Mediating Militarism:
Chronicling 100 Years of British 'Military Victimhood' During Periods of Remembrance, from Print to Digital 1918 – 2018

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by

Liam Markey

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List of Abbreviations

- **AUKUS -** Australia, United Kingdom, and United States (military alliance)

- **BBC –** British Broadcasting Corporation

- **BIF -** British Instructional Films

- **CDA –** Critical Discourse Analysis

- **CWGC –** Commonwealth War Graves Commission

- **ITV –** Independent Television

- **MO –** Mass Observation

- **MOD –** Ministry of Defence

- **PDF –** Portable Document Format

- **PPU –** Peace Pledge Union

- **PTSD –** Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

- **RAF –** Royal Air Force

- **UK –** United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

- **UKWA –** UK Web Archive

- **USA –** United States of America

- **VPN –** Virtual Private Network

- **WW1 –** World War One

- **WW2 –** World War Two

Abstract

The University of Liverpool

Liam Markey

Mediating Militarism: Chronicling 100 Years of British 'Military Victimhood' from Print to Digital, 1918-2018

This thesis serves to address the potential role that the concept of 'military victimhood' has played in the mediation of militarism in Britain since 1918. Through the utilisation of a victimological 'language' and the adoption of a methodological approach centring on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a text sample consisting of digital and print materials obtained from the British Library's archives is critically interrogated. Through this interrogation it is ascertained how discursive constructions of British military victimhood have potentially facilitated or challenged the proliferation of an ideology that sees war glorified, normalised, and justified through sanitisation of its violent reality over the last century (Mosse, 1990; Shaw, 1991).

At the centre of this thesis is a seeming paradox concerning notions of militarism as mediated through British commemorative practices, which foreground military victims, and victimological perspectives on what characteristics and behaviour typify the 'victim', which sees military victims marginalised. With reference to the 'ideal victim construct' (Christie, 1986), the manner by which British military victimhood is constructed within commemorative discourse is explored, highlighting the similarities between both a militaristic ideology and normative social perspectives on the victim, particularly concerning gender roles.

Demonstrated is how discursive constructions of military victimhood largely conform to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, which foregrounds normative social notions of the victim as being a 'feminine' social actor, typified by weakness and passivity. Such constructions facilitate the mediation of a militaristic ideology, conforming to normative ideas concerning gender roles and their relationship to war. Reinforced here is the stereotypical identity of the military actor as an overtly brave and heroic individual, as an idealised form of masculinity (McCartney, 2011).

While victimhood is addressed within 'the 1919 model' of British commemoration (Imber & Fraser, 2011), it is done so through a highly selective depiction of military victims, ultimately serving to mediate militaristic ideals and values through a sanitising of its violent reality (Pennell, 2020). In turn, highlighted within commemorative discourse is the role of 'deviancy' and the potential for discursive constructions of military victimhood to influence the beliefs and behaviours of British social actors, particularly during the annual period of 'Remembrancetide', in a manner that further serves to normalise militaristic sentiments.

Also demonstrated is how the concept of military victimhood, when articulated as part of a 'counter'-narrative, can also serve to undermine militaristic notions of conflict as necessary or legitimate, highlighting rather than obscuring the violent reality of war and its power to victimise. The role of digital texts is emphasized here, establishing how the democratising nature of the internet provides an important space where cultures and perspectives on militarism in Britain are able to be actively exposed and resisted.

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Chapter One

Introduction

On 10th November 1958, British tabloid newspaper *The Daily Mail* published an article titled *'What a Difference 27 Years Make',* referencing the period of time that had passed since the cessation of the First World War. Its author, Henry Fairlie, claimed "we're making a better job of the peace than our fathers did after 1918"; thus, the traditional mantra of 'never again', oft-repeated in British commemorative practices as a commitment to peace, had become a "worthwhile saying once more" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1958). For Fairlie and his contemporaries, an adequate period of time seemed to have passed by which the 'peace' attained by victory in the Second World War could be judged as stable, perhaps validating the necessity of fighting such a uniquely brutal and cataclysmic conflict.

Unlike in the years immediately following the 1918 Armistice, where the 'noble' purpose of the First World War was extolled through both linguistic and semiotic forms in Britain (Gregory, 1994), societies struggled to comprehend the scale of violence and horror unleashed by the Second, which undermined any such notions of war as valorous or justified. As stated by Winter (1995, p.9), by 1945 "the limits of language had been reached" regarding the justification of war, and a potentially apocalyptic future loomed on the horizon with the advent of the atomic bomb. For Fairlie, what was perceived as the endurance of peace meant that this declaration of 'never again' was at least momentarily restored, perhaps providing a glimpse of a hopeful, rather than war-torn, future. At such a point in history, the function of British war commemoration as a commitment to peace was seen as potentially beginning to bear fruit.

With hindsight, it is easy to dismiss such claims made by individuals like Fairlie as purely naïve, knowing that lasting peace had unfortunately not been achieved, with Britain in particular becoming embroiled in multiple wars before the end of the century. At the time of writing this thesis, the current military conflict between Ukrainian and Russian forces (Johnson, 2022), the 'AUKUS' defence pact made by the UK, the USA, and Australia in an effort to counter the growing military influence of China (BBC News, 2021), and the advent of the 20th anniversary of the Iraq war (UK Parliament, 2023) demonstrates that the spectre of war and the influence of the military has grown over time rather than receded. What Fairlie's proclamation highlights, though, is the inherent function of

British war commemoration, conceived of in the wake of the First World War, ultimately served as a warning against war and its devastating power (Harrison, 2012).

Central to this commemoration are war's victims; soldiers killed and maimed on the battlefield, the bereaved left behind to pick up the pieces of their shattered lives. The existence of these social actors, tangible ties to war's victimising power, are fundamentally intertwined with this warning for contemporary and future generations regarding the horrors of war. It is these victims of war that this thesis is concerned with. As the following section of this chapter will demonstrate, despite initially being conceived of as a commitment to peace, with the suffering of war's victims at their core, British commemorative practices have ultimately become mired within the debate surrounding militarism over the last century (Harrison, 2012; Danilova, 2015; Basham, 2016; Kidd & Sayner, 2018). It is argued that these are practices no longer enacted as a commitment to peace, but instead are resigned to the perpetual and necessary presence of warfare and are instrumental tools in the normalising of this specific reality for the British public.

It is thus the aim of this thesis to interrogate the manner by which a framework, the '1919 model' of British commemoration (Imber & Fraser, 2011), has been located and re-located with reference to war, militarism and the act of remembrance over the last century. With particular emphasis placed on discursive representations of the concept of 'military victimhood' within this commemorative context, this thesis seeks to establish how a paradoxical notion concerning inherently anti-war practices centred on victimhood can potentially engender the proliferation of a militaristic ideology, one that glorifies, justifies, and normalises war. Or in turn, perhaps how discourse surrounding these practices and the concept of military victimhood itself may very well provide a site of resistance, whereby such an ideology can be critiqued, challenged, or undermined.

1.1 A Century of Commemoration

In 2018, Britain marked the one-hundred-year anniversary of the 1918 Armistice, overseeing the conclusion of four years of centenary commemorative events enacted up and down the nation. Demonstrated during this period was the continued prevalence of the First World War and its commemoration within the British national consciousness, generating "new state-funded aesthetic, cultural, and educational activities" (Withers, 2020, p.429), highlighting how important the memory and commemoration of this conflict, and indeed subsequent conflicts fought throughout the 20th Century, is to the British national identity and consciousness. Throughout the period of the 2014-18 centenary, traditional forms of commemoration were enacted across the nation, with Prime

Minister David Cameron claiming in 2012 that the centenary was a prime opportunity to guarantee that their social importance and moral value were reinforced to a new generation, and to in turn ensure that such commemorative rituals and practices endured for another century (Pennell, 2020).

Central to such acts of commemoration are the rituals and practices of the 1919 model conceived of in the immediate years following the cessation of the First World War (Imber & Fraser, 2011). Practices such as the two-minute silence and the wearing of the Flanders Poppy, as well as commemorative services enacted at local and national memorials, are at the core of the 1919 model, which initially served to both legitimise and acknowledge the sacrifice of the British war dead, as well as encouraging both financial and moral support to social actors such as the bereaved or disabled ex-military actors (Gregory, 1994).

As living memory of the First World War has all but passed from the British population, and that of the Second World War is reaching its twilight, the advent of the 2014-18 centenary came at a pivotal cultural moment in British history. Yet despite such widespread engagement of the British population with the act of remembrance during this period, it has been argued that Britain's centenary commemoration "provided limited spaces for debating and reframing… important issues" (Danilova & Dolan, 2019, p.255), particularly concerning the issue of militarism, with which this thesis is primarily concerned. While mainstream or 'official' narratives surrounding these practices promote the commemoration of British military personnel as a non-problematic and nationally unifying activity, there has indeed existed over the last century opposition which brands such practices as inherently militaristic and therefore problematic, with emphasis placed on the changing social context in which these rituals and practices are enacted.

Militarism, at its core, is an ideology that glorifies, justifies, and normalises the waging of war. The proliferation of such an ideology is enabled by the sanitisation of war's power to victimise (Mosse, 1990), with specific depictions of military actors central to this sanitisation. Traditionally, the British military actor has been typified as the masculine ideal, as a heroic and brave individual who fights for a just and morally valuable cause (McCartney, 2011). Such an image of the soldier took root in Britain initially during the late 19th Century, being reproduced through a variety of mediums such as literature, film, video games, and news media, and remains largely relevant today (Paris, 2000). In turn, alongside such forms of mediation, relevant literature highlights the potential of the 1919 model to also contribute to militarism's mediation despite its apparent focus on war's power to victimise (Basham, 2016; Pennell, 2020).

Within this context of British commemoration, modern observances of the 1919 model's rituals and practices, despite seemingly adhering to the form and spirit of their initial enactment almost a

century ago, ultimately bear a singular difference to the mood of the years following the First World War. As discussed in the opening section of this chapter, at its inception the 1919 model functioned as a commitment to peace, yet enactments of commemoration during the centenary ultimately took place in a Britain that had been involved in numerous wars since the 1918 Armistice. Rather than being the war to end all wars, the First World War instead served as the catalyst for a century of conflict across the globe. Yet despite this inconsistency in purpose, the rituals of the 1919 model have been largely enacted in Britain unchanged since their introduction during the annual commemorative period of 'Remembrancetide' each November (Gregory, 1994; Harrison, 2012).

Herein lies the paradoxical assertion at the heart of this thesis, whereby the obscuration of war's power to victimise is superseded by the apparent foregrounding of military victimhood within the rituals and practices of the 1919 model. If British commemoration over the last century has indeed facilitated militaristic sentiments, as relevant literature would suggest, then how does the contradictory presence of the military victim within these rituals and practices play into such assertions? Occupying this unique paradoxical space, this thesis seeks to establish the potential for representations of British military victimhood to enable the mediation of militaristic ideals and values within a commemorative context.

To do so, another unique position will be occupied by this thesis, one that foregrounds a victimological perspective when discussing the discursive construction of military victimhood. Within victimological literature, the military victim exists at the periphery, their assumed masculine nature, typified by characteristics and behaviour that assume strength and competence, clash with normative views of the victim as feminine, as weak and passive (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). Despite sharing a similar view with regards to masculinity and assumptions concerning gender roles, militaristic and normative victimological perspectives clash in regard to notions of the military victim, with British commemorative practices affording the notion of victimhood to military actors while normative victimological perspectives do not. In the instance of this thesis, the 'ideal victim construct' will be utilised as a key frame of reference, described by Christie (1986, p.18) as a public status afforded to "a person or category of individuals" who "most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim" at a social level. This construct outlines the expected behaviours and characteristics of the 'victim', largely afforded this label based on their perceived femininity and the associated traits of weakness and passivity, alongside a lack of culpability within their victimisation (Christie, 1986).

Such a seeming contradiction between these two sets of literature motivates the intellectual project of this thesis. If indeed the military victim is peripheral within the victimological imagination, then

this thesis seeks to establish what processes must take place discursively so as to enable military personnel to be represented as victims within a British commemorative context. Also explored will be whether or not the core tenets, or 'rules', of victimological perspectives are adhered to in this process, or if certain aspects of what will be referred to as 'ideal' victimhood are circumvented in order to legitimise the victimhood of military personnel. This thesis also serves to take this analysis to a further, critical level, questioning the reasons behind the granting of the victim label to military personnel in the context of commemoration, and establishing the potential ties this labelling may bear to either the challenging or perpetuating of a militaristic ideology, or both.

It is through collaboration with, and access to, the British Library's print and digital archives this thesis will address this unique gap in knowledge concerning 'military victimhood' and its potential role in the mediating of a militaristic ideology in Britain since 1918. Through the application of a methodological approach centring on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the linguistic construction of military victimhood within British commemorative discourse will be assessed so as to ascertain its potential to influence the beliefs and behaviour of the British public in a particular manner, one which potentially facilitates either the challenging or perpetuating of a militaristic ideology.

1.2 Research Questions and Methodology

In order to critically investigate the potential role played by depictions of military victimhood in the mediating of militaristic ideals and values in Britain over the last century, this thesis aims to answer two specific research questions. They are as follows:

1.

How has military victimhood been constructed within the context of British commemoration since 1918?

2.

What is the relationship between this construction of military victimhood and the mediation of militarism in Britain since 1918?

In order to answer these questions, as mentioned earlier, the methodological approach of CDA will be adopted by this thesis. CDA is an approach that explores the intricate relationship between language and social practice, determining how a specific use of language can potentially contribute

to both the shaping and maintenance of a specific social reality (Regmi, 2017). In turn, CDA seeks to explain the ways in which discourse is capable of both producing and resisting issues such as "social power abuse, dominance, and inequality" in both social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352). CDA critically assesses how discourse can potentially influence the beliefs and behaviours of social actors and is thus well suited to the core themes and concepts that this thesis is interested in, investigating how discourse can shape a social reality that ultimately engenders the proliferation of a militaristic ideology (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

With further reference to the context of this thesis, CDA is deployed to interrogate discursive constructions of military victims within a British commemorative context, specifically discourse found in 'public sphere texts' (Habermas, 1987). In contrast to the 'private sphere', the public sphere is the realm "in which discussion of matters of general interest" take place, and from which emerges 'public opinion' on a particular topic (Smith, 2013, p.9). Through access to the British Library's archival materials, the approach of CDA will be applied to a specific text sample consisting of both print and digital public sphere texts relevant to the core research questions of this thesis. This application enables the interrogation of public opinion surrounding the commemoration of war in Britain over the last century, and in turn explores how discourse concerning military victimhood may serve to influence this public opinion in a specific manner pertaining to militaristic ideals and values.

Noted at this point, however, must be some of this thesis' limitations, namely concerning its scope. Due to the nature and size of a thesis, along with real world restraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic (which will be explored in more detail in Chapter Four), the inclusion of both the topic of gender issues and of local interpretations of British commemorative practices is limited within later analysis. Instead, a broader approach has been adopted, looking at how discourse present within national British newspapers concerning commemoration can potentially relate to the proliferation or challenging of a militaristic ideology. Such an approach excludes the intricacies of local commemoration, yet usefully provides a platform for future research which can provide a comparison and contrasting of both local and national newspaper reporting in Britain over the last century.

The first set of texts acquired as part of the text sample come from three British newspapers: *The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror,* and *The Times,* representative of different 'types' of newspaper, namely 'mid-market tabloid, 'red top' tabloid, and broadsheet respectively. Texts from these newspapers were collected from their respective digital archives within a specific temporal parameter which ensured them having been produced during the annual period of British 'Remembrancetide' (Harrison, 2012).

A second set of texts taken from the UK Web Archive (UKWA) complete the text sample, providing examples of digital texts to be critically analysed alongside the print newspaper texts, as discussed above. The UKWA is a partnership of the UK's six Legal Deposit Libraries, and in turn is a partner of the British Library, serving to collect and preserve millions of UK websites each year for use by future generations. These collected/archived websites are made available to the public through the British Library/UKWA's website. Utilisation of these texts provide an alternative perspective to those produced by print newspaper texts and enable this thesis to ascertain if texts produced by social actors in a position of relatively less power articulate the concept of military victimhood in a manner that contrasts to its usage within the dominant commemorative discourse. Further and more specific details of the collation of both newspaper and website texts are outlined in more detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Within this thesis, critical analysis of discourse as evidenced within the text sample is undertaken with specific emphasis on 'referential' and 'transitive' strategies. These strategies deal with positive/negative naming conventions, as well as the location of social actors within sentence structure. The latter determining whether a social actor is 'agent' or 'object' within the context of a specific action (Richardson, 2007). These strategies were chosen with direct reference to the ideal victim construct in mind, which, as mentioned briefly above, posits that the victim label is afforded at a social level to actors who are characterised as 'feminine', being weak, passive, and ultimately blameless in the context of their victimisation (Christie, 1986). By paying attention to referential and transitive strategies within the text sample, the potential depiction of social actors with ties to military victimhood can be assessed in line with the ideal victim construct.

For instance, as will be demonstrated in later analysis chapters, depictions of a disabled ex-serviceman as 'suffering' as a result of their wounding during military service, alongside the employment of negative referential strategies, would inform whether or not this social actor was deemed 'deserving' of the victim label. Here, such an actor is constructed in the 'feminine' manner ascribed by the ideal victim construct, in contrast to, for instance, the war dead, who are typified in the text sample by their masculine traits of strength and competency, thus affording them the label of 'non'-victim.

Alongside these referential and transitive strategies, CDA as adopted by this thesis will also pay attention to notions of 'intertextuality', and in turn 'dialogicality'. These terms refer to the context of discourse, assessing to what degree a text foregrounds or backgrounds important contextual information regarding a topic. Again, to provide an example in the context of this thesis, an investigation into intertextuality and dialogicality may be in reference to the degree to which a text

provides information on the suffering of a disabled ex-serviceman. Whether or not the 'suffering' of this individual is attributed to the lack of government support provided, or if this information is obscured. In turn, intertextuality and dialogicality can also shed light on texts which de-privilege discourse, rather than obscuring context they foreground it, ultimately enabling a text's audience to form their own conclusions concerning a specific topic.

1.3 Thesis Outline

With key notions concerning relevant literature now drawn, as well as the research questions and methodological approach underpinning this thesis, it would be pertinent to briefly outline the structure and content of this thesis.

Beginning with Chapter Two, the literature surrounding militarism will be reviewed in more detail, highlighting how attitudes to and understandings of the concept have changed over the last century in relation to social and military developments. Of particular interest here is British 'liberal' militarism and the manner by which its core ideals and values have been mediated through a range of mediums (Edgerton, 1991), centring on depictions of the British military actor as a stereotypically heroic and brave individual (McCartney, 2011). The contradictory nature of military victimhood and the mediation of militarism within the literature will begin to unfold here, as literature concerning British commemorative practices of the 1919 model and their potential for perpetuating a militaristic ideology will be explored. Such an exploration will highlight the space that this thesis occupies and also the overall contribution to knowledge that it offers, serving to locate the concept of military victimhood within this literature, through a critical assessment of how depictions of military victims have ultimately either perpetuated or challenged the mediation of militarism in Britain over the last century.

Leading on from here, Chapter Three reviews the literature surrounding military victimhood itself through a victimological lens, developing a useful victimological 'language' for later deployment in this thesis. Here the theoretically contradictory concept will be explored in relation to the 'ideal victim' construct, which asserts that the victim label is applied only to social actors who demonstrate vulnerability and blamelessness within the act of their victimisation (Christie, 1986). Such traditional, or 'positivist', victimological perspectives therefore negate the affordance of the victim label to the military actor who, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, are typified as masculine and capable individuals. Highlighted again here is another paradoxical space that this thesis serves to address,

whereby victimological understandings of military victimhood clash with the practical enactment of the 1919 model, which demonstrably affords the victim label to military actors.

Chapter Four will then move on to outline the methodological approach adopted by this thesis in detail. Through the application of CDA to a text sample consisting of texts acquired from the British Library's print and digital archives, the manner by which military victims have been constructed within British commemorative discourse since 1918 will be critically assessed. Of special interest here will be how commemorative discourse not only constructs a specific image of the military victim, but also how this discourse encompasses a text's audience within the process of victimisation. The *critical* aspect of CDA allows this study to move beyond simple discourse analysis, questioning the reasoning behind the production of a particular discourse and its potential links to ideology and power. Asking whether specific discursive processes take place in the construction of military victims within a British commemorative context which circumvents traditional victimological perspectives. Here the ideal victim construct as outlined in Chapter Three will be utilised as a frame of reference when critically assessing how commemorative discourse represents military victims, and ultimately questioning whether these representations have been capable of mediating a militaristic ideology or have in fact challenged its core ideals and values since 1918.

Chapter Five will serve as the first chapter to illustrate the findings of the application of the chosen methodological approach of CDA to the text sample. Here, the role that Durkheim's (1995) concept of ritual plays within the discursive constructions of two groups of social actors with distinct ties to military victimhood, the war dead and the bereaved, is explored. Highlighted is how traditional victimological perceptions of victimhood are largely adhered to within the discursive constructions of these two groups, focusing on traditional notions concerning masculinity and femininity in relation to the expected gender roles within a military context. These notions see the war dead afforded the label of 'non'-victim, while the bereaved are 'deserving' of the victim label.

In contrast to these two groups, Chapter Six demonstrates the transient nature of ex-service personnel, 'the war living', within commemorative discourse. These social actors are depicted as both victim and non-victim at different points in the text sample depending on the social context in which specific texts were produced. Here normative notions concerning the perceived inherent masculinity of British military actors and the tenets of the ideal victim construct come to a head, and the processes of discursive representation become apparent, demonstrating how the masculinity of disabled military actors in particular is deconstructed so as to better adhere to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct. This chapter highlights the first instance within this thesis whereby

representations of military victimhood can be viewed as challenging, or undermining, the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology.

The final analysis chapter, Chapter Seven, moves beyond direct discursive constructions of military victims and instead highlights the role of the wider British public, the assumed audience of texts, within the process of military victimhood. Commemorative discourse emphasises that the behaviour of the British public, as 'moral agents' (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018), can directly affect the lives of military victims, for both good and ill. Such discourse largely focuses on a group of social actors referred to in this thesis as 'the deviant'. These are social actors who refuse to adhere to the 'rules' of the 1919 model's rituals and practices, and thus are depicted within commemorative discourse in a largely negative manner. Their behaviour is described as directly contributing to the suffering of military victims, be it through a lack of respect paid to the war dead or monetary contribution to relevant ex-service personnel charities. Demonstrated in this chapter is how discourse concerning British military victims directly attempts to influence the beliefs and behaviours of the wider British public; encouraging respect being afforded to military actors, while normalising both the uncritical enactment of commemorative practices and the policing of other people's behaviour during this enactment.

Deviancy is also demonstrated in this chapter as serving a dual purpose within the text sample, specifically in relation to digital texts obtained from the UKWA. Here it is noted how the concept of military victimhood, while within dominant narratives can enable the mediation of militarism, when articulated within 'counter'-narratives can also serve to challenge the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology. Such a perspective of the concept serves to highlight contradictions within such an ideological approach, as well as exposing the manner by which discourse is utilised within a dominant narrative to present a narrow perspective of war and depictions of military actors. Here, military victimhood as a concept can be utilised to challenge the agenda of powerful social actors, in tandem with the democratising power of the internet.

These three analysis chapters, Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, serve to primarily address the first of this thesis' research questions concerning the manner by which the concept of military victimhood has been constructed in a British commemorative context over the last century. They demonstrate how discursive constructions of the military victim, particularly within dominant commemorative narratives, adhere to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, affording the victim label to social actors who are identifiable as 'feminine', as weak and passive in the context of their victimisation.

Following these three analysis chapters, the penultimate Chapter Eight provides a final discussion of these findings concerning military victims, and directly addresses the second of this thesis' research

questions, critically assessing how the construction of British military victimhood as evidenced within the text sample has potentially challenged or perpetuated a militaristic ideology in Britain over the last century. The war dead and the bereaved are emblematic of traditional notions of gender roles in relation to the military, with the masculine military actor expected to fight wars while the domesticated feminine actor stays behind. In turn depictions of the deviant further serve to influence the beliefs and behaviours of the British social actor, suppressing critique of war and its commemoration by outwardly depicting such behaviour as instrumental in the further victimisation of military victims. It is only depictions of the war living which provide some challenge to notions expressed in the relevant literature. At points in the sample, the war living are discursively depicted so as to exhibit feminine traits as necessitated by contextual social pressures, undermining the stereotypical view of the military actor as masculine in the process. In turn, the deployment in counter-narratives in specific texts, as mentioned above, also serve to challenge the dominant commemorative narrative by exposing its militaristic tendencies. Once more demonstrating the transient nature of military victimhood, a concept which can be utilised to both challenge and mediate the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology.

This thesis' final concluding chapter draws together the analysis and findings of previous chapters, assessing how military victimhood has been constructed within a British commemorative context over the last century, as well as its potential role in the mediating or challenging of militaristic ideals and values during this period. This chapter will also explore the contributions to knowledge that the addressing of this thesis' research questions achieves, as well as future research that this thesis' unique contribution ultimately enables.

With the advent of the First World War centenary in 2018, the relevance of this thesis cannot be understated, affording a privileged position by which a century of commemoration and depictions of military victimhood can be chronicled and in turn critically assessed. On a cultural level, this thesis serves to interrogate how military victimhood has potentially evolved over this extensive period of time, providing a unique insight into how the concept may be deployed as either a tool for or against militarism as a second century of British commemoration commences.

Chapter Two

Militarism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will serve two key purposes within the wider thesis. Firstly, through an exploration of relevant literature, the core ideals and values of what can be regarded as a militaristic ideology will be established. Secondly, the manner by which these core ideals and values have been mediated, with particular interest in Britain over the last century, will also be explored. Through these explorations, a useful working definition of the concept of militarism will be determined for employment throughout the rest of this thesis.

Taking into consideration the research aims of this thesis, this chapter will also foreground how the concept of victimhood is both represented and made absent within the context of militarism and its mediation. Demonstrated here will be the space that this thesis ultimately occupies, as a locating of the concept of military victimhood and its potential role in the mediation of core militaristic ideals and values within the body of literature concerning militarism.

The first section of this chapter will begin by examining the scholarly understandings of the concept of militarism through three distinct historical periods, characterised by the primary 'mode' of warfare employed by contemporary societies and militaries, with particular focus on the global North. The first being 'Total War', concerning the period of the early-to-mid 20th Century, where critique of militarism as primarily an ideology was at the forefront of scholarly understandings. Following this, the chapter will examine the Cold War period, where understandings of militarism moved beyond simply an ideological critique, and placed new emphasis on civil-military relations, the propensity to use force, and wider examinations of militarism as embedded in social relations. Finally, this section of the chapter will look at the 21st Century, where understandings of the concept become more deeply embedded in the social practices that enable the production and reproduction of militaristic ideals and values within societies that, supposedly, are more isolated from the military than ever. An exploration of these three periods will demonstrate how scholarly understandings of militarism's role and function in a society has evolved and adapted in relation to contemporary social and military developments.

Following on from this, literature concerning the manner by which these core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology are mediated will then be explored, with a specific focus on Britain. Through

forms such as visual media, toys, video games, and news media, a specific representation of war has been perpetuated in Britain over the last century, one that foregrounds the glorification, normalisation, and justification of conflict with a special emphasis on the heroic nature of the masculine military actor. It will be demonstrated here how a deeply sanitised view of war's violent reality is presented to British citizens, which ultimately distorts war's potential to victimise by marginalising military victims. This assertion is key to this thesis moving forwards, as it will be established here how military victimhood is a concept which theoretically comes into contention with militaristic notions concerning war's reality and will inform the discussions underpinning the following chapter concerning victimological perspectives. In turn, the potential for British commemorative practices to mediate militaristic ideals and values will also be explored, highlighting how despite their seemingly contradictory proclivity to foreground the existence of military victims, such as the British war dead, they are still capable of mediating militaristic ideals and values that ultimately aid in war's glorification, normalisation, and justification.

Exactly how this is made possible within commemorative discourse, however, is the unique space that this thesis occupies. While literature explored in this chapter demonstrates how military victims can be foregrounded within British commemorative practices, this thesis serves to take this assertion one step further, critically observing how and why specific choices are made in the discursive construction of military actors within this commemorative context that ultimately enable the mediation of militaristic ideals and values. This chapter therefore serves not only to establish working definitions and understandings of important concepts, but also to highlight the gap in knowledge that this thesis serves to inhabit.

Firstly, then, a brief exploration of the origins of the concept of militarism will now be presented.

2.2 What is Militarism?

Throughout history, defining militarism has been a contested issue, as it is most often utilised in a politically charged and pejorative manner, used to negatively label political behaviour deemed to favour military power (Stavrianakis, 2015). Because of this, it has been argued that as a concept militarism has been marginalised, academically speaking, and following the cessation of the Cold War has been regarded as an historic term with little to no meaningful application in relation to societies of the 21st Century (Shaw, 2012). Similarly, particularly in sociology, the study of war, and by extension militarism, has also been found lacking, with Malešević (2010) arguing that such study has often been regarded as unnecessary owing to its potential for facilitating bellicosity, and also the

belief that modernity would eventually see war disappear entirely, a sentiment initially posited by Joas (2003) who argued that the continuance of warfare into the 21st Century could be regarded as a failure of modernity. Similarly, Carlton (2001, p.46) posits that "social scientists do not seem to want to think the worst of people" and potentially resist the study of militarism as a result.

However, such a proliferation of debates concerning the concept of militarism would stand to negate this proposed lack of attention and imply that militarism indeed persists into the 21st Century. Despite lacking in regard to what can be viewed as archaic, overtly 'jingoistic' proclamations and the employment of mass citizen armies, militarism nonetheless persists, observable as functioning deeply engrained within a multitude of social practices (Berghahn, 1981). This first section of the chapter will outline the historical approaches to the conceptualisation of militarism since the 19th Century, in an attempt to arrive at a workable definition for the purpose of this thesis' investigation by which its mediation can be better understood, and ultimately as a definition which will be carried forward and deployed as part of later critical analysis of the text sample.

To do this, a framework influenced by the work of Shaw (2012) will be adopted, which enables a better understanding of how militarism has been conceptualised over the last century in relation to the dominant 'mode' of warfare during specific periods. Stavrianakis (2015) also asserts that it is individual aspects of the concept of militarism during these periods that have been the focus of academic works, and this assertion will also influence this thesis' exploration of militarism. This section of the chapter will now move on to survey each of these conceptualisations of militarism within the historical context in which they developed.

2.2.1 Total War and Mass/Classical Militarism

The early-to-mid 20th Century was typified by 'total' war, a mode of warfare where all aspects of a society are geared towards the facilitation of victory (Beckett, 1988). This in turn saw the rise of what can be referred to as 'mass' or 'classical' militarism (Shaw, 2012). Advancements in the technology of warfare meant that, during conflicts such as the two World Wars, societies utilised the employment of mass citizen armies, which necessitated the widespread dissemination of militaristic ideals in order to garner support for mass civil participation in the military. Militarism itself played an important role in the development of national identities and ensured that men from all levels of society became involved with the army, extending the military's reach into the social sphere. War began to be viewed as an almost sacred venture, an opportunity to transcend the mundane shackles

of every-day existence and to reach a true potential only possible through the crucible of battle (Mosse, 1990). These contextual developments regarding war and society's relationship meant militarism was primarily conceptualised as an ideological phenomenon during this period, as a state of mind (Shaw, 2012; Stavrianakis, 2015).

This permeation of society with military ideals and values resulted in what can be regarded as the 'rational' warfare of the 19th Century replaced by 'irrational' policies of conduct (Coates, 2016). The all-encompassing nature of total war, first observed during the First World War, meant an aggressive nationalist stance had to be adopted by warring nations, resulting in war becoming an "illogical, irrational… intoxicating phenomenon… a reason for being" (Coates, 2016, pg.2). Contemporary understandings thus focused on how militarism was viewed as encompassing an ideology that "glorifies war, military institutions, and martial values" (Stavrianakis, 2015, p.490).

The seminal work on militarism during this period was written by Vagts (1937), who described the militaristic ideology as one that encompasses the 'excesses' of the military – such as parades, national anthems and military decorations; the narcissistic tendencies of the modern military that forego the scientific role of the military as a wager of war, in favour of the glorification of the 'military man'. To Vagts (1937), militarism denotes a set of values within a society that glorifies the armed forces and the waging of war, which facilitates the invasion of the 'civilian sphere' by that of the 'military sphere'. Militarism incorporates a culture of defence, where military ideals are ingrained in all aspects of society; an ideology that lionises both the values and achievements of a professional military class, as well as supporting the aggressive expansion of national interests and values.

Nations such as Germany and Japan were seen as the purest examples of militaristic societies during the first half of the 20th Century by Western Liberal commentators, and much of the literature produced during this period focused on them, particularly the former (Berghahn, 1981). Following the Second World War, the eradication of militarism in Germany saw understandings of the concept shift away from a solely ideological conceptualisation with more attention being paid to its wider socio-economic implications and the specific practices which enabled the militarisation of a population (Berghahn, 1981).

A solely ideological understanding neglects the intricate ways in which this ideology itself is 'carried' from the military sphere into that of the civilian sphere, marginalising the social practices that allow such an attitude to war to be shaped (Shaw, 2012). Some scholars, such as Mann (1987) and Enloe (1983), still emphasise the importance of ideology in understanding militarism, but their exploration of the concept takes into account "material as well as ideational elements" (Stavrianakis & Selby,

2012, p.12) such as recreational activities centred around conflict, as will be explored in more detail in the following section of this chapter. Moving forwards, it will be demonstrated how purely ideological understandings of militarism have become relatively uncommon, particularly in the post-Second World War era, as the relationship between society and war has vastly changed (Stavrianakis, 2015).

2.2.2 The Cold War

The Cold War era signalled a fundamental change in the way that warfare was waged. While traditional or 'classical' militarism persisted in developing nations, mass armies were unnecessary for nations capable of annihilating an enemy with their nuclear arsenal. Throughout this period a reliance on volunteer forces can be observed, and a diminished use of conscription within these latter states (Shaw, 2012). With regards to militarism the implications of the Cold War were major: shifts from conscript armies to professional forces, and from extensive, mass-production equipment to more intensive, high-technology military industry and the policy of mutually assured destruction. As van Doorn (1973) argues, armies during this period were regarded as tools of deterrence, focused on technical specialisation rather than acquiring victory through attrition and sheer weight of numbers, as had been the case during the first half of the century.

This apparent reduction in contact between civilian and military spheres did not, however, signal the end of militarism; instead, observable are multiple new forms of militarism, or *militarisms,* arising and taking the place of what has been referred to up until this point as mass or classical militarism which typified the first half of the 20th Century. Militaries and governments were faced with the challenge of generating support for warfare now that the civilian presence in the armed forces was greatly reduced, whilst an improved living standard meant civilians were less willing to put their own lives at risk. Because of this, during this period the 'deterrence-science' militarism of the elites of both the East and West emerged, a largely surreptitious form of militarism focused on generating support for the military from the masses. In the West, this support came in the form of what Mann (1987) refers to as 'spectator sport militarism', whereby war is transformed into a spectacle, much like the Olympic Games. This allowed Western societies to become familiarised with war from the safety of their own homes, serving to establish a particular 'hyperreality' or 'unreality' in which the events of a particular conflict fade into one another, and their visceral potency is lost (Baurdrillard, 1995).

It is also during this period that new, more expansive understandings of militarism become apparent within the literature. Scholars of this period begin to focus on aspects of militarism beyond solely ideological ones, such as behavioural, where the likelihood of a nation using force to solve an issue is assessed, or a nation's military 'build-up' quantitatively analysed (Stavrianakis, 2015). The end of the Cold War period heralded new ways in which militarism was understood, whereby interpretations of the last century were consolidated, and the 'embeddedness' of militarism within social practices became paramount. At the turn of the century, Western democracies began to struggle in convincing their citizens to participate in war, or to tolerate the deaths of soldiers. In Britain in particular, less 'popular' wars such as the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan in the 21st Century have overseen the role of militarism within society evolve once more, with emphasis placed on military service as a professional vocation rather than an opportunity for personal glory (Danilova, 2015).

2.2.3 Post-Cold War and the 21st Century

As asserted by Stavrianakis and Selby (2012), and mentioned earlier in this chapter, militarism as both a concept and subject has received less attention than might be expected within a discipline concerned with geopolitics, particularly following the cessation of the Cold War and leading into the 21st Century. The Cold War period saw a large influx of literature on the topic, primarily concerning issues such as arms races and military expenditure, along with "those militaristic attitudes, structures and practices that produce, or are shaped by, modern warfare" (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2012, p.3). Later literature concerning post-Cold War militarism emphasises how traditional mass militarism is still observable in states in Asia, for example, where large standing armies have been retained and the potential for conflict "reminiscent of the world wars" exists (Shaw, 2012, p.8). Through such a perspective, war fought in a traditional manner is no longer regarded as 'productive', but rather as a demobilising endeavour in the modern era (Kaldor, 2006; Shaw, 2012).

This is not to suggest that nations such as the United States or Great Britain have therefore moved beyond militarism, rather war has been 'repackaged' in the West, often referred to in terms such as 'security' or 'securitisation'. Shaw (2012, p.27) argues that developments in international relations, such as globalisation, legal frameworks, and the growing influence of the "global media space", means that the 'excesses' of war, typical of the period of total war in particular, are increasingly difficult to control. It is asserted that wars are now fought 'asymmetrically', with major states fighting lesser states, lesser states fighting lesser states, and so on, with also a marked increase and imbalance in violence directed against civilians (Kaldor, 2012).

And because of this increased level of media and legal scrutiny upon wars, particularly those waged by major states, militarism has shifted towards what can be referred to as "patriotism 'lite'" whereby wars are now packaged, particularly in Western states, as humanitarian and democracy-centric endeavours (Shaw, 2012, p.29).

Western civilian populations in the 21st Century are ever more insulated from the reality of wars waged in distant nations, with their attention diverted to towards simplistic and depoliticising notions of support for the armed forces and away from the violence enacted in these wars (Basham, 2016), with everyday activities such as attending sporting events becoming sites for the communicating of consent for the continuance of war (Kelly, 2020). In this instance, militarism can be viewed as a part of a "Gramscian notion of hegemony", with support for the military and its "associated activities" being generated from social actors who largely have little to no stake in "the well-being of this institution" (Pennell, 2020, p.385; Bernazzoli & Flint, 2009).

2.2.4 Summary

Through this exploration of conceptualisations of militarism since the late 19th Century, it becomes clear that no singular or definitive example of militarism exists throughout history; each manifestation of the concept varies in one way or another, depending heavily on contemporary politics, alongside both military and social developments. Ultimately, a militaristic ideology is one that glorifies, normalises, and justifies war. Elements of this ideology can be found embedded within social practices and can also be observed through quantifiable means with regards to military spending and 'build-up'. While initial understandings of the concept centred on ideology, and the idea that militaristic ideals and values were 'invading' the civil space, later literature produced has highlighted how these ideals and values are embedded within everyday beliefs and practices, rather than the 'military' and the 'civil' existing as two distinct or separate spaces. As Howell (2018, p.121) argues, militarism is not a separate concept that acts upon a 'peaceful order', rather it is something that permeates "domestic civil order", it is the 'liberal norm' rather than an encroachment from one state of existing upon another.

With regards to this thesis, the area of militarism of most interest is that of militarism as an ideology that is visibly embedded within social practices, as, moving forwards, analysis will be ultimately concerned with the role representations of victims within the context of commemorative practices can potentially have in the mediation of militarism. The next section of this chapter will deal with how militarism has been mediated in Britain over the last century, demonstrating how an ideology

that normalises, justifies, and glorifies war is embedded in the social practices of day-to-day life. Observed here will be how militaristic ideals and values are disseminated through mediums such as the visual arts, popular culture, and news media, before moving on to look at commemorative practices enacted in Britain since the end of the First World War.

2.3 Mediating British Militarism

The core tenets and scholarly approaches to understanding militarism over the last century have thus far been explored in this chapter, demonstrating that there is no definitive, singular way in which to conceptualise militarism. Instead, the importance of historical, social, and military contexts is clear, showing that militarism, while underpinned by an arguably trans-historic ideology, has been realised in a myriad of different ways. With regards to this thesis, how militarism as a concept has been *mediated* since the cessation of the First World War in Britain must be determined. This means understanding how militarism, or more succinctly militaristic ideals and values, have become normalised and embedded within social practices. To reiterate, these ideals and values are those that glorify, normalise and justify the waging of war, often by sanitising or distorting its more gruesome realities in favour of a glorified representation of conflict.

Narratives can be mediated through myriad forms, with "language, images, monuments and performances" being capable of shaping and disseminating understandings of a particular topic (Rigney, 2018, p.243). In the instance of this thesis, the narratives concerned with are those as outlined above, militaristic narratives that normalise, justify, and glorify the waging of, and participation in, war. As stated by Shaw (2012) and explored in more detail earlier in this chapter, militarism cannot be simply defined as an ideology, a state of mind, but must also be understood as present within these social practices, thus it is social practices that this thesis is concerned with most.

In turn, there exists no definitive example of militarism, rather there exists what we can refer to as *militarisms*, manifestations of the concept whose appearance and function depend on the social and political context in which they exist. Britain throughout history has had a unique relationship with its military, hinging on both geographic, social, and political factors. Edgerton (1991) refers to this uniquely British militarism as "liberal militarism", which features a heavy reliance on technology. With no mass conscripted armies, bar during the First World War and a period from 1939-1960, Britain has sought to defend itself primarily through the employment of small professional forces and the wielding of cutting-edge technology, reflecting Kaldor's (2012) argument concerning the

changing nature of warfare over the last century. Ranging from the Royal Navy at the turn of the 20th Century, the RAF during the Second World War, and eventually nuclear weaponry during the Cold War to the present day (Edgerton, 1991).

Historically, because of this technological reliance, there has existed a prevailing idea concerning Britain and militarism, one that regarded the British as fundamentally hostile to the concept, with a preference for technological supremacy in the field of warfare over the need for a standing army. Summers (1976, p.105) challenges this viewpoint, arguing that enthusiasm for war in the summer of 1914 in Britain indicates that, despite having lacked what could be regarded as 'traditional' expressions of militarism, such as "garrison towns" or indeed conscription, found widely on the European continent, there must have been "a very wide and pervasive range of military or militaristic modes of thinking" in British society.

In the lead up to the outbreak of the First World War, reference to war in Britain was a constant on account of the nature of ruling an empire, with numerous 'little wars' being waged, albeit abroad (Paris, 2000). Yet despite the remote nature of this fighting, detailed descriptions of the experience of war and battle was conveyed to the public "in unprecedented detail and with unprecedented immediacy by an army of newspaper correspondents… eager to sell stories of military heroism and adventure to its readers" (Johnson, 2013, p.20). These stories of heroism and adventure were also present through a myriad of mediums within British popular culture. Through these means, war is articulated as legitimate and natural, and as an endeavour that Britain as a nation became involved in only when absolutely necessary (Summers, 1976; Shaw, 1991).

Taking this into consideration, particular attention in this section of the chapter will be paid to British militarism, looking at how militaristic ideals and values have been mediated through multiple media forms. As asserted by Anderson and Mirrlees (2014, p.1), over the last century civilians have been able to "read war stories, hear war broadcasts, watch televised war fictions and play war games" at a safe distance from the actual fighting inherent in a war. This detachment from war's reality, however, means that such a mediated vision of warfare is partial and highly selective, presenting to its audience a distorted vision of combat, one that foregoes its brutal horrors and instead foregrounds ideas of excitement and adventure. Scarry (1987, p.63) writes of how the sanitisation of war's reality not only obscures the direct experience of the soldier in a war but is also key in the dehumanisation of the enemy, which ultimately sanctions "the inhumane treatment of those no longer regarded as fully human" and largely conceals the manner by which violence in war is enacted.

Mosse (1990) wrote of this distortion of war's reality as 'the myth of the war experience', a myth that encompasses ideals such as camaraderie, as well as the glorification and romanticising of warfare. Developing in the late 18th Century, the myth of the war experience played a vital role in the initial enthusiasm of civilians across Europe at the outbreak of war in 1914, as young men bought into this romanticised vision of war as adventure and were eager to fight as part of the military. This 'reality' of war refers to the violence experienced by military actors in particular that is undeniably inherent within conflict. Gee (2014, p.88) writes of the Falklands War, for instance, which saw soldiers on both sides "blown into pieces by mortar shells, grenades and landmines". While memoirs of the First World War also often refer to the brutal potential of the weaponry of industrial war; "at any moment my life might be blotted out by a bullet crashing through my head, or by flying shell fragments rending me apart" (Coppard, 1969, p.38); "his right shoulder had been mangled by several bullets, and his arm is held on only by strips of sleeve" (Barbusse, 1926, p.228); "I saw as in a nightmare… his head was off, and the blood had flowed into a puddle" (Junger, 1961, p.135).

Alongside memoirs, the secondary work of historians, such as Keegan (1976), Winter (1978), Vanisttart (2003), and Mayhew (2014) to name but a few, has also done a great deal in shedding light on the first-hand experiences of those caught up in war, demonstrating the "appalling confusion and danger" inherent in battle, as well as "the carnage and filth" of life on the frontlines (Winter, 1978, p.187). Exposure to such conditions results not only in potential physical damage or death, but also great psychological damage, with soldiers subject to "dread and anxiety and physical exhaustion" at the prospect of mutilation or experiencing "great sadness" having witnessed friends die in battle (Winter, 1978, p.187). As asserted by Gee (2014), following war, military actors continue to be afflicted by their experience of battle, be it through physical or psychological trauma, or both (Powell, 2019). And in turn, as noted in the previous section of this chapter, civilian casualties of war cannot be ignored, particularly over the last century, as the scope of war has dramatically increased and encompassed all facets of a society (Keegan, 1989)

Alongside this influence on British perceptions of war and the act of soldiering, literature concerning the power of militarism to reinforce rigid identity-centric hierarchies must not be ignored. Both racial and gender norms too are heavily informed and reinforced by public narratives concerning which social actors are expected to fight (as well as remembered as having fought) and those expected to stay at home in domesticated roles, as part of what Basham (2016, p.883) terms "communities of feeling", where social actors are able to navigate their own particular role in the national story. Dominant narratives of Britain at war prioritise the white mainland soldiers, whilst marginalising, for example, ethnic minorities who also served in conflicts such as the two World

Wars (Bourne, 2014), as well as reinforcing the view that it is the role of men and men alone to enact violence during times of war (Yuval-Davis, 1997).

This section of the chapter will explore how this widespread distortion, sanitisation, and in some cases outright ignoring, of war's reality plays a key role in the proliferation of a particular ideological viewpoint, showing how social practices that subscribe to a particular depiction of war are capable of producing and reproducing militaristic sentiments within Britain since the late 19th Century. Examined will be different forms of media that have been key in the mediation of militarism in Britain, encompassing popular culture, and news media, all of which seemingly hinge upon an obscuration of war's power to victimise. Once these forms of mediation have been established, the following section of the chapter will move on to examine how British commemorative practices of the 1919 model have also mediated militarism, but ultimately through a foregrounding rather than obscuring of military victims.

Firstly, this chapter will examine how the aforementioned myth of the war experience was able to initially take root in Britain, and how its continued presence in British culture has been facilitated by these different forms of media as mentioned above.

2.3.1 'Militainment': Visual Media

Prior to and during the First World War objects and practices within popular culture, such as "music hall reviews, films, postcards, cartoons, adventure stories, and sporting contests", promoted militaristic ideals, particularly with boys and young men in mind (Robb, 2002, p.160). This mixing of "militaristic imagery with entertainment formats" is a primary example of militarism's mediation, whereby civilians are persuaded to "identify their outlook, interests and values" with those of the military and of policies of national security (Anderson & Mirrlees, 2014, p.3). The publishing of patriotic songs reinforced militaristic ideals, strengthening notions concerning the righteousness and invincibility of the British military in contrast to the cowardice and ineptitude of the enemy for example (Robb, 2002).

It was during the First World War that cinema as a propaganda medium was fully realised, and the "ties between the military and media were forged" (Anderson & Mirrlees, 2014, p.2). Cinemas proved highly capable of disseminating militaristic ideals to large working-class audiences, aiding in "recruiting and war bond drives" (Robb, 2002, p.166). The propagandistic value of the cinema was not lost on the contemporary British government, who oversaw the production of films that highlighted the British soldier's bravery and the redemptive potential of the battlefield (Robb, 2002).

Organisations such as British Instructional Films (BIF), among others, also produced films throughout the inter-war period that portrayed the First World War in a "highly sanitised and heroic" manner (Paris, 2000, p.152).

As advancements in technology have progressed over the last century, arisen is a phenomenon referred to as 'militainment', whereby war is "entered into the system of consumption" (Stahl, 2009, p.20). As Stahl (2009) asserts, cooperation between the military and cultural industries, particularly in the late 20th/early 21st Century, resulted in the repositioning of the citizen subject in relation to war. Here, the citizen is able to "virtually participate in the action" of conflict (Stahl, 2009, p.21), with cinema offering its audience the "fantasy of spectating at a war" (Gee, 2014, p.70). This tradition of militarism mediated through mediums such as cinema continued well into the 21st Century, forming what can has also been referred to as a "military-media complex" (Anderson & Mirrlees, 2014). This complex, along with its "militainment forms", allows the sustenance and growing of a militaristic culture through the development of film products that combine entertainment and militaristic messages (Anderson & Mirrlees, 2014, p.3).

The production of films that romanticise war are in turn capable of reinforcing gender roles within war and legitimising the existence of the "hyper-masculine hero" who supposedly embodies the ideals of the Western soldier (Gee, 2014, p.49). While innumerable contemporary television programmes and social media videos have "the celebration of soldier's heroism at their heart", continuing to reinforce the view that the act of soldiering is ultimately a heroic and valuable endeavour, be it through altruistic actions or in the very act of dying for the nation (McCartney, 2011, p.44).

And while it can be argued that the production of 'anti-war' films are capable of challenging militarism, it is also argued, for example by Sontag (1979), it is only novelty that can truly shock an audience, and over-saturation of violence, particularly in cinema, can have a desensitizing effect on repeat viewers. In turn, showing too little also has the capacity to "enfeeble" an audiences capability of conjuring "the consequences of war" (Carruthers, 2000, p.26).

2.3.2 Interactive 'Militainment': Toys and Video Games

This interest in the British military mediated through the visual arts has often been supplemented by the "private activities" of toy-play (Brown, 1990, p.241). Over the last century war has been trivialised in Britain through the production of cultural artefacts, manufactured with the nation's youth in mind, particularly boys and young men, and have also been key in transforming war into an

"entertaining spectacle", and battle into "an exciting adventure narrative"; part of what Paris refers to as the "pleasure culture of war" (Paris, 2000, p.8). As evidenced by Brown (1990, p.243), a mass-market for military themed toys developed in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period, which exposed young male children in particular to "militaristic influences" and contributed to the sanitisation of warfare, presenting to 'players' a glamourised and inaccurate depiction of battle and offering to them the opportunity to participate in the fantasy of war, rather than just spectate (Gee, 2014).

Since the cessation of the First World War, the pleasure culture of war has grown massively. No longer simply limited to toy soldiers, so too have other recreational leisure past times, such as the playing of video games, become embroiled in the romanticising and sanitising of war. Through the production of military-centric toys and video games, militarism is "socialised" and normalised to youths, making violence "fun" (Bacevich, 2005, p.58). Production of these leisure activities glorify war, and their content can potentially be synchronised with real world political developments, facilitating support for war if implemented correctly (Bacevich, 2005).

Seen here, evidenced in the proliferation of social practices which facilitate the normalisation, justification, and glorification of war, is what Luckham (1984) termed "Armament Culture". Luckham (1984, p.1) argued that "we have entered a new stage in which the manufacturers of warfare are overtaking man and expropriating his culture." This theory of armament culture asserts that a 'fetishism' of the weapon (and advanced weapons-systems) in modern society had taken place through such mediums as toys and video games. This "massive invasion of the human conscience" involves the rationalisation of the modern war system, where the public become potential targets of the weaponry that governments supported the production of, whilst also coming to almost worship these weapons through popular culture (Luckham, 1984, p.2).

2.3.3 News Media

While the conveyance of militaristic ideals and values into the civilian sphere has thus far been explored through both the lenses of popular culture, referred to above as 'militainment', this section of the chapter is yet to establish the overarching role that news media plays in this process. Though newspapers cannot be credited with the inception of militarism in Britain over the last century, they can certainly be noted as integral to the perpetuation and reproduction of its ideals and values.

Journalism is inherently powerful, capable of informing people's understandings of the world around them, whilst also bearing the power "to shape issue agendas and public discourse" and to "reinforce

beliefs", whilst also influencing an individual's understanding of their own "place and role" in this world (Richardson, 2007, p.13). The reporting of journalists in news media, who ultimately choose which facts to include and which facts to leave out when reporting on a certain narrative, "help to legitimate the existing power structure and the existing ways of seeing and doing things" (Dunlevy, 1998, p.129).

With this in mind, it is clear then just how important news media can potentially be to the mediation of militarism, with access to the minds of a nation's population, as well as exerting great influence on their attitudes and beliefs concerning a particular issue. News media also "presents an opportunity for… powerful groups to use news media as conduits for their propaganda" (Richardson, 2007, p.86). In this instance, the powerful group in question is the British Government, as governments "generally seek to harness mass media in wartime to persuade citizens of a war's justness and the enemy's implacability" (Carruthers, 2000, p.5). As an important source of information for the public, newspapers are regarded as a "ready-made vehicle" for such propaganda, especially during times of war (Robb, 2002, p.112), and serve to "rationalise and justify" instances of violence in the minds of the public (Kirton, 2016, p.407)

Prior to conflict, news media acts as an integral part of the war system, able to keep "minds constantly primed" for war, facilitating the legitimising and glorifying of war and the "wholesale destruction of human life" that it ultimately entails (Carruthers, 2000, p.24). The news media is also instrumental in narrowing the potential avenues of action supposedly available to a state, justifying and normalising the act of choosing violence. The enemy are 'othered' and thus can be dehumanised more easily, allowing later acts of violence enacted upon them to be justified and accepted by wider society, acting in part here as a mobiliser of the public (Carruthers, 2000).

During conflict, journalists also play a key role in managing the public's view of events, but, again in reference to power, due to a reliance on elite or "militaristic" sources during such periods, reports of such events can be skewed "in pretty predictable ways" (Richardson, 2007, p.183). By concealing or omitting facts that could be regarded as unpleasant with regards to war's reality, newspapers are capable of reinforcing the proliferation of pro-war sentiments and glorifying the military. This can be achieved through the utilisation of euphemistic language that obfuscates integral elements of war, such as the loss of British lives, while simultaneously elevating "the most ordinary and squalid engagements to the realm of myth and chivalry" (Robb, 2002, p.114).

In turn, potentially 'unpalatable' words and phrases are transformed so as to sanitise the reality of war (Coker, 1994). During the Falklands War, for example, media coverage was tightly regulated by the British government, with imagery of death and destruction limited so as to protect morale back

home (Harris, 1983). Similarly, as asserted by Danilova (2015), through news media The Gulf War was 'cleaned up', sanitised through a careful selection of footage printed or broadcasted. Emphasis was placed on the military technology at play, highlighting the use of precision missile strikes and the perceived lack of civilian casualties they caused, with only 3% of news slots in Britain showing injured or dead bodies - victims of war - during their coverage of the conflict (Danilova, 2015).

And while news media plays an important role in the sanitising and glorifying of war for its audience, it has also been integral in the controlling (or at least attempted controlling) of their behaviour and attitudes with regards to warfare. For example, when the Poppy Appeal was first introduced in 1921, "the press was used to drum up support" by appealing "to community pride" (Andrews, 2019, p.301), while the branding (and vilifying) of specific opinions and viewpoints during war itself as 'unpatriotic', for example, can marginalise dissent and further galvanise the public's support for war (Harris, 1983).

While unique in many ways when compared to prior-discussed forms of mediators of militarism, demonstrated here is how news media fundamentally plays a similar role as popular culture; ultimately distorting war's reality and foregrounding chivalric ideals and the justifying/necessitating of violent conflict within public and political discourse. Social practices within popular culture and the reporting of news media largely divert attention away from the victimising power of war, when possible. As the next section of this chapter shall demonstrate, dealing with British commemorative practices of the 1919 model, this obscuring of victimisation is not always possible (Pennell, 2020). Demonstrated here will be how social practices inherently involved with the victimising power of war are nonetheless capable of disseminating militaristic ideals and values.

2.4. British Militarism and 'The 1919 Model'

Thus far, this chapter has explored how the mediating of militarism in Britain over the last century primarily involves the distorting of war's reality, presenting war to civilians as a glorious and exciting adventure, as an opportunity for male youths to test their mettle in the crucible of battle (Mosse, 1990). Depictions of war's potential to victimise theoretically challenges the core values and ideals of an ideology of militarism, demystifying the realities of soldiering and battle and undermining notions of heroism and adventure surrounding war in a militaristic context. As a result, within these mediated forms of militarism, military victims, those social actors victimised by war, are largely absent.

Although dealing with the notion of 'military victimhood' more fully in the next chapter, for now it is important to recognise that when victimhood becomes fundamentally and inescapably intertwined with representations of war, it can be observed how militarism is mediated in a consequently different manner to that which has been explored already in this chapter, yet in a manner that is still able to facilitate the normalisation, justification, and glorification of war. Through the examination of British commemorative practices and rituals it can be observed how they, despite bearing strong connections to the victimising power of war, are still capable of mediating militarism, and in many ways sustain the myth of the war experience (Mosse, 1990).

As argued by Pennell (2020, p.392), while the commemoration of war is indeed capable of mediating militarism, it must be noted that its close ties to victimhood ultimately means that there is always the potential for the "destructive consequences of war" to be revealed. The visibility of war's violent reality, even when depicted simply through the listing of names on a war memorial, can ultimately serve to undermine "any attempt by the state to conceal the link between its security needs and the cost to human life" (Pennell, 2020, p.390)

This section of the chapter will thus move forwards to outline the nature and function of the framework of rituals and practices by which the British war dead have been commemorated since the cessation of the First World War. This framework will be referred to as 'the 1919 model', a phrase coined by Imber and Fraser (2011), encompassing the commemorative practices and rituals enacted every year in Britain during a period known as 'Remembrancetide', the weeks surrounding both Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday in November each year (Harrison, 2012). Practices such as the two-minute silence, the Cenotaph service, and the wearing of the Flanders Poppy are integral components of the 1919 model, and, apart from a short period during the Second World War, have been enacted in Britain since at least 1919, hence the naming of the model (Gregory, 1994). The 1919 model continues to dominate contemporary remembrance to this day (Imber & Fraser, 2011).

This section of the chapter will briefly outline the history and function of the 1919 model, then move on to explore how it has potentially operated as a mediator of militaristic ideals and values in Britain over the last century.

2.4.1 Creation of The 1919 Model

As the 1919 model was ultimately conceived of as a response to an historically watershed moment concerning emotional and social responses to death, central to its practices are the concepts of bereavement, grief, and mourning (Gregory, 1994). As argued by Gregory (1994), the practices of the 1919 model directly addressed the victimisation of the bereaved by facilitating their coming to terms with the death of loved ones during the First World War. The geographic location of the war dead played an important role in the development of the 1919 model, as British soldiers from the First World War were (largely) not repatriated, left buried at the sites where they died (Andrews, 2019; van Emden, 2019). Because of this, lapidary forms of commemoration, such as the Cenotaph or the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, were constructed in mainland Britain to provide physical sites of mourning for both individuals and collectives (King, 2010). Mass enactment of rituals such as the two-minute silence served to reinforce wider societal acknowledgement of the suffering of the bereaved as a response to "extraordinary demand by the British people that their bereavement be recognised by the state and the nation as a whole" (King, 2010, p.6).

These linguistic and semiotic forms and traditions, developed to suit the specific needs of the bereaved, therefore focused on a particular framing of war as a means of legitimising the deaths of their loved ones (Todman, 2005). The war dead became widely regarded as 'The Fallen', and their deaths were sanitised, depicted as a sacrifice, in a manner that emphasised the purpose of their demise by reinforcing the validity of the conflict in which they fought (Gregory, 1994; Winter, 1995). Through the use of particular language and symbols, the "heroism and fortitude of the dead soldiers" was asserted and encompassed within an "ideal of sacrifice and thereby attempt(ed) to give meaning and value to what otherwise might seem meaningless" (Barlow, 2013, p.311). Remembrance is thus a "protective fantasy" created to comfort the bereaved, one that sanitises war's reality and does not require them to "ask whether their much-loved husband or father killed anyone else" (Harrison, 2012, p.124), only to understand that their loved one's died for a valid purpose.

As argued by Winter (1995, p.115), in a clash between traditional and modernist approaches, the memorialisation of war until as late as the 1960s in Britain heavily favoured the traditional values of late-Victorian and Edwardian societies, emphasising "cliches about duty, masculinity, (and) honour" as a means to "mediate bereavement". These symbolic depictions of war and the war dead often followed a theme of Christian idealism, emphasising the redemptive power of dying for the nation and the Christ-like sacrifice of the war dead (Gregory, 1994). In much the same way that popular culture, as discussed earlier, has emphasised the chivalric tradition in Britain over the last century, so

too has the commemoration of the war dead through rituals and practices of the 1919 model (Paris, 2000).

2.4.2 Memorialisation and Militarism: 'The Cult of the Fallen Soldier'

With the use of such lofty and often religious language and symbolism, observable within the 1919 model is an example of what Mosse (1990, p.34) refers to as 'the cult of the fallen soldier', whereby the war dead were "truly made sacred in the imitation of Christ", providing the nation with martyrs and potential sites of national worship in the wake of the First World War. As part of the wider myth concerning the realities of war experience, Mosse highlights the cult of the fallen soldier as a way in which human memory is directed "away from the horrors to the meaningfulness and glory of war" (Mosse, 1990, p.50), providing a sanitised view of the fate of the war dead. The British war dead's sacrifice was placed firmly within "the Chivalric tradition", extolling them as having died for a purpose greater than themselves and for the good of the nation (Paris, 2000, p.148), ultimately seeing the reality of war disguised (Harrison, 2012). Such language and symbols surrounding British commemoration are influenced in part by Christian ideals of sacrifice and martyrdom, promoting the death of so many soldiers as having meaning through the act of dying for the nation (Wolffe, 2015).

While the intention behind the conception of the 1919 model's practices may well be regarded as honourable, at least in their attempts at reducing the suffering of the nation's bereaved, Mosse's (1990) work highlights how the presentation of war in a manner that specifically lionises the war dead has potentially problematic side effects, particularly concerning militarism and the proliferation of values that idealise war. Through the erection of physical monuments and sites of commemoration that provide sanitised views of war, Mosse (1990) argues that war can be romanticised and the opportunity to transcend death is offered to a nation's youth. Through doing so, the warning against future conflict initially advocated by practices of the 1919 model are obscured, and glorified depictions of warfare are taken at face value.

Militaristic ideals and values are not mediated within the 1919 model's practices and rituals strictly through this employment of lofty and religious rhetoric or symbolism, however. The Flanders Poppy, intended to both raise money for suffering ex-service personnel and to be worn during Remembrancetide as a symbol of respect to the British war dead, can be regarded as a point of contention within discourse concerning British commemoration and militarism (Basham, 2016). As asserted by Danilova (2015, p.xi), despite mainstream representations of the poppy situating it within a narrative of compassion and support towards veterans and bereaved families, it is a symbol

that is capable of "(encouraging) nationalism… (raising) support for the national armed forces, legitimating military conflicts and government foreign policies", enabling the normalising of war at a cultural level.

Despite attempts by organisations such as the Royal British Legion to claim that the 1919 model's commemorative rituals and practices, such as the wearing of the Flanders Poppy, are apolitical, Danilova (2015, p.xii) argues instead that commemoration is inherently political, and that the war dead are often utilised as "instruments for reviving nationalistic sentiments and preparing the population for the perpetuity of war". The wearing of the poppy invites Basham's (2016) aforementioned 'communities of feeling' to remember military sacrifice, whilst forgetting the violence and bloodiness of actual warfare. This sanitising of war enables its glorification, placing focus on chivalric notions and ignoring the gruesome and violent reality conflict can entail.

2.4.3 Gendering War

Critiques of the 1919 model's practices as militaristic can also often focus on its power to gender the memory of war in Britain, reflecting a general gender imbalance within British commemorative practices. Commemorative rituals and practices of the 1919 focus largely on only the male victims of war, for example, reinforcing familiar tropes regarding the roles of female social actors during conflict, minimalizing their experiences as simply domestic wives and mothers for example (Kidd & Sayner, 2018). As discussed earlier, demonstrated here is the potential for a militaristic ideology to position social actors within an identity-centric hierarchy, one that favours a view of men as warriors and women as not (Yuval-Davies, 1997).

Basham (2016, p.883) has written of this issue, particularly concerning the poppy as a signifier of the wider power of British commemoration in articulating war in a specific manner. With regards to gender, the poppy as representative of the 'sacrifice' of the war dead, "serves to reinstitute war as an activity in which masculinised, muscular 'protectors' necessarily make sacrifices for the feminised 'protected'". In this way, remembrance provides a way for the British population to "understand and react to military institutions, practices, power and force" (Basham, 2016, p.884). Commemorative practices also allow the British public to orient themselves within a collective historical continuum of war remembrance, one in this instance that locates the fighting of wars within the realm of masculinity, and therefore feminine social actors reside outside of this realm (Basham, 2016).

This process of defining the parameters of the British remembrance of war is inevitably part of a complex network of power relations that informs and influences exactly what (or who) is

remembered, or indeed who is forgotten (Gillis, 1994). Seen in these instances is how the commemorative practices and rituals of the 1919 model facilitate the perpetuation of a view of war that reinforces traditional gender roles and also normalising the use of force to resolve conflict, as well as the role of men as the necessary enactors of this force (Enloe, 2007). British commemoration ultimately prioritises "white local 'dead' heroes" and reduces "women's roles to performances of essentialised patriotic womanhood" (Danilova & Dolan, 2019, p.242). Ultimately, such gender-centric views reinforce the idea that to fight war is 'normal' for male social actors, as well as justifiable in relation to the need to in turn protect feminine social actors. Here, two key tenets of a militaristic ideology are exhibited.

2.4.4 Ahistoricism and Hyper-Commemoration

As living memory of the First World War has begun to pass from the British population, more nuanced understandings of remembrance and commemoration, born from first-hand experience, are potentially lost. While many forms of memorialisation emphasised the glory of the war dead, there too existed a wider variety of approaches to the memory of the First World War, with many memorials simultaneously serving as a warning against future wars, something that King (1998, p.1) acknowledges as "a resonance which is not readily apparent to us now".

Demonstrated here is the powerful role memory itself can play in the reproduction of the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology. It would be false to assume that memory is a static and unchanging "legacy" but should rather be viewed as a "malleable resource" through which contemporary concerns can be made sense of through the use of narratives of the past (Rigney, 2018, p.242). By removing the 1919 model from its original context in this way, it can be argued that its commemorative practices and rituals can more readily mediate militarism as first-hand experience of the First, and to some degree Second, World War passes from living memory in Britain. Ultimately, the legitimising of current wars through conflation with past wars reduces the opportunity to question the necessity of continued usage of the 1919 model, with conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, being cast in the same light as a 'just' war such as the Second World War (Pennell, 2018), whilst also seeing wars separated from the violent reality of the military (Basham, 2016).

As time passes, remembrance concerning the 1919 model, and primarily the experiences of the First World War, pass from first-hand memory to what Saunders (2004, p.5) terms "the realm of the object". It is here, within the realm of the object, that much of the emotional weight carried by

practices of the 1919 model is lost, and a mythologised, symbolic understanding of the conflict takes hold (Todman, 2005). Memorials and wider remembrance of the war dead in Britain following the First World War were not static, they did not embody permanent ideas about war but "offered people the opportunity to give their own interpretations" (King, 1998, p.5), interpretations that were no doubt informed heavily by their own first-hand understandings of conflict and experiences of bereavement. It was intended, through the use of the 1919 model, that the grief of the bereaved would be in some way assuaged by the instilling of pride through a sense of noble patriotism into the narrative of the war dead's sacrifice.

However, as Harrison (2012, p.54) asks, "what happens when pride and patriotism exist without grief?" He argues that in an era where living memory of the First World War has receded, "acts of commemoration can then become celebrations of idealised militarism" (Harrison, 2012, p.54) if left unchecked. Research undertaken by the likes of Kidd and Sayner (2018, p.68) highlights this issue of temporal dissonance, leading to what can be referred to as "unthinking remembrance", the activation of uncritical and "familiar tropes about past conflict" such as the notion of death in war as a necessary or honourable sacrifice. Here, the linguistic and semiotic forms taken by practices of the 1919 model have become so culturally engrained in Britain that uncritical repetition of traditional commemorative tropes glorifying war and the war dead is commonplace.

Tidy (2015, p.3) has shown how, despite this potential impotence inherent in the 1919 model, commemoration in Britain since the end of the Second World War in many ways relies upon nostalgic representations of war within the "banal spaces of everyday civilian life", serving to conflate past "virtuous" wars with more recent controversial wars. Tidy (2015) refers directly to the use of commemorative language and symbols within food packaging as a form of militarisation, where the memory and commemoration of the two World Wars in particular is utilised as a method by which military values are normalised and become part of daily life, echoing the sentiments of Billig's banal nationalism (Billig, 1995).

Ultimately, demonstrated here is how the continued enactment of commemorative practices, initially conceived of so as to meet the unique needs of a public stricken with grief on an unprecedented scale, provides multiple problems with concerns to issues of memory and first-hand experience. Harrison (2012, p.49) argues that a distorted view of war has been facilitated by this framework of commemoration, with undue emphasis placed on the Second World War; the linguistics and semiotics surrounding this particular war take centre stage now, despite reflecting "the message and mood of neither 1918 nor the 21st Century".

The causes of the First World War and modern conflicts have been rewritten as "righteous and virtuous" conflicts in the image of the Second World War, which ultimately serves to "(obscure) their complex circumstances" (Danilova & Dolan, 2019, p.249). As asserted by Shaw (1991, p.119) British militarism is based upon "imagery of totalitarian military threat, the belief that 'appeasing' such threats is wrong, and that military strength is the foundation of security", views which echo cultural understandings of the Second World War primarily, an ahistorical viewpoint that ultimately enables *all* wars to be subsequently viewed as inevitable and/or a regrettably natural state of affairs (Lutz, 2009)**.**

Alongside this issue of memory, it is also seen how modern enactments of commemorative practices ultimately shy away from the particular wars in which a military actor was killed, instead emphasising their domestic roles, enabling their deaths and the war in which they died to become depoliticised (King, 2010; Basham, 2016). By glorifying the victims of war, and placing their deaths within a distorted ahistorical continuum, practices of the 1919 model are able to disseminate core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology in much the same way as the previously discussed forms of popular culture and news media.

War commemoration in Britain has also strayed into the realm of "hyper-commemoration" in recent years, with practices elevated "to a new level of spectacle" through celebrity endorsements and the production of remembrance-branded consumer goods (Withers, 2020, p.430). Through these practices, the act of remembrance in Britain in recent years has become a 'state-mandated' activity (Withers, 2020), the initial nuance in enactments of commemoration such as the wearing of a poppy having been lost. Adherence to the particular rituals and practices of the 1919 model also become deeply intertwined with issues of patriotism and respect. Harrison (2012, p.61) argues that the wearing of the poppy, for instance, has become representative of a social actor's patriotism, and those seen not wearing one during the period of Remembrancetide are therefore "unpatriotic or disrespectful". Harrison (2012) also argues that this trend is emblematic of recent trends whereby remembrance has become a statement of support for Britain's armed forces, rather than a dedication to peace, as it was initially conceived.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has usefully equipped this thesis moving forwards with a workable definition of militarism to be deployed in subsequent chapters. In brief, militarism can be defined as an ideological perspective that glorifies, normalises, and justifies the act of waging war. Over the last century the notion of militarism has developed in tandem with military and social developments, initially as 'mass' or 'classical' militarism which centred on the deployment of large citizen armies, with literature adhering to a view of the notion as primarily ideological (Vagts, 1937; Shaw, 2012). Following this is the post-Second World War, or Cold War, era, where a reliance on policies of nuclear deterrence were predominant, and views of militarism moved away from purely ideological. Instead, views of militarism as embedded in social practices emerged, with war transformed from a participatory act into a spectacle which familiarised civilians with war from the safety of their homes (Van Doorn, 1973; Mann, 1987).

Following the Cold War and leading into the 21st Century, war has once more transformed, with emphasis now placed on small, technologically advanced professional forces, and the prevalence of 'asymmetric' wars fought between major and lesser states (Kaldor, 2012). With regards to militarism, attention in the modern era is directed away from the violent reality of war, with depoliticised notions of supporting military actors taking centre stage, and war itself being repackaged as humanitarian and ultimately concerned with the spreading of democracy, particularly in Western societies (Shaw, 2012). Ultimately, militarism should not be viewed as an external force exerting influence over a civilian way of life, but instead as something that permeates the "domestic civil order" (Howell, 2018, p.121).

With this definition in mind, this chapter also explored how multiple unique *militarisms* have existed over the last century, dependent on the society in which they are enacted. In the instance of this thesis, the primary concern is that of British 'liberal' militarism and how it is mediated (Edgerton, 1991). The particular brand of militarism found in Britain over the last century centres, in the most part, on the adoption of technological approaches to war against the implementing of conscription and the maintenance of a large standing army, barring relatively brief periods concerning the two World Wars. And while this approach would suggest therefore an aversion, or perhaps invalidation, to the proliferation of militarism in Britain, this chapter has also demonstrated how this is not the case: through the saturation of both popular culture and news media, militaristic ideals and values that normalise, justify, and glorify war have been ever-present in British culture over the last century, foregrounding chivalric notions of heroism and bravery and obscuring war's violent reality (Paris, 2000).

In turn, this chapter also demonstrates how, *despite* foregrounding war's capability to victimise, the rituals and practices of the British 1919 model of commemoration also serve to mediate militaristic ideals and values. This is done through the employment of linguistic and semiotic tropes that also serve to sanitise war's violent reality, depicting the British war dead in particular as hyper-masculinised heroes (Mosse, 1990; Gee, 2014). Such a depiction also serves to reinforce normative gender roles, which again facilitate the mediation of militarism, normalising war as a necessary activity carried out by masculine social actors, justifiable as an act of protecting the domesticated feminine (Basham, 2016). War is also justified through the deployment of an ahistorical interpretation of war over the last century, one that is viewed through the lens of the Second World War (Harrison, 2012; Danilova, 2015). Here, *all* wars are cast in the light of a necessary struggle against a tyrannical and evil enemy, with the survival of the nation itself at stake, ultimately serving to decontextualise and depoliticise war in a manner which stymies critique.

By depicting war as having been waged for a just and necessary purpose, and those who die fighting for the nation as laudable heroes, the commemorative rituals and practices of the 1919 model are able to mediate militaristic ideals and values despite their proclivity to foreground military victims (Pennell, 2020). Ultimately, the exploration of the concept of militarism and its mediation in Britain over the last century has highlighted how carefully selective depictions of military victims can assist in the mediating of a militaristic ideology's core ideals and values.

With this exploration of militarism and its mediation in Britain over the last century established, this thesis will now move forwards to discuss the issue of military victimhood in a victimological context. As discussed above, victimhood is a concept largely absent from the majority of the forms by which militarism is mediated in Britain, but in contrast is central to the commemorative practices of the 1919 model. Seen here is how war itself is sanitised within these practices, and ultimately militaristic ideals are able to be disseminated through participation in the commemoration of the war dead. How direct discursive depictions of victims of war, both dead and living, participate in this mediation of militarism in this form however, is largely unexplored, and it is within this space that this thesis occupies. With this in mind, the following chapter will assess how understandings of 'military victimhood' within the field of victimology are expressed, so as to better equip this thesis moving forwards into subsequent chapters, providing a useful victimological 'language' with which later critical analysis can be carried out.

Chapter Three

Military Victimhood

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the many facets of militarism, positing that the development and sustaining of specific 'brands' of militarism are wholly dependent on the socio-cultural context in which they are enacted. Militaristic values and ideals, those that facilitate the normalising, justifying, and glorifying of war, are present within everyday life and are often indistinguishable from other cultural forms, largely regarded by social actors as normal and therefore unproblematic. In Britain specifically, these values and ideals have been mediated over the last century largely through popular culture, with literature, cinema, and leisurely activities being key in curating a specific view of war and soldiering that sanitises the reality of conflict and battle (Paris, 2000; Robb, 2002). This sanitisation ultimately centres on the distorting and marginalising of the victimising power of war, presenting war (most often to male youths) as a fun adventure that ultimately benefits its participants, in turn obscuring the bodily and psychological trauma that the battlefield is capable of inflicting (Mosse, 1990). Within these narratives, military actors are typified by heroism and bravery (McCartney, 2011).

However, as was also explored in the previous chapter, while scholarly work surrounding militarism can indicate that the production and reproduction of a militaristic ideology is seemingly reliant on a distortion and marginalisation of war's power to create victims, specific commemorative practices enacted since the cessation of the First World War have also been capable of mediating militaristic sentiments within the British public. This is in spite of the fact that these commemorative practices are centred on war's power to victimise, with rituals focusing on the remembrance of the war dead: those British soldiers killed during active service since 1914. While this may initially seem paradoxical, having victim-centric narratives ultimately reinforce a worldview in which war is seen as normal, justified, and glorified, literature explored in Chapter Two demonstrated that British commemorative practices employ the use of specific linguistic and semiotic tropes that also aid in the distorting and sanitising of war's victimising power (Harrison, 2012; Danilova, 2015; Basham, 2016). In turn, commemorative practices also reinforce a specific view concerning gender and its role in relation to war, in particular privileging the notion that it is the role of masculine social actors to fight on behalf of the domesticated feminine (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Enloe, 2007).

This literature produced on the issue of British commemorative practices and militarism focuses on how language and symbols surrounding the British war dead illustrate the mediation of militarism, emphasising particularly how the enactment of 'unthinking remembrance' by British social actors over the last century has enabled the proliferation of militaristic ideals and values (Kidd & Sayner, 2018), as well as the emergence and sustaining of the cult of the fallen soldier (Mosse, 1990). This thesis will serve to build upon this body of literature, seeking to explore and critically analyse direct discursive representations of British military victims and their specific forms of victimhood since the cessation of the First World War, assessing how these constructions of military victimhood within this commemorative context are capable of mediating militaristic sentiments, despite the aforementioned tendency of mediated forms of militarism to obscure and marginalise war's power to victimise.

As will be explored in more detail later in this chapter, the victim label is not easily attained, and is only conferred once victimhood has been recognised by wider society. Victimological understandings of what can be termed the 'ideal victim', i.e., a social actor most likely to be afforded the label of victim (Christie, 1986), clash inherently with normative understandings of what constitutes the typical character and behaviour of military personnel, one of masculine heroism and bravery, meaning the concept of 'military victimhood', and in turn military victims, occupies a peripheral space within both the public and a victimological imagination (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). While this may well be the case, as explored in the previous chapter, specific military victims are central to commemorative practices in Britain which are capable of mediating militaristic ideals and values (Pennell, 2020). Thus, this thesis seeks to critically interrogate how discursive representations of these social actors can facilitate their receiving of the victim label within this context of commemoration, and ultimately the relationship between this labelling and the potential challenging or perpetuating of a militaristic ideology in Britain over the last century.

This critical interrogation will be carried out by drawing upon victimological literature, ideas and concepts. While this thesis is not specifically a victimological study, a foundational knowledge of the key concepts and points of contestation within this discipline will be valuable to help inform the broader intellectual project of this thesis, enabling the development of a useful 'language' with which later analysis in this thesis can be framed and interrogated. This language will demonstrate the pitfalls inherent in attempting to integrate normative ideas concerning the victim within a military context, highlighting how traditional victimological understandings of concepts such as vulnerability and culpability heavily inform perceptions of military personnel and their potential for being victimised.

By doing so, this chapter will equip the wider thesis with the means to critically analyse how British military victims have been represented within a commemorative context over the last century, determining whether their depictions are uniquely constructed or instead largely conform to normative ideas of what constitutes a victim in both a militaristic and victimological sense. To establish such a victimological language, first a definition of the concept of 'military victimhood' to be employed throughout the rest of the thesis will be provided. Once this concept has been established, the chapter will move on to discuss how social and victimological understandings of the 'ideal victim construct' prove challenging with regards to the notion of military victimhood, as well as popular ideas concerning the character and behaviour of military personnel and the nature of warfare. Here, the ideal victim is utilised as an important frame of reference, as it can be regarded as representational of normative social attitudes concerning the expected behaviour and characteristics of the 'victim'.

To begin with, the term 'victim' will be defined, alongside an exploration of the nature of the notion of 'military victimhood', namely how over the last century British military personnel have been regarded as victims in relation to changing attitudes to warfare.

3.2 The Military Victim

The existence of victims of war, and in turn the victimising power of war, prove to be essential to the key questions asked by this thesis concerning the concept of military victimhood. Throughout this thesis, military victimhood will broadly be regarded as encompassing the suffering endured by British military personnel through their direct experience of war, and more broadly their experience as a member of the British military and beyond into civilian life. In turn, 'military victims' will refer to these social actors subjected to such victimhood, individuals who suffer as a result of their military service. Yet before an exploration of these notions can be undertaken, it is first necessary to begin by briefly establishing normative definitions of the 'victim', before moving forwards to interrogate the concept of military victimhood within a victimological framework and highlighting the theoretical pitfalls present when attempting to apply the victim label to military actors.

3.2.1 Defining the 'Victim'

As asserted by Hoondert, Mutsaers and Arfman (2018, p.1), victims "are of all times and places", and victimhood has existed "in societies and communities across time and space". Dictionary definitions of the term assert that a 'victim' is a social actor who has been subjected to suffering at the hands of

an external force, be it interpersonal or as a consequence of something more abstract such as a natural disaster, highlighting how a victim is largely identifiable by their passivity in their victimisation, which in itself can be regarded as a highly negative experience (*Cambridge Dictionary Online,* 2023; *Oxford Dictionary Online,* 2023).

However, beyond such basic definitions, and with regards to the influencing of policy, the primary perspective on victims and victimhood is that of a 'positivist' victimological approach (McGarry & Walklate, 2015). This perspective pays close attention to "interpersonal crimes of violence" (Miers, 1989, p.3) and has received criticism for its narrow focus on street crimes, such as burglary, and its neglect of other types of crime, such as domestic or corporate. Quinney (1972), for instance, challenges the simplistic positivist definition of victimhood directly relating to crime, and instead brings attention to the existence of victims of war or state violence, of oppression in general. Similarly, scholars like Letschert and Van Dijk (2011) highlight the existence of social actors victimised by pollution, demonstrating that social actors can be victimised in a myriad of ways; ways which largely do not fit within the narrow purview of such positivist victimological perspectives.

Ultimately, the concepts of suffering, power, and choice are intrinsic in understanding the process of victim labelling, looking at the reasons why specific social actors are afforded this label and why others are not. The victim is not an "empirical reality", rather the notion of victimhood is dependent on recognition provided by external resources (McGarry & Walklate, 2015, p.7). With regards to the intellectual project of this thesis, the primary concern is the affordance of the victim label to military actors and how such an action is facilitated. As the following sub-section of this chapter will move on to demonstrate, stereotypical assumptions concerning the military actor often means that recognition of their victimhood is difficult to obtain, leaving them at the periphery of victimological perspectives.

3.2.2 The Military Victim: Identity in Flux

War, by its very nature, has the potential to produce mass victimisation (Jamieson, 1998). In Britain alone, the First World War accounted for over three quarters of a million British soldiers killed, with nearly another two million left disabled, 41,000 returning home having had limbs amputated (Powell, 2019). Soldiers are not only physically victimised, but their experience of combat can also leave many men and women psychologically traumatised (McCartney, 2011), either from their victimisation at the hands of the enemy, or the trauma of killing which can be a burden that most soldiers "try not to admit to themselves" (Grossman, 1995, p.908).

Yet while the potential victimisation of the soldier here seems apparent, the identity of the soldier develops in tandem with the nation's identity and is most often portrayed as the masculine epitome of national values, as a 'hero' (Cooper & Hurcombe, 2009), which ultimately stymies the potential for them to be wholly regarded as victims (Gray & Wegner, 2011). Scholars such as Layton (1999), McCartney (2011), Alker and Godfrey (2016), and Phillips (2020) similarly suggest that the identity of the soldier is in a constant state of fluctuation, dependent on external social factors. For instance, the nature of the war in which a soldier has been victimised can influence how they are portrayed in mainstream national thought. If a war is viewed as just, then the soldier is heroic, but if a war is "dubious or even shameful", it is then that the soldier is most likely to be depicted as having been victimised (Layton, 1999, p.560). When the moral worth of a conflict is in question, then soldiers can be regarded as both heroic *and* as having been victimised, as 'hero/victims', with their victimhood constituted by both the nature of the battlefield and of the governments who sent them to war in the first place (McCartney, 2011). But it must also be noted that specific trauma, such as that inflicted psychologically, is less likely to result in the hero/victim label being applied to military actors (McCartney, 2011).

These constructions of the British soldier as a victim are most apparent when the nation exists outside of conflict, as during times of war the soldier's victimisation is made invisible in order to facilitate the generation of support for a conflict (Alker & Godfrey, 2016). British soldiers who fought in conflicts such as the Second World War are often portrayed as heroic liberators, for example, whilst more controversial, modern engagements such as Iraq and Afghanistan have been "party to a broader and more ambiguous range of constructions" (Walklate, Mythen & McGarry, 2011, p.153).

In the instance of the First World War, particularly in the 1960s in Britain during the conflict's 50th anniversary, a transformation in the ways soldiers were viewed took place. Beyond the glorified image of the war dead constructed through the commemoration of the conflict, this change in attitudes to the soldiers in the First World War saw them re-cast in the image of the victim and in the context of a futile war (Winter & Baggett, 1996; Sheffield, 2001; Corrigan, 2003; Reynolds, 2013). In such instances, soldiers were "characterised as duped 'innocents'" (Pennell, 2020, p.391). Such a paradoxical pairing of 'hero' and 'victim' has been observed more often in recent years, notably in media coverage, posing problematic assumptions regarding the seemingly incompatible concepts of the masculine soldier and the feminine victim, as will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter (Walklate et al., 2011).

There is precedent then for British soldiers having been regarded as victims over the last century, with recognition of their military victimhood often dependent on the perceived moral worth of the

conflict in which they were victimised, as well as the very nature of their victimisation. Despite this, however, traditional victimological understandings of what constitutes the 'victim' leaves the concept of military victimhood at the edges of the public and victimological imagination, and the soldier themselves as 'peripheral victims' (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012).

Now that the circumstances surrounding the affording victim status to British military actors has been established, the following section of this chapter will outline the process by which the victim label is practically applied to social actors in a victimological sense. Demonstrated here will be how, when mobilising the concept of what is referred to as the 'ideal victim', traditional understandings of the characteristics of military personnel, and the nature of soldiering as a profession, become seemingly incompatible with normative perceptions of the 'victim' and the nature of military victimhood.

3.3 Victimological Perspectives: The 'Ideal Victim'

Military personnel are subjected to immense suffering during their service, victimised by a multitude of different factors, such as oppressive environments and physical endangerment, yet within normative victimological literature military victims are often marginalised because of normative preconceived notions concerning their inherent characteristics and the nature of their profession (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). In a victimological context, this marginalisation centres on assumptions concerning the vulnerability and culpability of a victim within their own victimisation, as this section of the chapter will now explore.

While it is not within the remit of this thesis to delve too deeply into the mire of differing victimological perspectives, it is pertinent to briefly outline how traditional victimological understandings of victims and victimisation ultimately colour perceptions of military victimhood, and the conceptual difficulties faced when attempting to attribute the victim label to military personnel. A brief demonstration of the key concepts underpinning victimological scholarship will allow this discussion to lay the foundations of a dialogue concerning the 'ideal victim construct', and how it will be used as a frame of reference throughout the remainder of this thesis.

3.3.1 Situating Victimology within this Thesis

Victimology is regarded as a sub-discipline, with the study of victims and victimisation taking place within a wide range of subjects (Miers, 1989). Most notably, however, is victimology's relationship to

criminology, as arguably the most significant portion of work focusing on victim issues has been carried out by criminologists (Spalek, 2006). Victimology is characterised by the involvement of numerous different philosophical, academic and political approaches, resulting in Miers (1989, p.17) referring to it as a discipline with "too many voices to allow any coherence in its reported understanding of the world". Some scholars interestingly argue that victimology, rather than be recognised as a distinct academic discipline in its own right, should instead be folded into the discipline of criminology (Jaishankar, 2008). As argued by McGarry and Walklate (2015), this extensive variety of interests in the discipline, ranging from the emotional to the political, means that there are many competing agendas to be found and subsequently disentangled within victimology.

Traditional, mainstream victimological perspectives, most often typified as 'positivist' victimology, focus on the culpability of the victim themselves (to what degree they are to blame for being victimised), assessing how victims potentially play a role in their own victimisation, leading to accusations of 'victim blaming' (Miers, 1989). These approaches, focusing on victim culpability, can imply that victimisation is ultimately the fault of the victim's own behaviour, as a personal choice (Gottfredson, 1981), and focus largely on 'street crimes' to the detriment of others, such as domestic violence or corporate crimes. This normative approach to understanding victims and victimisation ultimately only sheds light on these concepts as defined solely by the criminal justice system of the society in question, again demonstrating how in a conceptual sense, social actors such as soldiers can often go unacknowledged (McGarry & Walklate, 2015).

Because of this narrow purview when defining crime and its victims, positivist victimology does not contribute to our understanding of how victims are "produced and reproduced through time and space" (McGarry & Walklate, 2015, p.12). These limitations have led to the development of other victimological approaches which seek to broaden the definitions of 'crime' and 'victim', approaches which allow a wider range of experiences to be included (Spalek, 2006).

In turn, the identity of the victim themselves is often assumed by these normative victimological perspectives to be in direct contention to what is referred to as the 'non-victim'; typified by the white, heterosexual, middle-class male (Strobl, 2010). The masculine, heteronormative non-victim supposedly typifies normalcy and is assumed to be non-vulnerable (Walklate, 2003). By this assumption, men are unlikely to receive the label of victim easily, instead it is reserved for individuals who are assumed to be vulnerable, such as the elderly, the very young, the disabled, or ethnic minorities. In other words, these groups of social actors are 'least culpable' for their

victimisation, implying that there is a degree of blame that can be assigned to those higher on the scale of culpability, such as men, which again can see them denied the label of victim (Anttila, 1974).

Through this process of assigning both vulnerability and culpability, victims are "'othered' and pathologized: rendered different" (McGarry & Walklate, 2015, p.9). As well as this, the tendency to refer to the 'victim' in feminine terms, along with being most often being identified in the context of criminal behaviour, can also lead to "many more peripheral victims", such as military actors, being left "unimagined" (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012, p.121).

Irrespective of such critiques, the positivist approach, as noted above, is ultimately the victimological perspective that sheds light on victimisation as defined and, ultimately, responded to by the criminal justice system of the society in question (McGarry & Walklate, 2015). Because of this distinction, it is the positivist defining of the victim that will be utilised as a frame of reference moving forwards within this thesis. As it is the governmentally endorsed rituals and practices of the 1919 model of commemoration that lie at the heart of this thesis' intellectual project, then it seems sensible to adhere to perspectives on the victim in a similar vein.

Taking this into consideration, it becomes clear that within these normative victimological perspectives on what constitutes a victim, military personnel, most often depicted as masculine and competent individuals, victimised outside of the realm of crime and justice, are likely to be regarded as peripheral victims and struggle to attain the label of victim, or not as victims at all (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). Yet despite these conceptual contradictions inherent within victimological understandings of military victimhood, depictions of the soldier as victim still exist within mainstream discourse, as demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter concerning the commemorative practices of the 1919 model.

It is here where key sites of contention that this thesis serves to deal with become apparent. This thesis occupies a seemingly paradoxical space, whereby mainstream discourse actively engages in the practice of labelling military personnel as victims in spite of normative victimological understandings of the concept. Having now established this normative positioning, next it is necessary to begin constructing the manner by which the victim label is applied to social actors, using the concept of the 'ideal victim' as a frame of reference, and highlighting the importance that the concept of 'recognition' holds in this process. Doing so will present a more robust understanding of why the victim label is infrequently applied to military personnel who have knowingly experienced harm, as well as aiding in later analysis of this thesis that seeks to better understand the discursive strategies utilised which enable military actors to be afforded the label of victim. Whether the core aspects of the concept of the ideal victim are adhered to or circumvented as part of a process of

recognition concerning military victims, poses one of the key questions that this thesis seeks to address in later analysis chapters when establishing how British military victimhood has been discursively constructed within a commemorative context since 1918.

3.3.2 Recognising the 'Ideal Victim'

The labelling of a victim is part of a process, a key component of which is external acknowledgement, or recognition, of an individual's victimisation. As discussed above, in the interest of this thesis, such recognition ultimately comes from a positivist victimological perspective, one concerned primarily with interpersonal violent crimes (Miers, 1989). In turn, Strobl's (2010) four analytical possibilities in the construction of the victim demonstrates how differing degrees of recognition impact how a specific instance of victimisation can be recognised or ignored. These possibilities show how four different 'types' of victim can be defined based on the degree of the recognition of their victimhood:

1. The 'actual victim': recognised by themselves and others as a victim.
2. The 'non-victim': not recognised by themselves or others as a victim.
3. The 'rejected victim': recognised by themselves but not others as a victim.
4. The 'designated victim': not recognised by themselves but by others as a victim.

(Strobl, 2010)

These conceptual possibilities of victim labelling highlight the importance of recognition within the process, assisting in understanding which social actors are involved in the assigning of this label and those social actors most likely to be recognised as victims following their victimisation. The notion of recognition is clearly exceptionally important in the process of applying the victim label to a social actor and has a direct impact on the victim themselves. When a social actor is afforded the label of victim, they are likely to receive social support, whereas for a rejected victim this is unlikely to be offered (Miers, 1990). This support can take the form of many "benefits and resources", such as "legal aid and compensation… access to justice… medical care and counselling" (Fohring, 2018, p.197).

What these analytical possibilities do not point out, however, are the characteristics and behaviour of the social actor in question, and how these impact the likelihood of their victimhood being recognised, by both themselves and by external parties. Here, Christie's (1986) concept of the 'ideal victim' becomes useful in demonstrating how specific social factors can influence the successful construction of the 'victim' as a sociological issue (Bosman, Mulder, & Pemberton, 2018). It is

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posited that within certain social structures there are social actors with specific assumed characteristics, such as femininity, that are most likely to correlate with perceptions of what a victimised person looks and behaves like, resulting in them more readily being afforded the label of victim. In turn, it can be observed how social actors who do not perfectly fit into these stringent categories, such as military personnel, despite having been harmed, often through extreme acts of war violence, are less likely to be awarded the label of victim and can be regarded as what can be referred to as a 'non-victim' (Christie, 1986).

The ideal victim construct can be regarded as a critical reflection of positivist attitudes to victimhood, problematising issues surrounding notions of agency and victimisation. Christie (1986, p.11) asserted that to be a victim is not "a thing, an objective phenomenon", but is instead a construction dependent on external recognition. The ideal victim construct highlights "the role of subjective/objective perspectives on personal/societal responses to victimisation" where what *is* and is *not* perceived to be a 'crime' "often reflects political power and interests" (Duggan, 201, p.1). Christie (1986) posited that there exists an ideal form of victimisation that, when demonstrated as having been suffered by a specific social actor, they are most likely to be recognised as valid by mainstream institutions in Western society, and in turn be granted access to assistance from wider society. He presented a set of traits that a social actor may have which he believed would most likely result in them being labelled a victim, also outlining five steps within this process of victimisation. In summary, they are as follows:

1. The victim is an old woman/young child
2. The victim is carrying out a respectable endeavour
3. The victim is in a place where they should not expect to be victimised
4. The offender is bigger and stronger than the victim
5. The offender has no personal relationship with the victim, they are strangers to one another

(Christie, 1986)

Demonstrated here is how the construction of the 'ideal victim' hinges on the social actor in question being readily identifiable as an old or young woman, performing good deeds, and who is attacked by a 'bigger and badder' individual with no known relationship to the victim. Elucidated more broadly, the attaining of the victim label is dependent on the vulnerability and culpability of the victim in question, based on their assumed character traits, as well as the relationship between victim and victimisers (Bosma, Mulder, & Pemberton, 2018). Christie (1986) also asserts how these

'ideal' victims can be placed in contention with what he termed 'real' victims; social actors who are most often victimised but are less likely to be afforded the label of victim, such as men, demonstrating how the ideal victim construct reflects biases within the societies affording the victim label. This "fictional ideal" can result in "blaming, derogation, cruelty and injustice", leaving many 'real' victims unable to receive the care and support that would be given to victims cast as 'ideal' (Fohring, 2018, p.195).

Van Wijk (2013), in applying Christie's characterisation to the concept of international crime, posited that, similarly, victim status in this instance is also only afforded when certain criteria are met, such as the complexity of a conflict and its timing. The work of both Christie (1986) and van Wijk (2013) emphasises the roles that perceived innocence, legitimacy, and deservingness fulfil within the process of assigning the label of victim. As asserted by McGarry and Walklate (2015, p.16), each of these three concepts are "a dimension of culpability and suffering" that underpin the process of publicly, politically and culturally recognising victimhood.

Similar to the term 'criminal', the victim label connotes a social status upon the victim and is awarded to a person "according to formal and informal rules" (Miers, 1990, p.221). For social actors deemed incapable of fulfilling the criteria of these rules, then their potential victimhood status is rejected. As noted earlier, an acknowledged victim, such as an 'ideal victim' as depicted by Christie (1986), is likely to receive support from family and friends following their successful labelling, whereas for a rejected victim this support is unlikely to be offered. Strobl (2004) builds upon this point of view, arguing that a social actor may perceive themselves as a victim, but have this label socially rejected because of their assumed personal characteristics or the nature of the situation in which they were victimised. For example, with regards to culpability, proximity to or involvement in illegal activities "makes a successful claim for victim status very difficult" (Strobl, 2004, p.296).

When viewing victimisation with reference to the ideal victim construct, it becomes apparent why certain groups of people in marginal social positions, such as military personnel, are often framed in these terms publicly, politically and culturally (Fattah, 2003).

With the conceptual issue now established, this chapter will next introduce the notion of 'military victimhood'. Doing so will further problematise the notion of the 'ideal victim' when considered in relation to military personnel and help illustrate some of the pitfalls inherent in attempting to label military personnel as victims. Explored will be how normative assumptions concerning personally and externally perceived characteristics of military personnel prove contentious when viewed via the construct of the 'ideal victim'.

3.4 Understanding Military Victimhood

Demonstrated in the above section of this chapter is how important the concepts of vulnerability and culpability are in the recognition of victimisation, with specific reference to the notion of the 'ideal victim'. The victim is presented as an individual who suffers as a result of external forces exerting power over them. Christie's (1986) ideal victim construct encompasses the assumed characteristics and behaviour of a social actor who is to be successfully afforded the victim label, a construct which focuses on vulnerability and culpability. Those afforded the victim label are also suggested to be social actors who are attacked or taken advantage of by those more powerful than themselves, and in most situations are depicted in a feminised manner, highlighting their supposedly inherent susceptibility to victimisation (McGarry & Walklate, 2015).

Chapter Two established that over the last century rituals and practices of the 1919 model foreground the existence of military victims, primarily the war dead and disabled ex-service personnel. Conceptually, however, from a victimological perspective, such depictions are contentious and often contradictory because of mainstream assumptions concerning the characteristics and behaviour inherent within military actors, who are often regarded as stereotypically heroic and brave. With this in mind, this next section of the chapter will explore these conceptual contradictions and boundaries, ultimately proving instrumental in enabling this thesis to address the first of its research questions, namely in exploring how military actors are discursively constructed within a commemorative context in a manner that enables their affordance of the victim label. To do so, an understanding of military victimhood as a concept must be established. This will later enable the second research question, concerning the potential for such discursive constructions to mediate militaristic ideals and values, to be addressed.

As discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Two, the predominant stereotype of the British soldier is as a hero, typified by their supposed selfless and just nature which enables them to perform "acts of moral worth", and in some instances even when killed or wounded in action are still granted access to the label of hero, in some instances alongside that of the victim (McCartney, 2011, p.44). As asserted by Segal (2008, p.30), it is "men who are associated with all that is tough, assertive, stoical, obedient and heroic", while in turn war is something that "women suffer" the consequences of (Digby, 2014, p.152). Their portrayal as heroic does little to marry the concept of the soldier to that of the victim, however, seeing them more likely to be regarded as non-vulnerable, viewed as culpable for their victimisation within the context of the ideal victim construct, putting further theoretical distance between military victimhood and the attainment of the victim label (Gray and Wegner, 2011).

Male social actors, despite being most often what can be regarded as 'real' victims (Christie, 1986) as it is they who in reality are most likely to be victimised, most likely fall into the category of 'non-victim' due to normative perceptions that assume them to be non-vulnerable (Walklate, 2003). In turn, what can be referred to as the 'duality' of the soldier also hinders the potential for military victims to be successfully afforded the victim label. This duality refers to the reality of the battlefield, what Holmes (2007, p.345) describes as "the essential paradox of soldiering", whereby the position of the soldier as both "victim and executioner" is highlighted. The soldier is at constant risk of being killed or wounded during conflict, but simultaneously is expected to kill and wound enemy soldiers in turn (Keegan & Holmes, 1985; Segal, 2008). This duality inevitably throws their status as victims into disarray when approaching the issue through constructions of victimhood, particularly that of the 'ideal victim'.

The ability to victimise others suggests that the soldier is powerful, not weak, and "power is incompatible with the ideal victim" (Fohring, 2018, p.196); an ideal victim should be "non-threatening" (Bosma, Mulder, & Pemberton, 2018, p.29). The 'masculine' identity of the soldier is arguably one of the main contributors to their marginalisation within the parameters of the ideal victim construct, as well as within the wider scope of normative victimological perceptions. Fohring (2018, p.201) suggests that the concept of masculinity "(drives) the disassociation" between males and the ideal victim, as masculinity implies 'competence', a trait which is normatively counter-intuitive to the application of the victim label, reserved for those social actors regarded as less capable of defending themselves, such as the elderly or disabled (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018).

3.4.1 Vulnerability and Masculinity

At the core of the soldier's duality is the notion of masculinity, which encompasses their identity as a non-vulnerable social actor and broader views of the societal role of the male in general. Throughout the majority of the 20th and the 21st Centuries British soldiering as a profession has been dominated by male social actors, with the bulk of British military personnel serving (and being killed) in most recent conflicts being men (McGarry & Walklate, 2011). When attempting to depict military victimhood within the ideal victim construct, the concept of the weak and vulnerable victim clashes with normative ideas regarding soldiers and societal assumptions of the male in general. Soldiers, especially during times of conflict, are portrayed as masculine heroes, and the act of soldiering itself therefore has overwhelmingly masculine connotations (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012).

It must be noted here, however, that it is not the intention of this thesis to side-line the experiences of female military personnel. Rather, the marginalising of female military personnel is in itself evidence of specific expected gender roles within militaristic logics, as explored in the previous chapter. As claimed by Basham (2016, p.883), men who have rejected a potential role in the military have been "routinely portrayed as effeminate," whereas women who opt to function in the opposite manner are "regarded as 'suspect'". Scholars such as Zalewski (2017) interestingly suggest that this concept of 'militarised masculinity' does not necessarily require those who practice or embody it to be men, though in Britain over the last century this has largely been the case.

As asserted by Woodward (2000, p.240), to become a soldier a social actor must be "molded according to a specific model… of military masculinity", while Zalewski (2017, p.203) similarly argues that militaries are "significant makers of gender", and normative lines of thinking place acts of violence, such as the ability to "fight, kill and defend", within the realm of this militarised masculinity. Meyer (2022, p.44) also asserts that there exists "embodied expectations of soldiering" which encompass the masculinity of those involved, with an important "(marker) of masculinity" being not only the ability to fight during times of war, but also to fulfil masculine roles before and after these times.

Historically, the masculinity of the soldier is also tied to roles such as the 'breadwinner' and the capability to look after both oneself and one's family where applicable (Meyer, 2022). Demonstrated here is an important point of contention when attempts are made to place military victims within the ideal victim construct, as this concept of masculinity entwined with the identity of the soldier undermines any notions of their potential vulnerability to external observers. As well as this, the expectations of masculinity, whereby military personnel are assumed to behave in a manner which engenders their victimising of other individuals, also lends itself to their duality and ultimately obscures their own potential for victimisation.

Alongside these demonstrations of external expectations of masculinity, self-perceptions of masculinity can also play an important role in this peripheral location of the male, and in turn military, victim. To refer back to Strobl's (2010) analytical possibilities concerning the construction of the victim, there exists two specific victim designations that hinge on the concept of self-recognition: the 'non-victim', whereby neither self nor external recognition is afforded, and the 'designated victim', whereby only external recognition is afforded. Demonstrated here, by the identity of the designated victim, is how a social actor, who does not necessarily view themselves as a victim, has the potential to actively oppose their own labelling (Spalek, 2006). van Dijk (2009) also asserts that many victims may well be opposed to being designated as a victim due to certain negative

connotations associated with the label, for instance its implications of weakness, with reactionary assertions of personal "strength and resilience" being enacted by these individuals to combat this labelling (Fohring, 2018, p.198).

The work of Rainbow (2018), while not strictly concerning the concept of military victimhood, also shows how notions of masculinity can fuel the creation of either 'non' or 'designated victims', whereby the potential victims themselves reject this label. Rainbow (2018, p.264) discusses the role perceptions of masculinity play in male prisoners actively rejecting the potential victim label, and in turn their fitting into the ideal victim construct, as "constructions of maleness and masculinity tend to shy away from any connection to vulnerability". Similarly, when discussing the issue of disabled ex-military personnel, Meyer (2022, p.47) highlights how many men refused to accept their own status as victims by rejecting disability pensions, expressing "anxieties" concerning how such a status was ultimately "emasculating" and engendered their being "infantilised".

McGarry and Ferguson (2012, p.128) further highlight that the military actor's self-image concerning victimhood can clash with the "public imagination", showing how often individuals may not always perceive their own experience of harm strictly as having been an instance of victimisation (Miers, 1990). Here, the concept of a 'hierarchy of victimisation' is invoked, with ex-military personnel believing their own victimisation is perhaps 'lesser' than that of civilians who are also victimised. This hierarchy, devised by Carrabine et al (2004) highlights the perceived legitimacy and deserving of certain victims, as well as the support different victims are likely to receive based on the perceived legitimacy of their claims to victimhood, and again centres on such notions as vulnerability in contention with expectations of masculinity. This hierarchy asserts that distinctions can be made between 'good' and 'bad' victims (Madlingozi, 2007), with such categorisation constructed in reference to "subjective views on the 'justifiability' of the suffering" victims have been subjected to, with notions such as these ultimately hinging on perceived victim 'innocence' (McEvoy & McConnachie, 2012, p.532).

3.4.2 Culpability: The Soldier as Competent

As noted above, the potential for military actors to be able to themselves inflict violence and therefore victimise others, negates any potential for them being depicted stereotypically as passive or weak individuals. Their expected masculine behaviour entails specific behaviour centring on violence which brings them into contention with the normative view of victims as vulnerable

(McGarry & Walklate, 2011) as perceptions of the soldier as 'competent' means they are expected to be able to "stand up for him- or herself" (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018, p.29).

Yet, as mentioned above, this role of violent 'executioner' can itself also potentially play a role in the psychological victimisation of the soldier (Grossman, 1995), again demonstrating how the nature of the soldier's profession serves to simultaneously both reinforce and challenge their identity as victim, and also strengthening the assertion that "victims and offenders can sometimes be the same people" (Scott, 2018, p.xiv). However, when military actors are themselves victimised, they can be ignored "by virtue of the fact that they are the cause of other's marginalisation" (Rainbow, 2018, p.264), demonstrating how duality serves to negate acceptance of military actors, who have the potential to victimise others, into the construction of the ideal victim.

Importantly, the soldier's own potential for victimisation takes place outside of the realm of law and justice, where the focus of normative victimological perspectives lie, meaning it can often go unnoticed. Within normative cultural perceptions, soldiers still occupy a space in which there is minimal room in which to articulate a legitimate claim to the label of victim in victimological scholarship because of the 'unknowable' nature of the environment in which they are victimised (McGarry & Walklate, 2015).

This unknowable environment of the battlefield, alongside the above discussed notion of masculinity as a marker for non-vulnerability, also impacts upon the perceived culpability of military personnel in their own victimisation. Culpability is a key component of the ideal victim construct, assessing how much blame can be attributed to a victim regarding the circumstances of their own victimisation (Christie, 1986). Social actors who are regarded as having actively exposed themselves to victimisation are deemed least deserving of the victim label and are placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of victimisation. Whereas those ideal victims, very old or very young people who have been abused for example, are placed at the top. This hierarchy reflects presumptions regarding vulnerability, demonstrating which social actors, and in turn lifestyles, are deemed most deserving of the label of victimhood (McGarry & Walklate, 2015). In this instance, conceptually the choice implicit in the profession of soldiering assists in the negating of a successful application of the victim label to military personnel. However, to what degree this level of culpability being afforded to the soldier is valid can be questionable.

Inherently, the ideal victim cannot be 'blamed' for being victimised, but for social actors such as military personnel who are assumed to be competent and capable of defending themselves from aggressors, as well as victimising others themselves, then blame is more easily afforded when they themselves are victimised (McCartney, 2011). McCartney (2011, p.45) argues that, conceptually,

when determined that a soldier is a victim this ultimately "devalues the commitment they made when they joined the British army" and "undermines the moral basis of soldiering". Here the culpability of the soldier in their own victimisation is evident, as their decision to join the armed forces means their access to the victim label can potentially be negated.

3.5 Conclusion

To summarise, this chapter has served to equip this thesis with a useful language regarding the messy nature of military victimhood and to aid in later analysis of the concept's potential in the mediation of militaristic ideals and values. Established in this chapter is how the affordance of the victim label to a military actor is a process fraught with contradictions and conceptual pitfalls, specifically with reference to Christie's (1986) ideal victim construct. This construct is utilised in this thesis as representative of normative social perspectives on the victim, defined as an individual typified by feminine characteristics, one who is incapable of self-defence and whose behaviour implies a lack of culpability within the act of their own victimisation. To again reference McGarry and Walklate (2015), the recognition of a social actor as a victim is dependent on perceptions of culpability and suffering.

It is such assumptions that ultimately contribute to the negation of the military actor from wider considerations of victimhood, as the military actor is one stereotypically depicted as a heroic individual, typified by their bravery and tendency to commit acts of violence against other social actors. Such representations naturally clash particularly with the notions of the ideal victim construct. As Chapter Two showed, however, in contradiction to such assertions, military victimhood is indeed recognised within British commemorative practices (Pennell, 2020). Herein lies the unique position that this thesis occupies; such a contradiction between these two sets of literature, whereby the affordance of the victim label to military victims is explicitly depicted in literature concerning British commemorative practices of the 1919 model, yet such a process is regarded as problematic within literature surrounding victimological perspectives. This is despite both a militaristic and normative victimological perspective ultimately adhering to similar perspectives on gender roles.

Ultimately, this chapter has provided this thesis with a useful victimological 'language' moving forward, with which to tackle the issue of how British military actors are constructed within commemorative discourse in a manner that affords them the victim label, while still potentially

adhering to normative social perspectives on victimhood as represented by the ideal victim construct.

The following chapter will outline the methodological approach that this thesis will adopt in order to interrogate this construction of the military victim, as an effort to uncover the discursive strategies employed within both print and digital materials held by the British Library's archives that potentially aid in this articulation of military victimhood, with direct reference to the ideal victim construct. In turn, the methodological approach chosen will also enable the critical analysis of these print and digital materials, determining whether this rearticulation of military victimhood has potentially served to mediate or challenge a militaristic ideology in Britain since 1918.

Chapter Four

Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Two of this thesis demonstrated how the core values and ideals of a militaristic ideology have been mediated in Britain over the last century, with war glorified, normalised, and justified since the cessation of the First World War through a myriad of forms (Paris, 2000). Central to this mediation of militarism is the depiction of the British military actor as heroic and competent, alongside the obscuring of war's victimising power, sanitising its violent reality and instead highlighting notions of heroism and adventure that military service is meant to entail, especially for masculine social actors (Mosse, 1990). However, as also explored in Chapter Two, commemorative rituals and practices enacted since 1918 have also been capable of mediating militarism in Britain, *despite* their tendency to foreground the existence of British military victims (Harrison, 2012; Danilova, 2015; Basham, 2016).

Chapter Three extended the boundaries of this initial exploration into the arena of victimology, demonstrating how the notion of the 'ideal victim' centres on characteristics of passivity and weakness, traits largely associated with femininity (Christie, 1986). Such assertions bring the existence of the military victim into contention, as the stereotypically assumed masculinity and competent nature of the soldier undermines notions of vulnerability and blamelessness that buttress the ideal victim construct (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). Demonstrated here is how a normative view of masculinity, as a typical embodiment of strength and bravery, underpins the literature concerning both militarism and victimology.

Because of normative social perceptions of the victim's characteristics and behaviour, particularly in reference to the ideal victim construct, the soldier, a social actor most often associated with the identity of masculine protector, is pushed to the periphery of victimological literature, meaning the assigning of the victim label to military personnel is theoretically fraught with contention (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). Yet as mentioned above, and explored in more detail in Chapter Two, the assigning of the victim label to military personnel has undoubtedly been observed in Britain over the last century (McCartney, 2011), presenting a seeming incompatibility between British commemorative practices and victimological perspectives. This incompatibility suggests that a process must take place so as to reconstruct the 'non-ideal' military victim into a social actor capable of being afforded the victim label within the context of British commemoration. As Alker and Godfrey (2016) suggest,

at specific points over the last century the British military actor has been 're'-masculinised and therefore depicted as a non-victim; so this thesis serves to assess the unique discursive process behind their potentially being 'de'-masculinised so as to be afforded the victim label, with reference to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct.

Thus, this thesis endeavours to investigate the potential role that 'discourse' surrounding British commemorative practices has in this potentially unique (re)construction of the military victim, with direct reference to the concept of the ideal victim as representative of normative social perspectives on the affordance of the victim label. Within this thesis, discourse is understood as communication through speech or writing (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008). This chapter will begin by outlining the methodological approach to be adopted for this thesis, that which centres on 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA). Central to CDA are notions of power and ideology, both of which will be explored in the first section of this chapter, and definitions established for employment throughout the rest of this thesis. Moving on, the discursive strategies chosen for analysis in later chapters will then be explored, outlining how texts obtained from the British Library's archives which relate to the depiction of British military victimhood will be critically analysed, with the aforementioned notions of power and ideology in mind.

Of particular interest here are referential and transitive strategies, which are utilised within discourse so as to present to an audience a very particular image of social actors, with emphasis placed on their social identity, their perceived positive or negative characteristics, as well as their role within certain actions, as either 'object' or 'agent' (Richardson, 2007). Such strategies will be vital in ascertaining how military actors are potentially construed as deserving of the victim label within commemorative discourse, again with specific reference to the ideal victim construct. Through the analysis of such strategies in later chapters it will be established whether depictions of military victimhood within British commemorative discourse are influenced by victimological perspectives, or ultimately circumvent these 'rules' so as to ensure military actors are afforded the victim label, and in turn how these constructions can potentially facilitate the mediation of militaristic ideals and values.

In turn, the notions of intertextuality and dialogicality are also key to this adopted methodological approach. In endeavouring to establish the potential connections between discursive constructions of military victimhood and the mediating of militaristic ideals and values, an investigation into particular narratives will be key, particularly those that present a specific representation of war contingent on the withholding of certain key pieces of information (Smith, 2013). The choice to include intertextuality and dialogicality in the analysis of the text sample is made in direct relation to

notions explored in Chapter Two, whereby an ahistorical narrative concerning British involvement in war over the last century is central to commemorative practices of the 1919 model, obscuring the complexities of individual conflicts in favour of a homogenous image of 'righteous' war (Harrison, 2012).

Once the core themes of CDA have been established, alongside how this methodological approach will be applied with this thesis' research questions in mind, this chapter will then move on to discuss the text sample upon which this critical analysis will be carried out. Here, the process of the collection of both print and digital texts from the British Library's archives will be discussed, outlining how specific decisions concerning the text sample's creation and later process of coding were informed by both theoretical and real-world influences.

Ultimately, this chapter aims to demonstrate how the adopted methodological approach of CDA will enable a critical analysis of discursive representations of military actors within British commemorative discourse since 1918. Such analysis will pay special attention to the potential function of discourse in both the production and reproduction of a specific social reality; a reality in which military victimhood can be presented through discourse as non-problematic, and which in turn either challenges or perpetuates a British militaristic ideology. Mobilised within this analysis will be the victimological 'language' as established in Chapter Three with, as mentioned above, specific attention paid to the ideal victim construct as a frame of reference, seeking to establish whether or not these discursive constructions of military victimhood are influenced by victimological perspectives on the victim and victimhood, and in turn if these constructions are capable of facilitating the mediation of militaristic ideals and values.

To begin with, this chapter will explore the research method of CDA, outlining its key concerns and areas of focus, highlighting both their relevance to the theoretical materials explored in the previous two chapters, and to the thesis more broadly. Moving on, this chapter will then explain how CDA will be employed specifically as a methodology in this thesis, demonstrating how the text sample to be analysed in the following chapters was initially collected, as well as the particular discursive strategies that will be subject to this analysis.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As established in Chapter Two, this thesis assumes a view of militarism as capable of permeating the "domestic civil order" (Howell, 2018, p.121), evident in both the beliefs and behaviours of social actors within a specific society. Also demonstrated was how the British commemorative practices of the 1919 model play an important role in disseminating militaristic ideals and values to the British public, *despite* their proclivity to foreground the existence of military victims (Pennell, 2020). This is in light of Chapter Three demonstrating how military actors exist on the periphery of victimological literature, with normative social perspectives on the victim, as represented in this thesis by the ideal victim construct, privileging 'feminine' over 'masculine' traits when affording the victim label to social actors (Christie, 1986; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012).

This thesis seeks to ascertain how military victimhood is depicted within a British commemorative context, and how this depiction can potentially facilitate the mediation of militaristic ideals and values. Here, the importance of the depictions of social actors with ties to war's victimising power, as well as the specific responses (be they beliefs or behaviours, or both) that such depictions can engender in the wider British public are key. It is because of such assertions that the methodological approach of CDA has been chosen to be implemented within this thesis.

CDA is a linguistic form of analysis that explores the intricate relationship between language and social practice, examining how language is capable of both shaping and maintaining social structure and reality, often in a way which enables the oppression and domination of social actors by those with access to considerable power (Regmi, 2017). Unlike 'discourse analysis', which simply describes discourse structures, CDA seeks to explain the ways in which "social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352). This is achieved by focusing on the way discourse structures can normalise and reproduce the relation of power and dominance in a society. CDA also deals with both 'macro' and 'micro' (or 'top down' and 'bottom up') forms of discourse, bridging the gap between the two, allowing research within this framework to demonstrate their interdependent relationship (Van Dijk, 2001).

CDA also supports the view that the critique of discourse and texts only proves meaningful when a social constructionist inclination towards knowledge is adopted. This is the assumption that there exist multiple legitimate 'versions' of the world and the idea that texts are open to multiple readings (White, 2004). Thus, a constructionist epistemology has been adopted by this thesis. This epistemological perspective asserts that reality is independent of the human experience, whilst knowledge of the world is a human construct. In turn, *meaning* is constructed collectively rather

than individually, being created in coordination with others (Jancsary, Höllerer, Meyer, 2016). What is regarded as *reality* is dependent on the society that constructed it and the time period in which it exists; therefore, different realities exist within different societies during different periods of time (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009). Discourse plays a fundamental role in both the shaping and reproduction of these different social realities.

Amoussou and Allagbe (2018, p.13) assert that CDA studies aid in the uncovering of "what is implicit, hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies," and that they focus especially on strategies employed by powerful social actors or groups in an attempt to manipulate the minds, and in turn actions, of those less powerful. Discourse is therefore also capable of concealing potential social change by normalising inequalities (Richardson, 2007).

This section of the chapter will now move on to explore some of the key concepts that underpin the methodological approach of CDA, specifically the notions of discourse and texts, and ideology and power, before moving on to outline the particular tools of textual analysis that this thesis will adopt moving forward.

4.2.1 Discourse and Texts

Discourse is "language in use" (Richardson, 2007, p.237), a particular manner of talking about or "understanding the world" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.1). In simplest terms, discourse is communication through speech or writing, the nature of which is dependent on the context in which it is enacted. For example, discourse in a court of law would differ greatly to that of discourse between two friends talking in a bar, due to the respective social settings and these settings' specific expectations of conduct. Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.258) argue that "discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people".

Discourse is not simply representative of a social reality, rather it is both performative and constitutive, and the *critical* aspect of CDA aims to deconstruct the role of discourse in the creation and maintenance of this reality. This critique of discourse "makes visible the interconnectedness of things" (Fairclough, 1995, p.747); by demystifying ideologies and power through the investigation of discourse there is potential for them to be transformed. Discourse shapes society and culture, and in turn is itself shaped *by* society and culture. They are dialectically related and, ultimately, also relate to power.

Texts, meanwhile, are *parts* of discourses; they "objectify linguistic actions" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008, p.90) and can be assigned to 'genres,' something defined by Fairclough as "a way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity" (Fairclough, 1995, p.14). Some examples of genres within which texts can be found are television debates, newspapers, speeches, or websites, all of which have their own specific and specialised contexts and practices. In CDA, emphasis is placed on the importance of texts as "sensitive barometers of social processes," the analysis of which "can provide particularly good (indication) of social change" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999, p.204).

4.2.2 Ideology and Power

'Ideology' and *'*Power' are two important concepts fundamental to CDA as they inform the nature of the specific social reality that discourse is employed to assist in creating, therefore it is important to ensure that clear definitions of both are established with regards to their usage moving forwards. In the instance of this thesis, an ideology is taken to mean a "one-sided perspective or world-view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes, and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008, p.88). Ideology in this sense is structured by discourse, with wealth and power alone being insufficient in creating a hegemonic social order. Ideological frameworks serve to inform language choice, as well as the manner by which specific social actors are represented as the subjects of a particular discourse (Smith, 2013). Gramsci (1998) asserts that the dominance of a powerful group over a less powerful group is not simply maintained through force, but instead through consent, with dominant ideologies being inherently present in ideas widely regarded as common sense (Stoddart, 2007).

Reflected here are sentiments expressed in literature explored in Chapter Two, whereby specific mediated forms of militarism have resulted in the normalisation of war in the minds of the British public, as well as the uncritical enactment of specific behaviours that reduce war to a banal component of everyday life (Imber & Fraser, 2011). As asserted by Pennell (2020, p.385), British militarism in particular sees "support, or, at least, acquiescence" from the British public for military institutions and its activities.

Through the utilisation of a specific discourse ideologies have the potential to establish and maintain unequal power relations within a society, creating, for instance, hegemonic identity narratives, whilst also being able to control access to discourses, an act referred to by Reisigl and Wodak (2008) as 'gatekeeping'. Ideology is also reproduced through linguistic and semiotic practices in a myriad of

social institutions, but it is important to understand that language is not a means within itself, rather a tool used to maintain hegemony in tandem with power (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008).

In turn, 'power' will be taken to mean the asymmetric relationship(s) among social actors who assume different social positions and belong to different groups, following a Weberian view of power as the possibility of "having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008, p.88). Power can be exerted in a variety of different ways, such as through physical, violent force; through threats; or through the use of technology and objects. This power is fundamentally legitimised or de-legitimised through discourses (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008).

Foucault described power as being "deployed and exercised through a net-like organisation" (Foucault, 1981, p.98), rather than functioning as a "chain of effects" (Smith, 2013, p.16). Often, power is achieved through the possession of wealth and/or knowledge, or through the use of force by one group against another. Often this power is hegemonic; the power of dominant groups is integrated in "laws, rules, norms, habits and even general consensus" (Van Dijk, 2001, p.355) and can be exerted through the repetition of innocuous, everyday activities and social actions (Essed, 1991). Chapter Two explored how British commemorative practices of the 1919 model were implemented (and are maintained) by groups with access to vast amounts of both wealth and knowledge, and therefore power (Gregory, 1994), while the integration of commemorative rituals into everyday life, such as the observance of the two-minute silence or the wearing of a poppy, have the potential to mediate militaristic ideals and values (Basham, 2016).

Thus, with respect to the core research aims of this thesis, such concepts of power and ideology relate directly to issues of militarism and its mediation. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, a militaristic ideology is one that advocates ideals and values that serve to normalise, justify, and glorify war. With regards to power, Chapter Two also demonstrated how the proliferation of a militaristic ideology largely benefits the 'elite' minority of a society, whereas it is the relatively less powerful majority who are ultimately subjected to the victimising power of war. A militaristic ideology can coerce citizens into regarding war as an attractive endeavour, by sanitising its horrific realities in favour of heroicised views of soldiering and combat (Mosse, 1990). Here is evident the 'social reality' that militaristic discourse has the power to create, a reality in which these ideals and values of militarism are legitimised in the minds of the public.

In relation to ideology and power, CDA attempts to understand how a specific discourse is capable of controlling the minds and actions of less powerful groups, and what the consequences of this control are (van Dijk, 2001). To achieve control of mind, discourse must first be controlled and utilised in a

way which reproduces dominance and hegemony. To do so, the context or structure of public discourse must be controlled. Whereas the most common active control for the majority of people would be discourse among family and friends, those in positions of power have access and control over multiple types of public discourse "more or less exclusive access to, and control over, one or more types of public discourse" (Van Dijk, 2001, p.356). Through such access to power the context in which discourse is relayed can be controlled, along with the structure of the communicative situation. Recipients of this top-down discourse are likely to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions when they are given to them by social actors or institutions in positions of authority, or through sources regarded as holding authority, such as newspapers that they view as credible or trustworthy (van Dijk, 2001).

Discourse is also transmitted through obligatory actions, such as job training or education, where discourse must be understood and interpreted in a specific manner, as dictated by "institutional or organisational authors" (Van Dijk, 2001, p.357). Recipients may be unable to resist discourse due to them not having the knowledge necessary to challenge the information they are exposed to. This can either be a result of their own personal outlook, or by the active withholding of knowledge and information that opposes the dominant discourse maintained by those in positions of power. A lack of relevant knowledge means recipients are unable to formulate their own response, and therefore potential resistance, to these dominant discourses. This lack of response and resistance means the dominant discourse remains prevailing (Van Dijk, 2001). As asserted by Kirton (2016, p.412-413), with reference to mediated forms of war coverage, mainstream media institutions for example are "typically understood as being influenced by and acting in the interests of Governments and powerful state actors". A particular narrative of war is presented through such a mediated form, established through a selective process concerning what contextual information to include/exclude, thus enabling the marginalisation of dissenting or critical perspectives (Kirton, 2016).

This methodological approach of CDA will therefore serve the wider thesis in critically assessing how powerful groups with the ability to control discourse potentially do so in a manner which perpetuates the proliferation of a militaristic ideology. In particular, it is the constructions of military victims within British commemorative discourse that this thesis is concerned with, with direct reference to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct. The following section of this chapter will therefore outline the discursive strategies that will be subjected to this critical analysis in subsequent chapters of this thesis which deal directly with discursive representations of military victimhood.

4.2.3 Referential Strategies, Transitivity, and the Ideal Victim Construct

As explored in Chapter Three, the ideal victim construct demonstrates how normative social perspectives envision the characteristics and behaviour of a social actor deemed 'deserving' of the victim label, and in turn the social benefits that come when this label has been afforded (Christie, 1986). This ideal victim construct is utilised as an important frame of reference within this thesis, by which the following forms of linguistic analysis have been chosen.

This sub-section of the chapter will outline how this thesis' adopted methodological approach seeks to address these normative victimological assumptions regarding the victim via a close analysis of 'referential strategies' that are employed within texts. Demonstrated will be how they are capable of constructing a specific image of a social actor, by either 'foregrounding' or 'backgrounding' particular characteristics and behaviours, which ultimately "bear the imprint of value judgements" from a text's producer (Richardson, 2007, p.52). As well as referential strategies, attention will also be paid to the construction of sentences, or 'syntax,' particularly the concept of 'transitivity' and how this influences the manner by which actions are represented within discourse. These discursive strategies have been chosen because of their direct link to possible depictions of victimhood, and will now be discussed in more detail, highlighting their relationship to the ideal victim construct.

As the ideal victim construct highlights, it is the concepts of vulnerability and culpability upon which the affordance of the victim label hinges (Christie, 1986), and these chosen discursive strategies of nomination, predication, and transitivity, inform whether or not a social actor is regarded as characteristically weak or powerful, what social groups they belong to, their propensity for passivity or agency, and thus whether they are blameless within the act of their victimisation. By critically analysing these discursive strategies found within the texts of the text sample (which will be outlined in more detail in the next section of this chapter), the intention is to interrogate whether representations of social actors associated with military victimhood within commemorative discourse adhere to or circumvent core aspects of the ideal victim construct. Once this has been established, the relationship between these representations and the potential proliferation of a militaristic ideology is then able to be critically assessed.

The first discursive strategy chosen, nomination, refers to the way in which a social actor is named (or otherwise made reference to) within discourse, highlighting their identity, social role, and characteristics. While the second, predication, refers to the assigning of qualities to a social actor, be they positive or negative and implicit or explicit (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008), which can potentially be directly utilised as criticism, to undermine or vilify them (Richardson, 2007). It is pertinent to note that often results from both the nomination and predication strategies can overlap due to

similarities (Mahfouz, 2018). In relation to these referential strategies is a conceptual tool referred to as 'the ideological square' which will prove useful in later critical analysis of the text sample, the contents of which will be discussed in more detail in the next section of the chapter. Developed by van Dijk (1998), the theoretical framework of the ideological square predicts that 'outsiders' "of various types will be represented in a negative way", in contrast to 'insiders', who are represented positively through the employment of referential strategies of nomination and predication (Richardson, 2007, p.51). Primary to the ideological square and its employment of referential strategies is the use of the notion of 'us' vs 'them' (Richardson, 2007).

In turn, transitivity is a discursive strategy employed to describe relationships between participants in a specific action. In most basic terms it refers to *who* is doing what to *whom* within this action, examining how events, the actors involved in events, and the circumstances surrounding events are depicted by an author (Beard, 2000). The choice to include this strategy within this thesis' methodological approach is based on the ideal victim construct's emphasis on victim vulnerability and culpability (Christie, 1986). Victims in a normative social sense are individuals too weak to defend themselves, they are the 'object' of their victimisation, with their victimiser occupying the role of 'agent.'

Highlighted through the strategy of transitivity is the issue of power, demonstrating which social actors are afforded special attention and/or elevated status within a specific ideology. In relation to the core themes explored in this thesis, the elevation, or glorification, of the military actor proves fundamental to a militaristic ideology (Vagts, 1937). Thus, the analysis of transitive representations of social actors within the text sample will be useful in determining the extent by which discursive constructions of military victimhood can be seen to mediate the core ideals and values of such an ideology.

As previously mentioned, it is with the ideal victim construct in mind that these three discursive strategies have been chosen for close critical analysis, highlighting how social actors linked to the concept of military victimhood have a specific representative image constructed of them, which concerns both their potential vulnerability and culpability within an act of victimisation. Following the 'rules' of the ideal victim construct, it would be assumed that discursive representations of a victim would be constructed via these three strategies so as to situate them discursively, for example, as belonging to a social group whose victimisation is expected (nomination), as bearing specific characteristics such as weakness that would leave them vulnerable to victimisation (predication), as well as whether or not they are likely to be the *object* of an act or the *agent,* thus demonstrating their potential passivity (transitivity) (Christie, 1986).

4.2.4 Intertextuality and Dialogicality

Alongside the construction of victimhood and its reliance on specific characteristics being attributed to social actors deemed 'deserving' of the victim label as explored in Chapter Three, Chapter Two also highlighted how specific narratives concerning war in Britain over the last century are capable of mediating militaristic ideals and values. These integral narratives privilege an ahistorical perspective on war in Britain, one that ignores contextual information of individual wars in favour of a homogenous view of conflict cast in the image of the 'righteous' Second World War (Harrison, 2012; Danilova, 2015; Basham, 2016).

Taking this into account, the notion of 'intertextuality' will feature in the critical analysis of the text sample. Initially developed by Kristeva (1980), intertextuality refers to the idea that no text is created in isolation. As similarly asserted by Foucault, statements can only exist through connections to other statements (Foucault, 1972). Texts are dependent on those texts that came before, and in turn are heavily influenced by them. In other words, a text's meaning is shaped by other prior texts, and knowledge of a text's influence can in turn greatly influence an audience's interpretation of said text through, for example, the use of quotation and allusion (Smith, 2013, p.24). Richardson (2007, p.101-103) describes intertextuality as the notion that a text must ultimately be studied within the context of other relevant texts, rather than in isolation, using the example of a running news story, where each text "is a link in a chain… composed from fragments or elements of previous texts".

Fairclough (1989) links intertextuality to power, highlighting that while participants in a discourse may arrive at different conclusions when interpreting intertextuality, the interpretation held by the social actor with more power may possibly be privileged over others through their influence over the production of discourse. The extent of knowledge that a specific audience of a text has is referred to as its 'dialogicality'; when language, discourse or a culture undergoes a process of "dialogisation" it becomes "relativized, deprivileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things" (Holquist, 1981, p.427). The more dialogical a text, to what degree a text's intertextuality is highlighted and understood through internal quotes and attributions, for example, the more an audience is able to then challenge or deconstruct a discourse. Those texts deemed least dialogical are those that rely on assumption, and often bear consensus (Smith, 2013) along with "a normalisation and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences in meanings and norms" (Fairclough, 2003, p.42).

By using dialogical elements in a text, voices otherwise silenced can be heard, and intertextuality can therefore be viewed "in terms of power relations" when assessing what social actors and their voices have been actively included or ignored by the producer of a text (Smith, 2013, p.26). The less

dialogical a text, the more reliant interpretation is upon an audience's either conscious or subconscious awareness of its intertextuality. When there is an absence in the text of explicit intertextuality, through the use of direct quotation, for example, then interpretations have a reliance on suppositions and assumptions concerning a text's audience and their prior knowledge of a topic (Smith, 2013). Understanding of a text can therefore be heavily reliant on its dialogicality.

Now that the reasoning behind the adoption of CDA as this thesis' methodological approach has been explored, as well as the specific tools of analysis which will be utilised in subsequent chapters, this chapter will now move on to explore the text sample which has been collated for this specific analytical interrogation. Outlined here will be how texts from the British Library's archives were collected and organised for analysis in subsequent chapters, as well as critical reasoning behind these important choices.

4.3 The Text Sample

Thus far, this chapter has demonstrated the purpose behind the adopting of CDA as the wider thesis' methodological approach, to be deployed in subsequent analysis chapters, as well as the specific forms of referential, transitive, and intertextual analysis that will be undertaken, with special attention paid to the ideal victim construct as a frame of reference. This approach will enable the critical analysis of British commemorative discourse, assessing how representations of military victims are discursively constructed, as well as critically questioning *why* these representations are foregrounded in favour of others, with reference here to the potential mediation of militaristic ideals and values. This section of the chapter will detail the collation of the text sample to be interrogated through this application of CDA and will outline not only the substance of the sample and how it was obtained, but also the reasoning behind key decisions made concerning its contents. A full list of texts utilised in the text sample is presented in this thesis' *Appendix* (p.216).

Within the initial planning stages of this thesis, the intended size and scope of the text sample was much larger, yet due to unforeseen circumstances concerning the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020 the materials available for collection were much reduced. Travel restrictions meant that access to archival materials held by the British Library was restricted to those available remotely, and other physical materials only available on-site in London were therefore inaccessible during this period of data collection. As a result, the decision was made that the materials collected would ultimately come from the British Library's newspaper archives, alongside websites from the UKWA, of which both data sets could be accessed remotely via the usage of a VPN.

Texts obtained from these two distinct sources can be referred to as 'public sphere texts' (Habermas, 1987). The public sphere, in contrast to the private sphere is the realm "in which discussion of matters of general interest" take place, and from which emerges 'public opinion' on a particular topic (Smith, 2013, p.9). Through an analysis of such texts, both print and digital, the specific public opinion concerning military victimhood can be ascertained, along with the manner by which discourse is able to shape such opinion.

Newspapers are an important resource due to the nature of their production and role in a society, and as discussed in Chapter Two, are an important medium by which militaristic ideals and values have been disseminated to the British public over the last century. The primary function of newspapers is to fulfil "the informational needs of the citizen" (Richardson, 2007, p.8), but they are also a "key site in (the) naturalisation of inequality and neutralisation of dissent," capable of shaping "people's opinions not only of the world but also of their *place* and *role* in the world" (Richardson, 2007, p.13). More specifically, the rise of the British tabloid newspaper coincided with the First World War, and over the last century has played an important part in British commemorative practices, enabling specific language and imagery to "saturate the British cultural landscape of remembrance" (Andrews, 2019, p.295). And as also noted earlier in this chapter, mainstream media institutions such as newspapers are heavily influenced by powerful actors, such as the government, leading to coverage of war in particular "frequently (going) unproblematised" (Kirton, 2016, p.407). Therefore, analysis of such texts provides insight into how the dominant narrative concerning British military victimhood has been constructed through discourse over the last century.

The newspapers featured in the text sample are *The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror,* and *The Times.* These three newspapers were chosen specifically for two main reasons. Firstly, as mentioned already in this chapter, the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic meant that access to materials held within the British Library's archives were greatly limited. In this instance, these three newspapers offered greatest ease of access, particularly through a VPN, as their digital archives offered the most complete collection of texts over the last century that could be accessed off-premises from the British Library.

And secondly, as part of an investigation into how war is presented depending on the "expected audience" of a specific newspaper, as each publication's readership reflects a different social class. *The Daily Mirror* is widely regarded as a 'red top' tabloid whose majority audience is that of the working class; *The Daily Mail* as a 'mid-market' tabloid aimed at the lower-middle and working class; whilst *The Times* is a broadsheet whose audience is a majority of upper-middle or middle-middle classes (Richardson, 2007). A specific newspaper's content "needs to be appealing to the target

audience," and take into consideration the "imagined preferences of the expected audience" (Richardson, 2007, p.91). For example, tabloid newspapers, largely aimed at the British working class, do not traditionally report on parliament as their 'imagined preferences' do not align; they are not regarded as an audience who would be interested in such a topic, so no coverage is provided (Richards, 2007). Thus, this choice was made with the intention of exploring whether or not a newspaper's expected audience could potentially influence the manner by which representations of military victimhood was approached discursively, or if a homogenous depiction of the concept could ultimately be observed across the sample.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the proliferation of a dominant discourse largely rests on the motivations of powerful social actors/groups. Those with access to power, such as governments, are able to influence the production and reproduction of a specific discourse that contributes to the creation of a specific social reality. Yet the development of new forms of communication, namely web-based social media communication, has potentially enabled the breaking away "from the traditional linear flow of content" from the powerful to the less powerful (Khosravinik & Unger, 2016, p.206), and it is such a perspective that has led to the inclusion of website texts within the overarching text sample, obtained from the UKWA.

The UKWA is a partnership of the six UK Legal Deposit Libraries, serving to collect millions of UK websites each year, with the aim of preserving and providing access to "old or obsolete versions of UK websites" for future generations (*UK Web Archive*, 2023). The acquisition of websites by the UKWA, of which the British Library is a partner, is done so under the 'Non-Print Legal Deposit Regulations 2013', which allows resources published digitally in the UK (such as websites and social media pages) to be archived and subsequently available to the public at UK Legal Deposit Libraries.

Acknowledged within this thesis is the use in particular of social media content and the ethical considerations this potentially posed if such sites were included in the text sample, largely concerning whether this should be regarded as "public or private data" and the notion of "informed consent" among participants (Townsend & Wallace, 2017, p.192-193). After discussions with the UKWA team based at the British Library, it was disclosed that within the process of acquisition, permission is requested from website owners to make an archived copy of their site also available to the public through the British Library/UKWA's website (*British Library*, 2023). Because of this request of permission, and the fact the original websites from which texts were obtained were already in the public domain, it was decided that any potential social media sites collected by the UKWA identified as relevant in the SHINE engine search (detailed in the following chapter sub-section) could be included in the finalised text sample as they are deemed to be both publicly accessible and open

access data archived with permission by the British Library. In turn, extra steps are also taken to ensure that social media contributors are not personally identifiable, thus minimising and mitigating risk to them personally.

Texts taken from the UKWA enable alternative perspectives to be examined individually, as well as alongside newspaper texts to ascertain if texts produced by social actors in a position of relatively less power articulate the concept of military victimhood in a manner that contrasts to its usage within the dominant commemorative discourse. As also discussed in the previous section of this chapter, those with the power to control the content and form of a specific discourse often have access to vast wealth and knowledge and are capable of withholding certain items of information from an audience (Smith, 2013). Such withheld information may pertain to 'counter'-narratives, perspectives that challenge or attempt to undermine the dominant or 'official' narrative disseminated by the powerful (Cree & Caddick, 2020). The advent of the internet and social media in turn means that such withholding of information can be circumvented, as publics become producers and distributors of media content for example, rather than remaining as passive consumers. Through such a shift "dominant and problematic discourses… can be challenged and critiqued" (Kirton, 2016, p.410).

However, while the challenging of powerful narratives within a specific discourse is possible through the production of non-traditional content, digital web-based texts may instead serve to reinforce rather than challenge a dominant discourse. As Todman (2010, p.80) asserts, in his exploration of representations of the two World Wars online, perspectives on conflict are "shaped by… established cultures of remembrance" rather than challenging them. If this is the case, then observable here will be the power of dominant discourses in the production of a specific social reality, as discussed earlier in this chapter, whereby the manner in which war is commemorated in Britain remains "largely unquestioned" and "accepted" by the majority of the population (Hanna, 2009, p.74). Ultimately, cross reference between these public sphere texts, both print and digital, will be of specific interest to this thesis, allowing an exploration into whether or not discursive constructions of military victimhood are articulated outside of the dominant commemorative discourse in a variety of manners, or if a singular perspective of the concept exists across genres.

The following sub-section of this chapter will outline how these print and digital materials were obtained, and in turn how they were subsequently sorted and organised so as to be of critical use to this thesis' focus on British military victimhood and its potential relationship to a militaristic ideology.

4.3.1 Data Collection

The text sample to be utilised throughout the rest of this thesis consists of 394 individual texts, both print and digital. The majority of these texts are taken from three British newspapers: *The Daily Mail* (133 texts)*, The Daily Mirror* (95 texts)*,* and *The Times* (124 texts), alongside digital website texts acquired from the UKWA (42 texts). The core concepts of both military victimhood and British commemorative practices were at the forefront of decision-making during this period of data collection, and heavily informed how texts were initially sought out. It was established that specific search parameters would be employed so as to ensure any texts collected were ultimately relevant to key themes explored in the literature of the previous two chapters, yet broad enough to avoid any potentially biased selection.

Firstly, texts collected from newspaper sources would be taken from specific periods, namely within the week (seven day period) of 7th to 14th November, as it was ascertained that this period would always encompass the enactment of traditional British commemorative practices, during what will be referred to as 'Remembrancetide' (Harrison, 2012). As discussed in Chapter Two, pre-1945, practices such as the two minutes' silence and memorial services at sites like the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior would be enacted on Armistice Day, 11th November. Yet following the Second World War, these practices were moved to take place on the nearest Sunday to 11th November, on what was termed 'Remembrance Sunday' (Gregory, 1994). And after 1994, commemorative practices began to be enacted on both Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday during the same week (Harrison, 2012). This temporal parameter of 7th to 14th November meant that texts taken from this week, of any year over the last century, would therefore encompass the enactment of these traditional British commemorative practices and theoretically contain language pertinent to commemorative discourse.

In turn, this temporal parameter would also dictate that alongside 7th to 14th November, newspaper texts would be collected at ten-year intervals that directly coincided with anniversaries of the cessation of the First World War, beginning with 1928 and ending with 2018. This choice of focusing on anniversaries was influenced by Nora's (1989) observation that anniversaries provide an ideal opportunity for analysis concerning how a nation recognises historical events. Based on this assertion, it was hoped that such periods of heightened interest in the commemoration of war would result in a higher volume of relevant texts, thus providing a larger quantity of materials for subsequent analysis. This also ensured that one of the overarching aims of this thesis, to chronicle a century of representations of British military victimhood, could be adhered to.

Once this temporal range had been established, the next step of data collection was determining the linguistic search terms to be employed within this range. The search adopted was that of '"armistice" OR "remembrance"'. The use of the Boolean term 'OR' allowed texts within the newspaper archives that contain one or both of these two terms to be highlighted, thus available for selection and potential inclusion in the text sample. The rationale behind these choices was straightforward, as the use of one or both of these terms within a text would logically imply the presence of commemorative discourse and therefore enable later, relevant analysis.

Initially, the inclusion of terms relevant to the concept of military victimhood, such as "victim" or "victimhood", seemed essential due to the nature of this thesis. Yet initial searches using such terms proved virtually fruitless, with limited texts containing reference to both war commemoration *and* victimhood present in the respective newspaper databases. This fact informed further developments in the data collection process, and it was decided that implied reference to victimhood would be sought out during the coding process, which will be discussed in more detail later in this section of the chapter. This outright exclusion of the term "victim", whilst perhaps seeming contradictory to the purpose of this thesis, meant that any implicit reference to the concept of military victimhood would potentially be included within the text sample. As discussed in Chapter Three, the usage of the term 'victim' can itself be fraught with controversy, with many social actors choosing to eschew its usage due to negative connotations (Rainbow, 2018). Here, the core tenets of the ideal victim construct and its determining of characteristics and behaviour most often associated with individuals afforded the victim label again proved key as an important frame of reference. For example, discursive depictions of a social actor being injured by agents or events outside of their control, while not strictly utilising the term 'victim', would still be recorded as an instance of victimisation in reference to understandings of the term as explored in Chapter Three.

Once the temporal parameter and search terms had been established, a search on each of the three newspaper databases was carried out, with 1,023 results. These 1,023 texts were then added to a preliminary text sample within a purpose-made NVivo database (a software programme for qualitative and mixed-methods research), and attention turned to the UKWA. Utilising the UKWA's 'SHINE' search engine, the exact same search parameters were entered, yet due to the significantly larger database from which the search results were drawn, too large a number of texts were returned, so some refinement of the search terms was deemed necessary. The addition of "commemoration" and "British" to the initial terms "armistice" and "remembrance" meant that results were narrowed down to a relevant British commemorative context. And after seeking advice from this thesis' British Library based supervisor, Jason Webber, it was determined that ensuring only websites with the file extensions "html", "htm", and "stm" were included in the search would

also help in reducing the number of non-useful texts produced by this search. Due to limitations of the SHINE search engine itself and limited remote access again due to the COVID-19 pandemic travel restrictions, only texts available from the crawl year of 2008 were able to be collected, which fortunately coincided with the aforementioned decision to collect texts from years in which a decade anniversary of the First World War Armistice took place.

This final SHINE search, utilising these parameters, resulted in a digital website text sample of 251 texts, which were then collected through the 'NCapture' NVivo Chrome extension which converts web pages into PDF files, and added to the preliminary sample already containing the 1,023 newspaper texts, resulting in a final text sample consisting of 1,274 texts overall. Digital PDF copies of each of these newspaper and website texts were then saved and imported to the aforementioned NVivo database. From here, a process of coding could now commence, where the relevance of each text to the research objectives of this thesis would be assessed, and their continued usage or removal from the sample would be determined.

4.3.2 Coding

With this preliminary text sample now successfully collected and imported into a single NVivo database, a deductive coding approach was adopted, with each text individually assessed and its continuance or removal from the sample decided. Texts deemed to bear no relevance to the overall objectives of the thesis were those that made no reference to the concept of military victimhood, either implicitly or explicitly. In turn, those that did make reference were retained within the sample.

This relevancy, as briefly mentioned above, was informed by both Chapter Two and Three's explorations of military victimhood and its representations within commemorative discourse, as well as notions of victimhood within a victimological perspective. This deductive coding looked at whether or not texts could be broadly associated with British commemorative rituals and practices, and in turn whether reference was made to social actors with potential links to the concept of military victimhood. Some texts did indeed contain the phrases "commemoration" and/or "remembrance" but not in reference to wars involving Britain over the last century, and thus contained no discursive reference to British military victims. Similarly, and specifically in the instance of the UKWA, many texts were duplicates, with the inclusion of only one copy being necessary. Texts such as these were excluded from the final text sample.

Through this initial deductive process, the final text sample was determined, with the initial number of texts being reduced from 1,274 down to 391 texts. For ease of access and organisation, each text

was sorted into a folder based on the date and source of its production, be it a newspaper or the UKWA. Fig.1 below shows a breakdown of the text sample, illustrating how many texts were taken from each individual source based on this qualitative assessment of their relevancy.

Text Source	*The Daily Mail*	*The Daily Mirror*	*The Times*	*UKWA*
No. of Texts in Sample	133	95	124	39

Total Texts in Sample: **391**

Fig.1 – Texts in Text Sample

With the text sample now finalised, a process of 'inductive' coding could begin, with inductive referring to the fact that no prior or predetermined categories or codes were chosen, rather any thematic observations beyond simply referencing victimhood were allowed to *emerge* from the data itself. This resulted in each of the remaining 391 texts being re-assessed in more detail, looking at how reference to military victimhood was discursively constructed, and how the concept itself was represented. Both latent coding, whereby thematic similarities across texts in the sample were highlighted and noted, and manifest coding, whereby specific words and terms of relevance are highlighted, were conducted. Relevance here referring to reference, either directly or indirectly, to the affordance of the victim label to social actors within a British commemorative context.

In turn, these specific words and terms of relevance are presented in subsequent analysis chapters as direct quotations, or reports, from texts taken from the text sample, presented as a demonstration of discourse surrounding military victimhood during the period of Remembrancetide. It is stressed here that *all* such references have been included within this thesis for analysis, and none have been excluded, so as to allow the highest possible representation of discourse concerning victimhood evident within the text sample, both print and digital. Elements of texts in the text sample which did not relate to commemoration and/or the representation of victims (as well as the

wider theme of victimhood/victimisation) were omitted and are not discussed in later analysis chapters.

Within the analysis of these included reports, specific attention was paid to texts with both the literature explored in previous chapters in mind and the discursive strategies discussed above. As discussed in Chapter Three, the ideal victim construct is underpinned by the notion of 'suffering' and the perceived passivity and weakness of the victim, thus throughout this process of inductive coding reference made to social actors within texts as being subjected to suffering was highlighted for instance. Referential strategies potentially highlight whether or not a social actor is being afforded the victim label, with emphasis placed on 'sympathetic' naming conventions for example. More broadly speaking, these strategies make clear what 'groups' specific social actors belong to (Mahfouz, 2018). For instance, throughout the sample ex-servicemen and bereaved social actors are often nominatively identified as belonging to groups which highlights their disablement or grief, referred to as 'the broken' or 'widows' respectively.

Transitively, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was noted that individuals depicted as victims would be positioned as the 'objects' of an action (Richardson, 2007). Individuals in physical or psychological pain, or emotional turmoil, for example, were paid close attention to as they are transitively positioned as objects. Ex-servicemen in the sample, for instance, are often depicted as being subjected to 'torment', particularly those afflicted psychologically. Alongside this victimological lens, reference to key rituals and practices of the 1919 model, which are enacted with the victims of war as their central focus, were also highlighted here and note taken of the specific language surrounding them within the text sample.

Here, the use of NVivo's 'node' system allowed coded texts to be grouped, and subsequently viewed, alongside one another. Though this process of coding the importance of four distinct groups of social actors became clear within commemorative discourse, as it was they who were foregrounded most often. Reference to these four groups, who have subsequently been titled "The War Dead", "The Bereaved", "The War Living", and "The Deviant", were most frequent across the text sample and were evidently key actors within this discourse concerning both commemoration and military victimhood.

It is these four groups that the following chapters of this thesis will deal with in relation to military victimhood and ultimately its potential to have mediated militarism in Britain over the last century. The first two groups, the war dead and the bereaved, are depicted as closely linked to one another and ultimately highlight the purpose and function of the 1919 model as a ritual. Through the coding process, the victimisation of both groups was highlighted, albeit discourse presents both in

drastically different ways which highlight normative perspectives on gender present across literature concerning both militarism and victimology, explored in Chapters Two and Three.

In turn, the war living are a group of social actors present in the text sample who are largely referred to as victims throughout. Their suffering is foregrounded in a large number of texts and brings to the fore the notion of 'moral agency' (Bosma, Mulder, & Pemberton, 2018) as discussed in Chapter Three. This agency refers to the role of a text's audience in the victimisation of the war living, and sheds light on how the affordance of the victim label is part of a process (Strobl, 2010), alongside the power of discourse to influence the beliefs and behaviours of social actors, as discussed earlier in this chapter (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008).

Depictions of the final group, the deviant, build upon this notion of moral agency and make visible the influence of power as evidenced within the text sample, demonstrating how consensus is engendered among the British public through the employment of specific discourse (van Dijk, 2001). This discourse concerns military victimhood and the practices and rituals of the 1919 model directly and the behaviour that is expected of the British public during Remembrancetide. In turn, it is through depictions of the deviant that intertextuality and dialogicality come to the forefront of analysis, highlighting how digital texts in particular are capable of challenging and critiquing dominant discourses (Kirton, 2016), specifically surrounding the 'correct' forms of enactment of commemorative ritual and broader understandings of military victimhood itself.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the methodological approach of CDA has been chosen in direct reference to the exploration of literature carried out in both Chapters Two and Three. Here it was demonstrated how both militaristic and victimological perspectives adhere to a largely similar notion of what constitutes masculinity and femininity, and the expected characteristics and behaviours that social actors will exhibit depending on their gender.

Literature explored in Chapter Two posited that the British military actor is a stereotypically masculine individual, typified by their heroism and bravery, as well as their competence in both defending themselves and inflicting violence upon others (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011; Digby, 2014). In turn, Chapter Three demonstrated how male social actors, and especially military actors, lie at the periphery of victimological literature because of assumptions concerning their characteristics and behaviours (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). It is largely feminine, not masculine actors, who are afforded the victim label (Christie, 1986). Yet despite this similarity regarding notions of masculinity

and gender roles, the glaring point of contestation between the two sets of literature thus explored resides within representations of the military victim within British commemorative rituals and practices.

The British 1919 model of commemoration foregrounds the military victim within its rituals and practices, while normative victimological perspectives, as represented in this thesis by the ideal victim construct, relegate military actors to the status of 'non'-victim (Christie, 1986). It is within this contested space that this thesis resides, determining that if both perspectives adhere to such a similar notion of masculinity and gender, then it can be presumed that within British commemorative practices a specific process takes place in the discursive construction of the military victim that circumvents normative victimological perspectives so as to afford the victim label to military actors.

Thus, this chapter has detailed the reasoning behind the adoption of the methodological approach of CDA, which will enable discourse found within British commemorative rituals and practices to be deconstructed with regards to representations of social actors with ties to military victimhood. Discourse is capable of both producing, reproducing, and sustaining a specific social reality, instrumental in the construction of social identities and relationships (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In relation to this thesis, such a social reality concerns the beliefs and behaviours engendered within British commemorative practices over the last century and the manner by which social actors are constructed within this relevant discourse.

Through an analysis of referential strategies (nomination and predication) and aspects of sentence syntax (transitivity), the construction of these social actors, with reference to the ideal victim construct, will be possible (van Dijk, 2001). Here specific traits, such as the potential passivity and weakness of an individual for example, and the positioning of social actors within certain actions can be explored and ultimately contribute to the construction of military victimhood within the text sample. An analysis of text intertextuality will also be key in ascertaining how narratives concerning military victimhood have potentially obscured or omitted key pieces of information in order to enable the sustaining of a specific social reality, one that privileges the core ideals and values of militarism (Smith, 2013).

Now that the methodological approach adopted by this thesis has been outlined, and the text sample within which critical analysis of British commemorative discourse is to be carried out, the following chapter will begin the presentation of the findings of this analysis concerning the four groups of social actors as mentioned above. The following chapter will first deal with the discursive

construction of the military victimhood of 'the war dead' and 'the bereaved', before subsequent chapters interrogate constructions of 'the war living' and 'the deviant' respectively.

Chapter Five

Ritual, The War Dead, and The Bereaved

5.1 Introduction

Through analysis of discursive constructions of two groups of military victims, the war dead and the bereaved, within the context of ritual, this chapter will begin to address the gap in knowledge that this thesis serves to address. As outlined in preceding chapters, this gap centres on perceived contradictions between literature concerning militarism and of military victimhood. Chapter Two demonstrated how militaristic ideals and values are mediated through a myriad of forms which ultimately serve to distort war's power to victimise. The exception to such an assertion, however, comes in the form of British commemorative practices of what is referred to as the '1919 model' (Imber & Fraser, 2013). These rituals and practices are capable of mediating militaristic sentiments *despite* their proclivity to foreground military victims, through the employment of specific linguistic and semiotic tropes (Pennell, 2020).

In turn, Chapter Three outlined how the affordance of the victim label to social actors is part of a process, a process which ultimately depends on a social actor's victimhood being recognised by external parties. Often, this recognition can be influenced as part of a wider ideological agenda (Strobl, 2010). Ultimately, normative social perspectives (as represented by the 'ideal victim construct' within this thesis) portray the victim as a feminine individual, blameless for their victimisation and typified by their weakness and passivity (Christie, 1986). This view comes into direct contention with stereotypical views of the British military actor, who is exemplified as a masculine protector, capable of defending *and* inflicting violence upon others (McCartney, 2011). Such a normative view of masculinity, as a typical embodiment of strength and bravery, is present across the literature concerning both militarism and victimology, underpinning attitudes to gender roles in relation to conflict.

Thus, the important point of contention between these two sets of literature becomes apparent, if normative militaristic and victimological perspectives share a common view concerning the expected characteristics and behaviours of masculine and feminine social actors, where is the point of departure located with regards to military victimhood? If normative victimological perspectives designate the military actor as a non-victim, how so are depictions of military victims able to exist within British commemorative practices, which seemingly also subscribes to a normative view of

masculinity? As this chapter will explore, this point of contention indicates that a specific discursive process must take place within the construction of military victims within this commemorative context, one that potentially circumvents normative victimological perspectives, as represented in the instance of this thesis by the ideal victim construct. Once this potentially unique construction of military victimhood has been demonstrated, it is then that critical analysis of the notion can begin in relation to the concept of militarism, with the ultimate goal of this thesis being the ascertaining of whether or not militaristic ideals and values have been mediated in Britain through this construction of military victimhood since 1918.

Taking this into consideration, this chapter will begin the discussion concerning the findings of the application of this thesis' chosen methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as outlined in more detail in Chapter Four, to the text sample consisting of both print and digital texts obtained from the British Library's archives. Discourse is socially constituted as well as socially constitutive, meaning discourse is not only representative of the views and norms of a particular social reality, but in turn is capable of influencing the production of these views and norms.

Chapter Four detailed the specific discursive strategies that would be critically analysed within the text sample, with primary focus placed on referential and transitive strategies concerning how the characteristics and behaviours of specific social actors are depicted within British commemorative discourse, ascertaining the relationship between these and the expected characteristics and behaviours of the ideal victim. As also mentioned in Chapter Four, initial analysis of the text sample brought attention to the existence of four distinct groups of social actors with ties to war's victimising power prevalent in discourse surrounding British commemorative practices: the war dead, the bereaved, the war living, and the deviant.

The following three chapters will deal directly with these groups of social actors, with this chapter specifically focusing on discursive depictions of two of these groups arguably at the centre of the rituals and practices of the 1919 model itself: the war dead and the bereaved. Before direct analysis of these social actors is presented, however, this chapter will first explore the concept of ritual and its functional importance during the period of Remembrancetide, specifically in relation to the war dead and the bereaved. Outlined here will be how the notion of military victimhood is fundamental to the commemorative practices of the 1919 model. The creation of commemorative rituals in the wake of the First World War served as a major component in the attempted facilitation of widespread grief and mourning in Britain. Here, the suffering of the bereaved was dealt with directly through memorialisation, providing a means by which "meaning and purpose" in the deaths of their

loved ones (the war dead) could be attained through the construction of "a story which makes sense of the death and finds some good in the event" (Gregory, 1994, p.23).

With this context in mind, the chapter will then move on to explore how discursive strategies are employed throughout the text sample so as to depict both aforementioned groups in a particular manner concerning victimhood, again with specific reference to the ideal victim construct. In the case of the war dead, this victimhood is greatly sanitised and streamlined, with the expected characteristics of the victim supplanted from them onto the bereaved, who are portrayed in a far more orthodox and familiar fashion in relation to the ideal victim construct, with an emphasis on femininity and passivity. Considering the traditional components of the ideal victim's characteristics as explored in Chapter Three, it can be asserted that the war dead and the bereaved hold a dyadic relationship concerning victimhood which enables the reinforcing of normative social perspectives concerning victimhood and the nature of military actors.

Firstly, then, a brief outline of the core rituals and practices of the 1919 model will be presented so as to provide important contextual information before moving onto analysis of discourse found within the text sample.

5.2 The 1919 Model

While it is not within the purview of this thesis to discuss the development of British commemorative practices since 1918 in great detail, for the purpose of this chapter it is important to once more briefly outline the central components of British commemoration during the period of Remembrancetide, enacted traditionally in the second week of November of each calendar year (Harrison, 2012). This enactment of specific ritual will be referred to as the 1919 model, a title coined by Imber & Fraser (2011), which refers to those practices established in the wake of the First World War from 1919 onwards and are still recognisable and practiced by the public today, including but not limited to: the two-minute silence, the Cenotaph Service, the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, and the Poppy Appeal. It is within the context of these rituals and practices, outlined in more detail below, that the core of linguistic representations of specific groups of social actors are provided throughout the text sample. This section of the chapter will consider each of these briefly in turn as they help provide the social, cultural and political backdrop for this and following chapters.

The two-minute silence was first introduced in Britain on 11th November 1919, the first anniversary of the Armistice, as an expression of collective thanks to those who fought and lost their lives at war (Winter, 1995). At 11am, a short period of silence was to be observed, during which participants

were encouraged to reflect on the deaths of British military actors, as well as to keep in mind those still living with the aftereffects of war. This practice is most often centred around a specific civic monument dedicated to those who lost their lives, with the national enactment being carried out at Whitehall, originally on 11th November, but also on Remembrance Sunday since the cessation of the Second World War, and on both days since 1995 (Noakes, 2015). The two-minute silence was also incepted as a promise, particularly to those who lost loved ones killed during war, that their memory and their sacrifices will persist within the national conscience (Gregory, 1994).

The Cenotaph and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior were created so as to provide tangible sites of mourning for those left behind, as during and after the First World War the repatriation of fallen British soldiers was forbidden, meaning for many families the chance to visit the resting place of their loved ones was slim (van Emden, 2019). The Cenotaph, meaning 'empty tomb', initially a temporary wooden structure erected at Whitehall in 1919, was made permanent in 1920 and is the focal point of the two-minute silence each year (Todman, 2005). Across the nation numerous cenotaphs were also constructed during the inter-war years, and it is at these memorials that local Remembrance services are enacted in much the same fashion as that of Whitehall.

The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior catered particularly to those whose loved ones killed during the First World War who do not have a known resting place, acting as a "symbolic body" (Andrews, 2019, p300). In 1920, three days before Armistice Day, the bodies of six unknown British soldiers were exhumed from the Somme, Ypres, Arras, Cambrai, the Aisne, and the Marne; the bloodiest battlefields upon which the British army fought. A blindfolded officer then selected one of the coffins to be returned to Britain to receive a funeral and burial at Westminster Abbey on 11th November. By the end of the week, between 500,000 and 1 million mourners had visited the tomb; the slim chance that the man buried in Westminster Abbey was their own son, husband, father, or brother, was a soothing sentiment to those who had lost a family member or loved one during war (Gregory, 1994).

Adjacent to the enacted and lapidary conventions (King, 2010) the Flanders Poppy was introduced in 1921 and ultimately served two purposes; firstly, as a symbol of Remembrance to be physically worn, and secondly as an active effort to provide support for those living still afflicted by the war, particularly ex-servicemen and their dependants (Powell, 2019). The Flanders Poppy was originally manufactured by disabled ex-servicemen of the First World War, and the money generated from their sale, which usually took place on Poppy Day, the day before Armistice Day, would be put towards charitable work focusing on both disabled/destitute ex-servicemen and the bereaved families of those who died at war (Todman, 2005). Contemporarily, the Flanders Poppy has become

a contentious symbol, perceived by some as an emblem of conformity to British ideals with strong links to the issues of militarism and nationalism (Basham, 2016).

By the end of the First World War over 700,000 soldiers from mainland Britain had been killed, with around another 500,000 left permanently scarred by the war, both physically and mentally. In the years immediately following the 1918 Armistice, Britain's population struggled to come to terms with the stark reality of the world's first industrialised total war, meaning there was a great need for its necessity and worthwhileness to be vindicated in the immediate aftermath. From this great wound inflicted upon the nation's psyche, the specific commemorative practices discussed here were created so as to both pay tribute to those who lost their lives at war and to alleviate the suffering of those left behind (Winter, 1995). Central to these rituals was the offering recognition of the victimhood of specific groups of social actors touched most heavily by the war.

With this important context now in view, this chapter will move forwards to explore its three main themes: firstly, that of ritual, and secondly and thirdly the representations of the victimhood of the war dead and the bereaved.

5.3 Overview of Themes

As noted in the introduction, three themes regarding victimhood and the wider topic of commemoration are addressed within this chapter, these include: 'ritual', the overarching theme through which the subsequent themes of 'the war dead' and 'the bereaved' are arranged. Each of these will be briefly explained before being explored in more detail throughout this chapter.

To begin, the theme of ritual encompasses the commemorative practices enacted in Britain during Remembrancetide with victimhood as a focal point, whilst also providing an outline for required/desired behaviour for the performers of a specific ritual. Within the context of these established rituals, texts throughout the sample refer to two main groups of social actors involved, which have been arranged thematically within this chapter as the war dead and the bereaved. Through an exploration of these three themes, demonstrated is how the concept of victimhood is utilised in very different ways with reference to the living and the dead.

The war dead are a group of social actors at the centre of British commemorative practices, as it is their deaths that are recalled and, in some ways, celebrated as the zenith of possible service to the nation. Despite locating the war dead as victims, discourse depicting their victimhood does not position them as requiring sympathy because of passivity or weakness, as to be expected within

traditional victimological thought, rather they are depicted as having agency within their victimisation. This agency results in a representation of the war dead as heroic individuals who died willingly, as opposed to having been killed, or in the case of ex-servicemen, discussed in the following chapter, disabled or made destitute by forces outside of their control. This representation ultimately glorifies the war dead and their actions in war, whilst also obscuring the reality of war and the experiences of soldiers within it. Despite being 'real' victims, in the sense that the war dead are social actors who experience violent victimisation during war, in relation to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, the war dead are firmly placed in the category of 'non-victim' within the text sample, as discursive constructions of this group emphasise their masculinity and capability in the face of danger, overriding the passivity and weakness typical of normative perceptions of the victim (Christie, 1986).

The bereaved, whilst referenced minimally within the functions of commemorative rituals, are arguably for whom the practices of the 1919 model were ultimately conceived, as a method of alleviating their suffering and providing a focal point for their mourning. Unlike the war dead, who are agents within their own victimisation, the bereaved are depicted as suffering as a result of events beyond their control, and are thus designated as ideal or deserving victims. Discourse concerning their victimhood places emphasis on their personal helplessness and persistent suffering, more in line with traditional victimological thought. Within this non-victim/ideal victim dyad of the war dead and the bereaved, suffering, a key component in the process of victim recognition, is borne here solely by the latter group, with normative notions of gender and victimhood being reinforced through such depictions.

Now that these three key themes have been outlined, each will now be examined in more detail, starting with the first theme of ritual.

5.4 Ritual

Thus far within this chapter and the wider thesis, the commemorative practices of the 1919 model have been referred to as ritual, but what exactly is meant by this term in a sociological sense is as of yet unexplored within the context of this thesis. It is therefore important to define what is meant by the term ritual at this point in the chapter, so as to better understand how depictions of social actors engaging in commemorative rituals – as found within the data - are constructed. And in turn, how this relates to the wider issues of military victimhood and militarism. This definition of the term will

also be extremely useful with regards to further analysis chapters dealing with social actors such as ex-servicemen and acts of deviancy.

At this point it would be pertinent to make clear that the texts within the text sample, which will be analysed in this and subsequent chapters, are viewed within the context of this thesis as *reporting on* ritual, rather than as a direct part of ritual itself. However, such reporting plays an important role in reinforcing the assumed behaviour of participants within the rituals and practices of the 1919 model and can be seen to directly influence British social actors during Remembrancetide in particular.

To begin with a basic definition, Collins (cited in Bellah, 2005, p.185) defined the fundamentals of ritual as,

1. A group of at least two people physically assembled

2. Who focus attention on the same object or action, and each becomes aware that the other is maintaining this focus

3. Who share a common mood or emotion

Considering the above section of this chapter concerning the 1919 model, it can be asserted that such commemorative forms and practices can be regarded as ritual through adherence to this basic definition. Practices of the 1919 model, such as the Cenotaph service and other monuments across the nation, or the act of the two-minute silence, involve the physical assembly of large groups of people who focus their attention on the same object (lapidary monuments) or action (collective silence). And during these acts there is a common mood or emotion typified by the solemnity of mourning, meaning we can readily define the practices of the 1919 model as ritual based on this basic definition (Winter, 1995).

Yet ritual cannot simply be defined by the tangible actions of its participants; other sociologists, such as Douglas (1992, p.249-251) discuss the power of ritual to "(structure) a community's self-perception" and its "future behaviour". Similarly, Asad (1993, p.78) refers to the concept of ritual as discipline, capable of creating within its performers "mental and moral dispositions", while Rappaport (1999, p.24) defines ritual as the performance of "invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers". Ritual is capable of shaping a social reality and influencing the future actions and beliefs of its performers. Deacon (1997, p.406) asserts that ritual is a means by which social actors are made aware of an "established contract," where they will be

likely to behave in a particular way in future, influenced by the nature and content of the ritual in which they participated. Bellah (2005, p.189) regards this as social actors subsequently having a "motivation to conform" after their first experience of a specific ritual. This sentiment is acknowledged in texts from the sample itself, where it is stated that one of the most positive outcomes of commemorative ritual is that "it brings people together" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998).

Durkheim (1995) regards ritual as the belief system of a society, divided into two planes, one of *the sacred*, and one of *the profane* (Bellah, 2005)*.* The two concepts of the sacred and of the profane work in tandem with one another, examples of the sacred ultimately demonstrating that which comprises the profane. The profane plane constitutes aspects of life that can be regarded as mundane, "monotonous, slack, and humdrum", whereas ritual is capable of stirring "truly strong passions" (Durkheim, 1995, p.218). Ritual is therefore a process through which members of a group are able to create a sense of shared membership, within which they feel a sense of moral obligation to one another, which is "symbolised by whatever they focus on during the interaction" (Bellah, 2005, p.185-186). In the context of the 1919 model as ritual, focus is placed upon the existence of military victims, forming a moral obligation concerning notions of respect and assistance to these social actors, as this and later chapters will demonstrate.

This sense of unity is an important component of depictions of British commemorative ritual throughout the text sample where extensive reference is made to the number of British citizens participating in the ritual itself, as well as sweeping declarations being made regarding exactly what it is this group of participants are emotionally experiencing as a collective. The following section of this chapter will focus on depictions of this unity as found in the text sample, exploring how discourse surrounding British commemorative rituals of the 1919 model emphasises its importance and seemingly universal acceptance.

5.4.1 Citizen Participation

Language utilised throughout the text sample demonstrates commemorative ritual's capability of creating a shared experience, and in turn emotion, drawing attention to the fact that so many people are involved with traditional practices during Remembrancetide. Due to the wide span of time covered by the text sample, observable is the impact of technological advancements on the reach of commemorative ritual; through radio and television developments, a ritual can be shared beyond the immediate geographic location in which it is enacted (Bellah, 2005, p.204). The first instance of the Whitehall two-minute silence being broadcast via radio, for example, took place in

1928 and allowed citizens both within and beyond the British Isle to participate from the comfort of their own homes, widening the reach of the ritual's power of shared experience (Gregory 1994). Within the text sample, reference is most often made to the size of crowds (those physically in attendance as well as tuning in via tv or radio) at the Whitehall Cenotaph in particular, but also to other gatherings at local memorials, describing them as:

"a very large congregation… scores of men and women" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

a "great gathering" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"large crowds bringing wreaths… in great quantities" (*The Daily Mail,* 13/11/1928),

"crowds, which were 20 deep" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"the streets were radiating… packed with people" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"they filed in never-ending lines round the beflowered base of the Cenotaph"
(*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1938),

"the Cenotaph was, as usual, crowded" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/1948),

"the crowds in Whitehall were 15 deep" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1958),

"At the Cenotaph, crowds stood 20 deep on either side of Whitehall" (*The Times,* 11/11/1968).

On some occasions attention is drawn to the specific number of participants, and reference is made not only to those at the national Cenotaph service in Whitehall, but also to the idea that the entire nation of Britain itself is partaking in commemorative ritual simultaneously either at local services or via radio/television broadcast:

"More than 500 people gathered" (*The Times,* 12/11/2018),

"thousands of men, women and children" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938),

"thousands of men and women pouring into the Empire Field of Remembrance"
(*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1938),

"nearly 1,300 men and women took part in the muster and displays" (*The Times,* 08/11/1948),

"many thousands crowded into Whitehall" (*The Times,* 10/11/1958),

"over 3,000 people" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938),

"10,000 gather to mark the centenary of the Armistice" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2018),

"a 10,000 strong parade" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018),

"more than 50,000 attended the Armistice Day service" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

"millions must have heard the ceremony from their firesides" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928),

"millions of people will observe the two-minute Armistice silence today" (*The Times,* 11/11/1998),

"Millions observe the two-minute silence" (*The Times,* 12/11/1998),

"45 million shall remember them… three quarters of Britons" (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/1998),

"silence of the 43 million" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1998).

This large group of participants established by the text sample, it is argued, is "representative of all classes and creeds" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928), and that "people in all walks of life all over the country have welcomed this simple form of remembrance" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998). A text from *The Daily Mail* in 1998 expresses that "by all accounts, more of us observed the two minutes silence yesterday than did not", which is "as it should be" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998), while it is celebrated that "96% of the country's schools observed the gesture of respect" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998). This is backed up by texts in the sample that list areas of Britain participating in the commemorative ritual, naming places such as Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Canterbury, Dover, and proclaiming that "every city, town and village in the British Isles has made plans which include special services at the war memorials or churches, or both" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928), highlighting how "remembrance services have been held in towns and cities across the UK" (*BBC News,* 2005). From "the smallest village to the biggest cities" (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/2018) Britain is seen as "(uniting) in glorious homage to her glorious dead" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928).

Texts in the sample also bring attention to specific professions or businesses that have opted to cease working entirely for the duration of the two-minute silence:

"every church (is) to observe the silence" (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/1928),

"all omnibus drivers have been instructed to stop their engines on the stroke of 11"
(*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928),

"supermarkets, airports, railway stations, banks and factories will come to a halt at 11am… British airways has rescheduled a Concorde flight so that it does not clash with the silence"

(*The Times,* 10/11/1998),

"airports, railway stations, post offices, supermarkets and banks will fall silent at 11am as a mark of respect for those who died in the Great War" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998),

"traffic stopped, aeroplanes waited, and shoppers stood in the aisles" (*The Times,* 12/11/1998).

Texts outlining the vast number of locations and specific businesses participating in commemorative ritual further the idea that obeyance of traditional ritual enactment is both normal and the correct manner in which to behave, in turn acting as a legitimisation of the rituals themselves. Enactment is carried out "everywhere" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928), within "every community in the land" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928), at "war memorials all over the country" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/2018). These depictions create a specific image of a society uncritically accepting that to participate in such rituals is the right, or normal, thing to be doing, and assists in establishing the social contract of ritual as discussed by Deacon (1997) that dictates how citizens are likely to act both in the present and future; an unwillingness to stand out as well as a fear of certain consequences towards non-conformity, (a notion that will be explored in more detail in Chapter Seven when discussing discursive constructions of the deviant).

This supposedly unifying nature of British commemorative practices also serves to highlight how seemingly every community across the nation enacts the traditional commemorative rituals uncritically. Also seen here is what is referred to by Harrison (2012, p.29) as "the stifling class system and official pomp on display" at commemorative services, which he argues "obscures the true horror and grief being recalled". The main focus of texts that cover commemorative services both at Whitehall and across Britain is bringing to their audience's attention the hierarchy of personnel in attendance and highlighting their behaviour, which is seen to be commendable and fit for replication by the average citizen.

These references to the 'elites' of British society, such as politicians or members of the Royal Family, provide clear demonstrations as to how British citizens are expected to behave during the traditional commemorative services. Whilst not strictly a component of the specific rituals performed across the nation at sites of commemoration, commemorative discourse utilised throughout the text sample plays an important role in instructing the British public how to behave during their enactment, once more bringing to mind Bellah's (2005) assertion that ritual can motivate conformity

among its enactors. This discourse ensures that the British public are able to repeat this behaviour unquestioningly during future periods of Remembrance, and a successful enactment, as implied by texts throughout the sample, ultimately infers legitimacy upon the ritual itself (Bellah, 2005, p.204).

5.4.2 Dignitaries and Dignity

Texts concerning official commemorative services and ceremonies emphasise the presence of members of the Royal family and politicians, who are said to represent Britain and the British public itself. There is an explicit understanding that the King (and later Queen), are in step with the thoughts and feelings of the nation, with multiple references being made to the King or Queen and the 'people' or the 'nation' in some way belonging to them. King George VI attending the Cenotaph service is with "his people" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938), is described as "the head and representatives of his people" (*The Times,* 08/11/1948), and as "leading his people" during the services (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928). Similarly, Queen Elizabeth II is said to "lead national homage" at the Cenotaph (*The Times,* 10/11/1958), to "lead the nation in remembering" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998 & *The Times,* 10/11/2008), or to "lead the nation in two minutes' silence" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2018). Politicians are also utilised as a personification of the British public when they are seen to uncritically enact the traditional commemorative ritual, such as in 2018, when then Prime Minister Theresa May is described as "lead(ing) the tributes to the Great War fallen" (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/2018).

Royalty and politicians are presented as an example to the British public of how to act during these rituals, with texts drawing attention to the manner in which these figureheads behave during, for example, the two-minute silence. During this period of what is supposed to be quiet reflection, observable is how a specific mood in which these "profoundly pious congregations" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948) are enacted is accentuated, as one of mourning and reflection. As discussed above, both Collins (1998) and Durkheim (1995) refer to the idea of ritual engendering an emotional response within a group, referred to as either "emotional energy" or "moral force" (Bellah, 2005, p.186) that centres on the focus of the ritual. In the instance of British commemorative ritual, the physical focus may well be on a physical monument, but what these represent is the victimhood of both the war dead and the bereaved, and the intended shared emotion of participants is one of sadness and pride.

British commemorative services are described as being "emotionally charged" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2018), most often solemn or sombre occasions:

of "solemn beauty…reverent care" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"solemn memorial services" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"the solemn dignity of the occasion" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928),

"a distinctly sombre scene" (*The Times,* 08/11/1948),

"solemn services" (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/2008).

Whilst the required silence of the ceremonies is also stressed, intertwined with and adding to the solemnity of the ritual:

"silent homage" (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/1928),

"with silence and sad homage" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928),

"silently, reverently" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

"silent tribute" (*The Daily Mirror* & *The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998),

"a silent act of homage and grief" (*BBC,* 2005).

In 2018, the Cenotaph Service at Whitehall is a combination of the two, described as both "sombre and silent" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/2018).

The depiction of British elites also acts as an example for the expected conduct of individuals at commemorative services and potentially assist in the active power of ritual to incite specific behaviour by its participants, one of respectfulness in honour of both the war dead and the bereaved. In 1948, Winston Churchill is described as an "embodiment of the nation", with a "grim insistence to hold his top hat in his hand through all the service" despite heavy rainfall at Whitehall (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948). While the Queen, laying a wreath in 1988, does not "disturb the traditional serenity" of the occasion (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1988). The attire of figureheads is also scrutinised to ascertain whether they conform to the expected standard of participation, with Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1998 being described as looking adequately "sombre in a dark overcoat and black tie" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998).

To some degree, ex-servicemen and war widows are treated in a similar manner to these royal and political figureheads as an example to the wider public, placing them above the average British

citizen. At the same rainy Whitehall service in 1948 where Churchill demonstrated his dignity and resolve, a text in *The Daily Mail* laments that a smaller attendance than usual indicates that the public lacks "the same sort of resolution that kept the old soldiers, the sailors long home from sea, and the little old widows of the war stiffly patient, though rain-soaked at their stations" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948). These veterans of war are clearly more capable than the British public in expressing their gratitude to the war dead, vindicating their elevation in status, and is a notion that will be explored in more detail in the following chapter concerning the war living.

It is clear that commemorative discourse emphasises the intended mood of commemorative services, and demonstrates how royal and political figureheads, or social actors deemed to be of elevated importance, are a prime example of behaviour that is to be replicated up and down the country. Also highlighted is how the presence of royalty and politicians is openly welcomed, and to some degree celebrated, by those crowds present at the services; "A ripple of applause ran through the crowd as Mrs Thatcher came forward to lay a wreath" at the Cenotaph in 1988 (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1988), showing how the established hierarchy in Britain is reinforced during the enactment of commemorative ritual. As Harrison (2012) asserts, such rituals of commemoration display "Britain's rigid sense of hierarchy and formality in official and public life".

Now that the main tenets of British commemorative ritual have been established through a reflection on how this is differently constructed for the 'ordinary' citizen and notable public figures, along with their potential at influencing the behaviour and thoughts of the British public, this chapter will now move on to look at how specific groups of social actors involved with this ritual, which ultimately revolves around the notion of victimhood, are depicted through discourse within the text sample.

5.5 The War Dead

As discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, within the parameters of the ideal victim construct, the identity of the victim is centred on distinct characteristics, with emphasis placed on the supposedly feminine traits of weakness and passivity. Yet, within the framework of the 1919 model's rituals of commemoration and via discourse found in the text sample, seen is how the victimhood of Britain's war dead challenges these preconceived notions of the traditional victim by emphasising their masculinity and active role in their own deaths. Within British commemorative discourse of the 1919 model, the war dead are depicted as having died voluntarily, therefore demonstrating that their victimisation was a willing choice and *not* thrust upon them by external forces or circumstances, as

would be the case when defining a victim in traditional terms. Here, the notion of passivity, central to the affordance of the victim label with accordance to the ideal victim construct, is circumvented for the war dead. They may well have been killed, but as this was supposedly a willing sacrifice their suitability as victim is negated, instead seeing them regarded as 'non'-victims.

Language surrounding the war dead is overwhelmingly positive, emphasising their collectively virtuous nature and propensity for having performed heroic deeds. Often their nature and deeds lead to them dying a heroic death on the battlefield, referred to as their 'sacrifice'. The fact that the war dead are depicted in this manner, as having given their lives willingly, means that they are afforded agency in their own victimisation, something absent in the victimisation of, for example, disabled ex-servicemen, who are largely represented in the text sample as being helplessly victimised by an external force beyond their own control (as to be discussed in more detail in the following chapter). Such notions of agency can be challenged, however, as scholars such as Gee (2014, p.88) note, a key factor in the traumatising power of war is the fact that its participants ultimately have "no control", a fact not readily acknowledged within 'official' channels of commemorative discourse however.

5.5.1 Citizens, Comrades, and Corpses

Demonstrated throughout the text sample are elements of Mosse's 'cult of the fallen soldier', as discussed earlier in Chapter Two, whenever the war dead are depicted, with the fallen soldier being represented as the perfect embodiment of the citizen. Someone who is willing to die for the nation is portrayed as a social actor worthy of reverence from the wider public, feeding into the issue of militarism and the glorification of war, as the status of the war dead is regarded as something worth aspiring to (Mosse, 1990).

It is no surprise that the fact the war dead are, in fact, dead, occupies a large portion of their nominative representations. Across the text sample they are referred to simply as 'dead' or 'the fallen':

"dead comrades" (*The Times,* 08/11/1928),

"the dead" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928),

"million dead" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"The Empire's… Dead" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"those fallen soldiers" (*This is Gloucestershire,* 2008).

Such depictions reinforce the status of the war dead as 'real' victims (Christie, 1986) as they undoubtedly experienced some form of trauma surrounding the events of their deaths. However, any such negativity surrounding their death is undermined by the utilisation of emotive rhetoric when describing them, employing language that emphasises the virtuous nature of the deceased soldier, stressing their bravery and the glory inherent in their deaths. In these instances, predicative representations of the war dead see them depicted in a positive manner as:

"The Brave" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"the glorious dead" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928 & *The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928),

the "immortal dead" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928).

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They are also heroic, described as:

"dead heroes" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"those heroic souls" (*The Times,* 13/11/1928),

like "the saints and heroes of old" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928),

"our heroes" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1998),

"genuine heroes" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998),

or having died "a hero's death" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/2008).

Here, the stereotypical image of the British soldier is adhered to in such depictions, with emphasis placed on the perceived heroism and bravery of military actors willing to fight and die for Britain (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011; Phillips, Connelly & Burgess, 2020).

The notion of sacrifice is also an important component of commemorative discourse, again highlighting the agency of the war dead in their own deaths and distancing this group from the traditional passivity associated with the identity of the ideal victim. Transitively, the war dead are positioned within commemorative discourse largely as the agents of an action, rather than as the

object. In the event of their death, they are described as soldiers who "gave their lives" (*The Times,* 07/11/1928), "those who made the great sacrifice" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928), "the supreme sacrifice" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928) or "the ultimate sacrifice" (*MOD,* 2007). Depicted as having actively 'given' their lives, rather than having it taken unwillingly by a more powerful force, these depictions further reinforce the war dead's status as non-victim in relation to the ideal victim construct, of which the notion of weakness and passivity is here negated.

It is also common for texts throughout the sample to declare exactly what this sacrifice in which they gave their lives was in aid of. The British military actor is represented as having died for their country, empire, or other great cause:

"for the Empire and for civilisation" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928),

"for their country's safety and welfare" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"for their country" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"so that their country might live" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

they are the "rescuer and saviour of this England" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

and fought "to defend liberty" (*The Times,* 13/11/1928),

"the ultimate personal sacrifice of life for nation" (*BBC,* 2005),

"gave their life for their country" (*This is Gloucestershire,* 2008),

"those who fell in the service of our country" (*St Peters Devizes,* 2008).

Here, again such rhetoric reinforces the view of the British military actor as an individual capable of both defending oneself and inflicting violence upon others. Depictions such as these position the war dead within commemorative discourse as social actors who have protected others through their actions. In turn, this rhetoric places the average British non-combatant in debt to the war dead, as only through this sacrifice does Britain as a nation persist. This idea of debt is expressed throughout the text sample, alongside the use of collective nouns such as 'us' and 'we' throughout the above excerpts from the text sample, when reference is made explicitly to those whom the war dead died for. British soldiers are said to have, for example "died or were broken for us" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/1928) or "secured our deliverance by the sacrifice of their lives" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928). Because of the immense sacrifice of the war dead, their deaths, and in turn their victimhood, are

perceived to have been committed in aid of a noble purpose which to this day influences the lives of British citizens in a positive manner. Such notions have seen war "rewritten" as a virtuous endeavour over the last century, "thereby obscuring their complex circumstances" (Danilova & Dolan, 2019, p.249) in favour of a representation that foregrounds the notion of a heroic war dead capable of fighting for, and willingly sacrificing themselves to protect, the wider British public.

5.5.2 Gendering the Dead

Also emphasised heavily in the text sample is the gendered nature of the war dead. Depicted overwhelmingly as masculine, demonstrated again is how commemorative discourse facilitates the positioning of the war dead as non-victims in reference to the ideal victim construct. On a few occasions those women who died for Britain during war are mentioned, but when this is the case their occupation as, for example, nurses, and not frontline troops, is highlighted. They may well be "fearless and devoted women" but nevertheless are not the focal point of commemorative ritual, as they were not the heroic soldiers killed in battle, but acted in service to them as "Army, Volunteer, and Territorial Nurses" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928). Basham (2016, p.883) has written about the inherent gendering of social actors within a framework of commemorative ritual, discussing how war is represented as "an activity in which masculinised, muscular 'protectors' necessarily make sacrifices for the feminised 'protected'". This sentiment is expressed repeatedly throughout the text sample, as with the vast majority of depictions of the war dead, their identity as 'men' is at the forefront as they are referred to as:

"every man of our million dead" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"Men of the British Empire" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"men who died that their country might live" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"the youngest and bravest of the country's manhood" (*The Times*, 12/11/1928),

"honourable men" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998),

"the young men of 1914" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998),

"ordinary men" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998),

"men of the parish" (*St Peters Devizes,* 2008),

"men of the county… who gave their lives" (*Laugharne War Memorial,* 2008).

Also highlighted are potential familial connections that again reinforce the masculine identity of the war dead:

"dead sons" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928),

"sons and husbands" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

"a lost son, brother, husband, or sweetheart" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938),

"the young son" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998),

"dearest father" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1938),

"the father I never knew" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998),

"brother… an older uncle" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998),

"Grandad Tommy" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1998),

"husbands, brothers and sons who would never come back" (*BBC News,* 2005),

"these guys" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/2018).

The perceived masculinity of the endeavour in which they participated, the act of fighting for one's nation, is also underscored, with the war dead being described as "those who fought in a manful fight" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928). As mentioned above, feminine depictions within British commemorative discourse present in the text sample overwhelmingly refer to non-combatants, those who lost loved ones and for whom the primary purpose of the rituals of the 1919 model were conceived. And on the rare occasion that female military actors are referenced, they are depicted in a manner that foregrounds supposedly 'feminine' qualities. For instance, even as members of the British military, two "Royal Navy Wrens" are described as being "unable to hide their emotions" as they "weep" during a Remembrance service (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/2008). Such depictions will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter when looking at depictions of the bereaved.

The concept of lasting peace having been attained is also a recurring feature of linguistic depictions of the war dead and the meaning of their deaths, especially in the years immediately following the First World War. Their deaths are said to have been validated by the apparent peace of the decades

following the Armistice of 1918:

"by whose efforts and sacrifices peace was won" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928),

"the very men who brought about the Armistice" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928),

"carried us to exultation" and "secured our deliverance by the sacrifice of their lives"
(*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"to win a greater prize" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"whose heroism and sacrifices have brought ten years of peace" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928),

"brought peace to the world" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928).

Through this use of the concept of sacrifice, the war dead are depicted as having been instrumental in the circumstances of their own death. They are represented as individuals who willingly died for a known and greater purpose, challenging any views of their demise having been futile or in vain. This greater purpose is referred to, in the earlier decades of the text sample, as being the attainment of lasting peace and the defence of the nation. The war dead of the First World War, the initial objects of reverence within the rituals of the 1919 model and from whose depictions during commemorative ritual are representations of all British soldiers since based, are described as dying in "the defence of their country" (*The Times,* 07/11/1928).

The language of commemoration also serves to ultimately sanitise the reality of warfare; throughout the text, when reference is made to the war dead, the manner of their death is almost never specified or elaborated upon. Such reference would bring attention to the status of the war dead as 'real' victims, as mentioned earlier and undermine notions of them as 'non'-victims which discourse positions them as. Instead, it is the consequences of their death that is focused upon, consequences that are lauded by commemorative discourse as being just and honourable, legitimising the death of so many people in service to the nation. Whilst this approach to commemoration bears many of the hallmarks of a militaristic ideology, the initial purpose that can be deducted from the data presented here is that behind the adoption of this linguistic approach was arguably to assist with the mourning process of those who had lost loved ones in the First World War. Respect being paid to the war dead was an offering of gratitude for their sacrifice, which in turn also served to alleviate the suffering of the bereaved, who sought acknowledgement of their loved one's deaths (Todman, 2005).

This section of the chapter has demonstrated how, with reference to the ideal victim construct, constructions of the war dead denote them the status of non-victim within British commemorative discourse. The ideal victim construct foregrounds the notion that a victim is a social actor who is incapable of self-defence, typified by characteristics such as passivity and weakness, whom because of such assumptions are therefore perceived as feminine. Discursive constructions within the text sample demonstrate that British commemorative discourse, when depicting the British war dead, who are 'real' victims inasmuch as they were victims of military violence which resulted in their deaths, adhere to the principles of a normative victimological perspective and instead depict them as non-victims. Because of their masculine nature, typified by heroism and bravery, as well as the capability to both defend and enact violence upon others, the war dead are not recognised as ideal or deserving victims within commemorative discourse as evidenced within the text sample. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the reality of war entails the enactment of extreme violence, yet any potential suffering these social actors were subjected to is obscured and ultimately negated by discourse that transitively positions them as the agents rather than as objects within the act of their deaths.

The next section of this chapter will move on to discuss depictions of the bereaved in the text sample. Here it will be demonstrated how the notion of suffering, central to the recognition of 'ideal' or 'deserving' victims, is foregrounded in the depiction of the bereaved. Seen here will be the notion of the dyadic relationship of the war dead and the bereaved, whereby the suffering and other 'negative' aspects of victimhood (in a militaristic sense) are supplanted from the former onto the latter.

5.6 The Bereaved

The bereaved are a group of social actors who more readily fit the mould of victimisation established in Chapter Three, depicted as a group of social actors in need of sympathy, as well as both moral and financial support from the wider British public. As asserted by Malvern (2001, p.62), the rituals of the 1919 model were conceived of with British women in mind, who were seen to "symbolise the nation's grief". Here, the 'moral agency' of the British public is invoked through the enactment of the rituals of the 1919 model, which refers to the role played by third party social actors in either alleviating or perpetuating a victim's suffering (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). In this instance, the failure to adhere to the prescribed behaviours of the 1919 model serves to denigrate the sacrifice of the war dead, and in turn exacerbate the emotional suffering of the bereaved. While this concept of moral agency will be discussed in more detail in following chapters, it is important to

understand how such a notion underpins discursive constructions of the bereaved, while demonstrating the importance of their victimhood to the rituals of the 1919 model and its engendering of expected behaviours.

Despite (mostly) not having served directly in the British armed forces, the bereaved are still victimised by war as it is their relatives and loved ones who were killed and constitute the war dead. Here, the purview of 'military victimhood' as a concept is extended beyond just military actors, accounting for the 'secondary' victimhood of the bereaved, who are victimised indirectly by the violent reality of war (Spalek, 2006). This group of social actors are nominatively referenced throughout the text sample as being, or having been, 'bereaved'. They are:

"countless bereaved souls" (*the Times,* 10/11/1928),

"Whitehall's tragic legion of bereaved" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928),

"those bereaved" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938),

"many homes were bereaved" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1938).

And as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the war dead and the bereaved share a dyadic relationship with regards to their respective forms of victimhood, with agency over victimisation afforded to British men killed in war, whilst those family members left to mourn are more readily characterised using language that ensures their affordance of the victim label, as they are depicted as suffering at the hands of a greater, external force. Ultimately, the source of the victimisation of both groups is the same, being the deaths of these military actors, yet only the bereaved are acknowledged as truly suffering as a result of this. This section of the chapter will explore how discourse surrounding rituals of the 1919 model serves to depict the bereaved as a group of social actors deserving of the label of victim, with special attention paid to their weakness and passivity, regarded as a logical symptom of their perceived femininity.

5.6.1 Gendering the Left Behind

As briefly discussed in the previous section of this chapter, much like the war dead, the bereaved are a highly gendered group, with the majority of commemorative discourse concerning them being focused on British women and children affected by war, or elderly men incapable of enrolling in military service. Nominatively, the bereaved are associated largely according to gender. At the

Whitehall service in 1928, it is said that "women predominated, the proportion being about 20 to one man. There were also many children carrying tiny bouquets" (*The Daily Mail,* 13/11/1928). Discourse within British commemorative ritual depicts men as "warriors and women as worriers" (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p.94) and much like with ex-servicemen (to be discussed in the next chapter), demonstrated here is a perspective that views victimhood as a feminine concept, in line with the core tenets of the ideal victim construct. In this instance the victimhood of the bereaved stands in direct contrast to the masculinised 'non'-victimhood granted to the war dead. Those men who were killed are described as "the breadwinners" (*The Times,* 12/11/1988), as active social actors, whilst it is women who are largely referred to in the sample when bereavement is concerned, highlighting their passivity. They are described as:

"the bereaved women of the Empire" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928),

"the women who go on living" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"Women Pilgrims" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

"there were women" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1938),

"mostly women over 40" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948).

The bereaved are also often referred to as 'widows', a term defined as a woman whose spouse has died, as opposed to the masculine 'widower', a term that is entirely absent from the text sample:

"Mothers and Widows at Warrior's Tomb" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

"many war widows… in black" (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1938),

"the little old widows" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948),

"war widows" (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/1978).

Whilst the use of feminine familial roles is also made with regards to the bereaved, referencing the fact that it is "mostly women… occasionally they were accompanied by a daughter or sister, because their brothers, husbands and sons had gone ahead of them and not made it back to Blighty" (*The Times,* 12/11/1988), also referred to as "a generation of women's desolation at losing brothers,

fathers, lovers and husbands" (*The Times,* 07/11/2018). Women present at memorial services are often described as showing "the medals of their dead husbands" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928).

In discourse present later in the text sample chronologically, multiple references to elderly women who belong to the bereaved are made. The sad mood enacted during commemorative rituals is described as a "grandmother's sadness" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998), that of a "grandmother (who) lost two brothers," or a "great-grandmother (who) lost her husband on the Somme" (*The Times,* 07/11/2018). Briefly seen here is a similar theme concerning age that will be explored in the following chapter, where the old age of social actors is emphasised to further enhance their sympathetic depiction, alongside being victimised by war through the loss of male loved ones.

Predicatively, texts highlight the emotional state of the bereaved as a highly negative one, focusing on their emotional pain which seemingly defines them as individuals. At commemorative services female members of the bereaved are described as being "unable to speak on occasions as the tears welled up" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2008), with mention of them "(breaking) down and (sobbing)" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948). In contrast, when men are shown to grieve, they do so in a respectable manner that still emphasises their masculine traits, with the emotional aspect of their grieving being notably absent. A father who saw his son's dead body on the frontlines is described as "feeling... a sense of triumph. He had made his sacrifice with both hands" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928). When an ex-serviceman of the Second World War is described as honouring his dead friend in Normandy, he may well have had eyes "wet with tears", but it is emphasised that despite this he is "still straight-backed" and immediately regains his composure (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2008). Even within the affordance of the victim label to the bereaved as a whole, still observable is a gender divide whereby masculine actors are depicted in ways which ultimately serve to reinforce their potential for stoic behaviour and feminine actors are far more prone to succumbing to their emotions.

Only ex-servicemen who are of an advanced age are given a more demasculinised, or feminine, description of their grief as part of the bereaved. Elderly men who "limped and carried sticks" at commemorative services (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1938). Grief is described as being "etched on the faces of the men who survived the horror of the First world War" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2008), and for ex-serviceman Harry Patch in 2008 "it all became too much... (he) broke down as he remembered his fallen pals" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2008). These depictions of the ex-serviceman as bereaved again feeds into their victimisation, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, where the trauma experienced by war veterans in particular is highlighted within commemorative discourse.

5.6.2 Suffering of The Bereaved

Similarly, the particular nature of the victimisation of the bereaved is characterised by the suffering their grieving entails, specifically during the period of Remembrancetide. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the act of suffering is a key component in the characterisation of the ideal victim. Transitively, the bereaved are the objects of their suffering, in direct opposition to the war dead who are granted agency over their own suffering. Examples of the suffering of the bereaved in the text sample are widespread; it is acknowledged that "thousands… have memories" of dead loved ones (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1938) and that there is a "sense of personal loss in many thousands of families" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928). In 1928, Queen Mary penned a letter that was published in *The Times,* in which she expressed "loving sympathy" towards the "Women of the Empire", who "go on living with wounds in their hearts that time cannot heal" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928), and their grief is also described as "pride and pain… forever blended" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928), again emphasising the fact that this is a specific type of suffering that ultimately cannot be alleviated.

The bereaved are also described as being "anxious" (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1938) displaying "sad smiles… in Whitehall" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928), remember their loved ones "with sorrow" (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1988), and "no note of rejoicing or triumph" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928). Their presence at commemorative services results in a "mood of grief" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928) where the bereaved are said to "pay in… suffering" *(The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1938). They are regarded as "those stricken and suffering" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938), and their grief is "a price in tears and blood never before known in history" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938).

As the experiences of the First World War passed from living memory, seen in the text sample is how mention of or reference to the bereaved becomes far rarer, and the established discourse surrounding them is diluted and supplanted onto the wider British public in the latter years of the 20th Century and leading into the 21st. There is a greater absence of genuine grief caused by connection to a relative killed in war in modern Britain, as living relationships to those who fought in mass armies in industrialised total wars are all but gone. Despite this, the 1919 model of commemoration is still enacted in Britain, enabling mass expressions of pride and patriotism to exist without genuine feelings of grief for the majority of social actors who participate. Harrison (2012, p.54) argues that through this reality, where an absence of grief is unaccounted for, "acts of remembrance can then become celebrations of idealised militarism" as the human cost of war is ultimately distorted and hidden from the wider public through its glorification.

As explored in both Chapters Two and Three, such overt gendering is a key component of British militarism and normative victimological perspectives, dividing men and women into distinct roles

within society based on expected characteristics and behaviour. As discussed by Basham, this division feeds into the "normalisation of men as society's decision-makers and women as its homemakers" (Basham, 2016, p.887) by highlighting the distinction in the function of their roles. Through discourse surrounding the war dead in the text sample, observable is how those who fight for their country are masculinised and heroicised, whilst the bereaved, being represented as almost wholly female, are typified as social actors who are in need of protecting, and whose social role is situated mainly in a domestic environment. As a result, the war dead are regarded as non-victims, with the bereaved as ideal or deserving victims.

This section of the chapter has demonstrated how constructions of the bereaved within commemorative discourse ultimately sees them afforded the label of victim, depicting them as deserving of the label due to their behaviour and characteristics. In line with the ideal victim construct, the bereaved are depicted in a manner that emphasises their suffering, and in turn their weakness and passivity in the face of this suffering. While in a military sense the war dead are 'real' victims, having been directly victimised by war's violent reality, it is the bereaved who ultimately receive discursive attention in a manner which foregrounds their victimisation. Both groups are depicted as victims, but the representations of their distinct forms of victimhood are diametrically opposed and heavily gendered.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the important influence that rituals can have on a social actor's beliefs and behaviours, and that in turn the 1919 model of commemoration conforms to theoretical conceptualisations of ritual. The enactment of rituals can engender a motivation to conform to specific forms of conduct as well as creating a feeling of community among its enactors (Bellah, 2005). In the instance of the rituals of the 1919 model, discourse found within texts from the text sample engenders a specific attitude within its enactors, especially during Remembrancetide. Commemorative discourse focuses on the enactment of these commemorative rituals as a unifying and widely respected national event, thus legitimising practices such as memorial services or the observance of the two-minute silence. In short, ritual is capable of making people act in a certain way whilst also ensuring they will continue to behave in this way during future enactment of the same ritual.

At the centre of British commemorative rituals and practices are two groups of social actors with ties to war's victimising power, the war dead and the bereaved. Discursive constructions of these two

groups are reliant on one another, with the glorifying of the war dead through the extolling of "traditional values and symbols" regarded as able to "give comfort" to the bereaved who suffer at the hands of their grief (Gregory, 1994, p.39). Thus, depictions of these two groups largely adhere to normative attitudes concerning both militarism and military victimhood respectively. Referential strategies enable constructions of the war dead to affirm stereotypical notions of the British military actor, as individuals who embody masculine notions of heroism and bravery, while transitively they are positioned as 'agents' within their victimisation, with their deaths depicted as a willing sacrifice. Thus, in reference to the ideal victim construct, which sees victims as typified by 'feminine' weakness and passivity, the war dead are ultimately afforded the label of 'non'-victim.

In turn, the bereaved are depicted as similarly adhering to normative views of feminine social actors within their relationship to both war and victimhood. Referential strategies highlight their femininity, as well as their identity as grief-ridden or individuals in mourning, while transitively, in contrast to the war dead, they are the 'objects' of suffering and are thus constructed as passive. These depictions of the bereaved feed into normative perceptions of gender again with particular reference to the ideal victim construct. The bereaved, being primarily depicted as female social actors in the text sample who suffer at the hands of an external force beyond their control, are cast as 'deserving' or 'ideal' victims within the text sample.

This depiction of military victimhood is central to the rituals of the 1919 model of commemoration, engendering specific behaviours in its enactors, primarily constructed as a response to the non-victim and deserving victim status of the war dead and the bereaved respectively. These commemorative rituals engender the paying of respect to the war dead, and the outright glorifying of their character and deeds, is represented in the text sample as a means of alleviating the suffering of the bereaved. Through these discursive constructions, the notion of military victimhood as expressed within a victimological context remains in-tact, with the stereotypical identity of military actors seen as incompatible with expressions of victimhood.

The following chapter will now move forwards to further analyse the text sample, looking at discursive depictions of another group of social actors central to the rituals of the 1919 model: the war living. Observed here will be how representations of victimhood explored in this chapter as being distinct to both the war dead and the bereaved are amalgamated when concerning social actors who returned from military service still living but grievously affected by the realities of the battlefield. Ex-servicemen, as the war living, prove far more complex with regards to their depiction through commemorative discourse as simultaneously deserving, passive victims, and as heroic and masculine heroes.

Chapter Six

The War Living

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will continue the analysis of discourse as evidenced within the text sample, moving forwards to interrogate discursive constructions of a third group of military victims, the war living. This group of social actors are largely referred to in the text sample as masculine social actors, as 'ex-servicemen', and this term will be used interchangeably to identify this group throughout this chapter and the wider thesis. It must be noted here that this is not to marginalise the experiences of female military actors, rather it reflects commemorative discourse as observed in the text sample which serves to obscure the existence of these individuals.

Unlike the binary situating of the war dead and bereaved as 'non-' and 'deserving' victims respectively, as explored in the previous chapter, which reinforces stereotypes concerning both military actors and victimhood, the war living occupy a unique, transient position within British commemorative discourse, displaying elements observed in discursive depictions of both aforementioned groups. The war living are unique in this sense as they are military actors who, unlike the war dead, are afforded the victim label within the text sample. Thus, this chapter will explore the discursive processes that must take place to enable the maintenance of their transient identity in relation to victimhood.

Social pressures largely facilitate, or even necessitate, depictions of the war living as victims. The vast number of military actors left disabled by their experience of the First World War, both physically and psychologically, coupled with inadequate financial support provided by the government, meant that many struggled to return to their pre-war standard of living (Meyer, 2022). The reintegration of these military actors back into the economy largely never occurred, with many regarded as unemployable (Cohen, 2000). Much of the care of ex-servicemen was therefore left in the hands of philanthropists and public charities created to cater specifically to their needs (Powell, 2019). Because of this, a specific linguistic framework used to depict the war living as individuals deserving of sympathy was established in an effort to generate charitable donations to their cause, as evidenced within the text sample.

Much like the war dead, from a victimological perspective the war living can theoretically be regarded as 'peripheral victims', social actors unlikely to attain the victim label easily due to their

perceived inherent masculinity (McGarry & Walklate, 2015). Because of this, discourse in the text sample sees the war living 'de'-masculinised so as to facilitate their affordance of the victim label in line with the core tenets of the ideal victim construct. Their depictions in the text sample ultimately veer away from the stereotypical image of the military actor and begin to overlap with normative victimological representations of victims, centred on perceived 'femininity', of weakness and passivity (McGarry, 2012; Phillips, Connelly & Burgess, 2020). With this in mind, this chapter will begin by exploring how discursive constructions of the war living serve to facilitate their affordance of the victim label through such sympathetic depictions, which centre on notions of suffering and passivity and emphasise their "emasculated condition" as a result of disablement or destitution (Reznick, 2000, p.187).

In turn, such sympathetic depictions also enable the facilitation of their victimhood being recognised, which entails moral and financial support from the British public during the annual period of Remembrancetide. Here re-emerges the concept of the British public as 'moral agents' with regards to military victimhood as explored briefly in the previous chapter concerning the bereaved, emphasising the importance recognition of the victimhood of the war living has in either alleviating or perpetuating their suffering (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). This concept of moral agency will come to the forefront of analysis in the following chapter, Chapter Seven, as discursive constructions of 'the deviant' as evident in the text sample are confronted.

Once the discursive processes which enable the affordance of the victim label to the war living have been established, this chapter will then move on to discuss how, despite discourse largely focusing on their suffering, at particular points in the text sample it is observable that the victimhood of the war living can be utilised in a different manner entirely. Rather than focusing on their emasculation because of their suffering, many other texts focus on the resilience of the war living, who are depicted as capable of overcoming hardships, primarily relating to disablement. This results in their depiction as "not less but more of a man" (Cree & Caddick, 2020, p.263) because of their disability, side-lining notions of sympathy or pity, and instead foregrounding sentiments of pride and admiration, and a restored sense of masculinity (Hughes, 2012). Here, much like with the war dead, discursive depictions allow the war living to also be seen to transcend their own victimhood to occupy the position of 'non'-victim, becoming idealised social actors representative of the nation's best qualities. In this way, suffering as a result of military service is depicted as a positive experience, rather than a negative one, again in a similar manner to depictions of the war dead and victimhood.

Through analysis of the texts from the sample that directly concern the war living, four themes emerged relating to their depiction as victims during Remembrancetide. Before moving onto an

exploration of this analysis, it would first be useful to provide a brief overview of these themes. They are 'disability', 'destitution', 'charity', and 'pride'.

6.2 Overview of Themes

The first, and largest theme concerns disability, whereby representations of the war living either physically or psychologically disabled as a result of their military service (and later advancing age) are present in the sample. Here, the passivity and weakness of the war living suffering in this specific way is paramount in their depictions; they are emasculated, and as a result suffer on both physical and social levels. Their disablement results in an incapability to look after themselves or their dependents, an issue which is repeatedly highlighted by texts in the sample.

Similarly, the second theme of destitution also centres on the issues of passivity and vulnerability. Much like with disablement, destitution is depicted throughout the sample as a problem that plagues the war living primarily because of the passivity their suffering begets. These are again men incapable of providing for themselves or their families, and sympathetic depictions of these social actors as deserving victims once more hinge upon this perceived emasculation.

The third theme, that of charity, sees these two former themes converge and address the issue of victim recognition and the British public's role as moral agents, as discussed in Chapter Three. An important part of the process of a social actor's victimisation being legitimised is recognition provided by wider society (Miers, 1990). Throughout the sample, texts concerning the war living emphasise the importance of their victimhood being recognised by the British public, primarily through charitable donation. Because of their reliance on public generosity in terms of financial sustenance, texts in the sample urge the British public to give generously to charities in aid of the war living, citing this as a form of paying respects for their 'sacrifices' on behalf of the nation.

With the fourth and final theme, concerning pride, similarities between depictions of the war dead and the war living begin to emerge. Beyond sympathetic depictions which form the core of the previous three themes, seen here is how particular texts in the sample depict the war living as capable of transcending their victimhood and become elevated above the average British citizen because of their military service, as well as the suffering this entailed.

Through presenting and discussing these themes, the transient nature of the war living within the context of military victimhood becomes apparent. At different points in the text sample the war living are seen to exhibit characteristics and behaviours similar to both the war dead and the

bereaved, and ultimately capable of posing a challenge to both normative notions of what constitutes a victim and stereotypical understandings of the British military actor.

To begin, the first of these themes to be discussed will be that of the war living and disability.

6.3 Disability

As discussed in Chapter Three, war has the potential to facilitate mass victimisation (Jamieson, 1998). Following the First World War, British society saw upwards of 1.6 million men return having been wounded on the battlefield. As the years passed, the toll of industrial total war was still apparent, with an estimated 900,000 men receiving a disability pension by 1922, 41,000 of these being amputees (Powell, 2019). It is based upon this catastrophic reality that the rituals of the 1919 model were conceived, and from analysis of the text sample we see within the discourse that surrounds British commemorative practices the legacy of the soldiers who returned from the battlefields of the First World War scarred both physically and psychologically, with disabled ex-servicemen at the forefront of media coverage during Remembrancetide.

As noted by Edkins (2003), the traumatic reality of war is embodied by the wounded or disabled soldier. Their presence in society is representative of the relationship between the violent state and those citizens sent to fight in its wars, with the wounded or disabled body ultimately challenging the link between militarism and masculinity (Cree & Caddick, 2020). As has been discussed already in this thesis, masculinity is a key component in the contentious position occupied by military victims within the wider theoretical approaches to victimology, clashing with the traditional identity of the victim as feminine (McGarry & Walklate, 2015).

Texts from the sample that actively seek to depict the war living as victims circumvent this issue by emphasising their perceived weakness and passivity as a result of disability, supporting Bourke's (1996, p.75) assertion that disabled war veterans are "identified with passivity – the helplessness of children who needed to be looked after for the rest of their lives", challenging assumptions of the typically masculine and competent British military actor (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011). Overwhelmingly negative language is used to highlight the fraught state these disabled ex-servicemen have found themselves in throughout the last century. These men are wholly defined now by their disability and inability of returning to either their pre-war standards of living or physical capabilities. This concept of disability encompasses two main forms; physical and psychological, both of which are utilised within the text sample as a means to depict the war living as deserving victims; firstly, due to the distress caused directly by their disablements, and secondly through the financial

and moral support required as a consequence of their conditions. Both highlight disability as endemic of both weakness and passivity in turn, core tenets of the ideal victim construct.

Emphasis on disability is prevalent throughout the text sample, utilised in the process of establishing the war living as social actors who are actively victimised both by and due to their physical and/or psychological condition. Observed here is evidence of victimisation being an ongoing 'process', rather than encompassing an isolated one-off event (Strobl, 2010). Through the referential strategies of nomination and predication, which look at negative/positive naming patterns within discourse, texts in the sample bluntly emphasise and in turn define the war living by their disability, referring to them most often using the term 'disabled.' For example, they are referred to as:

"disabled men" (*The Times,* 07/11/1928, 10/11/1928, & 08/11/1958),

"war-disabled workers" (*The Times,* 08/11/1938),

"War Disabled Men" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928),

"disabled friends" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958),

"those who were disabled" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958), and

"the seriously disabled" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1998).

Other similar terms are also utilised, referring to them as, for example:

"the handicapped" (*The Times,* 09 – 11/11/1928),

"the crippled and the lame" (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1988), or

"wounded service-personnel" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

And whilst the distinction is often made between those ex-servicemen suffering from physical and psychological disabilities, there are instances in the text sample where both categories of disablement are referred to in unified terms. The idea of a disabled ex-serviceman being a 'broken' individual includes both physical and psychological disability and is repeated across all three newspapers within the text sample, describing them as having been:

"broken in the war… both in health and mind" (*The Times,* 07/11/1928),

"broken" in body (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/1928),

"broken in spirit" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1938), and

as "returning home with broken minds and bodies" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/2018).

Here disability is a condition through which the war living are marginalised, it being implied that those wounded both physically and psychologically during military service returned home as lesser than the man they were before, and in turn are lesser than those other able-bodied men. Echoed here is Schuetz' (1945) exploration of the 'homecomer', and the potential for the alienation of a war veteran returning home, facilitated by his experiences of conflict. This idea of being broken, or lesser, also feeds into transitive representations of the war living, where it is demonstrated to the audiences of all three newspapers and mainstream websites in particular what actions disabled war veterans were incapable of carrying out, a further component of their sympathetic depictions.

This discursive strategy of transitivity is used extensively throughout the text sample when reference to both physically and psychologically disabled ex-servicemen is made, highlighting their passivity and predisposition to being the 'objects' of an action, rather than the 'agents'. In the case of the texts in the sample, disabled ex-servicemen are depicted as the objects of actions both during and after their military service that results in their suffering on both physical and psychological levels.

Firstly, ex-servicemen are said to have been the objects of suffering during their military service, where they are described as:

having "suffered for their country" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938),

they "suffered horrific physical and mental injuries during their service"
(*The Daily Mail, /*12/11/2018),

before returning home, they were "stricken and suffering" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938).

And secondly, as a result of these initial experiences, they have returned home to continue as objects of suffering both physically and psychologically:

they know "horrors and still live to suffer them" (*The Daily Mirror,* 10/11/1928),

are forced "to face years of pain and suffering" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958),

they "suffered post-traumatic stress disorder" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998),

and are still "suffering with mental health conditions" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

Through these transitive representations, evoked in the text sample is an image of the typical British war veteran in constant pain, both physically and psychologically, because of their war-time experience. Similar to depictions of the bereaved, who are positioned within commemorative discourse as 'deserving' victims, the war living are regarded as having been "bequeathed a legacy of woe, penury and pain" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928) by their experiences serving in the British military. Again, transitively demonstrated here is how the war living are positioned within discourse as the objects of an action. By being presented as an object upon which pain is inflicted, "(suffering) ill-fortune" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928), the passivity of the war living is paramount in their discursive representations. Their suffering is "inglorious and unseen" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938), with those afflicted psychologically in particular "suffer(ing) in silence" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/2018). The disabled ex-serviceman's suffering is further presented within the text sample in two distinct forms, that of the physically and of the psychologically disabled; the seen and the unseen.

6.3.1 Physical Disability: What is Seen

Of these two sub-categories concerning disability, representation of physical disability is more prevalent in the text sample, perhaps owing to the tangible nature of their wounding during military service. Nominatively and predicatively, the wounds of physically disabled military actors are sub-categorised based on the particular manner in which they were made disabled. For example, we see reference to men with missing limbs caused by participation in war referred to as:

"Limbless Ex-Servicemen" (*The Times,* 07/11/1928),

"the maimed" (*The Times,* 13/11/1928),

"The Crippled" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1938), and

the "physically mutilated" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/2018).

While those left without their eyesight are referred to as, for example:

"War Blinded" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1938),

"Blind Ex-Servicemen" (*The Times,* 11/11/1968 & 13/11/1978),

"the blind" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998), or

"Blind Veterans" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/2018).

These two categories, the limbless and the blind, make up the majority of depictions of physically disabled war living in the text sample, and heavily emphasised is their state of passivity. Their lives are "tough" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1958) because of this passivity; they are "helpless," incapable of carrying out simple activities such as moving around their own home without assistance (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1938).

Aside from the primary suffering as inflicted on the battlefield, another form of suffering that those physically disabled members of the war living are depicted as enduring throughout the text sample centres on their inability to provide their own personal care or financial stability for dependents. This issue of physical disability intersects with the theme of destitution, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, centring on the war living's dependence on assistance from both individuals and the wider public.

Often described is their physical weakness and subsequent reliance on walking assistance devices, such as wheelchairs and walking sticks, as well as the help of carers, further emphasising their passivity. For example, the war living as depicted at Cenotaph services are:

having their "legs covered in foil blankets against the cold" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998),

"being brought in wheelchairs" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998),

"pushed along" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998),

"swaddled in a wheelchair and surrounded by teams of willing helpers" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2008),

"lined up in their wheelchairs" (*The Times,* 12/11/2008), or

"in wheelchairs and… walking with the aid of sticks" (*BBC News,* 2008).

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Blind ex-servicemen require similar assistance, they "walked with carers" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998) or were "led" through the Remembrance Sunday parade (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998). Those who try to act independently do so with difficulty, or simply fail in the attempt; they "struggled from their wheelchairs" and walked "stiffly, stick in hand" (*The Times,* 12/11/1998). Not all are capable of walking, however, even with assistance, as Henry Allingham, an ex-serviceman of the First World War is described as:

"(struggling) in vain… to rise… but it was no use… his body was just too frail"
(*The Times,* 12/11/2008).

Those of the war living with physical disabilities are shown repeatedly to be incapable of providing their own personal care, and by extension the care of their dependents. They are wholly reliant on the actions of others to ensure some degree of quality of life, and the language used throughout the text sample reflects this, emphasising the helplessness of the war living and further compounding of their representation as deserving of the victim label in accordance with the ideal victim construct.

6.3.2 Psychological Disability: What Goes Unseen

The suffering that psychologically disabled ex-servicemen endure is presented by texts in the sample in far more evocative language than those concerned with the physically disabled. In an advertisement for *The Ex-Services Welfare Society*, they are described as men living "with clouded minds and shattered nerves" (*The Times, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928), caused by "some stress on nerve or brain, or by blow or burst on head" they received during their military service, which for many has resulted in them losing "their reason, and for ever (having) been patients in a mental hospital" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938). Emphasised here is the constant anguish that the psychologically disabled are subjected to, a trope that is present throughout the text sample, where the war living are haunted by the harrowing events that they potentially saw on the battlefields upon which they fought.

In contrast to how the physically disabled ex-serviceman is linguistically depicted, it is clear from analysis of texts within the text sample that over the last century in Britain the language used to describe those afflicted by psychological disabilities has been largely unstable, reflecting how attitudes towards, and understandings of, mental health issues have developed over this period of

time, as well as the largely unknowable nature of each individuals' personal suffering. As asserted by Fassin and Rechtman (2007), it is not until the latter decades of the 20th Century that psychological trauma, particularly as suffered by military actors, was accepted as valid, with the notion of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) becoming widely accepted by medical professionals in the 1980s. Understandings of PTSD undermined notions of psychological affliction as "a suspect condition" that soldiers "simulated in order to avoid returning to the front" (Fassin & Rechtman, 2007, p.5).

Despite this potential stigma, present throughout the text sample, as spanning the last century, psychological disablement is a phenomenon portrayed as a valid form of trauma suffered by the war living. This suffering is depicted through nominative and predicative means as a negative affliction, locating such social actors as belonging to groups who require assistance. In turn, their suffering is highlighted as they are:

"Mentally Disabled and Neurasthenic Ex-Servicemen"
(*The Times, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928),

"the dependents" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"shattered comrades" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"veterans… suffering with mental health conditions" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

The majority of representations of psychologically afflicted ex-servicemen in the sample, however, come in the form of transitive depictions, focusing on their positions as objects within an action. Without a concrete linguistic framework with which to refer to the psychologically disabled, it is apparent that texts in the sample are more likely to depict the victimisation of these specific ex-servicemen through descriptions of their experiences rather than through a pre-conceived set of naming conventions. Much like with the physically disabled, the suffering endured by the psychologically disabled war living is highlighted throughout the sample as a means of demonstrating their victimisation, taking the form of a constant state of mental anguish and turmoil, as the objects of an unseen affliction. They are men "tormented by illusions of persecution and tyranny" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938), who "suffer crippling flashbacks, nightmares, depression and anxiety attacks" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018), the emotion of which "is nearly too much to bear" (*The Times,* 12/11/1988).

These depictions indicate that the issue of psychological disablement is a more ephemeral concept, containing vastly different and specific conditions, that are far more difficult to convey to an audience in contrast to those physical disablements, such as being limbless or blind, that are more straightforward to describe and define. Psychologically disabled ex-servicemen are also often depicted as dealing with this mental trauma by falling into an intense silence, persecuted by their own memories and unable to communicate to others the exact details of their suffering. The ex-serviceman suffering in this manner is described as:

looking "into the distance to a time long gone" to compose himself (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/1998),

or "(does) not speak of it" at all (*The Times,* 10/11/1998).

Texts in the text sample often infer what it is that ex-servicemen may be thinking about during these periods of silent suffering, speculating that it is the death of their fellow British comrades that haunts them, and wider memories of war itself. These are men reflecting on: "the anguish of having lost so many friends" (*The Times*, 07/11/1998), bearing memories that would "make your hair stand on end" (*The Times,* 10/11/1998). One text from *The Daily Mirror* in 1998 describes:

"how hard it must have been" for Richard Littlefair, a veteran of the First World War, "to recall memories he had locked away for years" regarding "his mate, Joe, who died beside him in battle"; Richard stops, "looking into the distance to a time long gone" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1998).

Another, Albert 'Smiler' Marshall, is said to have "a clear memory of names and dates of battles and the faces of dear comrades long dead" (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/1998). For men such as these, "a rheumy eye can still fill with tears at distant memories of fallen comrades" (*The Times,* 12/11/1998). Ultimately, this speculation on the unknowable nature of each man's personal suffering further acts to both present the war living as sympathetic figures to the British public, as well as to marginalise and other him, contributing once more to his victimisation as he suffers permanently at the hands of his own memories.

Through these sympathetic depictions and a process of othering, the issue of the war living being de-masculinised is again present. Because of psychological disablement, many men returning from war are unable to pick up the threads of their former lives, as well as being incapable of continuing this

life in the most socially acceptable manner. Unlike physically disabled ex-servicemen, who may well require round the clock care but of whom many are still capable of marrying and having children, the psychologically disabled ex-serviceman is depicted as often being incapable of doing any of those things. Many men "served a life sentence," subjected to "captivity" in a "mental hospital," which robbed them of the opportunity to "know the joy of marriage and the possession of children" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938). Although suffering in different ways, both the physically and psychologically disabled ex-serviceman has the status of his masculinity challenged, and in many cases revoked, because of his inability to fulfil the traditional masculine role of the breadwinner, further adding to their victimisation in the eyes of the British public.

6.3.3 Age

An interesting development can be observed in the latter decades of the text sample, where it is observed how the advanced age of veterans becomes another aspect of their character that is described so as to further provide a sympathetic depiction, most often in relation to disability, both physical and psychological. Whilst these physical disabilities are generally unrelated to their wartime experiences, and due to the natural aging process, the language of victimisation established in the earlier decades of the sample is still utilised, again in a negative light where disability is concerned.

When ex-servicemen enter advanced old age, new naming conventions enter the discourse surrounding the physically disabled war living. Elderly British war veterans have their physical frailty emphasised more acutely, being described as:

"small" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998),

"frail" (*The Times,* 12/11/2008),

"frail grandfathers" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998),

"fragile as twigs" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2018),

"old and tired" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2008),

"vulnerable old (men)" (*The Times,* 13/11/2018),

"defenceless" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2018),

"a pitiful dwindling battalion" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1998).

Through these referential depictions, an image of the war living when elderly as physically weak and helpless figures is provided. In much the same way that the disabled ex-serviceman is depicted, elderly ex-servicemen are individuals who are dependent on external help, victimised by both their experience of war as well as the consequences of the natural aging process which has left their bodies in a vulnerable state.

Transitively, elderly ex-servicemen are depicted as the objects of the ravaging effects of old age and the anxiety of their own impending deaths. Through these depictions a sympathetic impression of the war living is once more given, as social actors at the mercy of external forces beyond their control. A repeated idea across the text sample is that the elderly war living have little time left to live, and the mood enacted throughout texts dealing with this issue is one of melancholic tragedy:

they "may never walk down Whitehall again" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998),

"this is the last chance for any of them to play a key part in the ceremony" (*The Times,* 12/11/1998),

and soon their "voices (will) fall silent" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998).

Demonstrated here is how the elderly ex-serviceman is subjected to the inevitable "ravages of time" (*The Times,* 12/11/1998), and it is pointed out that these men "cannot defeat time" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1998), again demonstrating how commemorative discourse highlights their weak and passive state in line with the core tenets of the ideal victim construct. To reiterate once more, core to the ideal victim construct is the notion that the victim is an individual defined by their weakness and passivity, as well as an overall inability to look after themselves (Christie, 1986). Demonstrated thus through analysis of the text sample so far is how discursive constructions of the elderly war living within the text sample fit into such a definition of the ideal or deserving victim.

The notion of impending death further contributes to depictions of the elderly war living as deserving of the victim label. Their own physical passing is said to also herald the passing of memories of the war in which they served, as well as the memory of the war dead whom they served with. This loss of primary knowledge of a conflict is seen as a tragedy in itself, and texts throughout the text sample highlight the need for their memories to be recorded before it is too late. The war living are described as "so important to us", as once they have passed it means that the British public will "have to work harder to find" an "intimate" understanding of their experiences (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2008). Such discourse surrounding the war living in this context can be seen

to contribute to the 'mood' of ritual, as discussed in Chapter Five. Within ritual, a shared mood is vital to the promotion of "truly strong passions" as asserted by Durkheim (1995, p.218), demonstrating again how the notion of military victimhood is central to the enactment of rituals of the 1919 model and key in shaping the beliefs and behaviours of British social actors.

Moving forwards, this chapter will now look at how destitution, often directly caused by disablement, is another state many ex-servicemen found themselves in after their military service, and how its negative effects are once more utilised within commemorative discourse to portray them as deserving of the victim label.

6.4 Destitution

Because of economic issues, either widespread across the British population or exclusively relating to the war living, many military veterans found themselves destitute in Britain throughout the 20th century. Texts in the sample utilise this issue to further establish the status of deserving victim occupied by the war living, again highlighting their need for financial and moral support by foregrounding a sympathetic depiction of these actors via specific referential and transitive means.

Highlighted throughout the text sample is the inability of the war living to perform specific actions that they would have been able to do prior to their military service. As was mentioned above with the idea of these men being 'broken', texts refer to destitution as an affliction that specifically targets those "soldiers broken in the war" (*The Times,* 07/11/1938) or "broken in spirit" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938).

Illustrations of destitution focus on the "forces of circumstance" (*The Times,* 07/11/1938) and the war living's "dependence on… many and varied forms of assistance" (*The Times,* 11/11/1938). Here the issue of ex-servicemen being unable to work due to their disabilities, as well as those ex-servicemen rendered homeless, are at the forefront of depictions of their victimisation. The issue of pensions being inadequate, and the subsequent fighting by charities on the ex-serviceman's behalf for their improvement, forms the core of post-Second World War representations of destitution, where there is also a marked decrease in direct depictions of the hardships suffered by destitute ex-servicemen. In both instances, seen again is how the war living as a group are depicted as passive victims, suffering due to the consequences of their disablement and the external issues which arise because of this and are beyond their control. Discursive strategies are utilised in much the same way as with disabilities as they are with destitution, depicting those of the war living who are in financial need in a negative and sympathetic manner, subjected to forces outside of their control.

As mentioned above, the suffering of physically disabled ex-servicemen is not an issue that is widely commented upon within the text sample with regards to personal, physical pain. Texts concerned with case studies of specific individuals are more likely to delve into their particular health issues, but the suffering endured by the physically disabled is more widely explored through the theme of destitution. As a direct consequence of their physical incapability, these men are unable to resume their pre-war employment, or to otherwise find new work, returning from war to find their "brilliant career… smashed" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1938), as well as being subjected to austere government policies regarding their pensions. The war living, because of their disablement, are said to:

"fare worse than civilians in terms of… housing",

"are less likely to be employed than the general population," and

"face discrimination from employers" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

Those ex-servicemen returning to Britain after military service who find themselves in a financially unstable situation are referred to with language that emphasises their identity as destitute, as well as in many cases them being "unfortunate people" (*The Times,* 07/11/1938). Referential strategies evident in the text sample pejoratively refer to the destitute war living as unable to find a paying job, referring to them nominatively as:

"the unemployed" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928)

"unemployed ex-servicemen" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/1928), and

"the workless" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1938).

Because of this unemployment, the destitute ex-serviceman is predicatively referred to as:

"distressed ex-servicemen" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928),

"those who fought… now in distress" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"desperate" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938),

"poverty stricken" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998).

Transitively they suffer as the objects of "the hardships of poverty" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928), and it is stressed that these men are "unemployed through no fault of their own" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928), suffering these hardships "through no fault of theirs" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928), again demonstrating the powerlessness and passivity of these individuals at the whim of external forces, reinforcing their deserving of the victim label, once more in reference to the ideal victim construct and the notion of blame or culpability. For example, as found within the text sample in 1928, Lady Haig, the wife of recently deceased British Commander-in-Chief during the First World War Douglas Haig, authored an appeal which encouraged donations from the British public on Poppy Day, declaring that the aim was to give "thousands" of destitute ex-servicemen the opportunity "to help themselves" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/1928), again demonstrating how impoverished ex-servicemen primarily rely upon the actions of others within the text sample.

Similarly, an ex-serviceman who was forced to sell his medals awarded to him for military service during the First World War is described as being "destitute" and unable to "afford to redeem the medals" despite recently becoming employed (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1928). He is reliant on an appeal to the readers of *The Daily Mail,* who provide the funds for him to buy back the medals in time for that year's Armistice Day parade.

Beyond medals, the most extreme consequence of a lack of unemployment is an ex-serviceman losing their home, these men being nominatively referred to as:

"homeless ex-servicemen"

"tramps" (*The Times,* 07/11/1938),

"homeless veterans" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

Whilst they are actively obliged to "tramp the country to seek work," as a state of homelessness excludes many from receiving assistance on Poppy Day (*The Times,* 07/11/1938), further enhancing their victimisation, as these men are prohibited from the public support afforded to destitute ex-servicemen fortunate enough to retain a place of residence. In addition, whilst the destitute ex-serviceman is often a victim due to a disability, and therefore an inability to attain employment status, there are also instances of victimisation at the hands of austere government policies throughout the text sample. Fighting for adequate pensions the war living are said to "struggle" being "treated shabbily" by the government (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1958), again illustrating linguistic

depictions that emphasise their victimisation by more powerful, external forces and in turn further highlighting their powerless and passive nature.

Another aspect of discourse surrounding the war living and their victimisation by inadequate pensions is the idea that they are forced to 'fight' for this assistance, rather than being entitled to it outright. As found within the text sample, Jim Durling, an ex-serviceman who fought and was physically wounded in the First World War, is said to have to "fight for a full pension" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1958) after he was refused more than a 90% disability pension. As observed in the above examples of discursive depictions of the war living and their victimhood, it is clear that the established discourse emphasises the inability of many men to provide their own care, let alone fight the Ministry of Pensions. *The Daily Mail* in 1958 acknowledges that war living are largely physically and financially unable to "fight for their rights" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958) because of their disabilities, again relying on the work of others.

This work comes in the form of charity. As demonstrated thus far in this chapter, discursive representations of the war living focus on passivity, an inability to look after themselves or their dependents because of disablement and the destitution that this begets. The next part of this chapter will look at the theme of charity, whereby the depictions of the war living explored thus far, as passive and weak, are put into action. Here, as part of the process of affordance of the victim label to a social actor, the notion of 'recognition' on the part of the wider British public as 'moral agents' takes centre stage.

6.5 Charity: 'Moral Agency'

Thus far, this chapter has demonstrated how the war living are depicted as social actors who suffer due to issues such as disablement (either as a consequence of their military service or of old age) and destitution. Overwhelmingly negative language is employed within texts in the sample as a means to encourage charitable donations from the public to their cause. Referential and transitive strategies, in much a similar fashion as to those used in depicting the bereaved, emphasises the weakness and passivity of the war living and represents them as social actors who suffer because of their victimisation. With the ideal victim construct utilised here as a frame of reference, the war living are positioned as deserving of the victim label within British commemorative discourse observed in the text sample. Despite being military actors like the war dead, stereotypical notions of the British soldier as heroic and competent are absent in such depictions of the war living, which deconstruct this stereotype in favour of a more 'feminine' depiction.

This next theme to be explored, that of charity, is directly associated with these sympathetic depictions of the war living. Here, the role of the text's audience is brought to the foreground within commemorative discourse, highlighting their potential in either alleviating or prolonging the suffering of the war living afflicted by disability and destitution. Observed here is what will be referred to as 'moral agency' within the process of the affording of the victim label to the war living. In the instance of this thesis and analysis of the text sample, this notion of the moral agent refers to the idea that the British public are not simply observers of military victimhood, but are directly responsible for either alleviating or contributing to the suffering of military victims (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). In this instance, the act of donating to charities concerning the welfare of ex-servicemen in particular is highlighted as key to the moral agency of the British public, with abstinence from such an act depicted within commemorative discourse as an action that directly contributes to the war living's suffering.

Discursively vital to these depictions of moral agency is transitivity. Whereby discourse in the texts explored so far have focused on the passivity of the ex-servicemen, as the 'object' within a particular action, texts concerning charity instead focus on the role of a text's audience as the 'agent' within this action. Emotive language is utilised so as to demonstrate to a text's audience how their own action, or inaction, can have an effect, either positive or negative, on the war living. As addressed already in this chapter, the British public is relied upon to donate to relevant charities to ensure that the suffering of ex-servicemen is prevented, or at least mitigated to some degree (Powell, 2019).

Assumed here is that such help is capable of alleviating the suffering of victims. Kenney (2004, p.237) asserts that victims who experience "helpful interactions" ultimately have fewer "reasons to feel victimised… fewer ongoing impediments to functioning in their day to day lives." This assertion reflects the literature explored in Chapter Three concerning victimology, whereby it is understood that recognition of a social actor's victimhood by wider society entails their access to social assistance (Christie, 1986; Fohring, 2018). In the instance of the war living in the wake of the First World War, who such discursive depictions in the text sample largely concern, the "gratitude" shown by the British public when contributing to relevant veteran's charities ultimately "defused veteran's anger" at their suffering, having led them to believe that their "sacrifices" had been adequately honoured by their public "allies" (Cohen, 2012, p.296).

Throughout the text sample, those texts relating to charities focused on the wellbeing of the war living consistently highlight once more the passivity of these needy veterans, emphasising how their welfare is wholly dependent on external forces beyond their own control. For example, war disabled workers whose work involves the manufacture of the Flanders Poppy, are dependent on the

continuation of the annual Poppy Appeal and the generosity of the public, without which their "employment would be forfeited" (*The Times,* 08/11/1938). It is stressed to readers that the disabled ex-serviceman is dependent "on the many and varied forms of assistance," a dependence which "becomes greater each year" (*The Times,* 11/11/1938). As observed in the text sample, men such as Henry Hall, a physically disabled ex-serviceman, are described as "(lying) on a couch all day in his little home," totally dependent on his wife "to move him about" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1938).

Language used by the texts touch upon the idea that the British public is perilously close to 'forgetting' about living ex-servicemen who are suffering, a group depicted as teetering on the brink of invisibility, described as "the forgotten" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/1958) and the "unseen" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938). This nominative reference to the war living as being neglected, or forgotten, further contributes to their sympathetic depiction, while transitively this positions the British public as moral agents who are ultimately responsible for this 'forgetting' of disabled or destitute military actors. Advertisements for various items often have an added tagline urging, or arguably demanding, that the British public 'remember' suffering ex-servicemen, such as a Cadbury's chocolate advertisement urging its audience to "Remember the Disabled on Armistice Day" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928).

Two texts from 1928 repeat the phrase "REMEMBER – there are 6,000 ex-servicemen in asylums and 30,000 suffering from Neurasthenia" (The Times, 10/11/1928), "REMEMBER THE DISABLED ON ARMISTICE DAY" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928). Both demonstrate a marked effort by the producers of this discourse to ensure the public are aware of their personal role in the process of providing care for disabled ex-servicemen. The issue is also often presented as a rhetorical question, asking the British public what will happen to those ex-servicemen dependent on charitable aid year in year out. As explored in the previous chapter, readers of the three newspapers in the text sample are assured that the war dead *will* be remembered:

"we should give an earnest of the depth of our sorrow for our dead heroes"
(*The Times,* 13/11/1928),

"we shall remember the fallen" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958),

"we shall recall those members of our families and the loved ones who did not return home"
(*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958).

Yet whilst the remembrance of the war dead is guaranteed, it is the plight of the war living that is presented as being uncertain. Text audiences are rhetorically asked about the fate of these men:

"yet what of those who did return home to face years of pain and suffering?" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958)

"shall we remember those who were disabled but survived?" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1958).

The opportunity to remember the fallen is presented also as an opportunity to:

"(alleviate) the affliction of those whom they have left behind" (*The Times,* 13/11/1928), and

"(remember) the living while we commemorate the dead" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/1928).

Use of the pronoun 'we' is employed extensively within these rhetorical questions, positioning text audiences as part of the group of actors that are negatively affecting disabled or destitute ex-servicemen through inactivity or a lack of generosity, highlighting their moral agency. Whilst also highlighting how it is the war dead who seem to attract most attention during the period of Remembrancetide, they are again asked rhetorically:

"may we cast a thought in pity for those few thousand who have suffered for their part in the War, inglorious and unseen?" (*The Times,* 10/11/1938).

The use of 'we' in such statements implies that the reader is part of a homogenous group, that of the British public, touching upon the unifying power of ritual as explored in Chapter Five (Bellah, 2005). Such reference to this unity implies that for the public to not to participate in the support of the war living is to deviate from the expected norm across the nation. It applies weight to the issue by actively involving those interacting with the discourse, implying that as moral agents the British public are instrumental in either preventing or perpetuating the victimisation of the war living, rather than being passive spectators.

The notion that the public are the sole aid available to ex-servicemen is exacerbated when texts utilise specific and emotive language. Ex-servicemen are depicted as pleading with the public, asking that they: "please remember us this Remembrance Sunday" (*The Times,* 11/11/1978). Whilst in an appeal published across all three newspapers made by Edward, Prince of Wales, (later King Edward VIII), the British public are urged to allow: "no decrease in the wonderful generosity shown" on Armistice Day each year, as he "begs the people of the Empire to see to it that the survivors of the war are not neglected" (*The Times,* 09/11/1928). The use of language here contributes to the overarching depiction of the war living as sympathetic social actors. They themselves must 'plead' for help, or in the case of the Prince of Wales, they are spoken on behalf of by someone who 'begs' for them to be granted assistance. In both cases, this pleading and begging is aimed towards the British public, again placing them in a position where it is clear that they, not the government, are supposedly the only social actors with the power to assist these disabled and destitute ex-servicemen.

Ultimately, the theme of charity present within the text sample deploys discursive constructions of the war living as deserving of the victim label, established earlier in this chapter, as a means of reinforcing the necessity and moral worth of the enacting of the rituals and practices of the 1919 model. As with the bereaved and paying respects to the war dead during Remembrancetide, financially assisting the war living is positioned in the text sample as a 'duty' for the British public, and exemplifies how ritual is capable of influencing the beliefs and behaviours of its enactors (Bellah, 2005).

While thus far this chapter has focused on discursive constructions of the war living as ideal or deserving of the victim label, the next section concerning 'pride' will demonstrate instances found in the text sample whereby ex-servicemen are depicted in a manner closer in nature to the 'non'-victimhood of the war dead than of the bereaved.

6.6 Pride

Whilst this chapter has thus far dealt with how negative or sympathetic depictions have aided in the construction of the war living's status as deserving victims, there is also another theme prevalent throughout the text sample that both challenges and reinforces this victimhood. The theme of pride is intertwined with that of victimhood; that despite seemingly leading lives of misery and destitution, ex-servicemen are ultimately social actors worthy of respect and admiration *because* of their suffering. Here, the war living are presented to the audience of the text sample as figures worthy of

aspiration, transcending their victimhood and becoming national heroes. Here, discourse depicts disabled ex-servicemen as capable of achieving redemption through their recovery and conquering their disablement (Cree & Caddick, 2020) throughout the text sample, be it through participation in commemorative practices or entrepreneurial endeavours, as will be discussed later in this section of the chapter.

This reframing of the war living is described by Strand (2018) as an attempt by the state to eliminate the framing of veterans as victims, depictions of the war living as having overcome their victimhood has given rise to what is referred to as 'politics of recognition' in response: recognition of positive traits over negative ones. As Bourke (1996, p.13) writes, "the manly man was athletic, stoical and courageous" prior to their fighting in war, and subsequent wounding and disablement. Demonstrated thus far in this chapter is how disabled and destitute ex-servicemen are depicted as bearing feminine traits, so as to cast them as sympathetic and deserving victims. However, also visible in the sample are examples of what Bourke (1996, p.74) refers to as "curative work", whereby physically and psychologically disabled ex-servicemen demonstrate that despite their suffering they are still able to exhibit their masculine, stoic and courageous character, lauded features of the stereotypical military actor (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011). As well as this, they are also able to express feelings of pride in their own achievements within the military and reclaim their masculinity to some degree by doing so.

Achter (2010, p.46) describes this as a process of 'domestication', whereby disabled war veterans are "framed as having already overcome any limitations inspired by their war injuries", allowing the "harshness" of war to be managed. Similarly, Cree & Caddick (2002, p.260) discuss how the contradictory relationship between the "powerful yet benevolent state" and its disabled yet "heroic military" can be recast through the use of complex emotional narratives. Examples of this are evident in the text sample, which will be explored subsequently, whereby disabled ex-servicemen are able to overcome the 'ableist' notion of pity towards their physical and/or psychological disablement and are instead cast in a light that emphasises sentiments of pride and admiration.

These depictions, centred on pride, enable an otherwise narratively difficult subject to be reframed in a manner which renders the violence enacted by the state as "understandable and acceptable" (Cree & Caddick, 2020, p.261). Ultimately, it sees the war living discursively reconstructed to better resemble the war dead than the bereaved, as they have done up to this point in the chapter. These depictions subscribe to stereotypical notions of the British military actor as heroic and competent individuals, seeing them positioned within commemorative discourse as 'non'- rather than ideal or deserving victims (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011; Phillips, Connelly & Burgess, 2020).

6.6.1 Military Commemoration

Throughout the text sample there is evidence of the war living participating in what Vagts (1937) referred to as the 'excesses' of the military, activities such as the wearing of medals and participation in military parades and ceremonies. Through this participation in these excesses, the war living are depicted in the text sample as being able to demonstrate feelings of pride in their military service. This is in contrast to depictions of the war living explored in the preceding sections of this chapter, whereby their behaviour and characteristics were overwhelmingly sympathetic, their depictions when participating in acts of commemoration instead foreground their competence.

Referential strategies largely depict the war dead in relation to participation in commemorative events, such as the Cenotaph service at Whitehall, where they are able to "march bravely" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938), "a thousand ex-servicemen… of the British Legion marched past" (*The Times,* 11/11/1938). Such depictions directly contrast to previous references to the war living earlier in this chapter, who are unable to walk without assistance at such services, for example.

At the annual Remembrance Festival in 1938, the King is said to have joined in with "the singing of war songs by 10,000 ex-servicemen" where they recalled "not only the courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice of both the dead and living in the struggle but also the splendid comradeship of war which had been evinced" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928). These depictions of the war living participating in commemorative events often highlight aspects of military service perceived as positive, as well as the honourable nature of those who served in war, either having survived their service or perished during it.

Disabled ex-servicemen are also mentioned as attending commemorative services, overcoming their disabilities in order to do so. Despite their disability "250 war-blinded men" encored the 'Lambeth Walk' six times "at their annual Armistice dance" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1938). Thirty years later, a "detachment of 50 blind ex-servicemen" who "gave the Cenotaph a smart Eyes Left" are mentioned as participating in the 1968 Cenotaph service, demonstrating how despite having lost their sight, they are still able and willing to pay tribute to their fallen comrades (*The Times,* 11/11/1968).

Within the text sample the wearing of medals is also a key feature of depictions of ex-servicemen, especially when participating in commemorative services. The wearing of medals is referenced particularly when the war living attend military ceremonies. Ex-servicemen are described as wearing "long rows of medals" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938) or having "medals pinned to (their) chest" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2008) or "war medals pinned to their breasts" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928), and as they march past the Cenotaph "their chests (are) chinking with medals" (*The Times,* 11/11/1968). Two

texts in the sample also refer to an ex-serviceman, mentioned earlier in this chapter, who was forced to pawn off his First World War medals due to his being destitute in 1938. A public appeal made by *The Daily Mail* resulted in funds being raised so as to enable him to buy the medals back in time for the upcoming Armistice Day parade in which he wished to participate. Here is reinforced the importance of these military 'excesses' (Vagts, 1937) to those ex-servicemen present in the text sample, as key signifiers of their pride in their service, with them being explicitly described by texts in the sample as:

"proud of the time they served, pleased to have done their bit" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1998),

or having "spoke with pride. Pride for their efforts" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1998).

Through this notion of pride, it can be inferred that despite much of the suffering endured by the war living, either through physical or psychological disablement, or destitution, the act of serving their nation during a time of war enables them to transcend these negative experiences. This use of language also promotes the marginalisation of specific groups of ex-servicemen throughout Remembrancetide to some degree, especially during commemorative rituals, as it is only ex-servicemen willing to attend commemorative services who are featured in the sample. Such a notion will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Furthermore, within the text sample there is little agency demonstrated by the war living who are present at these services, as they are described as participating within the wider act of commemoration and any personal expression is limited to these declarations of pride, with virtually no challenge to, or critique of, the established commemorative norms. Cree and Caddick (2020) note this, claiming that it is when ex-servicemen are absorbed into the dominant narrative purported by commemorative ritual they are "rendered invalid as a voice through which to express dissent" (p.260).

Ultimately, the war living's pride seems to come from their association with specific social actors or organisations, such as the war dead or the regiment in which they served. Ex-servicemen at the Cenotaph, for example, are described as thinking about:

"pride, sadness, and remembrance" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1998), and

"march proudly beneath regimental berets or Royal British Legion bowler hats"

(*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998).

When ex-servicemen from other conflicts speak of those men who fought in the two World Wars they are spoken with reverence. Veterans who fought in the Falklands war proclaim that they "are proud to be associated with the veterans from the Second World War", and that to take part in commemorative rituals for the first time "was a moment of pride" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998).

6.6.2 More, Not Less: 'The Veteran Spirit'

This feeling of pride among ex-servicemen is not limited to their wartime service, as another key component of their depictions, particularly at commemorative services, demonstrates. Many texts in the sample emphasise features such as stoicism in spite of hardship, which is seen to be an intrinsic element of the British war veteran's character, referred to as "the veteran spirit" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998). This spirit is embodied by selflessness; many ex-servicemen are said to "prefer not to dwell on their wartime experiences," or in other words to draw attention to their own suffering, rather their "main focus is always the same: remembering the friends and comrades they left behind" (*The Times,* 07/11/1998). They are men who "never felt bitter" (*The Daily Mail,* 11/11/1998). The veteran spirit is also represented by a stoic and hardy character, which highlights the militaristic nature of the ideal soldier, while this selflessness, or an unwillingness to bring attention to their own suffering, is again an example of the aforementioned inability for ex-servicemen to voice their own dissent.

Also demonstrated here is how discourse within the sample attempts to depict the war living as something *more* than the average citizen, a social actor who is hyper-resilient because of the hardships they have endured. As in Chapter Five, where the discussion surrounding ritual and hierarchy demonstrated how social elites were seen to represent the state itself at commemorative services, so too are ex-servicemen present at these events positioned as representatives (or embodiments) of the state and its ideals. As posited by Cree & Caddick (2020, p.263), the depiction of the wounded soldier as having transcended their own victimhood facilitates not only their own redemption "but the redemption of the state." Throughout the sample we see examples of ex-servicemen enduring conditions that ordinary citizens cannot. For example, on the few occasions where the Cenotaph service at Whitehall is marred by poor weather, which would keep "thousands away from the ceremony" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948), texts refer to the fact that the rain and cold

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did little to "dampen the fortitude of Britain's war heroes" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998); "a steady drizzle did not seem to worry them" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998).

Elderly ex-servicemen are said to "ignore the proffered umbrellas" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998), preferring to march in the open weather. This refusal to succumb to the elements, despite in many cases being of advancing age, further highlights what is regarded by the producers of this discourse as the ideal character of the war living. Whereas depictions of those disabled men relying on care and charity emphasises their passivity, it is during commemorative services that they are able to transcend this passivity and take charge of their own actions, albeit within a context that assumes their uncritical acceptance of commemorative norms. There is, for example, "little to stop them (ex-servicemen) returning each year to pay homage to the friends and comrades who died in battle" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998).

From the text samples then, it is apparent that during Remembrancetide the war dead must therefore be honoured at all costs, and descriptions of disabled or elderly ex-servicemen commemorative rituals provide important examples to the British public of the sacrifices one must be willing to make in the name of the nation and of its war heroes, whilst also demonstrating their own personal stoicism and resilience.

The war living who served in either of the World Wars who are present at commemorative rituals are depicted as being hardy individuals, not concerned with issues that other "ordinary citizens" (*The Times,* 11/11/1968) may well be afflicted by. As discovered from the text sample, when a young guardsman from the Life Guards collapsed at the Cenotaph service in 1998, the text's audience is reassured that "none of the veterans, however, showed any signs of collapsing and marched down Whitehall" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998), whilst Paddy Ashdown, then leader of the Liberal Democrats, is described as "standing with the straightest back of them all" as he was "a former soldier" (*The Times,* 09/11/1998). And when an elderly ex-serviceman is not allowed to carry a standard during a commemorative service due to health and safety fears, he proudly proclaims that:

"it's oldies like me who can take the strain at these events… I don't think many of the youngsters are up to it" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/2008).

Ex-servicemen are seemingly capable of feats of endurance that someone without their experience of war would struggle to emulate, even when these ex-servicemen themselves are of an advanced age or afflicted by disability. Such discursive constructions of the war living in the text sample reflect

the stereotypical image of the British military actor, as explored in Chapter Two. These depictions, whereby military actors are venerated by the British public, ultimately sees their elevation above the average citizen (Gibson, 2012).

6.6.3 Military Entrepreneurship

Outside of commemorative events, this elevated status of character is evident through other activities that the war living may take part in. Multiple texts give accounts of certain businesses either run by or employing disabled ex-servicemen, communicating to the reader the quality and craftsmanship of the items on sale. We see here what Bulmer and Eichler (2017) refer to as attempts by the state to 'script' ex-servicemen as desirable and enterprising citizens despite their disabilities, as contributors rather than detractors. In the sample, ex-servicemen able to find work are referred to as having been "turned into useful and self-supporting citizens" (*The Times,* 10/11/1928), implying those unemployed, not self-supporting ex-servicemen are in fact *not* useful citizens. This idea of a 'useful' ex-serviceman echoes Reznick's (2000, p.192) assertion that government policy towards physically disabled military actors emphasised the need for them to be remade as "healthy citizens for the benefit of post-war reconstruction".

Similarly, the Duchess of York, in 1928, relates details to readers of *The Daily Mail* of an exhibition held at the Imperial Institute in London where goods made by war disabled men were on sale. She states of the exhibition that "there was never a better place" because "every object in it has been made by a disabled man" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928). This sentiment is echoed whereby readers are encouraged to "buy goods as well as poppies" during Remembrancetide of the same year (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928). The anonymous author of *The Daily Mail's* 'A Woman About London' column claims that after visiting the same exhibition as the Duchess of York at the Imperial Institute, she will be buying "at least one article made by a disabled man" along with her Flanders Poppy each year and urges other British women to do the same; "they will certainly get value for their money" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1928). By virtue of being manufactured at the hands of a man disabled during his service in the First World War, the goods on sale here are a cut above the rest, either because of genuine material superiority, or because to buy such an item would serve to support a disabled ex-serviceman. The distinction is not made outright, but it is evident that these items are nevertheless to be regarded as superior simply because of who they were made by and the purpose that they serve.

6.7 Conclusion

In relation to the intellectual project of this thesis, this chapter has demonstrated the transient nature of the war living in relation to victimhood, contributing to the wider investigation of how military victimhood is constructed within the text sample. At different points within the text sample, discourse depicts the war living as exhibiting traits associated with both the war dead and the bereaved, as discussed in the previous chapter. The war living are simultaneously seen to embody normatively 'feminine' traits of weakness and passivity as prescribed by the ideal victim construct (Christie, 1986), as well as embodying the masculine heroism and competence found in stereotypical representations of British military actors (McCartney, 2011). Thus, the war living can be observed as both 'non' and 'deserving' victims at different points within the text sample.

A particular discursive depiction of the war living is foregrounded during Remembrancetide when their recognition as victims by the wider British public is deemed necessary. Such representations focus heavily on referential strategies which de-masculinise the war living, highlighting how they suffer because of disablement as a consequence of military service, both physical or psychological, as well as the destitution such disablement entails, characterising them as weak and helpless individuals. In turn, transitive methods position the war living largely as the 'objects' of suffering, highlighting their passivity. These traits of 'femininity' typified by weakness and passivity, similar to discursive constructions of the bereaved explored in the previous chapter, reflect the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, meaning the war living can be regarded as social actors 'deserving' of the victim label. Such an affordance of the victim label undermines the stereotypical image of the military actor, as a masculine and competent individual (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012).

These depictions of the war living as deserving victims in the text sample are largely dependent on socio-economic context, coinciding with a need to encourage British social actors, the audiences of these texts, to donate to relevant charities else the war living continue to suffer. Highlighted here is the role of the British public as 'moral agents' within the rituals of the 1919 model (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). Similar to the notion that respect must be paid to the war dead in order to alleviate the suffering of the bereaved, here the notion of donating to charity in relation to the financial struggles of the war living is emphasised as a moral 'duty' or 'debt' owed by British social actors to disabled and destitute ex-servicemen. Discourse here once more brings attention to the idea that ritual is capable of engendering specific beliefs and behaviours in its enactors.

Yet, as stated above, the identity of the war living in relation to victimhood is transient, and also observable in the text sample is a process of discursive 'rehabilitation' concerning the disabled ex-serviceman in particular. This process, or 'curative work' (Bourke, 1996) sees the war living cast in a

similar image to that of the war dead, as explored in Chapter Five, whereby they are granted agency within the act of their victimisation and thus are able to transcend their victimhood, regarded as 'non'-victims in these instances. Such depictions centre on the notion of 'pride' within the text sample, highlighting aspects of the war living's character, such as stoicism and competence, that are more in line with stereotypical understandings of military actors rather than victims (McCartney, 2011).

Thus, unlike the binary constructions of the war dead and the bereaved in relation to their statuses as non- and deserving victims, the war living can be seen to straddle the line between expectations of masculinity and femininity within the text sample. Demonstrated here is how the victim status of military actors is ultimately subject to change, a malleable concept that can be rearticulated, if necessary, in relation to specific contextual events and conditions, as well as how discourse surrounding the war living, and associated commemorative practices, ultimately facilitates the creation and maintenance of a social reality in which respect and admiration towards military personnel is paramount.

With this in mind, as well as the findings of the previous chapter, Chapter Seven will move on to discuss the notion of moral agency in more detail, demonstrating how the discursive construction of a fourth group of social actors with ties to military victimhood, 'the deviant', further serve to influence the beliefs and behaviours of British social actors during the period of Remembrancetide. Here will be explored how social actors who reject, rather than conform to, the demands of their supposed moral agency in relation to military victimhood are vilified within commemorative discourse evidenced within the text sample.

In turn, the following chapter will also demonstrate how specific texts in the text sample, largely obtained from the UK Web Archive, present a challenge to these dominant commemorative narratives, and situate the notions of deviancy and military victimhood in an entirely different manner, as components of 'counter-narratives' concerning commemoration in Britain since 1918. Discursive constructions of deviancy here centre on 'powerful' social actors, those capable of producing and reproducing discourse, and present a challenge to normative notions of military victimhood through an anti-militaristic lens.

Chapter Seven

The Deviant:

Dominant Narratives and Counter-Narratives

7.1 Introduction

Based on textual evidence presented in the previous two chapters, it can be asserted that ritual is a powerful tool, serving to promote unity within a society, and in turn engendering a specific type of behaviour that is enacted at both particular times and places. These chapters also explored how depictions of the victimhood of three groups of social actors, the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living, are central to the rituals of the 1919 model, as well as how each group is discursively constructed within the text sample in reference to the ideal victim construct (Christie, 1986). Through the use of referential and transitive strategies, discourse in the text sample presents a specific image of these groups respectively, largely in adherence to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, which affords the 'non'-victim label to masculinised actors such as the war dead, and in turn the 'deserving' victim label to feminised social actors such as the bereaved and the war living.

In relation to these military victims, such discourse serves to inform beliefs concerning their potential suffering, as well as encouraging behaviour pitched towards mitigating this suffering. As noted by Visser (1992), ritual encourages the *uncritical* repetition of specific behaviours, and in turn creates an unwillingness to deviate from the norm in those engaged in their practices as a result of group pressure and fear of backlash. While Bellah (2005) argues that when ritual is legitimised, the creation of a specific social world can be observed, which negates the necessity for individualist pursuits or interests in the face of social unity.

Chapter Five demonstrated how texts from the text sample adopt a narrative that highlights the legitimacy and unifying power of the rituals of the 1919 model; these texts focus on the myriad of locations across Britain and its former empire that participate in the commemoration of the British war dead and recognition of their victimhood, as well as highlighting the uniform behaviour of British social actors within these commemorative services. Chapter Six also demonstrated how participation in particular commemorative practices, such as donating to relevant charities connected to the British military, like the British Legion, actively alleviated the suffering of the war living, ex-servicemen who were either disabled, destitute, or both, and thus depicted these acts as being of moral worth. Highlighted here is the role of the British public as 'moral agents' within the

context of military victimhood, capable of either directly alleviating or perpetuating the suffering of social actors with ties to war's victimising power (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018).

Ultimately, such constructions of military victimhood found in the text sample are components of a 'dominant' or 'official' narrative surrounding British war commemoration. As asserted by Cree & Caddick (2020), a narrative is an important cultural meaning-creating and meaning-shaping device which enables social actors to interpret events in a specific, and ultimately political, way. A narrative's legitimacy is dependent upon the power and social capital of those social actors or social groups seeking to establish it as dominant, and this process involves the leveraging of "social, economic, class, and gender-based ideals" (Cree & Caddick, 2020, p.259). With special interest to this thesis, Cree & Craddick (2020) also highlight how the cultural diffusion and normalisation of militaristic values and ideals are facilitated through a specific narrative becoming dominant within a society.

However, a narrative becoming dominant is not a simple process, as often there exists counter-narratives which undermine and contest them (Cree & Caddick, 2020), and the narrative of social unity and the necessary behaviours to be enacted during Remembrancetide are not without challenge. On many occasions throughout the text sample there are instances of social actors who are unwilling to conform to the traditional behaviour patterns encouraged by the rituals of the 1919 model, as well as those who actively attempt to disrupt and criticise commemorative practices. These social actors are often vilified, depicted in an overtly negative manner, and in many instances violence against them is encouraged, or at least endorsed, by texts in the sample.

These social actors who present a counter-narrative, which seeks to undermine and contest the dominant narrative advocated by the majority of texts within the sample, and who are thus deemed to break with the norm and violate expected patterns of behaviour within a specific narrative, will be referred to as 'deviants' throughout this chapter. Becker's (1963, p.8) definition of a deviant will be adopted by this thesis moving forward, locating deviance as the "infraction of some agreed-upon rule," positing that the deviant is not inherently *wrong,* or pathologically afflicted, but is ultimately labelled as such depending on the reaction of other people towards their behaviour. Becker (1963, p.14) discerns between simply breaking a rule, or being a 'rule breaker', and being a deviant, with the latter label being dependent on the reaction of others – thus deviance is not "a quality that lies in behaviour itself" but in "the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it".

Couched within the sociological tradition of 'labelling theory', which focuses on the manner in which agents of social control define the identity of particular groups of social actors and the ways in which

the labelled groups potentially change their behaviour as a result (McCaghy, Capron, Jamieson, Carey, 2008). Instead of questioning why specific social actors break a certain rule, labelling theory examines why certain rulebreakers are targeted officially (McCaghy, Capron, Jamieson, Carey, 2008). In relation to commemorative rituals of the 1919 model observed in the text sample, this labelling plays an important role in the suppression of potential criticism of British commemorative rituals and in the demonising of those social actors unwilling to conform to the expectations of the dominant commemorative narrative.

The vast majority of deviants depicted throughout the text sample are those social actors who break the formally and informally codified 'rules' of the 1919 model; actively criticising, refusing to engage with, or disrupting the enactment of British commemorative ritual, specifically during the period of Remembrancetide. These social actors are condemned and labelled as deviants in mainstream discourse and are depicted as negative individuals through the use of specific discursive strategies. Within dominant commemorative narratives, particular behaviour is largely deemed to be 'deviant' by social actors with relatively more power than those social actors they are labelling.

Yet whilst the majority of texts in the sample support this dominant narrative and condemn such deviant behaviour, there are still texts present that challenge the enactment of commemorative ritual in Britain through the use of 'counter'-narratives, criticising what is perceived as militaristic sentiments present at services and ultimately within the discourse surrounding them. The producers of these texts, most notably taken from the UK Web Archive (UKWA), label the producers and reproducers of mainstream discourse as deviants themselves, providing a unique insight into the power dynamic between labellers and the labelled with regards to the issue of deviance.

Such texts in the text sample evidence that, to many, the 1919 model is an outdated framework by which to enact commemoration of the war dead in the modern era in particular, and it is argued in multiple texts that the promotion of what they believe to be militaristic values is in itself a deviation from the initial purpose behind First World War commemorative practices. In such counter-narratives, deviancy is largely exhibited through behaviour that is regarded as violating the commitment to peace observed in the initial enactment of the 1919 model's rituals and practices (Winter, 1995), in favour of the promotion of beliefs and behaviour that resemble the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology. Ultimately, like dominant narratives, counter-narratives centre on notions of the 'correct' behaviour to be enacted during Remembrancetide, with direct reference to military victimhood and the manner by which it should be recognised, again in reference to the British public as moral agents as key component of this recognition.

This chapter will analyse those texts in the sample that contain mention of or reference to social actors who are labelled deviant, through negative depictions, because of their specific behaviour during Remembrancetide. Both 'types' of deviant discussed in this chapter are labelled ultimately because of their relationship to military victimhood; the behaviour in question is concerned with whether or not adequate respect is paid to military victims in what is perceived as the 'correct' manner, with both dominant and counter-narratives subscribing to opposing views concerning what is and what is not correct in this context. As the majority of texts in the text sample are made up of newspaper texts, which demonstrably reproduce a dominant or 'official' mainstream narrative concerning commemoration in Britain (Kirton, 2016), then there are observable more depictions of these deviants than there are those from counter-narratives. Depictions of the latter are almost exclusively featured in texts taken from the UKWA, where counter-narratives are able to be produced unchallenged by social actors.

Firstly, through an overview of the themes this chapter will cover, it will be established how the labelling of a deviant can come from both those with access to power and those with (relatively) less power, focusing on dominant narratives and counter-narratives respectively. Following this, texts from the text sample will be analysed within these themes in an attempt to demonstrate how specific discursive strategies have been employed since 1918 so as to portray specific social actors as deviant within both dominant and counter-narratives. This will also shed light on orthodox and unorthodox attitudes towards British commemorative practices, as well as the key role that military victimhood plays in the development of these respective attitudes.

7.2 Overview of Themes

Through analysis of texts found in the text sample that deal with the issue of deviant, two clear themes emerge with regards to the labelling of social actors perceived to behave in a negative, deviant manner: what will be referred to as dominant and counter-narratives. This section of the chapter will outline what these themes refer to, before moving on to direct analysis of texts taken from the text sample that deal with the issue of the deviant and commemorative ritual within these two themes.

Dominant narratives within British commemorative discourse encompass depictions of social actors who criticise or disrupt traditional mainstream practices or ideas of commemoration, such as interrupting the two minutes silence, or wearing a white poppy during Remembrancetide, invoking the 'moral agency' of the British public in relation to military victimhood, as explored in previous

chapters (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). Social actors deemed deviant within the dominant narrative behave in a manner which directly contrasts to the behaviour of those social actors, whom will be referred to as 'ideal commemorators'. Ideal commemorators are social actors lauded by mainstream or 'official' texts in the sample for their commitment to respecting and honouring the victimhood of groups such as the war dead in the 'right' way; a way that acknowledges the perceived debt of recognition and respect owed by the living to the dead and disabled/destitute of war, and in reference to moral agency, in a manner that supposedly alleviates the suffering of military victims. Deviants as labelled within dominant commemorative narratives have their behaviour largely met with disgust within the text sample, and this can often result in violent retaliation from those who wish for the perceived sanctity of these events to be preserved. In the case of this text sample and dominant narratives, deviants are most often labelled by newspapers, text producers with the capability of producing, reproducing, and controlling commemorative discourse, in turn harnessing massive potential to influence public attitudes towards certain types of people and behaviours (Richardson, 2007).

The second theme, in contrast, encompasses 'counter'-narratives produced by social actors unwilling to conform to the commemorative norm, and who are outwardly critical of the rituals of the 1919 model. Observable within the text sample are examples of these counter-narratives mainly within texts obtained from the UKWA, where issues of militarism are raised and those with the power to produce and reproduce mainstream commemorative discourse are often those labelled as deviant. Deviants within counter-narratives are often labelled as such because they are viewed as clashing fundamentally with the core tenets of the 1919 model and engaging in behaviour that is perceived to facilitate the glorification of war, along with distorting the reality of war. In turn, such digital texts provide a demystified representation of the beliefs and behaviours that ultimately lead to social actors being labelled as deviant within a dominant narrative, bringing the notions of intertextuality and dialogicality to the fore.

Within both of these themes, of dominant and counter-narratives, the labelling and subsequent depiction of deviants hinge on contending perceptions of the supposed 'correct' manner by which to recognise the military victimhood of the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living. This chapter will now move on to discuss texts taken from the text sample that deal directly with these two themes of the deviant within dominant and counter-narratives respectively, beginning with the former.

7.3 Deviancy and Dominant Narratives

Before delving into the analysis of texts dealing with deviants found within dominant narratives, it is important to revisit the findings of the Chapters Five and Six, in order to frame a discussion concerning the nature of a group of social actors to be referred to as 'ideal commemorators' in this chapter and the thesis moving forwards. Demonstrated in the previous two chapters is how discourse surrounding the rituals of the 1919 model engenders a specific type of behaviour expected of the British public during Remembrancetide; behaviour that offers respect to the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living in a prescribed manner. This behaviour can be seen to fall in line with the 'values' of British commemorative practices, values being what social scientists refer to as an element of "a shared symbolic system" which "serves as a criterion or standard for selection among the alternatives of orientation" (Parsons, 1991, p.7). In other words, in a situation where there are multiple options with regards to behaviour, such as behaviour during Remembrancetide, values represent the common belief of a society and act as a rough guide to behaviour.

Texts taken from the newspapers present in the sample, for example, subscribe to these commemorative values, manifest in certain behaviour such as observing the two-minute silence or the wearing of the poppy. Those who conform to these expected behavioural patterns, the ideal commemorators, are praised by texts in the text sample, their actions positively reinforced and celebrated. Here, the 'moral agency' of the British social actor in relation to military victimhood, as discussed in previous chapters, is invoked (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). This behaviour enacted by the ideal commemorator, the paying of respects to the war dead and donating to relevant charities concerning ex-servicemen, is seen to contribute to the alleviation of the suffering of both the bereaved and the war living respectively.

When texts deal with social actors deemed to be deviating from the norm, it is then observable how a specific image of the deviant is constructed within dominant narratives. In essence, deviants labelled within dominant narratives are social actors who behave in the direct opposite manner of the ideal commemorator, criticising and challenging the ideal actions and discourse within and surrounding British commemorative practices. In turn, again with reference to moral agency, these social actors are regarded as contributing to, rather than alleviating, the suffering of military victims.

As mentioned above, as well as in Chapter Five, the nature of ritual propagates an unwillingness in participants to deviate from the norm in fear of backlash to some degree (Visser, 1992). Within the framework of the 1919 model, specifically discourse surrounding these commemorative practices found within the text sample, there is the clear employment of specific discursive strategies that

both encourage conformity and discourage deviance, with conformity framed as a morally valuable act, and deviance as an act that directly contributes to the victimisation of military victims.

Observed in the sample is how deviants within dominant narratives are nominatively and predicatively depicted by texts (how they are named and whether this is positive or negative); they are portrayed using highly negative naming conventions, emphasising their supposedly despicable nature. Seen here is an example of van Dijk's (1998) 'ideological square', as discussed in Chapter Four, which predicts that 'outsiders' within a discourse are likely to be depicted discursively in a negative manner through the use of referential strategies. Reinforced here is the notion of 'us' vs 'them' (Richardson, 2007), with this notion represented here by the ideal commemorator vs the deviant. It is clear that discourse is used here to 'other' social actors who refuse to conform to the British commemorative norm. These social actors are referred to in the text sample as:

"foolish… inexpert" (*The Times,* 12/11/1928),

"wickedly blasphemous" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928),

"the craven in heart" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1938),

"thoughtless" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948),

"grotesque" (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1988),

"cowards" (*The Daily Mail,* 14/11/1988),

"inappropriate" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/2008),

"weak and disgraceful and… disrespectful" (*Belfast Telegraph*, 2008),

"thugs… vandals" (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/2018),

"disgusting" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2018),

"beyond disgraceful" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/2018),

"brutal and senseless" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/2018),

"appalling" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/2018).

The usage of these referential strategies as part of the ideological square (van Dijk, 1998) sees deviants within the dominant commemorative narrative depicted overwhelmingly as despicable

people, with negative character traits emphasised so as to demonstrate to the wider public the type of individual who would consider breaching the sanctity of commemorative rituals. Reinforced here is the idea that to refuse to recognise military victimhood, as established in previous chapters, in the particular manner prescribed through commemorative discourse, is a highly negative endeavour, and these depictions perhaps also serve to dissuade others from committing similar acts as well as inciting outrage towards deviants who in fact do so.

Not only are these deviants nominatively and predicatively described pejoratively, but also the fact that their behaviour was enacted during Remembrancetide, a period where a social actor's behaviour is expected to be in line with the solemnity of the 1919 model's rituals is highlighted and condemned. Becker (1963, p.14) discusses how "time" can impact how a deviant act is responded to, arguing that certain actions will be treated according to the time and place in which they are enacted, and also how in many instances "we cannot know whether a given act will be categorised as deviant until the response of others has occurred". In relation to this idea of time and deviant behaviour, there are interesting examples from across the text sample where acts of violence and vandalism are committed. In any normal circumstances these acts are condemned as anti-social and repugnant behaviour, be it damaging property or attacking another person, but texts in the sample covering such acts are quick to highlight that these activities have taken place *during* Remembrancetide, and because of this the reprehensible nature of the act itself, along with its enactor, are intensified, as demonstrated through the language that the text utilises.

For instance, in 2018 the graves of three First World War soldiers were "smashed" by "thugs", and a text in *The Daily Mirror* laments that such an event took place just "days before the centenary of Armistice Day", quoting a Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) representative who claims that "at this time of the year it is particularly upsetting" (*The Daily Mirror,* 07/11/2018).

There is also reporting of two separate events in which elderly British ex-servicemen are subjected to violence during Remembrancetide, which received wide coverage across the three newspapers featured in the text sample both in 2008 and 2018 respectively. The attacks are described by texts in the sample as being worse because of the time of year that they took place, as well as the identity of the victims as war veterans. The deviancy of the "thugs" who "savagely" attacked Bob Schofield, 89, an ex-Royal Navy sailor, is placed in direct contrast to the behaviour of ideal commemorators, "the millions of people (observing) two minutes' silence in honour of those who gave their lives" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2008).

At this time of year, the debt owed by the British public to victims of war as a component of their moral agency, in this instance ex-service personnel, is paramount, and a *Daily Mirror* text highlights

this, stating "He fought a war to keep them free… this is how they repaid him", showing disgust at the fact that this ex-serviceman's attackers did not pay the debt of respect he was owed (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/2008). Similarly, Peter Gouldstone, another Second World War veteran, was attacked in his home ten years later, and it is once again made clear that this is a time when Britain is supposed to be "(preparing) to honour the sacrifice of its war heroes". There is no doubt that attacking elderly people is a horrific act, but texts are wont to point towards the fact that this attack took place "during this time of remembrance" makes it "beyond comprehension" (*The Daily Mirror,* 08/11/2018), as somehow worse. Such acts of violence are rightfully condemned, yet observed here is how condemnation of the assault of these ex-servicemen is conflated with the breaching of commemorative practices, providing an additional layer of criticism of the deviant actors involved.

In the instances presented here, the identity of the deviant is unknown, therefore most texts concerning them refer transitively to the actions themselves and the negativity of them simply taking place during Remembrancetide. As will now be observed moving forwards with this chapter, when the identity of the deviant *is* known, then disgust will be shown towards them directly as part of an incremental process that can potentially lead from verbal to physical violence based on the perceived 'severity' of the commemorative infraction.

This specific behaviour in which deviant social actors engage within the text sample can be divided into three distinct categories: firstly, examples of social actors failing to observe what is considered to be the appropriate mood of solemnity and reverence during the enactment of commemorative ritual. Secondly, those actions that happen to threaten the established hierarchy inherent within these rituals. And thirdly, those who interrupt commemorative services directly, such as the two minutes silence, in a deliberate manner so as to articulate criticism, and because of which are often on the receiving end of violent retaliation from ideal commemorators.

Within this framework of categories there is a clear hierarchy with regards to the severity of each infraction, calling to mind Becker's (1963, p.12) assertion that "the degree to which other people will respond to a given act as deviant varies greatly". Observable here is how minor breaches of commemorative ritual are met with disdain and verbal rebuke, whereas actions regarded as more severe are often met with violent action perpetrated by ideal commemorators. Discourse across the text sample folds this violent reaction into the character profile of the ideal commemorator, either praising their reaction to deviant behaviour, or at least not condemning it as negative. This endorsement of violence by newspaper texts in the sample can potentially function as a means of further discouraging social actors from engaging in deviant behaviour.

7.3.1 Disrespect to The War Dead: Verbal Rebuke

This first theme deals with perhaps the most minor of infractions present within the text sample, instances where the solemn mood of the 1919 model's rituals are not observed by participants but do not result in physically violent action, but indeed are ultimately key in the incremental shift towards physical violence. As discussed in Chapter Five, the mood of British commemorative practices is regularly commented upon by texts in the text sample, and the solemnity of the occasion is regarded as a necessary component of the rituals in paying respects to the war dead and in recognising their victimhood. While texts in the sample overwhelmingly highlight how the solemnity of rituals such as the two minutes silence are observed across Britain, there are rare instances of social actors breaching the intended mood of the occasion, such as when there are instances of "disorder or shuffling" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928) or "festivities… inappropriately mingled with the earlier ceremonies of the day" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928). Whilst there are also examples of texts that serve as a warning against such behaviour prior to the rituals themselves in the sample. This breaching of the solemn mood can take multiple forms, such as not fully observing the silence itself, or wearing attire considered inappropriate. Seen here is how the transitive actions of the deviant are, as with nominative and predicative labels, highly negative, showing the adverse consequences of their behaviour.

In 1928, a letter written to *The Times,* published on 7th November, claims that "the silence on Armistice Day has not generally been as perfect as one would like it to be, as motor drivers have not always stopped their engines", and politely requests that in future drivers follow the "excellent example" of the London General Omnibus Company, who instructed their drivers "to pull up on the first stroke of 11 o'clock… no matter where they may happen to be" (*The Times,* 07/11/1928). Here an example of deviants is shown in contrast to ideal commemorators; in this instance those who leave their engines running during the two minutes silence, resulting in the silence not being 'perfect', in contrast to those who stop their vehicles, whose behaviour is perceived to be 'excellent'.

In 1948, a group of social actors referred to as "gigglers" at Whitehall are said to have "jostled one another like holiday makers at a fair", and by showing a "total lack of reverence" they almost "desecrated" the solemnity of the occasion, and their "thoughtless outbursts" were "very painful to men and women of mature age" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948), discourse here again invoking the British public's moral agency in relation to military victimhood. Fortunately, their disruptive behaviour ceased prior to the commencement of the two minutes silence at 11am, meaning they received only verbal reprimand for their actions, but the text still highlights the damaging nature of their deviant behaviour, specifically to those mature aged men and women, who it can be inferred

are either old enough to have served/lost loved ones in the First World War, or to have lost loved ones in the Second, thus marking them as being either ex-service personnel or the bereaved.

The wearing of the Flanders Poppy is also a contentious issue within commemorative discourse and is also closely associated with the issue of satisfactorily paying respects to the victimhood of the war dead. Those seen without a traditional poppy, particularly those social actors with high profile public facing roles, are regarded as disrespecting the war dead and actively contributing to the suffering of disabled and destitute members of the British war living. Texts in the sample overwhelmingly regard the poppy, and its display on either a person or in a physical place, as "a traditional matter of respect for the bravery" of the war dead (*The Times,* 07/11/1988). Observable here again is how the victimhood of the war dead is central to depictions of the deviant within dominant narratives; those unwilling to pay respect in the 'correct' manner results in their negative discursive depiction and often a volatile reaction from ideal commemorators. As the poppy is seen by mainstream discourse as a physical signifier of respect being paid to the war dead (Gregory, 1994), the refusal to wear one is often conflated with a lack of respect or direct contempt towards them and in turn as emotionally damaging to the bereaved.

Take for example the wearing of the white poppy, which is not simply "an insult to the memory" of the war dead", but each person who wears one is also said to deprive "blind and disabled veterans of much-needed financial help" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1988). Similarly in 2018, a text published in *The Daily Mirror* discusses companies producing "fake poppy merchandise" which is said to "cash in on remembrance memorabilia without donating any money to veteran's charities", and "den(ies) veterans money" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/2018). Transitively, wearing a white poppy, or to wear a poppy produced by an unofficial outlet, is depicted as directly resulting in the suffering of British ex-servicemen, further framing deviants within the dominant narrative in a negative light. Such discourse again evokes the role of the British public's moral agency with regards to military victims and their suffering. Here, discourse in the text sample further demonstrates how a failure to enact the expected behaviours of commemorative ritual directly contributes to the suffering of military victims.

The refusal to wear a poppy in public spaces during Remembrancetide is also an act that is depicted negatively throughout the text sample, viewed as an act of disrespect towards the central groups of victims focused on during Remembrancetide. James McClean, an Irish professional footballer who refuses to wear a poppy, is described as "disrespecting the victims of WW1 or WW2" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/2018). It is inferred that because the "BBC's weathergirl" was not wearing a poppy on television she (and the BBC World Service, her employer) "(didn't) appear to" remember the war

dead (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/2008). Sarah Vine, in her *Daily Mail* column, claims she is "still heartened by the way Remembrance Sunday is shaping up this year" despite many people choosing to wear a white poppy, and places these "pacifists" (interestingly used here as a derogatory term) in contention with the ideal commemorator, who she claims give "love and respect" to war veterans and the war dead, implying that those not wearing a red poppy do the opposite (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/2018).

Actor Charles Dance says that the behaviour of those refusing to wear a poppy, who he regards as "people moaning", really "upsets (him)"; he declares "how dare they when these guys have made such sacrifice for us all" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/2018). Those who regard the poppy as glorifying war and choose to commemorate war in their own way are said to "diminish the memory of the dead", whilst ideal commemorators who conform to the wearing of a traditional poppy obtain "a vital shared empathy" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/2018), implying this is a trait absent from deviant individuals from the viewpoint of a dominant narrative and again highlights the role of ritual in creating a sense of unity within its enactors (Douglas, 1992). Observed here again is how deviants within dominant narratives are seen to reject the required payment of an obliged debt owed by the British public to the war dead, furthering their depiction as negative individuals.

Texts in the text sample show how often ideal commemorators will resort to verbal abuse towards public figures seen to not be wearing a poppy, whilst also calling for punishment to be enacted upon them. A BBC newsreader seen not wearing a poppy on television is met with the declaration of "shame on you Peter!" and the question "will he be chastised?" is asked (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/2008). The lack of a poppy on television for ITV News presenter Charlene White resulted in her receiving "a torrent of racist and sexist abuse" (*The Daily Mail,* 07/11/2018), and the wearing of what was regarded as a "tiny poppy" by Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn at Whitehall in 2018 is said to have "sparked anger" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

Seen here is an example of a social actor in a position of political importance who is seen to breach the established rules of British commemoration. As discussed in Chapter Five, within the text sample emphasis is placed upon the participation in commemorative rituals and practices of the 1919 model by 'elite' social actors, such as politicians or members of the Royal Family, who are regarded as representatives of the British populace. Because of this, discourse in the text sample highlights, and in turn lauds, their uncritical enactment of commemoration. The next section of this chapter will deal with the importance of notions of hierarchy and tradition to the enactment of commemorative ritual, demonstrating how feelings of outrage and anger can be evoked when these notions are regarded as having been breached.

7.3.2 Fragile Hierarchy and Tradition: Outrage and Anger

As outlined in Chapter Five regarding the rituals of the 1919 model, there is a clear emphasis in British commemorative practices on the importance of hierarchy and its maintenance. Often, texts concerning commemorative practices, such as the services at Whitehall, highlight the presence of royalty and politicians and their involvement in the traditional rituals. These social actors are portrayed as representatives of Britain as a nation in its entirety, they are the pinnacle of the ideal commemorator, and their behaviour is provided as a benchmark by which the British public should measure their own standards during the enactment of commemorative ritual. George V is said to "lead his people" at the Cenotaph in 1928 (*The Daily Mail*, 10/11/1928), while two decades later George VI is described as "the head and representative of his peoples" (*The Times,* 08/11/1948), for example.

When these standards are not met, however, it can be observed how certain social actors are labelled as deviant and described in a negative manner so as to convey the severity of their infractions against the sanctity of commemorative ritual. For example, in 1948, at the Saltburn and Marske Remembrance Day service, the town is reported to have been "angered" because Jon Wilson, a 67-year-old man who "carried dustbins for the urban council" placed a wreath on the town's war memorial. This duty was expected to be carried out by "a councillor", but due to a mix up the task was handed to Mr Wilson, which *The Daily Mirror* reported had left "Marske seething with indignation" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1948). Such threats to the traditional hierarchy of commemorative services are reported to have been met with anger and disgust. The very idea that the war dead should have a wreath laid for them by someone not belonging to a perceived social elite demonstrates an inherent tension within this type of class representation.

Similarly, when those belonging to this 'elite' class of ritual participants are seen to be failing in their own duty to pay the utmost respects to the war dead during commemorative services, they too are labelled as deviant. In 2008 Belfast's Sinn Fein Lord Mayor Tom Hartley was met with "anger" after it was revealed he would not be participating in the city's Remembrance Day commemorations, being described as "weak and disgraceful", and "disrespectful" towards those who fought "for the cause of freedom and democracy" (*Belfast Telegraph,* 2008). Much like with instances of deviants refusing to wear a poppy, as discussed above, social elites who do not conform to the expected commemorative ideal are also depicted as having no respect for the victimhood of the war dead. A decade later, Jeremy Corbyn, then leader of the Labour Party, is said to have "sparked anger" because of his choice of clothing at the Whitehall service on Armistice Day. Along with the "tiny poppy" mentioned above, he is also reported to have worn "a hooded anorak" which "contrasted with the black

overcoats worn by many politicians and other dignitaries" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018). His attire is then contrasted to that of Princes William and Harry, who wore full military uniform, whilst other politicians wore formal coats. *The Daily Mail* claims that Corbyn had been "widely criticised on social media," citing a comment which negatively labelled his choice of clothing as "poor judgement" and a "signal to his Leftie anti-war chums" (again, notions of 'pacifism' and 'anti-war' are interestingly used as pejoratives here) (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/2018).

Anger and disgust are common reactions to behaviour which is seen to disrespect the war dead and their victimhood throughout the text sample. By failing to dress appropriately or respect the established hierarchy of proceedings, for example, social actors are labelled deviant and portrayed through the employment of discursive strategies that emphasise both personal negative traits and the negative consequences these supposedly entail, as well as the seemingly unified negative reaction of the majority. Seen here is how texts that highlight this anger can arguably legitimise further incensed responses from ideal commemorators, leading to incidents where they and deviants come into physical contact at sites of commemorative ritual.

7.3.3 Disrupting Ritual: Physical Violence

Thus far it has been demonstrated how behaviour that is labelled as deviant, such as the wearing of a white poppy or the committing of certain acts specifically during Remembrancetide, has resulted in the employment by many texts of discursive strategies which depict these social actors and their actions as overwhelmingly negative. The expression of 'anger' is a common theme within these texts, but so far deviant acts concerning respect being paid to British victims of war have received only verbal rebuke because of the time and place they were committed and their perceived severity. The following examples taken from the text sample show instances where deviant actions are met with direct physical violence. These actions are described throughout the text sample, and what is most interesting is that violence against these specific deviants is never condemned; it can be argued that the portrayal of certain incidents in texts actually condones this behaviour from the ideal commemorator.

Those who ignore the two minutes silence in the text are referred to as "silence breakers" (The Daily Mirror, 12/11/1928) and are often described as having ruined, or at least attempted to ruin, the sanctity of the traditional rituals. Those "gigglers" mentioned above did so in the lead up towards 11am and ultimately remained quiet during the two minutes silence, so are not classed as silence breakers and receive only verbal scolding (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948). In other instances, those

who breach the sanctity of the two minutes silence are met with violence enacted by those members of the British public who are willing to uncritically observe this specific ritual. In 1928 a couple, "a young man and a young woman", who refused to observe the two-minute silence at Shepherd's Bush war memorial were,

"severely handled by a number of working men and women. The woman's hat was torn and trampled underfoot by women. Her face was badly cut, and several women pulled her hair. The man was seized by a number of ex-servicemen… he was so severely handled that both his eyes were closed from blows, and he lost some teeth" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928).

That same year, attempts were made by some attendees at an Armistice Day parade to "seize Union Jacks" which resulted in "several scuffles" and "a number of young men" being "roughly handled by the crowd" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1928). Demonstrated here is how the role of the ideal commemorator does not simply constitute passive compliance regarding the enactment of ritual, but also one that potentially entails the policing of other social actor's behaviour, especially if this behaviour can be regarded as deviant in nature (Noakes, 2015).

Another deviant, Peter William Cadogan, is said to have "used insulting behaviour and insulting words likely to cause a breach of the peace" at Whitehall in 1968 (*The Times,* 12/11/1968). Another text published a day prior in *The Daily Mirror* refers to a "Banner Man" at the Cenotaph who was arrested during the two-minute silence for attempting to raise a banner which said, "Remember Biafra" (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1968). It can be inferred that the 'Banner Man' and Peter William Cadogan are one in the same across both of these texts. His behaviour is described by both *The Times* and *The Daily Mirror* as "insulting", being that he attempted to instigate remembrance for non-British people at a British remembrance service (*The Times,* 12/11/1968*; The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1968). He too was subjected to violent action, being confronted by "angry spectators" who "struggled with (him)" before he was arrested (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1968), again demonstrating how often deviants are faced with violent retaliation for their actions. In the same text we are told of a "man in dark sunglasses" who "started to hiss opposite the Cenotaph" and was physically apprehended by police (*The Daily Mirror,* 11/11/1968).

This physical retaliation against deviants throughout the text sample arguably ensures that others considering breaking the traditional rules of the 1919 model's rituals would perhaps think twice

before committing to action due to the violent reception they would receive at the hands of ideal commemorators, or the reprimand administered by law enforcement officials.

7.3.4 Dominant Narratives: Concluding Thoughts

Texts from the text sample have thus far demonstrated how through discursive strategies deviants within dominant narratives are constructed, nominatively and predicatively naming them in negative ways, as well as showing how transitively their behaviour is often an act of desecration with regards to the traditional rituals of the 1919 model. Such behaviour violates the moral agency that the wider British public are believed to bear in relation to the suffering of military victims. Largely this moral agency, in relation to depictions of deviants, centres on the notions of paying respect to the war dead, which is seen to alleviate the suffering of the bereaved, and a refusal to contribute financially to relevant or 'official' charities in aid of the war living.

The likelihood of violent reaction to these behaviours also serves as a warning to potential future deviants and highlights the unpleasant consequences that may await them, in turn discouraging them from criticising or challenging the commemorative norm or attempting to recognise military victimhood in an unorthodox manner. Demonstrated once more is how the concept of military victimhood, as articulated within a dominant narrative, is central to commemorative discourse and influencing of the beliefs and behaviours of British social actors during Remembrancetide.

The following section of this chapter will deal with the second substantive theme concerning deviancy and counter-narratives. This section of the chapter will observe how the same events discussed above, namely the rituals of the 1919 model, are viewed and discussed by a different group of social actors who bear a radically different perspective; those who regard the commemorative norm as ultimately violating the original meaning behind the commemoration of the war dead in Britain since the end of the First World War. Here, notions of militarism and its role within the 1919 model arise in the text sample.

7.4 Deviancy and Counter-Narratives

So far, this chapter has established what specific behaviour is expected of British citizens during Remembrancetide, along with how discursive strategies are utilised by texts so as to influence social actors in adopting behaviour that would see them regarded as ideal commemorators. Through the overtly negative representations of deviants through nominative, predicative, and transitive methods, along with depictions of violence carried out against them, it can be argued that texts as part of a dominant narrative attempt to dissuade social actors from behaving in a manner which is critical of British commemorative practices of the 1919 model.

Whilst unity is an important component of mainstream depictions of commemorative rituals and their enactment in the text sample, the depiction of deviants within a dominant narrative is also functionally useful to those wishing for the ideological status quo to be maintained. Depictions of deviants within dominant narratives demonstrate how their perceived immoral and damaging behaviour is out of the ordinary and deplorable to the majority of British citizens, in turn reinforcing expected standards of behaviour. Largely, such depictions evoke the notion of the British citizen as a 'moral agent' within the suffering of military victims, capable of alleviating or, in the instance of deviants, contributing to this suffering via the manner in which they interact with commemorative practices (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). Also observed in the text sample is how depictions of deviancy within these dominant narratives can serve to reinforce notions concerning hierarchy, establishing which social actors are expected to perform specific duties, and in turn those who are not, especially during Remembrancetide.

However, this discourse produced and reproduced by national news media provides only one perspective on British commemoration, with other texts within the sample providing examples of differing perspectives on these same commemorative rituals, perspectives that are often provided by those who would otherwise be labelled as deviants within the dominant commemorative narrative. These texts, primarily obtained from the UKWA, and letters published in the three newspapers, highlight the existence of another form of deviant, that of the deviant as present within counter-narratives. These deviants as labelled within a counter-narrative are those social actors with access to power and wealth who are able to influence the production and reproduction of mainstream commemorative discourse. Such deviants are labelled by social actors relatively less powerful than them, and their depiction as deviant is mired within debates surrounding the potentially militaristic nature of the 1919 model, reflecting literature explored in Chapter Two.

Seen in the text sample here is evidence of Becker's (1963, p.15) assertion that the term deviant can equally be applied to "the people who make the rules" that deviants "had been found guilty of

breaking" within a dominant narrative. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, depictions of deviants within the text sample from both dominant and counter-narratives are deeply entwined with the issue of recognition of military victimhood. Within dominant narratives, the 'correct' way of demonstrating recognition takes the form of uncritical enactment of and participation in the rituals of the 1919 model, whereas this section of the chapter will demonstrate that within counter-narratives, deviants are labelled as such *because* of their upholding of these rituals which are seen to contribute to the production and reproduction of a militaristic ideology in Britain.

Unlike depictions of deviants within dominant narratives, that centre on negative nominative and predicative descriptions of social actors criticising or questioning the commemorative norm, depictions of deviants within counter-narratives are constituted primarily by transitive means, concerning who the actors and objects of an action are; there is a far less emotive or sensationalised approach by texts in their representation. This is not to say, however, that deviants in counter-narratives are not named in a negative manner, as there are some examples in the text sample where they are described as:

"grotesque… vultures" (*ARRSE*, 2006),

"distasteful and inappropriate" (*Sassoonery,* 2000),

"militaristic" (*PPU,* 2008).

Other discursive strategies are used by texts to demonstrate why the behaviour of certain powerful social actors, and the rules that they propagate, are inherently deviant without resorting to language intended to provoke an instinctive reaction from their audience. Within commemorative counter-narratives two specific subthemes arise, the first being behaviour that deviates from the initial anti-war sentiment behind the 1919 model, the second being the marginalisation and making invisible of specific groups of social actors during Remembrancetide. This chapter will now move on to discuss these two sub-themes, starting with the former.

7.4.1 Contexts of Commemoration and The Invisible Military Victim

Contextual information regarding the initial implementation and evolution of the 1919 model is featured in the majority of texts concerning deviants within counter-narratives. Seen in these texts is a high level of dialogisation, a process mentioned earlier in Chapter Four. Dialogisation refers to what degree the intertextuality of a text is highlighted and confronted, which allows a text's audience to deconstruct a specific discourse, in turn challenging assumptions about a topic and becoming "aware of competing definitions for the same things" (Holquist, 1981, p.427).

For example, dominant narrative texts, as explored above, depict the wearing of the white poppy as a deviant act, one that directly affects both the bereaved and the war living in a negative manner. Texts pertaining to counter-narratives provide far more contextual information on this practice, describing it as a symbol "for peace without violence" (*PPU,* 2001) which ultimately challenges the necessity of wars, as well as the fact that the wearing of one "goes all the way back to the 1920s" (*Surefish,* 2006), conceived of by " the wives, mothers, sisters and lovers of men who had died and been injured in World War One" (*PPU,* 2001). Texts less dialogical than those that interrogate and explain multiple perspectives on a single issue can ultimately facilitate a specific social reality by making invisible specific aspects of a discourse (Fairclough, 2003). In this instance, the less dialogical dominant narrative texts obscure contextual information concerning the white poppy so as to construe it as an immoral act, whereas digital texts with high dialogisation highlight how other alternative, or 'unofficial', forms of commemoration "emerged, both during and after" the First World War as a means to "express sadness rather than exhilaration" (*Sassoonery,* 2000).

One key aspect of commemorative discourse, and one of the driving forces behind the creation and implementation of the 1919 model's rituals, was the mantra of 'never again', a commitment to peace which would ensure that the First World War was indeed the war to end all wars. Inherently, then, the rituals of the 1919 model are anti-militaristic, and British commemorative practices in the wake of the 1918 Armistice sought to emphasise the suffering and grief that war entails as a warning against future wars (Winter, 1995), reflecting literature explored in Chapter Two which highlighted how militaristic ideals and values are largely mediated through an obscuring of war's power to victimise. However, within the text sample there is rare reference to this fact found in dominant narratives, with emphasis instead on the ensuring of the British public's uncritical enactment of commemorative rituals and practices. In contrast, there are multiple texts found in the UKWA that, whilst not strictly engaging in the labelling of deviants, provide contextual information that is absent from discourse in any of the three newspapers or other 'mainstream' texts.

For instance, websites from the UKWA deal with the issue of the First World War's initial commemoration in Britain, highlighting the conflict surrounding the repatriation of bodies, as well as historical opposition to specific developments concerning commemoration as militaristic. These texts open the door, so to say, to the labelling of deviants within counter-narratives, by providing their audiences with the necessary knowledge concerning the context of commemoration in Britain since 1918. This knowledge can then potentially lead to the labelling of deviants in other texts within the sample.

Mainstream commemorative discourse throughout the text sample often highlights the unity these rituals engender yet absent in texts thus far has been evidence of any rejection of these rituals at the point of their inception. Texts from the UKWA discuss in detail "a noisy storm of protest (erupting) against the (CWGC)'s policies" (*Sassoonery,* 2000) or disagreements concerning the form and location of particular memorials, such as there having been "many arguments between the town of Llanelli and Camarthen" over such issues in May 1921 (*Laugharne War Memorial,* 2008).

Digital texts also directly address the issue of militarism inherent within the rituals and practices of the 1919 model, as discussed above and throughout this thesis. For instance, highlighted by digital texts is that there exist those who wish "to see the sacrifice of the dead in terms of a victory and salvation of the world" (*Sassoonery,* 2000). In turn such texts highlight how the 1919 model serves to "mask the terrible reality of death in war", sanitising conflict through ritual by "'smothering' the unpleasant memories" (*Hellfire Corner,* 2008). Similarly, the PPU argue that commemorative ceremonies are utilising as a means of "glorifying militarism and justifying war", and such behaviour ultimately serves to "reaffirm the important, noble and heroic purpose of the military" (*PPU,* 2001).

Digital texts such as these again demonstrate high dialogicality, providing their audiences with information absent from mainstream discourse, which in turn allows them to challenge or deconstruct this discourse based on a more rounded understanding of a particular issue, in this case that of the history and motivations behind the enactment of the 1919 model's rituals, along with its potential ties to militarism.

Alongside this expanded context of commemoration, digital texts within the text sample also draw attention to a broader conceptualisation of military victimhood itself, making reference to victims of war otherwise absent from dominant narratives. For instance, soldiers "who paid the price through disfigurement" (*24 Hour Museum*, 2007), or who were otherwise wounded in an "(un)mentionable place" (*Hellfire Corner*, 2008) are addressed in digital texts when discussing military victims. Such reference to facial or otherwise 'unpalatable' wounds are not featured, for instance, in newspaper texts that are demonstrably components of the dominant commemorative narrative. In turn, digital

texts also acknowledge the existence of "volunteer soldiers" who have "become conscientious objectors", "conscripted" military actors (*PPU;* 2001), as well as bringing attention to the existence of "servicemen shot at dawn" (*Clark Home 58,* 2007*).*

Such texts suggest that there is a specific 'type' of military victim discursively featured within dominant commemorative narratives, one that obscures the more extreme examples of war's victimising power, or other unpleasant realities of military service, in favour of an image of military victimhood more in line with militaristic ideals and values that serve to glorify through sanitisation, rather than expose the violence and trauma inherent in conflict.

7.4.2 'Never Again': Violating the 1919 Model

While these highly dialogical texts provide information with which their audiences are able to deconstruct a specific discourse, seen in the text sample is evidence of certain behaviour that can be regarded as one step further, whereby social actors utilise this knowledge and label those with the power to produce and reproduce commemorative discourse directly as deviant; problematising their behaviour as it is seen to conflict with the initial purpose behind the 1919 model and ultimately bears ties to the concept of militarism. For instance, In 1928 an issue regarding soldiers carrying weapons at commemorative services is raised in the House of Commons. It is argued by a Mr Thurtle that soldiers "should parade for the Cenotaph ceremony on Armistice Day without arms" as he believed this is "a violation of the spirit and purpose of the ceremony" (*The Times,* 08/11/1928). He also argued that "the change will please very many people and offend none", highlighting how at this point in time the British public still held onto the belief that rituals of the 1919 model were primarily enacted to engender anti-war sentiments (*The Times,* 08/11/1928). Mr Thurtle is rebuked by a Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, who states that "the wearing of arms... had no militaristic significance whatsoever" and was "necessary to enable full military honours to be paid by living soldiers to their dead comrades", a statement approved by The House with a "subdued cheer" (*The Times,* 08/11/1928). Here, a specific component of militarism, as outlined earlier in this thesis, is present within this text; the carrying of arms during a military parade can be regarded as an 'excess' of the military and ultimately inessential to the enactment of rituals of the 1919 model, instead aiding in the romanticising and glorifying of war (Vagts, 1937).

In 2008, a letter published in *The Daily Mail* touches upon the issue of the purpose behind the 1919 model's rituals. As Britain prepared for the 90th anniversary of the Armistice, the letter's author laments the fact that "almost every week, soldiers are dying in Afghanistan" and that failure to

provide adequate support to the veterans of modern conflicts is "a betrayal to all those we remembered yesterday", referring to the issue of the initial purpose of the 1919 model as anti-war. The author also claims that this neglect is proof that "our servicemen and women are still lions led by donkeys" (*The Daily Mail,* 10/11/2008), referencing the famous British trope popularised after the First World War of ill-equipped and bumbling British elites in contrast to the heroic British soldier (Sheffield*,* 2001). Similarly, in a letter written to *The Daily Mirror* by a John Boulton in 2018, the issue of social elites betraying British war veterans is again raised. Boulton argues that despite "the establishment" commanding the public "respect" those whom the commemorative services are enacting in honour of, they themselves "pay lip service… merely empty words – slogans for selling militarism in support of dubious foreign policy" (*The Daily Mirror,* 09/11/2018).

On *The Army Rumour Service* (ARRSE) forum webpage, a website intended for usage by British ex-service personnel, the issue of the meaning behind the 1919 rituals is again brought into question. A user on the site's forum, in a thread discussing proposed plans by MPs in 2006 for the final First World War veteran to receive a state funeral, the "bad taste… of the current political class" is raised and described as "a grave disservice to the thousands who also served in that war" (*ARRSE,* 2006). Again, demonstrated here is how this issue of adequate or suitable respect needing to be paid to the victims of war is raised on both sides of the labelling of deviants, within both dominant and counter-narratives. The plans are further described in a manner which relates once again to the issue of militarism, whereby war is glorified through excesses such as parades and individual honours. It is,

"a stunt dreamed up by grandstanding politicians who hope to bask in the reflected glory of the deceased and the military escort and guard of honour" (*ARRSE,* 2006).

By violating the democratic nature of British commemorative practices, whereby all are supposed to be commemorated equally regardless of rank, class or ethnicity, politicians are accused of leaning into militaristic behaviour by attempting to glorify a singular social actor. As stated on the 'ARRSE' forum, such an act would "diminish the significance" of the traditional commemorative services and the respect paid to all other victims of war (*ARRSE,* 2006). To fundamentally alter the manner by which the war dead are commemorated is behaviour that this counter-narrative deems fit to be labelled as deviant, as it ultimately undermines the purpose behind the initial ideals underpinning the 1919 model's original sentiments of equal representation and attempts not to glorify war.

Texts taken from the PPU's website also discusses how the issues of militaristic sentiments within British commemorative services is an inadequate way with which to pay respects to victims of war,

arguing that official ceremonies "glorify militarism and justify war" (*PPU,* 2001), and "reinforce the view that war is acceptable and natural". This ultimately does a "disservice to the millions of volunteers and conscripts who died so that others would not have to fight in wars again" (*PPU,* 2001). The PPU also claims that anti-militarist views are "less acceptable to governments and those concerned with perpetuating dominant ideas in British society", arguing that it is those with the power to produce and reproduce commemorative discourse who are most concerned with ensuring elements of militarism remain within commemorative practices (*PPU,* 2001).

Throughout these texts the issue of respecting the victims of war is observed from a different perspective, whereby those with the power to initiate or end conflict, as well as to provide adequate care for its victims, are behaving in a deviant way by shirking their duty to observe tradition and clashing with the inherent anti-war and democratic sentiments of British commemorative practices. Observed here is how the depiction of deviants within both dominant and counter-narratives hinge in many regards on the issue of paying respect to war's victims and in what exact nature this respect must be expressed, showing how military victimhood is a key component to both sides of the militaristic debate surrounding British commemorative practices.

What sets the two apart, however, is the reliance of mainstream discourse on emotive and sensationalised language, along with the very real threat of violence, to ensure obedience with regards to the observance of commemorative norms. The issue of the victimhood of multiple groups by war is utilised by those labelling deviants as part of a dominant narrative as a buffer by which direct criticism of war itself is deflected and avoided. In contrast, those labelling deviants within a counter-narrative rely on the dialogisation of discourse so as to demystify the issue of militarism surrounding British commemorative discourse, and the use of violence is ultimately unavailable to these groups of social actors due to their relatively lesser power status in society.

7.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has demonstrated the role played by the notion of deviancy within the rituals of the 1919 model, and ultimately how military victimhood lies at the heart of depictions of deviants within both dominant and counter-narratives. As discussed in Chapter V, rituals are a powerful tool capable of influencing the beliefs and behaviours of its enactors, creating within social actors a willingness to conform (Visser, 1992; Bellah; 2005). Both Chapters Five and Six demonstrated how specific discursive constructions of military victims, namely the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living, within a context of British commemorative ritual serve to reinforce a

specific view of military victimhood. For instance, discursive depictions of the war dead focus on the heroism, bravery, and competence of British military actors, emphasising their masculinity and 'non'-victim status. In turn, the bereaved are depicted as primarily feminine social actors, typified by passivity and weakness, victimised by a powerful, external force. Depictions of these social actors reinforce normative views of gender found in literature concerning both militarism and victimology.

In turn, the war living exhibit traits associated with both the war dead and the bereaved, demonstrating their transient nature with regards to victimhood as ordained in reference to the ideal victim construct. Central to discourse concerning the war living in the text sample is the role of the British citizen as 'moral agent', as capable of alleviating or perpetuating the suffering of these military victims (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). This chapter has built upon this notion of the moral agent, demonstrating how discursive depictions of ritual 'rule breakers' ultimately serve to reinforce the notion that to participate uncritically in the rituals and practices of the 1919 model is the morally 'correct' form of behaviour, specifically during the period of Remembrancetide.

Such depictions of these deviants are central to dominant, or 'official', narratives of war and its commemoration in Britain, as evidenced by the text sample. Discursive depictions of these deviants within dominant narratives emphasise their reprehensible nature and many texts in the text sample go so far as to condone violent action taken against social actors unwilling to conform to the parameters of commemorative ritual, or who are openly critical of the 1919 model. These negative depictions emphasise the British public's moral agency and imply that such deviant behaviour ultimately contributes to the suffering of military victims. Be it the suffering of the bereaved, perpetuated by a lack of respect paid to the war dead, or that of the war living, who suffer further because of a lack of monetary donation to relevant charities. This depiction of the deviant within a dominant narrative ultimately serves to remind British social actors, the audiences of the text sample's texts, of their expected behaviour during Remembrancetide and within the rituals of the 1919 model.

In contrast to these dominant narratives, within the text sample there also exist counter-narratives, evidenced within texts obtained from the UKWA. Military victimhood similarly remains key to the depiction of deviancy within a counter-narrative, yet discursive strategies are employed in a subtly different manner. Here, the notion of intertextuality is acknowledged, and the dialogicality of texts exploited, demonstrating how a full representation of the context of the 1919 model is absent within dominant narratives, marginalising the dissenting views of certain social actors in favour of a curated image of unity and moral righteousness associated with the 1919 model's rituals and practices.

Ultimately demonstrated here is how "dominant and problematic discourses… can be challenged and critiqued" through the employment of these specific discursive strategies (Kirton, 2016, p.410).

Now that military victimhood as observable within the text sample has been fully constructed, with discursive depictions of the war dead, the bereaved, the war living, and the deviant presented, the following chapter will move forwards to draw upon this concept to present a much broader and critical analysis of the findings of this, and the previous two, chapters. Here, the potential relationship between military victimhood and the mediation of a militaristic ideology in Britain since 1918 will be explored and discussed in depth to reach a final conclusion regarding this thesis' two primary research questions.

Chapter Eight

Discussion:

British Military Victimhood and the Mediation of Militarism

8.1 Introduction

With specific reference to the literature explored in Chapters Two and Three, this chapter will discuss how the concept of military victimhood is constructed through discourse in a British commemorative context, as presented in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, can potentially contribute to a militaristic ideology via the glorification, normalisation, and justification of the waging of war and the engendering of specific behaviours, or in turn whether such constructions of military victimhood can challenge such notions. This potential role played by military victimhood in the mediating of such an ideology is central to this thesis, and the discussion in this chapter will address this thesis' two core research questions, ultimately contributing to knowledge concerning the literature surrounding militarism and its mediation, locating the concept of military victimhood within this field.

Mediated forms of militarism centre upon the perceived masculine heroic values of military actors and a heavily sanitised representation of war's violent reality (Mosse, 1990), ultimately distorting war's power to victimise. However, as explored in Chapters Two and Three, British commemorative practices, also capable of mediating militaristic ideals and values, ultimately hinge upon war's power to victimise, with focus placed in particular on the British war dead over the last century (Imber & Fraser, 2011). This seemingly paradoxical assertion serves as the focus of this thesis, and in turn this discussion chapter, which will explore the potential for depictions of military victimhood within a British commemorative context, endeavouring to establish whether or not such depictions have been capable of mediating the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology in Britain over the last century.

Taking these considerations into account, the methodological approach adopted by this thesis by which initial analysis has been undertaken, that of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), highlights the potential for discourse to aid in the production and reproduction of a specific social reality through the engendering of particular beliefs and behaviours within the audiences of said discourse (Van Dijk, 2001). CDA also assists in uncovering the role power plays in the production of a particular social reality, questioning the motives behind the production and reproduction of such discourse by

groups of social actors with access to such power (Richardson, 2007). Through the control of the production of discourse, and a specific social reality in turn, powerful groups are capable of manipulating the beliefs and actions of those less powerful, manufacturing consent, and ultimately legitimising a precise world view that serves their own interests (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018).

Through an examination of the analytical findings of the previous three chapters, this chapter will first examine how military victimhood is discursively constructed within the text sample, establishing a solid definition of the concept as observable within British commemorative discourse, addressing the first research question that this thesis is centred upon. Once this has been established, the chapter will then move on to critically assess how such discursive constructions of the concept have potentially enabled the mediation of militarism over the last century in Britain, in turn addressing this thesis' second research question.

In doing so, this discussion chapter will demonstrate how critical analysis of the text sample has enabled these questions concerning military victimhood and its potential role in the mediation of British militarism since 1918 to be answered.

8.2 Constructing Military Victimhood

The previous three chapters explored how representations of specific social actors with direct ties to the victimising power of war are discursively constructed within the text sample. Demonstrated is how British commemorative discourse in both print and digital texts highlights the existence of three distinct groups of social actors - the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living - who can be regarded as military victims, with each group having been impacted by war's power to victimise in one form or another, either directly or indirectly. In turn, a fourth group, referred to in this thesis as the deviant, are also highlighted as having their discursive constructions directly linked to representations of military victimhood, particularly the role of the wider British public as 'moral agents' in relation to the suffering of military victims (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018).

As demonstrated in Chapter Three of this thesis, in reference to the ideal victim construct, taken by this thesis as representative of normative social perspectives on the expected behaviour and characteristics of the victim, military victims are unlikely to be afforded the label of victim (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). The core tenets of the ideal victim construct ascertain that for a social actor to be successfully afforded the victim label, their vulnerability and culpability must be considered adequate with regards to their victimisation. Thus, an ideal victim is a social actor who is unable to defend themselves against their victimiser and also cannot be blamed for being in a situation that

led to their victimisation in the first place within this construct (Christie, 1986). Normative constructions of the victim characterise them in a feminine manner, as a weak and passive individual, meaning normative constructions of military personnel inherently clash with this depiction of the ideal victim, as soldiers are most often regarded as masculine individuals, typified by their heroism, bravery and capability in defending themselves, and in turn their ability to victimise others (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011).

Because of these mainstream perspectives, the military victim is left at the margins of such normative understandings of what constitutes a victim (McGarry & Walklate, 2015). While many depictions of military actors in the text sample adhere to such a perspective, it is also observed that military actors, who are often absent within narratives of ideal victimhood, are in fact afforded the victim label at specific points throughout the text sample. Within the context of British commemorative rituals and practices, enacted during the annual period of Remembrancetide, their military victimhood is articulated in an anomalous manner than can be seen to clash with normative understandings of the concept as explored in Chapter Three. Through this adherence to the ideal victim construct, military actors are often constructed discursively within the text sample in a way which undermines normative, traditional perspectives on the heroic soldier, instead serving to depict them as weak and passive individuals in need of access to social assistance that the affordance of the victim label grants (Fohring, 2018).

The following sub-section will discuss how discursive constructions of the war dead and the bereaved as found in the text sample relate to the ideal victim construct, and ultimately encourage specific beliefs and behaviours concerning military victimhood. Explored here will be how discursive strategies, such as nomination, predication, and transitivity, are employed within the text sample to depict each group as military victims, yet with significantly different outcomes based on the expected external recognition and social function of their victim status.

8.2.1 The Non-Ideal and the Ideal Dyad: The War Dead and The Bereaved

As suggested by literature explored in Chapter Two and Three, the British war dead are largely represented as heroic social actors within the text sample (Cooper & Hurcombe, 2009; McCartney, 2011; Phillips, Connelly & Burgess, 2020). Commemorative discourse emphasises their masculinity, in keeping with traditional, stereotypical understandings of the primary behaviour and characteristics of the British soldier. In turn, depictions of the bereaved likewise reinforce traditional stereotypes concerning the specific role of women within a military context (Basham, 2016).

With reference to the ideal victim construct, representations of the war dead can be seen to designate them specifically as 'non'-victims. Discursive strategies analysed in Chapter Five presented a particular depiction of the war dead that clashes with normative understandings of the victim's characteristics and behaviour. Firstly, nominative and predicative depictions of the war dead place them in direct contention with one of the core characteristics of the ideal victim, that of femininity typified by vulnerability and weakness. The referential strategies utilised in commemorative discourse most often define the war dead as male, with overt reference often made to their heroic or brave nature.

Perhaps most interestingly, transitive depictions of the war dead placed heavy emphasis on the notion that their deaths, the act in which they can be regarded as having been victimised, was in fact a willing act, thus placing the war dead as the agents rather than objects within the action of their victimisation. Their deaths are not described as being inflicted by a more powerful force but are instead described as a 'sacrifice', implying that their deaths were brought about as part of a willing choice and *not* as a result of their passivity in the face of war's victimising power. As explored in Chapter Three, alongside both vulnerability and weakness, passivity is a key characteristic in the designating of the victim label (Christie, 1986).

While the war dead can be regarded as 'real' victims in the sense that they were often subjected to violent trauma which led to their deaths, representations of their non-victimhood is instead facilitated by the fact that their 'real' victimisation, their death, is ultimately intangible, with representations of these social actors within the social arena being limited to the linguistic and semiotic, their deaths sanitised and extolled through religious rhetoric and in lapidary forms (King, 2010).

The reality of war, as explored in Chapters Two and Three, is one that facilitates mass victimisation (Jamieson, 1998), with traumatic experiences being commonplace on the battlefield (Grossman, 1995). However, within the text sample, any suffering endured by the war dead is out of sight, with linguistic constructions marginalising explicit reference to their suffering in favour of idealised heroism, again serving to further distance them from the concept of victimhood. Instead, suffering relating to their deaths ultimately belongs to another group of social actors, those secondary victims within the text sample referred to as the bereaved. 'Secondary' here refers to harm caused indirectly by a traumatic event (Spalek, 2006). In this instance, the traumatic event in question is the death of British military actors.

In direct opposition to the war dead, the bereaved are a group of social actors typified by their feminine characteristics and behaviour. Any suffering relating to the war dead is ultimately

associated with the suffering of the bereaved, who mourn the loss of loved ones killed in war, and who are regarded as 'deserving' or 'ideal' victims throughout the text sample. Because of these close ties, it can be asserted that the war dead and the bereaved share a dyadic relationship within British commemorative discourse; while the war dead's suffering is obscured, the suffering of the bereaved is instead foregrounded as they greave and mourn during the period of Remembrancetide.

Unlike the war dead, the passivity of the bereaved is highlighted throughout the text sample, who are seen only to express sadness and grief in mourning lost loved ones. Their emotional state and proneness to outbursts of grief are noted in the sample, with them being transitively positioned as the 'objects' of suffering. Because of such depictions, it can be confidently asserted than in reference to the ideal victim construct, commemorative discourse positions the bereaved as deserving of the victim label throughout the text sample.

The victimhood of the bereaved serves a social function, granting them access to specific social assistance that is intended to ultimately lessen their suffering (Fohring, 2018). The main form that this social assistance takes is a moral, rather than practical one, whereby 'respect' paid to the war dead is presented as an act that is capable of lessening the suffering and pain that the bereaved are subjected to. Here is demonstrated one of the key features of the dyadic relationship between the war dead and the bereaved. As discussed above, rhetoric surrounding the war dead extols their deaths as a righteous sacrifice; characteristics such as heroism and bravery are foregrounded in their discursive constructions within the sample, presenting to these text's audiences a particular image of a seemingly homogenous group of social actors whose deaths are legitimised; any potential suffering that they were subjected to during war is obscured.

The non-victimhood of the war dead afforded by such depictions in the text sample, which lean heavily into normative masculine ideals, is depicted in the text sample as serving a specific function, one directly relating to the suffering of the bereaved. Positioning the war dead as having fought in a legitimate war, one with tangible and valid purposes is enacted so as to alleviate the suffering of the bereaved. To suggest that the war in which the war dead were killed was particularly immoral or fought in vain is regularly described in the text sample as taboo behaviour, reflecting notions discussed in the relevant literature, which suggests that discussing the war dead in relation to victimisation is seen as not only as a "disservice" to them (Bushaway, 1992, p.161) but also as furthering the suffering of the bereaved, which was an act deemed "unpatriotic and/or disrespectful" (Kelly, 2020, p.14).

Here, the role of the wider British public as 'moral agents' is introduced in the text sample, demonstrating how recognition of a social actor as legitimately suffering plays a key role in the

affordance of the victim label (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). Commemorative discourse observed in the text depicts the war dead in a very specific way so as to directly contribute to the alleviation of the bereaved's suffering. The wearing of the Flanders Poppy, attending war memorial services and observing the two-minute silence for example are all regarded within the text sample as vital components in the affording of respect to the war dead and in turn alleviating the suffering of the bereaved. Military victimhood is thus central to these commemorative behaviours and the 1919 model more broadly, with discursive constructions of both the war dead and the bereaved playing a pivotal role in influencing the enactment of rituals and practices through an appeal to the wider British public's morality.

Depictions of the war dead and the bereaved, then, ultimately conform to normative perspectives on what constitutes the standard characteristics and behaviour of the ideal victim. The war dead are representative of the heroic and brave military actor, whose masculine characteristics and behaviour enable them to both defend themselves and to victimise others. Such discursive depictions negate the affordance of the victim label to the war dead within the text sample, while in contrast, the bereaved fulfil the necessary criteria of the ideal victim construct, discursively depicted as feminine social actors suffering at the hands of an external force beyond their control. To a large degree, constructions of military victimhood within the text sample concerning the war dead and the bereaved reflect understandings of the concept as presented in Chapter Three, reinforcing the notion that masculine social actors cannot be readily afforded the victim label due to preconceptions concerning masculinity and the enactment of violence, while feminine social actors can (Zalewski, 2017). Demonstrated here, then, is how the military victimhood of the war dead and bereaved adheres to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, with both groups occupying the position of masculine and feminine social actors within the construct, as non- and deserving victims respectively.

The following subsection will now move on to discuss the transient nature of the victimhood of the war living, who at different points throughout the text sample are depicted within commemorative discourse as both non- *and* deserving victims, exhibiting traits associated with both the war dead and the bereaved.

8.2.2 Transient Victims: The War Living

The war living, largely represented in the text sample as ex-servicemen physically or psychologically wounded as a result of their military service, do not fit easily into either of the aforementioned categories of the masculine military actor or the feminine bereaved, and at different points in the text sample are seen to exhibit characteristics and behaviour of both the non-ideal *and* ideal victim.

Echoed here are sentiments expressed in Chapter Three, whereby the identity of the military actor is one in constant fluctuation, heavily dependent on external factors (Layton, 1999; McCartney, 2011; Alker & Godfrey, 2016). Yet as this sub-section of the chapter will demonstrate, the external factors referenced in literature concerning military victimhood, that of specific conflict's and their perceived legitimacy, are not necessarily those encountered within discursive constructions of the war living within the text sample.

Being overwhelmingly identified as male social actors within the text sample, it would initially appear that as former military personnel the war living would be privy to similar treatment within commemorative discourse as is afforded to the war dead, that of masculine heroism and bravery. Like the war dead, nominatively the war living are male, yet predicatively, unlike the war dead, whose character is defined by heroism and bravery, at multiple points in the text sample the war living are depicted in a much more sympathetic manner. Their disability or state of destitution, for example, is often highlighted. Referential strategies serve to undermine the masculinity of the war living, a trait of the non-ideal victim, and in turn highlight their weakness and vulnerability, traits associated with the ideal or deserving victim.

Transitively, the war living are also largely depicted as the 'object' of actions, rather than the 'agent', which again highlights similarities between them and discursive constructions of the bereaved. Depictions of both their disability and destitution provide instances whereby the war living are victimised by external forces beyond their control. Disabled ex-servicemen, for instance, are subject to suffering as a consequence of both physical and psychological trauma inflicted during their military service. Similarly, destitution, itself often portrayed in the sample as being inflicted upon ex-servicemen as a consequence of their disablement, provides further examples of the war living being depicted as the objects of a transitive action. A lack of economic security means the war living also suffer, referential strategies construct an image of the destitute war living in poverty and desperation. The blamelessness of the war living is also highlighted within transitive processes, demonstrating their passivity, existing at the whims of other more powerful social actors than themselves, resulting in them not only having external forces pressed upon them, but also having a dependence upon assistance from the wider British public.

In relation to such suffering, the role of the British public, the audience of such discourse, is once more invoked within the text sample, with the 'moral agency' of such social actors foregrounded (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). Similar to the relationship between the British public and the victimhood of the bereaved, where the affordance of respect to the war dead is seen to impact upon their suffering, the actions of the British public are also seen to have direct consequences for the war living, particularly during Remembrancetide. However, here it is not only respect that is required, rather financial aid granted to the war living, as necessitated by their disablement and destitution. Primarily through the practice of buying and wearing a Flanders Poppy are the British public depicted as either alleviating or contributing to the suffering of the war living, as following the First World War it was through the voluntary charitable efforts of the British public that military veterans were supported and reintegrated into public life (Cohen, 2012).

Commemorative discourse found in the text sample highlights the influential role played by the British public in alleviating or contributing to the victimhood of the war living, as with the bereaved. The concept of a 'debt' is prevalent in the sample, owed by the public to military actors, which is to be paid not only through respectful enactment of commemorative rituals and practices, but also through active donation to causes associated with the war living. When British social actors do not conform to this specific behaviour, then they are said to contribute to such suffering, much in the same way that disrespect paid to the war dead is depicted as affecting the bereaved.

Yet while thus far this discussion has highlighted how discursive constructions of the war living often see them identified as social actors bearing characteristics and behaviours of the ideal victim, those of 'feminine' weakness and passivity, the transient nature of this group of military actors ultimately sees them afforded the label of non-victim at other points within the text sample. Rather than undermining normative perspectives on the identity of the British soldier, some depictions of the war living are also capable of reinforcing them. At these points in the text sample, the weakness and passivity of the war living is replaced with an emphasis on their resilience in the face of their disablement or destitution, with reference made to their bravery and courage, for instance.

In much the same manner as discursive depictions of the war dead, the war living are at certain points in the text sample capable of transcending their own victimisation, a process referred to as 'domestication' by Achter (2010). Rather than passively suffering because of their victimisation they are able to overcome such obstacles as disablement or destitution, be it through actions that negate the restrictions these states of being impose upon them outright, or simply through expressing emotions such as happiness or pride that ultimately challenge their depiction as individuals constantly in pain or discomfort. Invoked in such depictions is what is referred to as 'the veteran

spirit', which highlights the war living's selflessness and stoicism in the face of hardship, traits seen to embody the inherent nature of the British military actor. Such a spirit is seemingly what sets British military actors apart from conventional British social actors; demonstrating both their willingness to persevere against the odds and their overall selfless nature. In such instances in the text sample, depictions of the war living become almost interchangeable with those of the war dead, depicted as the ideal military actor within commemorative discourse, a non-victim, whose 'real' victimisation is ultimately obscured.

8.2.3 Military Victimhood Constructed

This section of the chapter has so far demonstrated how military victimhood is constructed within the text sample through an examination of the discursive depictions of three particular groups of social actors. Primarily, the discursive constructions of the war dead and the bereaved reinforce normative perspectives on what behaviour and characteristics constitute a victim, with the former typifying the traditional view of the British soldier as a masculine non-victim, and the latter representing the feminine social actor deserving of the victim label. In turn, discursive depictions of the war living straddle the line between these two representations, with evidence of military actors being both afforded and negated the victim label at different points within the text sample. Ultimately, when the victim label is applied to the war living, it is because their identity has been rearticulated to be more in line with normative perspectives on femininity, as a state of weakness and passivity, a process seen to primarily take place during the inter-war years within the text sample.

Overall, such constructions of military victimhood as evidenced through depictions of these three groups adhere to normative social perspectives of the victim, whereby it is social actors perceived as bearing feminine traits who are most likely to be afforded the victim label, with social actors exhibiting traditionally masculine traits marginalised and regarded as non-victims. It can be asserted, then, that through this observation of discourse within the text sample, military victimhood within a British commemorative context is largely constructed through an adherence to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, specifically in relation to assumed characteristics and traits of gender.

Literature concerning normative perspectives on the soldier as victim, however, has been subverted to some degree through these observations, demonstrating how within the context of British commemorative rituals and practices the transient nature of the war living's victim status hinges not on the perceived legitimacy of a conflict (Layton, 1999; McCartney. 2011; Alker & Godfrey, 2016),

but rather on particular social pressures relating to the prevalence of British ex-military actors within British society at specific points in history. Within this commemorative context, as discussed above in relation to discursive constructions of the war dead and the moral agency of the British public concerning the bereaved, critique of war is suppressed through direct reference to military victimhood. Thus, the assertion that it is when a war is viewed as "dubious or even shameful" (Layton, 1999, p.560) military actors are most likely to be viewed as victims cannot be legitimised based on discourse as observable in the text sample, with commemoration as practiced within the 1919 model largely engendering a depoliticised context.

These constructions of military victimhood inform the beliefs that can in turn facilitate both the production and reproduction of a specific social reality, one in which criticism of war is suppressed, and victimhood is afforded to social actors who exhibit feminine characteristics, while those exhibiting masculine characteristics are associated with the ideal military actor. The behaviour that such constructions of military victimhood can engender is demonstrated through the existence of a fourth group of social actors, that of the wider British public, who in the instance of the bereaved and the war living are depicted as being pivotal in either the alleviation or continuance of their suffering. Texts in the text sample, largely those taken from mainstream sources, appeal to the emotions of their audience, encouraging them to behave in a specific way that will aid in the lessening of such suffering, a way that ultimately involves uncritical enactment of rituals and practices of the 1919 model of commemoration. Be it offering respect to the war dead through participating in the two-minute silence or providing monetary aid for the war living through the purchase of a poppy, commemorative discourse in the text sample heavily emphasises the positive nature of such behaviour, and in turn the negative effects alternative behaviour can potentially have within the context of military victimhood.

As the next section of this chapter will now move on to explore, such beliefs and behaviours as advocated within this mainstream commemorative discourse ultimately results in the proliferation of a specific social reality that can serve to legitimise militaristic ideals and values within the everyday life of British citizens. Here, critical analysis of these discursive constructions will demonstrate how militaristic ideals and values can potentially be mediated through a carefully curated representation of military victimhood within a dominant commemorative context, as well as how counter-narratives present in non-mainstream texts can also serve to challenge this representation and the specific social reality it serves to engender.

8.3 Military Victimhood and the Mediating of Militarism

As discussed in Chapter Two, militarism has been mediated in Britain over the last century in a myriad of ways. Through popular culture mediums, such as film, television and literature, alongside news media, ideals and values that glorify, justify, and normalise the waging of war have been disseminated to the British public (Paris, 2000). These ideals and values centre largely on the sanitising and distorting of war's violent reality and subsequent power to victimise (Mosse, 1990), whilst also reinforcing traditional gender norms (Basham, 2016). And while this distortion of war's victimising power underpins most of the ways in which British militarism has been mediated over the last century, Chapter Two highlighted how commemorative practices are also capable of disseminating militaristic ideals and values in spite of their implicit acknowledgement of war's power to victimise, with emphasis placed on the existence of groups such as the war dead (Pennell, 2020). With this in mind, it must also be reasserted that such practices of a commemorative nature are also capable of influencing how the British population ultimately regards military institutions and their activities (Basham, 2016), influencing their beliefs and behaviour.

Now that these varied constructions of military victimhood within the text sample have been demonstrated in reference to their compatibility or incompatibility with the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, this following section will build upon these analytical findings, taking this analysis one step further so as to critically assess the potential relationship between these constructions and a militaristic ideology in Britain over the last century. Demonstrated here will be how the concept of military victimhood as seen in the text sample both challenges and reinforces militaristic ideals and values through specific representations of social actors with direct ties to the victimising power of war, depending upon the narrative in which it is employed. Core to the methodological approach adopted by this thesis, that of CDA, are the concepts of ideology and power which will also be examined, addressing how the use of specific discourse potentially enables both the production and reproduction of a specific social reality.

To begin with, the connection between a militaristic ideology and the military victimhood of the war dead and the bereaved, before moving on to that of the war living, will be discussed, serving to demonstrate how particular discursive representations of the victimisation of military actors can contribute to the sanitising and distortion of war's violent reality.

8.3.1 Militarism, The War Dead, and The Bereaved

As discussed above and in previous analysis chapters, the war dead fail to be afforded the label of victim due to their discursive depiction within the text sample. Rather than being weak or passive social actors, the war dead instead have their perceived heroism, bravery, and ultimately their capability to defend themselves and inflict violence upon others emphasised. Because of this, within normative victimological understandings of the concept of the victim, the war dead are regarded as non-victims, or non-ideal. They are not individuals who require sympathy, nor social assistance, despite the fact that they are social actors who have ultimately been killed, they are 'real' victims. Their deaths, as also discussed earlier, are portrayed specifically as 'sacrifices' within the text sample, thus any semblance of passivity is circumvented, granting the war dead agency within the act of their demise. Of all three groups of social actors present in the text sample with ties to military victimhood, it is these discursive representations of the war dead that contribute most to the outright glorifying, justifying, and normalising of war.

Such constructions of the war dead resonate most closely with the established literature produced concerning militarism and commemorative practices. Demonstrated through these depictions is their power to distort and sanitise war's realities. Specific referential strategies utilised in the text sample concerning the war dead are capable of separating the act of commemoration from that of the military violence that ultimately necessitates such practices in the first place, with specific language employed which conveys "no reality" of conflict, instead seeing it "applauded as glorious" (Harrison, 2012, p.13). Similarly asserted by Basham (2016), rearticulating the war dead as 'the fallen' or their deaths as 'sacrifices' serves to sanitise and distort war's reality within this commemorative setting. Evident in such depictions of the war dead are also elements of Mosse's (1990) concept of 'the myth of the war experience', which presents a highly sanitised view of warfare and the experiences of military actors within it. This 'myth' contributes to the sanitisation of war, providing to its audience a view of conflict that emphasises potential glory to be had in conflict while simultaneously obscuring its power to victimise.

Depictions of the war dead in the sample ultimately emphasise their unsuitability for the label of victim, distorting the reality of their deaths which in turn enables the sanitisation of war itself. Their depictions as overtly masculine protectors highlights their heroism and bravery, reinforcing mainstream ideas concerning the core characteristics and behaviour of the British soldier, as a powerful social actor capable of defending themselves as well as victimising others (Segal, 2008).

On the other hand, as explored earlier in this chapter, discursive constructions of the bereaved highlight rather than distort war's potential to victimise. Referential and transitive strategies utilised

across texts in the text sample emphasise the suffering endured by those British social actors who have lost loved ones during times of war. Their pain, while emotional and not physical, is still stressed greatly within commemorative discourse, and this suffering contributes to the affordance of the victim label to the bereaved. They are passive in the face of this suffering, unable to have saved or protected their loved ones, and cannot be blamed for their suffering in turn. With what has been explored concerning a militaristic ideology already in this thesis, it would make sense to regard such depictions of suffering as challenging or undermining the core ideals and values of such an ideology, which serve to distort and sanitise the violent reality of war. However, an import aspect of these discursive constructions of the bereaved is a focus on their perceived femininity. Such normative depictions of victimhood serve to reinforce the core values and ideals of a militaristic ideology, as they both normalise and justify the waging of war by masculine social actors and the domesticity of feminine ones. In short, the image of the feminised bereaved does not serve to undermine a militaristic ideology, because they in themselves help shape the core ideals and values of militarism itself, reinforcing gender roles within conflict (Basham, 2016).

A very specific image of the feminine social actor during times of conflict is perpetuated by newspaper discourse in particular within the text sample. As mentioned already in this thesis, both the war dead and the war living are largely referred to as male social actors, in contrast to the bereaved who are referred to as mothers, grandmothers, and wives, ultimately marginalising the experiences of feminine military actors (Enloe, 1983; Gillis, 1994). Instead, the feminine experience of war is relegated to a domestic role. Such depictions echo sentiments expressed within the literature surrounding this topic, whereby war is reinforced through commemorative practices as enacted by masculine social actors who "necessarily make sacrifices for the feminised 'protected'" (Basham, 2016, p.883).

Such narrow depictions of feminine social actors in relation to war within the text sample directly contrast developments in historical understandings of the subject. Literature produced over the last century has demonstrated that "war is no longer seen as an arena of masculinity" (Andrews & Lomas, 2017, p.523), highlighting the contribution of feminine social actors to British war efforts, yet within the text sample reference to such knowledge is absent. Here is demonstrated the low dialogicality of texts within the dominant commemorative discourse, meaning to what degree a text relies on established consensus on a specific topic, purposefully obscuring competing definitions (Holquist, 1981), ultimately presenting a view of war that ignores broader understandings in favour of a particular, narrow interpretation. This marginal understanding of gender and conflict within Britain over the last century arguably contributes to this militaristic ideology, reinforcing false notions that the role of women during war in Britain has always been that of domestic 'worrier' in

contrast to the male 'warrior' (Yuval-Davis, 1997), perpetuating "white male-dominated…
discourses" concerning war commemoration (Danilova & Dolan, 2019, p.243).

Temporally speaking, the bereaved primarily feature throughout the first half of the text sample,
highlighting how changes in the way war itself is waged has changed drastically over the last century,
with large-scale citizen armies found in the first half of the 20th Century replaced in the modern era
by small, professional forces (Shaw, 1991). As a result, the number of bereaved individuals relating
to military actors has reduced drastically during this period, and this is reflected in the text sample,
with reference to the bereaved becoming far rarer in the latter stages of the text sample. Yet,
despite such an absence, the behaviour expected of British social actors, as outlined through
commemorative discourse in the text sample, remains beyond the presence of the bereaved in the
British population, demonstrating how such discourse retains the power to influence the beliefs and
behaviours of British social actors beyond its intended social function.

It is pertinent to again refer here to Imber and Fraser's (2011) assertion that the practices of the
1919 model engender beliefs and behaviours that are rooted within a particular time and place, but
are ultimately passed from generation to generation, irrespective of changing societal contexts.
These beliefs and behaviours have demonstrably become engrained within British social practices,
specifically during Remembrancetide, as part of this "unthinking remembrance" (Kidd & Sayner,
2018). Visible here, in depictions of the victimhood of the war dead and the bereaved, is how
discourse enacted over such an extensive period of time ultimately results in a common consensus,
one that perpetuates ideas concerning the reality of war and the necessary gender of those who
fight in them.

8.3.2 Militarism and The War Living

In contrast to the war dead and the bereaved, who are representative of both the non- and
deserving or ideal victim respectively within commemorative discourse, it cannot be asserted that
the war living occupy a static space inside the concept of military victimhood, as evident within
discourse observable within the text sample. The war living's victim status is transient in nature, with
these social actors being afforded the status of both deserving and non-victim at different points
over the last century, dependent on the social context in which such status is applied. In instances
where the victim label is afforded to the war living, similarities between their discursive depictions
and those of the war dead are clear, and ultimately contribute to the perpetuation of a militaristic
ideology.

Thus, discourse found within texts produced in the first half of the 20th Century largely serves to represent the war living as feminised victims in need of social assistance, as it was during this period that a marked shift "in both the visibility and treatment" of disabled veterans was seen due to their sheer number following the First World War (Verstraete, Salvante & Anderson, 2015, p.2). This discourse concerning disability in particular naturally serves to undermine normative views of heroism and bravery as connected to military service, instead seeing them replaced with notions of weakness and passivity. The war living during these specific periods, in need of charitable aid, are depicted as sympathetic, exhibiting weakness and passivity, thus locating them as deserving victims so as to appeal to the text's audience emotionally and to encourage them to donate to their cause.

In relation to the perpetuation of a militaristic ideology, it can be suggested that such depictions of the feminised ex-serviceman serve to challenge the core ideals and values of such dogma. The expected characteristics and behaviour of the military actor are hereby undermined, presenting to a text's audience the realities of conflict which mediators of militarism so often distort. The war living are representative of war's potential to victimise; as discussed above, discursive constructions of the war living largely focus on their physical suffering as a result of wounds received during military service, and in turn the destitution that these debilitating injuries incur. In stark contrast to the heroism extolled in depictions of the war dead in the text sample, and in other instances the war living themselves, commemorative discourse here serves as a reminder of war's power to victimise, rather than its more supposedly glorious aspects.

However, as explored in Chapter Six, and in the previous section of this chapter, the victimhood of the war living can often be rearticulated as a state that rather than inflicting suffering upon them, is ultimately something that can be transcended, or 'conquered' (Strand, 2018). These discursive depictions of the war living emphasise their bravery in much the same vein as depictions of the war dead, and discredit notions of victimhood that can potentially challenge the core ideals and values of militarism (Cree & Craddick, 2020). Undertaken within commemorative discourse is what Bourke (1996) refers to as 'curative work', whereby very specific depictions of disabled ex-servicemen are presented so as to emphasise characteristics most often associated with military actors, which in turn obscure their suffering as a result of their military victimhood.

As with discursive constructions of the war dead, such depictions of the war living as being capable of transcending their victimhood through sheer will and determination also contributes to the image of the British military actor overall as "heroic" (Powell, 2019, p.108), an image which ultimately undermines their suitability for the label of victim. For instance, in the wake of the First World War,

many official narratives sought to "(shape) the identity of the soldier as a self-healing machine" in attempts to move away from the image of them as "helpless dependents" (Reznick, 2000, p.185).

And within these depictions of the victimised ex-serviceman there is still present a very specific 'type' of military victim who is depicted, one that ultimately serves to some degree to continue the sanitisation of war's realities by distorting the extent of the victimisation of the war living. Here attention is again brought to the concept of dialogicality, the extent to which competing definitions for a specific topic are acknowledged within a given text (Fairclough, 2003; Smith, 2013). While disabled and destitute ex-servicemen are heavily featured in the sample, it is specifically those who represent a precise version of the war living who are foregrounded within dominant commemorative narratives, those who do not bring excessive attention to their victimhood, and who are willing to uncritically enact the expected behaviours of Remembrancetide.

As stated by Powell (2019, p.104), it was the ex-serviceman who was "chirpy and uncomplaining" who received most attention from the media following the First World War. Those whose victimhood had resulted in intense depression, or who expressed bitter sentiments, were rarely seen in the media due to their contradiction of the favoured representation of the ex-serviceman as ultimately proud of their service, as discussed above (Powell, 2019). Similarly, in a sporting event such as the Invictus Games, only those disabled ex-servicemen with the "right" disabilities and the "right" kind of response to it are made visible, with those who remain in a 'broken' state made invisible (Kelly, 2020, p.14).

The war living also play an integral role in the practical enactment of commemorative practices, as evidenced in the text sample by their involvement in and attendance at events such as military parades. Here is demonstrated a component of militarism which Vagts (1936) referred to as the 'excesses' of the military; events and actions that do not strictly contribute to the scientific waging of war, and instead serve to elevate and heroicise the military actor. Examples can be observed throughout the text sample, such as those ex-servicemen who "march bravely" (*The Times,* 12/11/1938) and "proudly" (*The Daily Mail,* 09/11/1998) at military parades, expressing "pride for their efforts" (*The Daily Mirror,* 12/11/1998) made during their military service.

Absent within such depictions are those of the war living who criticise and refuse to participate within official forms of commemoration, those of the 1919 model. As asserted by Todman (2005, p.188), "important elements of ex-servicemen's experiences were obscured in public remembrance", with many of the war living in the wake of the First World War for example wishing to celebrate the Armistice rather than enact rituals and practices centred on the concept of mourning for example. Within veteran groups such sentiments could be expressed, but within

dominant commemorative narratives in Britain such representations are marginalised, with focus placed only on those of the war living willing to participate in official services represented within commemorative discourse. And as discussed above, discourse surrounding such commemorative rituals and practices ultimately engender militaristic beliefs within their enactors, suggesting that marginalising potential critique further serves to reinforce and legitimise such acts to an audience.

Demonstrated here is how, despite the contradiction seemingly inherent in depictions of victimhood potentially serving to perpetuate a militaristic ideology, one that relies on war's victimising power being obscured, military victimhood is still utilised within commemorative discourse in a manner that sanitises war. Perhaps this sanitisation cannot be carried out to the same degree as with other mediators of militarism, as ultimately victimhood cannot be entirely ignored within practices that centre upon the notion, but selective depictions of this victimhood can ultimately reinforce militaristic notions to some degree and reflect efforts by the producers of discourse in depicting a highly selective view of the concept (Pennell, 2020).

Observable here is the potential for discourse to present a specific social reality to an audience; in this instance a social reality in which those victimised by war are capable of transcending such victimhood because of their innate masculine characteristics, or in turn are unsurprising victims due to their femininity and thus do little to undermine normative views on the military and the waging of war. Such discourse demonstrates many similarities between the core beliefs within both normative victimological and militaristic perspectives.

8.3.3 Moral Agents: The Deviant and Dominant Narratives

Thus far, the manner by which discursive representations of military victims can perpetuate a militaristic ideology has been demonstrated. Shown here is how carefully constructed depictions of specific victimised social actors can ultimately contribute to specific beliefs concerning war, contributing to its glorification, justification, and normalisation. However, another important aspect of discourse within the text sample is that which concerns the wider British public and their behaviour. As stated in Chapter Three, within the process of affording the victim label, the recognition of external social actors is exceptionally important (Strobl, 2006). Military victimhood, as present in the text sample, is discursively constructed in a specific manner which affords the victim label to some social actors and not to others. The use of precise language, and the utilising of specific discursive strategies, is tooled towards eliciting a specific reaction from a text's audience, a reaction concerning this affording of the victim label.

As demonstrated above, such depictions of victimisation bring attention to the role of the wider British public during the period of Remembrancetide; once more that of 'moral agent', as someone who is not simply an observer of military victimhood, but as someone who is directly responsible for either alleviating the suffering of military victims, or ultimately contributing to it (Bosma, Mulder & Pemberton, 2018). Depictions of suffering bereaved or ex-servicemen are not simply constructed so as to solely incite feelings of sympathy within the audience of such text's but are also utilised so as to inspire a specific form of behaviour as a result. Throughout the text sample the role of the British social actor in the potential alleviating or contribution to the suffering of military victims is emphasised. Concepts of a 'debt' owed to them also reflects such discourse concerning the necessity of paying respects to the war dead so as to avoid further upsetting the bereaved.

Constructions of social actors who are regarded as 'deviant' within the text sample contribute heavily to the production and reproduction of a specific social reality, one in which the normalisation and justification of specific social practices with close ties to key ideals and values of a militaristic ideology are perpetuated. These constructions are heavily linked to the concept of military victimhood. As explored in Chapter Five, the power of ritual is capable of encouraging uncritical behaviour within its participants, creating an unwillingness in them to deviate from this designated 'normal' behaviour (Visser, 1992). As explored above, this behaviour concerns military victimhood and the moral agency of the wider British public, emphasising their potential to either limit or intensify the suffering of military victims. Those 'ideal commemorators', who adhere to the behaviours encouraged by commemorative discourse, have their behaviour discursively constructed so as to highlight their role in aiding military victims.

However, as explored in Chapter Seven, there exist British social actors who do indeed behave in a manner which deviates from the commemorative norm, and within dominant commemorative narratives, largely evident within newspaper texts, these social actors are branded as deviants. As asserted by Becker (1963) such individuals and their behaviours are not inherently 'wrong', rather they are deviant as constructed in the eyes of others, in this instance through the eyes of those subscribing to a dominant commemorative narrative.

In the particular context of the text sample, the construction of deviance within such a dominant narrative hinges on normative ideas concerning the perceived necessity of British social actors to enact commemorative rituals and practices of the 1919 model. The specific behaviour of British social actors is influenced by the use of discursive strategies, as already established, manipulating them to conform to certain actions and to in turn avoid others. The actions that British social actors are shepherded towards, packaged in the discourse as morally 'correct', ultimately engender an

unquestioning and uncritical enactment of commemorative practices of the 1919 model, which provides a sanitised and decontextualised view of war over the last century (Imber & Fraser, 2011). This decontextualisation provides an ahistorical perspective on war, one that fuses controversial wars such as those fought in Iraq and Afghanistan with a 'good' war such as the Second World War, "blurring most of their respective distinguishing features" (Kelly, 2020, p.11) and serving to glorify British military actors, in turn obscuring war's power to victimise (Harrison, 2012).

Commemorative discourse influences beliefs concerning military victimhood, asserting that it is morally correct to regard specific social actors as military victims. Within the text sample, texts containing dominant commemorative narratives not only encourage social actors to behave in a specific way which affords respect to designated military victims, but as seen in Chapter Seven, also how to behave *towards* deviant social actors. Throughout the text sample there are numerous instances in which violent action towards deviants is explicitly and implicitly promoted by texts, both verbally and physically. Discursive constructions of the deviant enable such behaviour by ideal commemorators, enforcing the idea that adherence to the 1919 model's rituals and practices must also be enacted alongside the regulating of others' behaviours. Notable here is Noakes' (2015, p.332) assertion that commemorative practices in Britain can be "widely policed, both formally and informally".

Discursively, the deviant is constructed in a particular manner, one which largely dehumanises and vilifies them through the application of van Dijk's (1998) 'ideological square', creating an 'us' vs 'them' narrative and thus enabling violence against them enacted by ideal commemorators. Deviants are nominatively and predicatively depicted negatively, as "wickedly blasphemous" (*The Daily Mail,* 12/11/1928) and "grotesque" (*The Daily Mail,* 08/11/1948) for example, while their actions are transitively constructed with the implication that their behaviour contributes to the suffering of military victims again in reference to the British public's moral agency concerning military victimhood. Be it through a lack of respect shown to the war dead, which negatively impacts the bereaved, or through a refusal to wear a poppy, which is seen to deprive the war living of necessary monetary income.

These referential and transitive strategies ultimately centre on military victimhood, further demonstrating how this concept can be utilised as a tool within commemorative discourse to influence the beliefs and behaviours of British social actors, encouraging them to enact the rituals and practices of the 1919 model uncritically, lest they be cast in the same negative light. As established earlier in this chapter, these rituals and practices centre on depictions of military victims which can ultimately contribute to a militaristic ideology. Depictions of the deviant, with specific

relation to military victimhood, can in turn be regarded as contributing to the mediation of this ideology. However, as also explored in Chapter Seven, representations of deviancy are not limited to those texts which subscribe to dominant commemorative narratives. Counter-narratives, found largely within digital texts acquired from the UKWA, present deviancy in a different light. This deviancy relates again to military victimhood but ultimately concerns differing perspectives on the rituals and practices of the 1919 model. As the following sub-section will demonstrate, texts supporting such counter-narratives highlight the intertextuality of texts, and are thus highly dialogical, exposing the manner by which a militaristic ideology has been perpetuated in Britain over the last century through the use of commemorative discourse, highlighting invisibilities within this discourse that ultimately present a broader and more inclusive construction of military victimhood.

8.3.4 Challenging War: Military Victimhood and Counter-Narratives

Thus far, this section of the chapter has demonstrated how discursive representations of military victimhood have ultimately served to reinforce militaristic notions in Britain over the last century. Through particular discursive constructions of social actors such as the war dead, the war living, and the bereaved, the realities of war's inherent violence and power to victimise are ultimately mitigated; war is glorified and justified through discourse that extolls the heroism and righteousness of military actors, while gender roles are normalised through the use of discursive strategies that make invisible female contributions to British war efforts over the last century. And alongside these representations, discourse also serves to influence the behaviour of British social actors in relation to this military victimhood, encouraging enactment of rituals and practices that afford respect to military actors, ultimately stymying critique of war itself by positioning British social actors as moral agents, whose actions have the potential to worsen the suffering of these military victims through such a refusal to adhere to the expected beliefs and behaviours of the 1919 model.

Yet while the majority of texts examined subscribe to this specific social reality, in which military victimhood is recognised in a particular manner which ultimately foregrounds the experiences of a select few social actors and contributes to a militaristic ideology, there are present in the text sample both print and digital texts which challenge such notions. Such discursive representations of military victimhood are an integral part of counter-narratives, as explored in Chapter Seven, which challenge dominant narratives found largely within newspaper and other mainstream media texts within the text sample. As discussed above in relation to discursive representations of the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living, alongside their relationship to the wider public/deviant, this dominant commemorative narrative normalises a very particular recognition of military victimhood.

This recognition entails the enactment of specific behaviour that ultimately reinforces the notion that to pay respect to military victims is the correct way to behave, by lauding those who conform and vilifying those who do not. In turn, counter-narratives challenge this idea that commemorative rituals and practices of the 1919 model should be regarded as ordinary and 'right', thus immune to criticism.

Through extensive utilisation of the discursive tools of both intertextuality and dialogisation, already explored above, texts associated with anti-militarist counter-narratives uncover and foreground latent invisibilities and lexical absences (Machin & Mayr, 2012) within British commemorative discourse, demonstrating how specific social actors and historic events are marginalised within dominant commemorative narratives. By exposing such invisibilities, texts supporting these counter-narratives ultimately provide their audiences with information capable of expanding their understanding of how the concept of military victimhood is utilised within dominant narratives in a very specific way; a way that intends to influence their behaviour and beliefs in a manner that enables the perpetuation of a militaristic ideology.

Key to depictions of commemorative rituals and practices of the 1919 model within dominant narratives is the supposed 'unity' that such enactment engenders. As discussed in Chapter Five, the idea that millions of British citizens uncritically gather each year to observe acts such as the two-minute silence or the buying of a poppy further serves to legitimise these acts, informing beliefs concerning a common consensus regarding the morally correct way to behave during Remembrancetide, particularly in relation to military victimhood (Stoddart, 2007).

In contention with such a view, texts found in the text sample which are part of a counter-narrative highlight the tumultuous history of war commemoration in Britain. These findings evidenced within the text sample particularly reflect the work of Noakes (2015), whose research into the social survey organization Mass Observation (MO) highlighted the disunity present among British social actors during Remembrancetide specifically during the period of 1937-1941. Noakes (2015, p.336) highlights the varied attitudes to commemoration among British social actors, with some regarding the rituals and practices of the 1919 model as "worn out" or disingenuous because of the looming Second World War, and many only participating because of "a sense of duty, or tradition".

Through reference to intertextuality and subsequent dialogicality, present particularly within digital texts are sites of contestation that enable the demystifying of the dominant commemorative narrative, exposing how such unity is ultimately a fiction. Highlighted in the text sample is animosity that existed between groups such as the bereaved and the British Government's plans for the commemoration of the war dead, particularly concerning their potential repatriation. As well as

disagreements between towns concerning the nature, form, and location of civic war memorials. Also provided within digital texts is contextual information concerning 'deviant' activities, such as the wearing of the white poppy, highlighting its history as a symbol of a commitment to peace initially conceived of by social actors belonging to groups such as the bereaved and the war living.

Demonstrated here is how despite discourse found within the dominant British commemorative narrative presents a largely ahistorical view of British commemoration over the last century, digital texts show, through the highlighting of intertextuality and the subsequent dialogising of texts, that within Britain over the last century there has been a "profound lack of consensus" (Noakes, 2015, p.344) concerning the ultimate meaning behind commemoration and its enactment. Here, attention is drawn to the fact that the commemoration of military victims in Britain is packaged within the dominant commemorative discourse in a highly streamlined manner, excluding historical examples of discontent among British social actors, and instead depicting the enactment of these rituals and practices as being unanimously regarded as legitimate and non-problematic acts of ritual.

Alongside this exposure of a lack of consensus among British social actors concerning commemoration, rather than unity, counter-narrative texts also directly address the issue of militarism inherent within the enactment of the rituals and practices of the 1919 model. Highlighted is the potential glorifying, normalising, and justifying of war in contrast to the initial commitment to peace that the 1919 model represented, bringing attention to this inconsistency. One way that this exposure is achieved is when texts belonging to counter-narratives bring attention to how specific 'types' of military victim are represented discursively within dominant narratives, specifically evident within discursive constructions of the war living as victims. Echoed here is Andrews' (2019) assertion that British remembrance can be highly selective, with not all victims of war commemorated.

Because of their potential to undermine militaristic ideals and values by foregrounding war's victimising power, only depictions of the 'correct' ex-serviceman are present within the dominant commemorative narrative, limiting to some degree the damage that such depictions can potentially entail. Within dominant commemorative narratives, those of the war living, for example, who received extremely debilitating injuries such as facial disfigurement or severe psychological affliction, were less likely to participate in commemorative practices and in turn feature in mainstream media, with those closest to their "original state" more likely to be "accepted" (Powell, 2019, p.104). Such a carefully curated depiction of the war living ensures that any potential undermining of militaristic sentiments is limited, while wider recognition of their military victimhood is attained and their access to social assistance ensured.

And while this limited depiction of the victimhood of the war living is present within newspapers texts in the text sample, digital texts present a much broader depiction of military victimhood, demonstrating how narrow a representation of the concept is present with dominant commemorative narratives. Digital texts foreground the experiences of social actors with ties to military victimhood who are ultimately marginalised within dominant commemorative discourse present in the text sample. Such social actors as ex-servicemen-turned-conscientious objector, facially disfigured ex-servicemen, and British soldiers executed during the First World War, are present in digital texts that support counter-narratives surrounding British commemoration and military victimhood. These representations do not shy away from the explicit reality of warfare and the manner by which it affected the lives of soldiers, for example providing information on those "who survived war but paid the price through disfigurement" (UK Museums, 2007) who are absent from the newspaper texts.

Similarly, reference made to conscripted British soldiers within digital texts also serves to undermine notions of war as glorious. During the First World War in Britain, for example, the "horrendous casualties on the Western Front" led to a shortage in volunteers that was "so alarming that conscription became inevitable" (Taylor, 2003, p.193). By 1918 and the war's end, over one million men had been conscripted (Robb, 2002), with one and a half million conscripted in 1939 alone during the opening year of the Second World War (Keegan, 1989). Such reference to conscription ultimately brings into question victim culpability, a core tenet of the ideal victim construct, throwing uncertainty on how *willing* the sacrifices of British military actors truly were (Christie, 1986).

As discussed above, alongside their perceived masculinity and competence, transitive depictions of the war dead which position them as having died willingly, as part of a sacrifice on behalf of the nation, underpin their affordance of the 'non'-victim label, with reference here to the ideal victim construct (Christie, 1986). Such an acknowledgement of the existence of conscription and conscripted British soldiers undermines the homogenous depiction of the British war dead within the dominant commemorative narrative, which idealises their 'sacrifice' as endemic of their heroism and bravery, and ultimately grants them agency in their demise. Without this agency as a consequence of conscription, there is a risk that British military actors can be deemed passive in the act of their deaths, that such an act was not made willingly but was beyond their control (Gee, 2014), thus better enabling the affordance of the deserving, rather than non-, victim label to them, which in turn sees the fundamentals of militarism challenged.

As well as conscripts, British soldiers executed for perceived cowardice during the First World War, are absent from the dominant commemorative narrative in the text sample, demonstrating how a

practice that ultimately depicts warfare as a far from enjoyable experience is once more erased. Such marginalisation within the text sample reflects wider studies of British commemorative practices. For example, Brooks' (2022, p.35) analysis of the National Arboretum asserts that the *Shot at Dawn* memorial is "near-invisible within the broader landscape" in contrast to other memorials that commemorate more 'palatable' historical events, such as the evacuation of Dunkirk. Depictions of events and those social actors associated with them that ultimately do not conform to normative notions concerning the British military are pushed to the margins, obscuring incidents such as the execution of over 300 men for perceived 'cowardice' "under disgraceful circumstances" (Brooks, 2022, p.38).

Ultimately, demonstrated through this use of intertextuality and dialogicality is how texts within counter-narratives are capable of critiquing and challenging the mediation of militaristic ideals and values by demystifying discourse surrounding the dominant British commemorative narrative (Kirton, 2016). Such texts highlight inconsistencies and inaccuracies within this narrative, providing their audiences with the means to critically understand the issue of militarism as inherent within commemorative practices of the 1919 model.

8.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated how the concept of military victimhood has largely served to reinforce dominant narratives concerning military actors and war in Britain over the last century, with discursive constructions of military victims adhering to normative victimological perspectives concerning the victim's vulnerability and culpability. Building upon the previous analysis chapters, demonstrated is the complexity of the concept of military victimhood, which encompasses a varied number of social actors and serves as a core component of British commemorative practices. Outside of the definitions explored in Chapter Three, the concept as present in the text sample encompasses experiences beyond just those of military personnel, demonstrating how other secondary victims, such as the bereaved, are also acknowledged as victims of war within a commemorative context.

The application of this thesis' chosen methodological approach of CDA highlights the potential power of these discursive depictions of military victims to ultimately mediate militaristic ideals and values. Representations of both the war dead and the war living throughout the text sample can be seen to glorify the waging of war, positioning them as non-victims, with referential strategies employed to describe these social actors and their profession in a positive and laudable manner,

while transitive representations highlight their capability in protecting both themselves and others. These discursive representations focus on the character and behaviour of the British soldier, emphasising their heroism, bravery, and ultimately the potential for personal glory that participating in war can offer.

While the transient nature of the war living can arguably serve to undermine such notions, as tangible representations of war's power to victimise, commemorative discourse present in the sample has demonstrated that the obscuring of the root of their victimisation, as well as the praising of their potential to transcend such hardship through exhibiting masculine traits, can ultimately serve to sanitise rather than expose the full potential of war's violent reality.

War is justified through these discursive representations, presenting a view of British involvement in war over the last century as part of an ahistorical continuum, in which British soldiers regularly fight against immoral enemies to ensure the survival of the nation (Harrison, 2012). The normalisation of war is presented with a specific emphasis on gender, reinforcing ideas concerning the expected roles of masculine and feminine social actors within a military conflict. These notions within the discourse normalise militaristic sentiments concerning gender roles in relation to the military, and in turn also serve to justify the fighting of wars by masculine social actors as a necessary act, protecting the domestic feminine who are ultimately left behind (Enloe, 1983). Thus, observable within the text sample is that the affordance of the victim label to feminine social actors is typical within both normative victimological and militaristic perspectives.

Alongside these depictions of social actors associated with the concept of military victimhood, discursive representations of the wider British public also contribute to the proliferation of militaristic ideals and values, pertaining largely to expected behaviours. A prevailing sentiment found throughout the sample is the unifying power of the rituals and practices enacted and observed during Remembrancetide, further adding to the normalisation of war. Emphasis is placed on the masses of people who attend such events and services, highlighting the normality of such behaviour enacted by these 'ideal commemorators', while those 'deviants' who condemn or criticise this specific manner of war commemoration are vilified, and their voices marginalised.

Designating a social actor as a deviant hinges upon their potential observance of commemorative practices and ultimately military victimhood. Those who refuse and/or disrupt services, or criticise their function or necessity, are not simply decried for their perceived disrespect towards military victims, but in turn suggests that such behaviour can ultimately contribute to the further victimisation of such groups as the bereaved and the war living. Here, it is demonstrated how deviants are constructed with direct reference to military victimhood and the specific behaviour the

concept demands within a commemorative context, and these are constructions that ultimately aid in the proliferation of a militaristic ideology by stymying critique of war and suppressing attempts to de-marginalise alternative perspectives. Such discourse ultimately reinforces the notion that to engage in the normative means of recognising military victimhood is a 'normal' act for the British public, as well as framing any deviant behaviour as being inherently immoral and contributing to military victimhood itself.

Mainstream commemorative discourse found within the text sample contributes to the production of a specific social reality, one that foregrounds purposefully constructed depictions of certain social actors with ties to military victimhood, depictions which in turn can be seen to have facilitated the perpetuation of a British militaristic ideology over the last century. Yet also present in the text sample, albeit in a far smaller capacity, are texts that ultimately challenge the dominant commemorative narrative and its specific representation of military victimhood. Through these texts, this undergoes a process of dialogisation, whereby otherwise marginalised or silenced voices are privileged, which ultimately exposes the manner by which such a narrative ensures specific aspects of a topic are foregrounded or made invisible.

Such dialogisation is found almost exclusively within digital texts obtained from the UKWA, whereby counter-narratives are established and ultimately challenge dominant narratives. Exposed is the limited view presented of the three core groups of social actors within the dominant narrative pertaining to military victimhood, the war dead, the bereaved, and the war living, highlighting how it is largely only those among these groups who behave uncritically towards the rituals and practices of the 1919 model, or whose characteristics and behaviours fit an expected 'type', that are included within commemorative discourse. Counter-narratives found in digital texts highlight the existence of such social actors who are actively erased from dominant narratives, such as conscripted soldiers, soldiers executed for perceived cowardice, or ex-service personnel who refuse to participate in mainstream commemoration, who ultimately challenge the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology.

Such counter-narratives, like dominant ones, hinge upon the concept of military victimhood also, expressing the need for the victimising power of war to be acknowledged in a specific manner, one that ultimately does not sanitise war's reality but instead foregrounds it. Because of this, these counter-narratives can be regarded as anti-militaristic in nature, demonstrating how digital spaces can provide sites of resistance, and reinforce notions explored earlier in this thesis concerning the democratising power of the internet and related technologies (Kirton, 2016).

Ultimately, this chapter has demonstrated how military victimhood, depending on the narrative in which it is employed, is capable of both mediating and challenging the mediation of militarism. The unique contribution of this thesis is evident here, locating military victimhood, a concept with primary ties to victimology, within the realm of militarism and the literature surrounding it.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1 Contributions

This thesis ultimately contributes to the body of literature surrounding militarism, specifically the mediation of militarism in Britain through the enactment of commemorative rituals and practices of the '1919 model', which centre on the concept of military victimhood. The contributions of this thesis are made through the addressing of these two key research questions:

1.
How has military victimhood been constructed within the context of British commemoration since 1918?

2.
What is the relationship between this construction of military victimhood and the mediation of militarism in Britain since 1918?

In answering these questions, contribution is made by determining how a specific, context dependent construction of military victimhood ultimately serves in relation to both the perpetuating and challenging of a British militaristic ideology over the last century. This thesis provides an interrogation of the notion of military victimhood, primarily explored in the context of victimology and within a frame of reference concerning militarism. Determined through this interrogation are the consequences that adherence to this concept can potentially have regarding the mediation of militarism, particularly in Britain over the last century.

Through the employment of a methodological approach centring on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this thesis has provided a critical analysis concerning military victims as depicted in British commemorative discourse since 1918. This critical analysis places emphasis on the role of discourse in the creation of a specific social reality, one that foregrounds militaristic ideals and values and a particular view of war's power to victimise. Through the control of a discourse's production, powerful groups are able to influence the beliefs and actions of less powerful social actors, manufacturing consent, and ultimately legitimising a precise world view that serves their own interests (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018).

The employment of specific referential and syntax strategies, as evidenced within a text sample created through access to the British Library's archival materials, has contributed to the construction of a particular form of military victimhood within dominant commemorative narratives, one that ultimately adheres to normative victimological perspectives. Through this adherence, this thesis argues that a specific construction of military victimhood has been utilised as a conduit for militaristic ideals and values, which glorify, normalise, and justify the waging of war, to have been mediated in Britain since 1918.

However, as has also been observed, whilst this construction of military victimhood within a dominant, or 'official', narrative serves to largely mediate militarism, analysis of the text sample has evidenced how the concept of military victimhood can be articulated in a manner which also serves to *challenge* militarism. Through the analysis of digital, web-based texts alongside print texts, it can be asserted that counter-narratives exist concerning military victimhood, which utilise the concept as a challenge to a militaristic ideology. This challenge is typified by foregrounding social actors who, despite being victims of war, are obscured within official narratives, whose existence ultimately acts as a challenge to the core tenets of militarism as an ideology, primarily undermining notions of war as glorious and inhibiting its sanitisation.

9.1.1 Military Victimhood and its Construction in the Text Sample

This thesis makes two primary contributions. The first primary contribution is a demonstration of how the concept of 'military victimhood' has been constructed through British commemorative discourse over the last century, with specific reference to victimological perspectives. The label of military victim, it has been determined, is ephemeral, applicable to a number of social actors, and should not be limited only to social actors having directly served in the military. Within the analysis of this thesis, the core military victims present are the war dead and the war living, who are victimised directly as a result of military service. Yet also determined is the important role the bereaved, as 'secondary' victims, play within this construction of military victimhood, forming a dyadic relationship with the war dead. Within this dyad, the suffering of the war dead is obscured and instead supplanted upon the bereaved, enabling the former to retain their masculine status and leaving the stereotypical militaristic depiction of the British military actor intact.

These constructions of military victimhood in a British commemorative context ultimately adhere to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, reinforcing the notion that masculine social actors, particularly military actors, are 'non'-victims, in contrast to the feminine 'ideal' or 'deserving' victim (Christie, 1986; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). Constructions of the victimhood of the war dead and

the bereaved in particular demonstrate how notions of gender heavily inform the affordance of the victim label, with the masculine heroism and competence of the British military actor placed in contrast to the feminine passivity of the bereaved.

The war living on the other hand create a site of potential contestation with their transient nature concerning victimhood. Ultimately the victim label is afforded or withheld from the war living depending on whether they are discursively depicted as exhibiting masculine or feminine traits, again in line with the core tenets of the ideal victim construct concerning victim traits and behaviours (Christie, 1986). When the war living contextually require assistance, then they are depicted in a manner reflecting these core tenets, as weak and passive individuals victimised by an external force beyond their control. However, when this assistance is not required, then the war living undergo 'curative work' (Bourke, 1996), a process which sees them re-masculinised and depicted in a similar fashion to the war dead, as idealised masculine actors who are able to transcend their victimisation.

This construction of military victimhood within the context of British commemorative ritual is not limited to the depictions of these groups of social actors. In turn, the wider British public are invoked as part of discourse concerning military victimhood, positioning the British citizen, the expected audience of texts in the text sample, as 'moral agents' within military victimhood (Bosma, Mulder, & Pemberton, 2018). Specific behaviour is prescribed as either contributing to the alleviation or perpetuation of the suffering of the military victim, primarily the bereaved and the war living. Through a refusal to pay adequate respect to the war dead, or donate to relevant charities, the moral agents within military victimhood, the British public, are depicted in the text sample as directly contributing to the suffering of these social actors. Through such depictions of moral agency emerges the role of the 'deviant', social actors who are vilified within commemorative discourse because of this role in the perpetuating of suffering. Discursive constructions of the deviant serve as both a reminder and warning to the wider British public concerning the expected beliefs and behaviours to be adhered to and enacted specifically during the period of Remembrancetide.

Ultimately, this construction of military victimhood primarily reinforces normative victimological perspectives on what constitutes a 'victim', foregrounding notions that victimhood is largely associated with femininity, and that masculine, military actors are therefore 'non'-victims.

9.1.2 Military Victimhood and the Mediation of Militarism

The second primary contribution this thesis makes concerns the role of this construction of military victimhood and the mediation of militarism. As noted above and throughout this thesis, the construction of military victimhood within the text sample largely adheres to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, with specific notions of gender and expectations of masculine and feminine traits at its heart. This adherence reinforces militaristic perspectives on the role of gender in relation to warfare, with masculine social actors positioned as warriors, and feminine social actors located in the domestic domain, away from violence (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Enloe, 2007; Basham, 2016). Such a perspective on gender serves to normalise and justify war, as the waging of war as an act of defending feminine social actors is depicted as legitimate and justifiable.

In turn, depictions of the war dead and the war living subscribe to the militaristic notion of war being glorious, with discursive representations of military actors in the sample focusing on the legitimacy of war and the glorious nature of those willing to fight and even die for the nation. Such a perspective echoes Mosse's (1990) 'myth of the war experience', which represents a highly sanitised view of conflict and the act of soldiering, serving to obscure the violent reality of the battlefield. Alongside this glorification, such ahistorical depictions of military actors contribute to the depoliticising of war, obscuring the complex underpinnings of individual conflicts in favour of a homogenous continuum depicting *all* wars of the last century as legitimate struggles against a tyrant foe (Harrison, 2012; Danilova, 2015; Kelly, 2020).

Yet whilst an adherence to normative victimological perspectives are apparent within this construction, depictions of the war living as feminine in this context in particular present a challenge to the normative, stereotypical image of the British military actor that lies at the heart of a militaristic ideology, and the mediation of British militarism over the last century. This stereotype foregrounds the masculine nature of the military actor, as an individual capable of self-defence and the infliction of violence upon others (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011; Digby, 2014). Constructions of the war living, particularly during the inter-war period evidenced in the text sample, subvert this stereotype through an adherence to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, and thus challenge the stereotype of the British military actor, presenting in turn a potential challenge to the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology. Here, beliefs regarding the British military actor as masculine and competent can potentially be undermined by representations of the war living as 'feminine' victims.

As explored in Chapter Six, social and economic context necessitated the affordance of the victim label to the war living, as inadequate government financial assistance and an inability to find work

meant many disabled ex-servicemen became destitute (Cohen, 2000; Powell, 2019). Thus, charitable donations from the British public became the primary means of alleviating the suffering of the war living. As such, these constructions of the war living provide a challenge to literature produced on the topic of the British military actor as victim, which posits that it is in reference to potentially 'dubious' or 'unpopular' conflicts that the British soldier is regarded as a victim (Layton, 1999; Alker & Godfrey, 2016). However, within the commemorative context investigated by this thesis, it is clear that such critical views of British involvement in conflict are suppressed and obscured within the aforementioned ahistorical continuum, meaning this depiction of the British military actor as victim must come from an alternative source. Here, this thesis further contributes by demonstrating an alternative perspective on the potential for military actors to be afforded the victim label, one that lies outside the critique of conflict, instead suggesting that this application of the victim label is specifically able to be enacted here because of this depoliticised and ahistorical space created by commemorative discourse in particular.

It must be noted here, however, that such depictions of these social actors serve to reinforce militarism largely in the sense of it being solely an ideological phenomenon, harboured in the belief system of a society. Yet as literature explored in Chapter Two demonstrates, a militaristic ideology is not simply present within the mind of a social actor but is also observable within their behaviours too, with militaristic ideals and values regarded as surreptitiously permeating aspects of social life and influencing the behaviours of social actors (Shaw, 2012; Howell, 2018).

The moral agency of the British public invoked within discursive constructions of military victimhood also plays an important part in the mediating of militarism, with specific reference made here to deviancy as evidenced in the text sample. The rituals and practices of the 1919 model prescribe specific models of beliefs *and* behaviours for British social actors to enact during the period of Remembrancetide, which centre on military victimhood and the suffering of military victims. Respect is to be paid to the war dead, which serves to alleviate the suffering of the bereaved, while donations must be made to relevant charities concerning the welfare of the war living (Gregory, 1994; Winter, 1995; Todman, 2005). To refuse to enact or to outwardly critique such behaviour sees social actors afforded the label of deviant within dominant commemorative narratives in the text sample. Such constructions of deviancy in a commemorative context highlight the supposedly negative personal aspects and damaging behaviour of these social actors and serve as a warning to others not to replicate their behaviour, with the idea that to do so directly perpetuates the suffering of military victims.

Such depictions of the deviant within this dominant narrative serve to suppress critique of militaristic ideals and values present within the rituals and practices of the 1919 model. As evidenced in the text sample, many 'deviants' are social actors who attempt to bring attention to issues such as war's glorification or refuse to engage in behaviour that ultimately contributes to the elevation of British military actors above British civilians. Within these depictions, primarily newspaper texts condone, or at least do not outwardly condemn, the enactment of violence against such deviants, furthering the notion that discourse surrounding military victimhood can exert powerful influence on both the potential beliefs and behaviours of British social actors during the annual period of Remembrancetide.

9.1.3 Military Victimhood and the Challenging of Militarism

Thus, this thesis demonstrates how military victimhood is constructed within the text sample in adherence to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct, with special attention paid to the role of the wider British public as 'moral agents' in relation to this victimhood. This construction largely serves to mediate the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology. Depictions of the war dead and the war living in the text sample facilitate the glorification of war and the British military actor, while in tandem with representations of the bereaved, these depictions further serve to normalise and justify war with a specific reference to gender norms. These depictions posit that war is a normal action to be undertaken by masculine social actors and is justified as a necessary act that ensures the protection of the domesticated feminine. Depictions of the 'deviant' within dominant narratives also serve to suppress critique of militaristic ideals and values as present in the 1919 model of commemoration and ensure behaviour that specifically engenders the elevation of British military actors above British civilians.

However, while the majority of texts in the text sample engender the mediation of militaristic ideals and values, others are capable of contesting such notions. Beyond discourse as evident within dominant commemorative narratives, texts from the UK Web Archive (UKWA) in particular present a site of contestation whereby normative militaristic notions concerning military victimhood can be deprivileged, their internal contradictions and biases exposed. What such texts highlight is how the 'dominant' or 'official' narrative concerning military victimhood provides an exceptionally narrow perspective of the concept, backgrounding specific social actors historical contexts in favour of others.

Often this backgrounding is enacted due to the challenge to normative militaristic assumptions concerning war and military actors, such as the treatment of conscientious objectors or 'cowards'

executed during the First World War, or conscripts, which ultimately undermine the homogenous view of 'all' British military actors being regarded as heroic and brave stereotypes who died willingly for Britain. In turn, digital texts see the notion of deviance invoked once more, only in these instances the deviants are those social actors with the power to produce the official, dominant narratives of British commemoration. Their deviant nature is exhibited through the negation of the initial purpose behind the enactment of the 1919 model, the mantra of 'never again' as a commitment to peace. Digital texts expounding a counter-narrative utilise intertextuality and dialogicality to highlight the hypocrisy of such social actors, as well as providing necessary context which ultimately sheds further light on the backgrounding of specific social actors and historical context that serve to undermine militaristic notions within such dominant commemorative narratives.

9.1.4 Contributions: Concluding Thoughts

To conclude this section of the chapter, it would be pertinent to provide a brief summary concerning this thesis' contributions to knowledge. Ultimately, the research and critical analysis undertaken within this thesis has served to locate the notion of 'military victimhood' within the field of literature concerning the concept of militarism, demonstrating how discursive constructions of military victims within a British commemorative context over the last century have proven capable of both perpetuating and challenging the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology. Also demonstrated are the fundamental similarities between normative victimological perspectives and the core ideals and values of a militaristic ideology.

Through an in-depth examination of the roles of particular groups of social actors with ties to war's victimising power, this thesis has expanded the purview of military victimhood itself, highlighting the space occupied by 'secondary' military victims such as the bereaved, as well as demonstrating how constructions of British military victimhood ultimately adhere to the core tenets of the ideal victim construct. This adherence facilitates the glorification, normalisation, and justification of waging war, and largely reinforces normative gender-centric notions concerning warfare and the roles of specific social actors within this context. Yet at times this adherence is also capable of undermining such core militaristic ideals and values, with reference made here to the process of de-masculinisation the war living are subjected to at specific points in the text sample.

Critical analysis of digital, web-based texts also demonstrates how military victimhood as a concept is capable of being articulated in a manner that undermines and challenges militaristic ideals and values, foregrounding the existence of military victims who are otherwise obscured within dominant

or 'official' commemorative narratives. As well as this, contextual inconsistencies within the function and enactment of the 1919 model's rituals and practices are highlighted, again demonstrating how dominant narratives provide further obscuring. Such a de-privileging of dominant narratives, which present a carefully curated image of the British military victim, has provided space for resistance to, and the challenging of, the permeation of a militaristic ideology in Britain over the last century.

9.2 Strengths, Limitations, and Future Work

The core strength of this thesis is that it is an interdisciplinary piece of work spanning history, victimology, and sociology, providing a unique and broad appeal. Through an interrogation of materials from the British Library's archival materials, both print and digital, this thesis' interdisciplinary nature has provided a unique insight into the nature of military victimhood, allowing a chronicling and critical analysis of the concept in Britain over the last century.

In turn, methodologically, this thesis has demonstrated a manner by which research into military issues can be achieved without direct work with/alongside the military itself, providing a more democratic or 'bottom-up' opportunity for scrutiny and critique. This is in contrast to the more traditional 'top-down' method of military research, as part of what Jenkings et al. (2011, p.44) refer to as the "military-academy research nexus", who highlight that research carried out in concert with military forces "is more likely to accord with the conceptual world-views of those forces and their governing institutions". This bottom-up approach enables a more critical approach to be adopted when interrogating military-related issues, such as military victimhood in the instance of this thesis.

Alongside the work of scholars such as Imber and Fraser (2011), Basham (2016), or Kidd and Sayner (2018), this thesis also contributes to cultural understandings of commemoration in Britain over the last century, offering a critical assessment of commemorative practices particularly in the aftermath of the centenary of the First World War. Highlighted through this critical analysis is the outdated nature of the British 1919 model of commemoration, which enables the proliferation of militaristic sentiments. The First World War Centenary in Britain, while providing a unique opportunity for critical reflection and assessment of the nature and impact of commemoration, has ultimately overseen a consolidation of, and recommitment to, these traditional rituals and practices. Such a commitment ultimately enables the persistence of militaristic ideals and values being disseminated to the British public beyond 2018 and into the next century of commemoration through adherence to dominant and official narratives. This thesis highlights how, culturally, resisting militarism is now more possible than ever due to the democratising power of the internet and the potential for

counter-narratives to deprivilege official ways of thinking about and interacting with British acts of remembrance.

This thesis also assists curatively, establishing a possible method of research pertaining to mixed resources as part of interdisciplinary research, and demonstrating how archival materials held by the British Library can be regarded, and engaged with, as sociological 'data'. With this strength in mind, though, some limitations must consequently be acknowledged. When work began on this thesis, one of the core aims of the research to be undertaken was to conduct analysis of a text sample consisting of a wide range of materials, taking full advantage of the unique access to the British Library's archives. Yet as discussed in Chapter Four, the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020 ultimately meant that access to such a rich collection of materials was stymied, and only those materials available remotely via VPN access were able to be collected. This meant that it was only feasible for print newspaper and digital website texts to be included in the text sample, with emphasis being placed on analysis of discourse as present in linguistic forms only.

However, while such assessments may well be viewed as limitations, in relation to future work, it is clear that the findings of this thesis are not final, rather they open the door to vast possibilities of further research surrounding depictions of military victimhood within a British commemorative context, and potentially beyond. For instance, this thesis has paved the way for future research that can take into account both linguistic *and* semiotic aspects of commemorative discourse within print, digital, and material artefacts held within the British Library's archives. Such a multimodal approach will enable visual representation of military victims to be subjected to analysis, exploring how "semiotic modes", alongside linguistic modes, are capable of "(creating) and (distributing) meaningful signs" (Jancsary, Höllerer, Meyer, 2016, p.182).

Whilst this thesis has focused on linguistic depictions of social actors relating to the construction of military victimhood, the importance of visual representation cannot be underestimated, and future work carried out in this area would take advantage of a more varied methodological approach. For instance, incorporating aspects of the 'archaeological approach' to multimodal CDA, which specifically deals with analysis of visual depictions of individual/groups of social actors, as well as the process by which certain social actors are made invisible (Schroeder & Zwick, 2004; Hardy & Phillips, 2005; Jancsary, Hollerer, Mayer, 2016). Such exploration would undoubtedly serve to build upon the unique contribution that the analytical findings of this thesis has already made.

In turn, future research can potentially move beyond the gendered nature of militarism and commemoration that this thesis has specifically focused upon. Building upon the groundwork established by this thesis, further research can account for broadening the investigation of

representation of social actors in a military or commemorative context, considering notions of class, 'race', religion and sexuality with regards to the construction and marginalisation of specific social actors, both politically and culturally. The door is now open, so to speak, to other avenues of enquiry that this thesis has not had the opportunity to explore, building upon its unique contribution concerning military victimhood and how discursive representations of social actors can both challenge and perpetuate a militaristic ideology in Britain.

9.3 Concluding Notes

This thesis has highlighted how the employment of discourse is an exceptionally powerful tool, able to facilitate the production and perpetuation of a specific social reality. Critical analysis of the text sample demonstrated how British commemorative discourse has participated in the curation of a specific social reality, one that centres on the construction of a particular perspective concerning military victimhood. This perspective, firstly, serves to reinforce stereotypical notions of the British military actor as a heroic, brave, and competent individual, typified by masculinity and their ability to enact violence upon others (Segal, 2008; McCartney, 2011; Digby, 2014). Soldiers in this context transcend notions of victimhood as they are depicted as willingly sacrificing themselves for the survival of the nation and to in turn protect the domesticated female social actor.

The uniqueness of this thesis' contribution lies within its utilisation of victimological perspectives as an important frame of reference concerning this construction of military victimhood, determining the relationship and fundamental similarities between militaristic perspectives on war, its commemoration in Britain, and normative victimological perspectives. Ultimately, this thesis highlights the nefarious discursive processes by which war's power to kill, maim, traumatise, and bereave is articulated in such a manner that it can serve to engender the perpetuation of military violence, and to assure consistent support from the social actors whom the machinery of war will most likely be turned upon in future conflicts.

Yet while a bleak perspective is engendered through this critical analysis of dominant commemorative narratives in Britain, whereby those social actors with the power to control the production and reproduction of discourse, and therefore the parameters of a specific social reality, do so in a manner which perpetuates the permeation of militaristic ideals and values in social life, this thesis also sheds light on important sites of contestation and resistance. Through critical analysis of texts obtained from the UKWA, it has become apparent that the utilisation of internet-based platforms sees the proliferation of counter-narratives concerning military victimhood. These

counter-narratives challenge the hegemonic view purported by the dominant 'official' narrative of British commemoration, highlighting its often-contradictory nature and exposing those social actors who are obscured within them. The democratising power of the internet demonstrated here may well provide some hope for the future challenging of militaristic discourse, as it is clear that the concept of military victimhood is not a monolithic, one-dimensional entity, but can also be articulated in a manner that exposes the inequalities inherent in the dominant narratives of British commemoration. In revealing and exposing militaristically 'unpalatable' aspects of these narratives, then there is real potential for military victimhood to be utilised as a tool of resistance, rather than one of oppression.

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Appendix

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