [198] A spirit of adventure and exploring new surroundings – characteristics the gender theorist George L. Mosse would traditionally define as masculine and which subtly acknowledge qualities of willpower and courage[199] - was another recurring motif. This was sometimes manifested in the theme of foreign travel, either directly highlighted (the aforementioned 'want to travel?' poster from 1965[200] is one of the more obvious examples) or more subtly inferred: the 1956 pencil sketch of tanks disembarking from a plane[201] is set in a sunny clime, palm trees and blue skies in the background. The two men fixing a helicopter against sunny blue skies[202] may well be in Britain, but the sunshine and their suntans and khaki shorts suggest they're not. 'Travel abroad' remained a selling point, even in 1995.[203]

---

[194] Strate, *Beer*, p87

[195] Beynon, *Masculinities,* p69

[196] Woodward, *Warrior,* p649

[197] Spicer, Andrew. *Typical Men. The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema.* Taurus. London & New York, 2001 p35

[198] Sport, Adventure, Social Life, (1995) *Sport, Adventure, Social Life* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 177-1995-3

[199] Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity.* Oxford University Press. London & New York, 1996 p114

[200] *Want to Travel?* NAM item no. 175-1965-4

[201] *Join the regular army,* NAM item no. 175-1956-6

[202] *He Chose the Army,* NAM item no. 175-1966-3

[203] *Sport, Adventure, Social Life,* NAM item no. 177-1995-3

'Be The Best' became the army's message from the mid-1990s as the army changed its focus from promoting professionalism to highlighting personal transformation. Military historian Antony Beever has shown how the rise of individualism in 1990s society pitched a new wave of personal ambition against an increasingly antiquated ethos of collective loyalty, making the army look increasingly out of touch with wider society.[204] Growing resistance to army traditions (wives were reluctant to give up their own careers, for example[205]) coalesced with a prioritising of individual rights over collective duties. It was a fact the army was acutely aware of, as detailed in their 1996 *Soldier's Pocket Book* which described the 'more liberal uncaring attitudes' becoming prevalent in society and which led to 'some groups of society' rejecting or reducing the values of loyalty and self-discipline prized by the army.[206] The army - as the 'ultimate expression of the state'[207] - with its unerring demands of acceptance of authority and a relinquishing of personal control - became 'just another career choice,'[208] and not necessarily a particularly attractive one. Additionally, it may be no coincidence that in countries with a large female labour force the ideology of the male breadwinner all but collapses in terms of popular support.[209] Therefore, if young men were less attracted to the notion of the breadwinner status and the link between 'masculinity and the wage has been eroded'[210] then different qualities needed to be promoted and it is the motif of personal metamorphosis which came to the fore.

First used in 1994, 'Be the Best' was 'designed to encourage the aspirations of potential recruits and offer them the chance to stand out.'[211] Becoming your best was something the army enabled if you

[204] Beevor, Antony. 2000. 'The Army and Modern Society.' In Hew Strachan (ed.) *The British Army: Manpower and Society in the Twenty-First Centuries.* Frank Cass, Abingdon, 2000, p64
[205] Beevor, *Army,* p64
[206] Ministry of Defence, *A Soldier's Pocket Book,* Military Pocket Books, Beverley, 1995, p5
[207] Beevor, *Army,* p71
[208] Beevor, *Army,* p64
[209] MacInnes, *End,* p53
[210] Westwood, Sallie. '"Feckless fathers": Masculinities and the British state.' In Mac An Ghaill, M. (ed.) *Understanding Masculinities*. Open University Press, Buckingham, 1996, p25
[211] Johnston, *Charting* [online]

were 'fed up of the old routine,'[212] or 'fed up with 9 to 5.'[213] Tellingly, contemporary US recruitment materials also pushed this motif with their 'Be all you can be' campaign.[214] The army's ability to mould recruits into soldiers was promised: 'if you've got the drive, we'll steer you in the right direction.'[215] It was now about 'looking for a change' and taking 'a new route to work.'[216] One poster (figure 9) has a symbolic representation of a magic door, as four soldiers wait to parachute from a plane. If the viewer is feeling 'boxed in' then they should follow the arrow and 'Try this door.'[217] Opening it will transform their life, 'subject to eligibility,' of course.

The people left behind will never have the experience that the army has to offer. The two friends of *Frank,*[218] the star of a 1992-1993 TV commercial, sit in a drab café. 'I see Frank joined the army then,' says one of them with a Birmingham accent. 'What for?' replies his friend. The answer can be found in a series of high-octane sequences set against a 1990s techno soundtrack: Frank is cross-country skiing, jumping and slaloming down a hill, Frank is running through explosions in camouflage gear while helicopters fly overhead, Frank is windsurfing, Frank is abseiling down a cliff. 'Someone's got to do it,' says one of his friends wistfully. The last image of Frank is him in long-shot, walking hand-in-hand with a girl along a sun-kissed beach. The message is clear: Frank has joined a life filled with 'adventure and excitement' and left his friends behind. Frank has even got the girl: just like 'the *Lynx* effect,' the army could apparently do wonders for your (hetero)sexual prowess.

---

[212] *If you're fed up,* NAM item no. 177-1991-8; Wouldn't you rather be half way around the world than half way to work? (1992) *Wouldn't you rather be half way around the world than half way to work?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1992-2
[213] *If you're fed up,* NAM item no. 177-1991-8
[214] Vigorito, Anthony & Timothy J. Curry. 'Marketing Masculinity: Gender Identity and Popular Magazines' *Sex Roles.* Vol. 39, Nos. 1/2, 1998 p148
[215] Become an Army Apprentice. (1991) *Become an Army Apprentice.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 177-1991-9
[216] Army Careers Information Office, 1992, *Wouldn't you rather be at action stations instead of underground stations?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1992-4
[217] Feel Boxed In? (1996) *Feel Boxed In?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1996-4
[218] *Frank (1992-1993)* British Army Commercial (TV/Online/Cinema) Available at: <http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/140689d1-073d-4742-901d-a4b119c94e9a> {Accessed. 22nd June 2019}

Literally transforming the viewer's experience by placing them in the heart of the experience, point-of-view filming became commonplace in campaigns from the mid-1990s as the army was influenced by the video game industry. Since this industry offered its consumers a chance to psychically immerse themselves in virtual worlds and who were from a 'certain male demographic,'[219] it was a market ripe for recruitment. Gaming allowed access to worlds violent in nature, and in the final months of 2004, the best-selling video games in the UK included such titles such as *Grand Theft Auto, Mortal Kombat, Call of Duty: Finest Hour, Halo2* and *The Getaway: Black Monday.*[220] These games were redolent of 'traditional notions and ideals of masculinity'[221] and offered gamers an arena where masculinities could be promoted and femininities rejected through the creation of fictional, macho identities,[222] whose hypermasculinity, sociologist Debbie Ging has argued, gave them a subversive and subcultural appeal.[223] Psychologist Jeroen Jansz has shown how such characters held emotional resonance for adolescent players, insecure about their own identities and the emotionality of masculinity.[224] Through performances of violence, players could win victories and transform themselves into heroes and leaders, with the 'combatant archetype'[225] – the soldier - one of the most potent and popular.

The gamers who played at being soldiers virtually were an appealing demographic, its core audience of male adolescents and young adults, the 'most devoted players of violent video games.'[226] By 2009, online gaming and army recruitment merged together for the 'Start thinking soldier' campaign[227]

---

[219] Moss, *Media,* p125

[220] Jansz, Jeroen 'The Emotional Appeal of Violent Video Games for Adolescent Males.' *Communication Theory.* Vol. 15, No. 3, 2005, p219

[221] Moss, *Media,* p126

[222] Sanford, Kathy and Leanna Madill. 'Resistance through Video Game Play: It's a Boy Thing.' *Canadian Journal of Education.* Vol. 29, No. 1, 2006, p297

[223] Ging, Debbie. 'A "Manual on Masculinity"? The consumption and use of mediated images of masculinity among teenage boys in Ireland.' *Irish Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 14, No. 2, 2005, p43

[224] Jansz, *Emotional,* p230

[225] Moss, *Media,* p127

[226] Jansz, *Emotional,* p220

[227] *On the Road (2009-2010)* British Army Commercial (TV/Online/Cinema) Available at: <http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/ce04569b-3b43-40b6-9d6d-59021fe29ae7> {Accessed 22nd June 2019} or *Factory (2009-2010)* British Army Commercial (TV/Online/Cinema) Available at: <http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/ac68f5df-0cbb-47c9-8bb6-dfea9edecfa3> {Accessed 22nd June 2019}

whose adverts acted as an invitation to visit the army's website and play online games, simulated exercises which tasked the viewer's 'army skills online' and would have joined the number of violent games proliferating at the time.[228] The associated TV ads – images of 'armed men running to the sound of chaos'[229] - contain fast-moving, bewildering *Call of Duty* action, glamorous enough to inspire complaints to the Advertising Standards Agency (ASA) who decried their 'likening (of) war to playing a video game.'[230] The perspective in *On the Road* (2009) is from a gun turret on the back of a speeding vehicle, part of some desert convoy seen travelling at night and day. A colleague turns to the viewer and says 'this looks dodgy. Let's dismount and get better eyes on.' The first-person perspective places the viewer running with a gun before coming across an abandoned car, seen through the gun's sights. 'It could be a roadside bomb' we are told before being asked which choice to make: send in a patrol, detour around it or blow it up (accompanied by a shot of the car exploding as seen through the gun's sights). 'It's your mission. It's online. Start thinking soldier' a voice tells the viewer. The influence of first-person games on these adverts is obvious, the virtual transformation they enabled the ultimate expression of activated narcissistic identification.

Self-transformation – either through the acquisition of new skills and training - or being placed in new geographical locations - was one of the main mobilisation tools that army recruitment drew upon, either overtly or implicitly. Seemingly innocuous elements of army life such as wearing a uniform or riding a motorcycle can inspire narcissistic identification. Point of view filming later took viewer identification to its extreme, allowing viewers to virtually transform themselves into online soldiers. The journey from being one of 'the professionals' to 'being the best' is laden with promises of technical expertise, the camaraderie of colleagues, adventures in exotic climes, and a chance to escape the

---

[228] Jansz, *Emotional,* p219
[229] Allsep, *Myth,* p382
[230] Ramsay, Fiona, 2009, *Army forced to defend 'Start thinking soldier' campaign after consumer backlash.* [online]. Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/army-forced-defend-start-thinking-soldier-campaign-consumer-backlash/921385> [Accessed 30th November 2019]

everyday. Those left behind are the ones missing out; not only on this exhilarating or affirming life but also missing out on the opportunity of cementing their masculinity.

Conclusion

Advertisers use images in very specific ways to inspire viewers to psychologically invest in a product or institution and then to buy into it. For over sixty years, the British Army has utilised a particular set of images and themes to promote itself and to inspire narcissistic investment on the part of (typically male) viewers. For these viewers, the soldiering portrayed was psychically accessible, whether they were soldiers inviting them to try on their various uniforms, or imagining themselves playing at soldiers with other men like them, whatever their economic backgrounds. It is an institution at ease with promoting its own transformative nature, whether that transformation be a new group of friends, a new 'family' or adventures in sunny climes. This transformative capability became one of the staples of army advertising after the 1990s, finding its ultimate expression in point of view filming and gaming experiences.

National Service-era materials were basic snapshots of army life that were crudely sketched and whose primary appeal was the representation of them being 'a man's life,' designed to appeal to men who had sensed that their traditional modes of manliness were under threat and under the assumption they missed the homosocial environment of a war not long finished. But with the advent of voluntary conscription, new strategies – products of a burgeoning advertising industry - had to be adopted in order to appeal to a young man who now had more spending power and freedoms than his father could have imagined. The lure of adventures in exotic locations, the promise of a 'great career,' long holidays and excitement were foregrounded, elements of which are still promoted to this day.

Considering the institution is known for its steadiness and solidity, it is not surprising the desirable forms of manhood presented were remarkably uniform: the same tropes, the same poses and the same types of men repeated over the years, studiously ignored wider fashionable trends. The 1980s fetishisation and increased visibility of the naked male body, and the decade's explosion of multiple possible masculinities which culminated in the metropolitan New Man, did not find their way into the army's remit. The backlash against the New Man, and the resultant figure of the New Lad, meant that the army had for the first time come into line with wider advertising trends, or conversely, that the media had caught up with a self-aware institution that had constantly presented this everyday, knockabout, this-could-be-your-pal version of masculinity.

The army addressed the potential homoeroticism of its imagery in a number of ways. By according with conventions of representations of femininity and masculinity – where masculinity is presented as active and doing *something* - the heteronormative manliness of soldiers portrayed in images is never uncertain. Soldiers operating equipment, intently fixing complicated looking machinery, driving or operating heavy vehicles, or handling weaponry obviated any potential accusations of femininity and permitted a 'safe' viewing of these images. Elsewhere, male bodies under stress or strain was another deployed tactic, the subject's ability to cope under duress affirming once again their masculinity. Uniforms were presented as a prosaic feature of army life, never fetishized or lingered over, while the few representations of near-nakedness were rendered safe by being placed in an ultra-masculine context or being shown engaged in an ultra-masculine task.

For over sixty years the army has attempted to appeal to its primarily male audience by constantly showing a series of consistent images. Repetition of tropes such as the everyman and men using technology has revealed a type of military manhood which was both attainable and desirable. Once the work of advertising was done and those new soldiers recruited however, they needed training, undergoing the process of transformation as well as garnering the masculine capital which the army's

advertising had promised them. How that was expedited will be unearthed in the next chapter which steps through the wired gates of an army base and enters a world alien and all-encompassing, a world that seeks to strip away individual personalities and create the embodiment of the ultimate in manhood: the soldier.

Figure 3: Adventure and Excitement! (1965)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 4: The everyman in all his glory (1960)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 5: Which costume will you choose? (1969)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 6: Which costume will you choose? (1970)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 7: Men and machinery. (1968)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 8: Men and machinery. (1969)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 9: Follow the magic door (1991)
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Chapter Two – 'You can run, but you can't hide!'[1] Masculinities in Basic Training.

On a cold February day in 1960 two soldiers are hanging upside down, their rifles and rucksacks dangling from their backs as they pull themselves along a horizontal rope. Their hands are bared to the elements, their faces marked with concentration, the skeletal trees behind them framing their efforts.[2] The same year sees a nondescript room with official notices peppering the walls, and in it, four new recruits receive their first rifles. It is a room filled with grins: a paternal smile from the superior officer handing the weapon over, its bayonet catching the light as he does so, and a grateful, excited smile from one of the recruits as his hand reaches out for it.[3] And again in 1960, twenty two figures emerge from the smoke of shells bursting around them, their features dissolved into silhouettes but their outlines detailed enough to discern the greenery attached to their helmets for camouflage.[4] On another grey, wintry day, this time in 1999, twelve new recruits are running through a military camp. For some of them it is effortless, but some struggle at the back, their faces red, their fatigues covered in sweat. A superior officer runs alongside one of them, bellowing words into his ear.[5]

Images and films such as these depict elements of Basic Training, a key part of a soldier's career and one which comes loaded with preconceptions born of the numerous films and television serials which have portrayed the experience as 'endless rounds of drill, chow, drill, run, chow, instruction, drill, exercise, drill, march, chow, drill and sleep.'[6] War films have fetishised the process of how a man 'becomes a man,'[7] and with a history of gender-separated training regimes, this was a process

---

[1] Astor, Des (Major), *The Official ARRSE Guide to the British Army.* Kindle Edition, 2011, Location 2094

[2] *Assault course training.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-314

[3] *Issue of rifles to recruits.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-292

[4] *Photograph of recruits on land exercise.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-299

[5] *Soldiers To Be: A New Life,* (1999), BBC, August. Available at: https://youtu.be/LWWhBxvT-ms (Accessed 3rd March 2021) 17:25

[6] Ricks, Thomas E. *Making the Corps.* Scribner, New York. 1997 p73

[7] Spicer, Andrew. *Typical Men. The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema.* I.B. Taurus. London & New York. 2001 p35

undertaken by men in the company of other men. Situated in masculinist environments, training recruits was undertaken in the context of the very specific gendered identity of the soldier, a figure at the apex of wider civilian masculinities. He is a figure who embodies the qualities which the army sees in itself: it is an institution 'challenging and hard-working' like its soldiers, themselves 'imbued with adventure and a sense of pride in serving one's country.'[8] The ethos of Basic Training may have changed, from the 'beasting' of recruits which could easily slip into bullying and harassment, to modern-day training which achieves results as often through encouragement and support,[9] but the intrinsic process has remained the same. Despite official doctrine decreeing that 'the quest to improve training must be continuous and unending,'[10] it is astonishing how many continuities can be drawn across the decades.

The political commentators William Arkim and and Lynne R. Dobrofsky have highlighted the unique status military training possesses when it comes to socialising young adults who are midway between adolescence and adulthood.[11] Psychiatrist Peter Bourne, discussing the training of US soldiers for Vietnam, has highlighted the 'initiation rite' aspect of training, one which he argues has 'particular appeal to the late adolescent struggling to establish a masculine identity for himself in society.'[12] With new recruits typically being aged between seventeen and twenty years old,[13] (with some recruits being just sixteen and a half[14]) military training acts as a bridge from one state of being to another. For Corporal Steve McMenamy, speaking in 1999, new recruits are 'not adults really'[15] and beginning

---

[8] Atherton, Stephen. 'Domesticating military masculinities: home, performance and the negotiation of identity.' *Social & Cultural Geography,* Vol. 10, No. 8, December 2009, p822

[9] Astor, *Official,* Location 2122

[10] Army Doctrine Publication. (1997). *Army Field Manual, Volume One. Training for Operations.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 4, p. 1-1, section 1

[11] Arkim, William & Lynne R. Dobrofsky. 'Military Socialization and Masculinity'. *Journal of Social Issues.* Vol. 34, No. 1, 1978, p151

[12] Holmes, Richard. *Acts of War: the Behaviour of Men in Battle.* Cassell Military, London, 2004, p45

[13] Arkim & Dobrofsky, *Military*, p151

[14] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 01:53

[15] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 01:53

training marks a 'a critical period in a man's life.'[16] Often described as a process of 'stripping away' a civilian identity, one of my interviewees, Robert R, himself now a Major, commented that 'there's always talk about the fact about breaking you down and building you up sort of thing, which is over-simplifying it massively, but there is an element of that.'[17] Moreover, the process of training, and successful completion of it, gives the trainee a heightened sense of their own masculinity.[18]

This chapter looks at Basic Training (or Phase 1 Training), which covered the initial training of 'basic individual and team skills'[19] and which all soldiers had to undertake with surprising consistency across the decades. The chapter details the expectations laid on recruits and which were expressed in various official training publications, and shows how training occurred in all-consuming environments which took young people, broke down their civilian identities and then reconstructed them as soldiers.[20] The chapter also considers the masculinist nature of military culture and the standards and expectations masculinism promoted. Attaining the skills and knowledge to successfully transition into a solder allowed recruits to attain 'full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community'[21] but successful performance was achieved not only through the practicalities of training and discipline.[22] Recruits needed to learn how to negotiate and then reproduce in themselves the gendered identities[23] which military culture prescribed. The chapter then considers the homosocial environment in which military training occurred and the expectations and boundaries of such environments, unlocking the resources available to recruits to successfully live up to the expected standard.

---

[16] Duncanson, Claire. 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics.* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2009, p64
[17] Robert Ridley, interviewed by author, London, interview November 29, 2019.
[18] Fox, John & Bob Pease. 'Military Deployment, Masculinity and Trauma: Reviewing the Connections.' *The Journal of Men's Studies*. Vol 20, No. 1, 2012, p26
[19] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 8-1, section 2a
[20] Duncanson, *Forces,* p65
[21] Lave, Jean & Etienne Wenger. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, p29
[22] Atherton, *Domesticating,* p822
[23] Woodward, Rachel. *Military Geographies.* Blackwell Publishing. Malden, Oxford, Victoria, 2004 p118

Like chapter one, this chapter is grounded in visual materials. Thirty three black and white photographs in the National Army Museum's collection which depict aspects of Basic Training within the Queen's Royal Surrey Regiment act as a counterpoint to the 1999 BBC Television series, *Soldiers to Be*. The Royal Surrey photographs are part of a wider collection of photographs authorised by the Central Office of Information who documented the regiments and corps of the British Army between c.1950 and c.1969. Some of the pictures have a 'War Office Reproduction Services' stamp on the back of them, suggesting they were officially sanctioned. Although the museum has these documents as listed from *around* 1960, some of the pictures contain clues which confirm this detail. The bare leaves on the trees in one of the pictures suggests the pictures were taken during winter, and another, which shows some soldiers looking at the canteen's menu for the day, reveals the date 1st February 1960 clearly chalked on it. Another picture has a neatly typed label on its reverse stating that the image was from September 1960. One final clue is a typed label on the back of each photograph which has a potted history of the regiment which informs the reader that the regiment was created through the amalgamation of the Queen's Royal Regiment and the East Surrey Regiment in October 1959 which would suggest the collection contains an element of wanting to record this fledgling regiment in its first movements. 1960 places these new recruits at the end of the National Service period and this chapter will stress the continuities present in 1960 are also present nearly forty years later.

These continuities were not unnoticed by the television reviewers of the other main source for this chapter, the 1999 BBC Television series, *Soldiers to Be.* This BBC production was a seven part serial released at a time when the ethos of army training was changing to a more supportive and nuanced approach. Nevertheless, its depiction of the army training experience raised eyebrows. Peter Barnard, the television critic for *The Times,* reviewing the show on 18th August 1999, was struck by the series' 'almost old-fashioned' quality, feeling that it gave a sense of 'watching an old film about National Service'. He suspected that viewers who undertook National Service would find 'plenty to jog the memory here' and he was struck how the series shone a light on an institution somewhat 'separated

from the population it serves'. He advised viewers to have the volume control 'close at hand' since once above the rank of private, superiors were entitled to 'speak to people in capital letters' before regaling readers with an expletive-laden quote.[24] Joe Joseph, also writing in *The Times* was more struck by the series revealing 'just how little the Army's thinking had changed'. Wider society may have tried to modernise itself but it seemed 'the Army takes pride in being as bloody and brutal as it has been for centuries'. Joseph described the series as 'shocking' in its depiction of the 'more or less familiar abuse and petty rules that shape a squaddie's life.'[25]

As in chapter one, the photographs drawn upon for this chapter are images of white men at work and at play, while the television documentaries – although now including images of women – are still predominantly white. It could be argued that the 1999 series is merely reflecting the minority status of ethnic minority soldiers (one per cent of the army's corpus were from ethnic minorities when filming) but the trainees whose stories are followed are white. Ethnic minority faces are televisual wallpaper; the focus is still on white experiences. The viewer could also be forgiven for thinking that the Royal Surrey Regiment was exclusively white in 1960. The soldiers who are depicted arriving at the camp for training, being registered, being laughed at while being registered, receiving their uniforms and kit, having their regulation haircuts, undergoing various training exercises, and enjoying the homosociality of army life are all white. The viewer, however, would be incorrect.

Nestled in the collection, there is one Black face, a Black soldier getting a meal among a queue of white faces[26] (figure 10). He, and the two white men he stands between, are looking candidly at the camera. The picture shows us that there was at least one Black soldier in the regiment at this time. The images,

[24] Barnard, P. (1999) Raw recruits are placed in television's firing line. *The Times.* 18 August 1999. [Online] Available at < https://www.gale.com/intl/c/the-times-digital-archive> [Accessed 18 March 2021]

[25] Joseph, J. (1999) The Army wants you, even if society doesn't. *The Times,* 4 august 1999. [Online] Available at <https://www.gale.com/intl/c/the-times-digital-archive> [Accessed 18 March 2021]

[26] *Photograph of recruits at meal time.* 1960. [Photograph] At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-1440-310

never taken for public consumption, try their best to hide this fact. The fact that the one Black face

depicted in the collection is doing something as innocuous as getting a meal is telling. To see a Black

soldier, or a soldier from any other ethnic minority, successfully accomplishing the rituals of training

or physical fitness, would diminish the notion of the 'infallibility' of white superiority. To see a Black

soldier, or a soldier from any other ethnic minority, socialising with white soldiers would reveal the lie

of the army as an exclusively white homosocial space. The knowledge that there was an informal

colour bar on ethnic minority soldiers at this time[27] makes the decision to excise a Black face from the

majority of images troubling and reveals an institutional mindset which favoured the white soldier and

which only considered the white soldier's promotion.

Figure 10 – Mealtime
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

---

[27] Healy, Michael Scott. *Empire, Race and War: Black Participation in British Military Efforts During the Twentieth Century.* [Online] PhD for Loyola University, Chicago. 1998 Downloaded from: [https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4737&context=luc_diss] {Accessed 23rd March 2022} p270

My own oral history interviews are also drawn upon in the chapter, as are official army publications from the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. I was unable to source any after 2000 because of security considerations and despite approaching several military archives, could not access anything from the 1960s or 1970s. Two Army Doctrine Publications from the mid-1990s made plain the expectations and standards of Basic Training for those training recruits. Publications for soldiers, *The Military Covenant* from 2000 and the 1995 edition of *A Soldier's Pocket Book,* demonstrated what Basic Training would require and instil to the recruits themselves. The Ministry of Defence 1981 manual, *Training for War,* explicated the Common Military Syllabus recruits underwent. The recollections of training told in military autobiographies also pepper the chapter, the authors' experiences echoing the voices of my own oral history interviewees whose stories of Basic Training were predictably similar. They speak of an ethos that was unchanged and whose core tenets remained the same, creating through the years soldiers cast in a specific military mould. The chapter then concludes with a consideration of what happens when such environments become problematic and even dangerous, the tragic deaths of four soldiers at the Deepcut Barracks bringing the chapter into the twenty-first century, and suggesting the continuities witnessed in 1960 spread their tendrils deep into the present.

What was Basic Training?

According to the 1997 *Army Field Manual's* section on 'Training for Operations', training was the 'Army's most important activity'[28] and initial training represented the first stage of a 'continuous and progressive process'[29] in which a soldier and their military identity were formed. The 1981 *Training for War* manual asserted that the role of Basic Training was twofold: to 'develop the recruit's physique and spirit' and to ground the recruit in 'general military skills which will prepare him for the special-

---

[28] Army Doctrine Publication. *Army Field Manual,* p. 1-1, section 1
[29] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 1-1, section 13:b

to-arm training which will follow.'[30] The *Army Field Manual* stated that the role of Basic Training was to instil 'skill with arms and the power to move in formed bodies without confusion', a stage in a soldier's career which created a 'physical efficiency.'[31] The manual stressed the need for training to be 'challenging and interesting', in order to maintain the enthusiasm of recruits[32] and specified that training regimes had been designed to 'increase skills and confidence, not undermine' them.[33] It highlighted training's ability to bring order to disorder and to calm the chaos which lurks beneath the surface by arguing that without proper training, 'numbers, even when organised, tend to produce confusion and consequent disaster.'[34] The 1996 *Army Pocket Book* informed its readers that training to be a soldier involved learning how to become a 'disciplined, well turned out and organised individual.'[35]

The teaching of these subjects were part of a regime designed to turn recruits into soldiers, a process which the Ministry of Defence warned would not 'happen overnight. Just getting dressed'[36] in a uniform, after all, would not turn civilians into soldiers. The fetishisation of that uniform and its obsessive maintenance would be one of the bridges to cross in order to expedite this transformation. Further additional milestones aided the recruit's personal journey and made the recruit feel an accepted and proven part of the wider institutional whole.[37] Successful completion of milestones enabled the recruit to compare himself favourably to his colleagues and appreciate the distinctiveness of the organisation to which he belonged.[38] The pride is evident in the smiles on the faces of the

---

[30] Ministry of Defence. (1981). *Training for War. Pamphlet No. 2 – Individual Training.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 16, p3-1, section 0301
[31] Army Doctrine Publication. (1996). *Volume 4. Training.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 15*,* p.vii, section 4
[32] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 1-1, section 13:d
[33] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 1-1, section 13:d
[34] Army Doctrine Publication. *Training*, p.vii, section 3
[35] Ministry of Defence, *A Soldier's Pocket Book,* Military Pocket Books, Beverley, 1995 p18
[36] Woodward, Rachel. '"It's a Man's Life!": Soldiers, Masculinity and the Countryside.' *Gender, Place and Culture. A Journal of Feminist Geography*. Vol. 5, No. 3, 1998, p292
[37] Jenkins, Richard. *Social Identity.* Routledge, London. 2004, p151
[38] Hogg, Michael A. & Deborah J. Terry. 'Social Identity and Self-Categorisation Processes in Organisational Contexts.' *The Academy of Management Review.* Vol. 25, No. 1, 2000 p122

recruits being issued their first rifles in one of the Royal Surrey photographs (figure 11).[39] Passing the first drill inspection was also something new recruits yearned for, and the receipt of their first cap badge was a source of pride, a visible marker of themselves as a fledgling soldier.[40] 'You've earned it, haven't you? Your badge is your pride of your regiment and it's something to be earned,'[41] explained one of the recruits in *Soldiers to be,* his satisfaction tangible. Such transformations could happen quickly; one recruit, returning from his first weekend on leave, discussed his new sense of self in 1999:

> People say I've changed and it's only been about three weeks, something like that. They say, "no, you've changed, you've changed a lot" so god knows what I'm gonna be like when I get out after all this... I've got more confidence, they said I've got more confidence for things like when I walk into a nightclub, one of the bouncers asked me how old I were. "25."[42]

Such feelings were officially actively encouraged in new recruits as they gave the trainee 'the chance to show himself off to his family and to his former civilian friends.'[43]

These milestones were part of a process which not only created soldiers but also created soldiers who *felt* like soldiers. New recruits had to be absorbed into a military way of life that had to quickly become second nature.[44] Requiring absolute commitment from its members, the army governed recruits' lives to the nth degree and exemplifies what sociologists have labelled as a 'total institution' or a 'greedy institution.' For sociologist, Lewis A. Coser, who coined the term 'greedy institution' in 1974, such institutions required an 'exclusive and undivided loyalty'[45] from their members and subsumed them

---

[39] *Issue of rifles,* 1960, NAM item no. 9210-144-292

[40] *Soldiers To Be*: *Drill,* (1999), BBC. Available at: https://youtu.be/ZAbvNM5O9CU (Accessed 3rd March 2021)

[41] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 07:45

[42] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 03:28

[43] MOD, *Training,* p. 3-2, section 0304

[44] Soeters, Joseph, 'Organizational Cultures in the Military' in G. Caforio and M. Nuciari (eds.) *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research*, Online edition, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71602-2_13> p251

[45] Coser, Lewis A. *Greedy Institutions. Patterns of Undivided Commitment.* The Free Press, New York, 1974, p4

in order to successfully mould them into legitimate and functioning members of that organisation.[46]

Meanwhile, sociologist Erving Goffman defined a total institution as a:

> Place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from
> the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally
> administered round of life[47]

which is an apt description of a military training camp. Military sociologist Joseph Soeters has described how military institutions not only directed new recruits to the internal workings of military life, but in doing so, also accentuated their growing alienation from the civilian world,[48] a separation realised by the 'locked doors, high walls, (and) barbed wire'[49] common to military camps. The confusing barrage of rules and regulations alienated further, the assumptions behind them rarely made explicit.[50] Despite internal documentation stressing in 1981 that new recruits 'must be treated with a blend of firmness and sympathy'[51] the soundtrack of 'nonstop stream of barked orders and sarcastic comments'[52] marked out the hierarchical frameworks recruits operated in and embedded in the soldier's mind information about the military institution, their place within it, and the expectations placed upon them. What follows is what Goffman would term a mortification of the self.[53]

---

[46] Coser, *Greedy*, p4

[47] Goffman, Erving. *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, 1971 p11

[48] Soeters, *Organizational*, p252

[49] Goffman, *Asylums*, p15

[50] Hockey, John. '"Head down, Bergen on, Mind in Neutral": The Infantry Body.' *Journal of Political and Military Sociology,* Vol. 30, No. 1, 2002 p149

[51] MOD, *Training,* p.3-1, section 0302

[52] Ricks, *Making*, p73

[53] Goffman, *Asylums*, p55

Figure 11 – Issuing of rifles
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Through a series of 'abasements, degradations, humiliations and profanations of self' the recruit's

morality shifted, aligning itself with the military ethos.[54] Incidents established the recruit as being at

the mercy of the whims of their superiors, from unexpected and disruptive room inspections at 2am

to – like the new recruits in *Soldiers to be* – having their cupboards and drawers ransacked and

emptied.[55] Recruits were 'regarded as scum by all,'[56] treated 'like shit'[57] and their lowly status

reaffirmed by the insistence on verbalising statements of rank with their superiors.[58] One of the first

instructions the new recruits in *Soldiers to be* receive was to 'do exactly as you're told. Keep your

mouth shut and listen carefully,'[59] before being advised to 'stand tall, stick your chin out, and take'[60]

---

[54] Goffman, *Asylums*, p24
[55] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 35:37
[56] Denmark, Edward. *Not for Queen and Country: a no-holds barred account of life as a British soldier.* Digital Edition, Adam Sykes 8 CH60 7SZ UK, 2016, Location 365
[57] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p824
[58] Denmark, *Not*, Location 345
[59] Soldiers to be, *A New Life*, 16:43
[60] Soldiers to be, *A New Life*, 17:07

111

whatever punishment was coming their way. Such punishments could range in intensity: soldiers who failed kit inspections, for tiny transgressions such as the presence of a 'speck of dust', could see their kit thrown out of the window, a process that was 'soul destroying.'[61] Other punishments could be 'brutal': a mistake in drill could result in a smack over the head from the drill sergeant's pace stick (a 'heavy wooded instrument capped with brass'[62]). Recruits who failed kit and room inspections could find themselves sent to the guardroom for a 'beasting', a process that involved 'sit-ups, press-ups and being run around to the point of collapse.'[63] Sarah E, a trans-female soldier I interviewed, recalled a soldier who had committed an offence being asked '"top, middle or bottom"' by his corporal. When he replied with '"middle",' 'he got a gut punch and it just felled him.'[64]

Another of my interviewees, Trevor S, became a PT instructor in 1979. Although he was training soldiers at working regiments, his experience as an instructor speaks of the contemporary military culture which lionised physical fitness and in which bullying and aggression was everyday. In order to qualify as an instructor he had to undergo 'very strenuous PT and confidence building assault course sessions'. Along with the other Akais (the army's nickname for PT instructors) he ran sports sessions and physical fitness training, and conducted gym fitness tests and battle fitness tests. Interestingly, he hated attending the Advanced Instructors' Course at Aldershot for reasons which point to a culture of aggression from superiors, regardless of levels of training:

> The attitude of the Corps staff was horrendous and we were, as far as I was concerned, treated in much the same way as I had been in basic Army training; like pieces of shit to be trodden down at every available opportunity.[65]

[61] Denmark, *Not*, Location 381
[62] Denmark, *Not*, Location 365
[63] Denmark, *Not*, Location 381
[64] Sarah Ellis, interviewed by author, London, interview May 19, 2020.
[65] Skingle, Trevor. Email to author. 6 January 2022

These attitudes suggest a culture in which the abuse of power held influence. Although he had 'partially expected' it, Trevor S 'didn't expect it (to) the degree that it happened on the Advanced Course I attended'. There was an 'unspoken acceptance that a PT Instructor's word was law and that they were gods'. Some of the punishments meted out to trainees included

> Forcing someone to do 50 press ups while standing on their shoulders or trying to make someone do something so physically extreme that they were unable to do it and were left either in tears or collapsed.[66]

He concluded that 'old school military discipline', the idea that 'directions were followed without questioning and completed as soon as possible'[67] was the driver for such behaviours.

Trevor's experiences point to a culture which had a degree of an expectation of violence and in which violence and its potentiality was seen as a marker of successful manhood. Such a culture was a part of the institutional discourse of expected masculinities in the army, and this discourse, along with the gendered division of labour into which the army subscribed until 2018, *and* the geography of army spaces – whether sex-shared or sex-separated - have shaped (and continue to shape) gender expectations within the military.[68] The history of relatively few female recruits has meant that military spaces were historically designed for men to live in close proximity to each other and military identities were formed in the company of men and under the scrutiny of men. As Robert R explained, 'you sort of live and work on top of each other and particularly in that training environment, you're sort of working all the time…. So you're very much in each other's pockets all the time.'[69] The male nature of soldiering was present in the 2000 edition of the *Military Covenant,* which – despite the 1992

---

[66] Skingle, Trevor. Email to author. 6 January 2022
[67] Skingle, Trevor. Email to author. 6 January 2022
[68] Woodward, Rachel and Trish Winter. *Sexing the Soldier. The politics of gender and the contemporary British Army.* Routledge, London & New York, 2007. (Published on the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2007)*,* p3
[69] Robert Ridley interview

integration of female soldiers who would also have read it – still solely referenced male soldiers. It informed recruits that soldiers had to believe 'the cause for which he fights is worthy of the sacrifices he is called upon to make.'[70] It reminded its readers that 'men are swayed by reason as well as emotion' and that ultimately, 'Man is still the first weapon of war,'[71] his skills honed in spaces inhabited mainly by men.

Masculine spaces

Military spaces were constructed via gender theorist Judith Butler's heterosexual matrix, the assumptions of which include the hierarchical constructions of masculinity and femininity. [72] Philosopher Michel Foucault argues these constructions 'actively determine social relations and create subject positions,'[73] mapping sexualised relations of power onto spaces, which in turn, are mapped onto the bodies occupying these spaces.[74] The repetition of bodily practices by these bodies further engrains gendered assumptions, forming identities which reflect this bodily and spatial gendering.[75] Social geographer Steve Atherton, has argued further that within these spaces, a particular 'cultural repertoire of masculinities'[76] were drawn upon, contingent on temporality and geography.[77] It is a combination of these, occurring in a feedback loop, which makes soldiers, soldiers:[78] the more one successfully performs the gendered being of a solider, the more one starts to feel, think and behave like a soldier, and in doing so consolidates the gendered rules and expectations of the spaces in which

---

[70] Army Doctrine Publication. (2000). *Soldiering. The Military Covenant.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 15, p. 3-2, section 4

[71] Army Doctrine Publication, *Soldiering,* Box 15, p. 3-2, sections 5 and 7

[72] Martin, Angela K. 'The Practice of Identity and an Irish Sense of Place.' *Gender, Place and Culture.* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1997, p98

[73] Berger, Maurice, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity.* Routledge, New York. 1995 p5

[74] Martin, *Practice*, p98

[75] Martin, *Practice*, p92

[76] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p822

[77] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p822

[78] Cameron, Deborah. 'Performing Gender Identity: Young Men's Talk and the Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity.' In *Language and Masculinity*. Sally Johnson & Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (eds.) Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1997, p49

this process occurs. In the rarefied environment of a military training camp, there is little else other than the identity of a soldier in which to psychologically lay anchor.

Validation of this identity came through successful embodiment of military masculinity. Aligned with hegemonic masculinity theory which posits that masculinities are plural, multiple and context-specific, [79] the military favoured a particular 'hard-bodied masculinity' [80] which Atherton has commented is 'the fulcrum around which all other identity formations must revolve.'[81] The army valorised combat qualities such as strength, fitness, aggression, action and competition but also included non-combat elements such as hard drinking and heterosexual feats of sexual prowess.[82] The soldier exemplified the 'getting shit done…the outdoors-y, active, proactive…can-do attitude.'[83] He took risks and had adventures, accepting them 'with a sense of *joie de vivre,* rather than a sense of dread'[84] and was adept at operating technology and machinery.[85] It was a model that 'commands power and respect'[86] born of the tacit acceptance that this 'hard-bodied form of masculinism' had been tested and proven by exertion.[87] Bolstered by the sanctioned use of violence and the right to kill, the soldier who embodied it is at the apex of the hierarchy of masculinities[88] a positioning that marked him as a standard bearer for manhood in wider society,[89] his military service offering him 'unique resources for the construction of a masculine identity'.[90]

---

[79] Jefferson, Tony. 'Subordinating Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Theoretical Criminology*. Vol. 6, No. 1, 2002, p71
[80] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p825
[81] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p825
[82] Duncanson, Claire. 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 18, No. 2, 2015, p234
[83] Sarah Ellis interview
[84] Harris, Ian M. *Messages Men Hear. Constructing Masculinities.* Taylor & Francis, London. 1995 p119
[85] Hutchings, Kimberly. 'Making Sense of Masculinity and War.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 10, No. 4, 2008 p393
[86] Duncanson, *Forces*, p65
[87] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p824
[88] Hinojosa, Ramon. 'Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity.' The Journal of Men's Studies. Vol. 18, No. 2, 2010 p180
[89] Barrett, Frank J. 'The Organisational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: the Case of the US Navy.' In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader.* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2000 p77
[90] Hinojosa, *Doing*, p180

As a tool for analysing the military, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is useful, born of its ability to deconstruct masculinist systems that privilege the male.[91] The materials considered in this chapter are drawn from an era where, arguably, the male soldier is the personification of the systems which perpetuated male control and domination, itself an irony given that soldiers relinquish their own control and independence in order to attain this status. The men pictured and filmed display the privilege attained through masculine capital and hint at the constraints and standards hegemonic masculinity inspires and demands. The concept's originator, sociologist R. W. Connell, eschewed notions of an inherently patriarchal state[92] and the essentialist bents which had previously informed scholarship on gender relations. With its focus on power, the concept enabled wide discussion on how gender power is experienced and enacted, and added a new dynamic to considerations of gender inequality,[93] accounting for 'the social and legitimatising processes that help constitute gender relations.'[94]

The concept has drawn criticism for overlooking the fluidity of masculinities and the strategies men can draw on to negotiate them,[95] flattening out discussions on male emotions[96] or being used attributively[97] (and potentially reducing hegemonic masculinity to a static character type).[98] Despite criticisms, Connell and Messerschmidt have noted the concept's usefulness when researching the

---

[91] Whitehead, Stephen. 'Hegemonic Masculinity Revisited'. *Gender, work and Organisation.* Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1999 p.58

[92] Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics.* Polity Press. Cambridge. 1987, p.128

[93] Whitehead, Stephen M. *Men and Masculinities.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2002 p.90

[94] Whitehead, *Hegemonic*, p.58

[95] Coles, Tony. 'Negotiating the Field of Masculinity. The Production and Reproduction of Multiple Dominant Masculinities.' Men and Masculinities. Vol. 12, No. 1, 2009 p30

[96] Seidler, Victor J. *Transforming Masculinities. Men, Cultures, Bodies, Power, Sex and Love.* Routledge, Abingdon & New York. 2006, p.15

[97] Yancey Martin, Patricia. 'Why Can't a Man Be More like a Woman? Reflections on Connell's Masculinities.' *Gender and Society*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1998 p473

[98] Messerschmidt, James W. 'Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Men and Masculinities*. Vol 15, No. 1, 2012, p72

military and how the military has become a particular focus of research into hegemonic masculinity.[99] Although critical of the concept himself, the gender theorist Michael Moller agrees that it is a useful tool for analysing 'discreet…and relatively small peer groups of men,'[100] an apt description of military life. Social scientist, Claire Duncanson, has commented on the importance of military sites for studying hegemonic masculinity, stressing the importance to the 'entire gender order' of femininities and masculinities constructed in the military context.[101]

Like in the civilian world, the standards imposed on men not only dictated the terms by which their manliness had to be negotiated,[102] but also informed the institutional resources and symbols which could be drawn upon to facilitate its construction and embodiment.[103] And its assembly began in the field of military training, a key site where the fashioning of military masculinities occur.[104] The immersive aspect of the training process ensured that not only did recruits absorb the new military life in which they were participating, they were also being absorbed into that military life.[105] In 1999, Jim South, a twenty year old recruit from Sheffield, elaborated that it was,

> Like *Star Trek,* the Borg. Resistance is futile. You will be assimilated. You just become one of the drones, nowt else you can do about it. You don't have a chance to evaluate things, think about… the time you do, you're asleep anyway as you're knackered.[106]

---

[99] Connell, R.W & Messerschmidt James W. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'
Gender and Society, Vol. 19, No. 6, 2005, p834
[100] Moller, Michael. 'Exploiting Patterns: A Critique of Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 16, No. 3, 2007 p274
[101] Duncanson, *Hegemonic*, p232
[102] Duncanson, *Hegemonic*, p234
[103] Hinojosa, *Doing*, p180
[104] Duncanson, *Forces*, p64
[105] Lave and Wenger, *Situated*, p95
[106] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 10:42

Through the indoctrination of military values and a military mentality,[107] training situated recruits in a masculinist environment and then moulded them into soldiers. The longer a recruit trained and became increasingly institutionalised,[108] the more remote became the civilian influences which used to hold sway over their lives.[109] It is a process which began as soon as new recruits were greeted upon their arrival at their training camps, and was a process that was riven with continuities. The same techniques, the same methodologies, and the same environments in which it took place ensured that decades of recruits underwent the same process, ensuring the same standards and modes of manliness they produced remained unquestioned and unchallenged.

Continuities

Figure 12 – New recruits met off the train
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

---

[107] Arkim & Dobrofsky, *Military,* p159
[108] Higate, Paul R. 'Tough Bodies and Rough Sleeping: Embodying Homelessness Amongst Ex-servicemen.' *Housing, Theory and Society.* Vol. 17, 2000, p99
[109] Arkim & Dobrofsky, *Military*, p152

The physical dislocation of becoming a trainee soldier has not changed. New recruits were relocated to places often far from their homes in a process universal to all of the interviews I conducted and evident for the majority of the new recruits in *Soldiers to Be.* The four recruits depicted in the first photo from the NAM collection[110] look cheerful enough as they are met off a train by a clipboard-wielding superior. They are all in shirts and ties, their fashionable hair a little messy and each carries an ineffectually small suitcase (figure 12). In another photograph the recruits are depicted arriving at their training camp in a Land Rover.[111] As one of them – smiling again - passes a suitcase from the back of the vehicle, they are observed by a Lance Corporal. There is none of the sense of the welcome for the recruits in *Soldiers to be* who are brusquely told by a superior to 'line up against the wall'[112] while the recruits who travelled with the former Missile Operator Edward Denmark, on journey to his training camp in 1980 had a similarly hostile reception:

A snigger went round the bus and I thanked God it wasn't me they were laughing at. "Well who the fuck are you?" shouted the corporal. "Sherpa fucking Tensing!" We all laughed until the corporal turned round and told us to shut up.[113]

The four recruits in the photograph look smartly turned out, worldly-wise, and at ease with what is happening to them. They are far removed from those many recruits for whom a career in the military may have been their only option. Trevor S joined the army in 1970 as work opportunities for him were scarce.[114] 'A lot of them don't have prospects,' explained Corporal Steve McMenamy in 1999. 'They look at it as a last resort. They failed at college or whatever and think 'I'll give the army a try.'[115]

---

[110] *Photograph of four new recruits met off train.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-283
[111] *Photograph of four new recruits arriving at camp.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-287
[112] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 01:52
[113] Denmark, *Not for,* Location 245
[114] Trevor Skingle, interviewed by author, London, interview September 14, 2020.
[115] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 01:53

Training for War advised that 'not only will he (the new recruit) bring his own personal problems with him but he will also be confronted with a strange and totally unexperienced environment.'[116] Trevor's experience was more akin to the recruits in *Soldiers to Be,* whose calibre was discussed by contemporary television critics. Josephine Monroe, writing somewhat unfairly in *The Times* commented on the 'petty criminals and single parents that have little hope of finding employment anywhere else'. She was struck by the lack of military training recruits initially received, commenting disparagingly on the 'disciplines they've clearly lived without on civvy street' such as using a bar of soap, ironing clothes or making beds.[117] For many of these recruits, Joe Joseph commented in his review entitled 'The Army wants you, even if society doesn't' that 'life has already become so bleak and hopeless that even being abused and bullied feels like a step up.'[118] Peter Barnard commented that that Army was 'clearly a ray of hope shone into a grim civilian prospect.'[119]

In opening montages of *Soldiers to be,* and in the Royal Surrey photographs, the new recruits are depicted having their initial interview with an officer. One photograph shows a large hall populated with two long trestle tables covered in paperwork, army clerks peering myopically over them while the new recruits sit opposite.[120] On four chairs against the wall are the four new arrivals the viewer has already seen. Perhaps it is now they are receiving a more familiar army welcome – looming over them is a different Lance Corporal, resplendent with a Terry Thomas moustache. The four cannot take their eyes off him, the young man on the left looking particularly terrified. Standing in the background are a group of uniformed soldiers, perhaps themselves newly qualified. Some of them are smirking, perhaps enjoying the confusion of the new intake, themselves possibly feeling like 'David' an interviewee in a 2009 survey and quoted by Atherton, who felt that "'when you've got that Basic

---

116 MOD, *Training,* p.3-1, section 0302
117 Monroe, J. (1999) Today's Choice, *The Times,* 3 August 1999. Available at:
<https://www.gale.com/intl/c/the-times-digital-archive> [Accessed 18 March 2021]
118 Joseph, *The Army*
119 Barnard, *Raw recruits*
120 *Photograph of new recruits in the registration hall.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-284

Training out of the way you get a bit more respect…you've proved you can do it now."'[121] Such trainees 'began to assume an arrogance in front of the new boys' (quickly tempered by superiors who would remind them they had not finished their own training yet).[122] Another picture shows two new recruits standing with their hands behind their backs in front of the seated Company Sergeant Major. It is unclear if his name - embossed on a panel at the front of his desk – is a wry in-joke, given the training the recruits are about to endure; he is, after all, Company Sergeant Major Wildgoose.[123] (Figure 13)

Figure 13 – First interview
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

The confusion of arriving in a new place and the necessary processes of registration gave new recruits their first tangible experience of the practicalities of army life. Swearing their oath of allegiance to the monarch gave them their first tangible experience of the psychological aspect of military training. The photographs do not show the recruits swearing an oath of allegiance, but the recruits in *Soldiers to be* are filmed during the process. The 2000 edition of the *Military Covenant* quotes the oath in full:

---

[121] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p824
[122] Denmark, *Not*, Location 415
[123] *Recruits first interview with training company.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-290

I swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen

Elizabeth II, her Heirs and Successors and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully

defend Her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors in person, crown and dignity against all enemies

and will observe and obey all orders of Her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors and of Generals

and Officers set over me.[124]

The swearing of allegiance was a moment redolent with symbolism. Upon completing the oath, recruits were congratulated on this milestone: they have 'now enlisted in the British Army.'[125] The symbolic presence of the monarch patriotically rendered the abstraction of the soldier's purpose into a tangible representation of who the recruit is now working, and possibly fighting, for. Furthermore, the oath's tangibility represents the first mechanism of instilling 'probably the most important ingredient'[126] of becoming a soldier: the fostering of a sense of loyalty.

Also playing their part in this process were the teaching of regimental histories and traditions providing they were taught 'not as a sentimental record of a dead past, but as a guide, challenge and encouragement for the future'. 'It should be remembered' cautioned *Training for War*, 'that history starts from yesterday' and that 'young soldiers' were more likely inspired by descriptions of 'gallant actions in an operation a few months old than with the tale of events several hundred years ago.'[127] From whichever period they were drawn, such narratives of glory and conquest developed a sense of the world in which recruits now belonged[128] and their continuities linked the 'Glaswegian youth of 1983 with the attributes of the Scots Guardsmen who shut the gate at Hougoumont.'[129] For Robert R,

---

[124] Army Doctrine Publication, *Soldiering*, p.3-5, section 0306
[125] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 01:27
[126] MOD, *Training* p. 2-1, section 0203
[127] MOD, *Training,* p2-1, section 0204
[128] Higate, *Tough*, p102
[129] Holmes, *Acts*, p311

the ability to draw on this history and the commensurate pride that came with it, came into its own when on operations 'in the middle of nowhere doing something quite stressful'. Their shared knowledge of their history made the team work better, 'maintaining the cohesion of the unit.'[130]

Figure 14 – Kit issue
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

New recruits then underwent another universal process: the physical deletion of their pre-military lives. The initial removal of recruit's clothing, in anticipation of wearing their first uniform,[131] was a literal stripping away of their civilian existence. One of the Royal Surrey photographs (figure 14) shows four recruits receiving their first kit and a closer inspection of the items on the table in front of them reveals fatigues, pyjamas, plimsolls and polishing brushes and spoons.[132] The items themselves were qualitatively different from the civilian world: army clothes were rougher and bulkier, boots were heavy and uncomfortable and tired legs easier.[133] This sartorial transformation marked the recruit as

---

[130] Robert Ridley interview
[131] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 02:50
[132] *Recruits being issued with military clothing and equipment.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-295
[133] Hockey, *Head*, p155

a member of his institution and in his memoir on SAS training, Adam Ballinger, recalled his first experience of a military uniform:

> Dressed, I looked at the others and was struck by the transformation. Until a few minutes ago we had been wearing different civilian clothes. But now, all outward signs of individuality had gone… this was more than a transformation of dress, and I felt uncomfortable… it was that I felt difference. Nothing looked quite the same.[134]

For new recruit, Colin Mutch, getting his first uniform made him feel proud and was 'just the best feeling in the world.'[135] When Trevor S got his number two dress uniform he recalled feeling a 'sort of pride in yourself you never really experienced before.'[136] The pride is evident on the face of Fusilier Les Millington as he is fitted out in his new uniform in one of the Royal Surrey photographs.[137] (Figure 15).

While the bestowal of uniforms rendered recruits homogenous, the first step in which the identity of 'the soldier' is incorporated into the recruit's identity,[138] the ritualised initiations of haircuts smoothed out the last of a recruit's individuality. They are shorn in *Soldiers to be* and they are being shorn thirty-six years earlier in a Royal Surrey photograph which sees two recruits in their fatigues watching a severe looking barber working on one of their colleagues. (Figure 16). Neither of the observers look particularly enthused about what will happen to them.[139] This haircut (a regulation 'number two on

---

[134] Ballinger, Adam. *The Quiet Soldier. On Selection with 21 SAS.* Orion Publishing, London, 1992 p27

[135] Soldiers to be, *A New Life*, 20:59

[136] Trevor Skingle interview

[137] *Regimental Tailor Corporal Charlie Pullen and Storeman Corporal Ted Duke fit out Fusilier Les Millington of Flint with a new uniform. Sep 1960.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-315

[138] Jenkins, *Social*, p150

[139] *Photograph of recruits having their hair cut.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-286

the sides and number four on the top'[140] in 1999) was the vanguard of an enforced adherence to stricter sartorial and bodily hygiene controls than recruits were used to. 'How the recruit shaves, showers, has his hair cut, brushes his teeth and looks after his feet'[141] were now out of his personal jurisdiction. Recruits were taught the minutest details of personal hygiene, being advised to wash 'in all the places where the sun doesn't shine, round the edge of your bollocks, round the end of your bell-end,'[142] the importance of which was sold to new recruits on the basis of attracting women. Such instruction was indicative of the expectation of sexual prowess already placed on the nascent soldiers: 'if you go see the girls down town, they're not gonna like you. Keep nice and smelling fresh,'[143] recruits were advised. This minutiae of detail was the first stage of a process in which the recruit relinquished all control of 'time, space and the body', as they became accustomed to a training programme which was 'minutely detailed for twenty four hours a day.'[144] Isolation from the outside world furthered institutional control. Ben A recalled not being allowed outside the training camp for the first six weeks of training, his exposure to the outside world being 'limited to watching one hour of the news'. Even radios were banned. For him, it was a 'total cocooning in a military way.'[145]

---

[140] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 31:40
[141] Hockey, *Head*, p151
[142] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 12:41
[143] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 12:41
[144] Hockey, *Head*, p150
[145] Ben Amponsah, interviewed by author, Manchester, December 7, 2019
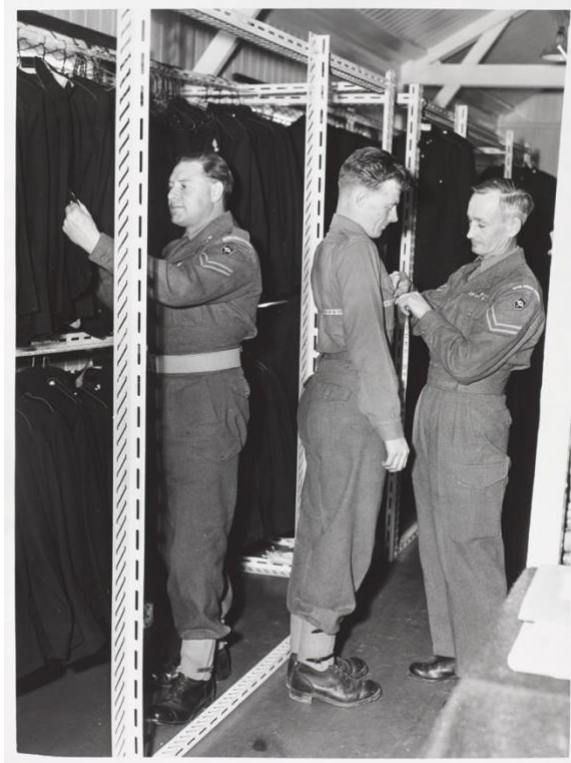
Figure 15 – New uniform fitting
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Figure 16 – Recruits having their hair cut
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

What followed next was a bewildering melee of physical and mental challenges which manifested in a 'sort of full-on, rabbit-in-headlights, what on Earth is happening?'[146] pressure that left little time for recruits to do anything but sleep (which even could be deprived and leave recruits feeling 'creased').[147] Trevor S recalled his Basic Training as 'just running around all the time, just didn't have time to think. It was from pillar to bed-post, you were just on your toes all the time.'[148] Goffman asserts that such a process placed the image of the self which the recruit had previously presented to the world deliberately under stress[149] and Robert R reasoned the strategy as specifically designed to subsume recruits' personalities, recalling his first five weeks of training as 'keeping you so busy all the time you have to give up the pretence because you don't have the time or the energy to keep it up. It's quite clever, really, I suppose with hindsight.'[150]

Sergeant Tich Lovell explained in *Soldiers to be*:

> Living together, six-man rooms, being told "you will get up", "you will wash and shave", "you will do this", "you will stand still". It's completely alien to some people, they've never been involved with anything like that before.[151]

Sarah E recalled 'you don't come out of Basic Training the same person as when you went in'[152] and training transformed recruits into soldiers through a 'complex mix of empowerment and disempowerment.'[153] The *Soldier's Pocket Book* of 1996 informed new recruits that they 'must be trained to obey orders instantly,'[154] an obedience which Hockey argues is the linchpin that lubricates

---

146 Robert Ridley interview
147 Denmark, *Not*, Location 365
148 Trevor Skingle interview
149 Goffman, *Asylums*, p30
150 Robert Ridley interview
151 Soldiers to be, *A New Life*, 28:40
152 Sarah Ellis interview
153 Atherton, *Domesticating*, p825
154 MOD, *Soldier's,* p18

the transformation process.[155] 'Good discipline', argued the 1981 manual, 'entails the subordination of one's own interest to the common good'[156] and created soldiers in a process based on cultural and psychological indoctrination,[157] and that concluded with the soldier having acquired 'an altered view of oneself.'[158] Military psychologist David N. Solomon has commented that when this altered state was achieved, 'the proper behaviour for a soldier becomes spontaneous and largely automatic.'[159]

Military salutes exemplify the alienness of the recruit's new world. Until mastered correctly, they were potential flashpoints, an inelegant salute personifying a lack of 'personal discipline and good manners'. Recruits were told that they should salute 'properly and smartly'[160] and as expected, the specific requirements of how to do so, were minutely detailed:

PAYING COMPLIMENTS – SALUTING

SALUTING TO THE FRONT

Common Faults

a The body and head not remaining erect

b Allowing the elbow to come forward

c Hand not straight and in an incorrect position

d Allowing the left arm to creep forward

e Left fist not clenched with thumb to front[161]

---

[155] Hockey, *Head*, p150

[156] MOD, *Training* p.2-2, section 0206

[157] Ricks, *Making*, p86

[158] Solomon, David N. 'Civilian to Soldier. Three Sociological Studies of Infantry Recruit Training.' *Canadian Journal of Experimental Psychology.* Vol. 8, No. 2, 1954, p87

[159] Solomon, *Civilian*, p88

[160] MOD, *Soldier's,* p19

[161] MOD, *Soldier's,* p21

To help the new recruit with their salute, their Pocket Book recommended – somewhat confusingly -

they remember 'your right hand – with the palm of your hand flat, thumb on top, travels the – longest

way up and the shortest way down'[162] when saluting correctly.

Appearance was fundamental, and domestic chores coded in the civilian world as female were

masculinised. Clothes, buttons, badges and boots did not just need to be clean; they had to be kept

'almost pathologically clean.'[163] New recruits are seen frantically scrubbing dirty trainers in *Soldiers to*

be.[164] Lockers and beds had to be 'tidy, ironed and folded'[165] the process made technically complex

through the inclusion of elements such as measured cardboard pinned inside garments to give the

impression of 'perfect square shaped boxes'[166] when hanging. The hangers on which they were

displayed had to be three fingers apart and face the same way.[167] Sheets and blankets were measured

with rulers by superiors to ensure adherence to standards.[168] Army boots were 'bulled', a process

which involved polish, cold water, a duster, a camping stove and a metal spoon. Bulling's aim was to

achieve 'a mirror-like finish in which you can see your face well enough to squeeze your blackheads.'[169]

It was an arduous process, achieved by flattening the leather of the boot with a red hot spoon before

a lengthy mix of repeated polishing and dusting.[170] Such stringent standards are couched for new

recruits in terms of promoting and instilling a growing self-discipline. Along with drilling, maintaining

an immaculate uniform were 'very effective' methods for doing so. 'Both… require you to pay

attention to detail, in the first case so that you can march correctly and not draw the Sergeant Major's

wrath and in the second so that you will look smart.'[171]

---

[162] MOD, *Soldier's,* p21
[163] Hockey, *Head,* p151
[164] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 22:27
[165] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p827
[166] Denmark, *Not*, Location 381
[167] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 10:08
[168] Denmark, *Not*, Location 381
[169] Astor, *Official,* Location 2579
[170] Astor, *Official,* Location 2618
[171] MOD, *Soldier's,* p18

The 'mechanical perfection'[172] of drilling was another aspect of military training which was not only another initially confusing and taxing exercise but one which had a profound psychological effect on the trainee.[173] Drilling has a long history, one which recruits could get a sense of when they were being drilled. Drill Halls, established in the nineteenth century, were a common sight (as was the drilling which occurred in them). In the First World War there were an estimated five hundred or six hundred in England alone.[174] The photo of drilling in the Surrey regiment collection[175] shows thirty-six recruits in perfect synchronicity, their left feet raised to a certain height, their right arms uniformly reaching forward, all under the gaze of a barking, swagger-stick wielding superior. (Figure 17). New recruits may indeed have though that their 'instructor is 'out of his mind' but they are were reassured that there was 'more to drill' than they thought. Indeed, it was 'a team effort more precise that (sic) the most highly trained football team.'[176] Seen as 'the backbone of both individual and collective training'[177] the repetition of drilling ingrained processes and forms, which sociologist, Richard Sennett has argued, gave drilling a power 'a thousandfold greater than doing it just once.'[178] Although drilling has 'no direct function in modern warfare,'[179] and changing battlefield conditions and new weaponries have rendered it a purely psychological exercise,[180] its importance has granted it a 'near sacramental status'[181] within the military. Such reverence comes from its ability to cohere a group and foster

---

[172] Holmes, *Acts*, p38

[173] Soeters, *Organizational*, p255

[174] Historic England, 2022, *First World War – Drill Halls.* Available at: <
https://historicengland.org.uk/research/current/discover-and-understand/military/the-first-world-war/first-world-war-home-front/what-we-already-know/land/drill-halls/> {Accessed 12th April 2022}

[175] *Drill Instruction.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-308

[176] MOD, *Soldier's,* p19

[177] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 2-7, section 31

[178] Sennett, Richard. *Together. The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation.* Penguin, London. 2012 p90

[179] Hockey, *Head*, p151

[180] Manning, Frederick J. 'Morale, Cohesion, and Esprit de Corps' in Gal, Reuven and A. David Mangelsdorff. *Handbook of Military Psychology.* John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1991, p456

[181] Manning, *Morale*, p456

physical unity and for Sergeant Mick Peek, speaking in 1999, encouraging 'all the right things like team spirit and all the other bullshit reasons they give you for it.'[182]

Figure 17 – Drill Instruction
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

The public rituals of drill are a 'powerful and visible embodiment of the abstraction of collective identity'[183] and as part of a group *en masse*, military displays in drills 'visualise the common identity of military units.'[184] Visually striking, sequences of soldiers on drill are important enough to be peppered throughout *Soldiers to be* and the training of it is worthy enough to have an episode dedicated to it. During drill, a soldier's body and demeanour were possible sites of inspection: feet had to be at certain angles, facial movements tightly controlled.[185] The drill inspection they faced at the end of their drill training saw recruits scrutinised from superior officers on three fronts: the quality of their drill (arms are constantly critiqued as 'flapping'), their standard of appearance, and their

---

[182] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 06:04
[183] Jenkins, *Social*, p152
[184] Soeters, *Organizational*, p255
[185] Hockey, *Head*, p151

regimental knowledge.[186] It's a process captured in one of the Royal Surrey photographs which shows the visiting inspecting officer apparently discussing a recruit's boots with the platoon's corporal.[187] (Figure 18). The final part of drill inspection – saluting while marching – was 'the most stressful test'[188] and was a complicated mix of precision kinetics and careful choreography.

Attaining physical fitness was a historical universal for new recruits and was the 'first task'[189] of training. The army has always prioritised physical fitness since soldiers must be 'fit to fight' and their fitness had to be nurtured since it was the basis for 'endurance both physical and mental.'[190] If physical fitness was lacking, then the 'effectiveness of all other forms of operational preparedness' was undermined.[191] Recruits were told that becoming an effective soldier was only possible through becoming physically fit and that soldiers should be able to complete the following tasks (on the understanding that recruits should 'make no mistake about it, getting fit hurts').[192] Soldiers had to be able to 'run three miles in boots, lightweight trousers and sweat shirt in less than 29 minutes', 'complete a full assault course', 'jump into water from a height of 6 feet, tread water for two minutes and then swim 100m' and finally, be able to 'cover 10 miles, surmount a 6ft wall, jump a 9ft ditch and then carry a man 200m.'[193] The new recruit was finally told to 'remember, "**no pain is no good**"'[194] (bold in original text). Fitness was so important to the army it became a tool with which to self-compare to rivals: the 1981 manual, *Training for War,* pointed out that it was 'worth remembering

---

[186] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 18:57
[187] *Photograph of Drill Inspection.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-307
[188] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 20:12
[189] Soldiers to be*, A New Life*, 17:33
[190] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 8-4, section 22
[191] Army Doctrine Publication, *Army Field Manual,* p. 8-4, section 22
[192] MOD, *Soldier's,* p27
[193] MOD, *Soldier's,* p27
[194] MOD, *Soldier's,* p27

that a great source of anxiety to Soviet military leaders is that their soldiers are no longer as tough or as resilient as their forebears.'[195]

Figure 18 – Drill Inspection
(Picture courtesy of National Army Museum, London)

The bodily capital accrued through increased fitness was an easily accessible resource for 'structuring, negotiating and maintaining masculinities.'[196] This new 'quantifiable physical capital,'[197] contingent with increasing levels of fitness and aptitude, added to a sense of masculinised status.[198] Gender and security author Paul Higate has described the paradigm in which this process occurs as: 'Body – military, Culture – masculine' and the bodily disposition which is formed in this process is 'crucial to a sense of gendered soldierly confidence.'[199] The recruits in *Soldiers to be* are shown enduring a gruelling exercise which consists of running, performing press-ups and star-jumps, clearly becoming exhausted with each new round.[200] Thirty-six years previously, fitness is promoted in the Royal Surrey collection.

---

[195] MOD, *Training,* p2-5, section 0216
[196] Courtenay, Will H. 'Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.' *Social Science & Medicine,* Vol. 50, 2000, p1391
[197] Higate, *Tough*, p98
[198] Higate, *Tough*, p101
[199] Higate, *Tough*, p102
[200] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 20:15

One picture has forty or so men side stretching in a gymnasium,[201] their gym gear all identical (even their socks are rolled down to regulation length). There are also three photographs which depict men boxing.[202] As they throw punches at each other, the exertion of doing so is marked on their grimaces on their faces. These images trade on an association of men with fitness and strength and may have appealed to men – especially working-class men – who, masculinities theorist Will H. Courtenay argues, placed a heavy emphasis on physical toughness.[203] Such toughness and fitness held capital with a recruit's predominantly male audience, an audience which acted as a key driver of behaviours and attitudes in such a homosocial environment.

Homosociality

The all-male images in the Royal Surrey collection and the footage of the recruits in *Soldiers to be* paint the army as a homosocial environment. This homosociality was important: as well as creating soldiers who individual felt like soldiers, military training had to also create a homogenised group of soldiers, a tight unit, bound up to each other physically and psychologically. For military scientist Frederick J. Manning, the importance of fostering group solidarity has been 'a staple of military doctrine for 2500 years.'[204] Until the integration of the WRAC into the wider corpus, training was invariably done amongst men, by men and for men, resulting in a compulsory homosociality. New recruits were advised in 1999 by a shouting superior to '"get to know each other well… you're all in the same boat… without friends you will fall and fall flat on your face."'[205] Bonding social relationships was an essential element to foster when a group had to follow orders; '"you get the *esprit de corps* inside them,"'

---

[201] *Photograph of men stretching in gym.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-307

[202] *Photograph of men boxing, no. 1.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-298; *Photograph of men boxing, no. 2.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-300; *Photograph of men boxing, no. 3.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-293

[203] Courtenay, *Constructions*, p1392

[204] Manning, *Morale*, p456

[205] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 04:39

explained an unnamed superior officer in journalist Thomas Ricks' 1997 study of the US Army, '"and then whatever you tell them, they'll believe."'[206] In 1999, Major Peter Hicks described the process as,

> Trying to install a totally different change of ethos from one where they tend to think of themselves first to one where they think of their mates, their regiment, and what they have to achieve as a unit, rather than an individual.[207]

The spartan nature of military accommodation, the arduous days and collective punishments for individual transgressions 'build a group identity in an atmosphere of shared privation.'[208] Sarah E recalled that she 'found a home in that military camaraderie stuff.'[209] Loathing superiors bonded recruits together in the 'common enemy syndrome,'[210] the abuse and barked commands they received at the hands of their superiors a useful tool for coagulating a group, as Sergeant Bill Bywaters explained in 1999:

> We do give them a hard time. We do sort of, I suppose, want them to hate us, for want of a better word. Just to get them to bond so that they can then have something in common, or something to talk about. "Christ, look what they done to us today."… if we can get them to bond within a week then you're on to a winner.[211]

Social spaces were also provided to foster further intra-male relations. The new recruits in the NAAFI in *Soldiers to be* are seen singing songs, playing video games and enjoying a game of pool.[212] Several of the Royal Surrey photographs promote an idea of the army as a male place to make new friends

---

[206] Ricks, *Making*, p86
[207] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 04:41
[208] Holmes, *Acts*, p47
[209] Sarah Ellis interview
[210] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 37:43
[211] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 26:00
[212] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 34:00

and socialise. One shows a Lance Sergeant and another superior officer pointing to the pub-like sign for the 'Three Choughs Junior Ranks Club', foregrounded here as the centre of socialising for new recruits.[213] (Figure 19) Within the club, seven men are pictured relaxing: two read newspapers, two appear in conversation. They are all enjoying tea and buns,[214] relaxed in each others' company. Another shows three Privates grouped around a jukebox, in some discussion over which disc to spin next.[215]

Within such spaces, male recruits were able to draw on a repertoire which not only confirmed them as heterosexual and masculine, but which also ensured that the borders of heterosexuality and masculinity were carefully controlled. Recruits could draw on 'profuse swearing, masculine bravado and highly explicit joking relations.'[216] Other gender resources which could be utilised were 'drinking, looking at pornography, boxing, football, rugby, gambling and joking.'[217] In such repertoires, markers of manhood like drinking alcohol and womanising were framed as the 'natural right' of a recruit, a reward for endured hardships and essential to help them tolerate potential dangers.[218] Swearing was common, long recognised as an expression of toughness or manhood and expressed by superiors ('Right, shut the fuck up and listen!'[219]) and recruits alike. Men are six times more likely to swear and

---

[213] *Photograph of the Three Choughs Junior Ranks Club.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-305

[214] *The N.A.A.F.I. Junior Ranks Club.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-306

[215] *Victoria Club.* 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-297

[216] Collinson, David L. & Margaret Collinson. 'Sexuality in the Workplace: The Domination of Men's Sexuality' in Jeff Hearn, Deborah L. Sheppard, Peta Tancred-Sheriff & Gibson Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organisation.* Sage Publications. London, Newbury Park & New Delhi. 1989 p95

[217] Atherton*, Domesticating*, p825

[218] Hockey, *Head*, p160

[219] Denmark, *Not*, Location 345

use taboo language in all-male environments than they are in mixed-sex environments[220] and Robert

R recalled having to self-censor his language on home visits, finding he was 'swearing far too much.'[221]

Figure 19 – The Three Choughs Junior Ranks Club
(Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London)

Such swearing could become automatic but could also be used performatively and for sociologist

Michael Flood, no audience exerted as much pressure or could be as critical than the real – or imagined

– male audience.[222] Men make themselves the stars of their own stories. A 2003 study of men's stories

found that 94% of the stories recounted by men had male protagonists and of those stories, 72% were

set in all-male environments.[223] Humorous stories which combine an element of triumph are equally

potent: drunken and aggressive acts are valorised and males will often try to outdo each other in their

---

[220] Coates, Jennifer. *Men Talk*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. 2003, p45
[221] Robert Ridley interview
[222] Flood, Michael. 'Men, Sex and Homosociality. How Bonds between Men Shape Their Sexual Relations with Women.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 10, No. 1, April 2008, p342
[223] Coates, *Men,* p45

telling.[224] Performances could start early in the training process. In *Soldiers to be,* a Liverpudlian new recruit, when asked to talk about himself to other recruits initially establishes his football fan credentials before describing himself as 'a bit of a knob-end at school. Got kicked out a few times… I've nearly been in trouble with the police. Had a few cautions, like.'[225] Another was keen to establish he 'got into a lot of trouble with the polis (sic).'[226] Trevor S ruefully recalled 'being one of the worst' when it came to posturing his masculinity when he joined up in 1974, the martial arts training he had undertaken in his teenage years earning him extra cachet among his fellow recruits.[227] One new recruit delighted in telling his fellow recruits about his exploits in London on his first weekend on leave when he got 'completely shitfaced', much to the group's approval. Another boasted of his drinking and then his visit to a brothel.[228] One of my interviews, Frazer S, commented there was 'more sexist banter, talk about chicks, (and) talk about birds', an inevitability when you have a group of 'what's usually very young men, (and) some of them are often quite immature.'[229]

Organisational theorists David Collinson and Margaret Collinson have observed the prevalence of discourse on men's sexuality in industrial, predominantly male organisations.[230] Research has shown that men find 'dirty' jokes more amusing than women, and the telling of them increases the status of the teller. [231] Linguist Mary Crawford has argued that being able to 'have a laugh' has been essentialised as a stable male trait (and one which women are often said to lack).[232] Successfully performing joking or sexual banter offered its proponents multiple avenues to 'display, perform and

---

[224] Coates, *Men*, p56
[225] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 07:46
[226] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 09:03
[227] Trevor Skingle interview
[228] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 03:28
[229] Frazer Stark, interviewed by author, London, interview November 27 2019
[230] Collinson & Collinson, *Sexuality,* p95
[231] Lennox Terrion, Jenepher & Blake E. Ashforth. 'From "I" to "we": the role of putdown humour and identity in the development of a temporary group.' *Human Relations*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2002, p79
[232] Crawford, Mary. *Talking Difference. On Gender and Language.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1995, p129

validate heterosexual masculinities,'[233] often targeting women, people of colour, and homosexuals to position a speaker's manliness.[234].Ben A described the pervasive atmosphere of casual homophobia in the 1990s, recalling a background of 'constant comments' at lunchtimes.[235] Robert R recalled that banter 'would be perceived as politically incorrect'[236] and had 'undoubtedly' heard of 'sexuality or race or whatever being used as part of… banter.'[237] Frazer S agreed there was more homophobic banter and sexist banter[238].

One of banter's most useful social functions was its ability to unite demographically different people,[239] disparate members becoming so close that this was something they could do amongst themselves to the exclusion of outsiders.[240] Frazer S recalled the 'huge culture of taking the piss out of each other regardless of your background, race, sexuality, or hair colour.'[241] This unity can have extra power when it is directed against superiors and social scientist Barbara Plester has observed how humour can be used to unite subordinates when it is deployed in this way.[242] New recruits bonded whilst bemoaning the attitude of their superiors: 'I'll tell you what, that Corporal', groans one, simultaneously shaking his head and punching one hand into another.[243] 'What a nob he was,'[244] agrees another. Punching a superior is something the new recruit would never do, but his declaration

---

[233] Plester, Barbara. '"Take it like a man!: Performing hegemonic masculinity through organisation humour' *Ephemera. Theory and politics in organisation.* Vol. 15, No. 3, 2015 p541

[234] Lyman, Peter. 'The Fraternal Bond as a Joking Relationship.' In Kimmel, Michael S. (ed.) *Changing Men. New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity.* Sage Publications. Newbury Park, London & New Delhi. 1987, p141, 156

[235] Ben Amponsah interview

[236] Robert Ridley interview

[237] Robert Ridley interview

[238] Frazer Stark interview

[239] Plester, Barbara A. & Janet Sayers. '"Taking the piss": Functions of banter in the IT industry.' *Humor.* Vol. 20, No. 2. 2007, p175

[240] Lennox *et al, From*, p72

[241] Frazer Stark interview

[242] Plester, *Take*, p539

[243] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 11:10

[244] Soldiers to be, *A New Life,* 11:10

multi-functionally positions himself as rebellious and gets him a laugh too. For Robert R, use of banter facilitated a 'sort of us-against-them type bonding experience'.[245]

Since the objectification and lusting after women received positive affirmations from group members[246] environments could be physically marked as heterosexual and masculine with pictures of female sex symbols or sports stars. The act of placing such images masculinises both the space and the man who was placing them. Collinson has observed the photos of female nudes which proliferated in male industrial spaces,[247] and when permitted to do so, the new recruits in *Soldiers to Be* quickly adorn the rooms of their barracks with topless models, *FHM* posters of current sex symbols (invariably drawn from their latest 'sexiest woman' poll) and football stars.[248] Some recruits selected either sports stars or women, while others displayed them all. Whatever the choice of visual material, their function as displays of masculinity, was the same. Even outdoor spaces, where tests of manhood were drawn upon by recruits 'pitting oneself against the elements,'[249] are claimed in the same way: the picture of Samantha Fox, 'hanging indiscreetly'[250] from a tree on a training exercise demarcated even the outdoors as male and heterosexual.

Drinking alcohol was another way to channel masculinity and sociologists Kenneth B. Muir and Trina Seitz have observed how 'consumption of alcohol is a central activity within many male-dominated subcultures.'[251] Psychiatrists Russell Lemle and Marc E. Mishkind have considered the importance of alcohol to the masculine myth and how 'men are encouraged to drink and in doing so are perceived as masculine.' Ordering drinks, being offered drinks, and sharing drinks affirm masculine identities and

---

[245] Robert Ridley interview
[246] Muir, Kenneth B. & Trina Seitz. 'Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia in a Male-athletic subculture: a Participant-observation Study of Deviant Rituals in Collegiate Rugby.' *Deviant Behaviour*. Vol. 25, 2004, p310
[247] Collinson, David L. *Managing the Shop Floor: Subjectivity, Masculinity and Workplace Culture.* Walter de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1992, p114
[248] Soldiers to be, *A New Life*, 29:00
[249] Woodward, *It's*, p287
[250] Woodward, *It's*, p288
[251] Muir & Seitz, *Machismo*, p316

'elevate the user's manliness,' with a direct correlation between the amount of alcohol consumed and the drinker's perceived masculinity: the more a man drinks, the more of a man he is. [252] Despite drunkenness being seen as something which would 'quickly destroy discipline and erode team spirit,'[253] alcohol 'has been an integral part of military life forever,'[254] commented Robert R. Indeed, a survey undertaken in 1971 showed that the alcohol consumption of soldiers was twice that of the civilian population. [255] Twenty-five years later the army fretted that alcohol remained 'the single highest contributory factor to violent crime in the Army.'[256] No matter, 'everyone's existence seemed to revolve around getting pissed'[257] recalled one recruit. It's appeal possibly lying in an escape from the mundanity of army life, as one of my interviews, GF, suspected: 'you've got grotty accommodation probably, (and it's) difficult to get meaningful girlfriends where they are and so they go down the NAAFI or the pub or whatever.'[258]

"There was a lot of camaraderie and we'd go out as a sort of platoon and go out drinking and stuff like that. There was a lot of that,'[259] recalled Ben A. Drinking alcohol not only provided a 'celebratory release of the individual and collective body'[260] after the rigours of training, but also helped bond new recruits, isolated from home.[261] 'There'll be some celebrations tonight, I tell you,' promised one recruit in *Soldiers to be* when his first phase training had ended. 'We'll all get bladdered.'[262] Drunken japes were common and military historian Antony Beevor has commented on the 'alarming' 'medical recklessness of soldiers, particularly after a few beers.'[263] Some japes could be innocuous: soldiers

---

[252] Lemle, Russell & Marc E. Mishkind. 'Alcohol and Masculinity.' *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment,* Vol. 6, 1989, p217, p214
[253] MOD, *Soldier's,* p8
[254] Robert Ridley interview
[255] Lemle and Mishkind, *Alcohol,* p215
[256] MOD, *Soldier's,* p8
[257] Denmark, *Not*, Location 556
[258] GF, interviewed by author, London, December 4, 2019.
[259] Ben A interview
[260] Hockey, *Head*, p160
[261] Manning, *Morale*, p463
[262] Soldiers to be, *Drill,* 00:50
[263] Beevor, Antony. *Inside the British Army.* Chatto & Windus, Ltd, London, 1990, p32

could find themselves with shaved heads and effeminately (and humiliatingly) dressed in female

underwear and then thrown out onto the street to the hilarity of their colleagues.[264] Sarah E recalled

shaving one of her drunken roommates eyebrows the night before a drill inspection, his roommate's

hungover horror at his now-asymmetrical appearance remedied by shaving the other one too. '"You

had eyebrows yesterday"' was the withering remark of his superior officer.[265]

Drunken japes could also provide a means for men to make physical contact with each other in a safe

way that did not compromise their heterosexuality. Frazer S recalled a game called 'bucket reeling', a

game played after alcohol was consumed, and which involved a group of men linking arms, 'sort of

elbow into elbow, sort of hand to hand, wrist to wrist' and encircling a bucket, players eliminated

when they touched the bucket.[266] Trevor S enlightened me on 'the Dance of the Flaming Arseholes'

whereby participants would be stripped from the waist down and a piece of newspaper stuffed

between the cheeks of their backside. This would then be set on fire and participants would have to

drink their pint before the flames made contact with their skin.[267] He recalled another game when

participants would kneel on the floor with a soldier to their rear and in front of them, the aim being

to get as close as possible and then simulate sex with each other. This particular game 'went down

really well' when it was performed on stage at the Royal Vauxhall Tavern, a gay club his group of

soldiers had found one evening after attending the Earl's Court Military exhibition. The evening's

hostess, the drag queen Lily Savage, was suitably impressed.[268]

Such games were part of a compulsory homosociality, born of predominantly male organisations and

encouraged by the army for instilling camaraderie amongst its members, welcoming bonding amongst

recruits when such bonding was achieved through a mutual hatred of their superiors. Such homosocial

---

[264] Denmark, *Not*, Location 573
[265] Sarah Ellis interview, 2
[266] Frazer Stark, interviewed by author, London, November 27 2019.
[267] Trevor Skingle interview
[268] Trevor Skingle interview

environments also placed pressures on men to behave in a certain way and conform to a particular model of manhood, providing available resources like swearing, objectifying women and drinking alcohol to help a recruit adhere to its expected standards. Within such a regime, bodily contact and expressions of affection could be expressed but only within the confines of drunken antics. Embodying manliness successfully in such a homosocial environment undoubtedly further affected a recruit's self-perception as a soldier.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Basic Training for new recruits remained unchanged for decades and the use of curricula designed to create soldiers not only proficient in soldiering but who also psychologically felt like soldiers. Today, the army prides itself on a supportive approach to training, where officially, the techniques of yesteryear no longer hold sway. And yet, military environments, could continue to be worryingly problematic and damaging, sometimes fatally so. When masculinities are isolated and go awry, when a culture of masculinism fosters training that is sadistic, and when bullying becomes the norm, incidents like the deaths at the Princess Royal Barracks, Deepcut, point to a culture extreme in its masculine expression. The fact that the events took place over a seven year period suggest how normalised that culture had become. The Deepcut Review - established as a 'review of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of four soldiers at Princess Royal Barracks, Deepcut, between 1995 and 2002'[269] looked at the deaths of four soldiers – Private James Collinson, Private Geoff Gray, Private Sean Benton and Private Cheryl James. They had all been found dead of gunshot wounds, Collinson and Gray in 2002, and Benton and James in 1995.[270] Inquests into their

---

[269] Blake, Nicholas. 2006. *The Deepcut Review. A review of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of four soldiers at Princess Royal Barracks, Deepcut, between 1995 and 2002.* 29th March 2006. [Online] Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228930/0795.pdf> {Accessed 8/7/21} title page
[270] Blake, *Deepcut,* p5

deaths, sometimes without a jury, had ruled suicide or an open verdict.[271] Family dissatisfaction,

coupled with media interest was only exacerbated by the news in 2004 that a former Warrant Officer,

Leslie Skinner, had entered a guilty plea at Kingston Crown Court for various offences of indecent

assault on male soldiers. Despite having received a Court Martial conviction in 1996 for indecent

exposure, Skinner had been reduced in the ranks and posted to Deepcut. Deepcut had become a

media frenzy and stories circulated that:

> the trainees were murdered by a killer on the loose; that Deepcut was a 'death camp'; that
>
> there was a gang of bullying NCOs tormenting trainees and that those who died were bullied
>
> or harassed and, ultimately, driven to death.[272]

The review, therefore, was established to quash the stories as well as acknowledging that 'the deaths

of Sean Benton, Cheryl James, Geoff Gray and James Collinson by gunshot wounds were all deaths

which there were clear grounds to believe were violent or unnatural.'[273] The review would ultimately

agree with the findings of suicide and that 'a public inquiry into the immediate or broader

circumstances surrounding these deaths is not necessary.'[274] However, the revelations held within the

review made for uncomfortable reading.

They point to the prevalence of an unhealthy and toxic environment, equally damaging to the men

and women who suffered there. Benton had not only been beaten by fellow trainees[275] he had also

been singled out for assault by his Sergeant, beaten on parade or when another trainee's kit was not

up to scratch.[276] There was 'substantial evidence suggesting bullying and harassment.'[277] James had

---

271 Blake, *Deepcut,* p5
272 Blake, *Deepcut,* p22
273 Blake, *Deepcut,* p29
274 Blake, *Deepcut,* p415
275 Blake, *Deepcut,* p121
276 Blake, *Deepcut,* p134
277 Blake, *Deepcut,* p148

been sexually harassed by a Corporal[278] while another witness spoke of unequal sexual relationships between instructors and trainees. Sexual harassment of servicewomen was reported repeatedly.[279] Female trainees had been assaulted in their beds while they slept[280] and found their complaints about bullying Sergeants went unheeded, despite evidence on each occasion.[281] An anonymous 1999 letter was included in the review:

> Sir, I understand I have broken the chain of command, however I have had no help when I've asked for it at 86 sqn HQ. I am a trainee and since starting at Deepcut I have been under constant physical and verbal abuse from [Sergeant BB] (2 Trp Sgt). On more than once occasion he has punched me in the face and body. And he always threatens me, that he'll keep on doing it and to not tell anyone. He puts me down in front of my troop and bullies me at any opportunity. I can accept that as a woman I would hear some comments and take a jibe. But this is not harmless banter.[282]

The cases in the review portrayed a masculinist culture which could be just as problematic for servicemen as well as servicewomen, a training environment where – despite official publications and guidelines – bullying had been allowed to hold sway, where harshness and brutality had become the markers of what constituted effective training. The incidents at Deepcut were hopefully an aberration, and lessons were learned from the Review. Does the lack of other such incidents point to a genuine absence and excision of this toxic culture, or that such cultures have become more adept at hiding themselves and silencing dissenting voices? It remains to be seen.

---

[278] Blake, *Deepcut,* p181
[279] Blake, *Deepcut,* p185
[280] Blake, *Deepcut,* p239
[281] Blake, *Deepcut,* p242
[282] Blake, *Deepcut,* p251

The horrible events at Deepcut aside, images and films of recruits undergoing the same experiences in the same environments - despite being separated by time - points to the constancy of the training process. Such training occurred in environments that were initially confusing and far removed from civilian life, and recruits were dislocated from their homes and underwent the same physical dissolution of their civilian identities. This dislocation and undermining of their civilian lives created an atavistic *carte blanche* in order to begin the process of construction which made soldiers, soldiers. New and dazzling rules and regulations laid the foundations for the military discipline which would shape their military lives and which not only placed them under constant scrutiny but also rendered them powerless. Training occurred in environments that were designed for men and which expected a high degree of gender conformity to a culture fundamentally masculine and heterosexual and in which, hints of femininity were exorcised. To successfully become soldiers, and to successfully *feel* like soldiers, there was a subliminal pressure to subscribe to this standard, and successful subscription brought cultural and emotional reward.

Becoming fit garnered a capital that was institutionally prioritised but recruits could also draw on other markers of masculinity and the homosocial environment in which military training occurred ensured such markers were clearly delineated. Resources such as swearing, drinking and boasting of sexual prowess were commonplace. By the end of Basic Training, the soldier was on his way to becoming a 'strong, silent, self-reliant man who functions as a loyal member of a team' [283] and successful completion of it meant that the recruit was 'no longer an object of scorn' or 'the butt of drill-sergeants and the despair of officers.'[284] He had become 'a man, a comrade and a soldier.'[285] What happened when these men were sent into operations, and they and their comrades came under fire? This is the focus of the next chapter which looks in detail at soldiers posted in 1969 into Northern Ireland - a violent and challenging conflict zone which was rapidly and disastrously spiralling out of control.

---

[283] Arkim & Dobrofsky, *Military*, p159
[284] Holmes, *Acts*, p56
[285] Holmes, *Acts*, p56

Chapter Three – 'Jesus Christ, I'm bleedin' 'ome!'[1] Negotiating Masculinity in Northern Ireland, 1969-1975

Figure 20 - Soldiers and vehicles on Shankill Road, 12th October 1969.
(Image courtesy of the Imperial War Museum)

Figure 21 - Soldiers receiving tea and biscuits, Cupar Street, Belfast, 1969.
(Image courtesy of the Imperial War Museum)

---

[1] Wharton, Ken. *Bloody Belfast. An Oral History of the British Army's War Against the IRA.* Spellmount Publishing, Kindle Edition, 2010*,* p27

The two preceding photographs illustrate some of the commonly known elements of the Northern Ireland conflict: military operations enacted on familiar British streets and soldiers receiving tea and biscuits at the conflict's start. Such images form part of a collective public knowledge of the conflict and this chapter will look at the incongruities they encapsulate, a result of British soldiers fighting on domestic soil. This home setting, and the official constraints on their soldiering such a geography prescribed, placed a stress on soldierly ideas of their military superiority, their military identities and the military masculinities such identities contained. The previous certainties and assumptions which soldiers had been trained in, and which had operated unchallenged in decolonisation excursions, were particularly illusory in areas where enemies looked like the soldiers themselves and where military standards could be relaxed or adapted to bring them into line with the wider society the soldiers were now placed in.

This chapter will demonstrate that in active conflict, the careful construction of soldiering that was inculcated in soldiers in training could collapse, and how, in spite of this, soldiers negotiated a sense of masculine selfhood, either through a psychological reframing of the new types of work they encountered, asserting their mainly superiority over others, or through the use of unofficial violence. Importantly, under the full glare of public scrutiny, such behaviour threatened the integrity of the image of the British soldier and the chapter also considers the state machinations deployed to protect the image of the soldier on the mainland through a PR campaign that was different to those which had been deployed in conflicts that were out of sight of the United Kingdom.

On 10th April, 1998, the Good Friday agreement concluded one of the most protracted and bloody periods of Northern Irish history. For nearly three decades, opposing factions had waged war there and left deep scars across the region. Over the conflict's duration, three hundred thousand troops

were deployed to the region in a conflict which 'became a war in all but name.'[2] As agents of the state, the army had to navigate a landscape riven with discord and animosity, their role as restorers of law and order placing them at the heart of ideological divisions. It was a position often difficult to maintain; each side perceived army injustice against them, each side perceived their fight was the right one. The conflict highlighted a complex intersectionality of masculinity, religious ideology and historical injustices that was fuelled by contemporary economic and social inequalities. It was a conflict which was unique in the British Army's history, a uniqueness which makes it the focus of study of this chapter and one which highlights how soldiers negotiated their own identities as soldiers and the masculinities contained within them. With their abilities to soldier hampered by official legislation or the nature of the conflict itself, soldiers looked to other means to assert their own sense of manhood.

For the second time in its history, the army was engaged in a conflict that was enacted on home soil, a location which set it apart from colonial excursions in places such as Kenya or Aden, or more traditional conflicts such as the Falklands/Malvinas war. Those particular deployments had been enacted in locations far away from the psyches of the population of the United Kingdom. The fact that this conflict occurred on home soil forced existential questions on the participants and its spectators: enemies were from the same country as the soldiers and looked like the soldiers themselves, while the fighting was done in familiar and domestic environments. Such familiarity meant that the conflict demonstrated how soldiers could overcome similarities and 'other' their enemies. Furthermore, it was a conflict enacted in the public eye, the media coverage of it forcing questions and dividing opinions, exposing the mechanics and operations of soldiering as never before. Situated on home soil, the conflict could not be romanticised or mythologised; instead, the human cost and horror of conflict were exposed.

---

[2] *Soldiers Stories: Northern Ireland.* (2018) YouTube video, added by James Buchan. [Online]. Available at <https://youtu.be/JZCf67rQrWg> [Accessed 3 December 2020], 00:00:22

It is a conflict which still lingers and has a presence today, and its highly public nature demonstrates what happens when public narratives remain in a state of flux. The conflict's controversy and its contested narratives are undiminished by the passage of time, perpetuating the pain of many of those involved and disallowing closure. For the British Army it remains something of an embarrassment, overlooked at Remembrancetide and many soldiers still feel that their contribution to the conflict would rather be ignored or forgotten. Consequently, contradictory events have not been homogenised which has prevented some soldierly masculine identities being able to coalesce through the myth-making which follows conflict.

The chapter is grounded in oral history interviews that were conducted on behalf of the Imperial War Museum (IWM) and which are contained in their archive, as well as published and televised accounts of soldiers' experiences. The oral history collections collated by Ken Wharton (himself a former soldier who performed two tours in the region) gather a range of voices from ranks and regiments to provide comments and experiences that are sometimes frank and contradict official policies or press narratives. Wharton was also an adviser to a History Channel documentary, *Soldiers' Stories: Northern Ireland* which captures the voices and experiences of soldiers who fought throughout the period. Lt. Col. Michael's Dewar 'vivid and sympathetic'[3] account of the conflict, produced in 1985, has been a useful source of the contemporary military techniques and strategies that were deployed and was often forensic in detail.

Why this period?

When Operation Banner began in 1969, it would become the 'longest running campaign in the history of the British Army'[4] and none of the participants could have possibly predicted that it would last

[3] Burke, Edward. *An Army of Tribes,* Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2018 p7
[4] Wharton, Ken. *Torn Apart. Fifty Years of the Troubles, 1969 – 2019.* The History Press, Stroud, 2019, p33

another twenty-nine years. The introduction of British troops onto the streets of Derry in August 1969 set off a chain reaction which made the next six years the bloodiest of the Troubles and the escalation of violence in this period tested soldiering in new ways and forced an existential examination of soldiering itself. Unlike the other chapters of this thesis, this chapter focuses on a particularly narrow time period in order to illustrate in more nuanced detail how soldiers responded to what was a novel situation. The first cohort who entered the streets of Northern Ireland did so without an established way of soldiering on home soil or the knowledge of how to retain a sense of their masculinity within this distinct context. The early part of the conflict illuminates how soldiers navigated the contradictions of the conflict for and between themselves and highlights the different modes and resources of masculinity that soldiers were able to negotiate and deploy when soldiers found their own authentic versions of manhood reflected back at them, when their abilities to soldier were compromised and when their sense of their own soldierly masculinities were rendered more uncertain. As the dystopian horror of civil war engulfed the region, the dissatisfaction felt on both sides of the divide had one common focus: the British Army. Caught in the crossfire, the usual boundaries of warfare blurred in the domesticity of Northern Irish streets or the pastoral fields of the countryside. In the presence of such ambiguities, modes of military manliness which had found easy expression in colonial deployments found themselves under duress.

 The escalation of violence in this period shows the fragility of the careful construction of soldierly identities that had been honed in their training and what happened to that construction in the messy confusion of actual conflict. The period demonstrates how soldiers were able to assert their manliness not only over other men but also over the women of the region, ensuring as they did so their sense of masculine self remained real. The conflict's setting on home soil made it unique, but the Northern Ireland conflict does not have to be utterly exceptional to make it particular: soldiers encountered situations that were common to other conflicts and focussing on Northern Ireland is a useful lens to examine what happened to soldiers in other theatres of combat.

The visuals of these peak years of political violence[5] are familiar but no less horrifying. Between July 1969 and July 1973, 857 people died in the region. Of these, 498 were victims of battles between the IRA and the British Army. The events of Bloody Sunday on 30th January 1972 ushered in a period of 'frenetic levels of violence.' By the end of 1973 (the 'second worst year of the Troubles'[6]), a quarter of all fatalities in the period 1969 to 1990 had occurred.[7] In 1972 alone, 476 people were killed,[8] 158 of which were security forces personnel (including members of the Ulster Defence Regiment), a figure equivalent to the number of British personnel killed in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2009.[9] Indeed, 1972 was the worst year for the British army since the Korean War[10] with a soldier fatality 'on average every three days.'[11] The place which had been 'fondly known as Britain's back yard' now had more military fatalities than those in the campaigns of Aden and Cyprus.[12] When Robin Evelegh, an officer with the Royal Green Jackets arrived in Belfast in late 1972, he had to deal with over two thousand shooting incidents in his first six weeks, the events taking place in an area of just two square miles.[13] 1971 and 1972 saw 2404 bomb incidents and 12,837 shooting incidents in a territory that contained one and a half million people.[14] The region was seemingly disintegrating into a confusing vortex of violence.

When they were first deployed to Northern Ireland, Home Secretary, Jim Callaghan exposed the perception of the region as separate from 'the mainland' when he assured the British public that the

---

[5] McGarry, John & Brendan O'Leary. *Explaining Northern Ireland.* Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Oxford, 1995, p260
[6] Wharton, *Torn,* p71
[7] Bew, Paul, Peter Gibbon & Henry Patterson. *Northern Ireland, 1921 – 2001. Political Forces and Social Class.* Serif, London, 2002, p188
[8] Guelke, Adrian. 'Paramilitaries, Republicans and Loyalists.' In Dunn, Seamus (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1995, p119
[9] Wharton, *Bloody*, p300
[10] *Soldiers Stories,* [00:24:35]
[11] Wharton, Ken. *A Long, Long War. Voices from the British Army in Northern Ireland, 1969 – 1998.* Helion & Company Limited, Solihull, 2010, pxxxviii
[12] Wharton, *Torn,* p43
[13] Evelegh, Robin. (1992) Imperial War Museum, collection number 11148 (Charles Allen). {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010906} [Accessed 19/11/20]
[14] Wharton, *Long,* pxxxvi

troops would return 'home' as soon as law and order had been established.[15] This was definitely not a war; this was state responsibility being deployed to legitimately use force in order to restore law and order.[16] Soldiers initially deployed there did not take the posting too seriously. For Mark Sullivan, one of the eighty soldiers of the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment, 'it was just another exercise.'[17] Jim Parker, of the Light Infantry Unit, recalled that he and his colleagues 'thought this was a joke, another practice.'[18] Major Ken Draycott recalled 'expecting a six week 'holiday' and that soldiers 'didn't even take flak jackets… we couldn't take the whole thing seriously.'[19]

It was a confidence possibly born of the fact that Northern Ireland had not troubled the army for a long time. Traditionally, the holder of the military's senior post, the General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland, had enjoyed the social whirl and the sports of the country set, military duties primarily keeping an eye on the resident brigade.[20] Irish history, with its complexities and confusions 'had never been part of the syllabus for staff officers.'[21] There *were* foreboding portends: the increasing powerlessness of the 'crumbling administration'[22] of Stormont and the fact the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) 'was not merely dismembered, it was a shambles.'[23] The usual mechanisms of state power which controlled effective law and order were diminishing.

The army was first deployed to the region on the 14th August 1969 when the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment of Yorkshire was sent to Waterloo Place in Derry to assist a beleaguered unit of the RUC

---

[15] Hamill, Desmond. *Pig in the Middle. The Army in Northern Ireland, 1969 – 1985.* Methuen, London, 1985, p7
[16] Dawson, Graham. *Making Peace with the Past? Memory, Trauma and the Irish Troubles.* Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 2007 p94
[17] *Soldiers Stories,* [00:03:26]
[18] *Soldiers Stories,* [00:03:58]
[19] Wharton, *Long,* p50
[20] Hamill, *Pig*, p8
[21] Hamill, *Pig*, p8
[22] Coogan, Tim Pat. *The Troubles. Ireland's Ordeal, 1966 – 1995 and the Search for Peace.* Kindle Edition, 1995, p125
[23] Coogan, *Troubles*, p126

(Royal Ulster Constabulary).[24] With tear gas pervading the air, the army erected a barricade which enabled the fleeing RUC forces to escape a pursuing crowd. This crowd - agitated and riled - rounded the corner and stopped at the sight of the British soldiers barring their way. It must have been an electric moment as British citizens came face to face with British troops placed in opposition to them. Eddie McAteer, former Nationalist MP, cautiously welcomed the sight of the soldiers, hoping the army's presence would cool heated temperatures. Bernadette Devlin – who would soon become an MP - urged the crowd to reject them, insisting they were not there as allies. She then 'went on a bit about British imperialism, Cyprus and Aden. It did not go down very well.'[25] Her words didn't gain traction: for the moment the RUC had retreated and the crowd had won. Exhausted after the day's events, they dispersed.

Unfortunately reflecting the topographical ignorance of military planning, the worst of the violence had actually been in Belfast, where the maelstrom still raged.[26] The next day, Callaghan conceded to sending troops to the beleaguered capital, still somewhat naively and optimistically believing this would be a rapidly concluded affair. His hopes would prove hollow. By the end of the first weekend of fighting, ten people would be dead and over sixteen hundred injured. One hundred and seventy homes had been destroyed and sixteen factories gutted, at a cost of eight million pounds of damage. A Stormont civil servant, quoted by the news reporter Desmond Hamill, was succinct in his appraisal of what went wrong, commenting the army had been '"badly briefed, badly instructed, and had little idea of what it was doing".'[27] Despite the damages and deaths, and despite six thousand extra troops being drafted into the area at the beginning of September,[28] it was still hoped the situation was temporary and disengagement of troops was to be facilitated as quickly as possible. Such was the

---

[24] Dewar, Michael, Lieutenant-Colonel, *The British Army in Northern Ireland,* Arms and Armour Press, London & New York, 1985, p33
[25] Hamill, *Pig*, p13
[26] Bew *et al*, *Northern*, p157
[27] Hamill, *Pig*, p20
[28] Dewar, *British,* p37

hurried nature of the deployment, if they were lucky, troops found themselves in substandard accommodation. If they were unlucky, they would be 'head down in a sleeping bag'[29] on the streets of Belfast, sleeping wherever the trouble took them. Christopher Lawton, a Private with the Durham Light Infantry, recalled sleeping wherever they could, sometimes in shop doorways, sometimes in derelict houses. The issuing of string vests for the bitterly cold December evenings was met with some resigned amusement[30] and tested the military stoicism which had been honed during training.

Edward Heath's new government of 1970 was 'anxious to re-insulate the whole question from British political life,' resulting in it becoming necessary to avoid confrontation with the Protestant community.[31] The army was forced into becoming agents for a political juggling act, its primary role to 'provide a deterrent to the escalation of violence and to keep the peace between the more extreme elements of both communities.'[32] Simultaneously attempting to appear as the saviours of two opposed and increasingly antagonistic communities, it was 'small wonder, that the ordinary squaddie saw himself as "piggy in the bloody middle",'[33] the 'meat in a sectarian sandwich.'[34] Deteriorating relationships with the Catholic community meant that initially, the army would have to court Protestant vigilante groups in order to keep the peace. Relations with them had to be 'generally amicable'[35] and one user of the ARRSE.co.uk forum recalled 'we had the entire Protestant paramilitaries working with impunity at our beck and call.'[36] As the Official IRA increased its presence in the period, London policies swung against them, a tangible enemy suddenly easy to focus on[37] and

[29] Brannigan, Frank. (2007), Imperial War Museum, collection number 30295 (Harry Moses) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80030211} [Accessed 19th November 2020]

[30] Lawton, Christopher. (Year of production unknown), Imperial War Museum, collection number 28969 (Harry Moses) { https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80026382} [Accessed 17th October 2020]

[31] Bew *et al*, *Northern*, p159

[32] Dewar, *British,* p218

[33] Wharton, *Bloody*, p26

[34] *Soldiers Stories*, (00:11:26)

[35] Bruce, Steve. *The Red Hand. Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland.* Open University Press, Oxford, 1992, p47

[36] ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, [Comment 62 on the online forum post 'British army death squads in Northern Ireland'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 21st July 2021]

[37] Burke, *Army,* p

one which created an asymmetry of relations between the army and the factions involved. It was an asymmetry which could only exacerbate a deteriorating situation.

The welcome was initially warm from a beleaguered Catholic community, however. Kathleen O'Hanlon, a nurse at the Belfast Royal Victoria Hospital, 'loved them at first' and recalls the troops being 'treated like long lost saviours.'[38] Within a few hours, Roy Davies - a Private with the Royal Regiment of Wales - and his colleagues had 'tea and cakes coming out of our ears.'[39] A squaddie with the Infantry Regiment remembered 'so well' comments such as '"God bless ye, Tommy"' and '"Be having a cuppa tea an' a wee biscuits Tommy"'[40] when stationed there in 1969. Christopher Lawton, coming to the end of a shower-free patrol which had lasted days, received kindness from a Catholic householder who, when giving them tea, wondered when they were last cleaned. As a result, two of his soldiers would end up taking a bath together in her house.[41]

As the army committed itself to the 'biggest combined operation in British territory'[42] since the Second World War, community relations were furthered with a 'hearts and minds' campaign. Indeed, 'community relations' became a major focus for the army, and organising soccer matches with the 'local lads,'[43] day outings and camping trips for local children, repairs to local community centres, resurfacing basketball pitches, redecorating pensioners' homes,[44] and escorting children to school (the 'lollipop patrol'[45]) became part of the soldier's remit. However, sometimes, the 'hand of friendship was not gratefully received.' A replacement dog which was bought for a family after the army accidentally killed the original, was refused. Goalposts which had been erected for local children

[38] O'Hanlon, Kathleen. (2001) Imperial War Museum, catalogue no. 21719, (Lyn E Smyth)
{https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80020475 } [Accessed 10th November 2020]
[39] Wharton, *Bloody*, p38
[40] Wharton, *Long,* p48
[41] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM
[42] Boulton, David. *The UVF, 1969 – 1973. An Anatomy of Loyalist Rebellion.* Torc Books, Dublin, 1973, p133
[43] Wharton, *Long,* p56
[44] Dewar, *British,* p46
[45] Wharton, *Long,* p81

on a waste ground were burnt down the same night.[46] These 'hearts and minds' tactics may have contributed to ideas that service in the region was initially an 'easy' deployment and helped compromise how soldiers viewed themselves.

Negative reactions increased, compounded by the failure to ban the 1970 Orange parades,[47] the 'dreadful'[48] curfew of Falls Road in the spring of 1970 and the heavy handed – and initially Protestant-focussed[49] - house searches which trapped over twenty thousand people in their homes; these events soured community relations irrevocably.[50] Community actions which had attempted to further peace through rational discussion, withered.[51] The army changed from being protectors to being oppressors as Loyalists began to denounce the British as foreign invaders.[52] Quickly, tea and biscuits were replaced with spit and phlegm, urine, human and dog faeces, used sanitary towels, dead cats and soiled nappies.[53] Petrol bombs became a common projectile from both sides.[54] '"Nobody can hate quite like the Irish"' became a common saying among soldiers[55] and the graffiti, 'Troops out', began to appear on what felt like every building.[56]

Rioting got worse and injuries accelerated:

> A friend of mine had his arm broken. By being hit with an iron bar. Another lad had his jaw
>
> broken, another soldier lost teeth by being hit in the face with a brick. I got hit in the side of

---

[46] Glaze, John. (2007), Imperial War Museum, collection number 30 (Richard Mcdonaugh)
{https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80029008} [Accessed 10th November 2020]
[47] Dewar, *British*, p39
[48] Kathleen O'Hanlon interview, IWM
[49] Boulton, *UVF*, p129
[50] McKittrick, David & David McVea, *Making Sense of the Troubles.* Penguin, London, 2001, p61
[51] Dewar, *British*, p49
[52] Boulton, *UVF*, p129
[53] Wharton, *Bloody,* p27
[54] Wharton, *Bloody*, p30
[55] Beevor, Antony, *Inside the British Army.* Chatto & Windus Ltd., London, 1990 p198
[56] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM

the head with a brick which knocked me out. The NCO behind me at the time was hit in the face with a broken bottle which put him on the floor. So we were both dragged out of it.[57]

Rioting which occurred on 3rd and 4th February, 1971 was 'probably the worst the Army had faced to date.'[58] Five soldiers were wounded by machine gun fire and another by a gelignite bomb. On 6th February Gunner Robert Curtis was shot dead while four of his colleagues were wounded. The same night, the army shot dead a PIRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army) officer while a bomb explosion on 10th, meant to eliminate an army patrol, killed five BBC technicians. On 15th February, another British soldier would die.[59] The execution of three young Scottish soldiers on 11th March, who had been lured from a pub by girls with the promise of a party, and who were shot while urinating on a country road just outside a Belfast suburb, inspired revulsion and celebration.[60] The event became a reminder to soldiers: cartoon strips of the murders, as well as photographs of local girls suspected of being honey-trappers and pictures of the murdered soldiers' bodies were posted on barracks' notice boards as a salutary warning.[61] Rumours circulated that women were putting ground glass in the cups of tea they offered.[62] Such incidents helped throw into sharp relief the complexities of fighting on British soil, exposing the former certainties of conflict as insecure and how a soldier's sense of their own masculinity, usually easily expressed though their soldiering, was something that needed negotiation.

---

[57] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:20:41]
[58] Dewar, *British*, p49
[59] Dewar, *British*, p49
[60] Dewar, *British*, p51
[61] Beevor, *Inside, p*201
[62] Burke, *Army,* p164

The confusion of fighting on home soil

Previously established boundaries of warfare were confused by the incongruity of soldiering on streets that looked like *Coronation Street,*[63] only differentiated by the decorations which had been daubed on them. For the soldiers who came under fire, it was a shock to find themselves in 'in a British town and being shot at.'[64] A squaddie with the Infantry Regiment recalled patrolling working-class areas of 'slum terracing, outside lavs and the like and it was a lot like the places most of the lads – me included – had been brought up.'[65] Soldiers quickly came to recognise the red, white and blue paintings of Protestant areas or the orange, green and white paintings in Catholic areas.[66] Soldiers were conflicted as their own mixed religions within their units meant that opponents were not clearly drawn. Frank Brannigan, a NCO with the Third Battalion Light Infantry, recalled 'you have Catholics in the army and Protestants in the army… I was a Catholic… me mate was a Protestant.'[67] Barney Loughran, serving with the King's Own Scottish Borderers in 1970, recalled a flashpoint at a barrier when two locals had argued with a colleague who was denying them passage. '"Look here", said one, "I'm not one of your F—-ing Fenians". "Well I am", said my friend, "and you are definitely not getting through".'[68] In a region where outsiders find the communities of Northern Ireland 'almost impossible "to tell apart",'[69] 'enemies' looked exactly as they did. This was a novel experience for soldiers, and enemies who looked like them compromised any notions of white superiority, as elaborated by an anonymous interviewee in *Soldiers' Stories*:

---

[63] John Glaze interview, IWM
[64] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:11:43]
[65] Wharton, *Long,* p49
[66] John Glaze interview, IWM
[67] Frank Brannigan interview, IWM
[68] Wharton, *Long,* p66
[69] McGarry & O'Leary, *Explaining*, p253

The problem is, of course, when you're in a war. When we were in Aden, for example, the

enemy, you knew they were all out… In Northern Ireland you simply do not know who is who.

And I think I would say the soldiers took a lot of time to get used to that.[70]

Paddy Lenaghan, serving with the King's Regiment in 1972 agreed:

I have spoken to Aussies who served in Vietnam and I was able to say that at least their enemy

was Asian; ours wore the same cloths, drove the same cars, shopped in same shops, and used

the same money. It was not until they opened their mouths that they were different and even

then you still did not know if the person was Catholic or a Prod.[71]

To compensate for this confusion, and to maintain notions of superiority, the enemy was drawn along

familiar and colonial lines, a 'strain of frankly racist condescension' evident in the term frequently used

to describe the Irish: 'bog-wogs,'[72] the term conflating a derogation of the Irish and a term favoured

by racists for addressing Black people. Some soldiers began to denounce the Roman Catholic poor as

'dirty' or 'savage' while a regimental magazine offered a prize to anyone who could draw a picture of

an 'intelligent Irishman'.[73] 'Paddybashing' became a common term for service in Republican or Loyalist

areas.[74] Such usage permitted a psychological re-framing of their enemy as an 'other', colour-washing

them in the process. Christopher Lawton spotted a suspect reading a newspaper upside-down and

unconsciously channelled this condescension: 'I know that sounds Irish'[75] was his only comment. As

units took casualties, this othering of the civilian population 'escalated commensurately.'[76]

---

[70] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:05:52]
[71] Wharton, *Long,* p136
[72] Coogan, *Troubles,* p126
[73] Burke, *Army,* pp164-165
[74] Burke, *Army,* p166
[75] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM
[76] Burke, *Army,* p29

This lack of a visible enemy shook internal notions of soldiering, compromised soldiers ability to actually soldier and also shook their perception of themselves *as* a soldier. Private Andy Bull, of the Royal Regiment of Wales recalled a 'strange feeling of nakedness and awkwardness as I saw members of the public walking towards me for the very first time even though I was armed with an SLR rifle.'[77] An anonymous soldier, interviewed for the IWM, with the 1st Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders recalled his initial impression when he arrived in Belfast in 1973:

> The whole thing was slightly unnatural... because on a beautiful sunny day, the kids would be playing, people would be shopping, the buses would be going...but there was you, in your flak jacket and your rifle, in this environment and it's so strange to start with.[78]

The domesticity could be startling: Mick Pickford, serving with the Royal Artillery, had to prove to a child who had been taught that British soldiers were the Devil, that he was, in fact, human, by removing his helmet and displaying his lack of horns. With children often asking him for sweets or pens, he felt sometimes like he was 'Jesus feeding the five thousands or an IRA sniper's worst nightmare.'[79] Gunner Mick Potter of the Royal Artillery had to ask himself if he felt 'compassion for a kid that is throwing rocks at you?'[80] Constantly under fire, frustrations ran high. Anger had to be quelled as Ken Ambrose, who was serving with the Royal Green Jackets, described:

> If you get someone who's had a bucket of pee tipped over their head when they've been walking down the street, the most natural thing in the world would be to batter that door

---

[77] Wharton, *Bloody,* p53
[78] Anonymous. (1992), (Charles Allen) Imperial War Museum collection number 11151, {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010909} [Accessed 8/10/20]
[79] Wharton, *Bloody,* p166
[80] Wharton, *Bloody,* p257

down and batter the person who tipped the pee over their head but we had to stop people doing that.[81]

This truncating of the violence associated with soldiering blurred the boundaries of soldierly identities and forced existential questions on the soldier. This unique situation, 'in which the exact legal position and role of the soldier was not initially precisely established' and where previous measures adopted in colonial incursions, such as the imposition of curfews, the issuing of identity cards or the control of food supplies,[82] were not permissible, instigated previously un-asked questions. What would happen if a soldier was forced to shoot a citizen of the United Kingdom?[83] Were they acting as agents of civil power and restoring law and order? Or were they fighting a guerrilla war?[84] Such questions, historian Edward Burke has argued, meant that trained soldiers 'often froze when confronted with a legitimate opportunity to kill'.[85] Tactics and strategies which had been honed in the post-colonial operations of Aden, Cyprus, Kenya, and Malaya, were rendered 'counterproductive'[86] on city streets where the occupants were white, spoke English and were citizens of the United Kingdom. The local co-operation which had been essential in the urban conflicts of Aden, Nicosia, Ismailia and Jerusalem, was missing.[87] The assumption of their own military superiority and the power such as assumption bestowed, and the certainty of their sense of masculine which could follow naturally from this, had been previously unchallenged. However, Northern Ireland would remove these certainties and British army soldiering – and the qualities of masculinities it contained – would have to change.

---

[81] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:10:00]
[82] Dewar, *British*, p219
[83] Dewar, *British*, p32
[84] Hamill, *Pig*, p21
[85] Burke, *Army,* p12
[86] Coogan, *Troubles*, p126
[87] Hamill, *Pig*, p33

A new type of soldiering

The start of the conflict was a huge learning curve for the army[88] and it was often found compromised and on the back foot, new duties and requirements seemingly at odds with military experience. The limitations placed on soldiers because of the UK-based location of the conflict meant senior officers took 'considerable time' to adjust to this new reality.[89] Just as the army supported the local police in the Malayan conflict during the 1950s,[90] similar policing work was expected in Northern Ireland. However, as Lieutenant Colonel Michael Dewar argued, 'no army, however well it conducts itself, is suitable for (the) police work'[91] the army was now expected to undertake in its role of 'supplanting the…hard-pressed RUC.'[92] 'We should never have been put in that position,' agreed Lieutenant Colonel R.P. Mason. He elaborated, 'our role was never about domestic violence, missing kids (and) truanting kids'.[93] Sergeant Roy Davies with the Royal Regiment of Wales encapsulated the new dual identities soldiers had to embody when he recalled that his officers 'told us that we were the police now as all law and order had broken down and we were to act as police but never to forget that we were soldiers, also.'[94] Major Mick Sullivan had joined the army in 1966 expecting to be 'posted to some serious conflicts around the world.' He was surprised to find himself 'being asked to keep the peace in my own backyard.'[95] Such policing, and the work it entailed, were at odds with soldierly expectations of their duties and did not allow soldiers to feel like soldiers, compromising their sense of self. What became a familiar roster of policing 'shooting incidents, bomb explosions and bomb scares, protest marches, stone throwing, ambushes and IRA funerals,'[96] did not come naturally: 'the

---

[88] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM
[89] Burke, *Army,* p64
[90] Chandler, David G & Ian Beckett. *The Oxford History of the British Army.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994 p332
[91] Dewar, *British*, p38
[92] Wharton, *Long,* pxxxvi
[93] Wharton, *Long,* p86
[94] Wharton, *Long, p*52
[95] Wharton, *Long,* p54
[96] Dewar, *British*, p76

trouble is with the army; if you put it into a civilian situation, they can sometimes act like they do in a battlefield.'[97] Techniques and equipment needed rethinking.

Initial training for service in Northern Ireland was 'haphazard;'[98] 'Alex' from the Royal Tank Regiment, remembered it as 'us throwing bricks at each other.'[99] Jim Parker, serving with the Light Infantry, recalled spending a 'short time practicing Anti-Riot drills as the battalion had done in Malaya.'[100] By 1971, deployed troops would have undergone training honed on replica Belfast streets. There, as well as learning improved ways of patrolling in both urban and rural areas and box formations for riot control,[101] new ways of undertaking house searches and crowd control were also on the syllabus.[102] Soldiers were also trained in dealing with fleeing targets, first aid, arrest procedures, procedures for opening fire, bomb recognition and Intelligence on paramilitary groups.[103] Soldiers were also trained to adopt the 'Winthrop Method', a technique developed to allow soldiers to put themselves in the mind of the enemy to ascertain where bombs could be hidden in both urban and rural areas.[104]

Rioting became commonplace, as did the crowd control and preventing confrontation which such situations entailed, although initially soldiers were given a handsaw and had to craft their own riot batons out of broom handles.[105] A 1970 riot saw four hundred Commandos with the King's Own Scottish Borderers holding back two thousand Catholics from three thousand Protestants, themselves being curtailed by the RUC.[106] 'Taffy', serving with the Royal Regiment of Wales, recalled riots were

---

[97] Wharton, *Long,* p109
[98] Dewar, *British*, p181
[99] Wharton, *Bloody,* p45
[100] Wharton, *Long,* p56
[101] Dewar, *British*, p181
[102] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM
[103] Dewar, *British*, p181
[104] Dewar, *British*, p223
[105] Wharton, *Long,* p71
[106] Dewar, *British*, p41

'just mobs, running about throwing whatever they could lay their hands on. It was chaotic and I hadn't

ever seen anything like that in my life before I went to Ireland.'[107]

Banners which warned rioters they could be fired upon were quickly withdrawn as the Arabic text in

which they were written betrayed their colonial past and rendered them useless,[108] a fact reflected in

a 1971 evaluation of the deployment that was headed 'WE MUST ERADICATE ADEN TENDENCIES.'[109]

Similar modifications were enacted by soldiers in the 1990 Gulf War where soldiers were 'expected to

adapt' quickly to the new environments they operated in.[110] By June 1970, new riot shields were

issued which replaced the solid metal versions previously used, the limited protection they offered

inadequate in the face of the barrage of projectiles the army faced.[111] The riot square formation -

which had been successful in Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaya, but which did not take into account

the threat from snipers[112] – was replaced by a front and flank-protecting riot shield formation.[113]

Soldiers had to undertake duties in the contrasting urban and rural environments, both of them

affording unique difficulties and problems. Rural locations initially offered a respite from the strains

of urban soldiering. County Down was a 'home from home and there was beautiful scenery, glorious

beaches to train on, and plenty of local dances attended by girls who were often pleased to see British

soldiers,' remarked one former soldier.[114] Television masts in rural locations needed checking for

explosive devices[115] and Mike Heavens, serving with the First Gloucestershire Regiment in 1969

recalled guarding the BBC transmitter station in the hills above Derry based in a small caravan which

---

[107] Wharton, *Long,* p52
[108] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM
[109] Burke, *Army,* p135
[110] Dannatt, Richard. *Boots on the Ground. Britain and her Army since 1945.* Profile Books Ltd., London, 2017 p201
[111] Dewar, *British*, p41
[112] Dewar, *British,* p42
[113] Wharton, *Bloody*, p334
[114] Wharton, *Long,* p55
[115] Dewar, *British,* p52

doubled as his guard post, the boredom staved off by visits to the local village for a dance.[116] For 'Dave', serving in 1970, 'death and mayhem seemed a thousand miles away' while undertaking county patrols, a welcome respite after serving in Belfast.[117]

As the conflict intensified, rural operations became as onerous or troubling as urban ones. When the PIRA began leaving its murder victims up Black Mountain near Ligoniel, soldiers were stationed to guard them whilst awaiting the RUC to remove the corpses.[118] Patrolling the three hundred and three mile border between the north and south of the island (of which thirty miles was coastal) required a constant effort to check its permeability.[119] Border patrols, established to prevent the PIRA using small country lanes to ferry arms and ammunition, involved soldiers making roadside hides, using them as cover for three to four days in order to monitor and log all border crossings.[120] South Armagh, which would be christened 'Bandit Country' in 1976 was the location of increasing army, RUC and UDR (Ulster Defence Regiment) losses in the early part of the conflict. Russ Slater, serving with the 17th/21st Lancers, recalled 'long hours, non-stop patrolling, endless operations and trying to stay switched on' when stationed there in 1973. In the twelve weeks prior to his posting, nine soldiers had been killed in the area.[121]

Whether in rural or urban areas, the conflict forced a reconsidering of some key practical elements of being a soldier. Lieutenant Colonel R.P. Mason recalled the attitude towards wearing uniform changing 'dramatically' around 1971 with the realisation that wearing it was no longer safe. 'The noticeable dichotomy between military and civilian' was diminishing although he reflected ruefully a colleague commenting 'it's so easy to spot a soldier in mufti; they look like Man at C & A.'[122] Flak

---

[116] Wharton, *Long,* p59
[117] Wharton, *Long,* p74
[118] Wharton, *Long,* p75
[119] Burke, *Army,* p83
[120] Wharton, *Long,* p169
[121] Wharton, *Long,* p170
[122] Wharton, *Long,* p85

jackets were abandoned after dark, and the onset of dusk also permitted the wearing of trainers, easier to catch fleeing opponents. Kit which had previously been deemed essential was whittled down from thirty-five to forty pounds of weight to just two pounds of weight.[123] Sometimes procedures could be adapted. When a soldier had his 'full mag pinched' during a search of a pub in 1973, Private Kev Blades' Commanding Officer announced that if the magazine was thrown out of the pub within ten minutes, then the soldiers would leave, 'no questions'. If not, then CS gas would be used on the pub's inhabitants. After some singing of hymns by the pub goers 'which quite amused us, the door opened slightly and someone slid the mag out. And away we walked with no questions asked!'[124] The ordering of a barrage of fire onto the walls of a convent where snipers were suspected of hiding was 'not Yellow card rules but it was believed to be effective.'[125] Sometimes new methods could be surprising: the dispelling of a riotous crowd outside a UDR centre in 1972 due to a piper playing the strains of 'Amazing Grace' (and in which the crowd joined in) dispersed the crowd's anger.[126]

Discipline could be relaxed on night patrols, the calling of nicknames in the darkness camouflaging the identities and ranks of the soldiers. Usually seen as denigrating and challenging army authority, it became a necessary strategy for survival. [127] Standards of discipline could also be relaxed in accommodation: in a room designed for three to four soldiers but shared by fifteen, beds were stacked three high and 'it was such a dump in there,' recalled an un-named squaddie of his tour there in 1970. He continued 'that had the RSM looked around he would have had a heart attack… when I think of all the bullshit from BT (Basic Training) and… all that shit, I used to think why they bothered! With all the spit and polish I mean.'[128] The rules on soldier's hair length were relaxed and soldiers were allowed to

[123] Boswell, Rod (1992) Imperial War Museum collection number 11134, {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80018119} [Accessed 8th October 2020]
[124] Wharton, *Long,* p186
[125] Burke, *Army,* p131
[126] Burke, *Army,* p136
[127] Rod Boswell interview, IWM
[128] Wharton, *Long,* p67

grow their hair longer in order to be less conspicuous.[129] The relaxing of standards which had formerly been drummed into soldiers as essential components of both their soldiering and their military masculinities, helped to remove elements which had separated soldiers from the civilian world, blurring further the distinction between their military masculinities and wider civilian modes of manhood.

Although 'in the early 1970s the emphasis was very much on overt patrolling,'[130] (and patrolling had been a common feature of the Aden campaign[131]) the nature of patrolling changed too from being a reactive process until 1971 that was used to allow soldiers to familiarise themselves with, and to dominate areas and prevent enemy freedom of movement. However, patrols would become preventative,[132] the potential tasks on patrol opened up to include setting up Vehicle Check Points, gathering intelligence on house occupancy, providing ground support for factories at opening and closing times, and visiting and examining the security of potential IRA targets such as Post Offices or garages. Soldiers could also visit families who had been targeted, identify potential sites for Observation Posts (OPs), and search for hidden weaponry.[133] Throughout each, soldiers had to check 'every window and doorway, every street corner and hedgerows for a possible telltale sign of an ambush'.[134] Initially, patrols were at walking pace with soldiers advised to move 'warily' but the increase of sniper operatives[135] meant soldiers were advised to be constantly on the move, never standing still for more than thirty seconds. If they did have to stop, 'you kneeled down, rifle into the shoulder and you'd be scanning windows, rooftops.'[136] When fired upon, soldiers would dart from

---

[129] Wharton, *Long,* p54
[130] Dewar, *British,* p186
[131] Dannatt, *Boots,* p110
[132] Dewar, *British,* p180
[133] Dewar, *British,* pp182-183
[134] Dewar, *British,* p183
[135] Dewar, *British,* p222
[136] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:14:44]

door to door, dodging and weaving between cover in a process that became known as 'hard targeting', 'a whole new method of urban patrolling'[137] developed in the early days of the conflict.

Whichever tactic they were embodying, there was 'always someone on the ground twenty-four hours a day'[138] and endless foot patrols, 'whether it rained, hailed or snowed,'[139] became part of the mundane routine. Soldiers grew weary of rounds of six-hour shifts of foot patrols that were followed by six-hour shifts of mobile patrol, which were then themselves followed by six-hour shifts of standby patrols. Patrolled areas could be diverse: in 1974 Lieutenant Colonel Michael Dewar was responsible for an area with a population of twenty five thousand people and which contained two large factories, a timber yard, a home for children with special needs, a patch of hillside and open country as well as a boundary between Catholic and Protestant areas.[140] When soldiers recounted their experiences of it, the gruelling nature of patrolling was emphasised, perhaps reflecting the personal negotiation soldiers underwent in order to reframe duties which may not have appeared as 'real' soldiering and which could compromise their sense of soldierly self.

John Glaze, an NCO with the Royal Marines, recalled almost getting trench-foot after not taking his boots off for a week, which made his feet look like 'two pieces of haddock.'[141] Soldiers were exhausted, 'some sections not getting any rest for thirty six hours or more.'[142] They were 'never really out of a state of tiredness.'[143] Richard Nettleton, with the Grenadier Guards had come to the end of a long shift and was – like his colleagues - 'zombiefied.' Sitting down to rest while waiting for their lift back to base to arrive, he leaned against a door which wasn't shut and 'tumbled backwards into their front room just as the *Nationwide* news programme theme tune started playing.' He was then offered a cup of

---

[137] Dewar, *British,* p222
[138] Dewar, *British,* p182
[139] Wharton, *Bloody*, p53
[140] Dewar, *British,* p181
[141] John Glaze interview, IWM
[142] Wharton, *Bloody*, p358
[143] Rod Boswell interview, IWM

tea by the bemused inhabitants and, embarrassed, had to ask his colleagues to come and help him up.[144] Terry Friend, serving with the Royal Artillery in 1970, recalled the revelation of 'just how long the human frame could function without a proper rest.'[145] Soldiers very quickly learnt the art – and value - of catnapping.[146]

Existential questions were also imposed upon soldiers with the introduction of the Yellow Card, a muddied response to the dilemma of shooting citizens of the United Kingdom. Historian Graham Dawson has suggested the Yellow Card was a device that legitimated how conflict could be undertaken when under public scrutiny.[147] Based on the concept of 'equivalent force' it expressed the rules and procedures soldiers had to undertake before using their weapons.[148] The rule that soldiers had to delay firing until a set of prescribed questions had been asked was derided, however. As one soldier pointed out, it was difficult to 'see your friends blown up around you, pick up the bits, put them in a plastic bag and then go and read the Yellow Card'.[149] 'Fook the yellow card, that was bollox (sic)' was the opinion of another.[150] Christopher Lawton felt emasculated, nothing more than a 'policeman in a uniform with an army weapon'[151] he wasn't allowed to use. Morale was low. Alcohol was rationed to two cans of lager a day.[152] A sentimental campaign by *The Sun* newspaper saw colour television sets being delivered to soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland at Christmas.[153] Pan's People, the all-female dance troupe from *Top of the Pops* – along with the comedian Frankie Howard – were flown over for morale boosting concerts.[154]

---

[144] Wharton, *Bloody,* p179
[145] Wharton, *Long,* p66
[146] Rod Boswell interview, IWM
[147] Dawson, *Making, p*95
[148] Dewar, *British*, p32
[149] Hamill, *Pig*, p50
[150] ARRSE.co.uk, 2010, [Comment 8 on the online forum post 'Northern Ireland- what's it like for soldiers?'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 21st July 2021]
[151] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM
[152] Anonymous, interview, IWM
[153] Anonymous, interview, IWM
[154] Wharton, *Long,* p138

The peace-keeping aspects of their deployment – the discos and goalposts of the hearts and minds operations – could also challenge personal notions of a soldiering manliness. Soldiers could be sneering about the lack of toughness required for foot-patrolling[155] and the often mundane and everyday nature of domestic conflict helped promote a frustrating contradiction of the warrior image that soldiers had been trained to embody.[156] Soldiers on observation duties, usually on the roofs of high-rise flats, now gathered intelligence on the ordinary: milk deliveries were carefully monitored for signs of increased consumption, a giveaway that a home was harbouring more inhabitants than usual.[157] The mundanity of the everyday, familiar to the soldiers from their own civilian lives, had encroached into their military lives. Along with the relaxing of standards which had differentiated them from the wider civilian population, this mundanity meant soldiers had to re-negotiate what it meant to be a soldier and the masculinities that identity contained.

Negotiating military masculinities

In a study undertaken by social science researchers Simon Cross and Barbara Bagilhole, they detailed the compensatory strategies adopted by men in occupations traditionally deemed feminine whereby men would masculinise their profession or emphasise the elements which accorded to codes of masculinity, such as competition or taking a rigorous pride in their work.[158] The social and political science theorist, Claire Duncanson, has demonstrated how soldiers in Bosnia adjusted their framing of peace-keeping duties which had previously been considered as inferior to fighting. She has detailed how elements of community relations programmes such as making coffee and establishing friendships, and which had previously been coded as 'feminine', were reframed and 'linked to bravery

---

[155] Burke, *Army,* p72
[156] Burke, *Army,* p95
[157] Wharton, *Long,* p113
[158] Cross, Simon & Barbara Bagilhole 'Girls' Job's for the Boys? Men, Masculinity and Non-Traditional Occupations' *Gender, Work and Organization* Vol. 9, No. 2, 2002, p216

and effective soldiering.'[159] The use of excessive hardware and weaponry, which were not necessary in peace-keeping missions, changed from being an integral part of soldiering (and an easy symbol of manhood) to something which now made soldiers vulnerable and subject to ridicule.[160] Soldiers had to renegotiate with the prevailing ideas and imagery of soldiering to accommodate these new realities of their service.

Two decades before the Bosnian conflict, British soldiers in Northern Ireland would adopt a similar psychological re-framing or seek other avenues for masculine expression. Sergeant John Green was lauded for his quick thinking and his bravery emphasised after dismantling an explosive device attached to a television mast in 1971.[161] As the conflict intensified, something as innocuous as crossing over a set of crossroads had become potentially fatal, with soldiers having 'more than four times the chance of being shot' at than in other locations.[162] Increasing sophistication of technologies employed by the enemy,[163] bomb blasts which littered human remains, the underlying threat of sniper fire when under patrol, and constant abuse and insults from the local population changed the conflict from being an 'easy' one to an arduous test of soldiering. A tour of Northern Ireland – mocked and decried as an easy deployment in 1969 - had become a true signifier for military manhood. When Brian Mather, NCO with the Coldstream Guards, was asked by an IWM interviewer what it was like to return to active service after a tour in Northern Ireland, he was clear: Northern Ireland was 'active service to anybody that looks at it. It is active service. At one stage it was a very dangerous place to be.'[164] 'Anyone who claims that they were not scared in Belfast, has never been there' agreed Paddy Lenaghan who served with the King's Regiment in 1972.[165]

---

[159] Duncanson, Claire. 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics.* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2009, pp. 63-80, p70
[160] Duncanson, *Forces,* p70
[161] Dewar, *British,* p52
[162] Wharton, *Bloody*, p39
[163] Wharton, *Long,* p75
[164] Mather, Brian. (2000), Imperial War Museum, collection number 20280 (Conrad Wood) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80018811} [Accessed 17th October 2020]
[165] Wharton, *Long,* p136

However, unofficially, when soldiers felt compromised in their ability to soldier, compensation could be attained through enacting masculinity-affirming violence. In a relatively short space of time after their arrival in Belfast, rumours began to circulate about army brutality. Interrogation of suspects was often violent and this aggressive approach outraged local people.[166] Protestant paramilitary groups began to report stories first, with Catholic experiences entering the public domain a year later.[167] One Protestant paramilitary, writing in jail of his experience with the army, recalled having his hands and legs held by six soldiers before:

> The first blow with the baton delivered with full force strikes me across the top of my eye, blinding me. Almost at the same time a similar blow to the back of my head opens it up like a crushed egg… they keep it up, blow after blow delivered with full force… I had a huge swelling of the forehead and above both eyes, both eyes blackened, both lips split, two teeth knocked out and skin completely torn off my back from neck to waist.[168]

John Glaze, NCO with the Royal Marines, recalled several of his men choosing to accompany UDR special patrols in the absence of having things to do, which was – in his opinion – 'better than being stuck at barracks, buying burgers from the "Goffer Wallah"'[169] (the operator of a small unit selling food, often unofficially). Frank Brannigan relished the running battles and violent encounters where 'we could bray them with our shields.'[170]

---

[166] Burke, *Army,* p95
[167] Boulton, *UVF,* p132
[168] Boulton, *UVF,* p132
[169] John Glaze interview, IWM
[170] Frank Brannigan interview, IWM

Certain units, as a former suspect interviewed by anthropologist Allen Feldman attested, garnered reputations for '"knocking the stones out of you - fucking bad diggings".'[171] Pockets of brutal, undisciplined masculinity expressed through violence were not uncommon, personifying the chaos which is not far from the surface of military orderliness. 'Dave', serving with the Royal Armoured Corps recalled 'beating ten shades' out of the driver of a car who had failed to stop at a checkpoint.[172] An anonymous rifleman was part of a group of soldiers in 1973 whose colleague had activated a booby trap explosive which had blown the soldier's foot off. Later that evening a group of male youths began to throw rocks at them and 'did they pick the wrong time to do that! At least three of them were searching for their own testicles in the street afterwards!'[173] Witnesses saw male prisoners tied to the front of moving Saracen trucks, a preventative to stop the soldiers 'getting bricked by the kids.'[174] Army snatch squads – deployed to pluck suspects off the streets or from their homes – made their arrests, often with 'extraordinary violence.'[175] Those done in domestic situations saw homes smashed up and occupants beaten. Reports of suspects with both arms broken or having fractured skulls as a result of their snatching were not uncommon with some suspects able to disprove the official army line in order to broker their release from prison.[176]

As British Army casualties mounted, or when popular or charismatic soldiers lost their lives,[177] soldiers experienced an increased desire to enact retribution through physical violence, removing any accusation of passivity in the face of their enemy. Many soldiers 'enjoyed opportunities for violence'[178] and Robert Fisk, a British civilian correspondent in Northern Ireland saw the army behaving 'most brutally' and described watching the Gloucestershire Regiment 'going down the road, smashing the

---

[171] Feldman, Allen. *Formations of Violence. The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1991. p92
[172] Wharton, *Long,* p74
[173] Wharton, *Long,* p177
[174] Feldman, *Formations,* pp92-93
[175] Boulton, *UVF,* p128
[176] Boulton, *UVF,* p128
[177] Burke, *Army,* p175
[178] Burke, *Army,* p166

windows of every house on the street because they hated Catholics, or perhaps, because the IRA had attacked them.'[179] What he had witnessed left him with no doubt that stories of army brutality were truthful. In the period he was covering Northern Ireland for *The Times* (1972-1976) he saw that 'certain units and certain regiments were turning into rabble.'[180] In 1972, Bishop Edward Daly complained about punishments being enacted by the Grenadier Guards to the general population of Derry.[181] When two Commanding Officers who were involved in Bloody Sunday were awarded medals of service, it was difficult to refute the accusation that the army incentivised – and then rewarded - aggression.[182]

By January 1975, the Ministry of Defence had settled over four hundred abuse claims out of court (out of a potential six thousand claims against the army[183]) and yet, officially and unofficially, soldiers could reject these accusations and many of the IWM interviewees did so. Frank Brannigan, a Private, disparaged the protests over the brutality of house searches, stating that nine times out of ten, weaponry or suspects were discovered and apprehended.[184] Robin Evelegh, an officer with the Royal Green Jackets, equated 'the way of the bully' with the 'way of the dimwit.' He claimed his battalion 'never laid a punch on anybody.' [185] Several other IWM interviewees commented on the professionalism of troops. Christopher Lawton, a Light Infantry officer, felt that brutality was impossible because of the drilling and training soldiers had undergone which prevented them from reacting in anger, a belief affirmed by an anonymous interviewee. [186] The same anonymous interviewee could 'honestly say' that he had never witnessed brutality, claiming the stories as IRA

---

[179] Fisk, Robert. (2002), Imperial War Museum collection number 21776 (Lyn Smith)
{https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80025909} [Accessed 10th November 2020]
[180] Robert Fisk interview, IWM
[181] Burke, *Army,* p103
[182] Burke, *Army,* p116
[183] Burke, *Army,* p114
[184] Frank Brannigan interview, IWM
[185] Robin Evelegh interview, IWM
[186] Christopher Lawton interview, IWM

propaganda: 'we always like to think we were fair but firm, and the Irish people understood that especially... there were no doors being kicked in or people's best china being broken.'[187]

Chapter two has also noted the importance of alcohol in constructions of manhood and manliness and sometimes alcohol converged in situations where soldiers encountered Northern Irish men and the oneupmanship which drink promotes (and the sense of masculine self which resulted from this) became evident. A raid on a bar by British soldiers saw a UDA member forced to perform for the soldiers present. After rounding suspects up, and filling their jackets with cartons of cigarettes and bottles of drink, they singled out one of the suspects and made him dance an Irish jig, cheering and clapping as he did so.[188] A PIRA member recalled a similar occasion, picked up on patrol and then taken to the bar in the barracks where the regiment was drinking and playing snooker. Surrounded by angry and drunk soldiers, when the news came in that one of their colleagues had lost an eye in an attack by the PIRA, he found himself 'in the middle of hysteria.' With soldiers 'screaming about their mate' and 'crying their eyes out trying to describe their mate's eye which was lying in the middle of the street', when two big knives were produced , the PIRA member thought his life was over. After pricking him with the knives they put him down 'and battered the fuck clean out of me.'[189] This recourse to violence was not unexpected in a milieu of drunken masculinity and in which violence was already a method to escape the constraints being placed upon solders. Such accounts also contradict the cited accounts which have refuted charges of unprofessionalism and violence, perhaps hinting at the imperative of such accounts to preserve the reputation of those giving the accounts or of their colleagues, but certainly demonstrating the lack of homogenised lived experience or record of the conflict. This unofficial violence demonstrates how soldiers were able to assert their superiority over the men of Northern Ireland and permitted soldiers to feel psychologically superior to these men,

---

[187] Anonymous, interview, IWM
[188] Feldman, *Formations*, p91
[189] Feldman, *Formations*, pp117-118

reassuring them that their soldierly identities and ideas of manliness remained intact. It was not only men who permitted soldiers to do this reframing, however.

Relations with women

As well as positioning themselves in relation to other men, and crafting their own masculinities through comparison with other men, soldiers could also position themselves against women and use their treatment of women to bolster their own sense of masculine self. Soldiers could also use ideas of femininity in relation to other men too. To assert their own manliness, enemies were misogynistically feminised by soldiers; Feldman has discussed the feminised nature of the insult 'cunt,' contextualised as a passive receptacle. Paramilitary targets were 'cunts' and the operation to kill them or beat them was 'to knock his cunt in.'[190] Soldiers who captured a PIRA suspect barked at him, 'cunt, you only have three seconds to tell me the name of the bastard and then I'm shooting you.'[191] The objectification of women, which denied them agency and positioned them as secondary to the male, was also common. Locals raised concerns about Peeping Tom soldiers and refused to give details of their female relatives.[192] Beevor has discussed how privates would classify women as 'prozzies, slags, and the girl from home whom he'll marry.'[193] Soldiers would be proud of their own manliness-affirming infidelities but 'many instinctively believe that an unfaithful wife deserved to be "slapped around a bit"', the status of cuckold the ultimate degradation of manhood.[194] Frank Brannigan, in trouble for sleeping with a local married woman, was told by one of his colleagues that '"the slut's on the phone for you".'[195] Sometimes the objectification of women could be quite literal: Haydn Davies,

---

[190] Feldman, *Formations, p*69
[191] Feldman, *Formations, p*116
[192] Burke, *Army,* pp161-162
[193] Beevor, *Inside,* p49
[194] Beevor, *Inside,* p63
[195] Frank Brannigan interview, IWM

a Warrant Officer with the Royal Regiment of Wales recalled how in the aftermath of a bomb explosion at Woolworths department store, a company returned with half a dozen female mannequins, decked in flimsy underwear. After being placed around the barracks in compromising positions, they were eventually used to man empty sangars (temporary protective forts) with blackened faces and combat jackets (although one NCO kept one in his bed, enabling a display of his sexual prowess and giving him something 'to come home to.'[196])

Women in conflict zones were a paradox, an uneasy potentiality of objects of beauty or an existential affront to masculinity. The casual misogyny which is present in many accounts of the conflict was sometimes in opposition to soldiers who found themselves unable to use violence against women or how the presence of women activated their protective tendencies. It was a tension that was often difficult to resolve and is manifested in some soldiers' accounts of their experiences and reflected by soldiers who found abuse from women 'particularly hard to take'. [197] An anonymous soldier, interviewed by the IWM, recalled how it was 'difficult to try to treat (deal) with females.'[198] 'Believe it or not,' challenged Frank Brannigan, 'even some of the young lasses' were being used to extract information from soldiers,[199] a concept Brannigan clearly found difficult to reconcile. Violence against women perpetrated by enemies was particularly troubling. A 1973 PIRA attack on the family quarters at Alexander's Road, Lisenelly, and which injured three women, was greeted with widespread repulsion, so much so that there were no further attacks on married quarters;[200] women were to be protected by all sides, never attacked. Robin Evelegh, an officer with the Royal Green Jackets inferred how a 'young fellow who's seen young girls being shoved into body bags in a restaurant' would be more traumatised by the experience than if the victim had been male.[201]

---

[196] Wharton, *Bloody*, p259
[197] Burke, *Army,* p163
[198] Anonymous, interview, IWM
[199] Frank Brannigan interview, IWM
[200] Dewar, *British,* p84
[201] Robin Evelegh interview, IWM

'Dave', who served with the Royal Armoured Corps in 1970 recalled that 'the Welsh lads didn't have the heart to shoot' a woman with a pram 'who used to whip a handgun out from the waistband of her knickers and give the OP (Observation Post) outside the hall four or five rounds on a daily basis'. He believed 'she was shot by the Paras some time in the following year.'[202] Warrant Officer Haydn Davies, serving with the Royal Regiment of Wales in 1973 was unable to open fire on a teenage girl who was later found to be carrying arms: 'having seen her face and small feminine figure magnified to three times magnification, I just could not do it!' He would be castigated by his Commanding Officer because of his inaction.[203] Attacking a woman violated codes of manliness, and to be seen doing so was frowned upon. To be seen doing so by the press was even worse as Sergeant Roy Davies discovered in 1971 when his superiors made him stop beating a woman across the back of her legs with a riot baton when it became apparent that press cameras were watching him.[204]

Rod Boswell, an officer with 40 Commando recalled being 'totally unprepared' when dealing with violent women. For him, 'eyeball to eyeball conversations with men are easy' but he found dealing with women psychologically difficult, their actions contrasting with his perceptions of women as 'the weaker sex.'[205] He was conflicted by this challenge to his preconceived ideas of the perpetrators of violence but found recourse through humour, his men laughing off the physical disparity of a 'five foot two inch women confronted with a six foot, fifteen stone Royal Marine.'[206] A rifleman with the Royal Green Jackets recalls the women who participated in bin lid protests as having 'greasy hair and miniskirts and no tits (always remember that they were flat as ironing boards).'[207] A woman who collapsed over a barbed wire barrier in Ardoyne and then died from a heart attack was a source of

---

[202] Wharton, *Long,* p71
[203] Wharton, *Long,* p167
[204] Wharton, *Long,* p100
[205] Rod Boswell interview, IWM
[206] Rod Boswell interview, IWM
[207] Wharton, *Bloody*, p86

humour and objectification. 'We all burst out laughing,' recalled 'Dave', 'it was so funny at the time. The Paras were all for taking her from bending where she lay, before she went cold! No wonder they hated us as much as they did.'[208]

Conversely, Terry Friend, serving with the Royal Artillery corps didn't think he'd been to a place with 'so much beautiful young women. They were all over the place.'[209] Neatly encapsulating how soldiers could compare themselves favourably to other men, he affirmed his superiority over Irish men, suggesting that the Irish male was a 'little lacking in something' while simultaneously positioning his own sexual allure: 'I don't know whether it was the glamour of the uniform. Boy, they loved us.'[210] Despite being ordered not to, Frank Brannigan recalls a lot of his colleagues fraternising with local girls. Framing it as 'boys will be boys' he reminded his interviewer 'you know what it's like when lads have been there a few weeks.'[211] It was 'natural' that young girls would be seeking romance and 'natural' that the young men would chase them. When the Royal Anglian Regiment attempted to win hearts and minds and opened a disco 'to which they invited the local girls', the venture was quickly closed down by accusations of rape of local women.[212] Rod Boswell found the situation somewhat ironic and 'really quite amusing' when his company was running discos: with queues over 400 yards long for entry, he was amused to see that over half of the women had been giving the soldiers abuse the day before. 'A weird part of the system' was how he framed it.[213]

Soldiers could abuse their power to assert their own masculinity but also to assert a position of superiority over women. Displays of power and heterosexual prowess were not uncommon in house searches and checkpoint encounters which saw 'women…subject to physical and sexual harassment,

---

[208] Wharton, *Long,* p76
[209] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:08:31]
[210] *Soldiers Stories*, [00:08:44]
[211] Frank Brannigan interview, IWM
[212] Dewar, *British, p*49
[213] Rod Boswell interview, IWMl

including invasive body searches, sexual harassment and sexual threat.'[214] Such gender violence towards women in conflict situations is now well-documented and professor of international affairs, Aisling Swaine, has drawn attention to the evidence of violence throughout the world which women have endured in conflict zones since the 1980s.[215] Soldiers could also be brutal and the hated house searches proved another avenue for masculine expression. 'Siobhan' recalled one soldier urinating on the stair carpet in front of her family, the violence of the soldiers apparent in 'the wrecking of the furniture, sofas being slashed open at the back, fireplaces being pulled out of the walls, floorboards ripped up. Carpet destroyed, mattresses slashed open.'[216] Verbal abuse and sexual insinuations were commonplace for lots of women, with 'Éilís' perceptively commenting that these displays were men 'kinda being the big boys, they were just mouthing in front of their mates trying to be big men, especially when they had weapons and all.'[217] Witnesses saw a group of soldiers driving around the Shankill Road shouting from their vehicle, 'come out and fight like men you Orange bastards, we fucked your wives and daughters and now we will kill you.'[218]

Violent threats towards women were unnecessary in a paradigm which perceives women as lesser in strength and power, and indeed, 'Deirdre' had never had threats of violence levelled her, just sexual suggestion.[219] Certain regiments were particularly feared. The Grenadier Guards had 'a reputation for that' and 'Eimear' recalled that 'there wasn't a day that there wasn't an incident involving a young woman.' Áine, fourteen at the time, recalls a soldier being 'real sleazy about it' when propositioning her, explaining he didn't need to ask where she lived as he knew already from looking into her bedroom each night when she was going to bed.[220] For women, watchtowers became objects of fear.

---

[214] Swaine, Aisling. *Conflict-Related Violence Against Women. Transforming Transition.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2018 p70

[215] Swaine, *Conflict,* p37

[216] Harris, Helen & Eileen Healy. *Strong About it all. Rural and urban women's experiences of the security forces in Northern Ireland.* North West Women's/Human Rights Project Publications, Derry, 2001, p20

[217] Harris & Healy, *Strong,* p90

[218] Burke, *Army,* p110

[219] Harris & Healy, *Strong,* p87

[220] Harris & Healy, *Strong,* p86

'Margaret' would avoid them after receiving 'really, filthy verbal' abuse whenever she had to navigate them. 'Rose' recalled the suggestive noises and catcalls which came from soldiers, the comments on her body and questioning if she was 'getting fucked or not' enough to dissuade her from traversing them.[221] 'Éilís' was verbally abused by a group of soldiers who approached her group in two jeeps. When the girls did not respond, the soldiers fired a shot over their heads as a warning.[222] Incidents such as these hint at the role of women in permitting soldiers to negotiate their masculinities: sexual suggestion asserted their own sexual prowess while simultaneously subjugating the female targets who endured it, a multi-functional role also enabled through the sexual objectification of women (which also permitted soldiers to feel sexually superior to the men of the region). But the presence of women in acts of violence also demonstrated the paradox of women in conflict, their presence disallowing soldiers the role of protector and their participation rendered safe through reducing them to object of humour or derision.

The situation deteriorates

Stories of brutality and violence and denigration of local women were commensurate with the army becoming increasingly visible on the streets as more soldiers were drafted into the region. The three thousand men who were stationed there in 1969 saw their numbers increase to 11,243 by July 1970. British government optimism that a swift conclusion to the operation was possible saw numbers reduced to 7,743 six months later, but by July 1972, there were 21,688 soldiers deployed to the region.[223] Their presence was a useful recruiting tool for paramilitary groups,[224] and moving targets for snipers and bomb-makers, an RUC officer quoted in Hamill commenting that the IRA now had a '"classic, slow-moving target on their streets – the British Army of Occupation."'[225] Their presence

---

[221] Harris & Healy, *Strong,* p85
[222] Harris & Healy, *Strong,* p90
[223] Dewar, *British*, p105
[224] Coogan, *Troubles*, p288
[225] Hamill, *Pig*, p44

increased so much that on a specimen Saturday evening, Paddy Devlin, the MP for Belfast Falls, counted thirty army vehicles and patrolling groups of twenty soldiers apiece marching on both sides of the streets. In his constituency alone, there were two thousand soldiers billeted, the equivalent of one soldier for every ten of his voters.[226]

The situation continued to deteriorate. Trust within the Catholic community broke down as shootings of unarmed Catholics by the army heightened perceptions the army was being deployed against their people. [227] The notion that the army shot with impunity and then 'denigrated those killed as gunmen'[228] was very real and very damaging. A June 1973 issue of *Civil Rights Magazine* advised its readers 'what to do if the SAS shoots you.'[229] The inquest into the death of Daniel O'Hagan, killed by an army marksman in July 1970, saw eyewitness stories that contradicted the army version of events dismissed, furthering the feeling that this conflict was becoming situated as the army against the civilians it was supposed to be protecting.[230] At the start of 1971, the PIRA council approved offensive operations against the British Army and anything that was British – or was seen to represent British control such as government offices, post offices and – of course – soldiers, became a possible target.[231] Formed in January 1970, the PIRA had broken away from the IRA, frustrated at the IRA's lack of political gain and increasingly believing in the justified use of military resistance[232] and support would well further when the British government introduced internment in August 1971. When it became clear that the vast majority of prisoners being rounded up and imprisoned without trial were Catholics there

---

[226] Coogan, *Troubles*, p136
[227] McKittrick & Mcvea, *Making*, p61
[228] McKittrick & Mcvea, *Making*, p71
[229] Dillon, Martin & Denis Lehane, *Political Murder in Northern Ireland,* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973, p292
[230] Dawson, *Making*, p95
[231] Murray, Dominic. *'Culture,* Religion and Violence in Northern Ireland'. In Seamus Dunn (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1995 p226
[232] Dillon & Lehane, *Political*, p248

was a 'massive increase' for PIRA support and a 'sharp jump' in violence levels.[233] The timing of Bloody Sunday could not have been more ill-fated.

For the ambassador to Ireland, Sir John Peck, (quoted in the study of the region by the journalist David McKittrick and the historian David McVea), those events of 30th January 1972 '"unleashed a wave of fury and exasperation the like of which I have never encountered in my life, in Egypt or Cyprus or anywhere else".'[234] In the space of ten minutes soldiers from the Parachute Regiment fired one hundred and eight rounds of 7.62mm live ammunition into a crowd of anti-internment protestors congregated in a space the size of a football pitch.[235] Thirteen people were killed. Although the Paras were lauded as a 'fearsome fighting organisation with a reputation for no-nonsense shock-and-awe tactics'[236] Ken Wharton has described how 'they were the wrong regiment to police the NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) march'. It later transpired that the Commanding Officer of 1 Para had disobeyed orders from his superior.[237] Despite their Commanding Officer, Derek Wilford, calling for a ceasefire, his men were 'out of control, clearly stung by the incoming shots.'[238]

Television pictures and images seared themselves onto the international conscience, the image of a priest waving a white handkerchief in front of a group carrying a limp and bloodied body, instantly horribly iconic. Disparities of narrative were immediate. In an off-the-cuff BBC interview in the aftermath of the incident, Major General Robert Ford, the Commander of Land Forces in Northern Ireland, resolutely maintained the army had only fired three shots and had only killed two people in self-defence.[239] Such disinformation was naïve… ill thought-out and ill-considered'[240]. Nevertheless,

---

[233] Guelke, *Paramilitaries*, p118
[234] McKittrick & McVea, *Making*, p78
[235] Dawson, *Making*, p97
[236] Wharton, *Torn,* p114
[237] Burke, *Army,* p115
[238] Wharton, *Torn,* p115
[239] Dawson, *Making*, p98
[240] Wharton, *Torn,* p180

an immediate PR campaign in the British press,[241] which towed this official line, fed directly into the Widgery report. Published ten weeks later, the report (quoted by historian Graham Dawson) found that there had been 'no breach of discipline,' and somewhat callously added that 'it is not remarkable that mistakes were made and some civilians hit.'[242] As a recruiting tool for the PIRA, the event 'provided the PIRA's most emotive and enduring recruitment argument.'[243] For traditional British governmental policy in Northern Ireland, the army had 'executed sentence of death.'[244]

Protestants were initially ambivalent of using violence against the army, the concept of doing so in opposition to their framing of themselves as a contrast to Roman Catholic lawlessness[245] and reflecting the asymmetric relationship that army had with both sides. However, as historian David Boulton observes, perceptions of the Army's inability to retain law and order, as well as the sense that Roman Catholic properties and rights were being protected, turned opinion against them.[246] Brutal army snatch squads and invasive and destructive house searches only furthered antagonism.[247] (In 1973 alone, 74,556 houses were searched, a fifth of all houses in Northern Ireland.[248]) If 1971-1972 marked the period of the beginning of the PIRA terror campaign, then 1973-1974 marked the pushback by Protestant paramilitaries.[249] Soldiers had to get used to the sight of a 'nineteen-year old Para with the back of his head blown off' and 'the wreckage caused by countless bombs.'[250] Unlike the relatively homogenous IRA and PIRA, Protestant groups splintered as more Loyalist paramilitary groups formed in the wake of the civil rights movement[251] and increased Catholic militancy against internment.[252]

[241] Dawson, *Making*,p98
[242] *Dawson, Making,* p115
[243] Beevor, *Inside*, p183
[244] Nelson, Sarah. *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders. Protestant Political, Paramilitary and Community Groups and the Northern Ireland Conflict.* Appletree Press, Belfast, 1984, p83
[245] Nelson, *Ulster's,* p87
[246] Boulton, *UVF*, p122
[247] Boulton, *UVF*, p128
[248] Feldman, *Formations,* p88
[249] Dewar, *British*, 81
[250] Wharton, *Bloody*, p332
[251] McGarry & O'Leary, *Explaining*, p259
[252] Guelke, *Paramilitaries*, 118

Intent on pursuing their own agendas, they would be impossible to control. When Stormont was abolished and Direct Rule introduced in March 1972, political instability grew.

The British Army found itself struggling to contain this 'minor Vietnam,'[253] the centre of a cyclone of escalating violence, the brutality increasing with the bombings and attacks. The deterioration of the situation was summed up by Richard Nettleton:

> My first tour came to an end in January 1970 and up until then it had been tea by the urn and bacon butties by the sack-full and every girl wanting to marry you so they could get out of Ulster. But when I returned again it was like the Somme without the mud, and no one would speak to you.[254]

With such a crisis being played out under the scrutiny of the British public on the mainland, narratives of calm and unflappable soldiers operating at maximum efficiency and with a fairness and honour, had to be carefully constructed and maintained. The state's version of soldiering, and the qualities of manhood it contained, had to be seen as the 'correct' version of soldiering and the PR machine swung into operation. In order to control notions of his superiority, his steadfastness and his calm courage under fire, the image of the British soldier had to be protected.

Controlling the narrative – the PR campaign

For the first time since the Second World War, the British Army faced a conflict on domestic soil. Unlike the Second World War, the boundaries between opposing sides were blurred and the actions of the army were undertaken under the full glare of public scrutiny. The violence of 1969 was brought to the

---

[253] Bew *et al*, *Northern Ireland*, p160
[254] Wharton, *Bloody,* p180

public's attention by the 'massive coverage by the media,'[255] coverage which had been missing from previous excursions in foreign climes that were far away from the consciousness of the population back home. It was a public that was 'far more squeamish when it came to punitive actions close to home' than when in imperial endeavours.[256] One soldier who had served in Aden before a tour of Northern Ireland bemoaned how much easier it was when fighting abroad; the lack of press scrutiny there meant that soldiers could behave more ruthlessly.[257]

Undoubtedly, 'there are always a few soldiers who enjoy the power to make other people's lives hell'[258] and it is important to stress the army is not an irresolute monolith. One group of soldiers behaving badly does not represent the wider body of soldiers. However, those stories which did emerge threatened to unmask the stereotype of the steadfast and cool-under-pressure Tommy whose image graced recruitment materials and whose ethos had been inculcated in the idealism of training. For the state, its soldier agents – in the gaze of the British public and the wider world – had to be impeccably behaved and impeccably perceived. The narrative had to be controlled, the importance of doing so noted by Graham Dawson who has argued that successfully controlling it was especially important for justifying involvement in conflict which – when successful - demonstrated political authority and a government's ability to deploy troops.[259] The army's colonial exploits had already given them a well-worn roster of narratives to draw upon and Dawson has described how 'keeping the peace' between 'two warring tribes' in an effort to 'restore law and order' were already familiar tropes, re-hashed for another conflict.[260]

---

[255] Dewar, *British,* p30
[256] Burke, *Army,* p223
[257] Dawson, *Making, p*95
[258] Beevor, *Inside,* p197
[259] Dawson, *Making,* p89
[260] Dawson, *Making,* p94

Political scientists, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, have decried the British perception of the conflict in Northern Ireland as being based on ancestral lines rather than contemporary problems, rendering the conflict bizarrely anachronistic, trapped in a time warp of archaic tribalism.[261] They have demonstrated how quickly this perception of tribalism – and its associated narrowing of the psyches of the Northern Ireland population – was drawn upon by the British press, noting how easily the press resorted to terms such as 'tribalism', 'barbarism' or even, 'frenzied tribalism' when discussing the conflict (its usage particularly prevalent in cases where women or children had been killed).[262] They have also noted how this fed directly into the stereotype of the 'Fighting Irish,'[263] a contrast to the reliable Tommy. When *The Daily Mirror* reported from a meeting of an anti-internment league on 18th December, 1971, they gleefully reported the cheers and clapping that were the response to 'kill a British soldier'. A woman in her sixties, 'dressed in a red coat and hat' epitomised the horror of this sectarianism when she declared 'what we must do is arm every Irishman and kill every British soldier in Northern Ireland.'[264] Her age and her sex must have been doubly confusing and horrifying for readers on the mainland. When Daniel O'Hagan was killed by an army marksman in July 1970, over a thousand women marched in protest. Despite eyewitnesses directly contradicting the army's line at the official inquest (and it was a line which inevitably cast a pejorative view on the locals involved[265]), the British press were quick to describe O'Hagan as a troublemaker. Posthumously (and falsely), O'Hagan became a petrol bomber and/or a gunman intent on killing British soldiers. As a direct result of this case, the legislation surrounding the Yellow Card was adjusted to give the army more flexibility (and more freedom) in shoot-to-kill incidents.[266]

---

[261] McGarry & OLeary, *Explaining*, p215
[262] McGarry & OLeary, *Explaining,* p216
[263] McGarry & OLeary, *Explaining*, p233
[264] Davies, Nick. A meeting at All Saints. *Daily Mirror,* 18th December 1971. Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [Accessed 31 August 2020]
[265] Burke, *Army,* p117
[266] Dawson, *Making,* p95

For the press, these were soldiers trying to do their best in extremely difficult circumstances. Sir Arthur Bryant, writing in the *Illustrated London News* on 12th September 1970 reminded readers that soldiers live in a land 'very different to ours. It is a land of discipline, of obedience to orders. Its ideals are duty, alertness, smartness, and perfection of carriage, dress and hygiene, of highly cultivated physical fitness, practiced and dedicated selflessness; above all, comradeship.'[267] In her history of newspaper coverage of the events in Northern Ireland, Liz Curtis has traced the change in media coverage which followed the internment crisis of 1971. It was then, she argues, when 'media coverage of the conflict was hammered into the shape we know today.'[268] Initially, the army 'over-reacted' to IRA propaganda successes in 1970 and 1971 which resulted in a 'breakdown of confidence between the British Press and the Army PR system.'[269] However, Curtis has demonstrated how the government's fear that Northern Ireland would be perceived as Vietnam by the British people led to stricter controls of information coming from the region. The government had seen how Vietnam had sapped the enthusiasm of the American public and a British permutation of this could not be permitted.[270] A new era of army/press relations began.

As a consequence, the ever-reliable, ever-steadfast British Tommy was drawn upon to inspire mainland sympathies. *The Daily Mail* would praise his patience and politeness, 'this was the British Tommy in action here. You felt proud of him' they urged their readers.[271] Soldiers themselves were also aware of the danger of handing their opponents PR victories. Darren Kynoch, a guardsman with the Coldstream Guards, recalled bundling a youth into the back of a Land Rover and fretting when the barrel of a weapon was accidentally shoved in the youth's back. He said to his colleagues in the Land Rover 'what bullshit is going to be put into the *An Phoblacht* (the *Republican News)*.' He was

---

[267] Bryant, Arthur, 1970, The needs of the soldier. *Illustrated London News,* 12th September 1970. Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [Accessed 31 August 2020]
[268] Curtis, Liz. *Ireland, the Propaganda War. The British Media and the Battle for 'Hearts and Minds."'* Pluto Press, London & Sydney, 1984, p5
[269] Dewar, *British,* p60
[270] Curtis, *Ireland,* p5
[271] Curtis, *Ireland,* p24

unsurprised when the story ran with the headline 'Ardoyne Youth Assaulted' and detailed how he had been punched to the ground but could not see his assailants because his eyes were covered. 'Half of it bullshit,' Kynoch observed before cautioning 'never underestimate the power of propaganda I say.'[272]

In the events leading up to Bloody Sunday, state machinations were already becoming apparent. When Conservative MP, Evelyn King, complained to the Defence Secretary, Lord Carrington, that the BBC were undermining efforts in Northern Ireland with their 'daily sniping', Carrington launched a public attack on the network. He demanded that 'everything possible should be done to prevent repetition' of reports that were 'unfairly loaded to suggest improper behaviour by British troops.'[273] News items which cast doubt on the integrity of the army and its soldiers were vetoed, including an article by David Dimbleby which described the after-effects of the shooting of a Belfast woman, Emma Groves. Shot at point blank range between the eyes with a rubber bullet, many Catholics had heard a soldier remarking on their walkie-talkie that '"I hope we killed the cunt".'[274] As attacks on the BBC became 'particularly venomous,'[275] the Independent Television Authority panicked and began self-censoring its own news output.[276] By the end of 1971, senior figures in television and Fleet Street had 'succeeded in excising from television most vestiges of questioning the government's Irish policy.'[277] Fleet Street was simultaneously running a concerted effort to involve the British public in helping 'our boys': as well as *The Sun,* the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Telegraph* ran campaigns to send colour televisions to soldiers stationed there, the *Daily Express* urged female readers to write to the 'Ulster hermits' and raise their morale, while the *Daily Mail* ran campaigns to send popular entertainers on tours of army camps.[278] Such propaganda worked: a Corporal who had been serving with the Light

---

[272] Wharton, *Bloody,* p194
[273] Curtis, *Ireland,* p6
[274] Curtis, *Ireland,* p7
[275] Curtis, *Ireland,* p8
[276] Curtis, *Ireland,* p7
[277] Curtis, *Ireland,* p15
[278] Curtis, *Ireland,* p28

Infantry in 1974 and who had witnessed thirty to forty soldiers beating two teenagers, recalled a conversation he heard in a Kent pub about the Vietnam My Lai Massacre whilst on leave. In that incident, US soldiers had committed mass murder on unarmed civilians. 'They condemned the American soldiers and added British soldiers would never act like that! When I related what I had seen…a few weeks earlier they didn't believe me. The landlord was so angry with me he asked me to leave the building!'[279]

In the wake of Bloody Sunday, efforts by the British government to exonerate the actions of British soldiers were obvious, the need to maintain the illusion of soldier's superiority, fairness and level-headedness paramount. In the immediate aftermath of the incident, the first battle lines were drawn by Major General Robert Ford's first response to a BBC journalist in an off-the-cuff interview. Ford was clear: the army had only fired three shots and had only killed two people after coming under fire themselves. That evening, a Ministry of Defence press statement, cannily timed to drop at midnight to make the morning papers, 'confirmed' that the army had only fired at identified targets, that all of the victims were men of arms-carrying age and furthermore, that one was carrying nail bombs. Repeated at press briefings in London and New York, the victims of Bloody Sunday had been cast as illegal combatants who were a threat to the lives of British soldiers. It was a narrative which permitted the Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling, in his Commons statement, to express anxiety about the numbers of people killed but enabled him to forego expressions of regret or sympathy.[280]

Historian of Ireland, Tim Coogan has described how the Downing Street press office 'spread darkness over the media.'[281] When the Widgery Report was set up shortly after Bloody Sunday, very quickly journalists were warned that any speculation on the report's findings would be tantamount to contempt of court. An editorial of *The Sunday Times* led the vanguard of government protection,

[279] Wharton, *Long,* p205
[280] Dawson, *Making,* p98
[281] Coogan, *Troubles*, p351

silencing efforts by investigative journalists to uncover the truth of what happened: 'the law is that until the Chief Justice completes his enquiry, nobody may offer to the British public a consecutive account of the events in Derry last weekend.'[282] As a consequence, investigations being undertaken by *The Observer, The Sunday Times* itself and Thames Television were curtailed.[283] An article pitched by Kevin Downing for the *Sunday Mirror* which detailed army brutality was shelved and Downing was threatened with dismissal if he ever suggested writing a story like it again.[284]

The state's desire to protect the image of the army can be detected in the actions of the Ministry of Defence the evening before the Widgery Report was published, when their spokespersons contacted defence correspondents of the national newspapers with highly selective accounts of the report, contents cherry-picked to suit the promoted narrative. As a strategy, it was successful; the headline of *The Daily Express* on the morning of 19th April was clear: 'Widgery blames IRA and clears Army' left its readers in no doubt where culpability lay.[285] The 20th April edition of *The Daily Mail* rang the clarion call:

> Against cynical propagandists the British Government replies with judicial truth. It is like trying to exterminate a nest of vipers with Queensberry Rules. Even so, over the past two and a half yeas of mounting terrorism, the record shows – and it is a record which now includes Lord Widgery's report – that our troops are doing an impossible job impossibly well.[286]

The Widgery Report laid the blame for the incident quite clearly at the organisers of the demonstration who had 'created a highly dangerous situation'. If they had not done so, 'there would have been no

[282] Coogan, *Troubles* p351
[283] Coogan, *Troubles* p351
[284] Curtis, *Ireland,* p27
[285] Coogan, *Troubles,* p351
[286] Coogan, *Troubles,* p352

deaths in Londonderry on 30th January.'[287] The report elaborated that 'there is no reason to support

that the soldiers would have opened fire if they had not been fired on first.'[288] The report confirmed

that soldiers had followed procedure as laid down by Yellow Card legislation and did concede that

some soldiers 'had shown more restraint in opening fire than others.'[289] Widgery would be

unsurprised if 'as many rounds were fired at the troops as were fired by them.'[290] Ultimately, 'the

soldiers escaped injury by reason of their superior field-craft and training.'[291] Dissident voices in the

press were swept away by this 'tide of chauvinism.'[292] Works by journalists such as Simon Winchester

– who had actually witnessed events – and writing in *The Guardian* were swallowed by the official line.

The army's version of events - that soldiers had only fired at snipers and nail-bombers – had

prevailed.[293] The narrative was clear: they were not responsible, they had behaved with integrity, the

savage terrorists had been routed. When Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Dewar would write about the

incident in his work on the army in Northern Ireland, he would draw the conclusion that 'the fact that

those killed were all male aged between 18 and 26 years speaks for itself.'[294] For the British

government and the press at least, the case was closed. The British soldier and his image had remained

protected.

Throughout this period, the press and the state had promoted a narrative of difference: that the forces

the army faced were savages or uncivilised, that – despite their appearance of similarity – they were

the products of a society unlike that of the mainland and their values a contrast to the fairness and

calmness of the British soldier. Despite emerging stories of the brutality and violence unofficially being

---

[287] Dewar, *British,* p58
[288] Dewar, *British,* p59
[289] Dewar, *British,* p59
[290] Dewar, *British,* p60
[291] Dewar, *British,* p60
[292] Coogan, *Troubles,* p352
[293] Coogan, *Troubles,* p352
[294] Dewar, *British,* p59

deployed by the army, for the audience back home, the state manipulation of events and the collusion

or censorship of the press ensured that the image of the army and its soldiers remained untarnished.

Conclusion

Northern Ireland retains an uneasy place in the history of the British Army. Despite a PR campaign

which attempted to draw a coherent narrative, the situation may have been more fraught and

challenged than in other theatres of war that were out of the public gaze. Although 1441 military

personnel lost their lives there,[295] and the army 'privately and later publicly'[296] described the conflict

as a war, it is a conflict overlooked in Remembrancetide and one which remains controversial. Bloody

Sunday is still a debated event, its contested narratives raising questions for families who lost relatives,

still unanswered today.[297] The conflict doesn't permit any of the nostalgic war remembrance of other

conflicts and cannot paint itself as 'fascinating and heroic.' Instead, the horrors of it and the fate of its

victims remain in the wider consciousness, a reminder which compromises any of the myth making

which historian Alistair Thomson described as part of the process of constructing Anzac legends.[298]

Boris Johnson's Conservative party manifesto for the 2019 election promised that veterans of the

conflict would be exempt from retrospective prosecutions, a move championed by the Minister for

Veterans' Affairs, Johnny Mercer[299] and yet reversed by the Johnson administration in 2021. Perennial

campaigns by the outraged right-wing press continue to push for the total exoneration of the actions

---

[295] Hunter, Simon, 2020. *Op Banner: Key Moments of the Army's Longest Continual Deployment.* [Online]
Available at: <https://www.forces.net/news/northern-ireland/op-banner-50-years-army-started-its-longest-continuous-campaign> [Accessed 4th January 2021]
[296] Burke, *Army,* p4
[297] Dawson, *Making,* p100
[298] Thomson, Alistair. *Anzac Memories : Living with the Legend*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Auckland & New York, 1994 p4
[299] BBC News, 2020, Military prosecutions: NI veterans not covered by proposed legislation. 16th March 2020. [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-51915343> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

of British troops in the conflict. For some soldiers who served there, events are scarred in their memory. Steve Norman, serving with the Three Royal Anglians, had been part of the horror of Bloody Friday (when multiple PIRA bombs simultaneously detonated across Belfast on 21st July 1972). Coming to the aid of a sobbing mother with her young child, the sight of a mangled body, unrecognisable as a human form, was one that remained with him forever. 'Suppose it's a piece of mental shrapnel that most squaddies have of some sort and it's something we learn to live with.'[300] David Harding, who had served with the Royal Green Jackets turned to drink after his experiences there.[301] 'Alex', who served with the Royal Tank Regiment, still finds himself haunted by his shooting dead of a nineteen-year old, his initial elation turning into doubt and then self-condemnation:

> The kid was just nineteen. I sometimes look at my children, and grandchildren, then think of what I took away from him. OK, so I followed the rules, read right from the Yellow Card, but does the end justify the means? Now, 39 years later, and with a conscience, then no, I'm afraid it doesn't.[302]

Dave, who served with the Royal Armoured Corps in 1970, described his personal legacy of serving in the region as 'two complete breakdowns and a malady that is now known as PTSD'. His tours there plagued his dreams and he often wakes 'screaming and sweat-covered, the reality of those times stark in my mind.'[303]

Beneath the horror and suffering, this chapter has attempted to highlight the lived experience of soldiers and contrast that experience to the manufactured images of recruitment materials, the discipline and ethos inculcated into soldiers' Basic Training and the state's PR campaign. The unique

---

[300] Wharton, *Bloody*, p223
[301] Wharton, *Bloody,* p163
[302] Wharton, *Bloody,* p48
[303] Wharton, *Long,* p69

setting of the conflict on home soil gives the conflict a particularity but it is also a conflict which illuminates soldiering in other conflict zones and what can happen to masculinities when challenged in conflict. For British soldiers, the initial incongruity of their surroundings rendered experience gained in previous colonial incursions redundant. The existential questions posed by fighting in Northern Ireland – the firing on other British people who looked like them, as well as the recalibration of the soldier psyche caused by the hearts and minds nature of early operations – ran in tandem to initial perceptions of a deployment there as easy. This primary uncertainty blurred not only the lines of soldiering but also the masculinities contained within it. For some soldiers, the usual outlets for masculine expression were compromised and compensatory strategies, at an individual level, at an organisational level and at the highest levels of state, were employed to pushback against this curtailment.

As the conflict intensified and violence increased exponentially, the conflict became a 'real' test of soldiering, something that did not threaten ideas of soldiering masculinities and instead began to reinforce them. Casual brutality and violence permitted an easy display of a masculinity in which the soldier was at the summit of a gender apex, able to assert his superiority over all residents of Northern Ireland. Snatch squads and beatings of male prisoners and suspects asserted dominance over other males, while invasive body searches and casual objectification of women successfully subjugated females. Even when soldiers had traditional notions of gender performance challenged, such as by rioting or protesting women, such women were often reduced to bodily attributes or the butt of humour.

Such actions could not be permitted to enter the wider consciousness and the chapter has shown how controlling narratives of the British soldier, those ideals promoted in its recruitment material and laid down in training regimes, were adopted immediately by the British government and press, and positioned in opposition to the uncivil and lawless local population. Although dissenting voices were

often silenced, the conflict's enactment in the public gaze helps reveal the façade of PR campaigns and myth-making which overseas excursions permitted. The chapter has examined what happened when a conflict revealed the careful construction of soldiering to have uncertain foundations, what happened when different forms of masculinity were in circulation and how soldiers could adapt and negotiate such forms to bolster their own sense of manliness.

The region itself remains in a state of uncertainty. The threat of a no-deal Brexit towards the end of 2020 stoked fears of a resurgence of violence. The murder of the journalist Lyra McKee in 2019 was a reminder of the invisible threat lurking under the surface, apparently biding its time. At the time of writing in 2021, tensions are simmering again as a result of mishandling of post-Brexit legislation and burning buses have reappeared on the streets of Belfast. Perhaps it this uncertainty, as well as the raw and lingering pain felt by some, which relegates it to the position of a traumatic chapter in the army's history, something that should be overlooked, something that would be preferred to be forgotten. A conflict that put soldiers in an impossible position and was never 'won', and which challenged the accepted norms of soldiering has rendered it something that it sometimes difficult to laud or commemorate. This lack of recognition still troubles those who served there and the conflict bleeds into the present day meaning that although it is never forgotten by those who patrolled those dangerous streets, soldiers who fought there still have to negotiate their soldierly identities in its consideration. How former soldiers deal with this slippage into the here and now, and how soldierly identities continue to be negotiated in remembrance of the conflict are two of the foci of the next chapter.

Chapter Four. "I was looking forward to civvy street and telling someone to stick their job up their arse.'[1] Masculinities after Service.

A distorted painting of the Union flag is overlaid with blank-eyed masks that stare at the viewer

disconcertingly, its creation in 2012 a reflection of the experience of its creator, a former soldier who

struggled with homelessness and alcoholism in his civilian life.[2] In 2017, a group of suited men march

past the camera, the medals on their chests shining in the sunshine. A range of ages, some of them

have grey hair and weathered faces; some are young and untouched by age. The image has captured

their arms frozen in motion, all identically at mid-height. Calmly watching over them is the Duke of

Edinburgh, the only character fully in focus.[3] Meanwhile, a bearded man smiles wryly at the camera in

an unknown year. Possibly in his mid-thirties, and smartly dressed, the miniature poppies on his lapel

are a sharp contrast to the dark of his suit jacket. He wears glasses, his right eye permanently closed

by scarring.[4] Dressed in a khaki sheepskin coat and with a beanie pulled low over his brow, a man in

2018 looks up from the book resting on his sleeping bag-covered legs. He is resting against a concrete

wall, and the handmade sign beside him reads 'EX ARMY MEDIC. EPILEPTIC AND PTSD. GETS NO

BENEFITS.'[5]

---

[1] ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, [Comment 63 on the online forum post 'Being sacked – Heroism, ignominy, deserved, and underserved']Available at: < ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[2] Crossan, Michael, 2012. Brothers in Arms. [Mixed media artwork] Available at: <https://collection.nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 1st February 2022]
[3] Frere, Rupert, 2017. The Duke of Edinburgh at the Grenadier Guards Black Sunday ceremony, 21 May 2017. [Digital photograph] Available at: <https://collection.nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 1st February 2022]
[4] [Bearded veteran smiles at camera] n.d. [image online] Available at: <https://www.britishlegion.org.uk/about-us/armed-forces-community-support> [Accessed 1st February 2022]
[5] Mills, Richard, 2018. Steven Wade tends to be stationed in Stall Street in Bath City Centre. [Photograph] Available at: <https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/ex-army-medic-turned-bath-2228773> [Accessed 1st February 2022]

Leaving the army is a process of transition which can often force a re-examination of the meaning of an individual's life.[6] A lifestyle which was once lived is gone, culture and locations which were inhabited become historical, and new means of employment must be sourced. And yet, it was a way of life difficult to excise: a significant number of ex-Service personnel interviewed for a 2012 study acknowledged that their military identities had become their primary and dominant identities.[7] Some found this process of readjusting these military identities to civilian ones, of exorcising these ghosts, challenging, while others accomplished it with an ease, a disparity born out in research which has revealed just how different military experience - and their consequent transition into civilian life - had been for each respondent.[8] There was no standard model for the process; some soldiers left the army and never looked back,[9] while some experienced such feelings of dislocation they became 'psychologically homeless,'[10] cast adrift from everything they had formerly held certain. Although research has tended to focus on those who struggle after Service, studies have shown that the majority of soldiers who leave the Army are successful in assimilating into civilian society.[11]

Nevertheless, there has been little theoretical exploration of the identity issues involved in transitioning from a military life to a civilian one[12] and this chapter interrogates what happens when the modes of masculinities bound up in military identities can no longer be deployed in civilian life. The chapter links the past to the present by exploring the contemporary and different ways of being a man post-Service and considers how ex-Service personnel sometimes perpetuate the military identities they once had, in the process drawing on the masculinity and gender capital those identities

---

[6] Hale, Hannah C. 'The Development of British Military Masculinities through Symbolic Resources.' *Culture. Psychology.* Vol. 14, No. 3, 2008 p308

[7] Binks, Eve & Siobhan Cambridge, 'The Transition Experiences of British Military Veterans'. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2018 p128

[8] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p137

[9] Jolly, Ruth. *Changing Step. From Military to Civilian Life: People in Transition.* Brassey's, London & Washington, 1996 p14

[10] Jolly, *Changing*, p40

[11] Iversen, Amy C. & Neil Greenberg. 'Mental Health of Regular and Reserve Military Veterans'. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment.* Vol. 15, 2009

[12] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p139

once provided. In order to do so, the chapter explores the literature on those ex-Service personnel who struggled when leaving the Army, and finds they did so because of an inability to align themselves with civilian values or because they yearned for the security of their former military lives. Such alienation, and an inability to successfully exist outside of the hierarchical system, led to an incompatibility that could negatively affect their mental and physical health and overall wellbeing. The chapter then draws on two of my interviews to examine what happens when sexual and gender identities which were incompatible with military service are no longer constrained by the military system. The cases of Trevor and Sarah show what happens to those whose military service is suddenly terminated, and how they both endeavoured to locate their own sexual and gender identities. Their stories illustrate the processes of change post-Service and in Trevor's case how eventually, his military identity could align itself with his sexual identity. For Sarah, it is a process which remains ongoing.

The chapter then explores online military masculinities by looking at how the Northern Ireland conflict is remembered on the ARRSE.co.uk military forum and how its users are still able to mobilise their soldierly masculinities online in an environment which attempts to replicate the homosociality of their former lives. These expressions of military identities are shown to hearken back nostalgically to a time when forum users were young and virile and the gender order in which they were operating had them positioned at its summit. Although there has been 'important and influential work' [13] on online masculinities, such work has focussed on the sexual worlds of gay, bisexual and queer men and this chapter opens up further exploration into male heterosexual online identities. Oral historian John Hopton has argued that the histories contained in online forums 'resemble all history in a number of ways'. He argues for their validity as a historical source because of their conversational nature and the unique historical viewpoints afforded by their first-person narratives. He suggests that it is their ability to provide details and accounts which are not in the written record - and the glimpses of lived

---

[13] Light, Ben. 'Networked Masculinities and Social Networking Sites: A Call for the Analysis of Men and Contemporary Digital'. *Masculinities and Social Change,* Vol.2, No. 3, 2013 p249

experience they reveal - which will consolidate their standing as an additional resource for the oral historian.[14] Certainly, my own experience of them revealed the forum to be a place rich with historical detail, made accurate by the process whereby errors and mis-remembered events are corrected through the consensual input of its users. Seemingly innocuous terms such as 'paddyflage'[15] or details such as how tail lights on army vehicles would be smashed to give extra camouflage for night operations,[16] unearthed new layers to the minutiae of the Northern Ireland conflict. The stories and comments contained within their many threads often gave me much more of an experiential appreciation of the conflict than any memoirs I have encountered or any interviews I have listened to; mundane observations and wisecracks made the conflict – and its effects - come vividly alive.

Such effects on those who served in Northern Ireland also offered insight into what happens to military masculinities which remain troubled by traumatic events experienced during the conflict and how such events can compromise a modern sense of self and the self-perceptions of the user's own military masculinity. Such events have clearly not lost any of their potency for some users of the forum and their struggles of self-reconciliation challenged notions of their contemporary masculinity. However, the forum is also revealed to be a place of therapy for such users, as discussions of common contemporary experiences not only bound the men who shared them together but also opened up silences which permitted an exploration of their trauma, sometimes the only place such posters were able to do so. It was also a place where a discussion on the idea of the Northern Ireland conflict as a 'forgotten war' could be staged, and soldiers who felt that their contributions were overlooked or forgotten, or even not considered 'real' soldiering, were able to express frustration at such views. Discussions and debates framed along these lines permitted an acknowledgement from other users

---

[14] Hopton, John, 'Mixed Martial Arts and Internet Forums: A Case Study in Treating Internet Sources as Oral History'. *Oral History*, Vol. 35, No. 2, Conflicts and Continuity, 2007, p98
[15] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 30 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[16] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017 [Comment 270 n the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

that yes, this was indeed a real conflict and yes, their contributions were valid, important and remembered. Here, at least, their soldierly identities were not compromised.

Leaving it all behind

Thousands of people leave the Armed Forces each year. In 2005, the average annual reduction was about 18,000 personnel[17] and within the last five years, the figure has dropped to approximately 15,000 a year.[18] Out of Australia, Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, it is the United Kingdom (with a more inclusive definition of those who can claim to be ex-Service personnel) which has more ex-Service personnel per million wider population.[19] Despite such numbers, with no cohesive system for monitoring what happens to those who leave the army,[20] those who have served remain something of an unknown quantity. We do know that they are older and more male than the wider civilian population (90% compared to 47%) and they are less racially diverse than the civilian population (98% white compared to 92%),[21] but which regiment they were part of, their service record and their reasons for leaving remain opaque, emblematic of 'the culture of "goodbye and good luck" and "farewell and neglect" that has been a distinctive feature of British civil-military relations.'[22]

---

[17] Iversen, Amy, Vasilis Nikolaou, Neil Greenberg, Catherin Unwin, Lisa Hull, Mathew Hotopf, Christopher Dandeker, John Ross & Simon Wessely. 'What happens to British veterans when they leave the armed forces?' *European Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2005 p175

[18] Defence Statistics, 2020, *Ministry of Defence, UK Armed Forces Quarterly Service Personnel Statistics*, 1 January 2020 [online] Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/866842/1_Jan_2020_-_SPS.pdf> [Accessed 5th August 2021] p1; BBC news, 2019. *Strength of British Military Falls for Ninth Year.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-49365599> [Accessed 7th March 2020]

[19] Dandeker, Christopher, Simon Wessely, Amy Iversen & John Ross. 'What's in a Name? Defining and Caring for "Veterans." The United Kingdom in International Perspective.' *Armed Forces & Society.* Vol. 23, 1996 p163

[20] Iversen et al, *What*, p175

[21] Moore, Emma, Kayla Williams & Zachary Jaynes, 2020. *United Kingdom Veteran Landscape. Status of Veterans in the United Kingdom.* [online] Available at: < https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/MVS-UK-Veteran-Landscape-FINAL.pdf?mtime=20200729113635&focal=none>, [Accessed 18th August 2021] p7

[22] Dandeker et al, *What's?*, pp168-169

We know that a 'small minority fare badly and drift into social exclusion'[23] and that ex-Service personnel can often find themselves with 'little help from their old regiment or the MoD and no sympathy from establishment elements.'[24] Very often they are cast adrift. As sociologist David H. Morgan has observed, from the First World War to the Falklands, once conflicts were over, ex-Service personnel 'very quickly became a source of embarrassment or boredom.'[25]

Even their nomenclature is transient. Whilst the presence of the term 'veteran' is well-established in the USA, in Britain the naming of those who served remains in flux. Technically the 'veterans' label is an appropriate one: officially anyone who has performed military service for a minimum of one day – and been paid for that day – can consider themselves a veteran. The term also encompasses anyone who completed Basic Training, did one term of engagement and who served in active deployment.[26] However, in surveys of both the general public and those who served, the term has gained little traction,[27] possibly because of its association with the Second World War.[28] Institutionally, the term 'ex-Service' is favoured,[29] and this is the convention this chapter will adopt.

Although the past fifteen years have seen the emergence of a 'vibrant and growing field of veterans studies,'[30] there has been little research into UK ex-Service personnel, a sharp contrast to the 'substantial body of American literature' which exists through the effort of the Veterans Administration, a specialist organisation that monitors the welfare and civilian life of its members.[31]

---

[23] Iversen & Greenberg, *Mental,* p100

[24] Renwick, Aly. *Hidden Wounds. The Problems of Northern Ireland veterans in Civvy Street.* Barbed Wire, London, 1999 p83

[25] Morgan, David H. J. 'Masculinity and Violence.' In Hanmer, Jalna and Mary Maynard (eds.) *Women, Violence and Social Control*. Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1987 p190

[26] Dandeker et al, *What's?,* p163

[27] Burdett, Howard, Charlotte Woodhead, Amy C. Iversen, Simon Wessely, Christopher Dandeker & Nicola T. Fear. '"Are You a Veteran?" Understanding of the Term "Veteran" among UK Ex-Service Personnel.' *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2013 p752

[28] Dandeker et al, *What's,* p163

[29] Burdett et al, *Are,* p752

[30] Eichler, Maya. 'Add Female Veterans and Stir? A Feminist Perspective on Gendering Veterans.' *Armed Forces & Society,* Vol. 43, No. 4, 2017 p675

[31] Iversen et al, *What*, p175

Departing military members in the US Army must also complete the Transition Assistance Program, of which there is no British equivalent.[32] The conflicts in Vietnam and the Gulf led to a proliferation of PTSD-based research into veterans which has given the vast majority of research into ex-Service personnel a distinctly American flavour, so much so that psychiatrists Iversen *et al* have cautioned against interpreting its findings in comparison to the British experience.[33]

As chapter two has demonstrated, military identities are formed within military culture. Its hierarchical nature governs an individual's place, their identities affirmed and moulded through the daily interactions[34] which inspire 'power-fraught negotiations between "Self" and "Other".'[35] An individual must consolidate their own identity and attempt to secure – and then maintain - their own position within the community.[36] Leaving military service forces a reversal of this process and in her 1996 work on this transition back into civilian life, Ruth Jolly interrogates the 'complex business' of re-socialisation.[37] The creation of a new social identity and social role meant that leaving the military was just as much of a transition as joining it. As the majority of the literature has noted, most people leaving the army 'do well' with the 'vast majority' in full-time employment.[38] Iversen *et al* found that from a randomly selected military cohort, 87.5% of those who left were in full-time employment[39] and Paul Higate's work has demonstrated how military identities can be maintained after service through employment in similar organisations to the military such as security work.[40] However, if successful life after Service is measured in purely economic terms, then yes, it could be argued that the majority are 'successful'. But economic arguments do not consider mental health, physical health, or the

[32] Moore et al, *United*, p7

[33] Iversen et al, *What*, p175

[34] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p125

[35] Basham, Victoria, *War, Identity and the Liberal State : Everyday Experiences of the Geopolitical in the Armed Forces*. Taylor & Francis, 2013. Online edition available at:
< https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bbk/reader.action?docID=1323331>, p49

[36] Hale, *Development*, p318

[37] Jolly, *Changing*, p9

[38] Iversen et al, *What,* p181

[39] Iversen & Greenberg, *Mental*, p101

[40] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition* p132

maintenance of interpersonal relationships, a shortcoming not addressed by literature which focuses on material gains. More research into this area would paint a more rounded picture of the experience of those who no longer serve, because – unfortunately – some do struggle with life outside the military realm.

Getting into difficulties

British research into those who do get into difficulties has sometimes touched on the role masculinities plays in confronting and seeking help for PTSD[41] and such work has often coincided with negative societal opinions about the fate of ex-Service personnel, themselves compounded by erroneous media narratives which over-inflated the negative experiences of those who formerly served.[42] Undoubtedly there is a 'small but important minority' of ex-servicemen and women – and usually those with poor mental health during service[43] - who struggle upon leaving service and drift into social exclusion.[44] Such personnel who did so were unable to reconcile the regimented military experience with more individualistic wider societal values that placed emphasis on personal freedoms,[45] and they found the values and goals of service life to which they had been aligned were now at odds with the environments in which they were now situated.[46] It is a process which is the reverse of the one described in chapter two which demonstrated the physical and psychological processes which made a soldier: the initial separation from the family home to a training camp, the stage of transition from civilian to soldier, and then a full incorporation into military culture, are all

---

[41] Eichler, *Add*, p683
[42] Dandeker et al, *What's,* p167
[43] Iversen et al, *What*, p175
[44] Iversen & Greenberg, *Mental*, p101
[45] Demers, Anne L. 'From Death to Life: Female Veterans, Identity Negotiation, and Reintegration Into Society'. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. Vol. 53, No. 4, 2013 p493
[46] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p125

part of a process of disassociation and re-assimilation which diminished the influence of the soldier's former civilian life with the passage of time.[47] The reversal of this could be just as much of a rupture.

As psychologist Anne Demers has noted, military identities were also grounded in notions of honour and duty and a loyalty to comrades and nation. Concepts of self-sacrifice, following orders and gaining promotion through a merits-based reward system were inculcated into trainees and followed them throughout their careers.[48] In a psychological study by Eve Binks and Siobhan Cambridge, ex-Service personnel reported feeling that the assumption of a military identity was commensurate with an awareness that they were part of something bigger, and that their own identities were contextualised within the norms of the group.[49] Symbolic regimental histories encouraged a sense of the soldier being part of this 'newly ordered world,'[50] their potency renewed and reaffirmed through repetition, their significance and meaning democratised and absorbed by an individual.[51] Such 'deep-rooted and fierce pride' in their regiment was the 'cornerstone of military-masculine socialisation.'[52] This process could affect an individual's identity for their lifetime, their concept of themselves and the world irrevocably altered.[53]

Ex-Service personnel could find themselves stuck between the two worlds of soldier and civilian,[54] alienated from their friends and family and experiencing a crisis of identity.[55] Many of the ex-Service personnel in Demers' study recognised there was a tension between wanting to reconnect with the

---

[47] Arkim, William and Lynne R. Dobrofsky. 'Military Socialization and Masculinity'. *Journal of Social Issues.* Vol. 34, No. 1, 1978 p152
[48] Demers, *From*, p493
[49] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p137
[50] Higate, Paul R. 'Tough Bodies and Rough Sleeping: Embodying Homelessness Amongst Ex-servicemen.' *Housing, Theory and Society.* Vol. 17, 2000, p102
[51] Hale, *Development*, p308
[52] Higate, Paul. 'Ex-servicemen on the road: travel and homelessness.' *The Sociological Review*. Vol. 35, No. 3, 2000 p339
[53] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p125
[54] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p126
[55] Demers, Anne, 'When Veterans Return: The Role of Community in Reintegration' *Journal of Loss and Trauma* Vol. 16, 2011, p160

civilian world but also wanting to retreat back into military life.[56] The homeless men Paul Higate interviewed wanted an escape from domesticity and what they called the '"freedom of the open road".'[57] A third of respondents in a 2012 study found that ex-Service personnel missed the ethos and camaraderie of service life,[58] a sentiment echoed by many in Higate's study who attempted to rekindle their army lives through seeking other male drinkers in the homeless community.[59] Such a longing to be back as part of a group made transition more difficult.[60] When I interviewed him, Trevor S admitted this was one of the most difficult aspects of leaving the army:

> I really really miss the camaraderie of the military and one of the things that I think was the hardest, and I know from speaking to other guys who left, that that was the same thing they experienced, was this. You become almost institutionalised, but you have this camaraderie that you can't shake and the thing that I had the most difficulty with, cos not having that camaraderie any more… there's always somebody on hand to go off into town with or wander round or go and visit somewhere else or go for a drink or go and have lunch with and it just wasn't there anymore.[61]

The military emphasised becoming a 'strong, silent, self-reliant man who functions as a loyal member of a team,'[62] a standard which not only led to social identities which subscribed to this ethos, but which also reinforced an identification with the military.[63] Higate found that maintaining the 'stoic self-reliance and independence' of a soldier would often lead to such men forsaking help, the conflation of asking for help with weakness a difficult obstacle to overcome.[64] 'Rod', one the subjects of his study

---

[56] Demers, *When*, p172
[57] Higate, *Ex*, p336
[58] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p127
[59] Higate, *Ex*, p335
[60] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p132
[61] Trevor Skingle, interviewed by author, London, interview September 14, 2020
[62] Arkim & Dobrofsky, *Military*, p159
[63] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p125
[64] Moore et al, *United,* p8

would walk past institutions which aided ex-Service personnel. He '"didn't want to walk in and say I've got all these problems".' Being ex-Service, he wanted to '"walk in and say I'm ex-forces and in full-time employment".'[65] His inability to seek help precluded him from achieving the successful life he identified. Higate also found a number of respondents turning to alcohol in a way which not only reflected its 'centrality to military culture', but was also used to obviate emotional expression. In a masculinist ethos of self-sufficiency, problems were never shared or expressed, alcohol was used to cover them up.[66]

Having a strong military identity which favoured and prioritised military life could also lead to a disparaging of civilian values which appeared antithetical and somehow 'weak' in comparison.[67] For the respondents in a study by social scientists, Green *et al,* the dominant masculine soldier identity was the boundary between an individual's identity as a soldier and a civilian.[68] Many ex-Service personnel disparaged the lower standards of civilian life[69] and the 'us and them' culture which not only felt like it gave them a mode of manliness conceived as superior[70] but also aligned an individual to a military identity and often painted the civilian world in a negative light.[71] Regularly, ex-Service personnel felt that nobody understood or could comprehend the situations they had faced and there were regular complaints about a lack of respect from civilians.[72] Former soldiers found their own military masculinities at odds with cultural masculinities and their 'masculinised identity' that was moulded by military experience, was 'largely irreconcilable with a rapidly changing civilian environment.'[73] It was an environment which increasingly interrogated the naturalness of male

---

[65] Higate, *Ex*, p340
[66] Higate, *Ex*, p338-339
[67] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p126
[68] Green, Gill, Carol Emslie, Dan O'Neill, Kate Hunt & Steven Walker. 'Exploring the ambiguities of masculinity in accounts of emotional distress in the military among young ex-servicemen'. *Social Science and Medicine*. Vol 71, 2010 p1483
[69] Demers, *When*, p170
[70] Hale, *Development*, p318
[71] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p137
[72] Demers, *When*, p170
[73] Higate, *Ex*, p344

superiority, positing it as superficial and constructed, and which questioned whether masculinity was the sole preserve of the male.[74] Masculine identities were revealed as fluid and multiple, and intra-male relations hierarchical sites of resistance and compliance,[75] a stark contrast to the rigidity of a masculine identity shaped in a military context.

Such intra-male relations were apparent in the respondents of a 2008 study who had served and who felt like they've been given '"a pair of bollocks"'[76] when compared to their civilian friends and families. One of the respondents felt '"like a boy"' when surrounded by his colleagues but found his friends back home lacking: '"I just look at the people they are",'[77] he remarked disparagingly, and when he did so, he couldn't not position himself as superior. Some tried to transplant army standards onto their civilian existence in an attempt to bridge the chasm between their two lives, one man bleaching the lino in his kitchen so obsessively he removed the pattern from it.[78] Many studies have shown the alienation soldiers felt when leaving service. Demers has commented on the 'time travelers' (sic) phenomenon, whereby returning soldiers found civilian life either '"surreal"' or '"like landing on Mars",'[79] the contrast between military culture and civilian culture bewildering and confusing. In the study by Green *et al,* some participants felt that their military experience meant that they were no longer 'normal.'[80] There was also a sense that their efforts were misunderstood[81] or largely dismissed or ignored by wider society apart, only drawn upon when national security was compromised.[82] Soldiers returning from Northern Ireland often felt alienated from wider society and were struck by the apparent lack of interest on the mainland. 'What galled us,' recalled Richard Nettleton who served with the Grenadier Guards, 'was that no-one at home, not even our loved ones it seemed, had an

---

[74] Segal, Lynne. *Slow Motion.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007 pxxv
[75] Whitehead, Stephen M. *Men and Masculinities.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2002 p90
[76] Hale, *Development*, p325
[77] Hale, *Development*, p326
[78] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p132
[79] Demers, *When*, p169
[80] Green et al, *Exploring*, p1483
[81] Hale, *Development*, p326
[82] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p137

inkling as to what it was like on the mean streets of Ulster.'[83] Lee Sansum, who had served with the Royal Military Police would be angered by pub landlords who refused to accept the Irish banknotes he attempted to proffer. He challenged them, 'you're telling me that I am fighting in Northern Ireland to keep the Province part of the UK and you won't even take the currency?'[84] Such incidents highlight the reconciliation needed to new social surroundings and standards, but ex-Service personnel had to also psychologically align themselves with their new identities.

Finding themselves

Of my interviewees who had left the army, Ben reflected Binks and Cambridge's findings that those who viewed the army as just 'their job' and had not invested or developed a strong sense of group identity were more able to make the transition into civilian life.[85] By his own admission he had 'checked out' when he was unable to reconcile his military life with the accepting and 'bohemian…hedonistic world of clubbing' where 'people didn't give a shit that I was gay'. 'I just thought "I need to be there. I can't be here. I need to be there. And that was it.'[86] Despite the fact that he almost received promotion to Major, and was supported by his superiors who knew about his homosexuality, the two spheres were irreconcilable. Subsequently, he has forged a career for himself as a therapist with the charity Walking with the Wounded, finding an 'instant connection' with other ex-Service personnel who 'know I know the language that they're talking.' [87] Like my other interviewees, he has no regrets about his army experience, believing it gave him a 'real sense of integrity, duty, responsibility, which then stood me in very good stead for my future.'[88] However, Sarah's and Trevor's departures from the army were more fraught. As Jolly has argued, 'leaving the

[83] Wharton, Ken. *Bloody Belfast. An Oral History of the British Army's War Against the IRA.* Spellmount Publishing, Kindle Edition, 2010, p180
[84] Wharton, *Bloody*, p331
[85] Binks & Cambridge, *Transition*, p132
[86] Ben Amponsah, interviewed by author, Manchester, December 7, 2019
[87] Ben Amponsah interview
[88] Ben Amponsah interview

military without any kind of ritual ending denies the worth of the individual'[89] and both Sarah and Trevor would find their employment terminated abruptly. Trevor was unable to reconcile his sexual identity with military service, while for Sarah, it was the incompatibility of her gender identity which proved problematic.

Trevor joined the army in 1974 as a seventeen year old. Initially a Combat Lineman with the Royal Signals, he would move onto becoming a Physical Training Instructor until his dismissal. Although he identified as gay when he joined up, initially he was able to compartmentalise his homosexuality. Matters came to a head when he joined a unit which had a reputation for being 'notorious piss heads' and his own drinking became disruptive. By his own admission, he 'didn't have a very good tolerance for lots and lots of alcohol' and that – along with his inability to freely express his sexuality – were what 'triggered my depression'.[90] He concurred that the situation was 'very overwhelming' and with the realisation that he would never be able to have a genuine relationship with another man, he became 'more and more depressed'.[91] He elaborated:

> I just thought I didn't wanna be there any more. I didn't know a way out without actually
> having to be open about the reasons why I'd got so depressed, and was so depressed because
> I was gay and I was in the army and couldn't see any potential future in it.[92]

Such was the intensity of his feelings that Trevor would eventually attempt to take his own life.

After 'about a week or ten days'[93] in a military hospital he was assessed by a psychiatrist who enquired about his sexual relationships. He had already had several girlfriends (including a member of the

---

[89] Jolly, *Changing*, p54
[90] Trevor Skingle interview
[91] Trevor Skingle interview
[92] Trevor Skingle interview
[93] Trevor Skingle interview

WRAC) and used those relationships to hide his sexuality. He believes that he was moved onto becoming a PT instructor because his superiors realised the unit he was with had issues with alcohol which would only exacerbate his own drinking. Although he 'absolutely loved'[94] being a PT instructor, he found the bullying difficult to deal with and requested a return to his unit. However, upon returning to Blandford, he realised that being in the regular army was something that was no longer feasible. He would leave the regular army in 1979 and joined the reserves where he would remain for another two years. On a trip to America, he began a relationship with a US Marine and made the decision that when he returned to the UK, he would come out. He explained what happened next:

> I got a letter back from the reserve saying, it was just one single sentence in the letter. It said "your service has been terminated per the date of this letter". That was it… I wasn't surprised but I felt like I'd been shit on. I really, it really pissed me off. It wasn't so much that they were giving me the whole complete discharge thing, it was just the way they framed it just in a single sentence… It was shocking, I just thought it was shocking. Really off the cuff and dismissive…. Like "fuck you, fuck off!" I don't want anything to do with you any more.[95]

Although he was 'pissed off… at the same time I was relieved'[96] that he was free to be himself. It was then that he was approached by 'somebody who was ex-military' who informed him that '"there's a few other people of the same mind, we wanna form a group to go and campaign for lesbian and gay rights in the armed services"'.[97] From that initial conversation, Trevor became involved in the establishment of the Rank Outsiders organisation. Campaigning involved 'all sorts of stuff'[98] including appearing on Channel Four's *Comment* show in 1991. With the advent of the AIDS crisis and some of his friends becoming HIV positive, he became a buddy for the Terrence Higgins Trust and has worked

---

[94] Trevor Skingle interview
[95] Trevor Skingle interview
[96] Trevor Skingle interview
[97] Trevor Skingle interview
[98] Trevor Skingle interview

in the charity sector ever since. He now works for the Lullaby Trust, a charity which supports families affected by sudden infant death syndrome.

At the end of 2019 he was able to reconnect with the army in a 'really, really big way'[99] when he joined the LGTBQ+ branch of the Royal British Legion and was asked to be a standard bearer at that year's Pride parade in London. For Trevor, this 'amazing'[100] experience allowed him to march alongside people from all of the Services, the marching which had been part of his military life now crossing over into his queer life. It was life-affirming for him, and his pride at doing so was tangible enough that both of us became emotional as he recounted it.

> It gave me such a real pump of pride to think "I'm a gay man, I've got really good military connections and here I am as an out gay man marching amongst other gay men and lesbians and transgender and all that". Just incredible.[101]

Since then he has become a representative for the Royal British Legion and been interviewed for various media outlets. Joining the RBL meant he 'tapped back into the whole military thing and…that whole thing has been reconciled'.[102] This reconciliation is still tinged with 'the sadness of unfulfilled potential', however, and the memories are bittersweet:

> It would have been so much better had it happened when I was in the military… Because I would probably have stayed in for the full twenty two years and had a relationship. If I could have had a relationship, I'd probably ended up at pads quarters and being in a full-time relationship with somebody instead of doing what I was doing which was being unhappy.[103]

---

[99] Trevor Skingle interview
[100] Trevor Skingle interview
[101] Trevor Skingle interview
[102] Trevor Skingle interview
[103] Trevor Skingle interview

It took him nearly forty years, and despite being tinged with sadness, finally Trevor's military identity was reconciled with his sexual identity.

Sarah has been unable to complete this process of reconciling her military identity with her identity now as a trans-woman. Indeed, it was trying to situate her own gender identity which led to the termination of her career. In 1995, a twenty year old Sarah joined the Territorial Army Medical Corps whilst studying at university. After graduation, she transferred into to a Field Ambulance and from there, left to join the regular army in 2001 where she would remain for another ten years initially serving as a Combat Medical Technician with the Royal Army Medical Corps and then becoming part of the Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps (QAs) as a registered nurse.

Sarah found that there was an 'odd kind of juxtaposition when you end up trained as a nurse but you're also a soldier'.[104] She was struck by the 'definite dimorphism' of 'do no harm, but you're carrying a rifle'.[105] When Sarah tried to discuss her gender confusion with her then girlfriend, her girlfriend's negative reaction psychologically 'put me back in the closet'.[106] She adopted the coping strategy of getting on 'with the business of being me without paying too much attention to who me was, what me wanted'.[107] She:

> Started playing a role. I started playing the societal role, it was almost like you put the uniform on, it's an act but then you also do that whenever you kind of go into a work situation, put your nursing uniform on, you put your game face on.[108]

---

[104] Sarah Ellis interviewed by author. London, interview June 12, 2020
[105] Sarah Ellis interview
[106] Sarah Ellis interview
[107] Sarah Ellis interview
[108] Sarah Ellis interview

Although she felt that 'I was married with a young child in a career that was very, very masculine', a widening exposure to civilian nursing (because of a regimental re-organisation) gave her the perception that 'there was something slightly off and I wasn't coping particularly well'. [109] She increasingly felt she needed to align 'the feminine version of myself' with the 'masculine soldier version,'[110] although her initial attempts to do so invariably involved trying to exorcise her feminine identity through repeated 'purgings' of her feminine wardrobe (a common strategy for those struggling with their gender identity). Eventually she was able to give herself permission that 'this is something I do'[111] and it would be the death of a friend who died in combat - and the difficulties his widow encountered afterwards - which made Sarah address her own situation with her family. Before a posting to Iraq, Sarah came out to her wife, and although Sarah's wife 'did everything she could to deal… it's not who she is.'[112] The couple separated but remain on good terms, sharing parental responsibility for their seventeen year old daughter.

Sarah is certain her military career suffered due to her undiagnosed gender dysphoria. Joining the regular army in 2001, and remaining there for ten years saw her career coincide with 'higher visibility in mass media and celebrity culture'[113] for transgender issues as well as an increasing body of transgender academic literature.[114] 'Transsexualism' was recognised as a medical condition in 2002, removing it from the realms of mental illness[115] and increasing parliamentary debate[116] led to the 2004 introduction of the Gender Recognition Act which granted trans people 'full recognition of the

---

[109] Sarah Ellis interview
[110] Sarah Ellis interview
[111] Sarah Ellis interview
[112] Sarah Ellis interview
[113] Stryker, Susan. *Transgender History.* Seal Press, New York, 2017. [Kindle edition] Location 3088
[114] Stryker, *Transgender,* Location 3122
[115] Wikipedia, 2022, *Transgender rights in the United Kingdom.* [Online] Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transgender_rights_in_the_United_Kingdom> [Accessed 18th April 2022]
[116] House of Lords, 2003, *Judgments - Bellinger (FC) (Appellant) v. Bellinger* [Online] Available at: < https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200203/ldjudgmt/jd030410/bellin-1.htm> [Accessed 18th April 2022]

acquired sex in law for all purposes, including marriage.'[117] As her nursing career also offered her increasing insight into her condition, her identities as 'both a soldier and a nurse, father and husband' [118] jostled increasingly uneasily alongside each other. Such confusion meant she was 'operating in a higher point in my psychosocial capacity'[119] which reduced her ability to cope with the demands of their job. The 'game face' was no longer functioning successfully and Sarah likened the experience to trying to work with 'osprey body armour on. Sure you get strong, but you're gonna tire pretty damn quick even doing basic shit'.[120] She elaborated:

> I did have, for want of a better word, a bit of a mental breakdown, if you will. My capacity to function went from zero to hero (sic) very quickly and my decision making capacity went similarly because you kind of lose your…core sense of self, your core identity. That Jenga tower of your own sense of self starts to wobble. Who are you?[121]

Sarah found she had 'nowhere to take this stuff'[122] and her frustrations would manifest into anger at work. A simple clinical error on a night-shift led to an intervention with the psychiatric department and it was there she first heard the term 'gender dysphoria'. Sarah struggled with this diagnosis as 'in my head I wasn't there. I didn't understand what was happening'. [123] Unfortunately, with a contemporary homophobic reading of 'transsexualism', two high-ranking female officers viewed her condition as a paraphilia which was deemed incompatible with nursing. Although she could have been

---

[117] Herald, Marybeth. 'Explaining the Differences: Transgender Theories and Court Practices' in Scott Barclay, Mary Bernstein & Anna-Maria Marshall (eds.) *Queer Mobilizations: LGBT Activists Confront the Law.* New York University Press, New York, 2009 p195
[118] Sarah Ellis, 2020, *Research project* [email] Message to author, sent 2nd May 2020
[119] Sarah Ellis interview
[120] Sarah Ellis interview
[121] Sarah Ellis interview
[122] Sarah Ellis interview
[123] Sarah Ellis interview

moved to a desk job, Sarah was removed on grounds of misconduct. 'They just kicked me out,' she

recalled, 'which they didn't need to'.[124]

She has still struggled to integrate their military life with her own. Indeed, after leaving the military in

2011, Sarah 'started to retrace, literally retrace my steps' in order to rediscover who she was 'before

the uniform, before the labels, undoing all the work that the military had done'[125] which had started

in 1995. Sarah had to work to strip away her military identity before she could discover her own gender

identity. She has struggled to find work, having only had one full-time job since leaving ('I was a very

angry ex-soldier who didn't deal very well with civilian systems').[126] She acknowledges that as a trans-

woman, she has to do 'six times as many applications to get an interview' and even then has

experienced arriving for an interview, 'then I'll walk through the door' and the application is

unsuccessful.[127] In 2018, her dismissal was revoked by the Nursing and Midwifery Council but she has

unfortunately found that as a trans-woman, in interactions with past colleagues or when trying to

access veteran support, she is 'regarded as an object of scorn and amusement.'[128] For Sarah, there has

been no reconnection with military life. It is through academic research and trans activism that she

has come to understand and live with herself successfully. Although she misses the camaraderie and

physicality of the military, for Sarah it was only by exorcising this military identity that she was able to

fully come into her own.

Staying tuned in

For many ex-Service personnel, however, their military identities continue to influence their civilian

lives and one place where the masculinities of soldiering can be maintained after service is through

---

124 Sarah Ellis interview
125 Sarah Ellis interview
126 Sarah Ellis interview
127 Sarah Ellis interview
128 Sarah Ellis email

participating in online forums and social media. In these online spaces, a protected homosociality flourishes and one of my interviews, GF, was able to relive his military life with his friends on Facebook. There, he can 'still go back to army terminology or whatever. And they say something and then say "bloody civvies don't understand it."'[129] His comment exposes the nostalgic succour which online participation can fulfil, replicating the camaraderie so missed by many ex-Service personnel.[130] One of the main outlets for military online membership is the ARRSE.co.uk forum. The forum is a place which replicates military trappings: although the service is free, paid subscriptions bring icons of medals the user can attach to their name (with the 'ARRSE Donation Cross' the most expensive). Users who do not pay have differing grades of medals awarded them, in a system based on the number of items a user posts but, to the outsider, are bound by rules as impenetrable and opaque as the army's themselves; the difference between a 'Clanker', an 'Old Soak' or a 'LE', for example, remains unclear. The forum is a useful historical source, the memories and comments contained within it precluding some of the issues which oral historian Rodney Earl Wilson highlighted in his work on the accuracy of Second World War memories, such as conflicts with the written record or the colouring of memories through external influences. [131] Such issues are mitigated by a consensual self-monitoring and correction of errors of detail by other users. Within its pages and among the hundreds of threads, there are at least ten on the Northern Ireland conflict, often with responses in their tens of thousands. Since the conflict was the focus of the chapter on active service, it is apt to uncover how the conflict is remembered, and continued to be used as a means by users to assert their own manliness, in this chapter on life after service. The discourse and chatter contained within these threads replicate the army experience and the subjective experience of fighting in the region.

---

[129] GF, interviewed by author, London, December 4, 2019.
[130] Jones, Steven G. 'The Internet and its Social Landscape' in Jones, Steven (ed.) *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*. SAGE Publications, 1997, (Online edition) Available at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bbk/reader.action?docID=1474806> p3
[131] Walton, Rodney Earl. 'Memories from the Edge of the Abyss: Evaluating the Oral Accounts of World War II Veterans.' *The Oral History Review*. Vol. 37, no. 1, Winter/Spring 2010 p26

The forum operates at two differing strands of nostalgia. The nostalgia for the homosociality and camaraderie of military life, but also a nostalgia for a particular mode of masculinity which can no longer be displayed. If nostalgia is a defence mechanism against the uncertainties of life when life seems to be transforming in a way which seems bewildering,[132] then online communities act as communities where the old life can still be experienced, albeit virtually. Such an experience can provide psychological succour through bridging the gap between a soldierly identity and a civilian identity. Oral historian Stefan Ramsden, referencing the sociologist Mike Savage, has described how nostalgia was used to delineate communities, a discursive resource to facilitate feelings of comfort and belonging,[133] a pushback against feelings of marginalisation and worthlessness,[134] and a vital tool for enabling a community to maintain its sense of identity.[135] A group's nostalgia becomes the property of that group and online communities are no different: research has shown that forum users felt that the group of which they are members, and the messages contained within it, 'belonged' to them.[136] Gender author Anna Livia has demonstrated the deep psychological bonds online communities forge, highlighting political scientist Benedict Anderson's influential work on nationalism and 'imagined communities', and linguist William Labov's work on 'speech communities' where, although their members have never physically met, bonds between its members are no less real or substantial.[137] Brenda Middleweek's work on the 'male homosocial culture' of online communities unearthed a fraternal culture whose members expressed an emotionality towards each other. She concluded that 'peer bonding was the primary factor driving member interaction'[138] but such

---

[132] Kannike, Anu. 'Nostalgia at Home: Time as a Cultural Resource in Contemporary Estonia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Special issue: Temporality, Identity and Change: Ethnographic Insights into Estonian Field Sites, 2013, p153

[133] Ramsden, Stefan. '"The community spirit was a wonderful thing": on nostalgia and the politics of belonging'. *Oral History*, Vol. 44, No. 1, 2016, p90

[134] Savage, Mike. 'Histories, Belongings, Communities'. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* Vol. 11, No. 2, 2008, p152

[135] Ramsden, *Community*, p90

[136] Jones, *Internet*, p8

[137] Livia, Anna. 'Public and Clandestine: Gay Men's Pseudonyms on the French Minitel'. *Sexualities*, Vol. 5 No. 2, 2002 p202

[138] Middleweek, Brenda. 'Male homosocial bonds and perceptions of human–robot relationships in an online sex doll forum'. *Sexualities*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2021 pp379-383

fraternities also promote a 'masculinity nostalgia' which yearns for times when gender roles were uncontested and patriarchal authority was assured. [139] User names such as 'Oldbaldy', 'old_fat_and_hairy' and 'whiskeybreath' situate the posters in the present whilst their recollections and stories hearken to the past; in effect, these users personify a history wrapped up in the here and now.

Predictably, the forum is often not a place for the faint-hearted or the sensitive. Threads such as 'Fancy a bit of Ginger? NSFW,' (Not Suitable for Work) [140] 'What's the "Holy Grail" of unseen celebrity tits?'[141] or 'MILFs you would do' (Mothers I'd Like to Fuck)[142] are as misogynist and objectify women as much as one would expect. Sexual posturing is plentiful in forum threads like 'Danger Fucks'[143] whereby the users engage in some sexual prowess oneupmanship. The sexual performance of women with 'Mental health issues,'[144] 'lezzers' and 'fat people' are fair game.[145] Stereotypical domestic gender roles abound in threads like 'Things to do when the wife and kids are away.[146]' Such threads correlate with the findings of a 2018 study by media theorists Sarah Maltby *et al* which concluded that military forums were an easy tool for expressions of manhood and displays of manliness. They have commented on the negative portrayal of mental health discussions as either unproblematic or as

---

139 MacKenzie, Megan & Alana Foster. 'Masculinity Nostalgia' *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 48, No. 3, 2017, p208
140 ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *Fancy a bit of ginger? NSFW.* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/fancy-a-bit-of-ginger-nsfw.196079/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]
141 ARRSE.co.uk, 2011, *What's the "Holy Grail" of unseen celebrity tits?* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/whats-the-holy-grail-of-unseen-celebrity-tits.160524/>
[Accessed 4th January 2021]
142 ARRSE.co.uk, 2014, *MILFs you would do.* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/milfs-you-would-do.213036/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]
143 ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *Danger Fucks.* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/danger-fucks.195486/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]
144 ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, [Comment 2 on the online forum post 'Danger Fucks'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk>
[Accessed 22nd July 2021]
145 ARRSE.co.uk, 2007, [Comment 2 on the online forum post 'Lezzers – God bless them! Air your views here!]
Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
146 ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, *Things to do when the wife and kids are away.* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/things-to-do-when-the-wife-and-kids-are-away.305447/> [Accessed 15th March 2021]

signifiers of indictable weakness.[147] They drew attention to the silencing and sexual objectifying of women[148] as well as a tolerance of themes of violence towards women, who even online, are still framed within the lesbian/whore paradigm.[149] They argue that such a space and its tolerance of misogynist discourse permits a forum where 'masculine military identities can be played out and played with.'[150] Comments such as 'You forgot to take your "Man Up!" pills that day'[151] hint at the masculine ethos which drives much of military culture and its interactions.

Tied in with this masculinity there are also racist undercurrents present in the forums and their threads, again redolent of a nostalgic past when such discourse was deemed acceptable (and which perpetuated notions of white superiority). A thread with the title 'Latest Snowflake Outrage'[152] is one of the most commented on the site. Originated in 2018, at time of writing it is on its one thousand and forty-fourth page of responses and the contents of its pages are predictable: anything deemed 'politically correct' is mocked and denigrated. Incidents of racism (alongside misogyny and homophobia) are derided and belittled, often their validity challenged. In other threads, users question if racist comments or events are actually racist, a denial which allows them to go unchallenged. These threads were common in 2022. 'Why do some people see racism everywhere, instead of just innocent mockery?'[153] asked one user. In a different thread, another user mocked the presence of racism: 'Racism, it seems, is everywhere. Under every leaf and behind every blade of grass in every meadow.' [154] The BBC was apparently 'wholly racist' (against white people), which was

---

[147] Maltby, Sarah, Helen Thornham & Daniel Bennett. 'Beyond 'pseudonymity': The sociotechnical structure of online military forums.' *New Media & Society*. Vol. 20, No. 5, 2018 p1777
[148] Maltby et al, *Beyond*, p1779
[149] Maltby et al, *Beyond*, p1781
[150] Maltby et al, *Beyond*, p1782
[151] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 933 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[152] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, *Latest Snowflake Outrage,* [online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/latest-snowflake-outrage.271416/> [Accessed 4th April 2022]
[153] ARRSE.co.uk, 2022, [Comment 535 on the online forum post 'Formula 1- 2022 Season'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 4th April 2022]
[154] ARRSE.co.uk, 2022, [Comment 17,314 on the online forum post 'The BBC: are claims of political bias justified? Part 2.] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 4th April 2022]

apparently 'the *right* sort or racism' noted another user.[155] Commenting on the conflict in Ukraine, a user wondered if the people in the UK had no interest in fighting for their country because of the 'large percentage' of 'opposed cultures.'[156] When challenged by another user for his 'closet racism'[157] he reported that user to the moderators for 'slander'. The perception of the Army as a last enclave for white men is difficult to refute when considering these forum posts.

The ARRSE forum is protectionist on two fronts. It is clearly protective of its status as a genuine reflection of military experience and military credentials were clearly a pre-requisite for those wishing to post and remain unscathed. The ethos is laid bare with:

> If you are a never served civilian, please respect that this is a forum for soldiers, ex soldiers etc to chew the sh1t, (sic) catch up, tell lies and have their own little corner of the internet. You are tolerated as its naive to think that not all are bad and some genuinely contribute. Sadly of late there are increasing numbers of this type infecting the site and conducting themselves like cunts. Knock it off or fuck off and play somewhere you are either liked, welcome or wanted.[158]

My own appeal for interviewees which had been posted on the forum had aroused some hostile suspicion, echoed in other posts which appeared to be from 'outsiders'. Posters who were vague in detail or who, when challenged, were unable to respond satisfactorily, were dismissed as 'Walts' (named after the fictional fantasist Walter Mitty, the term reflects those who served for a limited time but presented themselves as experienced veterans). 'Wow, you tackled them before you were born,

---

[155] ARRSE.co.uk, 2022, [Comment 16,868 on the online forum post 'The BBC: are claims of political bias justified? Part 2.] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 4th April 2022]
[156] ARRSE.co.uk, 2022, [Comment 17,262 on the online forum post 'Russian Troop Movements Reported Near Ukraine] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 4th April 2022]
[157] ARRSE.co.uk, 2022, [Comment 17,514 on the online forum post 'Russian Troop Movements Reported Near Ukraine] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk.> [Accessed 4th April 2022]
[158] Maltby et al, *Beyond*, p1776

well done, you'd make a great Paratrooper,'[159] for example, shut down the braggadocio of one user. The forum is also protectionist of a recreation of the homosociality which is so keenly missed by many of its users and which can be read as a compulsion to repeat the military context. Such repetition provides rich succour for masculinities which are bereft of a performance space and within such a homosocial online environment, displays of masculinity which were common in the flesh, are also common online.

Chapter one has already discussed the conflation of masculinity with hardware and weaponry and such comments which affirm this in the poster are numerous in the many threads on Northern Ireland. Certain posts explicate this conflation: 'For proper manliness a K4 LMG (a Bren Light Machine Gun), IWS (Individual Weapon Sight) and IR (Infrared) torch was just the thing to sort the men out from the boys'[160] claimed a user in a 2018 post. This post was not alone in dually revivifying the experience of handling weaponry, but also the emotional response to reliving the act, bestowing on him a 'proper manliness'. But such posts also serve as a means of displaying a knowledge that was accrued whilst serving and which also has never left them, continuing a validation of their soldier identity. Threads such as 'What kit did the soldiers carry?',[161] opened in 2013, permitted displays which could be dazzling in their detail such as those given by the user, 'ACAB' in 2013:

> Boots NI (Northern Ireland) Patrol, trousers LW (Lightweight), shirt KF (Khaki Flannel), Jacket
>
> Combat and beret. Gloves NI, Flak Jacket, SLR (Self Loading Rifle) loaded and made ready, belt
>
> order consisting of 58 pat belt, ammo pouch with 1 mag in (I think we carried 2 mags of 15 in
>
> W Belfast, one on the SLR and the other in the ammo pouch) water bottle in pouch (for dealing

---

[159] ARRSE.co.uk, 2012, [Comment 49 on the online forum post 'Bloody Sunday'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[160] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 933 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[161] ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *What kit did the soldiers carry?* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/what-kit-did-the-soldiers-carry.197147/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

with those pesky petrol bombs) FFD (First Field Dressing) in designated pocket, dog tags, butt

map of area attached to rifle butt. Depending on rank / role Pye radio and Joker CIED (Counter

Improvised Explosive Device) equipment. In pockets little book of players to assist in IDing

them.[162]

Such displays of technological and hardware mastery sometimes also revealed the processes of

historical change, such as this 2013 comment:

> Yep, and kit changed as the Tours went on over the years.....LMGs (Light Machine Guns), FRG
>
> (Federal Riot Gun), then the Baton Gun, M79 (a specific type of grenade launcher) and 6
>
> rounds of HE (High Explosives), 4 x CLAW (Close Assault Weapon) (RLG) (Rifle Launched
>
> Grenade) per 4 man team..even toted M72 LAWS (a portable anti-tank weapon) on occasion
>
> (...saw the rusty round slowly slide out of the tw*tting thing once)..Cop Vest, Chest Rigs, old
>
> American M14 (an enhanced battle rifle) pouches that 2 x SLR (Self Loading Rifle) mags fitted
>
> into nicely ....wished we'd had those nice little drones and TI (Thermal Imagery) - could have
>
> sat and watched from the comfort of the Ops room instead of 'O.P.' ing and doing 'Lurks'
>
> where I was often frozen, frightened and f****d off.[163]

Not only does this comment point answer the original posted question, it also offers the reader a

unique insight into the subjective experience of the user's fear and discomfort. His 'frozen, frightened

and f****d off' comment gives us an experiential glimpse into 'doing "'Lurks"' (moving around a place

furtively). Many posts were similarly multi-faceted, offering multiple glimpses into serving in Northern

Ireland within one individual forum post. 'Lets not forget the 165mm short barrelled demolition gun

---

[162] ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, [Comment 10 on the online forum post 'What kit did the soldiers carry?'] Available at:
<ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[163] ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, [Comment 82 on the online forum post 'What kit did the soldiers carry?'] Available at:
<ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

on it just to scare the sh*t out of the Boggies!'[164] displayed a knowledge and proficiency of weaponry in 2018, but also offered a glimpse of the attitudes of the poster to the Irish population. Other comments on the enemy, such as a 2017 comment 'Fcuk (sic) wits or not, they were still a murderous bunch o'wee fcuks (sic). Just like their Republican oppos'[165] reactivated old grudges, and through highlighting the difference between the forum users and their enemy, automatically – and nostalgically - reinforced a camaraderie long gone.

Chapter two demonstrated how men often make themselves the stars of their own stories, using them to elevate their own prowess. Such stories are commonplace, allowing posters to relive experiences and again, maintain their soldier identity. In 2017, one user regaled the forum with this tale of the shooting of an opponent:

It was a single solid shot slug from a 12 Bore to be followed up by 250kg of HME (Home Made Explosive) in a garden shed. The perp didn't have time to unlock and arm as numerous hairy arsed Commandos were on his tail. A relatively short Sunday morning chase later he was dead, keys to the shed still in his pocket and 'I've met the Marines' sticker on his forehead.[166]

Peer-affirming responses not only consolidated the prowess of the storyteller but also allowed responders to share in the glory. When asked the fate of one soldier involved in an altercation who had 'survived but with an impressive entry-exit scar through his shoulder', a user was impressed in 2017: 'He must be well hard: a lesser man woulda been spread over at least a grid square.'[167] Users

[164] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 606 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[165] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 277 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[166] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 185 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[167] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 211 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

could also claim their own military careers had been tougher than those who had served before and memories framed in this way allowed users to bolster a contemporary sense of themselves. When one user served in the region he recalled in 2018 that he had 'no proper body armour, old tin hats, green shiny combats, and certainly no bloody cable tv. In fact, no tv. Or electricity. Open topped Land Rovers and banners to be unfurled, (1) (sic) Riots for the use of. One side written in either Chinese or Arabic.'[168]

There was often an essentialist trait to forum posts and stories of high-jinks and 'boys will be boys' were also commonplace. 'Plenty of excitement and scraps'[169] was something a user enjoyed in his tours of Northern Ireland, recalling them in 2018. The 'Jocks' from the Gordon Highlanders were apparently 'good lads to have next to you in a riot.'[170] 'I was always in the sh!t'[171] recalled a user ruefully in 2019. Such memories were often couched nostalgically. One user recalled in 2017 the 'Cam cream applied in the style of the B&W mistrals (sic). Takes me back,'[172] he mused. Recollections of sexual encounters with Irish women allowed men to relive their glory days when they were younger and virile. One particular user 'went out with (a girl) who lived on the Falls'[173] and in 2017, nostalgically remembered the 'dozens and dozens of clear-eyed Colleens' who attended a NAAFI disco. That same year, another user wistfully remembered the 'cracking girls' and the local women who would cruise for soldiers at the 'Ports.'[174]

---

[168] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 544 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[169] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 648 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[170] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 122 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[171] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 3383 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[172] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 267 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[173] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 260 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[174] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 461 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

In 2009, another user had a story along a similar theme:

> A medical story: 1973, HQ 3 Bde, Lurgan (aka the Knicker Factory - previously owned by an
> underwear company). A number of lads go sick over several weeks with some form of infection
> in the pubic area. Doc has not idea but............... one day a soldier goes sick with the same
> complaint. On examination the MO discovers a raw area , on a closer look he also discovers a
> cut with a piece of rust embedded within. It turned out, after some interrogation, that the
> "infection" had been acquired at the back gate of the factory and was entirely due to the
> attentions of a young lady who was "blowing" the boys through a chicken wire fence. Those
> were the days.[175]

In a story which highlights his own sexual prowess - despite his contemporary 1969 appearance – a
user recalled in 2019:

> Got my first set of cord flares and bomber jacket in Dungannon…complete with neckscarf and
> ring. A Zapata and Flower Power shirt would have made me look too much like some c**t out
> of the Hereford Gun Club. The purpose was participation in a Dungannon social club dance -
> no booze, just orange juice and coke.........still ended up in the back of a parked up bus with
> big Mary! Bygone days.[176]

---

[175] ARRSE.co.uk, 2009, [Comment 83 on the online forum post 'funnies from op banner'] Available at:
<ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[176] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 2788 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the
old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

The two accounts above both demonstrate a nostalgia for a performance of masculinity, a remembering of a sexual identity excised physically from the present but rekindled psychically through their sharing on the forum. Those days may indeed be 'bygone' but they still affirm the posters' current sexual – and masculine – identities.

Former regimental rivalries could be re-ignited, another facet of a military identity which could be maintained. Sappers, explained a user in 2017, were 'considered as "Bolshi". He went on to explain:

> Getting back to NI, our company were guarding Sappers that were digging holes in border crossing points and placing 15ft railway lines upright in the holes to block vehicular traffic, they choppered the cement for the holes in with one tonne buckets underslung on Pumas, those bloody sappers made sure that the buckets passed over our OPs each time, dripping wet cement on us, and our weapons and equipment, at the end of a few days our ponchos were as stiff as cardboard, our helmets clothing etc all stiff with cement.[177]

To which, rather succinctly, another user replied 'Only bolshi with cnuts (sic) though (wink).'[178] Such insulting banter was commonplace, drawing its historical bonding into the present. Some could be deeply revealing. Responding to a 2017 comment on a picture of a soldier behind two children which was framed with the comment 'we were using human shields long before Saddam Hussein made a big thing of it… ☺' one user replied, 'were we ever sport. Got one (a photograph) of a Jock behind a mother and buggy, so very very hearts and minds.'[179] On the same day, a different user joined the fray: 'always carried a bag of sweets on patrol', he remembered, 'in order to encourage a natural

---

[177] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 224 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[178] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 225 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[179] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 245 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

human shield at all times![180] Another user had the last word, moments later: 'Werther's Originals, no doubt.... And the bag in the pocket of your mackintosh today is just for old time's sake... aah the happy memories.'[181] In this exchange the reader can gauge a historical military strategy (using children as human shields), soldiers' attitude to the new type of soldiering the conflict required (the 'hearts and minds' comment), the bantering nature of such exchanges and the homosociality such banter recreates (the hint that the confectionary was being used to tempt children) and then a final blast of nostalgic remembrance.

Living with trauma

There was also plenty of acknowledging the conflict's damaging and often horrifying nature and events which challenged military masculinities sometimes cast a long shadow, the trauma of them reaching out into the present and long outlasting periods of Service. Sharing such testimonies online has been shown to have therapeutic benefits and enable the traumatic events and memories to be integrated into a person's present life.[182] Chapter three has discussed how the conflict challenged traditional methods of soldiering, and studies have shown that soldiers who had to confront women and children as enemies were particularly affected by doing so, such 'contradictions of vulnerability and moral ambiguity'[183] leaving a lasting impact. Combined with the shock and disarray of street fighting (a sharp contrast to well-ordered drill and training), this inability to conform to standards of manhood which protected women and children could be particularly troubling.[184] The memories that posters shared about such incidents also illustrated how such experiences stayed with them, affecting their own

---

[180] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 249 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[181] ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, [Comment 251 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[182] Arthur, Paul. 'Trauma Online: Public Exposure of Personal Grief and Suffering.' *Traumatology*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2009, p68
[183] Fox, John & Bob Pease. 'Military Deployment, Masculinity and Trauma: Reviewing the Connections.' *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol 20, No. 1, Winter 2012, p26
[184] Fox & Pease, *Military*, p26

sense of their self and their masculinity in the present day. Users like the one who commented in 2018 that he 'left too much of my soul there'[185] were joined by another user who – also in 2018 - recalled his experience in Newry as 'not a fun time.'[186] Some recalled the horrifying incidents whose details were difficult to let go, such as those contained in this 2018 post:

> My abiding memory is picking up what was left of young kids after INLA thought it was a good idea to set off a bomb in a drain pipe in Divis Flats in 82. They were targeting a Brick but what they didnt (sic) see (or care about) was the young kids that were playing and not visable (sic) to them (or so they said). Cowardly scum. i still think about that and it was 36 years ago.[187]

Whilst serving, one user recalled in 2019 being shown black and white photographs of another harrowing incident where 'there were chunks of their body parts suspended all over the trees.'[188] When 'chaps got their first sight and smell of the results of a PIRA operation…the personal effects could be fairly awful; they certainly were for me,'[189] added another user in 2019. One user had 'muckers' who were at the same incident: 'one describes…the scene (with the benefit of 46 years' hindsight) as horrific, including removing an ear stuck to a tree, while the SQMS remembers taking them out stew in hay boxes.'[190] His '46 years' hindsight' comment and the '36 years ago' comment quoted above expose the potency and longevity of memories which still troubled in 2019.

---

185 ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 442 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
186 ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 445 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
187 ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 445 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
188 ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4422 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
189 ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4457 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
190 ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4426 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

Such situations challenged constructions of toughness and masculinity, a fact picked up on by some users who could be surprisingly reflective in their thoughts about what 'being a man' meant. One user commented in 2019 that 'we all have a breaking point, we just don't know where it is until we break it. Some tough guys never make it. Some tough people can breach that point when it overloads,'[191] he mused, exposing the fragility of 'toughness'. The conversation was taken up by a user whose 2019 comment further laid bare the emptiness of ideas of toughness or roughness. He believed that:

> 'tough' isn't any part of the equation, as neither is 'rough', 'heavily-muscled' or 'iron-jawed. I have all of those attributes...but they have never made a significant difference to my essentially compassionate attitude towards the suffering and violent, painful deaths of my fellow man.[192]

Such users were able to simultaneously look back at their time as a soldier and reflect on their current status as a civilian, encapsulating in that move two different modes of masculinity.

Sometimes, memories of events could directly affect a person's actions in the present day. Another facet which revealed itself to me was the effect of darkness on some of the Northern Ireland ex-Service personnel and specifically, when darkness is artificially brightened. In 2019, a user recalled arguing with his wife on holiday in Bali after they had been given a torch to light their way to a beach restaurant. 'As soon as she switched the torch on I broke into a cold sweat', he explained before adding 'its (sic) still something which if it does happen makes my skin crawl.'[193] Another user could relate to the issue of torches in 2019 as he felt 'uncomfortable making myself entirely visible in the dark or even

---

[191] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4458 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[192] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4461 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[193] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4015 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

out walking…. I avoid going out for a wander in day-glo or other bright colours.'[194] For another user,

in 2019, his 'only problem' with the night was 'I don't like being lit up and not being able to see out

and I still won't sit in a room with the lights on or blinds are open.'[195] Such exchanges give voice to the

current experience of these men but were also multi-functional. By overcoming silence when

discussing these matters, the forum helped eliminate one of trauma's 'basic characteristic features'[196]

which is an inability to give voice to the issues a person faced. These exchanges also acted as a gestalt

therapeutic tool, the responses they garnered demonstrating not only that others were listening but

also that they were successfully being integrated into the community (key parts of the recovery

process).[197] It was a process demonstrated by a user who also couldn't stand 'having lights on &

curtains or blinds not closed. Drives me mad'. The community and self-affirming nature of such posts

were reflected in his final 2019 comment of 'we're a weird bunch of duffers.'[198]

For many users, the lack of remembrance of the conflict was often a sore point, and it was an omission

which disallowed the transformation Alistair Thomson describes whereby the death and horror of

conflict is moulded to fit notions of a noble sacrifice.[199] The refusal to allow the names of soldiers killed

in the conflict to be added to war memorials 'caused distress to soldiers and their relatives.'[200] 'The

lads are not remembered nor celebrated enough by Joe Public,'[201] commented a user in 2018. It was

a sentiment that found many echoes, and those soldiers who had lost their lives were described in

---

[194] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4020 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[195] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4023 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[196] Menyhért, Anna. 'Digital Trauma Processing in Social Media Groups: Transgenerational Holocaust Trauma on Facebook'. *The Hungarian Historical Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2017 p355
[197] Menyhért, *Digital*, p373
[198] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 4060 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[199] Thomson, Alistair, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, Auckland & New York, 1994, p4
[200] Renwick, *Hidden*, p64
[201] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 1 on the online forum post 'Op Banner Rememberence'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

2018 by another user as the 'never forgotten by us the forgotten of a forgotten war.' [202]

Commemorating the conflict as a war was important to some users who felt diminished by this lack of

recognition. Some users hated the term 'The Troubles', believing that term to be 'something that

political spin-merchants came up with to avoid using the term "warfare".' Those who were killed in

Northern Ireland were just as valid as soldiers as those who had fought in other historical theatres of

conflict, as he commented in 2019. They were:

> still dead as a result of being involved in Op Banner. Dead is dead. Just because they didn't die
>
> doing daring deeds of heroism, whilst fighting a Rorkes (sic) Drift type action in Springfield
>
> Road, doesn't make them any less dead, or their deaths, any less relevant.[203]

Another user agreed in 2020: 'NI was a war and I dont (sic) need some English teacher to tell me

otherwise.'[204]

For other users, there was a sense that the conflict had been 'airbrushed out of history'[205] as a 2009

thread attested, perhaps reflecting feelings that their soldierly masculinities had somehow failed or

not been tested sufficiently. One user recounted in 2018 showing his family a documentary on the

conflict and events in which he had taken part: 'they knew I had served there, but they, like so many

others, had no idea at all of what it was like.'[206] The first post of this 2009 thread commented on the

Royal British Legion's poppy field of remembrance at Westminster Abbey: 'every conflict from Aden

---

[202] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 348 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[203] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 3632 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[204] ARRSE.co.uk, 2020, {Comment 47 on the online forum post 'Northern Ireland conflict airbrushed out of history'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

[205] ARRSE.co.uk, 2009, *Northern Ireland conflict airbrushed out of history* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/northern-ireland-conflict-airbrushed-out-of-history.125312/> [Accessed 21st January 2021]

[206] ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, [Comment 445 on the online forum post 'Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold'] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

to Afghanistan is listed and rightly so. Apart from one… the one that many of you on this site, it seems never served in as it didn't happen!' This omission of Northern Ireland 'is simply wrong. It is especially disrespectful to the approx 1600 personnel who fell in action or were killed.'[207] A user was 'somewhat surprised' in 2009 when he was unsuccessful in a job application because he lacked operational experience despite having served several tours in the province. For the people who interviewed him, Northern Ireland 'wasn't a real war' a statement which diminished his experience:

> now my regiment is gone, and the war that we fought, is confined to some dusty cupboard by government, lest it embarrass them or irritate the yanks. Fook em all. Once a Rifleman always a Rifleman.[208]

His identity as a Rifleman was still clearly important to him but was one that had been compromised by the lack of official recognition, a denial of his identity as a soldier thirty years after the events took place. Participation in the forum, however, repudiated this lack of status.

The online forums are an avenue for an expression of military masculinities but also offer a unique historical viewpoint onto the experience of serving in Northern Ireland. The gatekeeping of the forums ensures that posts are historically accurate and posted by users with genuine experience of the conflict. Any errors or mis-remembering contained within their posts are corrected through consensual debate and input. The forum acts as a means to continue to perform masculinity, whether through displaying technical proficiency, through remembering the details of weaponry or hardware, or replicating the homosocial bonds which using the forum inspires. It allows users to position themselves in relation to memories of their enemy or as a means to maintain a position over women

---

[207] ARRSE.co.uk, 2009, [Comment 1 on the online forum post 'Northern Ireland conflict airbrushed out of history'.] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]
[208] ARRSE.co.uk, 2009, [Comment 7 on the online forum post 'Northern Ireland conflict airbrushed out of history'.] Available at: <ARRSE.co.uk> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

within the forum threads. Most importantly, it permits a perpetuation and performance of military masculinities which are often no longer deployed in civilian life. Even when such masculinities are troubled by traumatic memories or a sense that the users involvement in the conflict did not constitute valid soldiering, the support and input from other members affirms both the users' sense of themselves as a soldier which bolsters their own uncertain sense of their own masculinity.

Conclusion

Adjusting to life after service is clearly a major transition in a soldier's life. It is a process which forces a realignment of the self and psyche to the standards of a society utterly different from that of the military. Although most soldiers do well when leaving military service, there is a small but important minority who struggle with the adjustment to civilian life. The masculine standard which sanctions emotional silence and a reticence to seek help was often deleterious to their lives. Sometimes, as in the case of two of my interviewees, it was their inability to reconcile their true selves to the military paradigm which resulted in them having to leave the army. Trevor took decades before he felt able to align his sexual identity to his former identity as a soldier. For Sarah, this process remains incomplete and although she misses the military environment and its ethos, her position as a trans-woman has meant that, institutionally, she has been unable to seek help or replicate her military experience. Being trans has left her alienated from the military world.

Online, men were able to reconnect with their military identities and recreate the homosociality of army life which permitted appropriate and continuing displays of masculinities. Within the threads and posts of the ARRSE.co.uk forum, masculine identities were negotiated, military proficiency and sexual prowess postured, banter was recreated and memories contextualised often with a real sense of *esprit de corps*. But nostalgia also played its part, recreating a time when these men were positioned at the apex of the gender system and the world in which they inhabited seemed more certain, their

place within it assured. The input from other members would bolster their sense of their soldier identities and the masculinities contained within them. Even those users whose masculinity was compromised either by remembered trauma or the sense that their soldiering life was invalidated because of the lack of official recognition or remembrance of the Northern Ireland conflict, could – through the input of other users and the sharing of traumatic memories – have their identities, and masculinities, validated. However former soldiers coped or dealt with their loss of soldierly status, either successfully or unsuccessfully, one thing is absolutely clear. A soldier's identity is not something which ever leaves those who served. The shadow of their former lives remains with them forever.

It may be perhaps telling that the majority of voices I encountered on that forum were male, heterosexual and white. For many homosexual men and female soldiers, who had to work on their identities whilst in service, perhaps the transition into civilian society was easier as a result of this work. For women, after spending their careers differentiating themselves from the majority whilst assimilating into it, and for gay men, enacting military masculinity whilst acknowledging and keeping secret their sexuality difference, may have meant their civilian identities - their very sense of self - may have coalesced easier and quicker. Without the capital of male heterosexuality to draw upon, women had to forge their own identities, masculinised or not. We have already seen how Trevor was ultimately unable to reconcile his sexual identity with his military identity whilst serving and it would be his civilian identity as a gay man which prevailed. How these groups – usually marginalised from masculinity - did this identity work is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Five. "You have to work harder…to get to be seen as the same even though you're actually performing better.'"[1] Challenging Masculinities from the Margins.

In 1960, a soldier is concentrating on the maintenance of the innards of a Westland helicopter. She works alongside a male soldier, both appearing proficient despite the complex circuitry and technology they are manipulating.[2] Sometime in the 1970s, another woman sits typing on a bulky, off-brown teleprinter. She is in khaki, as is the soldier who looms over her, his face furrowed in concentration as he reads the ticker tape printout she has just produced.[3] In 1988, six other women are crouching on a gravel path, trees and bushes in full bloom behind them. All are squinting intently through the sights of their rifles while an instructor kneels in front of one them, issuing instructions.[4] Meanwhile in 1990, under the blazing sun of Saudi Arabia, two women in desert khakis are digging a trench, sleeves rolled up, the shadows of military netting lending the image the air of a mosaic. One empties her shovel off camera while the other is bent over, absorbed in her work.[5] In 2001, in Helmand Province, Afghanistan, a Chinook helicopter ascends into the sky. Crouching in front of it are three women in body armour, the black of their SA80 rifles a contrast to the blue behind them. They are alert but relaxed, their gaze on something off camera.[6] In 2014, a group of uniformed men and women march proudly through a

---

[1] Gaynor Ward, interviewed by author, London, interview March 24, 2021

[2] *Maintenance on a Scout Helicopter.* c1960. [Photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

[3] *Data Telegraphist, Women's Royal Army Corps, 1970-1989 (c).* c1970-1989. [35mm slide] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

[4] *Skill at arms, 2 Training Company, WRAC Centre, Guildford.* c1988. [Photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

[5] *Women's Royal Army Corps personnel, attached to the Force Maintenance Area, entrenching in Saudi Arabia in the as part of Operation GRANBY, Gulf War, 1990-1991.* c1990-1991. [Photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

[6] Frere, Rupert. *Soldiers of 2nd Battalion, the Royal Highland Fusiliers, Helmand Province, February 2011.* 2011. [Digital photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

London street on their first Pride event. The grey sky and drizzle does not diminish the enthusiasm of the watching crowd, some of whom take photographs.[7]

The preceding chapters have discussed how military masculinities are shaped, embodied and performed. From recruitment materials which affirmed gender stereotypes and presented a version of masculinity that was approachable enough to be tangible, to training new recruits in environments inherently male, and in an ethos and culture in which capital could be attained by fulfilling its exacting standards. From the streets of Northern Ireland, where the masculine capital gained from being a soldier was compromised and renegotiated on the streets of the province, to the lingering soldierly masculinities which remain online, the realms of cyberspace permitting a nostalgia for a time when being a soldier was at the apex of manliness. As those masculinities have become unearthed, it has become clear that masculinity is not necessarily the sole preserve *of* men, and more specifically, heterosexual men. The military ideal of masculinity is an unwittingly and unwillingly democratic model. Unwitting because it assumes masculinity is uniquely available to straight men, and unwilling because when the fallacy of this becomes apparent, it pushes back, becomes protectionist and closes its borders. This chapter unearths what happens when those usually denied masculinity are able to refute this denial, and although its main focus is on women (with their obvious physical difference) the experiences of gay soldiers are also considered: both challenge essentialist notions of masculinity and test its boundaries, both expose the nature of its construction, and both show how successful gender performance can be accomplished across the spectrum.

This chapter contributes to a growing literature on the experience of minorities in the army, of which there is a dearth for the experiences of gay soldiers. For example, in the 2019 book *Fighting with Pride,* editor Craig Jones brings together the stories of LGBTQ servicemen and women. Their accounts are of

---

[7] Chinardet, N., 2014. *Army personnel marching at Pride in London.* [photograph] Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/armed-forces-on-parade-at-pride-in-london> [Accessed 9th May 2022]

'finding their place in an Armed Forces that truly values them and of finding a welcome that was denied so many in the past.'[8] It is a worthwhile collection, but tellingly, only two of the accounts are from male soldiers who identify as gay, the rest of the collection being made up of RAF and Royal Navy personnel. It seems that the voices of soldiers from the modern period remain largely self-silenced, an observation borne out in a survey of other publications which demonstrate the work already done on the two world wars. Titles such as Emma Vickers' *Queen and Country: Same Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-1945* (2013), Stephen Bourne's *Fighting Proud: the Untold Story of the Gay Men who Served in Two World Wars* (2017), or Adrian Caesar's *Taking it like a Man: Suffering, Sexuality and the War Poets* (1993) feed into a collective knowledge, the mix enhanced by numerous autobiographies of war poets and a growing awareness of the numbers of LGB personnel who served in the two world wars and the invaluable roles they played.[9] Within academic literature there is a cluster of articles on the experience of gay soldiers in both world wars and yet, again, modern voices and their reflections on modern army living, are absent. It was this absence which made their voices so initially appealing in the production of this thesis and their experiences open this chapter.

Historical research into women in the British Army has also been sparse, a fact noted by historian Kathleen Heggie. She decries the fact that, when writing in 2003, there had been only two texts published about the Women's Royal Army Corps, a situation which remains unchanged in 2022[10] and that when work *is* published on women's role in the army, it is part of a broader analysis on the Armed Forces as a whole.[11] Social geographers Rachel Woodward and Patricia Winter have also agreed that

[8]Jones, Craig (ed.) *Fighting with Pride, LGTBQ in the Armed Forces.* Pen & Sword Military, Yorkshire & Philadelphia, 2019*,* cover inlay

[9] Vickers, Emma. *Queen and Country: Same Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-1945.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013 pp3-4

[10] Heggie, Joan Kathleen Ferrier (2003). *Uniform Identity? Lesbians and the Negotiation of Gender & Sexuality in the British Army Since 1950.* PhD thesis, University of York, Centre for Women's Studies. Available at <https://ethos.bl.uk/Logon.do;jsessionid=A2102499C69FC5D80C84CD04EB2F942A> [Accessed 14th May 2021], p12

[11] Heggie, *Uniform,* p11

this is a 'relatively unexplored area' with a notable lack of scholarship on women in the British Army[12] although interdisciplinary work has been undertaken. A feminist lens applied by Woodward and Winter has described the institutional and cultural discourses which privileged males and manliness and which constrained and punished those who did not adhere to its rules.[13] The political and feminist writer, Victoria Basham has explored the marginalisation of servicewomen through the use of informal social practices which proliferated within the army,[14] while gender and sexuality researcher, Melissa S. Herbert, has explored how the threat of lesbianism policed the behaviour of female operatives.[15]

This chapter also contributes to this nascent field of research. As well as examining the gender scripts available to servicewomen, it considers the social penalties or rewards which enacting such scripts could incur. It also reveals a very specific form of martial femininity that women often adopted, a balancing act on the fulcrum of not being neither too feminine nor too masculine. The chapter also explores how masculinities are affected by the presence of women and considers the counter-measures the army took in order to mitigate their presence. Legal and linguistic wrangles enabled the army to officially push back against governmental equal opportunities and discrimination policies. The lack of combat status and weaponry afforded women precluded certain career opportunities and chances of promotion. Their bodies were used against them, either through constant investigation into their fitness, worries over emotionality, menstruation and pregnancy, or being given kit and equipment which did not fit them and hampered their performance. Women were objectified and judged within a lesbian/whore paradigm whose ubiquity promoted an everyday misogyny which blighted their working lives.

---

[12] Woodward, Rachel & Trish Winter, *Sexing the Soldier: the Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army.* Routledge, Oxon, 2007*,* p74

[13] Bulmer, Sarah. 'Patriarchal Confusion? Making Sense of Gay and Lesbian Military Identity.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2013*,* p138

[14] Bulmer, *Patriarchal,* p138

[15] Bulmer, *Patriarchal,*, p138

Two of my interviewees – Louise and Gaynor – joined the army just after the disbandment of the WRAC and both were at the vanguard of female integration. Their interviews – along with other interviews I conducted and replies to questionnaires I received – form the bedrock of this chapter, their lived experience of this time of transition testament to the effects that the presence of women had on masculine environments and culture. The autobiography of Sarah Ford, one of the first women to join the SAS, was a useful counterpoint to my own interviews, her own experiences tallying with the experiences of my interviewees and drawing a continuity of military culture from her time in the army to their's. Contemporary newspaper reports contextualise experiences within wider societal values but also demonstrate how the press willingly colluded in keeping military women in their place. Government and army documents accessed at the National Archive also paint a picture of official policies that were drawn and redrawn in order to maintain institutional male superiority. Such sources all point to an official and systemic repression of female capabilities and a tacit assumption that their abilities had to be proven when compared to their male colleagues, such assumptions born of a long-standing repression of female talent.

Gay soldiers: compromised masculinities

For the army, the idea of gay soldiers had always been particularly troubling to a culture whose members represented the epitome of manhood. While masculine female soldiers could be denigrated as 'butch dykes' they could be tolerated because their presence did not threaten the carefully controlled and policed borders of male sexuality. Gay men have perhaps posed more existential angst, their ability to pass as heterosexual through harnessing an appropriate display of masculinity, deeply troubling. They were the enemy within, as it were. As sociologist Michael Messner discusses, their position within the military hierarchy lays bare the construction and the context-specific nature of

masculinities and, more specifically, military masculinities.[16] To protect the myth of masculinity being

the sole preserve of straight men, before 2000 it was illegal for gay men to serve. Prior to that, being

gay in the army was not only illegal but would have resulted in a possible jail term and instant dismissal

in disgrace: 'there would be no Red Book (service record), there would be no pension, no support, and

you might well have ended up in military prison.'[17] 260 personnel were discharged between 1991 and

1994 with Stonewall claiming an additional 240 resignations between 1991 and 1995, the personnel

who quit, finding the pressures of army life unbearable.[18] Homophobia was rife, a multi-faceted

strategy which easily positioned its proponents as resolutely heterosexual but which also fostered a

culture of intolerance towards gay men. Stories of soldiers 'queer-bashing' gay men while off-duty[19]

not only 'proved' their manliness but also demonstrated a behaviour which gay rights campaigner,

Peter Tatchell argued in a 1992 interview, '"partly legitimated by the homophobic policies of the

Armed Forces".'[20]

This homophobia was readily drawn upon to silence gay, and police, straight men. Trevor S recalled

than 'when people referred to gay men, they didn't beat around the bush. They used all the derogatory

terms, like queer, faggot, all that sort of stuff.'[21] Robert R was able to see this positioning for what it

was, blaming it on the 'macho environment, and homosexuality clearly is not traditionally macho... It's

more for show than for genuine bigotry.'[22] Frazer S agreed, believing genuine homophobes were a

'small, small minority', but that he didn't believe it was 'widespread homophobia that drives the use

---

[16] Messner, Michael A. *Politics of Masculinities. Men in Movements.* Altamira Press, Oxford. 2000 p82

[17] Ford, Darren (Sergeant). 'Redcap Revealed.' In Craig Jones (ed.) *Fighting with Pride, LGTBQ in the Armed Forces.* Pen & Sword Military, Yorkshire & Philadelphia, 2019 p128

[18] Dodd, Tom. (1995) *The Armed Forces Bill (Bill 5 of 1995-96).* Research Paper 95/125. 8 December 1995. International Affairs and Defence Section. Available at <researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP95_125/RP95_125.pdf> [Accessed 12 September 2019] p38

[19] Sun, 1992. *Gay Alert on Basher Soldiers. The Sun.* 9th July 1992 [newspaper] Planner No. 65A-120. Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

[20] Tatchell, Peter. Interviewed in *Kensington News.* 15th July 1992. [newspaper] Planner No. 72A-300.170. Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

[21] Trevor Skingle, interviewed by author, London, interview September 14, 2020

[22] Robert Ridley, interviewed by author, London, interview November 29, 2019

of that language. It's a cultural thing.'[23] The repressive culture of the army was unearthed in newspaper stories such as the one that appeared in *The Sun* in April 1994 which channelled stereotypes of the femininity of gay men as it told the story of a Corporal who had been sacked for being gay, his 'unmanly interest in soft furnishings' and 'lack of interest in a female striptease act'[24] giving him away.

Entering the military environment which reinforced 'masculine norms and values,'[25] meant gay men had to conceal their true identities and deploy strategies detailed by psychologist Gregory M. Herek: the use of discretion (using self-censorship to limit information), concealment (actively stopping others finding information about themselves), and fabrication (lying and creating falsehoods).[26] Failing to do so, they risked emotional disconnection,[27] they risked being subjected to 'open disdain and other forms of victimisation,'[28] they even risked physical violence to themselves: one interviewee affirmed that some of them would be 'beaten up and mentally tortured because they had been found out to be gay.'[29] Gay soldiers had to show they weren't 'pansies', 'poofs', 'faggots', (and) 'queers'[30] and reject the femininity historically associated with homosexuality. As a consequence, they too could posture homophobically. Robert R recalled homophobic language 'undoubtedly' being used in training. 'There would absolutely have been lots of foul language, some of it which undoubtedly would have been (homophobic)… I probably joined in, to be perfectly honest.'[31] Heterosexual scripts regarding women

---

[23] Frazer Stark, interviewed by author, London, interview November 27 2019

[24] Sun*, 1994. '*Gay 'Sofa Fan' Fired by Army' *The Sun.* 20th April 1994. [newspaper] Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

[25] Dunivin, Karen O. 'Military Culture: Change and Continuity.' *Armed Forces & Society.* Vol. 20, No. 4, Summer 1994*, p536

[26] Herek, Gregory M. 'Why Tell If You're Not Asked? Self-Disclosure, Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men.' In Gregory M. Herek, Jared B. Jobe & Ralph M. Carney. *Out in Force. Sexual Orientation and the Military.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996 p200

[27] Alt, Marcus Christopher. 'The experience of gay, military men and the impact on one's sense of masculinity.' University of Iowa dissertation. Fall, 2015. Downloaded from [https://doi.org/10.17077/etd.ekoto4ge] p2

[28] Alt, *Experience,* p4

[29] Douglas Morgan, 2020, *Research project,* [email] Message to author, sent , 15th January 2020

[30] Bristow, Joseph. 'Homophobia/misogyny: Sexual fears, sexual definitions.' In Shepherd, Simon and Mick Wallis. (Eds.) *Coming on Strong. Gay Politics and Culture.* Unwin Hyman Ltd. London, Winchester, Sydney & Wellington. 1989 p62

[31] Robert Ridley interview

could be deployed; Frazer S had a 'load of stock answers' if asked by one of his men '"do you think she's fit, boss"?'[32] They were able to trade on the bodily capital honed by their training and careers.[33] The cachet Trevor S received through his coaching army boxing teams and instructing in judo and aikido meant that he was regarded as 'butch and sort of like a straight bloke.'[34]

Despite the compulsory heterosexuality of this culture, Section 146 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994 decriminalised homosexual activity in the army, although it was still viewed as 'incompatible with military service.' Homosexual acts were still treated as criminal if they were linked to 'other acts and circumstances,'[35] a term vague enough to facilitate continued persecution and ensuring that the ban had not even been partially lifted, let alone overturned. The Homosexuality Policy Assessment Team (HPAT) report of 1995 was keen to downplay the moralistic nature of its investigation, but as legal historian Bruce Carolan has observed, it still portrayed gay soldiers as 'highly sexualised, seductive and predatory, particularly towards the young.'[36] It is a report that speaks more of the fear that an already uncertain heterosexual identity[37] would be undermined by the presence of gay soldiers, rather than providing any real or tangible reasons to exclude them. Such a questioning of the naturalness of masculinity which the presence of gay soldiers would inevitably arouse could not be permitted and culturally, the army remained resistant: a 1995 survey of fifteen thousand personnel found that 80% of respondents wanted the ban upheld.[38] The *Soldier's Pocket Book* of 1996 affirmed that 'homosexuality and drug abuse are contrary to military law' and that soldiers had a responsibility to their unit and 'in fact your family to be constantly on the alert to those involved in these activities.'[39] Institutional policing of sexuality would be reinforced by internal surveillance.

---

[32] Frazer Stark interview
[33] Ginsberg, Elaine K. (ed) *Passing and the fictions of identity.* Duke University Press, Durham, 1996 p2
[34] Trevor Skingle interview
[35] Dodd, *Armed Forces,* p37
[36] Carolan, Bruce. 'An Army of Lovers: Queering the Ministry of Defence Report of the Homosexuality Policy Assessment Team.' *Tulsa Law Review.* Vol. 34, No. 3, Spring 1999 p559
[37] Carolan, *Army,* p566
[38] Dodd, *Armed Forces,* p39
[39] Ministry of Defence, *A Soldier's Pocket Book,* Military Pocket Books, Beverley, 1995 p32

The press were predictably protectionist, and the news of the upholding of the ban was welcomed by certain newspapers. The *Daily Mail* of 7th February 1996 predicted 'mutiny' if the ban was lifted, quoting a 'senior military source' who said '"it may not be the politically correct thing to say, but Servicemen do not want to work alongside gays.'[40] *The Sun* was blunter:

> Our army is a feared fighting machine because squaddies trust each other with their lives. In combat they rely on split-second judgement free from all distractions. So Michael Portillo is right to keep the ban on gays… Despite threats by homosexual rights campaigners to go bleating to the Euro- court. Over 80 per cent of troops reckon letting gays enlist would weaken discipline and trust. And they should know. The British soldier needs to worry about the enemy ahead…***Not some shirt-lifter behind him.***[41] (Stress and italics in original article).

But 'bleating to the Euro-court' they did, and when ex-Royal Navy personnel, Duncan Lustig-Prean and John Beckett, together with ex-Royal Air Force personnel, Jeanette Smith and Graeme Grady, took their case to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), judgement found in favour for both parties. For Lustig-Prean and Beckett, it was concluded that 'neither the investigations conducted into the applicants' sexual orientation, nor their discharge on the grounds of their homosexuality…were justified under Article 8/S of the Convention.'[42] Acknowledging that Smith's and Grady's discharges were 'a direct consequence of their homosexuality', the Court found the UK Government had not

---

[40] Daily Mail, 1996. Ban on Gays in Forces will Stay, says Soames. 7th February 1996. *The Daily Mail.* [newspaper] Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

[41] The Sun, 1996. Stand At Ease!, *The Sun.* 5th March 1996 [newspaper]. Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

[42] *Case of Lustig-Prean & Beckett v. The United Kingdom.* European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, Application nos 31417/96 and 32377/96. 27th December 1999. Available at: <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{"itemid":["001-58407"]}> [Accessed 13th March 2020], point 104

offered any 'convincing and weighty reasons…to justify the policy against homosexuals in the armed forces.'[43]

Although the Ministry of Defence had successfully protected their institution as an exclusive enclave for the heterosexual male, and had won the first round of the legal challenge of the 1995 case against the four personnel who would ultimately succeed at the ECHR, they were also asked to re-examine their policy.[44] Court records hint at the outside pressures on the military's upper echelons, noting that 'this decision appears to rely considerably on contemporaneous opinion amongst decision makers which suggests that its effect may not be long lasting.'[45] The Armed Forces Bill of 1995-1996 stated that its purpose was to 'bring military law in line, as far as is considered possible, with civil law'[46] and the 1998 Strategic Defence Review 'asserted the need for the Armed Forces to reflect society.'[47] For the military historian Christopher Dandeker, there was an inevitability of this movement towards the ban being lifted, the product of a less deferential age which was beginning to question the value and the purpose of an army in peacetime.[48]

The soldiers and ex-soldiers I interviewed for this project lived and served through this period of change (and for two of them, they remain in the army). Navigation of this hostile culture entailed separating their sexual identities from their gender identities, something of which they all became

---

[43] *Case of Smith & Grady v. The United Kingdom.* European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, Application nos 33985/96 and 33968/96. 27th December 1999. Available at: <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{"itemid":["001-58408"]}> [Accessed 13th March 2020], points 106, 105

[44] Carolan, *Army,* p555

[45] *R v Ministry of Defence ex parte Smith, R v Ministry of Defence ex parte Grady, R v Admiralty Board of the Defence Council ex parte Beckett, R v Admiralty Board of the Defence Council ex parte Lustig-Prean.* 1996 ICR 740, CA. Available at: <https://app.croneri.co.uk/law-and-guidance/case-reports/r-v-ministry-defence-ex-parte-smith-r-v-ministry-defence-ex-parte> [Accessed 13th May 2020]

[46] Dodd, *Armed Forces Bill,* p37

[47] Dandeker, Christopher & David Mason. 'The British Armed Services and the Participation of Minority Ethnic Communities: from Equal Opportunities to Diversity?' *The Sociological Review,* Vol. 49, No. 2, 2001 p.222

[48] Dandeker, Chistopher. 'New Times for the Military: Some Sociological Remarks on the Changing Role and Structure of the Armed Forces of the Advanced Societies.' *The British Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 45, No. 4, 1994, p652

adept. Trevor admitted that his 'sex drive was sort of second consideration going into the military.'[49]

For GF, joining in 1968, he 'knew that it was illegal and I just had to compartmentalise my life between maybe having a bit of fun on the weekend and getting on with the job in the day during the week.'[50] When asked if this compartmentalisation was complete, he replied 'oh, absolutely. God, yes.'[51] When on weekend leave he would be able to 'visit some loo somewhere, see what's about and that was basically it.'[52] Despite being in a sauna when it was raided by the police, he continued to seek out sex in saunas and public toilets, his ability to compartmentalise the experience meaning he 'almost forgot about it on the drive back'. 'You've just got to lock it away', he remarked.[53] Ben A 'just kept everything really separate'. Although he had a couple of boyfriends, 'that was one life and I didn't see my friends from the military during leave.'[54] After beginning to accept his sexuality at university, he 'had to put it back in, effectively go back in the closet, to join the military.'[55] He had to 'have had a very tight hold'[56] on his emotions.

Like a number of the men interviewed by the author Steve Zeeland in a 1995 study on US Navy sailors, some of the men I interviewed found military service helped sharpen their new sexual identities.[57] Neither Frazer S, Robert R or Ben A considered themselves as gay men when they joined the army but ironically, it would be the army's cultural constraints on homosexuality which permitted a recognition in themselves of their own homosexuality, which ultimately led to their acceptance of it. It would take Robert R 'probably four or five years' into his army career before he accepted it while Frazer S was able to map his journey of sexual self onto his army career, from initial experimentation at university

---

[49] Trevor Skingle interview
[50] GF, interviewed by author, London, interview December 4, 2019
[51] GF interview
[52] GF interview
[53] GF interview
[54] Ben Amponsah, interviewed by author, Manchester, interview December 7, 2019
[55] Ben Amponsah interview
[56] Ben Amponsah interview
[57] Zeeland, Steve. *Sailors and Sexual Identity: Crossing the Line Between "Straight" and "Gay" in the US Navy.* Harrington Press, New York, 1995 p6

to his time in the Officer Training Corps which left him 'clinging on to only being bi and not being gay'[58]

before ultimately deciding he was 'definitely gay.'[59] For Ben A too, bisexuality was a midway point, but

'the reality of it was that even though I was having sex with girls it never meant a huge amount to

me.'[60]

Ben was not alone in using 'girlfriends' as cover. Trevor S also had several girlfriends who could be

used to 'prove' his heterosexuality to his superiors when he ended up in military psychiatric hospital.[61]

Ben A was happy to be regarded as '"that Ben, he's always got a nice girl on his arm"' and it was 'easy'

for him 'to just, pretend.'[62] He was able to draw on a roster of 'pretty, ex-girlfriends who were happy

to come out and enjoy the life…they were like beards.'[63] GF occasionally had a 'girlfriend in inverted

commas' who would accompany him to social events but he was able to use the peripatetic nature of

army life as a cover for his sexuality, the regular changing of postings a useful smokescreen to hide his

single (and suspicious) status: 'you could always turn up and say, "oh, I've just been through an awful

relationship so I'm just hanging back at the moment".'[64] Frazer S was able to use the perception of

being a young officer, where 'you don't settle down, you're living that single man's life… you're having

good fun'[65] as a defence to ward off questions about his relationship status.

With gay sex in the army illegal until 2000, the men I interviewed were unable to act upon their desires.

Trevor recalled a 'particular married guy who kept asking me for sexual favours and I was reluctant to

pander to it because I was worried about getting put in nick.'[66] GF recalled the horror of cottaging in

a sauna in the early 1980s that was raided by the police; 'yeah, big crash from downstairs. The police

---

[58] Frazer Stark interview
[59] Frazer Stark interview
[60] Ben Amponsah interview
[61] Trevor Skingle interview
[62] Ben Amponsah interview
[63] Ben Amponsah interview
[64] GF interview
[65] Frazer Stark interview
[66] Trevor Stark interview

burst in, screamed at us, sat us down and was arrested and taken to the police station and all sorts'.

He was only able to escape prosecution because of the address where his car was registered. The

experience 'put the shits up' him and he dreaded the end of his army career, being 'chucked out. No

pension. Fuck all.'[67] He had to carefully monitor his life in the army, especially the social aspects of

army existence. His strategy was to minimise his alcohol intake to remain in control and prevent

unwanted information seepage.[68] For him, parties – 'either informal parties or formal' were 'always

difficult.'[69] He 'just had to be careful. Not get drunk'. To compensate for this he 'used to play the clown

occasionally' and took on the role of unofficial event photographer 'so people knew I was there'[70] or

would nominate himself as designated driver to excuse his lack of alcohol intake. Ben A was able to

control any leakage of information in drinking scenarios because throughout his life he had 'spent a

lot of time kind of dissembling, is probably the best way to describe it.'[71]

The men sometimes found themselves in difficult situations when the homosexual was enacted in

private. Trevor S recalled one of his best friends, who Trevor had assumed was straight, coming into

his barrack room when Trevor was reading on his bed. His friend stood at the bottom of the bed,

clearly aroused, and stroked his erection through his trousers. The private space this was enacted in

was confusing and Trevor confessed, 'I could never make out whether they were coming on to me or

whether it was just lads' play if you know what I mean.'[72] Nothing happened as a result of this

encounter. GF recalled a younger soldier telling him how much he respected and liked GF during a

private meeting. He could only reply '"don't be so silly". But nothing more than that.'[73] He affirmed

that 'you don't cross any boundaries. No matter what you think, you might have.'[74] On another

---

[67] GF interview
[68] GF interview
[69] GF interview
[70] GF interview
[71] Ben Amponsah interview
[72] Trevor Stark interview
[73] GF interview
[74] GF interview

occasion, he had met a man for sex in Germany and had gone back to the man's accommodation. However, the sight of a commissioning scroll, which marked the man out as another serving soldier, made it impossible for him to continue.[75] The thought that '"My god, there's another person like me"' was too much for him, this collision of lives so overwhelming and 'weird' he immediately had to leave.[76]

Shared sexual interactions with women could undoubtedly stimulate arousal in some men but the power of homophobic constraints ensured that expression of homosexual desires was forbidden.[77] Nevertheless, Trevor S, found that threesomes which consisted of two men and one woman were used by men 'as a way of getting close to a bloke.'[78] He recalled being on R & R trips in Germany and it being obvious that 'there were one or two of the married guys who wanted to have threesome with a female sex-worker as a way of getting close to the single lads.'[79] On another occasion he recalled arranging a sexual encounter later that evening with a drunk soldier, knowing it would never happen as the soldier would be 'paralytic' but enjoying the sexual frisson anyway.[80].Of course, any of the 'the diddling and fiddling that went on behind the scenes when everybody was drunk'[81] could be blamed on drunkenness the next morning as Trevor S commented:

> The thing is, when you got a load of lads together, and that includes single and guys who perhaps are married…and everybody got drunk, things would happen. There was a bit of hanky-panky going on, and the the following day it would be, "oh, I was so drunk last night, I can't remember what happened". That was how people would get around it.[82]

---

[75] GF interview
[76] GF interview
[77] Flood, Michael. 'Men, Sex, and Homosociality. How Bonds Between Men Shape their Sexual Relations with Women'. *Men and Masculinities*. Vol. 10, No. 3, 2008 p355
[78] Trevor Skingle interview
[79] Trevor Skingle interview
[80] Trevor Skingle interview
[81] Trevor Skingle interview
[82] Trevor Skingle interview

The men I interviewed for this project were able to successfully participate in military masculinities. The compartmentalisation of their lives as well as the bodily capital attained through successful military careers ran in tandem with everyday posturing such as utilising homophobia or banter, having girlfriends or drinking excessively. Their ability to do so successfully highlights the performative and unstable aspect of masculinities. These soldiers' efforts to assimilate themselves into the army's prevailing ideologies and successfully enact and maintain the ethos's required levels of manhood, shine a light on some of the building blocks of military masculinities. They expose the myths of manhood which are promoted in recruitment materials and which drive much of the training ethos. The pressures and experiences of these gay soldiers and their very difference from the majority – sometimes hidden and sometimes visible – expose not only the fragility and mutability of expected gender norms but how such norms could be traversed, skirted around or adapted.

'Ugh, it's the female section.'[83]

For women however, integrated into the regular army since 1992, their experiences have been different, their obvious physical difference precluding them from seamless assimilation into an institution whose members were overwhelmingly male and whose modes of masculinity are still perpetuated through discourse, culture and institution.[84] Of the three armed forces in the United Kingdom the army has 'the highest proportion of men, the lowest proportion of women and the highest percentage of posts that were restricted to one sex and closed to the other.'[85] A 1982 Ministry of Defence report showed servicewomen made up 4.8% total of the Armed Forces,[86] a number which had increased to 8.9% by April 2004. Despite these relatively small numbers, their experience is

---

[83] Comment made to Gaynor Ward, interviewed by author, London, interview March 24, 2021
[84] Bulmer, *Patriarchal,* p138
[85] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p6
[86] Enloe, Cynthia. *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives.* Pluto Press, London, 1983 p129

probably the most revealing, their presence alone confounding notions of the 'naturalness' of masculinities or femininities, an existential threat to the stability of gender which has seen their historical contribution belittled and reduced to stereotype.

This need to push back against a threat to what constitutes masculinity itself, has meant that despite their minority status, the highly visible presence of female soldiers has only led to familiar and weary tropes, decades-long in the making and reinforced through interminable repetition. Colonel Lorry M. Fenner of the US Air Force, and herself the author of works which have interrogated the intersection of gender and the military, has detailed some of the well-worn arguments against female military participation. Women were - apparently - unable to bond like men do and so were therefore 'unable' to form fighting units.[87] Men would be forced into the role of chivalric protector, having to take care of or help a servicewoman to the detriment of the unit's operational effectiveness (conveniently overlooking that male soldiers will often help physically smaller male comrades anyway). [88] International relations theorist, Joshua S. Goldstein, has noted others: men were supposedly 'innately more hierarchical', so were able to merge into systems of command easier, men were more dispositioned to adhering to group politics and dynamics and, with some stretch of the imagination, were thus likely to find it easier to kill.[89] Both authors have commented on the fact that women – like people of colour and homosexuals [90] – were precluded because of a perceived threat to unit cohesion:[91] white soldiers would not follow orders from Black or female soldiers, the arguments rang.[92] Sociologists Joan Chandler *et al,* have also noted how women are perceived as a threat to male

---

[87] Fenner, Lorry M. 'Moving Targets: Women's Roles in the U.S. Military in the 21st Century'. In Lorry M. Fenner & Marie E. deYoung (eds.) *Women in Combat. Civic Duty or Military Liability?* Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 2001 p16

[88] Fenner, *Moving,* p9

[89] Goldstein, Joshua S. *War and Gender. How gender shapes the war system.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 2001 p183

[90] Fenner, *Moving,* p6

[91] Goldstein, *War,* p198

[92] Fenner, *Moving,* p12

cohesion because of their 'lack of aggression, commitment and capacity to fight.'[93] And yet, despite these negative preconceptions and assumptions of inferiority, some women do enter military careers.

Historically, those women found their career options limited by their gender. It is difficult to find fault with feminist writer Cynthia Enloe's argument that until the 1970s, military women were little more than 'camp followers'. Deprived of official status, their role was 'servicing various masculine needs as wives, prostitutes, servants, cooks, and washers'. Military historian Anthony King conceded that historical evidence demonstrated the marginalised and 'very subordinate' position of serving women.[94] He would argue, however, that the advent of the 1970s - with increased feminist public discourse around gender and equality, coupled with an army recruitment crisis - resulted in a notable increase in female recruitment during this period, an increase which continued through the 1980s.[95]

The members of the WRAC that had been increasingly drawn into the Ulster conflict were at the vanguard of this change. Assigned to the newly formed Public Protection Authority, this contingent of servicewomen were initially a telephone service,[96] but they were inevitably caught up in the other traditional female army roles of 'clerks, communications operators and cooks.'[97] With an increased threat of bombings by the populace, duties would quickly change. In July 1973 *The Times* reported that an additional seven hundred women needed to be recruited[98] and servicewomen now found themselves performing checkpoint searches, accompanying troops on house to house searches (and conducting bodily searches of suspects within these homes).[99] The WRAC's skill set increased

---

[93] Chandler, Joan, Lyn Bryant & Tracey Bunyard. 'Women in Military Occupations'. *Work, Employment & Society.* Vol. 9, No. 1, March 1999*,* p126

[94] King, Anthony. *The Combat Soldier. Infantry Tactics and Cohesion in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013 p383

[95] King, *Combat,* p384

[96] Terry, Roy. *Women in Khaki. The Story of the British Woman Soldier.* Columbus Books, London, 1988*,* p197

[97] Barzilay, David. *The British Army in Ulster. 1973.* Century Services Limited, Belfast, 1973 p195

[98] The Times*,* 1973, Ulster Defence Regiment require 700 women to undertake searches. *The Times,* July 7th 1973, Available at: < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

[99] Terry, *Women,* p198

accordingly: first aid and self-defence were augmented with arrest procedures and evidence-handling while explosives recognition and search techniques were also added to the curriculum. These women would often find themselves in riot situations and such exposure to obvious and immediate danger placed them in a unique position.[100] Consequently, if a female soldier did consider herself at risk, she could apply for a firearms license from the local civil authority,[101] but again, there was no official, automatic provision for them. Even with a gun, their input was limited: a 1981 female recruit was reassured by an officer that although women serving in Ulster had handguns for self-protection, 'women didn't have to serve in any combat jobs.'[102]

Servicewomen in Northern Ireland were hampered by inappropriate clothing. Male colleagues resented female soldiers who could not run as fast as them, rarely forgiving them for the impractical, regulation length skirts which limited their stride length and slowed them down. It was impossible to keep up with a male stride in a regulation skirt that truncated a female stride length by four inches.[103] Calls for women to be trousered were rejected on the basis that trousers would demarcate women as men and heighten their target risk. Furthermore, skirts and regulation tights could be potentially lethal; in a riot situation, one of the women in Heggie's study was suddenly aware that a splash of petrol from a petrol bomb could ignite her tights, an extra threat that the men in thick combat trousers would never have to consider.[104] Such experiences led Heggie to conclude that these were 'not just quirky military traditions but gendered institutional structures which, in some instances, set women up to fail.'[105] Sartorial parity would remove these barriers and thus threaten male superiority.

---

[100] Enloe, *Does,* p152

[101] Sherit, Kathleen. *Women on the Front Line. British Servicewomen's Path to Combat.* Amberley Publishing, Stroud, 2020*,* p148

[102] Enloe, *Does,* p152

[103] Heggie, *Uniform,* p14

[104] Heggie, *Uniform,* p177

[105] Heggie, *Uniform,* p14

Troublesome uniforms were universal but it was only the female soldiers in Northern Ireland who were permitted weaponry and elsewhere, the lack of weaponry provision became another means to institutionally limit female involvement. By 1976, modern warfare had changed so that lines of communication (a major area for employment of women) were now effectively in combat zones, rendering these formerly 'safe' areas 'dangerous.'[106] On this basis, the Army Board accepted the findings of a 1976 report and concluded that the WRAC be recognised as a non-combatant corps which affirmed their deployment in any role other than those which involved direct use of weaponry.[107] Sherit has noted how 'non-combatant policy…became enshrined as the foundation stone of women's regular service in each of the armed forces.'[108] A lack of combat status kept women excluded from the Engineers, the infantry regiments and the Armoured Corps,[109] and precluded promotion and belittled female ranks of office (WRAC officers were unable to command male officers of combatant corps, for example).[110] A 1977 Army Board report concluded that women did not have worthwhile army careers, their opportunities limited by 'truncated rank structures'[111] but since such structures ensured the male soldier remained at its apex, there was little effort to challenge them.

To this end, government legislation intended to promote gender equality was also successfully resisted. The 1970 Equal Pay Act was dodged with the inclusion of a caveat which allowed female personnel to be paid less because 'their work, being non-combatant, was not equivalent to men's.'[112] The 1975 Sex Discrimination Act was navigated on the tacit understanding present in the policy that 'some jobs needed to be performed by a person of specified gender.'[113] Different rates of pay merely

---

[106] Terry, *Women,* p216
[107] Terry, *Women,* p213
[108] Sherit, *Women,* p57
[109] Chandler & Bunyard, *Women,* p124
[110] Sherit, *Women,* p57
[111] Sherit, *Women,* p146
[112] Sherit, *Women,* p114
[113] Sherit, *Women,* p114

reflected 'differences in their terms of service.'[114] Women invariably had shorter terms of service than men, field conditions were too harsh for them, their lack of physical strength would affect efficiency, and their presence would affect morale and discipline.[115] On this basis the Armed Forces were exempted from the Act. Combat – it seemed – was still comfortably 'men's work.'[116]

It would not be until 1981 that the weaponry issue was addressed again when Francis Pym, Secretary for Defence, announced that in certain circumstances women could carry a sub-machine gun or a pistol,[117] but small arms training would be for 'limited numbers' of women across all three services. Women could 'opt out if they have strong objections', and there was no 'intention to arm women serving in Northern Ireland, where they will continue to come under the protection of soldiers.'[118] This reduction of women to personnel that needed protection maintained a power imbalance which perpetuated male superiority and which internally was recognised as being on shaky ground: a telling 1987 memo advised against publicising new legislation that was being introduced to ensure 'quality of treatment in conditions of service' lest such publicity 'draw attention to the restrictions placed upon the employment of women in combat and other related roles.'[119] Despite Pym's intervention, it would not be until 1988 that servicewomen started to be trained in use of weaponry.[120] The press, meanwhile, was focussed on more important matters. 'Defence at the front!' the *Daily Mirror* screamed on 16th September, 1983, in a story that used female military participation for bodily titillation. The story that 'scientists are designing a bulletproof bra for servicewomen' elaborated that

---

[114] TNA, DEFE 24/3130, Sex Equality in the Armed Forces, Note by the Chairman of the Pay Steering Committee, date stamped 8th September 1987
[115] Sherit, *Women,* p126
[116] Sherit, *Women,* p127
[117] Terry, *Women,* p218
[118] The Times*, 1980, Servicewomen to be trained to use guns in self-defence. *The Times,* December 3rd 1980. Available at: < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]
[119] TNA, DEFE 24/3130
[120] Terry, *Women,* p218

'military scientists have had to collect the vital statistics of all servicewomen'. After all, they didn't 'want to make more than four sizes.'[121]

By the late 1980s, women were seen as the answer to yet another recruitment crisis. 'Demography, an expanding economy and changes in attitude amongst young people already mitigate against Service recruitment' commented an internal 1990 *Management in Confidence* document. Young people were reluctant to 'commit themselves to a uniformed service whose role is becoming less obvious'[122] when other options such as the newly introduced Youth Training Scheme - of which '61% (and rising) of 16/17 year old start their working lives'[123] were available. By 1989, the *Manning and Recruitment in the Lean Years of the Nineties* report (a title so convoluted it seemed only designed to enable the creation of the acronym MARILYN) 'explicitly identified' women as the answer to personnel shortfalls.[124] An internal memo of 1989 suggested that:

> A more liberal interpretation of the role women can contribute, taking into account particularly the acceptability of their carrying arms for defensive purposes, means that army manning shortfalls could be partially resolved by increasing female recruitment.'[125]

Further roles for women would indeed be opened up but MARILYN's lofty aims were unfulfilled. By 1991, despite wanting to see a ten percent increase across all of the services,[126] women still made up only five percent of the army's population.[127] The Ministry of Defence may have trumpeted an upward

---

[121] Daily Mirror, 1983. Defence at the front! September 16th 1983, *Daily Mirror.* Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000560/19830916/194/0007?browse=False> [Accessed 6th May 2021]
[122] TNA: DEFE 68/1217, Management in Confidence, 9 June 1989, p10
[123] TNA: DEFE 68/1217, 'Some socio-economic factors affecting recruiting and retention', DPERS 4.46-47, 9 June 1989
[124] King, *Combat*, p385
[125] TNA, DEFE 68/1217, 'Management in Confidence: Women in the Services', DPERS 5.7-20B, 9th June 1989
[126] Chandler et al, *Women,* p123
[127] Chandler et al, *Women,,* p123

trend in female numbers[128] but Woodward and Winter have argued that actually, annual increases were 'very small.'[129] The army remained a man's world.

The road to parity

And yet, the other divisions of the Armed Forces were opening up to women. When The Royal Navy opened up posts to women in 1990 it reignited the internal debate around combat status for women and reopened the army's policy to public criticism, something which an internal memo of 1987 had feared 'could lead to moves to repeal or amend'[130] legislation. The Navy's position had meant that 'the doctrine that women are not employed in direct combat roles is no longer valid' and J. F. Howe, the author of this internal memo to the Head of Security, felt it would be expedient 'not to emphasise…that WRNS are to be involved in a potential combat role' in order to deflect attention from the Army's own policy on women.[131] 'There can be no doubt', argued D K A Reynolds, Head of Adjutant General Section 1 in a February 1990 letter, 'that the Navy position has opened up the question of why the other two Services are not pushing their women forward'. He foresaw a time when the army would need to justify their continued exclusion of women and suggested that if women *were* still to be excluded, that 'we may have to deploy different arguments related to e.g. overall operational effectiveness.'[132] Some commenters tried to draw a false equivalency between WRNS and female soldiers: 'the Navy does not operate on the battlefield' argued Colonel G.D. Williams, an argument he felt was solid enough that he did not foresee 'us having to deploy arguments in defence of our position.'[133]

---

[128] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing*, p39
[129] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing*, p36
[130] TNA, DEFE 24/3130
[131] TNA: DEFE 24/3130, Letter from J.F. Howe to Head of Sec (Pol Studies) , 21st February 1990
[132] TNA: DEFE 24/3130, Letter from D K A Reynolds to Lt. Col Gordon, 22nd February 1990
[133] TNA: DEFE 24/3130, Letter from Col. G. D. Williams to Head of A G Sec, 28th February 1990

The Gulf War of 1990-1991 saw women directly – and unofficially - involved in combat situations, permitted to support troops fighting in combat zones if their duties demanded it.[134] As technology increasingly blurred traditional geographical boundaries of warfare, the concept of battle 'lines' and working behind them, was rendered redundant. With Scud missiles able to land in medical bases, everywhere was now a potential combat zone but still the presence of British women remained something to be questioned as *The Times* attested:

> It's an observable fact of nature that on the whole, it is the young males in any group of mammals…which take on the role of fighting for the troop. This has nothing to do with social conditioning or the wearing of pink booties. But it would be worth more than one's license as a card-carrying member of a decent society to say that, generally speaking, women frighten in battle more easily than men.[135]

Discussions around gender equality were nothing more than 'hare-brained social engineering based on the false premise that sexual differences don't matter in the armed forces, or don't exist'. The 'security of the nation' would be compromised by 'pretending that men and women are the same,'[136] and more importantly by assuming that women could kill in combat.

There *were* a few dissenting voices: 'The fact is', reported *The Times* on 5th February 1991, 'that western armies needed women'. The opening salvos of the Gulf conflict had 'made it clear that trench- and gut-warfare makes up only a small part of the fighting on the modern, automated battlefield.'[137] Women had repeatedly proven themselves capable under fire, but even so, policy makers were still

---

[134] Sherit, *Women,* p196

[135] The Times, 1990. My concern is that we do not compromise the nation's security and sacrifice lives by pretending men and women are the same. *The Times,* 26th January 1990. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

[136] *The Times, 26th January, 1990*

[137] The Times, 1991, Bridging the gender gulf. *The Times,* 5th February 1991. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

able to deny them combat status by firstly denying them, and then citing their lack of high intensity warfare experience.[138] Tellingly, when it was discovered that the Territorial Army had enthusiastically implemented a gender equal strategy for combat, the female members who had been permitted to serve were now offered the option of transferring to a regular army unit (and thus having their careers curtailed) or choosing to remain in the TA on the understanding they would not be deployed on operations and their chances of promotion retarded.[139]
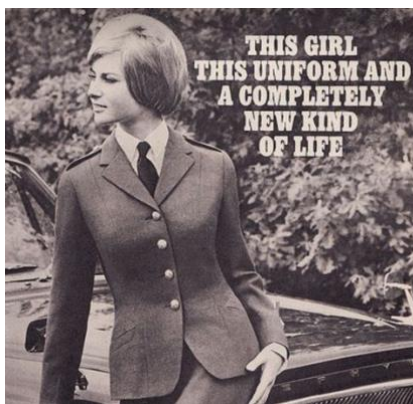
Figures 22 & 23 - 'Couturier designed' in 1965[140] and waiting for the Queen in 'cheeky caps' in 1979.[141]

Whilst such debates raged, the army found an outlet for a more traditional portrayal of its female soldiers at the 1991 press launch of the new female military uniform (figure 24). Throughout the 1970s, female bodies had been increasingly feminised through uniforms of tailored blouses, 'skirts, high-heeled shoes, tight jackets and "cheeky caps".'[142] (Figures 22 and 23). A 1970 recruitment poster for the WRAC declared that their soldiers would 'work side by side with men' and enjoy 'good pay and

---

[138] Sherit, *Women,* p212
[139] Sherit, *Women,* p210
[140] *This Girl, This Uniform, And a Completely New Kind of Life* c.1965 [Poster, online] Available at: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/514677063649559600/> [Accessed 23rd May 2022]
[141] Weir, Luke, 2022. *Throwback photos of the Queen visiting Guildford, 1979* [photograph] Available at: <https://www.getsurrey.co.uk/news/nostalgia/gallery/throwback-photos-queen-visiting-guildford-23323077> [Accessed 23rd May 2022]
[142] Heggie, *Uniform,* p168

living conditions' but more importantly, it wasn't these factors, or the 'long holidays', 'many friends',

or 'a really interesting life' which were the main selling points. No, it was the fact that 'NOW' the

poster proudly declared, women could wear newly designed 'attractive new uniforms.'[143] The 1989

minutes of the Corps Dress Committee detailed the discussions which centred around every aspect of

a servicewomen's wardrobe, from tropical dress requirements to the introduction of a new WRAC side

hat. The new Mess Dress was made from 'Ivory Moire Taffeta with a green sash and ruched waist

sash…made by Mrs Pike, from "A Touch of Class" in Plymouth.'[144] Such clothing positioned women as

'delicate, ladylike and groomed'[145] and perhaps reached its apotheosis at the 1991 launch of a new

uniform. Designed by competition winning fashion students and drawing on easy stereotypes which

conflated women with fashion, the launch of the new uniforms was more of a fashion show than a

serious event.[146] Newspaper reports which emphasised women's features maintained this conflation:

'Corporal Bailey wore the regulation small loop ear-rings permitted by the army (along with ear-studs)

and her hair in a small pony tail'[147] was an unnecessary detail in an article in *The Times* about early

1990s debates on combat inclusion.

---

[143] *She Chose the WRAC, 1970c.* c1970 [Poster, colour lithograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk>
[Accessed 10th February 2022]
[144] TNA: DEFE 24/3130, 'Minutes of the twenty fifth meeting of the Corps Dress Committee held at Empress
State Building on Friday 28 July 1989 at 1030 hours', 21st September 1989 p2
[145] Heggie, *Uniform,* p174
[146] Heggie, *Uniform,* p173
[147] The Times, 1991, Divisions remain in British ranks on combat role. *The Times,* 4th February 1991. Available
at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

Figure 24 - 1991 press launch of new female uniforms.[148]

With the British army increasingly involved in overseas peacekeeping and humanitarian operations in places like Bosnia and Sierra Leone, soldiers would need greater flexibility in the potential roles they could undertake,[149] a need which led to the publication of the 1992 government paper *Options for Change.* Promoting a 'modern and socially engaged armed forces'[150] this streamlining operation formally integrated the Armed Forces and disbanded the WRAC.[151] Despite a 1989 memo which felt that disbanding the WRAC would be 'impractical or unacceptable,'[152] a mere three years later the regiment was seen as something of a spent force and a 'roadblock to progress for women'. WRAC members had increasingly been integrated into the regular army and its promise of better career

[148] Heggie, *Uniform,* p173
[149] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing*, p33
[150] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing*, p42
[151] Chandler & Bunyardl, *Women*, p124
[152] TNA, DEFE 68/1217, 'Management in Confidence: Women in the Services', DPERS 5.7-20B, 9th June 1989, p36

opportunities.[153] The corps was merged – along with the male branches of the army which also provided support roles - into the Adjutant General Corps.[154]

As the century drew to a close, the position of women was still either sexualised or problematised. 'Crudely sexualised representations of women soldiers' such as The *Daily Express's* pneumatically-breasted 'Private Goodbody' or *The Sun's* real-life 'Captain Crumpet' and 'Sexy Sherry' who appeared in their 'Saucy Services Special' in 2001[155] not only reduced the female soldier to tabloid tittle-tattle, but also diminished her ability to trouble male notions of the stability of their own masculinities, under threat from successful female military performance. Meanwhile, the Physical Selection Standards (Recruits) (PSS(R)) was introduced, a 'gender free' model for physical assessments.[156] Implemented under pressure from the Equal Opportunities Commission, it sidelined gender difference[157] through integrated training but was subsequently shown to instil higher levels of injury and rates of medical discharge for female recruits.[158] 'Army finds proof of weaker sex' trumpeted *The Times* triumphantly in 1999, quoting a British Medical Journal article that found women soldiers three times more likely than men to suffer stress fractures.[159] A 2002 tri-service study had revealed that women were twice as likely to be discharged as medically unfit because of injury than men, exacerbated by the switch to 'gender free' standards.[160] The report recommended abandoning gender-free training regimens for gender-fair ones[161] a decision that was undoubtedly beneficial for female recruits, but which once again underlined notions of the inferiority of female fitness.

---

[153] Sherit, *Women,* p197
[154] Chandler & Bunyard, *Women*, p124
[155] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p85
[156] Woodward, Rachel & Patricia Winter. 'Gender: the Limits to Diversity in the Contemporary British Army.' *Gender, Work and Organisation.* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006*,* p7
[157] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p44
[158] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p46
[159] The Times, 1999, Army finds proof of weaker sex. *The Times,* 1st January 1999. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]
[160] Adult Learning Inspectorate. *Safer training. Managing risks to the welfare of recruits in the British armed services.* Adult Learning Inspectorate, Coventry, 2005, p39
[161] Adult Learning Inspectorate, *Safer,* p40

Throughout discussions of women's combat roles, female 'physiology and fitness had been inappropriately maligned.'[162] Despite an increase in technical and material roles within the military, physical fitness and prowess retained a 'traditional symbolic value'[163] and a useful tool to essentialise male/female difference. Sociologist David Morgan has suggested that as physical strength became less of a necessary component of war then the pushback against women was transferred to other ideological sites. Thus, if women had proven themselves strong and fit enough, then their hormones and their bodily cycles were a useful means with which to further preclude them.[164] Anxieties about women menstruating during field exercises were commonly cited[165] and Western armed forces invested time and effort into official studies of pregnancy, menstruation and strength to differentiate and exclude women. Pregnancy and morning sickness – along with menstruation – gave women a 'high attritional value' (despite official records showing that male soldiers lost most days through sickness).[166] The problematising of a woman's body provided 'ideological sandbags' that were 'piled up to construct an essentialist barricade,'[167] and whose driving tenets made it 'obvious' that women could not undertake combat roles.[168]

Questions over the combat status of women re-emerged at the beginning of the new millennium when new Chief of Defence Staff, Admiral Sir Michael Boyce, reiterated the army's position in 2001. *The Times* quoted Boyce as saying 'the aggression needed for hand-to-hand fighting was not a "natural female trait" and he questioned how they would cope in combat.'[169] The Employment of Women in

---

[162] Matthews, Michael D., Morten G. Enter, Janice H. Laurence & David E. Rohall. 'Role of Group Affiliation and Gender On Attitudes Toward Women in the Military.' *Military Psychology,* Vol. 21, 2009 p243

[163] Chandler & Bunyard, *Women,* p130

[164] Morgan, David H. J. 'Masculinity and Violence.' In Jalna Hanmer & Mary Maynard (eds.) *Women, Violence and Social Control.* Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1987, p188

[165] Woodward & Winter, *Gender,* p17

[166] Enloe, *Does,* p138

[167] Enloe, *Does,* p139

[168] Sherit, *Women,* p164

[169] The Times, 2001, 'But they'll never fight at the front, says chief. *The Times,* 23rd March 2001. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

the Armed Forces review that was published in 2002 again concluded that women were not permitted in direct combat units (this time the excuse mobilised was the risk to operational effectiveness).[170] The report conceded that women may have been as capable as men but this report underlined that it was their very presence that was problematical, their gender difference incompatible with a bonded male team.[171] '"We know that a bloke's a bloke and a woman's a woman and actually there's a much greater difference between men and women"' was the opinion of one of the report's interviewees.[172] His words reflected a prevailing culture heavily criticised by a 2005 Adult Learning Inspectorate report, *Safer Training,* which had not minced its words:

> Despite all efforts to date, the understanding and practices of the armed forces in relation to these matters are some years behind those of general society. Gender-, nationality- and racial-stereotyping, inappropriate language and too lax an attitude to harassment and bullying are still too widely accepted. Further effort to eliminate them is needed.[173]

Nearly twenty years after the first Gulf War, a 2010 report again highlighted the asymmetric nature of modern warfare and how clearly defined front lines were redundant. It had become 'evident' to army chiefs that women were essential for operational effectiveness and were able to act independently and with initiative; some had been decorated for valour. [174] Defence Secretary, Philip Hammond established a review for May 2011 and his subsequent report stated that cohesion could be achieved through leadership, training and professional competence.[175] Yet still the press decried his intent and an article by Colonel Richard Kemp was not atypical:

---

[170] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p53
[171] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p55
[172] Woodward & Winter, *Gender,* p15
[173] Adult Learning Inspectorate. *Safer,* p9
[174] Sherit, *Women,* p211
[175] Sherit, *Women, p*213

Unfashionable though it may sound in our modern era, motivating soldiers to fight effectively in this way demands a warrior ethos, a cultlike bond of comradeship… No matter how courageous or physically tough a woman might be, she simply does not fit into this testosterone-charged band of brothers and is therefore likely to reduce the cohesion and fighting effectiveness of a small combat unit.[176]

Despite Kemp's misgivings, Hammond's successor, Michael Fallon recommended a gradual lifting of the exclusion of women from close combat roles, a process he intended completed by 2018[177] and one whose readiness was announced by Gavin Williamson in that year.[178]

After over a hundred years since they first found themselves in theatres of conflict in the First World War, the last remaining institutional barriers to equality for servicewomen were finally lifted. For the men who had always bound their own masculinity to an exclusively male club, such integration forced an examination of the sanctity of this construct and army culture, and the masculinities contained within it, came under duress. For the women who had served since the 1990s they had experienced these changes themselves. They had dealt with institutional resistance to their presence when the WRAC was disbanded, had navigated a culture which had decried and belittled their presence, devised new strategies to push back against the everyday masculinism which is the foundation of army life, and also proved themselves in physical examinations whose standards had traditionally found them lacking. The experiences of two such women – two of my interviewees, Louise and Gaynor – demonstrate the lived experience of the female soldier during this time of transition.

---

[176] The Times, 2014, Female soldiers just lack the killer instinct. *The Times,* 18th November 2014, Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]
[177] Sherit, *Women, p*214
[178] Ministry of Defence, 2018, *All British Armed Forces Roles now Open to Women* [online] Available at: <https://www.army.mod.uk/news-and-events/news/2018/10/women-in-ground-close-combat-roles/> [Accessed 11 June 2021]

Louise and Gaynor

Louise yearned to join the army from the age of seven, although neither she nor her parents know why. Despite joining the Cadets when she was younger and being an avid viewer of the ITV drama *Soldier Soldier,* the reason her seven-year old self set her sights on the army remains a mystery; she simply 'can't explain it'.[179] Certainly, gendered expectations on her career made her more resolute and she pushed back against teachers and career advisers who counselled her on more traditional career choices such as becoming a receptionist or a nurse. She refuted charges that an army career would not amount to anything and 'what they failed to realise is from the day I joined I would be in'.[180] On 5th January 1999, the fifteen and a half year old Louise found herself travelling to the Army Apprentice College in Arborfield. Gaynor had no such childhood ambition and the 1996 start of her military career was unexpected. Despite being 'always considered reasonably bright'[181] at school, the idea of being the first in her family to go to university didn't appeal and as a seventeen-year old she loved her job in a bingo hall and was considering a career in betting and gaming. It was her mother who first suggested the idea of joining up after seeing a TV advert, a suggestion Gaynor initially decried, believing recruits had to be eighteen years old. A self-proclaimed 'pain in the ass' she phoned the number on the advert 'to prove her (mother) wrong'.[182] However, the woman Gaynor spoke to was 'so lovely' that Gaynor felt obliged to go for an interview where she 'sort of got roped in. I thought "this seems quite good"'.[183] Both women said they were unaffected by the geographic dislocation that accompanied the transition from civilian to military life. Gaynor, nonplussed by the sight of the barracks at Harrogate, travelled from Glasgow to Berkshire for her training and although Louise's

---

179 Louise Walters, interviewed by author, London, interview May 13, 2021
180 Louise Walters interview
181 Gaynor Ward interview
182 Gaynor Ward interview
183 Gaynor Ward interview

family home was in Ayrshire, she was pragmatic about her trip to Arborfield. The journey 'never ever bothered me, crossed my mind… that's where the army is so that's where I'm going'.[184]

They may not have been affected by their geographical dislocations but something very quickly became apparent. Louise had not considered the masculine nature of the army, a perception that would instantly change. 'Before I joined, it's mad, as a teenager before I joined, I never felt like "oh, it's a man's world". The *minute* I got there, like *minute one*, of turning up, that changed'.[185] Gaynor was struck retrospectively that it was 'very male dominated' but it wasn't a 'massive shock because at that time you didn't perceive the army as being other than really masculine'. Her 'big scary lesbian' platoon commander who'd 'got the flat top and stuff like that' did not strike her as anything other than 'well, that's the army'.[186] As part of a female section (of twelve to sixteen other female recruits) it was apparent her section was a tiny percentage of the 'six to eight hundred'[187] men who populated the rest of the site. Gaynor was immediately aware that her gender made her very visible, remarking 'you're always visible by your absence…if you're the only woman and there's a parade of forty people they go, "where is she?"'[188] Gaynor felt this as a pressure to not be able to 'get away with things,' and Gaynor believed that as women, 'you always have to consider what you say and what you do and the impact it's gonna have and possibly amplify it'.[189] There was no merging into the background for either of these women.

Louise had a rude awakening on her first evening when she and the other members of her platoon were summoned to a meeting by their Platoon Sergeant. Louise and the other three young women in the intake had naturally grouped themselves together. Such was their presence an aberration to their

---

[184] Louise Walters interview
[185] Louise Walters interview
[186] Gaynor Ward interview
[187] Gaynor Ward interview
[188] Gaynor Ward interview
[189] Gaynor Ward interview

Platoon Sergeant that in front of the forty or so male (and silent) fellow recruits, he told them '"this is no place for you. We'll be doing everything we can to get rid of you guys"'.[190] Such a statement of intent to excise their presence – loaded as it was with an assumption that they did not 'naturally' belong there – shocked and dismayed her at the time. Ironically, it had the opposite effect, and she vowed to turn such incidents into a source of strength, making the decision 'to use that against them and prove them wrong'.[191] It was an affirmation that 'continued all the way through Basic Training'.

As apprentices, Louise's and Gaynor's Basic Training lasted eight months, the process stretched out to ensure candidates were absorbed into the regular army at an appropriate age. Chapter two has already discussed the physical relocation and isolation from civilian life, something both women clearly recalled. Louise remembered them being 'so restricted, we couldn't even go to the shops'.[192] Gaynor recalled 'there was no TV, you were only allowed a newspaper. If you got a newspaper there were bits cut out of it. There were no radios'.[193] In such isolation, there was a pressure to conform and a process of acculturation, which changes a person culturally and psychologically,[194] occurred. Acculturation can be defined as the 'overall process of cultural involvement'[195] and Louise watched how impressionable young males started to mimic instructors they admired, taking on their attitudes and dismissing women as 'fucking split-arses' or 'fucking lumpy jumpers'. Such mimicry is common in acculturation processes, made appealing because of the cultural rewards they bestow,[196] rewards which affirmed ideas of the self favourably when self-comparing to the instructors they were imitating.

---

[190] Louise Walters interview
[191] Louise Walters interview
[192] Louise Walters interview
[193] Gaynor Ward interview
[194] Berry, John W. 'Theories and Models of Acculturation'. In Seth J. Schwartz & Jennifer Unger (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Acculturation and Health.* Oxford Handbooks Online (www.oxfordhandbooks.com). Online publication date: Jan 2017 p1
[195] Smokowski, Paul R., Corinne David-Ferdon & Nancy Stroupe. 'The Relationship Between Acculturation and Violence in Minority Adolescents' in Tara M. Johnson (ed.) *Acculturation. Implications for Individuals, Families and Societies.* Nova Science Publishers, New York, 2011 p3
[196] Chance, Norman A. 'Acculturation, Self-Identification, and Personality Adjustment.' *American Anthropologist.* Vol. 67, No. 2, 1965 p375

Because they were self-satisfying, such behaviours became engrained within a person to the point that they no longer needed an audience to express them.[197] Perceptions, attitudes and cognition changed during acculturation so that a cognitive dissonance could be present.[198] We have already seen how gay soldiers were able to posture homophobically, and despite her initial antipathy towards such mimicry, Louise's own behavioural repertoire too would change and she herself would adopt and then express similar language. Since Louise never consciously attempted to mimic masculinity, her adoption of their usage points to an acculturation processes which happens subliminally, born of the social rewards such usage bestowed (especially among male colleagues).[199] In doing so, Louise was not compromising her own basic sense of identity, but was instead constructing her professional identity.[200] She was reaping the social rewards of using such language whilst remaining true to herself; she was successfully assimilating.

Despite the relative youth of Gaynor's cohort (all of them were aged between sixteen and seventeen and a half) they 'weren't treated with kid gloves'.[201] There was an 'awful lot of PT'[202] and for Gaynor, undertaking the newly introduced (PSS(R)) training regime, fitness standards were judged with a male equivalency. 'We were carrying the same weight', explained Gaynor, 'if it's a six foot bloke or if it was me and I was about five foot two and six and a half stone when I joined the army, I was tiny, I was actually just a bit underweight but I was carrying the same weights as these guys so it was physically, physically demanding'.[203] It was not just the physical endurance both women endured. As apprentices they combined lessons such as science, engineering and drawing with Physical Training and for Gaynor, the geography of Harrogate meant a lot of 'running around' a large military base. [204]

---

197 Chance, *Acculturation,* p376
198 Chance, *Acculturation,* p385
199 Kelman, Herbert C. 'Processes of Opinion Change'. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* , Vol. 25, No. 1 1961 p61
200 Kelman, *Processes,* p63
201 Gaynor Ward interview
202 Gaynor Ward interview
203 Gaynor Ward interview
204 Gaynor Ward interview

'Physically,' she recalled, 'it was actually really difficult'.[205] However, she welcomed the training process which 'completely inculcates this ethos so you feel like you're part of something bigger'.[206] Very quickly she understood the military mentality of 'just suck it up, get on with it, and actually see the funny side' and praised the skills and competency she attained, feeling that both helped her confound expectations when she joined her unit: 'I felt empowered that I could actually do things and it wasn't a case of 'you're rubbish' it was 'you're a female and actually you can do that' so that gave me confidence'.[207] Successfully avoiding the physical damage suffered by many other women in 1996, and even though she had had to work harder to do so, she had completed the exact same physical requirements as her male colleagues, validating herself against the stringent contemporary physical requirements.

Gaynor's performance challenged mainstream thought which, as gender and sexuality theorist, Jack Halberstam has noted, (erroneously) posits that masculinity is non-performative and rests on notions of the 'realness and the naturalness of both the male body and its signifying effects.'[208] To counter such perceptions, Louise and Gaynor had to be able to match, if not better, male standards of strength, ability and intelligence,[209] and work harder to have their achievements noticed.[210] In a 2002 study by organisational behaviourist Frank J. Barrett, of women in the US Navy, one of his interviewees noted '"I'd never drop out of a run if it killed me'". Another noted that '"we have to be extra-ordinary just to be treated as ordinary."'[211] The pressure to be as physically capable as male recruits was something Louise was also immediately aware of. 'Physically, absolutely, I had to keep up with the blokes, at a

---

[205] Gaynor Ward interview
[206] Gaynor Ward interview
[207] Gaynor Ward interview
[208] Halberstam, Jack. *Female Masculinity.* Duke University Press, Durham & London, 1998 p234
[209] Trethewey, Angela. 'Disciplined Bodies: Women's Embodied Identities at Work.' *Organization Studies.* Vol. 20, No. 3, 1999*,* p425
[210] Moss Kanter, Rosabeth. *Men and Women of the Corporation.* Basic Books, Inc. New York. 1977*,* p216
[211] Barrett, Frank J. 'Gender Strategies of Women Professionals. The Case of the US Navy.' In Dent, Mike & Stephen Whitehead. *Managing Professional Identities. Knowledge, Performativity and the "New" Professional.* Routledge. London and New York. 2002*,* p166

minimum'.[212] 'You have to work harder as a woman to get to be seen as the same even though you're actually performing better',[213] explained Gaynor. Despite never coming last in any field exercises, or more likely, *because* she never came last in any field exercises, it did not stop men making disparaging comments in an attempt to denigrate her success or presence and thus reassume their own notions of superiority. She came across 'quite a lot of misogyny from the guys in my platoon'.[214] '"Ugh, it's the female section"' was typical of 'that shit' she had to endure.[215] Even when promoted and in established military careers both women still encountered comments which attempted to undermine their performance. Gaynor heard someone decrying her success by suggesting she only received a promotion '"cos she's got tits".[216] Conversely, positive performance could also be framed negatively in the light of visible difference: 'if you're doing well it's not because you're doing well, it's because you're female, it's because you're black, it's because whatever'.[217]

Although neither women physically enacted masculinity, they adopted other signifiers of manhood, again pointing to the process of acculturation. Gaynor was struck immediately by the ubiquitous 'lot of swearing'.[218] She did not swear very much when she joined up, but recalled that 'within about two days an F-bomb was getting dropped left, right and centre in the whole section and platoon'.[219] She described it as a conditioning born of its prevalence, whereby 'it just makes me do it because everybody's doing it'.[220] Louise had been in Cadets, whose instructors were often ex-army so 'wasn't shocked by it and very quickly joined in'.[221] Still swearing, but now conscious of it because she trains other recruits, Gaynor admitted that sometimes she has to 'really reel it in'.[222] They also adjusted to

---

[212] Louise Walters interview
[213] Gaynor Ward interview
[214] Gaynor Ward interview
[215] Gaynor Ward interview
[216] Gaynor Ward interview
[217] Gaynor Ward interview
[218] Gaynor Ward interview
[219] Gaynor Ward interview
[220] Gaynor Ward interview
[221] Louise Walters interview
[222] Louise Walters interview

the drinking side of army life. Louise 'lived for the social aspect' which involved drinking 'Wednesday afternoons, Thursday night, (Thursday night was the big one), Friday, Saturday, Sunday night. Recover Monday, Tuesday and then go again'.[223]

Very quickly, both women were aware of the framing of women as lesbians or whores. 'Within the first sort of three days, they told me I would be a lesbian by the end of the first five years',[224] remarked Louise. She believes it was a perception born out that 'there *was* a lot of lesbians…maybe that whole tomboy, butch lesbian, were attracted to the military more than feminine girls'.[225] 'Stay away from them dykes, hen', warned Gaynor's grandmother as she set off for her training, 'they'll try and turn you'.[226] Louise was also told that 'women in the army are slags'[227] and Gaynor recalls feminine women being 'described as the camp mattress'.[228] In such a highly visible environment ('you're under a microscope…where everybody knows each other's business')[229] such labelling could stick and become problematic.

Being in unit however meant that both women encountered problems with kit and equipment which could compromise their performance and effectiveness. With both designed for male bodies, sometimes shortcomings could be merely 'ridiculous'.[230] 'Hips and boobs'[231] got in the way, hips making it impossible for a woman to get trousers of the correct length: with no accommodation for them in their design, Gaynor had to go up a trouser size and since army logic dictated that a wider waist size equated to a longer leg length, her trousers were always overlong. The long-back Bergen she was issued with was designed for taller people and she was unable to lift her head while carrying

[223] Louise Walters interview
[224] Louise Walters interview
[225] Louise Walters interview
[226] Gaynor Ward interview
[227] Louise Walters interview
[228] Gaynor Ward interview
[229] Gaynor Ward interview
[230] Gaynor Ward interview
[231] Louise Walters interview

it, a real handicap when it came to patrolling. Her initial joy at realising the Bergen had been redesigned to incorporate a fixed spine which relocated the pressure to the wearer's hips was dampened when she realised her height meant it was *still* too long for her. She remembered discussions in *Soldier* magazine around 2010 and was frustrated change had still not been forthcoming. 'At that time, women had been in the army for over twenty years so we weren't quite a flash in the pan'.[232] Even though these changes affected men too, who may have been overweight or shorter than average, Gaynor assessed 'it disproportionately affects women because we tend to be smaller'.[233] It took twenty-three years before she received a helmet that didn't slip down her face and make her look like 'Private Benjamin'. Louise has a dream that one day body armour will be contoured to give 'space for boobs',[234] a dream that became a reality in April 2022 with the rollout of new body army specifically designed for women.[235]

Louise and Gaynor affirmed that the army still lionises physical prowess and fitness, both women having seen soldiers rise up through the ranks who, although have no discernible leadership qualities, are physically fit. If someone's standards at PT were deemed substandard then there was a perception that 'you're kind of slightly less'.[236] The soldier who 'looks good in green kit because it's actually the right height and shape, and can run really fast, and can do the old slap on the back'[237] is more likely to be considered for promotion, Gaynor observed. Louise recalled female leaders being promoted despite being 'by (their) own admission, thick as pig-shit, bad at leadership, but their physical fitness is better than a male's.'[238] Both examples demonstrate an army culture which still favours physical fitness and conflates it with effective soldiering.

---

[232] Gaynor Ward interview
[233] Gaynor Ward interview
[234] Louise Walters interview
[235] Gov.UK, 2022, *New body armour improvements for women in UK Armed Forces.* [online]. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-body-armour-improvements-for-women-in-uk-armed-forces> [Accessed 10th May 2022}
[236] Gaynor Ward interview
[237] Gaynor Ward interview
[238] Louise Walters interview

Both women have been in the position of commanding men and have encountered male resistance at various times. Gaynor has had male recruits 'gobbing off about women in the Army', a position she dismisses quickly: 'I've spent more time in the NAAFI than you have in the army so let's talk about that'.[239] She has quickly (and successfully) had to pull rank on more than one occasion. Louise had a recruit removed who would not accept commands from a woman and who became 'petulant'.[240] She still recalls reading the reflective diaries her new trainees completed at the end of each day: for every recruit who was proud to have a female leader, there was another who was '"shocked to see a female instructor"' and another who deemed her '"easy on the eye"'.[241] She would deal with insurrection through professional performance; taking them for their first rifle lesson and showing them 'I'm an absolute ninja',[242] quickly dispelled questioning of her authority. Still, the fact that Louise has to prove her ninja capabilities points to a lingering distrust of female competence and leadership: Louise still has to demonstrably outperform some of those she is training to gain their respect.

Despite such pressure, neither woman felt they had to conform to, or perform physical attributes of masculinity. Louise didn't feel she 'had to put on a deeper voice or a louder voice or, you know, walk a certain way'.[243] She didn't feel she had to be 'more aggressive or bullying or louder because I'm a female'.[244] As her army career progressed, such pressure diminished:

> I've been successful, I've been accepted, I have been listened to, so maybe that age and experience and reputation is what stopping me from feeling like I need to be masculine'. 'It's

[239] Gaynor Ward interview
[240] Louise Walters interview
[241] Louise Walters interview
[242] Louise Walters interview
[243] Louise Walters interview
[244] Louise Walters interview

still my squeaky female voice when I'm telling people to "fucking move on the battlefield" and it's still my voice…if I'm coaching them in a session about their welfare'.[245]

Gaynor speculated that her relative height made it easier to command men. Just as male soldiers in Northern Ireland found it difficult to deal with aggressive women who challenged their gender expectations, Gaynor suspected her five foot six height and Glaswegian accent which 'can sound quite aggressive at times'[246] deflected male aggression.

Louise was able to draw on both feminine and masculine qualities whilst working, unconsciously essentialising female characteristics such as her 'great attention to detail and compassion'[247] whilst accommodating the reality of soldiering: 'I've been in fights. I have fought in Afghanistan, I've fought in Bosnia. I would absolutely kill the enemy, over and over again'.[248] While doing so, she did not need to adopt the mantle of a male but 'I can do it as myself… I was still Louise in that role'.[249] Louise felt she was 'quite a feminine person in and out of the uniform without undermining my professionalism'.[250] However, she was able to adopt more masculine traits when the situation demanded it. When training recruits using live ammunition she was 'absolutely dictator. There's no approachability there, I need to protect their lives'.[251] However, if someone was struggling with a job she would switch to a more pastoral role. The fine line military women must traverse was apparent to her, however, and she confessed to being aware of the gender expectation such a 'caring' role placed on her and was wary of adopting too much of a maternal tone for fear of compromising her authority. However, she was in no doubt that she would have got better results than a traditional male response framed along 'man up' lines.

---

[245] Louise Walters interview
[246] Gaynor Ward interview
[247] Louise Walters interview
[248] Louise Walters interview
[249] Louise Walters interview
[250] Louise Walters interview
[251] Louise Walters interview

Twenty-two years after she began her Basic Training she was attending Ascot with her husband. Socialising in the Guards' Tent, she spotted one of her Corporals from her training days:

> And I went over to him… I went up to him and I said, 'Hi Corporal such and such' and he went 'fucking hell!' And he remembered me. And he said 'what you doing with yourself now?' And I said, 'oh, I'm a Sergeant Major of an Armaments Company' and his face! And it was, oh my God, it was satisfying.'[252]

Louise's experience here encapsulates the feelings of pride she has in her career (an emotion shared by Gaynor) but also at the satisfaction she gained from being able to mark her own military progress against one of those who initially doubted her.

Louise and Gaynor had to navigate a time of integration for the British Army. Both of them had to outperform their male colleagues and confound stereotypes which bracketed them as inferior. Both had to rise above labels of lesbians or whores. Both of them had to find versions of themselves which did not compromise their own femininities but which also incorporated certain behaviours and manners coded as masculine. Both of them successfully found a way to 'do military gender'.

Doing Military Gender

The concept of 'doing gender' refers not only to the cognitive processes which direct an individual's actions, but also looks at the bodily expression which drive them too. In the absence of words, our bodies can speak volumes.[253] Doing military gender draws upon the same processes, with the donning

---

[252] Louise Walters interview
[253] Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991*,* p56

of a uniform or the affectation of a bodily style contributing to a performance which is consolidated or rejected, depending on peer reaction. Such performance can be a rational choice or can be done subconsciously but needs work, successful assimilation coming from being able to exert a 'continuous, and successful, monitoring of face and body.'[254] Gender and feminist writer Melissa S. Herbert has argued that if an individual is 'consciously engaging in behaviours intended to manipulate both perceptions and subsequent interactions' then that individual is, in effect, 'doing gender.'[255] Certainly, the women I interviewed for this project had wittingly or unwittingly adjusted themselves and the way they presented themselves, and all of them had been aware that they were very much 'a woman in a man's world'. As demonstrated by Louise and Gaynor's experiences, it was a revelation that came quickly.

Chapter two, which looked at military training, demonstrated how military environments are overwhelmingly masculine, both in corpus numbers but also through geography and design. Such masculinist spaces were often hostile to the presence of women and female difference was non-normative and 'otherised.'[256] The femininity of women actively – and often performatively – could be disavowed by male soldiers to validate their own masculinities, masculinities which could not be authenticated through sexual prowess or physical ability alone.[257] The misogynist insults commonly used in training not only emphasised that the ideal soldier was male but also conflated weakness and failure with femininity.[258] Gaynor witnessed a punishment of a male soldier which showed the shame associated with being male and seen as feminine. Sent to a female section commander because he

[254] Giddens, *Modernity* p56

[255] Herbert, Melissa S. *Camouflage isn't only for Combat. Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military.* New York University Press, New York & London, 1998, p115

[256] Abrams, Kathryn. 'Gender in the Military: Androcentrism and Institutional Reform.' *Law and Contemporary Problems.* Vol. 56, No. 4, Elected Branch Influences In Constitutional Decisionmaking. 1993, p222

[257] Herbert, *Camouflage,* p8

[258] Mathers, Jennifer G. 'Women and State Military Forces' in Carol Cohn (ed.) *Women and Wars.* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2013, p136

had expressed misogynistic views, that commander made him join the the next inspection parade in 'form number twos, so he was dressed in a skirt.'[259]

International relations theorist Jennifer Mathers, has commented on how militaries relied on acceptance of essential male/female difference to 'construct, rely on, and perpetuate beliefs about gender' depending on a collusion of its members to perpetuate them.[260] Meanwhile, the gender and business theorist, Lineke Stobbe, has discussed how such ideas became culturally engrained through the 'taken-for-granted ways' in which members of organisations reproduced sexual divisions. Indeed 'most studies' on gender in organisations have demonstrated that 'organisational members actively shape sexual divisions… (and)…while doing so they routinely reproduce gender inequality.'[261] Stobbe has discussed the tropes which repeat in masculinist organisations: how males are 'natural' authority figures and have a right to be promiscuous,[262] or how they have a natural affinity with technology.[263] Conversely, women are subordinated by a perception that they are incompatible with military service,[264] their presence belittled as insignificant and tokenistic.[265] Professor of Law, Kathryn Abrams, has argued that these shared assumptions have become reinforced and homogenous within the military.[266]

Servicewomen had to – and still have to - carefully negotiate a gendered terrain that appeared 'designed to make the venture as difficult as possible,'[267] the traditions and practices which permeated

---

259 Gaynor Ward interview
260 Mathers, *Women,* p124
261 Stobbe, Lineke. 'Doing Machismo: Legitimating Speech Acts as a Selection Discourse'. *Gender, Work and Organization*. Vol. 12, No. 2, 2005 p106
262 Stobbe, *Doing,* p111
263 Stobbe, *Doing,* p113
264 Herbert, *Camouflage,* p122
265 Mathers, *Women,* p124
266 Abrams, *Gender,* p225
267 Herbert, *Camouflage,* p112

military life often being in direct opposition to female assimilation.[268] Whilst undertaking tasks coded as masculine, servicewomen had to attempt to enact their own gender accurately whilst simultaneously drawing on masculine capital, the results of which challenged the preconceptions which were associated with the sexual division of labour.[269] Paradoxically, in social situations, masculine servicewomen who 'dressed like the guys (and) drank like the guys', and who 'were just that bit more blokey' were 'quite accepted;'[270] perhaps social situations carried less potential existential angst than military exercises and thus their presence there was more tolerable.

Successful servicewomen such as Louise and Gaynor forced a questioning of assumptions that women were 'passive, sensitive, emotional, peaceful and weak.'[271] Women outperforming men in exercises and training revealed gender stereotypes to be baseless[272] and personified an encroaching on an 'elite (perhaps mystical) male testing ground'[273] which formerly could consolidate a man's masculinity by way of his merely belonging to an institution that guaranteed and produced it for him.[274] Their success forced an uncomfortable question: if women *weren't* naturally weak and peaceful, then how 'natural' was it for men to be 'aggressive, strong and rational'?[275] The dominant male's position, held there because it was his natural place and it was his 'right' to be so, began to look uncertain,[276] a psychological challenge which psychiatrist Christine Williams has argued goes beyond the realms of the systemic and into the existential. If a serviceman's sense of self was 'deeply tied' to possessing military prowess and successfully undertaking activities traditionally coded as masculine, then this

---

[268] Shields, Patricia M. 'Sex Roles in the Military.' In Moskos, Charles C & Frank R. Wood (eds). *The Military. More Than Just a Job?* Pergamon-Brassey's, Washington, London, New York & Oxford, 1988 p106
[269] Stobbe, *Doing,* p106
[270] Louise Walters interview
[271] Sjolander, Claire Turenne & Kathryn Trevenen. 'One of the Boys? Gender Disorder in Times of Crisis.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2010 p159
[272] Matthews *et al, Role,* p243
[273] Shields, *Sex,* p107
[274] Mathers, *Women,* p125
[275] Sjolander & Trevenen, *One,* p159
[276] Shields, *Sex,* p107

sense of self was compromised by the presence of a successful women.[277] As Enloe succinctly remarks, a successful servicewoman throws into confusion 'all men's certainty about their male identity and thus about their claim to privilege in the social order.'[278] King admits that 'some male soldiers do seem to have felt demeaned by the presence of women', resulting in harassment and marginalisation.[279]

If the military permitted female participation, it did so on its terms. Servicewomen found themselves in an 'impossible dilemma' when it came to their gender expression[280] and the scholarship and my own interviews make it clear that being 'just' a woman is not enough. In Herbert's study, for example, nearly half of the women she interviewed felt a pressure to act either more masculine or feminine.[281] They were not allowed to just *be.* Everyday actions, from the way they wore their uniform to the social activities in which they participated, 'involve the creation and re-creation of what it means to be a woman, particularly a woman soldier.'[282] Military sociologist Jennifer Silva has argued that military women must push the 'existing boundaries of femininity'[283] to navigate military life. Barrett has noted the uneasy balancing act of 'constructing a secure identity as a woman as military professionals.'[284]

If women act as *women,* then often they are perceived as falling short of standards.[285] As the gender theorist, Carol Cohn has noted, within the military 'the only thing worse than a man acting like a woman is a woman acting like woman.'[286] Playing the 'feminine card' was inappropriate to the institutional space and also carried social penalties, the servicewomen who did so dismissed or

[277] Williams, Christine L. 'Militarized Masculinity.' *Qualitative Sociology,* Vol. 17, No. 4, 1994 p415
[278] Enloe, D*oes*, p15
[279] King, *Combat,* p382
[280] Mathers, *Women, p136*
[281] Herbert, *Camouflage,* p120
[282] Demers, Anne L. 'From Death to Life: Female Veterans, Identity Negotiation, and Reintegration Into Society'. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology.* Vol. 53, No. 4, 2013 p494
[283] Silva, J. M. 'A new generation of women? How Female ROTC Cadets Negotiate the Tension Between Masculine Military Culture and Traditional Femininity.' *Social Forces*, Vol. 87, No. 2, 2008*,* p941
[284] Barrett, *Gender,* p163
[285] Herbert, *Camouflage,* p121
[286] Cohn, Carol. 'Wars, Wimps and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War.' In Cooke, Miriam & Angela Woollacott (eds.) *Gendering War Talk.* Princeton Legacy Library, New Jersey, 1993*,* p239

belittled. [287] A third of the interviewees in Heggie's study agreed that there were penalties for behaviour classed as too feminine.[288] Nicknames such as 'Doris', 'Bint' or Flossie would be deployed to curtail such behaviour.[289] Charlotte F recalled 'eye-batting and stuff sometimes' to try to get favours or get let off things. 'I don't remember ever seeing it work. In fact, it used to tend to backfire', she remarked.[290] Such behaviour played into underlying suspicions that women had the potential to subvert discipline through emotional expression; tears and other disruptive emotions were judged never far away.[291]

In essence, servicewomen had to enact a complex mix of behaviours, assimilating without ever fully doing so. Successful servicewomen could mimic the swearing of men but must not turn into men (or be seen trying to do so), unless in social, 'non-threatening' situations. They had to create a 'new gender identity that is a mixture of feminine and masculine elements;'[292] their assumed subservience placed on them because of their gender jostled uneasily against compliance with the androcentric standard of military life.[293] There was a constant tension between being male enough to earn the respect of peers, but not too male to become a possible threat to them.[294]

Dealing with it all

Not only did servicewomen have to navigate structural inequalities which problematised their difference, they had to deal with day-to-day misogyny such as the 'female section' comment Gaynor

---

[287] Heggie, *Uniform,* p119
[288] Heggie, *Uniform,* p122
[289] Heggie, *Uniform,* p123
[290] Charlotte Folly, interviewed by author, London, interview May 15 2021
[291] Chandler & Bunyard, *Women,* p132
[292] Sasson-Levy, Orna. 'Military, Masculinity, and Citizenship: Tensions and Contradictions in the Experience of Blue-Collar Soldiers.' *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power.* Vol. 10, No. 3, 2003*,* p371
[293] Sasson-Levy, Orna. 'Constructing Identities at the Margins: Masculinities and Citizenship in the Israeli Army.' *The Sociological Quarterly,* Vol. 43, No. 3, 2002*,* p373
[294] Demers, *From,* p505

recalled.[295] Every woman in Barrett's study, for example, had encountered at least one man who had vocalised that women should not be present.[296] Sarah Ford, 'one of only a handful of women to work in an elite army unit attached to the SAS'[297] was despatched to Northern Ireland in the late 1980s. In her memoir, she glumly recalls that 'all my finely honed expertise was going to be wasted on a place where I'd be stuck with chauvinistic Neanderthals'. Her colleague, Liz, (a 'tough little fucker') warned her '"they'll fucking put you through it! But don't worry about it, mate. They're just a bunch of chauvinist pigs".' [298] Indeed, before establishing her professional credentials she recalled being referred to as a 'tart' by one of her COs while another commented '"at least we've got someone to make the tea and do the washing up".'[299] The Renault she was assigned was described as a '"woman's car".' [300]

The inclusion or promotion of women could lead to charges of 'political correctness', that somehow the presence of women was a box-ticking exercise. Comments such as 'she only got that job cos she's a woman'[301] are something Louise and Gaynor both had to address upon their respective promotions. Sarah Ford recalls dealing with many a patronising tone in her army career[302] and every military woman at some point must have been called a 'split-arse' or a 'lumpy jumper'. The incident of Louise's 'welcome' on her first day has already been noted but many years later, when she announced she was leaving the REME to join the Adjutant General's Corps, she was asked by a (female) Desk Officer, '"what do you wanna join the All Girls Corps for"?'[303] Such attitudes and language are wrapped up in the everyday existence of military life; their utterance by another woman reveals the deep cultural

[295] Gaynor Ward interview
[296] Barrett, *Gender,* p161
[297] Ford, Sarah. *One Up. A Woman in Action with the S.A.S.* Harper Collins, London, 1997, back cover
[298] Ford, *One,* p141
[299] Ford, *One,* p144, p145
[300] Ford, *One,* p144, p146
[301] Benschop, Yvonne & Hans Doorewaard. 'Covered by Equality: The Gender Subtext of Organisations.'
Organization Studies, Vol. 19, No. 5, 1998 p794
[302] Ford, *One,* p147
[303] Louise Walters interview

roots such opinions hold and the speaker's own process of acculturation. Sometimes servicewomen faced sexualised images and discussion of women. Sarah Ford recalled relaxing with men in the pilots' ops rooms where the men:

> Always has porn videos on – all heaving and pushing with no storyline. Their favourite was a Scandinavian one which showed a bloke with a huge willy giving himself a blow-job with a vacuum cleaner.[304]

Tellingly, their favourite porn also excluded women. Indeed, if the video was reduced to a description of its contents, the component parts of that description could be applied to any of the recruitment posters examined in chapter one which similarly melded man with technology.

Ford became adept at silently accepting her surroundings and assimilated through joining in, whether it be bantering, using sexualised talk, swearing or drinking. Like Louise's adoption of the terms 'split-arse' and 'lumpy jumpers,'[305] Ford too eschewed femininity and could offer just as stringent a mocking of it as her colleagues, aligning herself with the system as she did so.[306] She mocked a cadet 'doing a poofy dance'[307] at a disco and admitted she 'wouldn't have anything to say to a girly girl.'[308] Banter and dirty jokes were also noted by all the women as something which engendered them to the men. Chapter two has already established banter's importance to military life and for the women I spoke to, being able to 'take it' was a test of their soldiering *and* womanhood.[309] 'If you could give as good as you got', explained Lorna B in her answers to my questionnaire, then you could take the 'sexist jokes and cracks.'[310] Louise noted how some women would be more foul-mouthed and employ more

---

[304] Ford, *One,* p182
[305] Louise Walter interview
[306] Sasson-Levy, *Constructing,* p374
[307] Ford, *One,* p33
[308] Ford, *One,* p203
[309] Barrett, *Gender,* p164
[310] Lorna Brown questionnaire response

extreme behaviour than the men,[311] buying into the open hostility and abuse[312] which male banter requires. By becoming 'one of the lads' they signalled a tacit acceptance of the dominant culture,[313] an acquiescence that diminished their potential threat, but granted them the status of being 'in that family.'[314] As has already been noted, Louise and Gaynor quickly became absorbed in to the army cultures of drinking and swearing. Charlotte F also recalled the 'absolutely crazy' drinking culture in Germany, with work finishing on Friday just after midday, after which everyone would shower and then it would be 'straight in the bar the whole weekend.'[315] Just like Gaynor, Charlotte F was also shocked by the swearing. 'Some of the words I learned there and the phrases I've never heard since and I'll never hear again' may have initially taken her aback but were quickly adapted, so much so that 'it's a constant battle now to try and reign that in.'[316] She admitted that swearing was an easy way to 'make myself look and feel and act as male as possible.'[317]

Another way to enact manliness was to adopt a stoic endurance, no matter how appalling conditions were;[318] complaining was, after all, something that women did.[319] Charlotte F recalled the facilities at Forward Base Dwyer in Afghanistan in 2007. Cold showers would be operative once a day and the toilet facilities were:

> Just an oil drum cut in half with a bit of wood around it for some private and, you know, you would basically be shitting looking at the person next to you while you're taking a dump.[320]

---

[311] Barrett, *Gender,* p165
[312] Coates, Jennifer. Ed. *Language and Gender. A Reader.* Blackwell. Oxford. 1998 p267
[313] Moss Kanter. *Men,* p229
[314] Louise Walters interview
[315] Charlotte Folly interview
[316] Charlotte Folly interview
[317] Charlotte Folly interview
[318] Barrett, *Gender,* p164
[319] Heggie, *Uniform,* p129
[320] Charlotte Folly interview

While the men could urinate in one of the many 'desert roses' that were littered around camp (a piece of piping which led into a stone channel buried in the sand) she would have to use the oil drum for all of her toileting needs. Rather that do this, she 'literally trained my bladder to wee twice a day', once at 8am and then again at 8pm. 'I weed twice in twenty four hours for about six weeks!'[321] Despite these hardships, she never complained because complaining was coded as feminine. When I asked her if this was the cause of her silence, she affirmed 'Yes, absolutely. Yeah, absolutely. You don't wanna be *that.*'[322] As the only female on camp, she would also wait until the late evening before taking her shower, not for any feelings of discomfort, but because she didn't want men to have to stop showering because of her presence.[323] Again, concerns of appearing feminine meant she never complained.

Lesbians and whores

Although there was no obligation to do so, the women bought into the banter, misogynist insults and drinking and swearing culture of the army to push back against the everyday denigration of their abilities and gender and the subordination both entailed. Even then, such actions were undertaken against a background in which servicewomen were never seen as just women. In the military, the lens through which they were viewed placed them in a binary of lesbians or whores. Such a binary carefully policed their behaviours and permitted male soldiers to denigrate and objectify them. Anne, a soldier interviewed in 1983, commented that '"men soldiers don't respect WRACs at all. If you're in it, you're

---

[321] Charlotte Folly interview
[322] Charlotte Folly interview
[323] Charlotte Folly interview

a lesbian or a slut".'[324] We have already seen how Gaynor's grandmother cautioned her against 'them dykes' and as well as being told she would 'turn lesbian', Louise was also told that 'women in the army are slags.'[325] Feminine soldiers would be 'described as the camp mattress,'[326] whatever their sexual history. Political scientist Judith Hicks Stiehm has noted how 'moral discussions have been, are, and will be used to keep women out of certain public arenas'[327] and the lesbian/whore binary acted as a useful deterrent to women wanting to sign up.[328] The threat of being labelled one or the other was an easy tool of punishment and constraint, a double bind which tightly policed their sexuality. To sleep with another soldier meant she could be categorised as a 'slag'. To refuse the offer of sex, would categorise her as lesbian.[329]

The threat of being labelled a lesbian could be a damaging one. Just as men feared the label of homosexuality, women feared the label of lesbianism, not least because the accusation could also end a military career.[330] Between 1978 and 1982 female soldiers were disproportionately targeted for dismissal on grounds of sexuality. Despite comprising only five percent of the overall corpus, forty-one percent of dismissals were servicewomen. They were 'ten times more likely' to be the centre of official investigations into their private lives.[331] Yet accusations of lesbian could be mitigated by excelling at physical training,[332] a talent which could deflect the paradox of a successful masculine servicewomen. Louise recalled a colleague who has 'just picked autocratic, dictator-style leadership… she is a knob to everyone. Unapproachable, brash, harsh, rude' but she has escaped censure because 'she is super-fit.'[333] Certainly, Gaynor believed that lesbianism was less of an issue these days. Not

---

[324] Enloe, *Does,* p142
[325] Louise Walters interview
[326] Gaynor Ward interview
[327] Stiehm, Judith Hicks. 'The Effect of Myths about Military Women on the Waging of War.' In Isaksson, Eva (ed.) *Women and the Military System.* Harvester-Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, 1988 p98
[328] Stiehm, *Effect,* p99
[329] Mathers, *Women,* p141
[330] Stiehm, *Effect,* p98
[331] Enloe, *Does,* p141
[332] Barrett, *Gender,* p164
[333] Louise Walters interview

least because of the 2000 lifting of the ban on lesbians serving, but also because the expression of female lesbian sexuality has also changed 'because lesbians don't actually have to have flat tops now.'[334]

The conception of servicewoman as 'slags' has a long history, from the rumours that members of the WAAC were giving male soldiers VD in 1918[335] to the sexualisation of the name WRAC: pronounced 'rack' by soldiers, the corps was reduced to 'something that could be "screwed against a wall".'[336] The 1967 introduction of the contraceptive pill, for example, was concerning: permitting women to take the pill was seen as a reflection of the female Director's moral stance and judged as overly liberal.[337] There was a fear of 'easy' girls joining up and causing negative publicity which could adversely affect female recruitment. An uneasy compromise was reached in 1970: female soldiers could take the pill as long as they were able to prove they were going to marry within three months.[338] Women's visibility meant their intimate relations became a public concern.[339]

As well as adopting masculine traits or pushing their own femininity, in his study, Barrett noted another strategy employed by servicewomen, that of adopting the persona of the 'professional', a de-gendered state which did not threaten masculinity and which contained hints of femininity.[340] Adoption of this strategy meant attempting to maintain professional relationships with everybody, never being too informal and rarely partaking in alcohol in social situations.[341] Charlotte F, the sole female in her Operating Base, found herself in amongst two rival units (the Royal Artillery and Household Cavalry) and quickly realised she didn't want to be 'getting really pally with people anyway,

---

[334] Gaynor Ward interview
[335] Terry, *Women,* p70
[336] Sherit, *Women,* pp51-52
[337] Sherit, *Women,* p116
[338] Sherit, *Women,* p117
[339] Moss Kanter, *Men,* p213
[340] Barrett, *Gender,* p169
[341] Barrett, *Gender,* p169

I had to keep a bit of a distance from everybody.'[342] She felt like she was a 'bridge' between the two, never wanting to be seen associating more with one group than the other. It was a particularly controlled response to the situation, requiring an awareness of herself 'as *either* a person or a woman.'[343] She felt 'quite conscious that I wanted to almost de-sexualise myself and not be seen as a female, as a sexual creature.'[344] Uncertain why she felt this way, she conjectured that perhaps 'it is in the back of your head that guys will just think, "oh, female – weak".' 'Female' and 'weak' were 'two words that go hand in hand.'[345] The conflation of weakness with femininity is right there in her response, the culture which produced it still lingering psychically.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how two groups usually marginalised by masculinities were able to successfully adopt and enact military masculinities. It has shown how the army has institutionally pushed back against both with an overt ban on gay men until 2000 and by reducing the roles available to women. As a consequence, it has also told a story of acculturation, with gay men and women taking up characteristics of male soldiers such as swearing and drinking and reaping the social rewards such adoption provided. It has shown how gay men were able to hide their sexual identities and successfully pass as heterosexual soldiers, compartmentalising their private lives in order to enact the roles the standards of military masculinity expected of them. Using homophobic discourse, deploying fake girlfriends as cover, drawing on the bodily capital they had accrued, and carefully controlling the information which they revealed about themselves enabled them to manifest an appropriate military

---

[342] Charlotte Folly interview
[343] Silva, *New,* p945
[344] Charlotte Folly interview
[345] Charlotte Folly interview

masculinity. In some cases, this performance permitted same-sex encounters which challenged the borders of homosociality, but which could be dismissed as drunken misdemeanours.

Despite their long history of military contribution, servicewomen have often been viewed as second-rate, their presence an unimportant aberration, their professionalism an existential threat to military masculinities which had to be institutionally and culturally protected. The chapter has shown how servicewomen had to enact a specific military femininity which positions them in a gender limbo, their performance an uneasy mix of masculinities and femininities. Despite the experiences of successful servicewomen such as Gaynor and Louise, David King – writing in 2013 - had to admit that 'women still remain overwhelmingly clustered in intelligence, logistic, and administrative functions.'[346] The chapter has demonstrated how in order to preserve military masculinities as the property of male soldiers, women were kept in their place, either through a hampering of their performance with unsuitable equipment or unrealistic fitness standards, or by a culture which forced them to forego their femininity but punished them for successfully enacting masculinity.

However, the men and women I interviewed painted a picture of a culture that at some level was trying to catch up to wider societal values. As gay men and women continually prove their bravery, strength and combat readiness, they push back against the cliches which have held them back for so long. Frazer S felt there had been a 'marked cultural change' in the army 'from at least six years ago' and that any disciplinary issue around 'race, gender, sexuality' would be quickly addressed. 'The perpetrator's feet would not touch the ground'[347] he added. Robert R was 'really proud of how the Armed Forces has sort of changed in…twenty years'. He felt that the change had been a dramatic one, 'much more dramatic than I would suggest most other organisations out there.'[348] Louise looks back on the language and insults she endured and is 'only offended by it now. At the time, she thought

---

[346] King, *Combat*, p386
[347] Frazer Stark interview
[348] Robert Ridley interview

'"this is normal, this is what's gonna be happening, this is life in the army for a woman." I had no idea it was wrong.'[349] Citing the Platoon Sergeant who had vocally dismissed her presence there on her first day she remarked that if such an incident happened today, that Sergeant would be sacked.

Louise felt that the 'cult' of drinking is 'dying out, sadly', something Frazer S affirmed. Swearing is becoming more taboo and Louise described how the Army is 'encouraging us to cut it out almost completely, especially in Basic Training'. It is a process she is reluctant to see succeeding because of swearing's positive effects on group cohesion; 'it fucking nails it when everybody has been indoctrinated into using it' although she was dismissive of 'swearing for the sake of it.'[350] Uniforms – although still problematic – no longer gender servicewomen; Heggie could only marvel when seeing a woman serving in the Iraq conflict of 2005 wearing gender-equal desert combats. Carrying a SA80 weapon, the equality of her integrated status was apparent. 'Thirty years *have* made a difference for women in the British Army'[351] she mused.

Sherit has argued, however, that cultural change is still needed.[352] Robert R agreed, and stressed that although the army has embraced change 'there are obviously issues and there are obviously pockets of intolerance'. He felt that 'some of the elements that you would associate with machismo are kind of inherent to the profession.'[353] Gaynor feels that although the army has 'come a long way' there is still work to be done, and suggested that future focus should be on re-educating men into appropriately inclusive models of masculinity. Less inclusive models mean that ideas of operational effectiveness are still mired in negative stereotypes about the presence of women within the military and Sherit has argued that 'the perception of women as less effective and less reliable than men

---

[349] Louise Walters interview
[350] Louise Walters interview
[351] Heggie, *Uniform,* p177
[352] Sherit, *Women*, p234
[353] Robert Ridley interview

remains a mindset.'[354] 'As females, even now,' agreed Louise, 'twenty-two years later, I have got to beat at least one bloke in physical tests to be credible. That is black and white, set in stone, that will never change'. Although she has served for over two decades *and* just been selected for commission, Louise is in no doubt 'there'll be people behind the scenes saying, "she'll have been picked because they had to get a certain number of females"'. Louise worries that with the introduction of equality legalisation and the opening up of combat roles to women that:

> There's a real risk there because you couldn't imagine it these days they think it's sorted and it isn't, but because it was *so* bad and now it's so much better it's almost like people are like 'oh that's OK now'. But I mean I do still know there's prejudice.[355]

Louise wants to take 'everything I've learned about gender, you know, equity and stuff, and make a difference' in her new commission. 'That'll be my legacy' in a situation which remains 'massively ongoing'. Her journey has been deeply transformative:

> Experience, no matter how small is what builds you for the next day. It's like…in Tetris (a computer based tile-matching puzzle game). When the building blocks go right up to the top it's a bad thing but in life Tetris is a good thing. You want all those little blocks. So people say, like, they've been out in the cold blasting wind, freezing for two hours on stag will build you. It fucking won't, it's miserable, right? But, coming in, sorting all your kit out, putting your warm kit on…rather than sitting feeling sorry for yourself: that's the building block to the next time you go on stag. Knowing that feeling, oh, that feeling when I get in, you know, and I put my dry jumper on. So it's Tetris in reverse. So, experience, every little thing that happens to you, is subconsciously or consciously building you up for the next thing that's gonna happen to you

---

[354] Sherit, *Women*, p234
[355] Louise Walters interview

and that's amazing…and if you don't exploit that and love it and understand it, then you're

wasting all those experiences that happen to you and that's it. So going right back to that first

night when he said 'we're gonna get rid of you', I built on that.[356]

The soldiers I interviewed regarded their time in the military with fondness. None of them would have

changed their time or experience and they all expressed the view that the military had made them

what they are today. Despite the disparity between their sexual lives and their military lives, the men

I interviewed who served before the 2000 lifting of the ban on gay soldiers had not felt persecuted,

abused or marginalised. They were able to successfully adopt the mantle of the heterosexual military

male. For the men who are able to be openly gay in today's army, their sexuality is not a consideration

when it comes to performing their role. Just like in Silva's study, the women I interviewed did not

perceive themselves as 'revolutionary, masculine or defiant'. They had adopted certain masculine

behaviours and had to push back against stereotypes of their own femininities to incorporate the

'male' activities of army life.[357] Assimilation had come through a careful navigation of the divide

between the feminine and the masculine. For all of them, the journeys they had taken had been in

environments often overtly hostile to their presence, and yet, these journeys had made them the

soldiers and former soldiers they are today.

---

[356] Louise Walters interview
[357] Silva, *New,* p955

Conclusions

This thesis has elucidated contemporary military masculinities, how they were embodied, the pressure of ascribing to their standards, and the rewards their successful manifestation could bring. It has added to our understanding of the roles and construction of gender, further evaporating notions of essential traits, and revealing masculinities in all their fabricated, policed and fragile glory. It has applied the lens of masculinities to the conflict in Northern Ireland and examined how soldiers who served there were able to draw on a masculine capital because of their positioning at the apex of the gender order, as well as shining a light on how modes of manliness could be adapted in the realities of conflict. The thesis has also examined how military masculinities could continue to be performed when military service had ended and what happened when military identities become problematic in the civilian world. Finally, the thesis has examined how military masculinities have been performed successfully by those usually marginalised by its constraints and what institutional consequences such successful performance has inspired.

The thesis has added to the historiography of masculinity in the British Army by examining the types of representations of military masculinity the army promoted in its recruitment materials since the 1950s, revealing a series of tropes and images repeated over the decades. However, the army drew upon different external factors to change the context these repeated images were placed in. Greater spending power and increased foreign travel were promoted around images of soldiers in the 1960s, the army drew upon its power to give soldiers skills valuable in wider industry when male jobs were under threat in the 1970s, while the army's power to transform was deployed in the more individualist climate of the 1990s. When recruitment began to use videos and online replications of gaming experiences, the soldier represented – and the masculinities such a soldierly identity contained – remained the same. It was not until the new millennium that the army fully embraced diversifying its

recruitment materials and removing military masculinity from the preserve of the heterosexual and white male (in its recruitment campaigns at least).

This resistance to inclusion was possibly born of a culture which remains overwhelmingly male and the thesis has charted a constancy in the environments Basic Training was conducted in and the masculinity of the ethos which drove it. It has shown how masculine capital could be attained through physical strength, by placing itself in opposition to femininity and through visible markers which 'proved' a recruit's manliness. The thesis has shown the influence of such an ethos and what happens when it is taken to the extreme, and discipline trips over into bullying and physical and sexual abuse. The thesis has shown how the standards of manhood laid down in training could be just as problematic for heterosexual male soldiers as those usually excluded by masculinities and how ascribing to military standards required constant work.

The thesis has shown what happens to military masculinities in conflict zones, using the uniqueness of the Northern Ireland conflict to examine how soldiers negotiated the masculinities bound up in their identities as soldiers, whilst also using that conflict to shine a light on wider soldiering. The analysis of the conflict showed some of the strategies soldiers could deploy to protect their gender identities when their abilities to soldier were officially compromised, adding to our understanding of the historical capital soldiers were able to draw upon. The unofficial use of violence or the feminising of enemies helped maintain a solid sense of manliness, as did the sexualisation or abuse of women. That conflict also demonstrated the role of the state in the PR campaign the British government adopted to protect the integrity of the image of the soldier, that role made more difficult by the conflict's enactment on home soil. (The thesis has also touched on the notion of the press as an agent of state and patriarchal order, not only in its protection of the integrity of the image of the British soldier in Northern Ireland, but also in its pushbacks against, and denigration of, female and gay and lesbian soldiers during debates around their inclusion).

The thesis has added to our understanding of what happens to military masculinities when military service has ended and questioned the notion of successful life after service being solely based on economic factors. It has shown how soldierly identities remain with former soldiers and some are able to reconcile their former lives with their civilian lives, while some unfortunately do not. It has shown how those soldiers whose careers were terminated suddenly struggle to coalesce their identities, as do soldiers who have suffered traumatic events when soldiering, some of whom may particularly feel their masculinities as soldiers compromised because of their inabilities to come to terms with events in their past. However, the thesis has also shown that for some ex-soldiers, their military identities are perpetuated through participation in online forums, places where peer-affirmations and performance of past glories can help them maintain their own sense of manliness and where their military identities can continue to be lived out in the present.

Finally, the thesis has looked at the effects on masculinities when those usually marginalised or excluded from its successful attainment and performance, are permitted access to it. The inclusion of female soldiers into the wider corpus very obviously moved military masculinity from the preserve of male soldiers and forced an existential questioning of what it took to be a successful soldier. The presence of women meant that previously held notions of 'essential' traits of masculinities – as expressed through successful soldiering – were revealed as false. Such existential angst was also furthered with the lifting of the ban on gay and lesbian soldiers and the presence of gay soldiers also shines a light on the careful and protectionist policing of the borders of masculinities and the behaviour contained within them. The denial of gay soldiering until 2000 has shown the anxiety of the army about placing large groups of men in homosocial environments and the potential transgressions which may occur. A cultural homophobia was permitted in order to keep men and their behaviour in check but transgressions predictably occurred. The successful performance of military masculinity by

marginalised groups also touches on the processes of acculturation which occur as part of the process which transforms civilians into soldiers.

The thesis has also looked beyond the military and explored masculinities in a wider context, examining the historical pressures working-class masculinities were under in the 1960s and 1970s and the sense of compromise men may have felt in their own manliness as a result of the diminishing of their breadwinning status. It has looked to the wider sexualisation of the male image and touched upon the pushback against feminism and 'New Man', embodied in the 'New Lad' of the 1990s. The thesis has added to the growing discussion on gender based violence in conflict and explored further how male soldiers could dominate women to denigrate their enemies and augment their own sense of self. The denial of women in the military and then the repeated efforts to belittle, hinder or discount their contribution to military services also exposes the protectionist mechanics of male organisations and the strategies that can be adopted to maintain their exclusivity. Such mechanics, whether through official policy or through cultural practice, were also used to exclude soldiers of colour and gay and lesbian soldiers. The thesis has also furthered our understanding of how heterosexual male identities and their masculinities can be performed online, exposing the regulations and possibilities for performance which reflect the world outside the realms of chat rooms, as well as how nostalgia is a powerful tool for firming up contemporary masculinities. How the thesis arrived at this endpoint has been quite the journey.

Changing direction

Unsurprisingly, the direction of this thesis has changed since my initial avenues of research in the autumn of 2018. Its initial focus had been on the voices of gay soldiers, these men usually culturally and institutionally marginalised by masculinity in a period of study which began in 1982 with the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, and which ended in the present day. This period situated them in the

heart of a unique period of cultural change for the army, with the 2000 lifting of the ban on gay and lesbian soldiers at its centre. This legislation democratised military masculinities and challenged the essentialist notion of masculinities by removing them from the sole preserve of the heterosexual male whose own masculinity was often defined in opposition to the queer. As Eve Sedgwick observes, gay men are paradoxically culturally central and essential, despite their marginalisation.[1] With a growing literature on the female soldiering experience, and a lack of a commensurate body of work on the gay male or trans-female soldiering experience, it seemed a research topic filled with potential.

I approached the project with mixed feelings. Although historian Emma Vickers has talked at length about the issues of trying to recruit serving LGBT military personnel to discuss homosexuality in the Second World War,[2] I was hopeful the contemporary setting of my research topic would mean subjects were more forthcoming. I was also initially daunted by the idea of interviewing soldiers. Comfortable in my own skin, I can be deeply uncomfortable in environments which have primarily male and heterosexual inhabitants. The verbal and physical cues I unconsciously transmit demarcate me as a gay male, and have left me vulnerable to homophobic abuse in such environments. Despite the wise words of Dr Peter Johnston, the former Head of Research at the National Army Museum assuring me 'they're just people doing a job' I too (erroneously) subscribed to military and gender theorist Victoria Basham's preconception of soldiers as 'wholly violent, easily indoctrinated to unwittingly follow orders, misogynistic, vehemently homophobic, racist, and so on.'[3]

Ready to have my first experience of this world, I steeled my nerves and posted a request on the ARRSE.co.uk forum for interviewees. The disappointing response I received did nothing to assuage my

---

[1] Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet.* University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 2008 p22

[2] Vickers, Emma. *Queen and Country: Same Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-1945.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013 pp7-11

[3] Basham, Victoria, *War, Identity and the Liberal State : Everyday Experiences of the Geopolitical in the Armed Forces*. Taylor & Francis, 2013. Online edition:< https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bbk/reader.action?docID=1323331> p4

fears. Although the 554 replies to my initial posting did not elicit any interviews, as a window into the world I was cautiously entering, what was revealed about that world, was highly informative. An institutional suspicion was shown in responses which questioned my academic credentials ('are you sure you're not a lazy journo?' asked one) and several questioned which newspaper or magazine was commissioning the project. Even those who were convinced that it *was* a legitimate project still had reservations about what would happen to the project upon completion:

> Given the OP's connection with the IWM, and that he appears to be a genuine scholar, I would favour the latter, but that doesn't mean that his final work isn't going to end up in the hands of the press and distorted to sell copy.[4]

For a glimpse into the world of army homosociality and banter, there was plenty to pick through. 'I know lots of guys who got fucked by the army… That the same thing?' asked one poster. Over the twenty eight pages of responses to my original question there was a sense of Chinese whispers, the final posts far removed from the original question and incorporating topics as diverse as Diane Abbot/Lily Alan drinking games (the whys and wherefores of both remain a mystery) and the heterosexual status-signalling of a posters' preferences of vaginal (sic) waxing. Meanwhile, the non-monolithic nature of the army was revealed in the conversations around homosexuality with some users feeling that the presence of gay soldiers in the army wasn't a problem while others were quick to contradict this. One user replied:

---

[4] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 60 on the online forum post 'Research project into gay soldiers in the British Army'] ARRSE.co.uk. {Accessed 14th February 2022}

I'm not gay… but of those gay soldiers that I once met, their homosexuality had no bearing on their usefulness or how they were treated by their peers. To broadly paraphrase an old saying, "You don't care what is next to you, as long as they can do their job."[5]

However, comments like this were usually followed up with contradictions such as:

Thats (sic) bollocks mate, loads of gay blokes face/faced abuse. Dykes were fairly much left alone.[6]

Some gave specific examples:

Back in the stone age, a full screw minced into the back of CP4 (22 Sigs) on Ex crusader 80 (a type of tank), the OC took an instant dislike to him, when he produced a nail file and proceeded to file and preen his nails. I was asked to leave, and an almighty bollocking ensued. He was absent from all subsequent exercises. In the 1970's poofters were not tolerated, or liked, different time, different mind-set.[7]

Eleven pages of responses later, the forum's moderator summarised what had transpired on the previous pages, still reticent and not entirely convinced by the academic provenance of my project:

So it seems that a thread started by a journo/academic intent on reporting that the Army are a bunch of homophobic nazis has seen a response broadly in line with current soldiers, i.e.

[5] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 7 on the online forum post 'Research project into gay soldiers in the British Army'] ARRSE.co.uk. {Accessed 14th February 2022}
[6] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 8 on the online forum post 'Research project into gay soldiers in the British Army'] ARRSE.co.uk. {Accessed 14th February 2022}
[7] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 10 on the online forum post 'Research project into gay soldiers in the British Army'] ARRSE.co.uk. {Accessed 14th February 2022}

don't really care what consenting adults do in their own time. Bar one or two actual

homophobes, who it seems may protest slightly too much...[8]

It was interesting that the poster had still managed to interpret my project as wanting to paint the

army in a negative light (as 'a bunch of homophobic nazis'). Perhaps the desire to protect the

institution which formerly employed them was also a motive in the silence and reticence I

experienced. Certainly, I should have heeded the findings of the 2018 UK Armed Forces Biannual

Diversity Statistics report which found that just 15.4% of army personnel were willing to disclose their

sexuality, compared to 20.8% of the Royal Navy and 26.7% of the Royal Air Force.[9]

As an introduction into this world, the experience was rewarding, being both the psychological 'first

step' but also for offering a taste of army culture. As a lesson in inappropriate methods for generating

source material, it was salutary. As an actual method of generating source material, it was ineffective.

However, as a commentary on homosexuality in the army, it was illuminating, raising questions over

conflicting narratives: was the army a supportive place for gay soldiers (and as long as someone could

do the job, then they were OK) or did gay soldiers indeed suffer hardship? The expression of both

viewpoints gave me the first concrete example of the army not being as homogenous as my

preconceptions would have it. The lack of response to the request for interviews also spoke about the

influence of institutional silence and the loyalty called upon in not to be seen speaking 'against' the

army. It also spoke to me of the silence of gay soldiers and the incompatibility of their gay identities

with their military identities.

---

[8] ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, [Comment 220 on the online forum post 'Research project into gay soldiers in the British Army'] ARRSE.co.uk. {Accessed 14th February 2022}

[9] National Statistics, *UK Armed Forces Biannual Diversity Statistics. 1 April 2018.* [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/712124/ Biannual_Diversity_Statistics_Apr18.pdf] <Published 31st May 2018, accessed 6th March 2020>, p12

I also directly approached the army, and after some initial emails, the Chair of the Army LGBT+ Forum (www.armylgbt.org.uk) helpfully promoted the project on their website and social media. Reaching out to ex-service organisations such as the Purple Initiative and Forward Assist, who help ex-Service personnel cope with life after service, resulted in similar social media promotion. While enthusiastic, they all voiced a level of doubt about attaining willing subjects, especially among the veteran community where there are no formal ties or networks. One interviewee, who left and joined the Army before 1992 agreed: he had no knowledge of anybody else gay whilst he was serving (nor could he endeavour to find out) and certainly none after he had left the army. For him there was no network. He was very much alone.

Seemingly confirming these doubts, initial response was disappointingly low. The Army LGBT+ Forum garnered four potential participants, although all were from currently serving personnel and, with the exception of one, had joined up after the ban was lifted in 2000. Two respondents came forward from the Purple Initiative's calling, one of whom joined up in 2001 but – more promisingly – another who joined up in 1968. Another interviewee – who had served in the 1990s - was obtained from a lead found in the archives at the Imperial War Museum. Valuable though these interviews were, it was troubling that the voices being heard were all soldiers from the officer class, and although undoubtedly their experiences would be illuminating, they would be different from the regular soldiers who served underneath them. One interview affirmed this suspicion, feeling that the 'broadly accepting' experience he had as an officer would be markedly different from a regular soldier's experience, being 'likely to face more hostility.'[10] Promisingly, I sourced two more (non-officer class) interviews from networking an anniversary event to celebrate the lifting of the ban at the National Army Museum in February, 2020 and an academic connection produced my first interview with a trans-female former soldier. By that point, the structure of the thesis has been sketched out and it

---

[10] Frazer Stark, 2019, *Research project,* [email] Message to author, sent 7th November 2019

had become apparent that the first two chapters would be based in visual materials with oral history interviews forming the bedrock of the remaining chapters.

I was communicating – albeit with little success - with the Royal British Legion when the Covid-19 pandemic struck and the UK went into lockdown. Interviews I had organised were cancelled, serving soldiers I had been talking with were suddenly called up for the national effort, the lines of communication in organisations I had established were suddenly curtailed. Lockdown conditions meant that online oral history interviews and internet forums became valuable and obtainable historical sources, joining the already rich interviews I had personally conducted. It was continuing my research during lockdown that the focus of the thesis began to change. The more I read around masculinities, the more appropriate it seemed to draw in the experience of female soldiers as a valuable way of consolidating my research and the lines of thought that were extending from it. A Twitter callout on my behalf by the Defence Research Network very quickly produced five female interviewees and it was revealing that these women showed none of the reticence or uncertainty some of my male soldiers had. The project was becoming less about gay soldiers and more about the inherent masculinities and their standards within the British Army, and into which they all had to ascribe. As the performative nature and construction of gender became more apparent to me, it seemed clear that although gay men could often hide their sexuality, for women and trans-women, their obvious visible difference was impossible to conceal. This meant that they could shine a different light on performing masculinity, and also unearth what happened to military masculinities when their fragility was threatened by successful female military performance. Their experience of drawing on the social capital of military manhood and deploying it seemed a natural way to consolidate the research I had already undertaken into the male experience, and – in effect – explore this history via the lens of the theoretical frameworks which were compelling me.

Deconstructing the military masculine ideal

This thesis has painted a picture of the army as a stubborn institution which has only relatively recently attempted to change. Despite the nature of soldiering transforming in the period of study, I have identified continuities of the institution itself, continuities of the makeup of its members, cultural continuities which hold sway over those members, and continuities of the expectations placed on its members as a result of that culture. The continuities are present in the images deployed in recruitment campaigns which repeated the same tropes and scenarios throughout the decades. His face was invariably white, and then in the company of other soldiers like himself, their faces were white too, and their images were untroubled by trends and fashions of wider masculinities. The materials on Basic Training also affirmed this idea of steadfastness, and images and films of recruits decades apart revealed a regime largely unchanged, the recruits all undergoing the same stresses and procedures which moulded them into soldiers. Publications printed for the trainer and trainee affirmed the same methodologies, the experience of recruits all had the same commonalities. Such commonalities pervaded the accounts of active service and although the nature of conflicts may have changed, their locations differed, and new technologies and weaponries altered the experience of such conflicts, the continuities of soldiering are obvious. They are traceable in oral history interviews and in online forums.

Additionally, as representatives of perhaps the peak of British manliness, the soldier's manhood has been surprisingly attainable. Recruitment materials eschewed representations of hypermasculinity in favour of the everyman, close enough to obstruct feelings of alienation, far away enough to inspire admiration. The records of training demonstrate the efforts to make this ordinary man into a soldier and when he was sent onto the streets of Northern Ireland, it was his ordinariness which was highlighted when compared with the 'barbarism' of the local population. It is the everyman who still nostalgically yearns for those times on the online forums which allow him to perpetuate and inhabit

his military identity. Such military identities could also be troubling however, when events and circumstances challenged military stoicism. Atrocities in the Northern Ireland conflict were deeply troubling for some men at the time and for others, that conflict continues to impact on their everyday lives.

Hidden in plain sight, the ideal forms of military masculinities are there in recruitment materials which depicted his mastery of technology and his being a part of a homosocial unit, his successful performance of military manhood enhanced and validated by his peers around him. Even the uniform he wore bestowed a masculine identity upon him. The ideal was manifested in the training regime which made him a soldier, the capital afforded him through increasingly successful performance of training activities and the augmented physical fitness which followed these activities, an easy signifier that he had climbed to the summit of the gender order. And it was there when he was patrolling the region of Northern Ireland, drawing on violence against his enemies to perpetuate his position or using it to sexually harass women at checkpoints and in house searches. Even when traditional soldiering techniques proved inadequate on the streets of the region, or when soldiers felt emasculated by official constraints, the reframing of new techniques and approaches, as well as resources to violence or the feminising of enemies or women, permitted soldiers to still feel like they successfully negotiated the standards of military masculinity. The ideal can also be gauged in the nostalgic yearning for its loss which proliferates online, the men there reluctant to leave it behind.

The experiences interrogated in this thesis meanwhile reveal the situational contingency of military masculinities, and the range of displays and behaviours which the soldier could draw upon to negotiate his own sense of masculine self, psychologically and physically. This repertoire was constantly useful in the homosocial world he inhabited, a homosociality that was born of a fundamentally male environment which required adherence to the standards it consciously and unconsciously imposed. The homosociality contained within it is there in many images of recruitment

and training, is foregrounded in the television documentaries, and is seen as a vital part of active service (and missed when service has gone). Within this world, strategies such as drinking, swearing, or expressing antagonism to those cast in different moulds bolstered soldierly identities but could also be taken out into the wider world into combat zones. They continue to be used virtually, useful resources to prop up or reaffirm masculinities.

This thesis has looked at a period in which institutional change was mostly resisted and because of that resistance, the white heterosexual male was privileged. When change *was* implemented, it was implemented slowly and often with much initial resistance. This slow progress can be traced in recruitment campaigns when people of colour and women began to be included in advertising campaigns from the mid 1990s. Ultimately, 'snowflakes' would be called upon in 2019, along with 'class clowns', 'me me me millennials', and 'selfie addicts' (among others) in an advertising campaign which increased traffic at the army's website by 93% and applications by 71%.[11] The faces here came from all genders and all races, the difference to the whitewashed 'Join the Professionals' range from fifty years before obvious.

This resistance to cultural change has also shown what happened to masculinities and their controlling standards when they were placed in the presence of those usually marginalised by it, and who – through its successful embodiment - could affirm that masculinity as a trait was anything but the essential, static and inflexible state that had been its former positioning. It has shown an institutional reaction to this existential threat and exposed the various mechanisms the army has employed to keep itself as the preserve of white, heterosexual men for as long as possible. Arguments against inclusion used the same repeated tropes and well-worn cliches, in a catch-all, delete-as-applicable method to retain exclusivity. Men could not take orders from women, the presence of homosexuals

---

[11] Parsons, Russell, 2020. How the British Army's 'Snowflakes' campaign achieved more with less. *marketingweek.com* [Online] Available at: < https://www.marketingweek.com/british-army-snowflake-campaign/> {Accessed 1st April 2022}

would affect cohesion, Black men were not as physically capable as white men. The list goes on, each of the objections interchangeable and historically applied to all. Deliberate exclusion policies kept the enclave pure. Homosexuality was illegal until 2000, an informal colour bar kept ethnic minority soldiers out of the military until high-profile scandals in the 1990s forced a re-examination of policy, and women were kept in certain roles, their career choices truncated, excluded from roles which could show them just as capable as men. Their uniforms were deliberately designed to hamper their performance, their equipment limiting their ability to reach their full potential. Even when integration of female units took place, more pushback followed. Perceived weakness of fitness, their bodies, their emotions, *still* their equipment and uniforms, the continued wrangling over combat status were strategies all deployed to highlight their inferiority. But the successful performance of military masculinities by these groups exposes masculinity for what it is: a constructed state, with a repertoire of signifiers and behaviours which permit those adopting such signifiers and behaviours to successfully accomplish the same thing. Women could swear, gay men could be just as strong, people from ethnic minorities could successfully command. In doing so, they exposed the falsehood that military masculinities belonged solely to the white, heterosexual male.

The army strives to change. The soldiers I interviewed who are still serving reassured me that it was trying to change (and indeed, in lots of ways, it is clearly improving), but transformations are slow. In a 2009 survey, the majority of soldiers interviewed perceived the army as 'still as sexist and homophobic as it was twenty years ago'[12] and indeed, army culture has very recently come back into the public spotlight with the launch by the UK Defence Committee in December 2020 of the inquiry, *Women in the Armed Forces.*[13] This far-reaching inquiry explored recruitment and retention issues,

---

[12] Atherton, Stephen. 'Domesticating military masculinities: home, performance and the negotiation of identity.' *Social & Cultural Geography,* Vol. 10, No. 8, December 2009, p826
[13] UK Parliament, 2020, Defence Committee launch inquiry into women in the armed forces. 1st December 2020. [Online] Available at: <https://committees.parliament.uk/committee/24/defence-committee/news/136800/defence-committee-launch-inquiry-on-women-in-the-armed-forces/> {Accessed 25/6/21}

sexual harassment, female overrepresentation in the complaints system and the increased prevalence of mental health disorders in female personnel.[14] For the first time, members of the Armed Forces were given permission to speak to parliamentarians anonymously as Defence Secretary, Ben Wallace, lifted the 'gagging' order which had formerly silenced personnel. Over four thousand pieces of evidence were submitted, with nine percent of the current female corpus contributing.[15]

The findings of the inquiry were 'extraordinary, and thought provoking'[16] and paint a picture of an institution still stubbornly masculinist and one whose culture had not changed since the 2005 Adult Learning Inspectorate report noted that servicewomen were seen as 'deserving' of harassment or as 'sexual predators responsible for inappropriate relations with staff.'[17] The findings of the inquiry also suggested that the 2006 Ministry of Defence report - which had noted that sexualised behaviours were prolific in the army - had also been ignored. In the twelve months leading to the publication of *that* report almost all of the women interviewed had experienced such behaviours, whether they were in the form of jokes or anecdotes, language or pornography.[18] Over half the women had been offended by them, with dirty sexual talk, stories of sexual prowess and the displaying of pornography causing the most upset.[19] More troublingly, the 2021 findings suggested that the recommendations from the 2006 Deepcut Review had also not been addressed in any meaningful way.

The incidents at Deepcut were redolent of an institution in which complaints were unheard and concerns dismissed. Optimistically, the Deepcut report had suggested that:

---

[14] UK Parliament,Women in the Armed Forces: from Recruitment to Civilian Life. [Online] Available at: <https://committees.parliament.uk/work/856/women-in-the-armed-forces-from-recruitment-to-civilian-life/> {Accessed 25/6/21}

[15] Mawi, Gaggan, 2021, Women in the Armed Forces: from Recruitment to Civilian Life. 17th March 2021. [Online] Available at: <https://www.boltburdonkemp.co.uk/our-insights/the-defence-committee-inquiry-on-women-in-the-armed-forces-from-recruitment-to-civilian-life/> {Accessed 25/6/21}

[16] Mawi, *Women*

[17] Adult Learning Inspectorate. *Safer training. Managing risks to the welfare of recruits in the British armed services.* Adult Learning Inspectorate, Coventry, 2005, p28

[18] Woodward, Rachel & Trish Winter, *Sexing the Soldier: the Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army.* Oxon, 2007, p57

[19] Woodward & Winter, *Sexing,* p57

the deaths of these four young people have had profound impact on the Army as an institution and the thinking of its Generals. The training agency that oversaw their progress, the Commanders of the place where they died and the staff of the Regiment they served in have all engaged in deep reflection and have responded with a commitment to improve what can be done to promote the welfare of young soldiers.[20]

The results of the Women in the Armed Forces review would suggest there is still a long way to go. Servicewomen still struggle with inadequate equipment and have to improvise sanitary products. (Charlotte F informed me that women would take the contraceptive pill before deployments in order to stop their menstrual cycles and thus reduce the need for space-taking sanitary products).[21] It was noted that six out of ten complaints were not pursued because of command structures which meant women were 'often coerced into changing or withdrawing their complaints.'[22] Lieutenant Colonel Diane Allen, OBE, who acted as a liaison for respondents, remarked that the inquiry revealed 'a story of "corporate gaslighting."'[23] For over eight months she had listened to stories of:

serving women being raped, drugged, assaulted, abused in training, held back in careers, ignored as veterans, given ill-fitting equipment (and the cold shoulder if they were first into a previously male-only post).[24]

---

[20] Blake, Nicholas. 2006. *The Deepcut Review. A review of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of four soldiers at Princess Royal Barracks, Deepcut, between 1995 and 2002.* 29th March 2006. [Online] Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228930/0795.pdf> {Accessed 8/7/21}, p416

[21] Charlotte Folly, interviewed by author, London, interview May 15 2021

[22] Mawi, *Women*

[23] Allen, Diane, 2021. Women in Defence Inquiry, A story of corporate level 'gas-lighting', 10th February 2021. [Online] Available at: <https://www.forward-assist.com/blog/2021/2/10/women-in-defence-inquiry-a-story-of-corporate-level-gas-lighting> {Accessed 25/6/21}

[24] Allen, *Women*

For Allen, the 'greatest suffering' came from an inability to be heard: witnesses would turn a blind eye, leaders would coerce women into withdrawing complaints, and it was the women and not the perpetrators who were punished. She concluded that 'the MOD leadership and policy makers should hang their head in shame, as I have on their behalf.'[25] Her shaming statement speaks to the entrenched modes of masculinity which continue to enforce a positioning of women and continue to deny them a voice.

Charges of racism still linger. Military sociologists, Christopher Dandeker and David Mason have argued that the army's focus on its history can be problematic when attempting to foster institutional change. Such a history is filled with colonial involvement, with the army deployed to fight colonial populations or protect imperial territory from other colonial powers. Such actions cast long shadows over the non-white British soldiers whose ancestors could be either enemies or subjects, a tension which may erect a barrier to their colleagues viewing them as co-nationals. If the British National myth requires 'the common origins and the ethnic homogeneity'[26] then this colonial past will always drive a wedge. They argue this could be eroded by explicitly highlighting the historical contribution of people of colour in its military history.[27] Throughout the 2000s, initiatives were introduced to tackle the army's problem with racism. A 2008 *Values and Standards* document prioritised professional teamwork and framed racism as incompatible with the army's core values.[28] New guidelines for dealing with complaints and bullying were introduced in 2013 but the Service Complaints Ombudsman Annual Report of 2018 noted that female and BAME personnel were disproportionately suffering. The Winston Report of 2019 noted 'significant cultural problems' remained.[29] Just like the Deepcut

---

[25] Allen, *Women*

[26] Dandeker, Christopher & David Mason. 'The British armed services and the participation of minority ethnic communities: from equal opportunities to diversity?' *The Sociological Review.* Vol. 49, No. 2, 2001 p230

[27] Dandeker & Mason. *British*, p231

[28] King, Anthony. 'Decolonizing the British Army: a Preliminary Response'. *International Affairs* Vol. 97, No. 2, 2021 p448

[29] King, *Decolonizing,* p449

Enquiry, the report found that protectionist units covered up problems to limit reputational damage, commanders did not culturally reflect complainants and there was a widespread fear of reporting.[30]

Following the Black Lives Matter demonstrations in 2020, the Chief of Defence Staff, General Sir Nick Carter acknowledged concern being felt by personnel of colour and vowed to 'listen and to continue to make change happen.'[31] An ITV News interview with Joseph Higgins, a Black former member of the Royal Artillery Unit, and in which he claimed that 'racism is all over the British army' was backed up by his point that there had been three harassment cases within the previous two years,[32] sometimes with evidence of 'overt and committed racism' on the part of soldiers.[33] Days later, Lieutenant-General Tyrone Urch, the Commander Home Command and champion of the British Army Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Network reiterated in a tweet the need to make the army as diverse as possible. He stated that the army was 'not immune to racism' and that as the commander responsible for training and recruitment he was 'determined to improve BAME engagement'. He believed that the army was 'taking big steps in the right direction' but conceded that there was 'still some way to go.'[34] The army was now embracing an agenda that was explicitly anti-racist,[35] but whether these aims can transcend the professional ideal of the army which 'remains inevitably Anglo-Saxon'[36] remains to be seen. The pragmatic assumption…that a professional British soldier will be a young white male'[37] seems one difficult, possibly impossible, to shift and continues to position military masculinity along racial and classist lines.

---

[30] King, *Decolonizing,* p449

[31] Sengupta, Kim. 'Black Lives Matter: British Military Needs to do Soul Searching over Racism in its Ranks', *The Independent,* Thursday 11th June 2020. Available at: [https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/black-lives-matter-british-army-racism-a9561421.html] {Accessed 28th March 2022}

[32] King, *Decolonizing,* p450

[33] King, *Decolonizing,* p450

[34] Urch, Tyrone, 2020, *In light of recent events, I felt compelled as a senior leader @BritishArmy and champion of our BAME network, to communicate my feelings to all regarding @Blklivesmatter. #BlackLivesMatter @ArmyBAME_Chair @ArmyBAME.* [Twitter] 6th June. Available at: [https://twitter.com] {Accessed 28th March 2022}

[35] King, *Decolonizing,* p444

[36] King, *Deconolizing,* p444

[37] King, *Deconolizing,* p458

This is a bleak end to an ongoing history. Optimistically, one would hope that these recent events will have far-reaching and long-lasting effects, and that systemic and cultural change will naturally follow. However, there are disappointing indications it will take further effort. The findings of the inquiry into the death of Bernard Mongan, who killed himself in 2016 after suffering repeated bullying in Catterick Barracks,[38] and the recent intervention by Tracy Lewis, the sister of Sean Benton (who died at Deepcut) and in which she admonished the Ministry of Defence for failing to implement any of the findings of the Deepcut report,[39] suggest that despite seeming changes in the military, its cultural lodestones are hard to dismantle and continue to have devastating effects.

A final reflection

This thesis has taken me on several unexpected yet welcome journeys of self-discovery. I am sorry and embarrassed to say that before writing this thesis I looked upon the Northern Ireland conflict through the stereotypical and lazy lens of the English. Drip fed the media narrative as a child in the 1970s and 1980s I was unable – and probably unwilling - to appreciate or reflect on the human cost and experience of that conflict. Researching this period has shamed my earlier preconceptions, granting me an awareness of the confusion and horror which no participants could avoid. Often avenues of research would impact on my waking and sleeping thoughts, images would be difficult to excise from my mind's eye, accounts would sometimes leave me in tears. It is a conflict that I believe would benefit from additional viewing through the lens of masculinities. It would be unforgivable and the most

---

[38] Grierson, Jamie, 2021. British Army identities serious failings over soldier's death – report'. *The Guardian,* 11th July, 2021. Available at*:* <[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jul/11/british-army-serious-failings-soldier-bernard-mongan-death-reports> {Accessed 12/7/21}
[39] Sabbagh, Dan. 2021. Deepcut deaths: Army 'treating victims' families with contempt' *The Guardian,* 28th November 2021 [Online] Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/nov/28/deepcut-deaths-army-treating-victims-families-with-contempt> {Accessed 18th February 2022}

appalling tragedy if governmental ineptitude and unicorn-chasing in the name of Brexit allows events in the region to re-ignite.

This thesis has also acted as something of a therapeutic exercise. Interviewing soldiers has excised my preconceptions about soldiering and what it represented, and given me a confidence I was not expecting. Situations which used formerly to cause me anxiety – such as going into a bar with a lot of raucous men or dealing with plumbers or builders – no longer do so. The realisation that machismo, masculinity, laddishness or blokiness are mantels which can be adopted or eschewed has removed any notion that I might not measure up to its standard. Knowing that other men are probably also doubtful that they too measure up makes us equal and makes macho power feel more illusory to me. More importantly, early avenues of research into homophobia and its mechanisms allowed me to contextualise my own experiences as a child and young adult. The homophobia I was subject to then, and which has cast a long shadow over my life, has been reframed as not being necessarily about me, but about what I represented, and that calling me out enabled those callers to assert their own masculinity. It was never about me, it was only ever about them. It is almost as if my entire past has been retroactively rewritten, removing the stigma of shame which such encounters engendered. This is a powerful realisation and one which liberates me from the shadow of what was said and done to me when I was younger.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Interviews and email correspondence with author

Ben Amponsah, interviewed by author, Manchester, interview 7th December 2019

Charlotte Folly, interviewed by author, London, interview 15th May 2021

Deborah Penny, 2020, *Research project,* [email] Message to author, sent 12th February 2020

Douglas Morgan, 2020, *Research project,* [email] Message to author, sent 15th January 2020

Frazer Stark, interviewed by author, London, interview 27th November 2019

Frazer Stark, 2019, *Research project,* [email] Message to author, sent 7th November 2019

Gaynor Ward, interviewed by author, London, interview 24th March 2021

GF, interviewed by author, London, interview 4th December 2019

Lorna Brown, 2020, *Research project,* [email] Message to author, sent 8th September 2020

Louise Walter, interviewed by author, London, interview 13th May 2021

Robert Ridley, interviewed by author, London, interview 29th November 2019

Sarah Ellis, interviewed by author, London, interview 19th May 2020

Sarah Ellis, interviewed by author. London, interview 12th June 2020

Sarah Ellis, 2020, *Research project* [email] Message to author, sent 2nd May 2020

Trevor Skingle, 2022, *Further information,* [email], Message to author, sent 6th January 2022

Trevor Skingle, interviewed by author, London, interview 14th September 2020

IWM interviews

Anonymous. (1992), British NCO served with 1st Bn Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in NI, 1973-1978. (Charles Allen) Imperial War Museum collection number 11151,{https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010909} [Accessed 8/10/20]

Boswell, Rod (1992) British officer served with 40 Commando, Royal Marines in Northern Ireland, 1971-1976. (Charles Allen) Imperial War Museum collection number 11134, {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80018119} [Accessed 8th October 2020]

Brannigan, Frank. (2007), NCO and private served with 3rd Bn Light Infantry in GB and Northern Ireland, 1969-1973 Imperial War Museum, collection number 30295 (Harry Moses) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80030211} [Accessed 19th November 2020]

Evelegh, Robin. (1992), British Officer, commanded 3rd Bn Royal Green Jackets in Northern Ireland, 1972-1974 Imperial War Museum, collection number 11148 (Charles Allen) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010906} [Accessed 19th November 2020]

Fisk, Robert. (2002), British civilian correspondent in Northern Ireland and GB, 1972-1976 Imperial War Museum collection number 21776 (Lyn Smith) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80025909} [Accessed 10th November 2020]

Glaze, John. (2007), British marine and NCO served with 40 Commando, Royal Marines in GB, Northern Ireland and Cyprus, 1972-1975. Imperial War Museum, collection number 30 (Richard Mcdonaugh) { https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80029008} [Accessed 10th November 2020]

Lawton, Christopher. (Year of production unknown), Private and NCO served with 2nd Bn Light Infantry in GB, Malaya and Northern Ireland, 1969-1971; NCO served with 2nd Bn Light Infantry in GB, Northern Ireland, Germany and Gibraltar, 1972-1980. Imperial War Museum, collection number 28969 (Harry Moses) { https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80026382} [Accessed 17th October 2020]

Mather, Brian. (2000), British NCO served with 1st Bn Coldstream Guards in Northern Ireland, 1970s – 1980s. Imperial War Museum, collection number 20280 (Conrad Wood) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80018811} [Accessed 17th October 2020]

O'Hanlon, Kathleen. (2001) British civilian nurse worked at Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1958-1988. Imperial War Museum, catalogue no. 21719, (Lyn E Smyth) {https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80020475 } [Accessed 10th November 2020]

Visual Materials – Photographs

Assault Course Training. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-314

Drill Instruction. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-308

Photograph of four new recruits arriving at camp. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-287

Photograph of four new recruits met off train. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-283

Photograph of men boxing, no. 1. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-298

Photograph of men boxing, no. 2. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-300

Photograph of men boxing, no. 3. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-293

Photograph of men stretching in gym. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-307

Photograph of new recruits in the registration hall. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-284

Photograph of recruits at meal time. 1960. [Photograph] At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-1440-310

Photograph of recruits having their hair cut. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-286

Photograph of recruits on land exercise. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-299

Photograph of the Three Choughs Junior Ranks Club. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-305

Recruits being issued with military clothing and equipment. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-295

Recruits first interview with training company. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-290

Regimental Tailor Corporal Charlie Pullen and Storeman Corporal Ted Duke fit out Fusilier Les Millington of Flint with a new uniform. Sep 1960. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-315

Soldiers and vehicles on Shankill Road, 12th October 1969. 1969. [Photograph] At: iwm.org.uk. Item no. HU 55869

Soldiers receiving tea and biscuits, Cupar Street, 1969. 1969. [Photograph] At: iwm.org.uk. Item no. TR – 32994-1

The N.A.A.F.I. Junior Ranks Club. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-306

Victoria Club. 1960. [Photograph]. At: London, Templar Archive, National Army Museum. Item no. 9210-144-297

Visual Materials – Recruitment Posters

(From the National Army Museum collection, Stevenage. All accessed 7th June 2019.)

A Grand Team. (1960) *A Grand Team.* [Poster]. National Army Museum, item no. 175-1960-8

A Soldier of the Queen (1959) *A Soldier of the Queen.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1959-2

Army Careers Information Office, 1992, *Wouldn't you rather be at action stations instead of underground stations?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1992-4

Army. Protecting Britain's Future. (1993) *Army. Protecting Britain's Future.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1993-3

Become an Army Apprentice. (1991) *Become an Army Apprentice.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 177-1991-9

Cattermole, Lance (1938) *Safeguard your Liberties!* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1984-01-54-1

Feel Boxed In? (1996) *Feel Boxed In?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1996-4

Five men & their 'bird (1969) *Five men & their 'bird* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1969-2

Follow the Drum. (1900c.) *Follow the Drum*. [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1977-06-81-34

Get into the driver's seat (1971) *Get into the driver's seat.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1971-1

Gunners of the '70s. (1973) *Gunners of the '70s.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 175-1973-3

He Chose the Army. (1966) *He Chose the Army.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item no. 175-1966-3

If you're fed up with 9 to 5 we can improve your chances. (1991) *If you're fed up with 9 to 5 we can improve your chances.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 177-1991-8

Infantry. (1995) *Infantry.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1995-4

It's a real man's life. (1950) *It's a real man's life.* [Poster} National Army Museum, item no. 175-1950-5

It's Part-time but it's a Real Soldier's Job. (1977) *It's Part-time but it's a Real Soldier's Job* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1977-5

Join the Professionals. (1969) *Join the Professionals.* [Poster]. National Army Museum, item number 175-1969-2

Join the Professionals. (1970) *Join the Professionals.* [Poster]. National Army Museum, item number 175-1970-2

Join the Regular Army (1956) *Join the Regular Army.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1956-6

Join the Regular Army (1960) *Join the Regular Army.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1960-4;

Lumley, Savile (1915) *Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?'* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number, 1977-06-81-16

One of Today's Great Careers. (1966) *One of Today's Great Careers.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1966-2

Peacework. (1980) *Peacework.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1980-2

Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (1914) *Remember Belgium. English Today.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number, 1977-06-81-5

Power through performance (1996) *Power through performance.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1996-1

Soldier of the Queen (1959) *Soldier of the Queen.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1959-4

Soldier of the Queen (1959) *Soldier of the Queen.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1959-5

Sport, Adventure, Social Life, (1995) *Sport, Adventure, Social Life* [Poster} National Army Museum, item number 177-1995-3

Take a 3-year job with the Professionals. (1972) *Take a 3-year job with the Professionals.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1972-1

Take a 3-year job with the Professionals. (1972) *Take a 3-year job with the Professionals.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1972-2

The 3-minute bridgelayers. (19710 *The 3-minute bridgelayers* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1971-4

The Army. One of Today's Great Careers. (1969) *The Army. One of Today's Great Careers.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-5-1969-4

The Professionals. (1971). *The Professionals.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1971-2

Think tank (1968) *Think tank.* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1968-1

Tired of Nights out with the Boys? (1970.) *Tired of Nights out with the Boys?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1975-1970-4

Want to Travel? Ask Us! (1965) *Want to Travel? Ask Us!* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 175-1965-4

Wouldn't you rather be half way around the world than half way to work? (1992) *Wouldn't you rather be half way around the world than half way to work?* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 177-1992-2

Your Country Needs You. (1996.) *Your Country Needs You* [Poster] National Army Museum, item number 1998-10-244-1

Visual Materials – Television Campaigns

Factory (2009-2010)
http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/ac68f5df-0cbb-47c9-8bb6-dfea9edecfa3

Floorboards (2000-2001)
http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/61a128f9-4aff-4ce8-88af-d98ecad83bd9

Frank (1992-1993)
http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/140689d1-073d-4742-901d-a4b119c94e9a

On the Road (2009-2010)
http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/ce04569b-3b43-40b6-9d6d-59021fe29ae7

Trust (1995-1996)
http://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/record/50d8f0f3-4492-4310-87d1-61045a1dbac9

Visual Materials – Television Shows

Soldiers To Be: A New Life, (1999), BBC. Available at: https://youtu.be/LWWhBxvT-ms (Accessed 3rd March 2021)

Soldiers To Be: *Drill,* (1999), BBC. Available at: https://youtu.be/ZAbvNM5O9CU (Accessed 3rd March 2021)

Soldiers Stories: Northern Ireland. (2018) YouTube video, added by James Buchan. [Online]. Available at <https://youtu.be/JZCf67rQrWg> [Accessed 3 December 2020]

Visual Materials – Miscellaneous

[*Bearded veteran smiles at camera*] n.d. [image online] Available at: <https://www.britishlegion.org.uk/about-us/armed-forces-community-support> [Accessed 1st February 2022]

Chinardet, N., 2014. *Army personnel marching at Pride in London.* [photograph] Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/armed-forces-on-parade-at-pride-in-london> [Accessed 9th May 2022]

Crossan, Michael, 2012. *Brothers in Arms.* [Mixed media artwork] Available at: <https://collection.nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 1st February 2022]

Data Telegraphist, Women's Royal Army Corps, 1970-1989 (c). c1970-1989. [35mm slide] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

Frere, Rupert, 2011. *Soldiers of 2nd Battalion, the Royal Highland Fusiliers, Helmand Province, February 2011.* 2011. [Digital photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

Frere, Rupert, 2017. *The Duke of Edinburgh at the Grenadier Guards Black Sunday ceremony, 21 May 2017.* [Digital photograph] Available at: <https://collection.nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 1st February 2022]

Mills, Richard, 2018. *Steven Wade tends to be stationed in Stall Street in Bath City Centre.* [Photograph] Available at: <https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/ex-army-medic-turned-bath-2228773> [Accessed 1st February 2022]

Maintenance on a Scout Helicopter. c1960. [Photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

She Chose the WRAC, 1970c. c1970 [Poster, colour lithograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

Skill at arms, 2 Training Company, WRAC Centre, Guildford. c1988. [Photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

This Girl, This Uniform, And a Completely New Kind of Life c.1965 [Poster, online] Available at: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/514677063649559600/> [Accessed 23rd May 2022]

Weir, Luke, 2022. *Throwback photos of the Queen visiting Guildford, 1979* [photograph] Available at: <https://www.getsurrey.co.uk/news/nostalgia/gallery/throwback-photos-queen-visiting-guildford-23323077> [Accessed 23rd May 2022]

Women's Royal Army Corps personnel, attached to the Force Maintenance Area, entrenching in Saudi Arabia in the as part of Operation GRANBY, Gulf War, 1990-1991. c1990-1991. [Photograph] Available at: <collection@nam.ac.uk> [Accessed 10th February 2022]

Official Publications

Adult Learning Inspectorate. *Safer training. Managing risks to the welfare of recruits in the British armed services.* Adult Learning Inspectorate, Coventry, 2005

Army Doctrine Publication. (1997). *Army Field Manual, Volume One. Training for Operations.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 4

Army Doctrine Publication. (1996). *Volume 4. Training.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 15

Army Doctrine Publication. (2000). *Soldiering. The Military Covenant.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 15

Blake, Nicholas. 2006. *The Deepcut Review. A review of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of four soldiers at Princess Royal Barracks, Deepcut, between 1995 and 2002.* 29th March 2006. [Online] Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228930/0795.pdf> {Accessed 8/7/21}

Defence Statistics, 2020, *Ministry of Defence, UK Armed Forces Quarterly Service Personnel Statistics*, 1 January 2020 [online] Available at:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/866842/1_Jan_2020_-_SPS.pdf> [Accessed 5th August 2021]

Dodd, Tom. (1995) *The Armed Forces Bill (Bill 5 of 1995-96).* Research Paper 95/125. 8 December 1995. International Affairs and Defence Section. Available at <researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP95_125/RP95_125.pdf> [Accessed 12 September 2019]

Dodd, Tom & Mark Oakes. *The Strategic Defence Review White Paper*. 15th October 1998. Available at: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP98-91/RP98-91.pdf> [Accessed 28th March 2022]

Letter from the Minister of State for the Armed Forces on Racism within the Armed Forces. 27th March 1998. [Online] Available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199899/cmselect/cmdfence/273/273r07.htm> [Accessed 29th March 2022]

Ministry of Defence, *A Soldier's Pocket Book,* Military Pocket Books, Beverley, 1995

Ministry of Defence. (1981). *Training for War. Pamphlet No. 2 – Individual Training.* Available Via Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, London. British Army Field Manuals and Doctrines, Box 16

National Statistics, *UK Armed Forces Biannual Diversity Statistics. 1 April 2018.* [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/712124/Biannual_Diversity_Statistics_Apr18.pdf] <Published 31st May 2018, accessed 6th March 2020>

Official Documents at the National Archives

TNA, DEFE 24/3130, Sex Equality in the Armed Forces, Note by the Chairman of the Pay Steering Committee, date stamped 8th September 1987

TNA: DEFE 68/1217, *Management in Confidence*, 9 June 1989

TNA, DEFE 68/1217, 'Management in Confidence: Women in the Services', DPERS 5.7-20B, 9th June 1989

TNA: DEFE 68/1217, 'Some socio-economic factors affecting recruiting and retention', DPERS 4.46-47, 9 June 1989

TNA: DEFE 24/3130, 'Minutes of the twenty fifth meeting of the Corps Dress Committee held at Empress State Building on Friday 28 July 1989 at 1030 hours', 21st September 1989

TNA: DEFE 24/3130, Letter from J.F. Howe to Head of Sec (Pol Studies) , 21st February 1990

TNA: DEFE 24/3130, Letter from D K A Reynolds to Lt. Col Gordon, 22nd February 1990

TNA: DEFE 24/3130, Letter from Col. G. D. Williams to Head of A G Sec, 28th February 1990

Legal Cases and Parliamentary Debates

Case of Lustig-Prean & Beckett v. The United Kingdom. European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, Application nos 31417/96 and 32377/96. 27th December 1999. Available at: <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{"itemid":["001-58407"]}> [Accessed 13th March 2020]

Case of Smith & Grady v. The United Kingdom. European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, Application nos 33985/96 and 33968/96. 27th December 1999. Available at: <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{"itemid":["001-58408"]}> [Accessed 13th March 2020]

Glyn, Dr. Alan. 1960. *House of Commons debate.* 6th March 1960. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1960-03-09/debates> [Accessed 10th September 2019]

Prior-Palmer Sir Otho, House of Commons debate 6th March 1960. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1960-03-09/debates> [Accessed 10th September 2019]

R v Ministry of Defence ex parte Smith, R v Ministry of Defence ex parte Grady, R v Admiralty Board of the Defence Council ex parte Beckett, R v Admiralty Board of the Defence Council ex parte Lustig-Prean. 1996 ICR 740, CA. Available at: <https://app.croneri.co.uk/law-and-guidance/case-reports/r-v-ministry-defence-ex-parte-smith-r-v-ministry-defence-ex-parte> [Accessed 13th May 2020]

Soames, Mr Christopher. Secretary of State for War, House of Commons debate 6th March 1960. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1960-03-09/debates> [Accessed 10th September 2019]

The ARRSE.co.uk Forum

ARRSE.co.uk, 2018. *After the messy divorce.* [Online] Available at: <[https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/after-a-messy-divorce.284055/> [Accessed 2nd February 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, *Being sacked – Heroism, ignominy, deserved, and underserved* [Online] Available at: < https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/being-sacked-heroism-ignominy-deserved-and-undeserved.303666/> [Accessed 22nd July 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *Bloody Sunday.* [Online] Available at : <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/bloody-sunday.191810/> [Accessed 2nd February 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *British army death squads in Northern Ireland* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/british-army-death-squads-in-northern-ireland.206732> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *Danger Fucks.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/danger-fucks.195486/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *Fancy a bit of ginger? NSFW.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/fancy-a-bit-of-ginger-nsfw.196079/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, *Formula 1 – 22 Season.* [online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/formula-1-2022-season.307308/> [Accessed 4th April 2022]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2008, *funnies from op banner,* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/funnies-from-op-banner.96574/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2020, *Joining the army whilst in a relationship*. [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/joining-the-army-whilst-in-a-relationship.299557/>
[Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, *Latest Snowflake Outrage,* [online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/latest-snowflake-outrage.271416/> [Accessed 4th April 2022]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2007, *Lezzers - God Bless them! Air your views here!* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/lezzers-god-bless-them-air-your-views-here.54156/>
[Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2014, *MILFs you would do.* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/milfs-you-would-do.213036/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2011, *Need advice on my relationship,* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/need-advice-on-my-relationship.165014/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2010, *Northern Ireland- what's it like for soldiers?* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/northern-ireland-whats-it-like-for-soldiers.135307>
[Accessed 30th 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk*,* 2009, *Northern Ireland conflict airbrushed out of history* [Online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/northern-ireland-conflict-airbrushed-out-of-history.125312/> [Accessed 21st January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2017, *Op Banner photos – some memories for the old and bold* [Online] Available at:
< https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/op-banner-photos-some-memories-for-the-old-and-bold.262433/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2018, *Op banner rememberence* [Online] Available at:
< https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/op-banner-rememberence.287092/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2019, *Research project into gay soldiers in the British Army.* [Online]. Available at <
https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/research-project-into-gay-soldiers-in-the-british-army.296200/> [Accessed 14th February 2022]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, *Russian Troop Movements Reported Near Ukraine* [online] Available at:
<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/russian-troop-movements-reported-near-ukraine.304396/page-4097#post-11507811> [Accessed 4th April 2022]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, *Taking Some Time Away* [Online] Available at:

<https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/taking-some-time-away.304813/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2020, *The BBC: are claims of political bias justified? Part 2.* [online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/the-bbc-are-claims-of-political-bias-justified-part-2.301009/> [Accessed 4th April 2022]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2021, *Things to do when the wife and kids are away.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/things-to-do-when-the-wife-and-kids-are-away.305447/> [Accessed 15th March 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2016, *Two Paratroopers Charged with 1972 Murder* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/two-paratroopers-charged-with-1972-murder.260789/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2013, *What kit did the soldiers carry?* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/what-kit-did-the-soldiers-carry.197147/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

ARRSE.co.uk, 2011, *What's the "Holy Grail" of unseen celebrity tits?* [Online] Available at: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/whats-the-holy-grail-of-unseen-celebrity-tits.160524/> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

News Sources

Barnard, P. (1999) Raw recruits are placed in television's firing line. *The Times.* 18 August 1999. Available at < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk> [Accessed 18 March 2021]

BBC news, 2019. *Strength of British Military Falls for Ninth Year.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-49365599> [Accessed 7th March 2020]

BBC News, 2020, Military prosecutions: NI veterans not covered by proposed legislation. 16th March 2020. [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-51915343> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

Bryant, Arthur, 1970, The needs of the soldier. *Illustrated London News,* 12th September 1970. Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [Accessed 31 August 2020]

Daily Mail, 1996*.* Ban on Gays in Forces will Stay, says Soames. 7th February 1996. *The Daily Mail.* [newspaper] Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

Daily Mirror*,* 1983. Defence at the front! September 16th 1983, *Daily Mirror.* Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000560/19830916/194/0007?browse=False> [Accessed 6th May 21]

Davies, Nick. A meeting at All Saints. *Daily Mirror,* 18th December 1971. Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [Accessed 31 August 2020]

Joseph, J. 1999, The Army wants you, even if society doesn't. *The Times,* 4th August 1999. Available at: < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk> [Accessed 18 March 2021]

Monroe, J. 1999, Today's Choice, *The Times,* 3 August 1999. Available at: < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk> [Accessed 18 March 2021]

Pilger, John, 1969, The rebellion at our gates. *Daily Mirror,* 18th September 1969. Available at: < https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [Accessed 31 August 2020]

Sengupta, Kim. 'Black Lives Matter: British Military Needs to do Soul Searching over Racism in its Ranks', *The Independent,* Thursday 11th June 2020. Available at: [https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/black-lives-matter-british-army-racism-a9561421.html] [Accessed 28th March 2022]

Sun, 1992. *Gay Alert on Basher Soldiers. The Sun.* 9th July 1992 [newspaper] Planner No. 65A-120. Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

Sun*, 1994. '*Gay 'Sofa Fan' Fired by Army' *The Sun.* 20th April 1994. [newspaper] Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

The Sun, 1996*.* Stand At Ease!*, The Sun.* 5th March 1996 [newspaper]. Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

Tatchell, Peter. Interviewed in *Kensington News.* 15th July 1992. [newspaper] Planner No. 72A-300.170. Lesbian and Gay Newsmedia Archive, London.

The Times*,* 1973, Ulster Defence Regiment require 700 women to undertake searches. *The Times,* July 7th 1973, Available at: < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times*,* 1980, Servicewomen to be trained to use guns in self-defence. *The Times,* December 3rd 1980. Available at: < https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 1990. My concern is that we do not compromise the nation's security and sacrifice lives by pretending men and women are the same. *The Times,* 26th January 1990. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 1991, Divisions remain in British ranks on combat role. *The Times,* 4th February 1991. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 1991, Bridging the gender gulf. *The Times,* 5th February 1991. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 1999, Army finds proof of weaker sex. *The Times,* 1st January 1999. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 2001, 'But they'll never fight at the front, says chief. *The Times,* 23rd March 2001. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 2006, 'Why shouldn't women kill? *The Times,* 10th May 2006. Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

The Times, 2014, Female soldiers just lack the killer instinct. *The Times,* 18th November 2014, Available at: <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/> [Accessed 6th May 2021]

Online materials

Allen, Diane, 2021. Women in Defence Inquiry, A story of corporate level 'gas-lighting', 10th February 2021. [Online] Available at: <https://www.forward-assist.com/blog/2021/2/10/women-in-defence-inquiry-a-story-of-corporate-level-gas-lighting> [Accessed 25/6/21]

British Pathé, 2014. *Carnaby Street, 1967.* [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/HX5bQQoiNbs>, [Accessed 16th November 2019]

British Pathé, 2014. *London – Teenagers Wear These (1965)* [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/1TVCkq7Uu6c> [Accessed 16th November 2019]

British Pathé, 2014. *Pop Groups in Carnaby Street, 1969.* [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/mmeZIBmPGgc> [Accessed 16th November 2019]

Carter, Meg, 1997. *Campaign Direct Awards: Campaign of the Year – The Army.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/campaign-direct-awards-campaign-year-army/23261> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

Fandom.com, 2014, *The Army Rumour Service,* [Online] Available at: <https://military.wikia.org/wiki/The_Army_Rumour_Service> [Accessed 14th February 2022]

Gov.UK, 2002, *New body armour improvements for women in UK Armed Forces.* [online]. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-body-armour-improvements-for-women-in-uk-armed-forces> [Accessed 10th May 2022}

Grierson, Jamie, 2021. British Army identities serious failings over soldier's death – report'. *The Guardian,* 11th July, 2021. Available at*:* <[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jul/11/british-army-serious-failings-soldier-bernard-mongan-death-reports> [Accessed 12th July 2021]

Hunter, Simon, 2020. *Op Banner: Key Moments of the Army's Longest Continual Deployment.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.forces.net/news/northern-ireland/op-banner-50-years-army-started-its-longest-continuous-campaign> [Accessed 4th January 2021]

House of Lords, 2003, *Judgments - Bellinger (FC) (Appellant) v. Bellinger* [Online] Available at: < https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200203/ldjudgmt/jd030410/bellin-1.htm> [Accessed 18th April 2022]

Hughes, Thomas. *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, Part II, chapter 5, para 3. [Online] Available at: <https://en.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Tom_Brown%27s_School_Days_(6th_ed)/Chapter_14> [Accessed 28th November 2018]

Johnston, Peter, 2019, *Charting the army's recruitment battle for hearts and minds through history,* [Online] Available at: < https://inews.co.uk/news/long-reads/british-army-recruitment-posters-video-history/> [Accessed 12th February 2019]

Lord, Richard, 1997, *Now Showing.* [online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/showing/124018> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

Mawi, Gaggan, 2021, Women in the Armed Forces: from Recruitment to Civilian Life. 17th March 2021. [Online] Available at: <https://www.boltburdonkemp.co.uk/our-insights/the-defence-committee-inquiry-on-women-in-the-armed-forces-from-recruitment-to-civilian-life/> [Accessed 25/6/21]

Ministry of Defence, 2018, *All British Armed Forces Roles now Open to Women* [online] Available at: <https://www.army.mod.uk/news-and-events/news/2018/10/women-in-ground-close-combat-roles/> [Accessed 11 June 2021]

Ministry of Defence, 2018. *Home: British Army Jobs.* [online] Available at: <https://www.apply.army.mod.uk> [Accessed 1st November 2018]

Moore, Emma, Kayla Williams & Zachary Jaynes, 2020. *United Kingdom Veteran Landscape. Status of Veterans in the United Kingdom.* [online] Available at: < https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/MVS-UK-Veteran-Landscape-FINAL.pdf?mtime=20200729113635&focal=none>, [Accessed 18th August 2021

North East Local Enterprise Partnership, 2021. *Population by age group*, [Online], Available at: < https://evidencehub.northeastlep.co.uk/report/population-by-age-group>, [Accessed 11th April 2022]

Ramsay, Fiona, 2009. *Army forced to defend 'Start thinking soldier' campaign after consumer backlash.* [Online} Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/army-forced-defend-start-thinking-soldier-campaign-consumer-backlash/921385> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

Ministry of Defence, 2017. *Freedom of information request.* [Online] Available at: <https://bootcampmilitaryfitnessinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/FOI-Size-of-the-UK-Armed-Forces-Since-1700.pdf> [Accessed 7th April 2022]

Rice, Alison, *How Times have Changed: A Social History of Holidays.* [online.] Available at: <https://familyholidaycharity.org.uk/our-story/how-times-have-changed-social-history-holidays> [Accessed 14th November 2019]

Rosen, Nick, 1998. *Army revamps officer recruitment site.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/army-revamps-officer-recruitment-site/120101> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

Rosen, Nick, 1998. *British Army recruits more online business.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/british-army-recruits-online-business/122922> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

Sabbagh, Dan. 2021. Deepcut deaths: Army 'treating victims' families with contempt' *The Guardian,* 28th November 2021 [Online] Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/nov/28/deepcut-deaths-army-treating-victims-families-with-contempt> [Accessed 18th February 2022]

Thomas, Joe, 2009. *Why the Army sees the answer to its recruitment problem in experiential marketing.* [Online} Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/why-army-sees-answer-its-recruitment-problem-experiential-marketing/898253> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

Tiltman, David, 2006. *Brand health check: British Army.* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/brand-health-check-british-army/539121> [Accessed 1st December 2019]

TUC History Online, *Holidays with pay for you,* [Online] Available at: <http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/Tl_Display.php?irn=100265&QueryPage=..%2FAdvSearch.php> [Accessed 14th November 2019]

UK Parliament, 2020, Defence Committee launch inquiry into women in the armed forces. 1st December 2020. [Online] Available at: <https://committees.parliament.uk/committee/24/defence-committee/news/136800/defence-committee-launch-inquiry-on-women-in-the-armed-forces/> [Accessed 25th June 2021]

UK Parliament,Women in the Armed Forces: from Recruitment to Civilian Life. [Online] Available at: <https://committees.parliament.uk/work/856/women-in-the-armed-forces-from-recruitment-to-civilian-life/> [Accessed 25th June 2021]

Under the Christmas tree, 2014, *Holidays in the 1960s* [Online] Available at: <https://www.underthechristmastree.co.uk/holidays-in-the-1960s/> [Accessed 14th November 2019]

Urch, Tyrone, 2020, *In light of recent events, I felt compelled as a senior leader @BritishArmy and champion of our BAME network, to communicate my feelings to all regarding @Blklivesmatter. #BlackLivesMatter @ArmyBAME_Chair @ArmyBAME.* [Twitter] 6th June. Available at: [https://twitter.com] [Accessed 28th March 2022]

Wikipedia, 2022, *Transgender rights in the United Kingdom.* [Online] Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transgender_rights_in_the_United_Kingdom> [Accessed 18th April 2022]

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abrams, Kathryn. 'Gender in the Military: Androcentrism and Institutional Reform.' Law and Contemporary Problems. Vol. 56, No. 4, Elected Branch Influences In Constitutional Decisionmaking, 1993

Abrams, Lynn. *Oral History Theory*. Routledge. Abingdon, 2010

Adams, Andi. '"Josh Wears Pink Cleats": Inclusive Masculinity on the Soccer Field. *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 58, No. 5, 2011

Adams, Rachel & David Savran, 'Representations' in Rachel Adams & David Savran (eds.) *The Masculinity Studies Reader.* Blackwell, Malden & Oxford, 2002

Addis, E., Russo, V. E. & Sebesta, L. (eds). *Women Soldiers: Images and Realties.* Macmillan, Basingstoke. 1994

Alamilla Boyd, Nan 'Who is the Subject? Queer Theory Meets Oral History' *Journal of the History of Sexuality.* Vol 17, No. 2, 2008

Aletti, Vince. 'The Masculine Mystique: Physique Magazine Photography.' *Aperture,* No. 187, 2007

Alexander, Yonah & Alan O'Day. *Terrorism in Ireland.* Croom Helm Ltd, Beckenham, 1984

Allport, Alan. *Demobbed. Coming Home after World War Two.* Yale University Press, Newport and London. 2010

Allsep, L. Michael. 'The Myth of the Warrior: Martial Masculinity and the End of Don't Ask, Don't Tell.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 60, No. 2, 2013

Alt, Marcus Christopher. 'The experience of gay, military men and the impact on one's sense of masculinity.' University of Iowa dissertation. Fall, 2015. Downloaded from [https://doi.org/10.17077/etd.ekoto4ge]

Altman, Dennis. *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation.* Allan Lane, London, 1974

Anderson, Eric. '"Being Masculine is not About who you Sleep with…:" Heterosexual Athletes Contesting Masculinity and the One-time Rule of Homosexuality.' *Sex Roles*. Vol. 58, 2008

Anderson, Eric. 'Openly Gay Athletes: Contesting Hegemonic Masculinity in a Homophobic Environment.' *Gender and Society*, Vol. 16, No. 6, 2002

Anderson, E, 'Orthodox and Inclusive Masculinity: Competing Masculinity among Heterosexual Men in Feminised Terrain'. *Sociological Perspectives.* Vol. 48, No. 3, 2005

Anderson, Eric & Mark McCormack. 'Theorising Masculinities in Contemporary Britain.' In *Debating Modern Masculinities: Change, Continuity, Crisis?* S. Roberts (ed.) Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014

Andrew, Dudley. *The Image in Dispute*. University of Texas, Austin, 1997

Archer, Louise. '"Muslim Brothers, Black Lads, Traditional Asians": British Muslim Young Men's Constructions of Race, Religion and Masculinity.' *Feminism & Psychology*. Vol. 11, No. 1, 2001

Arkim, William & Lynne R. Dobrofsky. 'Military Socialization and Masculinity'. *Journal of Social Issues.* Vol. 34, No. 1, 1978

Arnold, John H. & Sean Brady. 'Introduction.' In *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke & New York. 2011

Arthur, Paul. 'Trauma Online: Public Exposure of Personal Grief and Suffering.' *Traumatology*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2009

Ashe, Fidelma. 'Gendering Ethno-nationalist Conflict in Northern Ireland.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol. 30, 2007

Ashe, Fidelma. 'Gendering War and Peace: Militarised Masculinities in Northern Ireland.' *Men and Masculinities,* Vol. 15, No. 3, 2012

Ashe, Fidelma. *The New Politics of Masculinity*. Routledge, London, 2007

Ashe, Fidema. 'The Virgin Mary Connection: Reflecting on Feminism and Northern Irish Politics.' in Marysia Zalewski & John Barry (eds.) *Intervening in Northern Ireland: Critically Re-thinking Representations of the Conflict.* Routledge, Abingdon & New York, 2008

Ashplant, T.G, Graham Dawson & Michael Roper (eds). *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory*. Routledge, New Brunswick & New Jersey, 2004

Astor, Des (Major), *The Official ARRSE Guide to the British Army.* Kindle Edition, 2011

Atherton, Stephen. 'Domesticating military masculinities: home, performance and the negotiation of identity.' *Social & Cultural Geography,* Vol. 10, No. 8, December 2009

Ayers, Pat. 'Work, Culture and Gender: The Making of Masculinities in Post-War Liverpool' *Labour History Review.* Vol. 69, No. 2, 2004

Ayres, John D., 'Reach for the Frontier: 'The Pleasure Culture of War', Kenneth More and 1950s Rank Organisation Film Posters.' *Journal of War and Culture Studies*. Vol. 5, No. 3, 2012

Badinter, Elisabeth. *On Masculine Identity*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1992

Bairner, Alan, 'Soccer, Masculinity, and Violence in Northern Ireland.' *Men and Masculinities,* Vol. 1, No. 3, 1999

Bairner, Alan. 'Masculinity, Violence and the Irish Peace Process.' *Capital & Class,* Vol. 22, Autumn 1999

Bairner, Alan. 'The Ulster Boys: reflections on masculinity within Northern Ireland's Protestant community.' *Hitotsubashi Discussion Paper Series No. 6*, Hitotsubashi University, 2008. [https://hermes-ir.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/hermes/ir/re/16333/070inv00601.pdf] <Accessed 21st October 2020>

Baker, Brian. *Masculinity in Fiction and Film. Representing Men in Popular Genres. 1945-2000.* Continuum Literary Studies. London & New York, 2007

Baker, Paul. Public *Discourses of Gay Men.* Routledge. Abingdon, 2005

Ball, R. Discrimination in the armed forces: A comparative analysis of the impact of UK and US civilian law on the military. In: *IUS on the Armed Forces Conference*, 2011

Ballinger, Adam. *The Quiet Soldier. On Selection with 21 SAS.* Orion Publishing, London, 1992

Barber, Sarah & Corinna M. Peniston-Bird. *History Beyond the Text.* Routledge. Abingdon. 2009

Barrett, Donald C. 'Masculinity Among Working-Class Gay Males.' In Peter Nardi (ed.) *Gay Masculinities*. Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi. 2000

Barrett, Frank J. 'Gender Strategies of Women Professionals. The Case of the US Navy.' In Mike Dent & Stephen Whitehead. *Managing Professional Identities. Knowledge, Performativity and the "New" Professional.* Routledge. London and New York. 2002

Barrett, Frank J. 'The Organisational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: the Case of the US Navy.' In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader.* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2000

Barrett, Terry. *Criticising Photographs. An Introduction to Understanding Images.* Mayfield Publishing Company. Mountain View, California, London, Toronto. 1996

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Vintage Classics, London, 1984

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies. Hill & Wang, London, 1973*

Barthes, Roland. 'Rhetoric of the Image.' In Jessica Evans & Stuart Hall (eds.) *Visual Culture: the Reader.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1999

Barua, Pradeep. 'Inventing Race: The British and India's Martial Races.' *The Historian*, Vol. 58, No. 1, 1995

Barzilay, David. *The British Army in Ulster. 1973.* Century Services Limited, Belfast, 1973

Basham, Victoria. 'Effecting Discrimination. Operational Effectiveness and Harassment in the British Armed Forces.' *Armed Forces & Society*. Vol 35, issue 4, 2009

Basham Victoria 'Everyday gendered experiences and the discursive construction of civilian and military identities in Britain'. *Nordic Journal of Masculinity Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 2, 2008

Basham, Victoria, *War, Identity and the Liberal State : Everyday Experiences of the Geopolitical in the Armed Forces*. Taylor & Francis, 2013. Online edition available at:
< https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bbk/reader.action?docID=1323331>

Bassnett, Susan. 'Lost in the Past: A Tale of Heroes and Englishness' in Christopher E. Gittings (ed.) *Imperialism and Gender: Constructions of Masculinity.* Dangerous Press, Hebden Bridge, 1996

Bauer, Heike & Matt Cook. *Queer 1950s. Rethinking Sexuality in Postwar Years.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012

Baxter, Judith. *The Language of Female Leadership*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010

Baxter, Judith & Kieran Wallace. 'Outside in-group and out-group identities? Constructing male solidarity and female exclusion in UK builders' talk.' *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 20, No. 4, July 2009

Bazin, A. 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image.' In *What is Cinema?, Vol. 1.* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1967

Beard, Martha Rose. 'Re-thinking Oral History – a Study of Narrative Performance.' *Rethinking History.* Vol.21, No.4, 2017

Beasley, Chris. 'Libidinal heterodoxy'. *Men and masculinities*. Vol. 18, No. 2, 2015

Beasley, C. 'Problematising Contemporary Men/masculinities Theorising: the Contribution of Raewyn Connell and Conceptual-terminological Tensions today'. *The British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 63, No. 4, 2012

Beasley, Christine. 'Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalising World.' *Men and Masculinities*. Vol. 11, No. 1, 2008

Becker, Howard S. 'The Politics of Presentation'. *Symbolic Interaction,* Vol. 26, No. 4, 2003

Beckett, Ian F.W. *A guide to British Military History : The subject and the Sources*. Pen & Sword Military, South Yorkshire, 2016

Beevor, Antony. *Inside the British Army.* Chatto & Windus Ltd., London, 1990

Beevor, Antony. 'The Army and Modern Society.' In Hew Strachan (ed.) *The British Army: Manpower and Society in the Twenty-First Centuries.* Frank Cass. Abingdon. 2000

Benda, B. B. 'Gender differences in predictors of suicidal thoughts and attempts among homeless veterans that abuse substances'. *Suicide & Life—Threatening Behavior*, Vol. 35, 2005

Bengry, Justin. 'Queer Profits: Homosexual Scandal and the Origins of Legal Reform in Britain.' In Heike Bauer & Matt Cook (eds.) *Queer 1950s. Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012,

Benschop, Yvonne & Hans Doorewaard. 'Covered by Equality: The Gender Subtext of Organisations.' *Organization Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 5, 1998

Benwell, Bethan. 'Ironic Discourse. Evasive Masculinity in Men's Lifestyle Magazines.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 7, No. 1, July 2004

Benwell, Bethan. 'Language and Masculinity'. In Susan Ehrlich, *et al* (eds.) *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. Wiley, London 2014

Benwell, Bethan (ed.) *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines.* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. 2003

Berger, Maurice, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson. 'Introduction.' In Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity* Routledge, New York, 1995

Berger, Maurice, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity.* Routledge, New York. 1995

Berger, Raymond M. 'Passing: Impact on the Quality of Same-Sex Couple Relationships.' *Social Work*. Vol. 35, No. 4, 1990

Bernstein, Mary & Paul Swartwout, 'Gay Officers in Their Midst: Heterosexual Police Employees' Anticipation of the Consequences of Coworkers Who Come Out.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 59, No. 8, 2012

Berry, John W. 'Theories and Models of Acculturation'. In Seth J. Schwartz & Jennifer Unger (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Acculturation and Health.* Oxford Handbooks Online (www.oxfordhandbooks.com). Online publication date: Jan 2017

Bew, Paul, Peter Gibbon & Henry Patterson. *Northern Ireland, 1921 – 2001. Political Forces and Social Class.* Serif, London, 2002

Beynon, John. *Masculinities and Culture.* Open University Press. Buckingham. 2002

Bianco, David Ari. 'Echoes of Prejudice: The Debates over Race and Sexuality in the Armed Forces.' In Craig A. Rimmerman (ed.) *Gay Rights, Military Wrongs. Political Perspecgives on Lesbians and Gays in the Military.* Garland Publishing, New York and london, 1996

Bidwell, S. *The Women's Royal Army Corps*. Leo Cooper Ltd, London, 1977

Bilton, Michael & Kosminsky, Peter. *Speaking Out. Untold Stories from the Falklands War.* Andre Deutsch Ltd. London. 1989

Bilzon, J.L.J. 'Streaming' in British Army Recruit Training: Options for Change', *ATRA Report No: 2003.001*, HQ ATRA, Upavon, 2003

Binks, Eve & Siobhan Cambridge, 'The Transition Experiences of British Military Veterans'. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2018

Bird, Sharon R. 'Sex Composition, Masculinity Stereotype Dissimilarity and the Quality of Men's Workplace Social Relations.' *Gender, Work and Organisation.* Vol. 10, No. 5, 2003

Bird, Sharon R. 'Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity' *Gender and Society.* Vol. 10, No. 2, 1996

Blackwood, Evelyn. 'From Butch-Femme to Female Masculinities: Elizabeth Kennedy and LGBT Anthropology.' *Feminist Formations,* Vol. 24, No. 3, 2012

Bodnar, John W. 'How Long Does it Take to Change a Culture? Integration at the U.S. Naval Academy.' *Armed Forces & Society*. Vol. 25, Issue 2, 1999

Bordo, Susan. *The Male Body.* Farrar, Straus and Giroux. New York. 2000

Bordo, Susan. 'Reading the Male Body.' In L. Goldstein (ed.) *The Male Body. Features, Destinies, Exposures.* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1994

Boscarino, J. 'Drinking by Veterans and Non Veterans. A Comparison.' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* Vol. 41, 1980

Boswell, A and Spade, J. 'Fraternities and College Rape Culture'. *Gender & Society*, Vol. 10, 1996

Boulton, David. *The UVF, 1969 – 1973. An Anatomy of Loyalist Rebellion.* Torc Books, Dublin, 1973

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Masculine Domination.* Polity Press, Cambridge. 2001

Bourke, Joanna. *An Intimate History of Killing. Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare.* Granta Books London, 1999

Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male. Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War.* Reaktion. London, 1996

Bourke, Joanna. 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History.' *History Workshop Journal*. Vol. 55, 2003

Bourke, Joanna. '"Going Home." The Personal Adjustment of British and American Servicemen after the War'. In Richard Bessel & Dirk Schuman (eds.) *Life After Death*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 2003

Bourke, Joanna. *Working Class Cultures in Britain. 1890-1960.* Routledge, London, 1994

Bower, J. *(Im)Possible Women: Gender, Sexuality and the British Army*, PhD Thesis, University College, London, 2000

Boyatzis, Richard E., 'The Effect of Alcohol Consumption on the Aggressive Behavior of Men.' *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* Vol. 35, 1974

Boyd, Douglas A. & Mary A. Larson. *Oral History and Digital Humanities. Voice, Access and Engagement.* [https://link-springer-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/book/10.1057%2F9781137322029]

Brady, Sean, forthcoming. '"Save Ulster from Sodomy!" Homosexuality in Northern Ireland after 1967.' *Cultural & Social History*

Brady, Sean. 'Why Examine Men, Masculinities and Religion in Northern Ireland?' In Lucy Delap & Sue Morgan (eds.), *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth Century Britain.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2013

Braudy, Leo. *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity.* Vintage Books, New York, 2005

Briggs, Charles L. *Learning How to Ask.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1992

Bristow, Joseph. 'Homophobia/misogyny: Sexual fears, sexual definitions.' In Simon Shepherd & Mick Wallis (eds.) *Coming on Strong. Gay Politics and Culture.* Unwin Hyman Ltd. London, Winchester, Sydney & Wellington. 1989

Brittan, Arthur. *Masculinity and Power.* Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford & New York, 1989

Britton, D.M. 'Homophobia and Homosociality: an Analysis of Boundary Maintenance.' *Sociological Quarterly*. Vol. 31, No. 3, 1990

Bristow, Joseph. 'Homophobia/misogyny: Sexual fears, sexual definitions.' In Simon Shepherd & Mick Wallis (eds.) *Coming on Strong. Gay Politics and Culture.* Unwin Hyman Ltd. London, Winchester, Sydney & Wellington. 1989

Brooke, Stephen. 'Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s'. *Journal of Social History.* Vol. 34, No. 4, Summer 2001

Brown, Phil. 'Passing: Differences in Our Public and Private Self'. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work.* Vol. 1, No. 2, 1991

Bruce, Steve. *The Red Hand. Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland.* Open University Press, Oxford, 1992

Bucholtz, Mary, A. C. Liang & Laurel A. Sutton. *Reinventing Identities. The Gendered Self in Discourse.* Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 1999

Buckley, Suzann & Pamela Lonergan. 'Women and the Troubles, 1969-1980.' In Yonah Alexander & Alan O'Day (eds.) *Terrorism in Ireland.* Croom Helm Ltd, Beckenham, 1984

Bulmer, Sarah. 'Patriarchal Confusion? Making Sense of Gay and Lesbian Military Identity.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2013

Burdett, Howard, Charlotte Woodhead, Amy C. Iversen, Simon Wessely, Christopher Dandeker & Nicola T. Fear. '"Are You a Veteran?" Understanding of the Term "Veteran" among UK Ex-Service Personnel.' *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2013

Burgin, Victor. 'Something About Photographic Theory', *Screen*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1984

Burk, James. 'Military culture'. In L. Kurtz (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace & Conflict, Vol.2*. Academic Press, San Diego & London, 1999

Burke, Edward. *An Army of Tribes,* Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2018

Burn, Shawn Meghan 'Heterosexuals' Use of "Fag" and "Queer" to Deride One Another.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 40, No. 2, 2000

Burns, Shaun Michael & James R. Mahalik. 'Suicide and Dominant Masculinity Norms Among Current and Former United States Military Servicemen.' *Professional Psychology, Research and Practice.* Vol. 42, No. 5, 2011

Burns, Thomas F. 'Getting Rowdy with the Boys.' *Journal of Drug Issues,* Vol. 10, 1980,

Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performative.* Routledge, New York, 1997

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* Routledge, New York 1990

Caesar, Adrian. *Taking it Like a Man. Suffering, Sexuality and the War Poets.* Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1993

Cameron, Deborah. 'Performing Gender Identity: Young Men's Talk and the Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity.' In Sally Johnson & Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (eds.) *Language and Masculinity.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1997

Canakis, Costas, Venetia Kantsa & Kostas Yannakopoulus. *Language and Sexuality (through and) beyond Gender.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010

Carolan, Bruce. 'An Army of Lovers: Queering the Ministry of Defence Report of the Homosexuality Policy Assessment Team.' *Tulsa Law Review.* Vol. 34, No. 3, Spring 1999

Carrigan, Tim, Bob Connell & John Lee. 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity'. *Theory and Society.* Vol. 14, No. 5, 1985

Cashmore, Ellis & Jamie Cleland. 'Fans, homophobia and masculinities in association football: evidence of a more inclusive environment.' *The British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 63, No. 2, 2012

Chamberlain, Mary & and Paul Thompson (eds). *Narrative and Genre*. Routledge. London & New York. 1998

Chance, Norman A. 'Acculturation, Self-Identification, and Personality Adjustment.' *American Anthropologist.* Vol. 67, No. 2, 1965

Chandler, David G. & Ian Beckett. *The Oxford History of the British Army.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003 edition

Chandler, Joan, Lyn Bryant & Tracey Bunyard. 'Women in Military Occupations'. *Work, Employment & Society.* Vol. 9, No. 1, March 1999

Chapman, Rowena & Rutherford, Jonathan. *Male Order. Unwrapping Masculinity.* Lawrence & Wishart. London, 1988

Charlton, Thomas L. Lois E. Myers & Rebecca Sharples. *Handbook of Oral History.* Altamaria Press. Oxford, 2006

Chatman, Jennifer A., Jeffrey T. Polzer, Sigal G. Barsade & Margaret A. Neale. 'Being Different Yet Feeling Similar: The Influence of Demographic Composition and Organisational Culture on Work Processes and Outcomes.' *Administrative Science Quarterly.* Vol. 34, No. 4, 1998

Chauncey Jr, George, Martin Bauml Duberman & Martha Vicinus (eds.) *Hidden from History. Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past.* Penguin. London. 1991

Chen, Anthony S. 'Lives at the Centre of the Periphery, Lives at the Periphery of the Centre: Chinese American Masculinities and Bargaining with Hegemony.' *Gender and Society.* Vol. 13, No. 5, 1999

Cheng, Cliff. 'Marginalised Masculinities and Hegemonic Masculinity: An Introduction.' *The Journal of Men's Studies*. Vol. 7, Issue 3. March 1999

Chung, Y. Barry & Lenore W. Harman. 'The Career Interests and Aspirations of Gay Men: How Sex-Role Orientation is Related.' *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. Vol. 45, 1994

Clare, Anthony. On Men. *Masculinity in Crisis.* Chatto & Windus, London, 2000

Clarkson, Jay. '"Everyday Joe" versus "Pissy, Bitchy, Queens:" Gay Masculinity on StraightActing.com' *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol. 14, No. 2, Spring 2006

Clatterbaugh, Kenneth. *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity. Men, Women and Politics in Modern Society.* Westview Press, Colorado. 1997

Cliff, Brian & Éibhear Walshe (eds.) *Representing the Troubles*. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2004

Clifford, James & Marcus, George. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* University of California Press. Berkeley. 1986

Coates, Jennifer (ed.) *Language and Gender. A Reader.* Blackwell. Oxford. 1998

Coates, Jennifer. *Men Talk*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. 2003

Coates, Jennifer. *Women, Men and Language.* Longman. London and New York. 1993

Cochran, Bryan N., Kimberly Balsam, Annesa Flentje, Carol A. Malte & Tracy Simpson. 'Mental Health Characteristics of Sexual Minority Veterans.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 60, 2013

Cocks H.G., 'Modernity and the Self in the History of Sexuality' *The Historical Journal*. Vol 49, No. 4, 2006

Cocks, H.G. 'Review: The Growing Pains of the History of Sexuality.' *Journal of Contemporary History.* Vol 39, No. 4, 2004

Cohan, Steven & Ina Rae Hark, *Screening the Male. Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema.* Routledge. London & New York. 1994

Cohen, Emma E. A., Robin Ejsmond-Frey, Nicola Knight & R. I. M. Dunbar. 'Rowers' high: behavioural synchrony is correlated with elevated pain thresholds.' *Biology Letters.* Vol. 6, 2010

Cohn, Amy & Amos Zeichner. 'Effects of Masculine Identity and Gender Role Stress on Aggression in Men.' *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. Vol. 7, No. 4, 2006

Cohn, Carol. 'Gays in the Military: Texts and Subtexts', in M. Zalewski & J. Parpart (eds) *The 'Man' Question in International Relations*. Westview Press, Boulder, 1998

Cohn, Carol. '"How can she Claim Equal Rights When She Doesn't Have to do as Many Push-Ups as I Do?" The Framing of Men's Opposition to Women's Equality in the Military'. *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2000

Cohn, Carol 'Wars, Wimps and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War.' In Miriam Cooke & Angela Woollacott (eds.) *Gendering War Talk.* Princeton Legacy Library, New Jersey, 1993

Coles, Tony. 'Negotiating the Field of Masculinity. The Production and Reproduction of Multiple Dominant Masculinities.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 12, No. 1, October 2009

Collinson, David. '"Engineering Humour": Masculinity, Joking and Conflict in Shop-Floor Relations.' In Michael S. Kimmel & Michael A. Messner (eds). *Men's Lives.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston & London, 1995

Collinson, David L. *Managing the Shop Floor: Subjectivity, Masculinity and Workplace Culture.* Walter de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1992

Collinson, David & Jeff Hearn. '"Men" at "work": multiple masculinities/multiple workplaces' In Mac An Ghaill, M. (ed)*. Understanding Masculinities*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996

Collinson, David & Jeff Hearn. 'Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organisation and Management.' In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader*. Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden. 2006 edition

Collinson, David L. & Margaret Collinson. 'Sexuality in the Workplace: The Domination of Men's Sexuality' in Jeff Hearn, Deborah L. Sheppard, Peta Tancred-Sheriff & Gibson Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organisation.* Sage Publications. London, Newbury Park & New Delhi. 1989

Connell, R.W. 'A Very Straight Gay: Masculinity, Homosexual Experience, and the Dynamics of Gender.' *American Sociological Review.* Vol. 57, No. 6, 1992

Connell, R.W. *Gender.* Polity Press, Cambridge. 2002

Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics.* Polity Press. Cambridge. 1987

Connell, RW. 'Introduction and Overview'. *Feminism & Psychology.* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2001

Connell, R.W. *Masculinities. Second Edition.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2005

Connell, R.W. 'The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History.' Theory and Society. Vol. 22, No. 5, *Special Issue: Masculinities*. October, 1993

Connell, R. W. *The Men and the Boys*. Polity Press. Cambridge, 2000

Connell, R.W & Messerschmidt James W. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept' *Gender and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6, 2005

Connelly, Mark & David R. Wilcox. 'Are you tough enough? The image of the special forces in British popular culture, 1939-2004.' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television.* Vol. 21, No. 1, 2005

Coogan, Tim Pat. *The Troubles. Ireland's Ordeal, 1966 – 1995 and the Search for Peace.* Kindle Edition, 1995

Cook, P. 'Masculinity in Crisis?' *Screen*, Vol. 23, No. 3-4, 1982

Cooke, Miriam & Angela Woollacott (eds.) *Gendering War Talk*. Princeton Legacy Library, New Jersey, 1993

Corbin, Juliet & Anselm Strauss. *Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory.* SAGE Publications. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi. 2015

Cornwall, Andrea & Nancy Lindisfarne (eds.) *Dislocating Masculinity. Comparative Ethnographies.* Routledge. London & New York. 1994

Coser, Lewis A. *Greedy Institutions. Patterns of Undivided Commitment.* The Free Press, New York, 1974

Cottingham, Marci D. 'Recruiting Men, Constructing Manhood: How Healthcare Organisations Mobilise Masculinities as Nursing Recruitment Strategy.' *Gender and Society.* Vol.28, No. 1, 2014

Courtenay, Will H. 'Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.' *Social Science & Medicine,* Vol. 50, 2000

Cowan, G., B. Heiple & C. Marquez. 'Heterosexuals Attitudes Toward Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Against Gay and Lesbians'. *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol, 49, No. 2, 2005

Craik, Jennifer. *Uniforms Exposed. From Conformity to Transgression.* Berg. Oxford & New York, 2005

Crawford, Mary. *Talking Difference. On Gender and Language.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1995

Crawford, S. 'Racial Integration in the Army. An Historical Perspective'. *Militaire Spectator.* Vol. 2, 1996

Cregan, Kate. *The Sociology of the Body.* SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi, 2006

Critchlow, Barbara. 'The Powers of John Barleycorn. Beliefs about the Effects of Alcohol on Social Behaviour.' *American Psychologist,* Vol. 41, No. 7, 1986

Cross, Simon & Barbara Bagilhole 'Girls' Jobs for the Boys? Men, Masculinity and Non-Traditional Occupations' *Gender, Work and Organization* Vol. 9, No. 2 (April 2002)

Crowley, Matthew. *Representations of Working-Class Masculinities in Post-War British Culture.* Routledge, Abingdon & New York, 2020

Cull, Nicholas J. 'Great Escapes: "Englishness" and the Prisoner of War genre.' *Film History.* Vol. 14, No. 3/4, 2002

Curry, Timothy Jon. 'Fraternal Bonding in the Locker Room: A Profeminist Analysis of Talk about Competion and Women.' *Sociology of Sport Journal*, Vol. 8, 1991

Curtis, Liz. *Ireland, the Propaganda War. The British Media and the Battle for 'Hearts and Minds.''* Pluto Press, London & Sydney, 1984

D&AD (eds.) *The Copy Book. How some of the best advertisers in the world write their advertising.* Taschen GmbH, Germany, 2018

Dandeker, C & David Mason. 'Diversifying the Uniform: the Participation of Minority Ethnic Personnel in the British Armed Services.' *Armed Forces and Society.* Vol. 29, No. 4, 2003

Dandeker, Christopher & David Mason. 'The British armed services and the participation of minority ethnic communities: from equal opportunities to diversity?' *The Sociological Review.* Vol. 49, No. 2, 2001

Dandeker, Chistopher. 'New Times for the Military: Some Sociological Remarks on the Changing Role and Structure of the Armed Forces of the Advanced Societies.' *The British Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 45, No. 4, 1994

Dandeker, Christopher, Simon Wessely, Amy Iversen & John Ross. 'What's in a Name? Defining and Caring for "Veterans." The United Kingdom in International Perspective.' *Armed Forces & Society.* Vol. 23, 1996

Dandeker, Christopher & David Mason. 'The British Armed Services and the Participation of Minority Ethnic Communities: from Equal Opportunities to Diversity?' *The Sociological Review,* Vol. 49, No. 2, 2001

Davenport-Hines, Richard. *Sex, Death and Punishment: Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality in Britain since the Renaissance.* Collins, Lymington, 1990

Davies, Christie. 'Sexual Taboos and Social Boundaries.' *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 87, No. 5, 1982

Dawson, Graham. *Making Peace with the Past? Memory, Trauma and the Irish Troubles.* Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 2007

Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes. British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities.* Routledge. London & New York, 1994

Dawson, Graham. 'The Blond Bedouin. Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity.' In Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.) *Manful Assertions: Masculinity in Britain since 1800.* Routledge. London, 1991

De Klerk, Vivian. 'The Role of Expletives in the Construction of Masculinity.' In Sally Johnson & Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (eds.) *Language and Masculinity.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1997

Deakin, Stephen. ''Ethics and the British Army's Values and Standards.'' *British Army Review* Vol. 140, 2006

Deakin, Stephen. 'The British Army and Homosexuality.' In Hew Strachan (ed.) *The British Army, Manpower and Society in the Twenty-First Centuries.* Frank Cass, Abingdon, 2000

Deaux, Kay. 'Psychological Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity.' In June Machover Reinisch, Leonard, A. Rosenblum & Stephanie A. Sanders, (eds.) *Masculinity/Femininity. Basic Perspectives*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987

Deaux, Kay. 'Reconstructing Social Identity.' *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1993

Delap, Lucy, 'Be Strong and be the Man': Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century. In Lucy Delap & Sue Morgan (eds.) *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth Century Britain'*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2013

Demers, Anne L. 'From Death to Life: Female Veterans, Identity Negotiation, and Reintegration Into Society'. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology.* Vol. 53, No. 4, 2013

Demers, Anne, 'When Veterans Return: The Role of Community in Reintegration' *Journal of Loss and Trauma* Vol. 16, 2011

Demetriou, Demetrakis Z. 'Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique.' *Theory and Society.* Vol. 30, No. 3, 2001

Denmark, Edward. *Not for Queen and Country: a no-holds barred account of life as a British soldier.* Digital Edition, Adam Sykes 8 CH60 7SZ UK, 2016

Dent, Mike & Stephen Whitehead. *Managing Professional Identities. Knowledge, Performativity and the "New" Professional.* Routledge. London and New York. 2002

Deutsch, Francine M. 'Undoing Gender.' *Gender and Society*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2007

Dewar, Michael, Lieutenant-Colonel, *The British Army in Northern Ireland,* Arms and Armour Press, London & New York, 1985

Diken, Bülent & Carsten Bagge Laustsen. *The Culture of Exception. Sociology Facing the Camp.* Routledge, London and New York. 2005

Dillon, Martin. *The Shankill Butchers. A Case Study of Mass Murder.* Hutchinson, London, Sydney, Auckland, Johannesburg, 1989

Dillon, Martin & Denis Lehane, *Political Murder in Northern Ireland,* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973

Doan, Laura. 'Sex Education and the Great War Soldier: A Queer Analysis of the Practice of 'Hetero' Sex' *Journal of British Studies.* Vol 51, No. 3, 2012

Donaldson, Mike. 'What is Hegemonic Masculinity?' *Theory and Society.* Vol. 22. No. 5, Special Issue: Masculinities, 1993

Dowler, Lorraine. 'Till death do us part: masculinity, friendship, and nationalism in Belfast, Northern Ireland.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 19 2001

Downes, C. 'Great Britain' in C. C. Moskos & F. Wood (eds.) *The Military. More than Just a Job?* Pergamon-Brassey's, Washington, New York & London, 1988

Drew, Paul. 'Po-faced Receipt of Teases.' *Linguistics*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1987

Dunaway, David K & Baum, Willa K. (eds.) *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology.* Altamira Press. Plymouth. 1996

Dunaway, David King. 'Transcription: Shadow or Reality?' *The Oral history Review*. Vol. 12, 1984

Duncanson, Claire. 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics.* Vol. 11, No. 1, March 2009

Duncanson, Claire. 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 18, No. 2, 2015

Dunivin, Karen O. 'Military Culture: Change and Continuity.' *Armed Forces & Society.* Vol. 20, No. 4, Summer 1994

Dunn, Seamus. 'The Conflict as a Set of Problems' in In Seamus Dunn (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1995

Dyer, Richard. 'Don't Look Now: the Male Pin-Up.' *Screen,* Vol. 23, No. 3/4, 1982

Earl Davis, James. 'Transgressing the masculine: African American boys and the failure of schools.' In Martino, Wayne & Bob Meyenn (eds.) *What about the Boys? Issues of Masculinity in Schools.* Open University Press. Buckingham & Philadelphia. 2001

Easthope, Antony. *What a Man's Gotta Do. The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture.* Unwin Hyman, Boston, 1990

Eckert, Penelope & Sally McConnell-Ginet, *Language and Gender*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002

Eckert, Penelope & Sally McConnell-Ginet, 'Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice.' *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 21, 1992

Edgerton, Lynda. 'Public Protests, Domestic Acquiescence: Women in Northern Ireland.' In Rosemary Ridd & Helen Callaway (eds) *Caught up in Conflict: Women's Responses to Political Strife.* Macmillan Education, Basingstoke, 1986

Edwards, Tim. *Cultures of Masculinity.* Routledge, London & New York, 2006

Edwards, Tim. *Erotics & Politics. Gay Male Sexuality, Masculinity and Feminism*. Routledge, London. 1994

Eichler, Maya. 'Add Female Veterans and Stir? A Feminist Perspective on Gendering Veterans.' *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 2017

Eichler, Maya. 'Militarized Masculinities in International Relations' *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2014

Eichler, Maya. *Militarizing men: Gender, conscription, and war in Post-Soviet Russia.* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2012

Elkin, Henry. 'Aggressive and Erotic Tendencies in Army Life.' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 51, No. 5, 1946

Elkin, Frederick. 'The Soldier's Language'. *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 51, No. 5*, 1946

Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1995

Enloe, Cynthia. *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives.* Pluto Press, London, 1983

Epstein, Steven. 'A Queer Encounter: Sociology and the Study of Sexuality' in Seidman, Steven (eds.) *Queer Theory/Sociology* Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts & Oxford. 1996

Eribon, Didier. *Insult and the Making of the Gay Self.* Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2004

Ericsson Baaz, Naria & Maria Stern 'Why do soldiers rape?' *International Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 53, 2009

Estes, Steve. 'Ask and Tell: Gay Veterans, Identity, and Oral History on a Civil Rights Frontier.' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 32, No. 2, Summer-Autumn, 2005

Estrada, Armando & David J. Weiss 'Attitudes of Military Personnel Toward Homosexuals.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 37, No. 4, 1999

Ewing, E. *Women in Uniform: Their costume through the centuries.* B. T. Batsford Ltd., London & Sydney: 1975

Fallin Hunzaker, M. B. 'Making Sense of Misfortune: Cultural Schemas, Victim Redefinition, and the Perpetuation of Stereotypes', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 77, No. 2, 2014

Fee, Dwight. '"One of the Guys." Instrumentality and Intimacy in Gay Men's Friendships with Straight Men.' In Peter Nardi (ed.) *Gay Masculinities.* Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi. 2000

Feldman, Allen. *Formations of Violence. The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1991

Fender, Lorry & Marie deYoung. *Women in Combat: Civic Duty or Military Liability?* Georgetown University Press, Georgetown, 2001

Fenner, Lorry M. 'Moving Targets: Women's Roles in the U.S. Military in the 21st Century'. In Lorry M. Fenner & Marie E. deYoung (eds.) *Women in Combat. Civic Duty or Military Liability?* Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 2001

Fennis, Bob M. & Wolfgang Stroebe. *The Psychology of Advertising.* Psychology Press, Hove. 2000

Fentress, James & Chris Wickham. *Social Memory.* Blackwell. Oxford. 1992

Fernback, Jan. 'The Individual within the Collective: Virtual Ideology and the Realization of Collective Principles' in Steven Jones (ed.) *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety.* SAGE Publications, 1997, online edition:
https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bbk/printPage-b.action?bookType=pdf&op=toPDF&ct=&chaptId=9&rds=chapter&docID=1474806&st=42&ed=57&fromDD=1&dt=1627373991764&downloadToken=1627373991764

Figlio, K. 'Oral History and the Unconscious.' *History Workshop Journal,* Vol. 26, 1988

Fine, Gary Alan & Michaela de Soucey. 'Joking cultures: Humour these as social regulation in group life.' *Humor*. Vol. 18, No. 1, 2005

Finnegan, Ruth. *Tales of the City. A Study of Narrative and Urban Life*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998

Fitzclarence, Lindsay & Christopher Hickey. 'Real Footballers Don't Eat Quiche.' *Men and Masculinities,* Vol. 4, No. 2, 2001

Flood, Michael. 'Men, Sex, and Homosociality. How Bonds Between Men Shape their Sexual Relations with Women'. *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 10, No. 3, 2008

Flowers, Paul & Katie Buston. '"I was terrified of being different": exploring gay men's accounts of growing-up in a heterosexist society.' *Journal of Adolescence*. Vol. 24, 2001

Floyd, Kevin & Stefan Horlacher. 'Contemporary Masculinities in the UK and the US: Between Bodies and Systems.' *Global Masculinities.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Ford, Darren (Sergeant). 'Redcap Revealed.' In Craig Jones (ed.) *Fighting with Pride, LGTBQ in the Armed Forces.* Pen & Sword Military, Yorkshire & Philadelphia, 2019

Ford, Sarah. *One Up. A Woman in Action with the S.A.S.* Harper Collins, London, 1997

Forster, Anthony. 'The Military Covenant and British Civil–Military Relations.' *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 38, No. 2, April 2012

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish.* Vintage Books, New York. 1995

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality.* Pantheon Books, New York, 1978

Fox, John & Bob Pease. 'Military Deployment, Masculinity and Trauma: Reviewing the Connections.' *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol 20, No. 1, Winter 2012

Fox, S., 'The Ethnography of Humour and the Problem of Social Reality'. *Sociology*. Vol. 24, 1990

Francis, B 'Lads, Lasses and (New) Labour.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* Vol. 20, No. 3, 1999

Francis, Martin. 'A Flight from Commitment? Domesticity, Adventure and the Masculine Imaginary in Britain after the Second World War,' *Gender & History* Vol. 19, No.1. 2007

French, David. *Military Identities. The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People. C. 1870-2000.* Oxford University Press. Oxford and New York. 2007

Friedl, K. E. 'Biomedical Research on Health and Performance of Military Women: Accomplishments of the Defence Women's Health Research Program (DWHRP)' *Journal of Women's Health* Vol. 14, No. 9, 2005

Frisch, Michael. *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History.* State University of New York Press. 1990

Frost, Gerald. 'How to Destroy an Army.' In Gerald Frost (ed.) *Not Fit to Fight. The Cultural Subversion of the Armed Forces in Britain and America*. Social Affairs Unit., London, 1998

Gal, Reuven & A. David Mangelsdorff. *Handbook of Military Psychology.* John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1991

Gal, Susan. 'Between Speech and Silence. The Problematics of Research on Language and Gender.' In Micaela di Leonardo, (ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge. Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era.* University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1991

Gardiner, Judith Kegan. 'Female Masculinity and Phallic Women— Unruly Concepts.' *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2012

Garfield, Simon. *Just my Type. A Book about Fonts.* Profile Books, London. 2010

Garnets, L, Herek GM & Levy B 'Violence and Victimisation of Lesbians and Gay Men: Mental Health Consequences.' *Journal of interpersonal violence.* Vol. 5, 1990

Gay, William C. 'Exposing and Overcoming Linguistic Alienation and Linguistic Violence'. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*. Vol. 24, No. 2/3, 1998

Gentile, D. A. *et al*, 'The Effects of Violent Video Game Habits' *Journal of Adolescence*, Vol. 27, 2004

Gerschick, Thomas J and A S MIller 'Gender Identities at the Crossroads' *Masculinities* Vol. 2, 1994

Gherardi, Silva. 'The Gender we Think, the Gender we do in our Everyday Organisational Lives.' *Human Relations.* Vol. 47, No. 6, 1994

Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991

Gill, Rosalind. 'Power and the production of subjects: a genealogy of the New Man and the New Lad.' In Bethan Benwell (ed.) *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines.* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2001

Gill, Rosalind, Karen Henwood & Carl McLean. 'Body Projects and the Regulation of Normative Masculinity.' *Body & Society,* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2005

Gillett, James & Philip G. White. 'Male Bodybuilding and the Reassertion of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critical Feminist Perspective.' *Play & Culture,* Col. 5, 1992

Ging, Debbie. 'A "Manual on Masculinity"? The consumption and use of mediated images of masculinity among teenage boys in Ireland.' *Irish Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 14, No. 2, 2005

Ginsberg, Elaine K. (ed) *Passing and the fictions of identity.* Duke University Press, Durham, 1996

Gittings, Christopher E. *Imperialism and Gender: Constructions of Masculinity.* Dangerous Press. Hebden Bridge. 1996

Gluck, Sherna Berger & Daphne Patai. *Women's Words. The Feminist Practice of Oral History.* Routledge, New York & London, 1991

Godfrey, Richard. 'Military, masculinity and mediated representations: (con) fusing the real and the reel.' *Culture and Organisation.* Vol. 15, No. 2, June 2009

Godfrey, Sarah. '"I'm a casualty, but it's cool." 1990s British Masculinities and Twenty Four Seven.' *Journal of British cinema and television*. Vol. 10 No. 4, 2013

Goffman, Erving. *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, 1971

Goffman, E. (1963) *Behaviour in Public Spaces: Notes on the Social Organisation of Gatherings*. Free Press, New York, 1963

Goffman, Erving. *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Penguin Books. Harmandsworth. 1963

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Doubleday, New York, 1959

Goldstein, J & J. Rayner, 'The Politics of Identity in Late Modern Society'. *Theory and society*, Vol. 23, 1994

Goldstein, Joshua S. *War and Gender. How gender shapes the war system.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 2001

Goldstein, Laurence (ed.) *The Male Body. Features, Destinies, Exposures.* University of Michigan Press, 1994

Goodey, Jo. 'Boys Don't Cry: Masculinities, Fear of Crime and Fearlessness.' *The British Journal of Criminology*. Vol. 37, No. 3, 1997

Gough, Brendan, Matthew Hall & Sarah Seymour-Smith. 2014. 'Straight Guys do Wear Make-Up: Contemporary Masculinities and Investment In Appearance.' In S. Roberts (ed.) *Debating Modern Masculinities: Change, Continuity, Crisis?* London & Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Gough, Brendan. 'Men and the Discursive Reproduction of Sexism: Repertoires of Difference and Equality.' *Feminism & Psychology* Vol. 8, No. 1, 1998

Gough, Jamie. 'Theories of sexual identity and the masculinisation of the gay man.' In Simon Shepherd &Mick Wallis (eds.) *Coming on Strong. Gay Politics and Culture.* Unwin Hyman Ltd. London, Winchester, Sydney & Wellington. 1989

Gould M., N. Greenberg & J. Hetherton, 'Stigma and the military: evaluation of a PTSD psychoeducational program'. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, Vol. 20, 2007

Grayzel, S. R. "'The Outward and Visible Sign of her Patriotism": Women,Uniforms, and National Service During the First World War'. *Twentieth Century British History* Vol. 8, No. 2, 1997

Grazian, David. 'The Girl Hunt: Urban Nightlife and the Performance of Masculinity as Collective Activity.' *Symbolic Interaction*. Vol. 30, No. 2, 2007

Green, Anna 'Individual Remembering and "Collective Memory": Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates.' *Oral History,* Vol. 32, No. 2, Memory and Society. Autumn, 2004

Green, Gill, Carol Emslie, Dan O'Neill, Kate Hunt & Steven Walker. 'Exploring the ambiguities of masculinity in accounts of emotional distress in the military among young ex-servicemen.' *Social Science and Medicine*. Vol. 71, 2010

Greene-Shortridge, T.M. *et al*, 'The Stigma of Mental Health Problems in the Military.' *Military Medicine* Vol. 172, No. 2, 2007

Greenhut, Jeffrey. 'Sahib and Sepoy: An Inquiry into the Relationship between the British Officers and Native Soldiers of the British Indian Army.' *Military Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1984

Grele, Ronald J. 'Movement without Aim. Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History.' In Robert Perks & Alistair Thomson (eds.) *The Oral History Reader.* Routledge. London & New York. 1998

Grele, Ronald, J. 'Reviewed Work(s): Oral History Theory, by Lynn Abrams,' *The Oral History Review*. Vol. 38, No. 2, Summer/Fall 2011

Griffin, Brian & Ellen McWilliams. *Irish Studies in Britain: New Perspectives on History and Literature.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2010

Guelke, Adrian. 'Paramilitaries, Republicans and Loyalists.' In Dunn, Seamus (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1995

Gutterman, David S. 'Postmodernism and the Interrogation of Masculinity'. In Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank Barrett (eds.) *The Masculinities Reader.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2006

Haaga, David A. F. '"Homophobia?"' *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality.* Vol. 6, No. 1, 1991

Haggith, Toby. 'D-Day Filming: For Real. A Comparison of 'Truth' and 'Reality' in "Saving Private Ryan" and Combat Film by the British Army's Film and Photographic Unit.' *Film History.* Vol. 14, No. 3/4, War and Militarism, 2002

Halberstam, Jack. *Female Masculinity.* Duke University Press, Durham & London, 1998

Hale, Hannah C. 'The Development of British Military Masculinities through Symbolic Resources.' *Culture. Psychology.* Vol. 14, No. 3, 2008

Hall, L. K. 'The Importance of Understanding Military Culture'. *Social Work in Health Care*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 2011

Hamill, Desmond. *Pig in the Middle. The Army in Northern Ireland, 1969 – 1985.* Methuen, London, 1985

Hamilton, Paula & Linda Shopes. *Oral History and Public Memories.* Temple University Press. Philadelphia, 2008

Hammack, P.L. & B.J. Cohler, *The Story of Sexual Identity: Narrative Perspectives on the Gay and Lesbian Life Course*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 2009

Harris, Helen & Eileen Healy. *Strong About it all. Rural and urban women's experiences of the security forces in Northern Ireland.* North West Women's/Human Rights Project Publications, Derry, 2001

Harris, Ian M. *Messages Men Hear. Constructing Masculinities.* Taylor & Francis, London. 1995

Harris, J. J., & D.R. Segal, 'Observations from the Sinai: The Boredom Factor'. *Armed Forces and Society,* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1985

Harrison, Brian. *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom, 1951-1970*. Printed from Oxford Scholarship Online (oxford.universitypressscholarship.com).Oxford University Press, 2020

Harrison, C. 'Real Men do Wear Mascara'. *Critical Discourse Studies* Vol. 5, No. 1, 2008

Hartley, Ruth E. 'Sex-role Pressures and the Socialisation of the Male Child.' *Psychological Reports*, Vol. 5, 1959

Harvey, Karen & Alexandra Shepard. 'What have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500 – 1950'. *Journal of British Studies.* Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005

Hay, Jennifer. 'Functions of humour in the conversations of men and women.' *Journal of Pragmatics.* Vol. 32, 2000

Haywood, Chris & Mairtin Mac an Ghaill. *Men and Masculinities.* Open University Press, Maidenhead, 2003

Haywood, Chris & Mairtin Mac an Ghaill. 'The significance of teaching English boys; exploring social change, modern schooling and the making of masculinities.' In Wayne Martino & Bob Meyenn (eds.) *What about the Boys? Issues of Masculinity in Schools.* Open University Press. Buckingham & Philadelphia. 2001

Haywood, Chris & Máirtín Mac an Ghaill. 'What's Next for Masculinity?' Reflexive Directions for Theory and Research on Masculinity and Education.' *Gender and Education.* Vol. 24, No. 6, 2012

Healy, Michael Scott. *Empire, Race and War: Black Participation in British Military Efforts During the Twentieth Century.* [Online] PhD for Loyola University, Chicago. 1998 Available at: <https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4737&context=luc_diss> [Accessed 23rd March 2022]

Hearn, Jeff. 'Deconstructing the Dominant: Making the One(s) the Other(s)' *Organization.* Vol. 3, No. 4, 1996

Hearn, Jeff. 'From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men.' *Feminist Theory.* Vol. 5, No. 1, 2004

Hearn, Jeff. 'Men/masculinities: War/militarism—Searching (for) the obvious connections?' In A. Kronsell & E. Svedberg (eds.) *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*. Routledge, New York, 2012

Hearn, Jeff, Deborah L. Sheppard, Peta Tancred-Sheriff & Gibson Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organisation.* Sage Publications. London, Newbury Park & New Delhi. 1989

Hedges, Chris*. War is a Force that gives us Meaning*. Publica Affairs Ltd. Oxford. 2002

Heggie, Joan Kathleen Ferrier. *Uniform Identity? Lesbians and the Negotiation of Gender & Sexuality in the British Army Since 1950.* PhD thesis, University of York, Centre for Women's Studies. Available at <https://ethos.bl.uk/Logon.do;jsessionid=A2102499C69FC5D80C84CD04EB2F942A> [Accessed 14th May 2021]

Hennen, Peter. 'Bear Bodies, Bear Masculinity: Recuperation, Resistance, or Retreat?' *Gender and Society.* Vol. 19, No. 1, 2005

Herald, Marybeth. 'Explaining the Differences: Transgender Theories and Court Practices' in Scott Barclay, Mary Bernstein & Anna-Maria Marshall (eds.) *Queer Mobilizations: LGBT Activists Confront the Law.* New York University Press, New York, 2009

Herbert, Melissa S. *Camouflage isn't only for Combat. Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military.* New York University Press, New York & London, 1998

Herbert, M. S. 'From Crinoline to Camouflage: Initial Entry Training and the Marginalization of Women in the Military'. *Quarterly Report on Women and the Military,* Vol. 11, 1993

Herek, Gregory M. 'On Heterosexual Masculinity: Some Psychical Consequences of the Sexual Construction of Gender and Sexuality' *American Behavioural Scientist.* Vol. 29, No. 5, 2000

Herek, Gregory M. 'Why Tell If You're Not Asked? Self-Disclosure, Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men.' In Gregory M. Herek, Jared B. Jobe & Ralph M. Carney (eds.) *Out in Force. Sexual Orientation and the Military.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996

Herek, Gregory M. 'Sexual Orientation and Military Service'. *American Psychologist,* Vol. 48, 1993

Herek, Gregory M. 'The Psychology of Sexual Prejudice.' *Current Directions in Psychological Science.* Vol. 9, No. 1, 2000

Herek, Gregory M. 'Why Tell If You're Not Asked? Self-Disclosure, Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men.' In Gregory M. Herek, Jared B. Jobe and Ralph M. Carney (eds.) *Out in Force. Sexual Orientation and the Military.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996

Herek, G.M. & J.P. Capitanio J P 'Some of My Best Friends': Intergroup Contact, Concealable Stigma and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Towards Gay Men and Lesbians'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. Vol. 22, No. 4, 1996

Herek, Gregory M & Kevin T. Berrill. *Hate Crimes. Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men.* SAGE Publications Ltd. Newbury Park, London & New Delhi, 1992

Herzog, Dagmar. 'Sexuality in the Postwar West.' *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol 78, No. 1, 2006

Herzog, Dagmar. 'Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures.' *The American Historical Review*, Vol 114, No. 5, 2009

Heward, Christine. 'Masculinities and Families' in M. Mac An Ghaill (ed.) *Understanding Masculinities*. Open University Press, Buckingham, 1996

Higate, Paul 'Drinking Vodka from the 'Butt-crack'. *International Femininst Journal of Politics,* Vol. 14, No. 4, 2012

Higate, Paul. 'Ex-servicemen on the road: travel and homelessness.' *The Sociological Review.* Vol. 35, No. 3, 2000

Higate, Paul R. *Military Masculinities. Identity and State*. Praeger, Westport & London, 2003

Higate, P. 'Modern Day Mercenaries? Cowboys, Grey Men and the Emotional Habitus' In Horlacher and Floyd (eds) *Contemporary Masculinities in the UK and the US. Global Masculinities.* Palgrave Macmillan, London 2017.

Higate, P 'Peace Keepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation.' *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 10, 2007

Higate, Paul R. 'Tough Bodies and Rough Sleeping: Embodying Homelessness Amongst Ex-servicemen.' *Housing, Theory and Society.* Vol. 17, 2000

Higate, P, 'Traditional Gendered Identities'. *Comparative social research*, Vol. 20, 2002

Hillier, L. and Harrison, L. 'Homophobia and the Production of Shame. Young People and Same Sex Attraction'. *Culture, Health & Society* Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004

Hinojosa, Ramon. 'Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity.' The Journal of Men's Studies. Vol. 18, No. 2, 2010

Hockey, John. '"Head down, Bergen on, Mind in Neutral": The Infantry Body.' *Journal of Political and Military Sociology,* 2002, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Summer): 148-171

Hockey, John. *Squaddies*: *Portrait of a Subculture.* Exeter University Publications. Exeter. 1986

Hoffman, Alice, 'Reliability and Validity in Oral History' in David K. Runaway & Willa K. Baum (eds.) *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology.* Altamira Press, Plymouth, 1996

Hogg, Michael A., Deborah J. Terry. 'Social Identity and Self-Categorisation Processes in Organisational Contexts.' *The Academy of Management Review.* Vol. 25, No. 1, 2000

Hoiberg A. & J.F. White, 'Health Status of Women in the Armed Forces', *Armed Forces and Society,* Vol. 18, No. 4, 1992

Hokanson, Jack E., K. R. Willers & Elizabeth Koropsak, 'The modification of autonomic responses during aggressive interchange.' *Journal of Personality*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1968

Holden, Katherine. *The Shadow of Marriage. Singleness in England, 1914-1960.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007

Hollway, Wendy. *Subjectivity and Method in Psychology.* SAGE Publications, London, Newbury Park, New Delhi, 1989

Holmes, Janet. 'Language and Gender in the Workplace' in Susan Ehrlich, *et al* (ed.) *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. Wiley, London 2014

Holmes, Janet 'Politeness, Power and provocation: how humour functions in the workplace.' *Discourse Studies.* Vol. 2, No. 2, 2000

Holmes, Janet & Meredith Marra. 'Having a Laugh at Work'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, Vol.34, 2002

Holmes, Janet & Meredith Marra. 'Humour as a Discursive Boundary Marker in Social Interaction.' In Anna Duszak (ed.), *Us and Others. Social Identities Across Languages, Discourses and Cultures.* John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 2002

Holmes, Janet & Meredith Marra. 'Over the Edge? Subversive Humour between Colleagues and Friends.' *Humour*. Vol. 15, No. 1, 2002

Holmes, Richard. *Acts of War: the Behaviour of Men in Battle.* Cassell Military, London, 2004

Hopton, John, 'Mixed Martial Arts and Internet Forums: A Case Study in Treating Internet Sources as Oral History'. *Oral History,* Vol. 35, No. 2, Conflicts and Continuity, 2007

Horrocks, Roger. *Masculinity in Crisis*. St Martin's Press, New York. 1994

Horrocks, Roger. *Male Myths and Icons. Masculinity in Popular Culture*. Macmillan, Basingstoke. 1995

Houlbrook, Matt. 'Soldier Heroes and Rent Boys: Homosexuality, Masculinities, and Britishness in the Brigade of Guards, circa 1900-1960.' *Journal of British Studies.* Vol. 42, July 2003

Houlbrook, Matt & Chris Waters. '"The Heart in Exile": Detachment and Desire in 1950s London.' *History Workshop Journal.* No. 62, 2006

Hussain, Asifa. 'Careers in the British Armed Forces: A Black African Caribbean Viewpoint.' *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2003

Hutchings, Kimberly. 'Making Sense of Masculinity and War.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 10, No. 4, 2008

Ingram, Nicola & Richard Waller. 'Degrees of Masculinity: Working and Middle-Class Undergraduate Students' Constructions of Masculine Identities' in S. Roberts (ed.) *Debating Modern Masculinities: Change, Continuity, Crisis?* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014

Iversen, Amy C. & Neil Greenberg. 'Mental Health of Regular and Reserve Military Veterans.' *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment,* Vol. 15, 2009

Iversen, Amy, Vasilis Nikolaou, Neil Greenberg, Catherin Unwin, Lisa Hull, Mathew Hotopf, Christopher Dandeker, John Ross & Simon Wessely. 'What happens to British veterans when they leave the armed forces?' *European Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2005

Iwamoto, Derek Kenji, Alice Cheng , Christina S. Lee , Stephanie Takamatsu & Derrick Gordon. '"Man-ing" up and Getting Drunk: The Role of Masculine Norms, Alcohol Intoxication and Alcohol-Related Problems among College Men.' *Addict Behaviour*, Vol. 36, No. 9, 2011

Jackson, Peter. 'The Cultural Politics of Masculinity: Towards a Social Geography.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.* Vol. 16, No. 2, 1991

James, Daniel. *Doña Maria's Story. Life, History, Memory and Political Identity.* Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2000

Jansz, Jeroen 'The Emotional Appeal of Violent Video Games for Adolescent Males.' *Communication Theory.* Vol. 15, No. 3, 2005

Jefferson, Tony. 'Muscle, "Hard Men" and "Iron" Mike Tyson: Reflections on Desire, Anxiety and the Embodiment of Masculinity.' *Body & Society.* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1988

Jefferson, Tony. 'Subordinating Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Theoretical Criminology*. Vol. 6, No. 1, 2002

Jelin, Elizabeth. *State Repression and the Struggles for Memory.* Latin American Bureau. London. 2003

Jellinek, E.M, 'The Symbolism of Drinking. A Culture Historical Approach.' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* Vol. 38, No. 5, 1977,

Jenkins, Richard. *Social Identity.* Routledge, London. 2004

Jennings, Christian & Adrian Weale, *Green Eyed Boys: 3 Para and the Battle for Mount Longdon*. Harper Collins. London, 1996

Jobling, Paul *Advertising Menswear. Masculinity and Fashion in the British Media since 1945.* Bloomsbury Academic. London & New York. 2014

Johnson, B.S. *All Bull: The National Servicemen.* Allison & Busby. London. 1973

Jolly, Ruth. *Changing Step. From Military to Civilian Life: People in Transition.* Brassey's, London & Washington, 1996

Jones, Craig (ed.) *Fighting with Pride, LGTBQ in the Armed Forces.* Pen & Sword Military, Yorkshire & Philadelphia, 2019

Jones, Steven G. 'The Internet and its Social Landscape' in Steven Jones (ed.) *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*. SAGE Publications, 1997, (Online edition) Available at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bbk/reader.action?docID=1474806>

Jordanova, Ludmilla. *History in Practice.* Arnold, London. 2000

K'Meyer, Tracey E. & Glenn A. Crothers. '"If I See Some of This in Writing, I'm Going to Shoot You": Reluctant Narrators, Taboo Topics and the Ethical Dilemma of the Oral Historian.' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 34, No. 1, 2007

Kaiksow, Sarah A. 'Subjectivity and Imperial Masculinity: A British Soldier in Dhofar (1968-1970), *Journal of Middle Eastern Women's Studies* Vol 4, No. 2, 2008

Kannike, Anu. 'Nostalgia at Home: Time as a Cultural Resource in Contemporary Estonia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Special issue: Temporality, Identity and Change: Ethnographic Insights into Estonian Field Sites, 2013, p153

Kaplan, Danny. 'Public Intimacy: Dynamics of Seduction in Male Homosocial Interactions.' *Symbolic Interaction.* Vol. 28, No. 4 (Fall 2005), pp. 571-595

Kehily, Mary Jane & Anoop Nayak. '"Lads and laughter": humour and the production of heterosexual hierarchies.' *Gender & Education.* March 1997, Vol. 9, issue 1

Kelman, Herbert C. 'Processes of Opinion Change'. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* , Vol. 25, No. 1 1961

Kendall, Lori. 'Meaning and Identity in "Cyberspace": The Performance of Gender, Class, and Race Online'. *Symbolic Interaction* , Vol. 21, No. 2, 1998

Kiesling, Scott Fabius. 'Homosocial Desire in Men's Talk: Balancing and Re-Creating Cultural Discourses of Masculinity.' *Language in Society*, Vol. 34, No. 5, 2005

Kimmel, Michael S. *The Gendered Society.* Oxford University Press. Oxford. 2000

Kimmel, Michael S. & Michael A. Messner (eds.) *Men's Lives.* Macmillan, New York, 1989

Kimmel, Sara B. & James R. Mahalik. 'Body Image Concerns of Gay Men: The Roles of Minority Stress and Conformity to Masculine Norms.' *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology.* Vol. 73, No. 6, 2005

King, Anthony. 'Decolonizing the British Army: a Preliminary Response'. *International Affairs* Vol. 97, No. 2, 2021

King, Anthony. *The Combat Soldier. Infantry Tactics and Cohesion in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013

King, Anthony. 'The Female Combat Soldier. *European Journal of International Relations.* Vol. 22, No. 1, 2016

King, A 'The Word of Command: Communciation and Cohesion in the Military.' *Armed Forces and Society* Vol. 32, No. 2, 2006

King, Laura. 'Now you see a great many men pushing their pram proudly'. *Culture and Social History*. Vol. 10, No. 4, 2013

Kirke, Charles. 'A Model for the Analysis of Fighting Spirit in the British Army'. In Hew Strachan (ed.) *The British Army, Manpower and Society in the Twenty-First Centuries.* Frank Cass. Abingdon. 2000

Kirke, Charles. 'Group Cohesion, Culture, and Practice.' *Armed Forces and Society,* Vol. 35, No. 4, 2009

Kirke, Charles. 'Orders is orders... aren't they? Rule bending and rule breaking in the British Army.' *Ethnography*. Vol. 11, No. 3, 2010

Kirke, Charles. *Red Coat, Green Machine. Continuity in Change in the British Army, 1700-2000.* Continuum, London. 2009

Kirkham, Pat & Janet Thumin. 'You Tarzan' in Pat Kirkham & Janet Thumin (eds.) *You Tarzan. Masculinity, Movies and Men.* Lawrence & Wishart, London*,* 1993

Kitchin, Rob & Karen Lysaght, 'Sexual Citizenship in Belfast, Northern Ireland.' *Gender, Place & Culture. A Journal of Feminist Geography.* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2004

Kohler Riessman, C. 'Strategic Uses of Narrative in the Presentation of Self and Illness: A Research Note.' *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 30, No. 11, 1990

Kolbe, Richard H. & Paul J. Albanese. 'Man to Man: A Content Analysis of Sole-Male Images in Male-Audience Magazines.' *Journal of Advertising.* Vol. 25, No. 4, 1996

Kolbowski, Silvia. 'Playing with Dolls.' In Carol Squiers (ed.) *The Critical Image.* Lawrence & Wishart. London. 1990

Kramer, Roderick M. 'Trust and Distrust in Organisations: Emerging Perspectives, Enduring Questions.' *Annual Review of Psychology.* Vol. 50, 1999

Kronsell A., 'Gendered Practices in Institutions of Hegemonic Masculinity'. *Journal of International Feminist Politics*, Vol. 7, 2005

Kronsell, A. 2006. 'Method for Studying Silences: Gender Analysis in Institutions of Hegemonic Masculinity', in B. Ackerly, M. Stern & J. True (eds) *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006

Krouse, M. 'The Arista Sisters, September 1984: A Personal Account of Army Drag', in M. Gevisser and E. Cameron (eds) *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*, Routledge, London/New York, 1994

Kuhn, A. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination.* Verso. London & New York. 1995

Kümmel, Gerhard. 'When Boy Meets Girl: The 'Feminization' of the Military. An Introduction Also to be Read as a Postscript.' *Current Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 5, 2002

Lapovsky Kennedy, Elizabeth & Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold. The History of a Lesbian Community.* Penguin. London. 1993

Lave, Jean & Etienne Wenger. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991

Layder, Derek. *New Strategies in Social Research.* Polity Press. Cambridge, 1993

Layman, Lenore. 'Reticence in Oral History Interviews.' *The Oral History Review.* Vol 36, No. 2, 2009

Leary, M. R., & R.F. Baumeister, 'The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory.' *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 32, 2000

Lehne, Gregory K. 'Homophobia Among Men: Supporting and Defining the Male Role.' In Michael S. Kimmel & Michael A. Messner (eds.) *Men's Lives.* Macmillan. New York. 1989.

Lehring, Gary L. 'Constructing the "Other" Soldier: Gay Identity's Military Threat.' In Craig A. Rimmerman (ed.) *Gay Rights, Military Wrongs. Political Perspecgives on Lesbians and Gays in the Military.* Garland Publishing, New York and london, 1996

Lemle, Russell & Marc E. Mishkind. 'Alcohol and Masculinity.' *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment,* Vol. 6, 1989, p217

Lennox Terrion, Jenepher & Blake E. Ashforth. 'From "I" to "we": the role of putdown humour and identity in the development of a temporary group.' *Human Relations*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2002

Levin, Diane E. & Carlson-Paige, Nancy. *The War Play Dilemma.* Teachers College Press. New York, 2004

Levy, D. 'Hegemonic Complicity, Friendship and Comradeship'. *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol. 9, 2001

Levy, Edna. 'Women Warriors. The Paradox and Politics of Israeli Women in Uniform.' In Sita Ranchod-Nilsson & Mary Ann Tétreault (eds.) *Women, States & Nationalism. At home in the Nation?* Routledge. London, New York. 2000

Lewis, J. *The Handbook of the SAS and Elite Forces. How the Professionals Fight and Win.* Robinson, London, 1997

Lieven, Michael. 'The British Soldiery and the Ideology of Empire: Letters from Zululand.' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 80, No. 322, 2002

Light, Ben. 'Networked Masculinities and Social Networking Sites: A Call for the Analysis of Men and Contemporary Digital'. *Masculinities and Social Change*, Vol.2, No. 3, 2013

Linde, Charlotte. *Working the Past. Narrative and Institutional Memory.* Oxford University Press. Oxford. 2009

Linder, Janet C., 'Computers, Corporate Culture and Change'. *Personnel Journal.* Vol. 64, No. 9, 1985

Lipman-Blumen, Jean. 'Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions.' *Signs*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Women and the Workplace: the Implications of Occupational Segregation.' Spring, 1976

Livia, Anna. 'Public and Clandestine: Gay Men's Pseudonyms on the French Minitel'. *Sexualities*, Vol. 5 No. 2, 2002

Lofgren, Stephen J. 'The Status of Oral HIstory in the Army: Expanding a Tradition.' *The Oral History Review,* Vol 30, No. 2, 2003

Loughery, J. *The Other Side of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities. A Twentieth Century History.* Henry Holt, New York, 1998

Louis, Meryl Reis, 'An investigator's guide to workplace culture'. In: Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg & Joanne Martin (eds.), *Organizational Culture*. Sage, London, 1985

Loveday, Vik. 'Flat-Capping' it: Memory, Nostalgia and Value In Retroactive Male Working-Class Identification.' *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. Vol 17, No. 6, 2014

Lummis, Trevor. *Listening to History.* Hutchinson Education. London. 1987

Lurie, A. *The Language of Clothes*. Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd, London, 1992

Lyman, Peter. 'The Fraternal Bond as a Joking Relationship.' In Michael S. Kimmel (ed.) *Changing Men. New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity.* Sage Publications. Newbury Park, London & New Delhi. 1987

Mac An Ghaill, Máirtín, *The Making of Men. Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling.* Open University Press, Buckingham. 1994

Mac An Ghaill, Máirtín, *Understanding Masculinities.* Open University Press, Buckingham. 1996

MacInnes, John. *The End of Masculinity.* Open University Press, Buckingham. 1998

Macintyre, Ben*. SAS: Rogue Heroes. The Authorised Wartime History.* Viking Books. London. 2016

MacKenzie, Megan & Alana Foster. 'Masculinity Nostalgia' *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 48, No. 3, 2017

MacKenzie, S.P., 'Camouflaged Advertising: The 1990s TV series Soldier, Soldier and the British Army.' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television.* Vol. 37, No. 4, 2017

MacMullan, Terrance. 'Introduction. What is male embodiment?' in Nancy Tuana, William Cowling, Maurice Hamington, Greg Johnson & Terrance MacMullan (eds.) *Revealing Male Bodies.* Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002

Madon, Stephanie. 'What do People Believe about Gay Males? A Study of Stereotype Content and Strength.' *Sex Roles,* Vol. 37, Nos. 9/10, 1997.

Magennis, Caroline & Raymond Mullen (eds.) *Irish Masculinities. Reflections on Literature and Culture.* Irish Academic Press, Dublin & Portland, 2001

Maier, Mark. 'Gender Equity' *Journal of Business Ethics* Vol. 16, No. 9, 1997

Maltby, Sarah, Helen Thornham & Daniel Bennett. 'Beyond 'pseudonymity': The sociotechnical structure of online military forums.' *new media & society*. Vol. 20, No. 5, 2018

Manning, Frederick J. 'Morale, Cohesion, and Esprit de Corps' in Reuben Gal & A. David Mangelsdorff. *Handbook of Military Psychology.* John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1991

Martin, A D 'Learning to Hide: the Socialisation of the Gay Adolescent.' *Adolescent Psychiatry* Vol. 10, 1982

Martin, Angela K. 'The Practice of Identity and an Irish Sense of Place.' *Gender, Place and Culture.* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1997

Martin, Patricia Yancey. Fraternities and Rape on Campus'. *Gender & Society*. Vol. 3, No. 4, 1989

Martino, Wayne. 'Cool Boys', *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* Vol. 20, No. 2, 1999

Martino, Wayne. 'Policing Masculinities: Investigating the Role of Homophobia and Heteronormativity in the Lives of Adolescent School Boys.' *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol. 8, No. 2, 2000

Marwick, Arthur. *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language.* Hutchinson, London and Melbourne, 1987

Mason, Gail. *The Spectacle of Violence. Homophobia, Gender and Knowledge.* Routledge. London & New York. 2002

Mathers, Jennifer G. 'Women and State Military Forces' in Carol Cohn (ed.) *Women and Wars.* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2013

Matthews, Michael D., Morten G. Enter, Janice H. Laurence & David E. Rohall. 'Role of Group Affiliation and Gender On Attitudes Toward Women in the Military.' *Military Psychology.* 21: 241-251, 2009

Mayer Hacker, Helen. 'The New Burdens of Masculinity' *Marriage and Family Living.* Vol. 19, No. 3, 1957

McAdams, Dan P. *The Stories We Live By*. The Guilford Press, New York, 1997

McCormack, Mark. 'Hierarchy Without Hegemony'. *Sociological Perspectives,* Vol. 54, No.1, 2001

McCormack, Mark. *The Declining Significance of Homophobia*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 2012

McCormack, Mark. 'The Intersection of Youth Masculinities, Decreasing Homophobia and Class: an Ethnography'. *The British Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 65, No. 1, 2014

McCormack, Mark & Eric Anderson. '"It's Just Not Acceptable Any More": The Erosion of Homophobia and the Softening of Masculinity at an English Sixth Form.' *Sociology*. Vol 44, No. 5, 2010

McCormack Mark & Anderson Eric. 'The Reproduction of Homosexually-Themed Discourse in Educationally-based Sport'. *Culture, Health & Society* Vol. 12, No. 8, 2010

McCreary, Donald R., Deborah M. Saucier & Will H. Courtenay. 'The Drive for Muscularity and Masculinity: Testing the Associations Among Gender-Role Traits, Behaviours, Attitides, and Conflict.' *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. Vol. 6, No. 2, 2005

McDowell, Linda. 'Learning to Serve? Employment aspiration and attitudes of young working-class men in an era of labour market restructuring.' *Gender, Place and Culture.* Vol.7, No. 4, 2000

McGarry, John & Brendan O'Leary. *Explaining Northern Ireland.* Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Oxford, 1995

McGaughey, Jane. 'Arming the Men: Ulster Unionist Masculinities and the Home Rule Crisis.' In Brian Griffin & Ellen McWilliams (eds.) *Irish Studies in Britain: New Perspectives in History and Literature.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 2010

McGaughey, Jane. *Ulster's Men. Protestant Unionist Masculinities and Militarisation in the North of Ireland, 1912 – 1923.* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca, 2012

McInnes, Colin & Caroline Kennedy-Pipe. '"The Dog that did not Bark": The British Army in Northern Ireland, 1990-94.' *Irish Studies in International Affairs.* Vol. 8, 1997

McIntosh, Mary. 'The Homosexual Role'. *Social Problems,* Vol. 16, No. 2, 1968

McKenna, Katelyn Y.A. & John A. Bargh. 'Coming Out in the Age of the Internet: Identity "Demarginalization" Through Virtual Group Participation.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 75, No. 3, 1988

McKiernan, Joan & Monica McWilliams. 'The Impact of Political Conflict on Domestic Violence in Northern Ireland.' In Lydia Morris and E. Stina Lyon (eds.) *Gender Relations in Public and Private.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1996

McKittrick, David and David McVea, *Making Sense of the Troubles.* Penguin, London, 2001

McMahon, Anthony. 'Male Readings of Feminist Theory: The Psychologization of Sexual Politics in the Masculinity Literature.' *Theory and Society.* Vol. 22, No. 5, Special Issue: Masculinities, 1993

McMahon, Anthony. *Taking care of men: sexual politics in the public mind.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 1999

McWilliams, Monica. 'Violence Against Women and Political Conflict'. *Critical Criminology*, Vol. 8, no.1 , 1997

Meaney, Geraldine. 'Sex and Nation: Women in Irish Culture and Politics.' In Smyth, Ailbhe (ed.) *Irish Women's Studies Reader.* Attic Press, Dublin, 1993

Medhurst, Andy, '1950s War Films' in Geoff Hurd (ed), *National Fictions.* BFI, London, 1985

Messerschmidt, James W. 'Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Men and Masculinities*. Vol 15, No. 1, 2012

Messerschmidt, James W, *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, London, 1993

Messerschmidt, James W. *Nine Lives. Adolescent Masculinities, the Body and Violence.* Westview Press. 2000

Messner, Michael A. 'Changing Men'. *Theory and society*, Vol. 22, No. 5, 1993

Messner, Michael A. *Politics of Masculinities. Men in Movements.* Altamira Press, Oxford. 2000

Metcalf, Andy & Martin Humphries. (eds.) *The Sexuality of Men.* Pluto Press, London, 1985

Meyer, I.H. 'Minority Stress and Mental Health in Gay Men.' *Journal of Health Sciences and Social Behavior,* Vol. 36, 1995

Menyhért, Anna. 'Digital Trauma Processing in Social Media Groups: Transgenerational Holocaust Trauma on Facebook'. *The Hungarian Historical Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2017

Middleton, Peter. *The Inward Gaze. Masculinity and Subjectivity in Modern Culture*. Routledge, London & New York. 1992

Middleweek, Brenda. 'Male homosocial bonds and perceptions of human–robot relationships in an online sex doll forum'. *Sexualities,* Vol. 24, No. 3, 2021

Migliaccio, Todd. 'Men's Friendships: Performances of Masculinity' *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol. 17, No. 3, 2009

Miles, Lesley. 'Women, AIDS, Power and Heterosexual Negotiation: A Discourse Analysis.' *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity,* Vol. 15, 1992

Miller, Laura J. 'Not Just Weapons of the Weak: Gender Harassment as a Form of Protest for Army Men' *Social Psychology Quarterly,* Vol. 60, No. 1, 1997

Miller, Norman & Marilynn B. Brewer (eds.) *Groups in Contact. The Psychology of Desegregation.* Academic Press, Orlando, 1984

Miller, Susan L., Kay B. Forest & Nancy C. Jurik. 'Diversity in Blue. Lesbian and Gay Police Officers in a Masculine Occupation.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 5, No. 4 April 2003

Mills, Martin. 'Pushing it to the max: interrogating the risky business of being a boy.' In Martino, Wayne and Bob Meyenn (eds.) *What about the Boys? Issues of Masculinity in Schools*. Open University Press. Buckingham & Philadelphia. 2001

Mitchell, Claire. *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland.* Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham, 2011

Mitchell, W J T. *Picture Theory.* University of Chicago Press. Chicago & London. 1994

Moller, Michael. 'Exploiting Patterns: A Critique of Hegemonic Masculinity.' Journal of Gender Studies. Vol. 16, No. 3, November 2007

Monaghan L. 'Embodying Gender, Work and Organisation'. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, Vol. 9, 2002

Moore, Brenda L. . 'Reviewed Work(s): Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II' by Leisa D. Meyer. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. Vol. 8, No. 4, 1998

Moradi, Bonnie. 'Sexual Orientation Disclosure, Concealment, Harassment, and Military Cohesion: Perceptions of LGBT Military Veterans.' *Military Psychology*. Vol. 21, 2009

Moradi, Bonnie & Laura Miller. 'Attitudes of Iraq and Afghanistan War Veterans toward Gay and Lesbian Service Members'. *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2010

Morgan, David H. J. 'No More Heroes? Masculinity, Violence and the Civilising Process.' In Lynn Jamieson & Helen Corr (eds.) *State, Private Life and Political Change.* Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke. 1990

Morgan, David H.J., *Discovering Men.* Routledge, London & New York, 1992

Morgan, David. *"It will Make a Man of You." Notes on National Service, Masculinity and Autobiography.* Sociology Department, University of Manchester. 1987

Morgan, David H. J. 'Masculinity and Violence.' In Jalna Hanmer & Mary Maynard (eds.) *Women, Violence and Social Control.* Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1987

Morgan, David H. J. 'Theater of War. Combat, the Military and Masculinities.' In Harry Brod & Michael Kaufman (eds.) *Theorizing Masculinities.* Sage Publications, London, 1994

Morgan, Valerie & Grace Fisher. 'Women and the Northern Ireland Conflict: Experiences and Responses.' in Seamus Dunn (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1995

Morland, Iain & Annabelle Willox. *Queer Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2005

Morrison, Jay A. 'Masculinity Moderates the Relationship Between Symptoms of PTSD and Cardiac-Related Health Behaviors in Male Veterans'. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* Vol. 13, No. 2, 2012

Morrison, Todd G & Marie Halton. 'Buff, Tough and Rough: Representations of Muscularity in Action Motion Pictures.' *The Journal of Men's Studies.* Vol. 17, No. 1, 2009

Mort, Frank. *Cultures of Consumption. Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain.* Routledge. London. 1996

Moskos, Charles C & Frank R. Wood (eds.) *The Military. More Than Just a Job?* Pergamon-Brassey's, Washington, London, New York & Oxford, 1988

Moskos, Charles, John Allen Williams & David R. Segal (eds.). *The Postmodern Military.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000

Moss, Donald (ed.) *Hating in the First Person Plural. Psychoanalytic Essays on Racism, Homophobia, Misogyny and Terror.* Other Press, New York, 2003

Moss, Mark. *The Media and the Models of Masculinity.* Lexington Books. Lanham & Plymouth, 2011

Moss Kanter, Rosabeth. *Men and Women of the Corporation.* Basic Books, Inc. New York. 1977

Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford University Press. Oxford and New York. 1996

Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe.* Howard Fertog Inc., New York, 1985

Muir, Kenneth B. & Trina Seitz. 'Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia in a Male-athletic subculture: a Participant-observation Study of Deviant Rituals in Collegiate Rugby.' *Deviant Behaviour.* Vol. 25, 2004

Mullany, Louise. *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007

Mullins, Christopher W. *Holding your Square. Masculinities, Streetlife, and Violence.* Willan Publishing, Uffculme, 2006

Mulvey, Laura. 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.' In Leo Braudy & Marshall Cohen (eds.) *Film Theory and Criticism : Introductory Readings.* Oxford University Press. New York, Oxford 1999

Munslow, Alun. *Narrative and History.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007

Murray, Dominic, 'Culture, Religion and Violence in Northern Ireland.' In Seamus Dunn (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1995

Mutchler, Matt G. 'Seeking Sexual Lives. Gay Youth and Masculinity Tensions' in Peter Nardi (ed.) *Gay Masculinities.* Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi. 2000

Nagel, Joane. 'Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 21, 1998

Nardi, Peter M. '"Anything for a Sis, Mary?" An Introduction to Gay Masculinities.' In Peter Nardi (ed.) *Gay Masculinities.* Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, 2000

Nardi, Peter (ed.) *Gay Masculinities*. Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, 2000

Nayak, Anoop. '"Boyz to Men": masculinities, schooling and labour transitions in de-industrial times.' *Educational Review,* Vol. 55, No. 2, 2003

Neale, Steve. *Masculinity as Spectacle. Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema.* Downloaded from [https://academic.oup.com/screen/article-abstract/24/6/2/1653405]

Nelson, Sarah. *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders. Protestant Political, Paramilitary and Community Groups and the Northern Ireland Conflict.* Appletree Press, Belfast, 1984

Nettleton, Sarah & Jonathan Watson. *The Body in Everyday Life.* Routledge. London & New York, 1998

Newsinger, John. *Dangerous Men: The SAS and Popular Culture.* Pluto Press. London, Chicago, Illinois, 1997

Nixon, Sean. *Hard Looks. Masculinities, Spectatorship & Contemporary Consumption.* UCL Press, London. 1996

Nungesser, Lon G. *Homosexual Acts, Actors and Identities.* Praeger Publishers, New York. 1983

O'Brien, Rosaleen, Kate Hunt & Graham Hart. '"It's caveman stuff, but that is to a certain extent how guys still operate": men's accounts of masculinity and help seeking.' *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 61, 2005

Oakes, M. 'Formation of Identity in Wartime El Salvador: Protective and Harmful Factors'. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment,* Vol. 21, 2011

Okihiro, Gary Y. 'Oral History and the Writing of Ethnic History.' In David K. Dunaway & Willa K. Baum (eds.) *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology.* Altamira Press, Plymouth. 1996

Olick, Jeffrey K. 'Collective Memory: The Two Cultures.' *Sociological Theory*. Vol. 17, No. 3, 1999

Oram, Alison. 'Love "Off the Rails" or "Over the Teacups"? Lesbian Desire and Female Sexualities in the 1950s British Popular Press.' In Heike Bauer & Matt Cook (eds.) *Queer 1950s. Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012

Padilla, P.A. & Riege Laner 'Trends in Military Influences on Army Recruitment.' *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* Vol. 30, 2002

Paechter, Carrie. 'Masculinities and Femininities as Communities of Practice.' *Women's Studies International Forum.* Vol. 26, No. 1, 2002

Paris, Michael, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000*. Reaktion Books, London, 2000

Pascoe, C. J. '"Dude, You're a Fag": Adolescent Masculinity and the Fag Discourse.' *Sexualities*. Vol. 8 No. 3, 2005

Passerini, Luisa. 'Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism.' *History Workshop*. Vol. 8, 1979

Patai, Daphne. 'Ethical Problems of Personal Narratives, or, Who Should Eat the Last Piece of Cake?' *International Journal of Oral History*. Vol.8, 1987

Patrick, S. & Beckenbach J. 'Male perceptions of intimacy'. *The Journal of Men's Studies*. Vol. 17, No. 1, 2009

Paulson, D. *Walking the Point: Male Initiation and the Vietnam Experience.* Paraview, New York, 2005

Perks, Robert & Thomson, Alistair. *The Oral History Reader*. Routledge, London and New York, 1998

Peters, Kim, Michelle K. Ryan and S. & Alexander Haslam. 'Marines, Medics and Machismo: Lack of Fir with Masculine Occupational Stereotypes Discourages Men's Participation.' *British Journal of Psychology*. Vol. 106, 2015

Petersen, Alan. 'Research on Men and Masculinities. Some Implications of Recent Theory for Future Work.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 6, No. 1, 2003

Petersen, Alan. *Unmasking the Masculine. 'Men' and 'Identity' in a Sceptical Age.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi. 1998

Petrie, Keith J. & James W. Pennebaker. 'The Immunological Effects of Thought Suppression.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 75, No. 5, 1998

Pettigrew, Thomas F. 'Intergroup Contact Theory'. *Annual Review of Psychology*. Vol. 49, 1998

Pichler, Pia & Eva Eppler (eds). *Gender and Spoken Interaction.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009

Pin-Fat, Véronique & Maria Stern. 'The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch: Biopolitics, Gender, and the "Feminization" of the U.S. Military.' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.* Vol. 30, No. 1, 2005

Pini, Barbara. 'Interviewing Men. Gender and the Collection and Interpretation of Qualitative Data.' *The Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 41, No. 2, 2005

Plain, Gill. 'From Shorty Blake to Tubby Binns: Dunkirk and the Representation of Working-Class Masculinity in Postwar British Cinema' *Journal of British Cinema and Television*. Vol. 9, No. 2, 2012

Pleck, Joseph H. *The Myth of Masculinity.* The MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, 1982

Plester, Barbara A. & Janet Sayers. '"Taking the piss": Functions of banter in the IT industry.' *Humor*. Vol. 20, No. 2, 2007

Plester, Barbara & Mark Orams. 'Send in the Clowns. The Role of the Joker in Three New Zealand IT Companies.' *Humour* Vol. 21, No. 3, 2008

Plester, Barbara. '"Take it like a man!: Performing Hegemonic Masculinity Through organisation Humour' *Ephemera. Theory and politics in organisation*. Vol. 15, No. 3, 2015

Plummer, David. *One of the Boys. Masculinity, Homophobia and Modern Manhood.* Harrington Park Press. New York, London & Oxford. 1999

Plummer, David C. 'The Quest for Modern Manhood: Masculine Stereotypes, Peer Culture and the Social Significance of Homophobia.' *Journal of Adolescence.* Vol. 24, 2001

Portelli, Alessandro. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories. Form and Meaning in Oral History.* State University of New York Press, Albany. 1991

Portelli, Alessandro. 'The Peculiarities of Oral History.' *History Workshop Journal,* No. 12, 1981

Plester, Barbara A. & Janet Sayers. '"Taking the piss": Functions of banter in the IT industry.' *Humor.* Vol. 20, No. 2. 2007 pp.157-187

Plester, Barbara. '"Take it like a man!: Performing hegemonic masculinity through organisation humour' *Ephemera. Theory and politics in organisation.* Vol. 15, No. 3, 2015

Portelli, Alessandro. 'Oral History as Genre.' In Chamberlain, Mary and Paul Thompson (eds.) *Narratives and Genres.* Routledge. London and New York. 1998

Powrie, Phil, Ann Davies & Bruce Babbington (eds.) *The Trouble with Men. Masculinities in European and Hollywood Cinema*. Wallflower Press, London. 2004

Pratt, M. G. & A. Rafaeli, 'Organizational Dress as a Symbol of Multilayered Social Identities'. *Academy of Management Journal.* Vol. 40, 1997

Pronates, Nicholas. 'The British Post-bellum Cinema: A survey of the films relating to World War II made in Britain between 1945 and 1960.' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television.* Vol. 8, No. 1, 1988

Pronger, Brian. *The Arena of Masculinity. Sports, Homosexuality and the Meaning of Sex*. GMP Publishers Ltd. London, 1990

Pronger, Brian. 'Gay Jocks: A Phenomenology of Gay Men in Athletics.' In Michael Messner (ed.) *Sport, Men and the Gender Order.* Human Kinetics Books, Champaign, 1990

Pyle, K.D. 'Class Based Masculinities', *Gender and Society*, Vol. 10, 1996

Quinn, B. A. 'Sexual Harassment and Masculinity'. *Gender and Society*. Vol. 16, 2002

Raja, S. & J.P. Stokes. 'Assessing Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men: the Modern Homophobia Scale.' *Journal of Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Identity*. Vol. 3, 1998

Ramsden, Stefan. '"The community spirit was a wonderful thing": on nostalgia and the politics of belonging'. *Oral History*, Vol. 44, No. 1, 2016, p90

Reger, M. A. *et al.* 'Civilian Psychologists in an Army Culture: the Ethical Challenge of c Cultural Competence'. *Military psychology.* Vol. 20, 2008

Reisman, John M. 'Intimacy in Same-Sex Friendships' *Sex Roles,* Vol. 23, Nos. 1/2, 1990

Renwick, Aly. *Hidden Wounds. The Problems of Northern Ireland veterans in Civvy Street.* Barbed Wire, London, 1999

Rich, A 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and the Lesbian Existence.' *Signs*. Vol. 5, No. 41980

Richardson, Diane. *Theorising Heterosexuality.* Open University Press, Maidenhead, 1996

Ricks, Thomas E. *Making the Corps.* Scribner, New York. 1997

Ridd, Rosemary & Helen Callaway (eds.) *Caught Up in Conflict. Women's Responses to Political Strife.* Macmillan Education, Basingstoke, 1986

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 'Linking Social Structure and Interpersonal Behaviour: a Theoretical Perspective on Cultural Schemas and Social Relations.' *Social Psychology Quarterly*. Vol. 69, No.1, 2006

Risman, Barbara J. 'From Doing to Undoing: Gender as we Know it.' *Gender and Society.* Vol. 23, No. 1, 2009

Ritchie, Donald. *Doing Oral History*. Wayne Publishers, New York, 1995

Robards, Brady & Andy Bennett. 'My Tribe: Post-subcultural Manifestations of Belonging on Social Network Sites'. *Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 2011

Roberts, Steven. 'Boys Will Be Boys ... Won't They? Change and Continuities in Contemporary Young Working-class Masculinities.' *Sociology.* Vol. 47, No. 4, 2012

Roberts, Steven 'Introduction: Masculinities in Crisis? Opening the Debate.' In S. Roberts (ed.) *Debating Modern Masculinities: Change, Continuity, Crisis?* Palgrave Macmillan. 2014

Robinson, Dawn. 'Getting a Laugh'. *Social Forces.* Vol. 80, No. 1, 2001

Robinson, J.A. 'Personal Narratives Reconsidered'. *Journal of American Folklore*. Vol. 94, 1981

Robinson, Victoria & Jenny Hockey. *Masculinities in Transition*. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke. 2011

Roderick, Tristan, Susan L McCammon, Thomas E. Long & Linda J. Allred. 'Behavioural Aspects of Homonegativity.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol 36, No. 1, 1998

Rodham, Karen & Jeff Gavin. 'The Ethics of Using the Internet to Collect Qualitative Research Data.' *Research Ethics Review,* Vol 2, No 3, 2006

Rogoff, Irit. 'Studying Visual Culture' in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.) *The Visual Culture Reader.* Routledge. London & New York. (1998)

Roper, Michael, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950'. *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005

Roper, Michael. 'Re-remembering the Soldier Hero: The Psychic and Social Construction of Memory In Personal Narratives of the Great War.' *History Workshop Journal*. Vol 50, 2000

Roper, Michael. '"Seduction and Succession"; Circuits of Homosocial Desire in Management.' In David L. Collinson & Jeff Hearn (eds.) *Men as Managers, Managers as Men.* Sage Publications, London. 1996

Roper, Michael & John Tosh (eds.) 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity.' In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*. Routledge. London. 1991

Rose, Gillian, Vivian Kinnaird, Mandy Morris & Catherine Nash. 'Feminist geographies of environment, nature and landscape.' In Women and Geography Study Group, *Feminist Geographies. Explorations in Diversity and Difference.* Longman, Harlow, 1997

Rose, Sonya O. 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain.' In Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann & John Tosh (eds.) *Masculinity in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004

Roseneil, Sasha, Isabel Crowhurst, Tone Hellesund, Ana Cristina Santos & Marya Stoilova. 'Changing Landscapes of Heteronormativity: the Regulation and Normalisation of Same-sex Sexualities in Europe.' *Social Politics.* Vol 20, no. 2, 2013

Rutherford, Jonathan. *Preface.* 2001*.* In Bethan Benwell (ed.) *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Rutherford, S. R. Schneider & A. Walmsley, *Ministry of Defence/Equal Opportunities Commission Agreement on Preventing and Dealing Effectively with Sexual Harassment: Quantitative and Qualitative Research into Sexual Harassment in the Armed Forces.* Schneider Ross, London, 2006

Saco, Diana. 'Masculinity as Signs. Poststructuralist Feminist Approaches to the Study of Gender.' In Steve Craig (ed.) *Men, Masculinity, and the Media.* Sage Publications. Newbury Park & London, 1992

Samuel, Raphael & Thompson, Paul. *The Myths We Live By*. Routledge, New York, 1990

Sánchez, Francisco J, John S. Westfield, William Ming Liu & Eric Vilain. 'Masculine Gender Role Conflict and Negative Feelings about Being Gay.' *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice.* Vol. 41, No. 2, 2010

Sánchez, Fransisco J., Stefanie T. Greenberg, William Ming Liu &Eric Vilain. 'Reported Effects of Masculine Ideals on Gay Men.' *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. Vol. 10, No. 1, 2009

Sandbrook, Dominic. *White Heat. A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties.* Abacus, London, 2006

Sanderson, Terry. 'Gays and the press' In Simon Shepherd & Mick Wallis (eds.) *Coming on Strong. Gay Politics and Culture.* Unwin Hyman Ltd. London, Winchester, Sydney & Wellington. 1989

Sanford, Kathy & Leanna Madill. 'Resistance through Video Game Play: It's a Boy Thing.' *Canadian Journal of Education.* Vol. 29, No. 1, 2006

Sasson-Levy, Orna. 'Constructing Identities at the Margins: Masculinities and Citizenship in the Israeli Army.' *The Sociological Quarterly,* Vol. 43, No. 3, 2002

Sasson-Levy, Orna. 'Military, Masculinity, and Citizenship: Tensions and Contradictions in the Experience of Blue-Collar Soldiers.' *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power.* Vol. 10, No. 3, 2003

Sattle, Jack W. Thorne, 'Men, Inexpressiveness and Power' in Cheris Kramarae Barrie & Nancy Henley (eds) *Language, Gender and Society*. Newbury House Publishers, Inc. Rowley, London, Tokyo. 1983

Savage, Mike. 'Histories, Belongings, Communities'. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* Vol. 11, No. 2, 2008

Savage, Mike. *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: The Politics of Method.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010

Schact, S. 'Misogyny on and off the Pitch: the Gendered World of Male Rugby Players.' *Gender and Society'* Vol. 10, No. 5, 1996

Schacter, Daniel L. (ed) *Memory Distortion. How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past.* Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London. 1997

Schaffer, S. 'What is Social in Oral History?' *International Journal of Oral History*. Vol. 4, No. 2, 1983

Schein, Edgar H., *Organizational Culture and Leadership: A Dynamic View.* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1985

Schein, Edgar H., 'What is culture?' In: Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Louis, Craig C. Lundberg & Joanne Martin (eds.), *Reforming Organizational Culture.* Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1991

Schippers, Mimi. 'Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony.' *Theory and Society,* Vol. 36, No. 1, 2007

Schneider, Edward F,, Annie Lang, Mija Shin & Samuel D.Bradley. 'Death with a story. How Story Impacts Emotional, Motivational, and Physiological Responses to First-Person Shooter Video Games.' *Human Communication Research.* Vol. 30, No. 3, 2004

Schneider, Jeffrey. '"The Pleasure of the Uniform": Masculinity, Transvestism, and Militarism In Heinrich Mann's *Der Untertan* and Magnus Hirschfeld's *Die Transvestiten.' The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory.* Vol. 72, No. 3, 1997

Schwalbe, Michael, *et al*. 'Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality.' *Social Forces*. Vol. 79, No. 2, 2000

Schwarz, Norbert & Eva Kurz. 'What's in a Picture? The impact of face-ism on trait attribution.' *European Journal of Social Psychology.* Vol. 19, 1989

Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance.* Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1990

Scott, Sue & David Morgan. *Body Matters*. Taylor & Francis. London & New York. 1993

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofksy. *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.* Columbia University Press. New York & Chichester. 1985

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet.* University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 2008

Segal, Lynne. 'Changing Men: Masculinities in Context.' *Theory and Society.* Vol. 22, No. 5, 1993

Segal, Lynne *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Man.* Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke & New York. 2007

Segal, Lynne. *Why Feminism?* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2002

Segal, M. W. 'The Military and the Family as Greedy Institutions.' *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 1,1986

Segal,M. W. 'Women in the Armed Forces' In M. R. Stevenson (ed.) *Women and the Use of Force.* Boulder & London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993

Seidler, Victor J. *Transforming Masculinities. Men, Cultures, Bodies, Power, Sex and Love.* Routledge, Abingdon & New York. 2006

Seidler, Victor J. *Unreasonable Men. Masculinity and Social Theory*. Routledge, London. 1994

Seidler, Victor J. *Young Men and Masculinities.* Zed Books. London & New York. 2006

Seidman, Steven, Chet Meeks & Francis Traschen. 'Beyond the Closet? The Changing Social Meaning of Homosexuality in the United States.' *Sexualities.* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1999

Sennett, Richard. *Together. The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation.* Penguin, London. 2012

Shannon, Catherine B. 'The Woman Writer as Historical Witness: Northern Ireland, 1968-1994. An Interdisciplinary Perspective'. In Maryann Valiulis & Mary O'Dowd, (eds.) *Women & Irish History.* Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 1997

Shawver, Lois. 'Sexual Modesty, the Etiquette of Disregard, and the Question of Gays and Lesbians in the Military.' In Gregory M. Herek, Jared B. Jobe & Ralph M. Carney (eds.) *Out in Force. Sexual Orientation and the Military.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996

Shefer, Tamara & Nyameka Mankayi. 'The (Hetero)Sexualization of the Military and the Militarization of (Hetero)Sex: Discourses on Male (Hetero)Sexual Practices among a Group of Young Men in the South African Military.' *Sexualities*. Vol. 10, No. 2, 2007

Sherit, Kathleen. *Women on the Front Line. British Servicewomen's Path to Combat.* Amberley Publishing, Stroud, 2020

Sherrod, Drury 'The Bonds of Men: Problems and Possibilities in Close Male Relationships.' In Harry Brod (ed.) *The Making of Masculinities. The New Men's Studies.* Allen & Unwin, Inc. Boston. 1987

Shields, Patricia M. 'Sex Roles in the Military.' In Charles C. Moskos, & Frank R. Wood (eds). *The Military. More Than Just a Job?* Pergamon-Brassey's, Washington, London, New York & Oxford, 1988

Shilling, Chris. *The Body and Social Theory.* Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi. 1993

Shopes, Linda. 'Legal and Ethical Issues in Oral History' in Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers & Rebecca Sharples (eds.) *Handbook of Oral History.* Altamaria Press. Oxford. 2006

Siebold, G.L., 'Core Issues and Theory in Military Sociology'. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Vol. 29, 2001

Sigelman, Carol K., Jennifer L. Howell, David P. Cornell, John D. Cutright & Janine C. Dewey. 'Courtesy Stigma: The Social Implications of Associating with a Gay Person.' *The Journal of Social Psychology.* Vol. 131, No. 1, 1990

Silva, J. M. 'A new generation of women? How Female ROTC Cadets Negotiate the Tension Between Masculine Military Culture and Traditional Femininity.' *Social Forces*, Vol. 87, No. 2, December 2008

Simmons, J.L. 'Public stereotypes of deviants.' *Social Problems*. Vol. 13, No. 2, 1965

Simpson, Mark. *Male Impersonators. Men Performing Masculinity*. Cassell, London and New York, 1994

Sinclair, G. Dean. 'Homosexuality and the Military: A Review of the Literature.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 56, No. 6, 2009

Sjoberg, L. & C. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores.* Zed Books, London, 2007

Sjolander, Claire Turenne & Kathryn Trevenen. 'One of the Boys? Gender Disorder in Times of Crisis.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2010

Skeggs, Beverley. *Formations of Class and Gender*. Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi. 2002

Skelly, Gerald & William J Lundstrom. 1981 'Male Sex Roles in Magazine Advertising, 1969-1979'. *Journal of Communication.* Vol. 31, 1981

Skidmore, W.C., Linsenmeier, J.A.W., & Bailey, J.M. 'Gender Nonconformity and Psychological Distress in Lesbians and Gay men'. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, Vol. 35, 2005

Smith, Gary, Susan Kippax & Murray Chapple. 'Secrecy, Disclosure, and Closet Dynamics.' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 35, No. 1, 1998

Smith, Helen. *Masculinity, Class and Same-sex Sesire in Industrial England, 1895-1957* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2015

Smith, Nathan Grant & Kathleen M. Ingram. 'Workplace Heterosexism and Adjustment Among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Individuals: The Role of Unsupportive Social Interactions.' *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. Vol 51, No. 1, 2004

Smokowski, Paul R., Corinne David-Ferdon & Nancy Stroupe. 'The Relationship Between Acculturation and Violence in Minority Adolescents' in Tara M. Johnson (ed.) *Acculturation. Implications for Individuals, Families and Societies.* Nova Science Publishers, New York, 2011

Smyth, Ailbhe (ed.) *Irish Women's Studies Reader*. Attic Press, Dublin, 1993

Soeters, Joseph, 'Organizational Cultures in the Military' in G. Caforio & M. Nuciari (eds.) *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research*, Online edition, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71602-2_13>

Solomon, David N. 'Civilian to Soldier. Three Sociological Studies of Infantry Recruit Training.' *Canadian Journal of Experimental Psychology.* Vol. 8, No. 2, 1954

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. 'Male Trouble' in Maurice Berger,, Brian Wallis & Simon Watson (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity.* Routledge, New York. 1995

Sondergaard, D.M., 'Making Sense of Gender'. *Feminism and Psychology*, Vol. 15, 2005

Spector-Mersel, Gabriela. 'Never-aging Stories: Western Hegemonic Masculinity Scripts.' *Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 15, No. 1, 2006

Speer, Susan A. 'Reconsidering the Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: Discursive Psychology, Conversation Analysis and Participants' Orientations.' *Feminism & Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2001

Spencer, Steven J., Christine Logel & Paul G. Davies. 'Stereotype Threat.' *The Annual Review of Psychology.* Vol. 67, 2016

Spicer, Andrew. *Typical Men. The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema.* Taurus. London & New York, 2001

Spilsbury, Mark. 'Transferability of Skills and the British Armed Forces.' *Defence Analysis*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1994

Squiers, Carol (ed.) *The Critical Image*. Lawrence & Wishart. London, 1990

Steel, Jayne. 'Politicising the Private: Women Writing the Troubles.' In Brian Cliff and Éibhear Walshe (eds.) *Representing the Troubles.* Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2004

Stein, Arlene & Ken Plummer. '"I Can't Even Think Straight": "Queer" Theory and the Missing Sexual Revolution in Sociology' in Steven Seidman (ed.) *Queer Theory/Sociology.* Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts & Oxford. 1996

Steinberg, Deborah Lynn, Debbie Epstein & Richard Johnson (eds). *Border Patrols. Policing the Boundaries of Heterosexuality*. Cassell, London, 1997

Stern, Maria & Marysia Zalewski . 'Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on Feminism and Familiar Fables of Militarisation.' *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2009

Stiehm, Judith Hicks. 'The Effect of Myths about Military Women on the Waging of War.' In Eva Isaksson (ed.) *Women and the Military System.* Harvester-Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, 1988

Stobbe, L. 'Doing Machismo: Legitimating Speech Acts as a Selection Discourse.' *Gender, Work and Organization.* Vol.12, No. 2, 2005

Stotzer, R. L. 'Straight Allies: Supportive Attitudes Towards Lesbians, Gay Men and Bisexuals in a College Samples.' *Sex Roles.* Vol. 60, No. 1-2, 2009

Stoudt, Brett G. '"You're Either In or You're Out": School Violence, Peer Discipline and the (Re) Production of Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 8, No. 3. January 2006

Strachan, Hew*. The British Army, Manpower and Society in the Twenty First Century.* Frank Cass, Abingdon, 2000

Strate, Lance. 'Beer Commercials. A Manual on Masculinity.'. In Steve Craig (ed.) *Men, Masculinity and the Media.* Newbury Park, California, London: Sage Publications Inc. 1999

Stryker, Susan. *Transgender History.* Seal Press, New York, 2017. [Kindle edition]

Stychin, Carl F. *Law's Desire: Sexuality and the Limits of Justice*. Routledge, London, 1995

Sugiura, Lisa. British Sociological Association. 2017, *Researching Online Forums,* [Online] Available at: <https://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24834/j000208_researching_online_forums_-cs1-_v3.pdf> [Accessed 10 January 2023]

Sullivan, Nikki. *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh. 2003

Summerfield, Penny & Corinna Peniston-Bird. *Contesting Home Defence. Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War.* Manchester University Press. Manchester and New York. 2007

Summerfield, Penny. 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews.' *Cultural and Social History* Vol. 1, No. 1, 2004

Summerfield, Penny. 'Divisions at Sea: Class, Gender, Race, and Nation in Maritime Films of the Second World War, 1939-60.' *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol 22, No. 3, 2011

Summerfield, Penny. *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*. Manchester University Press. Manchester and New York. 1998

Swaine, Aisling. *Conflict-Related Violence Against Women. Transforming Transition.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2018

Szymanski, Dawn M. & Erika R. Carr. 'The Roles of Gender Role Conflict and Internalized Heterosexism in Gay and Bisexual Men's Psychological Distress: Testing Two Mediation Models.' *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 2008

Szymanski, Dawn M., Susan Kashubeck-West & Jill Meyer. 'Internalised Heterosexism. A Historical and Theoretical Overview.' *The Counseling Pyschologist*. Vol. 36, No. 4, 2008

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke. 1988

Taywaditep, Kittiwut Jod 'Marginalisation Among the Marginalised' *Journal of Homosexuality.* Vol. 42, No. 1, 2002

Terry, Roy. *Women in Khaki. The Story of the British Woman Soldier.* Columbus Books, London, 1988

Theodore, Peter S. & Susan A. Basow 'Heterosexual Masculinity and Homophobia.' *Journal of Homosexuality*. Vol. 40, No.2, 2000

Thomas, Patricia J. & Marie D. Thomas. 'Integration of Women in the Military: Parallels to the Progress of Homosexuals?' In Gregory M. Herek, Jared B. Jobe and Ralph M. Carney (eds.). *Out in Force. Sexual Orientation and the Military.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996

Thomson, Alistair. *Anzac Memories : Living with the Legend*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Auckland & New York, 1994

Thomson, Alistair. 'Making the Most of Memories: The Empirical and Subjective Value of Oral History.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.* Vol. 9, 1991

Thomson, Alistair. 'Memory as a Battlefield: Personal and Political Investments in the National Military Past' *The Oral History Review*. Vol. 22, No. 2, 1985

Thomson, Alistair. 'Ten Pound Poms and Television Oral History', *Oral History ,* Vol. 25, No. 2, 1997

Thompson, Paul. *The Voice of the Past. Oral History.* Oxford University Press, Oxford. 1978

Thorne, Barrie & Nancy Henley (eds.) *Language and Sex. Difference and Dominance.* Newbury House Publishers, Rowley, 1975

Thorne, Barrie, Cheris Kramarae & Nancy Henley (eds.) *Language, Gender and Society.* Newbury House Publishers, Inc. Rowley, London, Tokyo. 1983

Thurlow, Crispin. 'Naming the "outsider within": homophobic perforations and the verbal abuse of lesbian, gay and bisexual high-school pupils.' *Journal of Adolescence.* Vol. 24, 2001

Thurnell-Read, Thomas. 'What Happens on Tour: The Premarital Stag Tour, Homosocial Bonding, and Male Friendship.' *Men and Masculinities.* Vol. 15, No. 3, 2012

Titunik, R. 'The First Wave: Gender Integration and Military Culture.' *Armed Forces and Society.* Vol. 26, No. 2, 2000

Titunik, Regina F. 'The Myth of the Macho Military.' *Polity*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 2008

Toerien, Merran & Kevin Durrheim. 'Power Through Knowledge: Ignorance and the "Real Man."' *Feminism & Psychology,* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2001

Tomsen Steven. 'He had to be a Poofter or Something'. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies*. Vol. 3, 1998

Tonkin, Elizabeth. *Narrating our Pasts. The Social Construction of Oral History.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1992

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History*. Routledge. London & New York. 2010

Trachtenberg, A. *Classic Essays on Photography*. Leete's Island Books. New Haven, 1980

Trethewey, Angela. 'Disciplined Bodies: Women's Embodied Identities at Work.' *Organization Studies.* Vol. 20, No. 3, 1999

Troiden, Richard R. 'The Formation of Homosexual Identities.' In Linda D. Garnets & Douglas C Kimmel (eds.) *Psychological Perspectives on Lesbian & Gay Male Experiences.* Columbia University Press. New York. 1993

Tuana, Nancy, William Cowling, Maurice Hamington, Greg Johnson & Terrance MacMullan (eds.) *Revealing Male Bodies*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2002

Tungate, Mark. *Adland. A Global History of Advertising.* Kogan Page. London, Philadelphia, New Delhi. 2007

Turner, Bryan S. *The Body & Society. Second Edition.* SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1996

Turner, E.S. *Gallant gentlemen; a Portrait of the British Officer, 1600-1956'* Abe Books, London, 1956

Usborne, E. & Taylor D. M. 'The Role of Cultural Identity Clarity for Self-concept Clarity, Self-esteem, and Subjective Well-being'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. Vol. 36, No. 7, 2010

Van Creveld, Martin. 'Less Than we Can be. Men, Women and the Modern Military'. *Journal of Strategic Studies.* Vol. 23, No. 4, 2000

Van der Meulen, J. & Soeters, J. 'Introduction.' In J. Soeters & J. van der Meulen (eds.), *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces. An international Comparison.* Routledge, London & New York, 2007

Van Gennep, Arnold. *The rites of passage.* Routledge and Kegan Hall, London, 1960

Vance, Carole. S. 'Social Construction Theory and Sexuality.' In Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, & Simon Watson, (eds.) *Constructing Masculinity.* Routledge, New York and London, 1995

Vickers, Emma & Emma Jackson, 'Sanctuary or Sissy? Female Impersonation as Entertainment in the British Armed Forces, 1939-1945'. In Corinna Peniston-Bird & Emma Vickers (eds.) *Gender and the Second World War. Lessons of War*. Macmillan, London, 2007

Vickers, Emma. *Queen and Country: Same Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-1945.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013

Vigorito, Anthony & Curry, Timothy J. 'Marketing Masculinity: Gender Identity and Popular Magazines' *Sex Roles.* Vol. 39, Nos. 1/2, 1998

Vinton, Karen l. 'Humour in the Workplace'. *Small Group Behaviour.* Vol. 20, No.2, 1989

Von Zugbach, R. *Power and Prestige in the British Army*. Ashgate Publishing, London, 1988

Wacquant, L. 'Pugs at Work'. *Body and Society.* Vol. 1, 1995

Wacquant, L. 'Why Men Desire Muscles'. *Body and society.* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1995

Waldo, Craig R. 'Working in a Minority Context: A Structural Model of Heterosexism as Minority Stress in the Workplace.' *Journal of Counseling Psychology.* Vol. 46, No. 2 1999

Walker, Karen. 'I'm Not Friends the way she's Friends: Ideological and Behavioural Constructions of Masculinity in Men's Friendships.' *Masculinities.* Vol. 2, No. 2, 1994

Walker, Karen. 'Men, Women and Friendship: What They Say, What They Do.' *Gender & Society.* Vol. 8, No. 2, 1994

Walsh, Fintan. *Male Trouble. Masculinity and the Performance of Crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010

Walshe, Eibhear, Cathal O'Searcaigh & Gabriel Fitzmaurice. 'Sexing the Shamrock', *Critical Survey*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1996

Walton, Rodney Earl. 'Memories from the Edge of the Abyss: Evaluating the Oral Accounts of World War II Veterans.' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 37, no. 1, Winter/Spring 2010

Ward, Michael R.M. '"We're Different from Everyone Else": Contradictory Working-Class Masculinities in Contemporary Britain.' In S. Roberts, (ed.) *Debating Modern Masculinities: Continuity, Change, Crisis?* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke. 2014

Watson, Jonathan. *Male Bodies. Health, Culture and Identity.* Open University Press, Buckingham. 2000

Weeks, Jeffrey. *Making Sexual History.* Polity Press. Cambridge. 2000

Weeks, Jeffrey. *Sex, Politics and Society. The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*. Longman, London & New York, 1989

Weeks, Jeffrey. *Sexuality and its Discontents. Meanings, Myths & Modern Sexualities*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London, Melbourne & Henley. 1985

Weick, Karl E., 'The Significance of Corporate Culture'. In: Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg & Joanne Martin (eds.), *Organizational Culture*. Sage, London, 1985

Weinberg, George. *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*. Colin Smythe Ltd, Gerards Cross, 1975

Weinstein, Fred, 'Psychohistory and the Crisis of the Social Sciences', *History and Theory.* Vol. 34, No. 4, 1995

Wells, J. W. & Kline, W.B. 'Self-disclosure of Homosexual Orientation'. *Journal of Social Psychology.* Vol. 127, 1986

Wells, Liz. *The Photography Reader. History and Theory.* Routledge. Abingdon & New York, 2019

Wessely, S. 'Twentieth Century Theories on Combat Motivation and Breakdown'. *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 41, No. 2, 2006

West, Candace & Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society,* Vol. 1, No. 2, 1986

Wester, Stephen R., David R. Pionke & David L. Vogel. 'Male Gender Role Conflict, Gay Men, and Same-Sex Romantic Relationships.' *Psychology of Men and Masculinity.* Vol. 6, No. 3, 2005

Westwood, Sallie. '"Feckless fathers": Masculinities and the British state.' In Mac An Ghaill, M. (ed.) *Understanding Masculinities*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996

Wetherell, M. & Griffin, C. 'Feminist Psychology and the Study of Men'. *Feminism & Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1991

Wetherell, Margaret & Nigel Edley. 'Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices.' *Feminism & Psychology*. Vol. 9, No. 3, 1999

Wharton, James. *Out in the Army: My Life as a Gay Soldier.* Biteback Publishing, London, 2013. Kindle edition: location 306

Wharton, Ken. *Bloody Belfast. An Oral History of the British Army's War Against the IRA.* Spellmount Publishing, Kindle Edition, 2010

Wharton, Ken. *Torn Apart. Fifty Years of the Troubles, 1969-2019.* The History Press, Stroud, 2019

Wheelwright, Julie. '"It was Exactly Like the Movies!' The Media's Use of the Feminine During the Gulf War.' In Elisabetta Addis, Valeria E. Russo and Lorenza Sebesta. *Women Soldiers. Images and Realities.* Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1994

Whitehead, Stephen. 'Hegemonic Masculinity Revisited'*. Gender, work and Organisation.* Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1999

Whitehead, Stephen M. *Men and Masculinities.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2002

Whitehead, Stephen M. & Frank J. Barrett. 'Introduction: The Sociology of Masculinity' in Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (eds.), *The Masculinities Reader,* Polity Press, Cambridge & Malden, 2006 edition

Whitworth, S. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2004

Whyte, John. *Interpreting Northern Ireland*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990

Wichert, Sabine. *Northern Ireland Since 1945*. Longman, London, 1991

Williams, Christine L. *Gender Differences at Work. Women and Men in Nontraditional Occupations.* University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1989

Williams, Christine L. 'Militarized Masculinity.' *Qualitative Sociology,* Vol. 17, No. 4, 1994

Williams, K. & Schaub, M. *Love My Rifle More Than You: Young and Female in the US Army.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 2006

Williams, Kipling D. 'Ostracism.' *Annual Review of Psychology.* Vol 58, 2007

Willis, Paul E. *Learning to Labour: How Working-Class Kids get Working-Class Jobs.* Saxon House. Farnborough. 1977

Willot, Sara & Christine Griffin. '"What's Bam, am I am Man?": Unemployed Men Talk about Masculinities.' *Feminism & Psychology..* Vol. 7, No. 1, 1997

Wills, Abigail. 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950 – 1970'. *Past & Present,* No. 187, May 2005

Wilmshurst, John. *The Fundamentals of Advertising*. Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1985

Wilton, Tamsin. *Sexual (Dis) Orientation. Gender, Sex, Desire and Self-Fashioning.* Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke. 2005

Winston, Tom. 'Alternatives to Punishment Beatings and Shootings in a Loyalist Community in Belfast.' *Critical Criminology*. Vol. 8, Issue 1, 1997

Wolff, Stefan. *Ethnic Conflict. A Global Perspective.* Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2006

Wood, Valerie M. & Danielle Charbonneau, 'Gender, self-efficacy, and warrior identification in Canadian Army personnel'. *Journal of Gender Studies.* Vol.27, No. 7, 2018

Woodward, R., Winter, T. & Jenkings, K.N. 'Heroic Anxieties: the figure of the British soldier in contemporary print media.' *Journal of War and Culture Studies.* Vol. 2, No. 2, 2009

Woodward, Rachel. '"It's a Man's Life!": Soldiers, Masculinity and the Countryside.' *Gender, Place and Culture. A Journal of Feminist Geography.* Vol. 5, No. 3, 1998

Woodward, Rachel. 'Warrior Heroes and Little Green Men: Soldiers, Military Training and the Construction of Rural Masculinities.' *Rural Sociology.* Dec 2000, Vol. 65, No. 4, 2000

Woodward, Rachel. *Military Geographies.* Blackwell Publishing. Malden, Oxford, Victoria, 2004

Woodward, Rachel & Neil K. Jenkings. 'Military memoirs, their covers and the reproduction of public narratives of war.' *Journal of War & Culture Studies*. Vol. 5, No. 3, 2012

Woodward, Rachel & Patricia Winter, 'Discourses of Gender in the Contemporary British Army', *Armed Forces & Society,* Vol. 30, 2004

Woodward, Rachel & Patricia Winter. 'Gender: the Limits to Diversity in the Contemporary British Army.' *Gender, Work and Organisation.* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006

Woodward, Rachel & Trish Winter, *Sexing the Soldier: the Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army.* Routledge, Oxon, 2007

Wyatt, Victoria. 'Oral History in the Study of Discrimination and Cultural Repression' *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 15, No. 1, Fieldwork in Oral History, 1987

Yancey Martin, Patricia. 'Mobilising Masculinities: Women's Experiences of Men at Work.' *Organization*. Vol. 8, No. 4, 2001

Yancey Martin, Patricia. 'Why Can't a Man Be More like a Woman? Reflections on Connell's Masculinities.' *Gender and Society*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1998

Yeung, King-To, Mindy Stombler & Reneé Wharton. 'Making Men in Gay Fraternities: Resisting and Reproducing Multiple Dimensions of Hegemonic Masculinity.' *Gender and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2006

Yow, Valerie. 'Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research'. *The Oral History Review.* Vol. 22, No. 1, Summer 1995

Yow, Valerie Raleigh. *Recording Oral History. A Practical Guide for Social Scientists*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi. 1994

Zalewski, Marysia. 'Intervening in Northern Ireland: Critically Re-thinking Representations of the Conflict.' In Marysia Zalewski & John Barry (eds.) *Intervening in Northern Ireland: Critically Re-thinking Representations of the Conflict*. Routledge, Abingdon & New York, 2008

Zeeland, Steve. *Sailors and Sexual Identity: Crossing the Line Between "Straight" and "Gay" in the US Navy.* Harrington Press, New York, 1995

Zuern, John. 'The Future of the Phallus. Time, Mastery and the Male Body.' In Nancy Tuana, William Cowling, Maurice Hamington, Greg Johnson & Terrance MacMullan (eds.) *Revealing Male Bodies*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2002