Understanding and Explaining Perceptions of Veterans in UK Society

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Abstract

Introduction

There is much concern in public discourse in the UK about the health of veterans. However, little robust research has examined how and why veterans are perceived in particular ways in the UK. Therefore, this thesis applied quantitative and qualitative methodological procedures commonly used in social representational research to explain public perceptions of veterans.

Method

A sequential exploratory mixed method design was adopted to conduct multiplexed analyses concerning how and why individual opinions about veteran's form in the way they do. Firstly, publicly prevalent discourses about veterans were examined by a content analysis undertaken of 335 articles on British veterans that were downloaded from online news sources.

Secondly, to observe whether these publicly prevalent discourses about veterans are mirrored by individual perceptions in the general population a review of responses to UK representative opinion polls and surveys was conducted. From 11 representative polls/surveys, 41 question items referring to veterans were extracted, the responses grouped into thematic clusters and contrasted with factually correct information about veterans.

Thirdly, a quantitative word association task was conducted to understand why individuals may hold their beliefs about veterans. A total of 234 participants (Mean age 24 years) gave three initial responses to veteran related roles (i.e. 'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel) and, for contrasting purposes, active service personnel related roles (i.e. Soldier'). The associations were analysed with a Content Analysis, the Hierarchical Evocation Method, Multiple Linear Regression Models, a Principal Component Factor Analysis and Correlation Models.

Lastly, building on the results from above, the rationalities that are held by individuals to justify beliefs about veterans were explored. Semi-structured interviews with 29 British individuals who varied in social distance to UK Armed Forces veterans and UK Armed Forces veterans themselves were conducted (gender: female = 13, male = 16; veterans = 8;

Mean age= 38 years). The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed by a deductive Thematic Analysis.

Results

The findings suggested that negative, erroneous beliefs about veterans are prevalent in British society (i.e. most veterans are perceived as suffering from ill health).

The newspaper analysis indicated that public discourses predominantly focus on depicting veterans as victims (46.8%) or heroes (40.3%). While the 'broadsheet' press focussed on depictions of veterans as victims, 'international' and 'local' press focussed on depictions of veterans as victims. 'Tabloids' represented a middle-ground between both.

The review of UK representative opinion polls and surveys indicated that heroic and victimised depictions of veterans resonate with publicly prevalent beliefs about veterans. Veterans are highly appreciated but erroneously attributed to suffer from ill-health and economic hardships.

The quantitative word association task identified 'Victimisation' as a defining key element in descriptions of veterans. It is less important in descriptions of still serving personnel but present nonetheless. Further analyses indicated 'Victimisation' to be related to recollections of depersonalised, war related descriptors. In contrast, 'Heroism', a defining key element for serving personnel and veterans, was related to the inherent dispositions of veterans and still serving personnel. Thus, whilst perceptions of heroism may be understood as part of an inherent disposition to serve, the attribution of victimisation may be related to participant understandings of the aftermath of Service and exposure to violence.

The findings from the qualitative interview study indicated rationalities that justified beliefs about veterans are dependent on underlying social identity processes guided by conceptualisations of the legitimacy of recent deployments, understandings of the veteran's inherent dispositions and interactions of the two. This commonly resulted in perceptions of veterans as suffering from ill health as their experiences with violence were understood to be in opposition to the veteran's inherent moral superiority.

Discussion

In conclusion, factually incorrect and negative understandings of veterans seem to be socially perpetuated, widely shared and commonly believed by individuals in British society. Therefore, individuals in British society perceive the normal end-state of a military career as

resulting in a 'damaged' veteran. To dissociate the veteran from these publicly prevalent, erroneous beliefs then the veteran's occupational identity should be emphasised. However, in order to do so, civil-military relationships may need to be improved and social misperceptions about Service and deployments clarified. Potential interventions to reconceptualise erroneous publicly pertinent perceptions of veterans are suggested and discussed. These novel findings carry significant implications for future strategies to improve the veterans' reputation in UK society.

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1. Problem Outline

1.1. Introduction

An essential feature of civil-military relationships is the way in which the state recognises the sacrifices of men and women who have served their country once they have left the Armed Forces (Dandeker et al., 2006). Similarly important, however, are socially pertinent perceptions of veterans as these reflect an acknowledgement of and appreciation for the extraordinary contribution of Service Personnel who, bound to the 'contract of unlimited liability', are obliged to risk or even lay down their lives in the course of exercising lethal force against enemies. In this sense, social perceptions may have a particular place value as these are pertinent in everyday contexts and discourses.

However, British attitudes towards Ex-Members of the UK Forces have proven to be ambiguous and problematic. Historically, social understandings of veterans were characterised by a paradoxical civil-military relationship. The UK's long tradition of possessing a professional volunteer military where conscription was the exception rather than the norm caused a two-fold understanding of (ex)Service Personnel. On one side, British society took a feeling of pride towards the Forces while, on the other, it also perceived its (ex-)members to be on the margins of society (Ingham, 2016; Dandeker et al., 2006; Strachan, 1997, Stanhope, 1979). This view was additionally reinforced by deployments in far distant countries of the British Empire. Therefore, although British people took pride in their Forces, they simultaneously avoided thinking of British society being responsible to care for Ex-Members of the UK Armed Forces (Dandeker, 2006; Stanhope, 1979). Service and assistance for veterans were instead provided by regimental and corps associations from the early nineteenth century, followed by a somewhat organised patchwork of civilian Charities and later by a post second world war welfare state in which services became freely accessible to all – civilians and veterans. In conclusion, throughout the ages, departing the Armed Forces was most often characterised by the veteran being "down on his luck" (Stanhope, 1979, p.281; cf. also Ingham, 2016).

As a result of the extensive negative, politically charged press-coverage of Ex-Service Personnel's poor living-conditions, used by Charities to exert pressure on the government (cf. McCartney, 2011), the Armed Forces Covenant (AFC) has been introduced (AFC 2000, first published version 2011). Since then the UK uses the most inclusive definition of a veteran, meaning that everybody who had served for a minimum of one day in the UK Forces

is entitled to the veteran-status (together with their dependants). By this definition, it is estimated that the approximately 2.83 million veterans form together with approximately 5.91 million of their dependants, about 15 per cent of the UK population (cf. British Legion, 2014b).

However, from the standpoint of the majority of the UK's wider public, this most-inclusive definition of a veteran is somewhat counterintuitive as the term veteran has been used with a caveat by British people (Dandeker, 2006). The norm has been to refer to' Ex-Service Personnel' when describing those who have been employed in the UK Armed Forces, with the term 'Veteran' exclusively reserved for those who have been deployed and performed the unique obligations implied in the military contract (cf. Dandeker, 2006). Therefore, it is somewhat unsurprising that opinion polls and surveys indicated the majority of British society believing a veteran to be someone who has left the Service to retire in terms of old age retirement, or, someone who has fought in the First or Second World War (British Social Attitudes (BSA), 2012; Ipsos Capibus Omnibus, 2002). Similarly, a study of 202 TELIC[1] veterans indicated that 48% did not self-identify with this term – although not asking veterans from these missions how they would categorise themselves (Burdett et al., 2012). In conclusion, polls and surveys might suggest that the term veteran may have some unappealing connotation.

However, looking at opinion polls and surveys indicated that an unappealing connotation might apply to service-leavers more generally. Whether opinion polls and surveys refer to veterans as "people who used to be in the Armed Forces" (Ashcroft, 2012), "former members of the UK Armed Forces" (Independent Communications & Marketing (ICM), 2014) or 'Ex-Service Personnel' (BSA, 2012), negative, erroneous beliefs and dichotomous perceptions were evident regardless which term has been used (for a full account see Chapter V). For example, British people think that veterans develop useful skills, which help them to succeed in civilian careers during their time in the Military but also that they are more likely to be unemployed than the general population (i.e. Ashcroft, 2012; Ipsos Market and Opinion Research International (Ipsos MORI, 2011-2015). Veterans were also incorrectly perceived

[1] 'TELIC' derives from the Greek τέλος (telos) and means 'a purposeful action' or 'a defined action'. In contrast to the United States who called their equivalent deployment 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' (OIF), the Ministry of Defence (MoD) uses a computer to generate the names of its military deployments so that they do not carry political connotations. After the deployment's initial planning took place over the Christmas 2002 period, TELIC was jokingly considered as an acronym for 'Tell Everyone Leave Is Cancelled' among the military personnel (cf. Flynn, 2010)

as being more likely to suffer from physical or psychological health problems than the civilian population (cf. MOD Career Transition report, 2018; MOD Statistic notice, 2015; King's Centre for Military Health Research, 2014).

The reasons that may explain pertinent contradictory and erroneous beliefs have not been investigated in detail. To date research focussed solely on quantitative closed-end questions which provided most often only descriptive information and failed to address false beliefs in an explanative nature.

However, in order to overcome any barrier which may hinder the veteran's successful reintegration into society, stereotypes need to be investigated and understood. This issue might be of particular relevance for veterans from the most recent missions in Iraq and Afghanistan as these veterans may not only face negative stereotypes related to public perceptions of veterans but might also be confronted with negative attitudes towards these missions (cf. Gribble et al., 2015; YouGov, 2015). Moreover, negative public perceptions of veterans may deter recruitment and cause disaffection among those who are currently serving. Therefore, it is surprising that to date knowledge about people's perceptions of veterans, particularly of those from the recent missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, is limited to the descriptive material.

In light of these limitations, the current project intended to collect in-depth data in order to explain the persistence of negative, incorrect and stereotypical perceptions of veterans from the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, the following general research questions were posed:

(1) In which ways are British veterans represented and understood in British society?

(2) How may beliefs about British veterans, held by members of the British public, be explained?

(3) Taking the evidence from this report into consideration, how could the veteran's reputation be improved?

These research questions were answered by a mixed-method social representational approach that observed how and why beliefs concerning veterans were formed.

1.2. Overview of the Thesis

The present report provides a much-needed social psychological contribution to the literature on socially pertinent perceptions and stereotypes towards UK veterans. Despite long traditions of collecting and evaluating public opinions of the UK Armed Forces and its Ex-Members, research that addressed various levels of human interdependence in relation to key psychological issues like categorisation, prejudice and intergroup relations – particularly concerning Ex-Members of the UK Armed Forces – has been neglected. The present report addresses these concerns.

Chapter II represents an evaluation of theoretical perspectives that concern the creation of meaning. A thorough overview of the empiricist perspective will lead to discussing the creation of meaning from a socio-cultural perspective. By addressing limitations of each perspective Social Representation Theory as an appropriate theoretical framework for the present project will be introduced. Chapter II will, therefore, discuss the socio-cultural perspective in which the individual's understanding of the veteran has evolved. In doing so, previous research that investigated cultural representations of veterans will be presented.

Chapter III presents methodological considerations in Social Representation Theory. It will introduce the 'Quantitative Post-Positivist' research paradigm, epistemology, ontology and methodologies and contrast these with the 'Qualitative Constructivist/Interpretivist' research paradigm and its epistemology, ontology and methodologies. As previous social representational research has been conducted within the realms of both paradigms, this chapter will close with presenting a mixed method approach as being the most useful methodology for the present project. The conclusion section of Chapter III will provide the reader with a general outline of the project's investigations.

Chapter IV presents an analytical investigation of the socio-cultural context in which understandings of veterans are being produced. Therefore, Chapter IV will commence with outlining how previous research on social representations operationalised the public sphere in that individuals are thought to construct social representations. In line with previous research, Chapter IV operationalised the public sphere as public discourses within 'the street' where media is considered to be the medium. Therefore, a media analysis was conducted in

that newspaper articles were grouped into themes through thematic content analysis and analysed by chi-squared analyses.

Chapter V examines how depictions of veterans may be mirrored by opinions of the general British public. Therefore, Chapter V comprises a review of representative opinion polls and surveys concerning British veterans. Question items that related to veterans from representative surveys/polls were included in the analysis and grouped into thematic clusters through a thematic content analysis. Pertinent perceptions were then compared with factual information and incorrect social stereotypes were determined.

Chapter VI provides an empirical snapshot of how socially pertinent beliefs surrounding veterans are structured. To investigate the structure of beliefs a quantitative word association study was conducted. Chapter VI commences with a brief introduction on the structural approach in Social Representation Theory. Then the quantitative word association task, the sample population, and, the results are presented. Chapter VI will conclude with an interpretative overview and discussion of potential reasons for socially pertinent beliefs and stereotypes.

Chapter VII comprises an explanatory observation of socially pertinent understandings of veterans. As a natural progression from the findings outlined in Chapter VI, Chapter VII addresses the underlying reasons for perceptual patterns. Therefore, Chapter VII commences with a brief outline of theoretical notions on Identity Process Theory that is being placed within the contours of Social Representation Theory. After presenting the results from the Thematic Analysis, Chapter VII will conclude with a summary and discussion of findings.

The final chapter, Chapter VIII, presents the general discussion and overall conclusions which are derived from the empirical studies of this report. These are discussed in relation to previous social sciences research and the report's general research questions which were outlined in Chapter II. Chapter VIII explores empirical findings and their theoretical implications, the advantages and disadvantages for future research and the generalisability and transferability to other social contexts.

2. The Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

Understanding and explaining socially pertinent perceptions may also require a more fundamental investigation of how these understandings have formed. Therefore, the following will present a critical reflection of broader theoretical concepts within which this report is situated. Firstly, the development of linguistic expressions as important meaningful concepts will be discussed from a traditional empiricist account. The term 'Veteran' is used to illustrate these theoretical concepts and to make them comprehensible. After addressing the limitations of the empiricist account – in particular, the negligence of the social environment in that individuals shape and re-shape meanings – a socio-cultural perspective will be introduced. Here, a critical reflection on the social context in that the linguistic expression 'Veteran' evolved will take place. After discussing limitations of socio-cultural theories that reduce understandings of realities to culturally produced, sui generis '*givens*', the theory of Social Representations will be introduced. It will be argued that Social Representation Theory adequately addresses limitations of previous theories by combining both, the emphasis on the individual cognitive processes and the socio-cultural context in which these processes take place.

2.2. Creation of Meaning from an Empiricist Perspective: The 'Veteran' as a Semantic Concept

Traditional empiricism assumes semantic concepts, for example 'Veteran', to be a descriptor of significant and prevalent realities in the individual's life. More concretely, semantic concepts are thought to be constituted by sensory experiences (Locke & Yolton, 1961). Sensory experiences are conceptualisation as 'impressions' and 'ideas' that are characterised by forcefulness and vivacity (cf. Hume & Beauchamp, 2000). While 'impressions' are thought to relate to raw sense-experience, 'ideas' are considered to be volitional cognitive processes that recall and process impressions. These processed impressions create 'faint images' – exact copies of impressions which constitute semantic concepts (cf. Greenwood, 2015). More concretely, based upon the assumption of essential homogeneity between sensation and cognition, semantic concepts are defined by the observable and ostensible

character of the reality they relate to (cf. Sellars, Rortry & Brandom, 1997). Thus, from an empiricist account, semantic concepts express direct relations between a stimulation of senses, for example, sight or touch, and, the properties of an object, such as shape or colour. The mind considers all properties together which are conveyed through sensational stimulation, or in Locke's (Locke & Yolton, 1961, p. 14) words:

> "The complex idea which an Englishman signifies by the name swan is white colour; long neck, red beak, black legs and whole feet, and all these of a certain kind of noise and perhaps, to a man who has long observed this kind of bird, some other properties: which all terminate in sensible, simple ideas, all united in one common object."

Therefore, a finite set of characteristics are considered to be selected to define the object in question. This idea was picked up by studies of concept formation. Individuals are thought to acquire a concept of a reality by selecting and ascribing attributes. For example, "the definition of an 'influential person' could be over 50, rich, Protestant and moderately aggressive" (Markova, 1982, p. 48).

In conclusion, the 'Veteran' as 'faint image' or 'concept' would necessarily derive from mental associations with recollections of experiences, whether from direct experiences, i.e. through social contact, or from indirect experiences, i.e. through media reports on veterans. More concretely, the individual's understanding of 'Veteran' would be conceptualised as a finite set of characteristics (i.e. old, disabled, male) that starkly depends upon observations of and interactions with veterans. Similarly, to a blind man's inability to create a meaningful concept of colours (Locke & Yolton, 1961), an individual with little contact to experiences relating to veterans would be unable to develop a fully-fledged epistemological understanding of this expression. Crucially, however, this theoretical notion also supposes that individuals with and without direct experience would hold a specified set of characteristics that are always 'true' while others are always 'false' to define the veteran.

However, previous opinion polls and surveys that presented socially pertinent perceptions of veterans showed that British people answer these surveys dichotomously. For example, when thinking about homelessness, an Ipsos Mori & KCL (2015) study shows that a representative proportion of the UK general public think of veterans being more likely to be

homeless, while the BSA 29 (2012) indicated that a representative proportion of the UK general public thinks of veterans and civilians to be equally likely to be homeless.

The contradictory outcomes of these representative surveys are particularly surprising as opinions from representative samples are expected to reflect the opinions of general UK public accurately. Representative surveys and polls have recruited sample cohorts of 1000+ adults, ages 18 or over from different focus groups (i.e. region distribution, gender, education). To become representative of all adults in the UK the auxiliary variables such as age, gender or region were weighted to each survey respondent. Respondents in under-represented groups had a greater weighting (larger than 1) than those in over-represented groups (weighting smaller than 1). By using the weighted values in further analyses and not just the values of the variables, the polls' and surveys' findings were made statistically representative for the UK population as a whole (cf. BSA, 2012). Therefore, dichotomous differences in the surveys' outcomes cannot be explained by differences in the recruited populations. Moreover, dichotomies in polls and survey findings are also unlikely to be explained by a particular event related to the UK Forces and its Ex-Members as between the years 2012 and 2015 no major military intervention took place that might have caused changes in perceptions (cf. also Chapter V).

From an empiricist perspective, these perceptual changes in opinions polls and surveys would be difficult to explain. A homogeneity in sensation and cognition would propose that perceptual changes relate to changes in 'faint images' of veterans that are recollected when prompted. As these 'faint images' are supposed to derive from direct and indirect experiences, a change of these experiences with veterans would be required to explain perceptual changes. However, it may be argued that neither direct nor indirect experiences could not have been subject to significant change. For example, changes in direct experiences are unlikely as the UK Forces' outflow pattern had not changed dramatically over the last years (cf. British Legion, 2014b). Also, indirect experiences (i.e. exposure to media) would not explain dichotomous perceptions as media representations of the UK Armed Forces and its people are predominately perceived as positive, fair and accurate (Ashcroft, 2012, 2017). Moreover, as a considerable proportion of British people are themselves veterans or dependants of veterans (2.82, million veterans, 5.91 million veterans with dependants; British Legion, 2014b), the question why particularly incorrect negative

stereotypes about veterans are socially pertinent cannot be explained by an empiricist perspective.

In conclusion, while an empiricist perspective may explain how individuals create semantic concepts that refer to observable realities like a shape or colour, it may be of limited use when the subject of investigation concerns people's understanding of groups of people ('social categories'). Also, in more general terms, the notion of homogeneity of sensation and cognition has become more and more refuted by philosophical and psychological theories in the 20th century (Greenwood, 2015). Although current theories still ascribe sensations *a* role in meaning-making, the *difference* between cognition and sensation is being stressed rather than their homogeneity (Margolis, 1984). Sensations are downgraded to an experience, subsequently interpreted and attached to content (Rotry, 1979). Emphasising cognitive processes, meanings are assumed to be created by combining thoughts with an intention, forming a relationship between a meaning and a linguistic expression (cf. Greenwood, 2015).

However, although cognitive theories stress the distinction between cognition and sensation more than their homogeneity an impact of sensation related experiences on the creation of meaning is acknowledged. Therefore, "From what impression is that supposed idea derived?" (Verlasquez, 2016, p. 213) remains to be a relevant question, as if a linguistic description refers to an insignificant reality, the linguistic description supposedly remains empty and meaningless (ibid). In this sense, meanings are being created when realities are socially prevalent *and* intersubjective understandings of realities are necessary (Husserl 1936/1970; Schuetz, 2013).

2.3. Creation of Meaning from a Socio-Cultural Perspective: The 'Veteran' as Socially Constructed Concept

In social and cultural groups subjective understandings, ostensible and incomplete in nature, become challenged as encountering a field of pre-existing cultural structures (cf. Sellars, Rotry & Brandom, 1997). In social environments understandings of realities become subject to change as being exposed to an interdependence between the individual and the society (cf. Jovchelovich, 2001a). Knowledge, as fundamentally impacted by social fields refutes

traditional Cartesian epistemology in which knowledge is defined in terms of dualism – the human mind mirroring the object of knowledge ('I' – 'Object'). The social construction of knowledge involves the process of reconstruction and creation. The individual in a public context encounters a socially shared representational system of reality, a form of symbolic knowledge (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001a).

The genesis of social knowledge and understandings are assumed to being always contextually bound (Moscovici, 1988; Durkheim 1996, first published in 1898) and constrained by three interrelated dimensions of public life: The historical dimension, the cultural Dimension and the public dimension (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001a).

2.3.1. The Historical Dimension

Knowledge of social realities has a historical aspect that relates to a culture's past (i.e. Liu & Hilton, 2005). In this sense, Jovchelovitch (2001a) argues that the historicity of knowledge is evidenced by the interdependence between today's knowledge and historical knowledge, and, its temporal, transformative character. Knowledge about social realities commonly draws on comparisons between the 'today' and the 'past' and so interrelates different temporal perspectives (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001a). For example, to understand feminists' or human right activists' emphasis on equality, it is necessary to draw on historical notions indicating that, at times, specific groups of people such as women or black people were defined as inferior (cf. ibid). In this sense, temporary understandings of British veterans that are pertinent in British public may draw upon the social position of veterans in British history. To understand societal perceptions of veterans, it may therefore be necessary to take a historical perspective to clarify and define the veteran's social position in British history and to evaluate how this historical position may be mirrored in social understandings of veterans today.

Before the Elizabethan period commenced in 1558, the situation of veterans was detrimental. As the British government developed a professional, volunteer system of manpower long before citizenship rights were enforced, the discharged soldier had been left to their own devices (cf. Dandekar, 2006; Stanhope, 1979). Disabled veterans were not provided a pension and needed to live in 'almsrooms' or 'almshouses', where granted by the Privy Council (cf. Hasted & Stamper, 2016). After several years of unrest in the British military, including a direct lobby of Parliament by soldiers with disabilities, the Armed Forces' pay-

scheme was modified in 1593. This pay-scheme, that also introduced pensions for Service-related injuries and disabilities, intended to discourage veterans from begging and to thus raise recruitment figures (Ridgway, 2011). In addition, the 'Chatham Chest', administered by officers in Chatham under the Navy Board, was introduced in 1590 and provided basic insurance for officers and Navy-members. Following the Civil War, national military hospitals were established by Parliament at the Savoy (1644) and Ely House (1648) in London, however, this was discontinued after their restoration in 1660.

As a result of the British military's global engagement, the number of disabled veterans rose in the second half of the seventeenth century (cf. Ridgway, 2011). The Chelsea and Greenwich Hospitals created after 1679, were unable to accommodate all of the veterans in need of support and consequently the number of veterans living on streets and begging for a living increased dramatically (cf. Hasted & Stamper, 2016; Pozo & Walker, 2011). This situation deteriorated further during the Crimean War (1853 – 1856) as survival rates of wounded servicemen improved due to advances in medical care. Thus, the provision of adequate support for veterans posed a challenge too great for the British government (cf. Ridgway, 2011). The view that "British governments have tended to forget and neglect their Ex-Service Personnel once they have left the Armed Forces" (Dandeker et al., 2006; p. 164), is evidenced by the evolvement of regimental and corps associations in the early 19th century. In the late 19th century, tri-Service Armed Forces Charities followed. However, as these Charities required financial aid through public donations, the public awareness of the 'horrors of war' and its aftermath, objectified through the impoverished, suffering veteran, needed to be raised (cf. Ridgway, 2014). Funds to support veterans and their dependents were therefore gained through public appeals that were socially communicated in mass media. For example, the oldest tri-Service Armed Forces charity known as "Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Families Association" (SSAFA; originally "Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association" founded in 1885) originated from a public appeal published by The Times in 1885 (cf. SSAFA, n.d). In February of that year, as the second expeditionary force set sail for Egypt as part of Britain's Sudan campaign, Major James Gileda appealed for financial aid and volunteers to look after the families left behind (SSFA, n.d.). With public donations flooding in as response to this appeal, the 'Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association' (SSFA) was born ("By the end of its first year, 231 women and 466 children had received grants totalling £515 and 10 shillings"; SSAFA, n.d.).

Thirty years later, the outbreak of WW1 caused an unpredictable, unprecedented rise in the number of disabled veterans – followed by an equally unprecedented reciprocation in the growth of Charities. These Charities were desperately needed as 1.75 million men who returned from WW1 suffered from disability (Haster & Stamper, 2014). But even those able bodied struggled with employment. As a result of WW1, Britain's economy collapsed, leaving a total of 2 million veterans unemployed (Royal British Legion, 2014). With the increasing number of impoverished and disabled veterans, regimental support and support from wealthy individuals developed into more formal charitable organisations (Harris, 2014; Pozo & Walker, 2014). Between 1916 and 1920 over 11,000 Charities were registered that provided support for disabled, homeless and unemployed veterans (i.e. Blind Veterans UK, Blesma, The Limbless Veterans, The Royal British Legion).

However, as the Charities' ability to provide adequate post-service help relied on public funding, Charities picked up on injury as their all-encompassing key theme to be socially perpetuated in depictions of veterans, a trend that continues to this very day (McCartney, 2011). Here, psychological injury had been introduced into the public's consciousness with public sympathy increasing over time and depending on the social appreciation of deployments (McCartney, 2011, Jones & Wessely, 2005). In this sense, research indicated that the more society perceives veterans to have fought an illegitimate warfare, the more veterans were culturally represented in the context of suffering from PTSD and trauma (McGarry, 2012). While socially appreciated missions (i.e. WW1, WW2) may also draw attention to the veteran as suffering from experiencing atrocities, the social focus shifts slightly in the context of ill-perceived missions (c.f. Goldensohn, 2006). Cultural representations of veterans that reside in media, literature and films draw then only and almost exclusive attention to the veteran's horrific experiences on the battlefield (i.e. De Groot, 1995; Chattarji, 2000; Goldensohn, 2006). From this perspective, the veteran's experience may be conceptualised as requiring public sentiment, empathy and pity as conceptualisations of the veteran overlap with definitions of victims in a victimological context (McGarry, 2012).

In a victimological context, "civilians and soldiers in a war" (Kauzlarich et al., 2001; p. 175) can be considered to be victims of a 'state crime'. Obliged by the military contract, the soldier is forced to violate international and/or domestic laws in addition to human rights standards (ibid). In this sense, "soldiers [...] while 'doing their unpleasant, ennobling duty',

are being victimised by the State and corporate actors" (Ruggiero, 2005, p.251). Here, particularly criminological analyses of the British deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan may be noteworthy as these were found to unveil aspects of inherent criminal traits that cannot be considered as legal due to 'legitimate' perceptions of the *Jus ad Bellum* of war (McGarry, 2012, Ruggiero, 2005, Kauzarlich et al., 2001). For example, analyses present these deployments in terms of questionable legitimacy at the outset (cf. Zolo, 2009), of failings to protect civilian lives (cf. Iraq Body Count, 2011), or the countries' socio-economic structures (cf. Fisk, 2008). Particularly, profiteering from billions of US dollars through the requisition of Iraqi oil is a commonly used argument among social scientists to draw comparisons between the British military intervention in Iraq and a state crime as socially amoral acts were committed by and in the interest of state power (Kauzarlich et al., 2001; cf. Whyte, 2007, 2010). A general public disregard of the British deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan is therefore unsurprising (cf. YouGov, 2015, Hines et al., 2015). In this sense, public perceptions of veterans from the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan may resonate with pertinent perceptions of veterans from other 'unpopular' wars.

An example of such an 'unpopular' war may be the US intervention in Vietnam. In the context of fighting in an illegitimate war, Thomson (1998) argues the image of the Vietnam veteran to be problematic as being based upon readily accessible social narratives of illegitimate warfare. Wessley (2005) continues with suggesting the returning Vietnam veteran, defeated in an unpopular war, to become as much of a 'victim' as the civilian Vietnamese. Crucially, the context of illegitimacy provided a socially accepted justification for constructing veterans in terms of suffering from war-induced psychological trauma (cf. Thomson, 1998). Wessley (2005) therefore argues that the perception of war-induced traumas changed following the Vietnam War. Soldiers who experienced psychological illnesses during WW1 and WW2 were thought to suffer from effects that were characterised in a twofold way: Either short-lived and only experienced during service, or, long-term lived and attributable to other germane circumstances, unrelated to the experience of war itself (i.e. heredity; Wesseley, 2005). In contrast, US veterans from Vietnam returned home and were thought to suffer from the psychological consequences related to combat-experience in Vietnam (cf. Wesseley, 2005). The impact of their combat experience was publicly considered to torment veterans to the extent that they became known as volatile and isolated 'others' in US society who continued fighting post-service in illusionary battlefields (Wessely, 2005; McNally, 2006).

Within this context are embedded modern conceptualisations of war-related mental illnesses. The disparate psychological and emotional post-war responses of Vietnam veterans that depicted them as isolated and volatile were, in the absence of a formal diagnosis, conceptualised as 'Vietnam syndrome'. What soon followed was the 1980's edition of the American Psychiatric Association's (APA) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Health Disorders (DSM-III) with its nosologic classification of adverse post-war responses as 'PTSD' (cf. for full account see Scott, 2017). With the advent of PTSD, the unconscious psyche of the veteran was not seen as the cause of trauma but the veteran's reaction, as being a normal response to an extraordinary event (i.e. witnessing atrocities during the war; Fassin & Retchmann, 2009).

Within this context of war induced trauma, McGarry & Ferguson (2012) outlined that veterans can be conceptualised as victims in a twofold way – 'deserving' or 'undeserving' victims. 'Deserving victims' responds to the idea that "some people are victims through no fault of their own" (Waklate, 2007, p. 496). For example, McGarry (2012) outlined that veterans sometimes perceived themselves and other veterans as 'deserving victims' when having been involved in a conflict without choice and injured or killed as a result of such. However, more commonly veterans perceived themselves and other veterans as 'undeserving victims', as having had the choice to join the UK Armed Forces and were an equal match to those they fought. This perception negates the veteran being legitimately ascribed an ideal or deserving victim status (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). However, the generalizability of McGarry's (2012) study is questionable as it drew solely on data from one IPA study with six British veterans from the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. Therefore, to date research does not allow to make substantial conclusions about the victimisation of veterans in terms of the veteran's self-perception.

Burdett et al. (2012), however, provided further evidence that 'Veteran' may be related to a negative connotation. In a quantitative telephone-survey, Burdett et al. (2012) outlined that 49% of UK Ex-Service Personnel answered the question: "Would you describe yourself as a veteran?" negatively – though meeting the official UK governmental definition of 'Veteran'. The reason why veterans did not-self identify with this term, however, was not further investigated due to the quantitative nature of Burdett et al.'s (2012) project. Therefore, to date, it remains questionable whether and to which extent veterans or members of the UK general public more generally may refer to veterans as being victims.

In conclusion, evidence from recent studies indicated that veterans may be related to negative, victimising sentiments. The negative connotation of 'Veteran' may have its origins in British history and may thus resonate with the historical dimension of social knowledge (Jovchelovitch, 2001a). Particularly the high number of impaired, homeless and unemployed veterans from WW1 and the emergence of charitable organizations that based their advertising strategies on depictions of veterans as suffering victims may have therefore contributed to today's understandings of veterans. However, though historical knowledge may influence a subject's understanding of social realities, historical knowledge does not directly transpose to a subject's understanding (Jovchelovitch, 2001a). Instead, a subject is placed within a pre-existing reality in that a culture has produced, maintained or changed an objectified understanding of what ought to be important. This notion refers to the cultural dimension of knowledge (cf. ibid).

2.3.2. The Cultural Dimension

Knowledge of social realities is acquired in cultural contexts (Jovchelovitch, 2001a). Subjective representations of how the reality should be seen are bound to cultural variations and spatial displacements that are encoded in objectified narratives, preserved for subsequent generations (cf. Liu & Laszlo, 2007). In this context, conflicts and their protagonists and antagonists showed to play a pivotal role in cultures around the world. Being based upon the most simplified story arc – protagonists who fight antagonists – they convey collective understandings in the form of objectified narratives to its members (Liu & Laszlo, 2007; Propp, 1968, Bar Tal, 2000, Cabecinhas, 2006). In doing so, individuals are provided with a cultural, ideological framework which explains how things are and supposed to be seen (Halbwachs, 1992; Campbell, 2008; Propp, 2010; Pennebaker, Paez & Rimé, 2013, Wertsch, 2002). In other words, the narrative templates surrounding cultural perceptions of the historic structure, legitimise perceptions of reality to the extent that even new experiences are framed, interpreted and categorised around historical patterns (Liu & Laszlo, 2007; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

For example, Liu & Hilton (2005) related the British, French and German military responses after the attack on the World Trade Centres in 2001 to military action in WW2. Collective memories of WW2, so Liu & Hilton (2005) argue, help to understand why countries reacted

differently to a challenge where their common interest was ostensibly the same. Although Britain, France and Germany were all obliged by NATO to offer support to America, Britain dispatched troops immediately while France was reticent, and the German chancellor Schroeder called a vote of confidence in his government before deploying German troops. Liu & Hilton (2005) explained these differences by drawing on WW2 as having created a *'foundational myth'*. A foundational myth defines social rights and obligations and thus legitimises its social and political arrangements (Malinowski, 1926). More concretely, a foundational myth is thought to be conceptualised as a set of constitutional charters that provide a society with an account of its origin and mission. They are highly prescriptive perceptions of socially shared understandings that are governed inter-individually by the state through influencing institutional forms of remembering, such as the way of wars being represented in museums and at commemorative services (i.e. Adams, Stinmetz & Zamponi, 2003; Schwartz, 1997). Education and media play a pivotal role in the communication of constitutional charters across generations and to newcomers such as immigrants (Hamilton, Sherman, & Castelli, 2002; Liu & Hilton, 2005). In this context, Liu & Hilton (2005) argue that WW2 related differences in British, French and German history lead to the formation of different constitutional charters. Britain, France and Germany reacting differently towards the deployment of troops in Afghanistan would therefore mirror differences in constitutional charters:

> "That the same challenge elicited such diverse reactions from the three allies confronted with the same problem is not difficult to understand in the light of history: Britain's charter sees it as a world policeman with the US just as in 1941 when the two nations combined to defend democracy against Germany, Italy and Japan; France's charter sees it as defending human rights, but as a nation resistant to Anglo - Saxon world hegemony; finally, Germany is in quest of a new charter that will allow it to define a 'normal' role in the world without arousing historically grounded fears of German aggression both at home and abroad." (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 538)

In this sense, the framework, in that social knowledge is being created may be highly influenced not only by a culture's shared history but also by the cultural public representations thereof. In conclusion, social knowledge may mirror a set of culturally produced '*taken-for-granted's*'.

Culturally produced taken-for-granted's' have been extensively researched around the world (i.e. Jovchelovich, 2001a; Bhabha, 1994; Geertz, 1993; Levy-Bruhl, 1910/ 1985; Said, 1978). These taken-for-granted's have a highly arbitrary character that becomes evident when comparing the differences between cultural guidelines (Jovchelovitch, 2001a; Arendt, 1958). Cultural taken-for-granted's may be so pre-eminent within a culture that individuals of a culture are not even aware of these anymore. More concretely, Gibson (2012, p. 144) argues,

> "It is in the least obviously cultural utterances – the ones with which everyone agrees, or at least with which few appear to explicitly disagree – that the most deep-rooted cultural assumptions can be located."

Interestingly, previous research indicated that such a cultural assumption might relate to representations of Service in British culture. Studies on rhetorical functions in relation to military service outlined that an association between heroism and service may be located in discursive descriptions of dichotomies (i.e. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008). As Gibson (2012) outlines, these discursive dichotomies are most often founded on representations of existential threats (i.e. 'evil transgressors' vs. 'righteous us') or symbolic values (i.e. 'freedom' vs. 'oppression') which are related to 'serving the country'. Gibson (2012) therefore argues military service to be culturally conceptualised in terms of performing a solemn function which may make veterans to solemn people. This way of constructing military service, so Gibson (2012), executes important culture-specific identity management work that allows the categorisation of one group of people to be treated with more respect than another. Previous research exemplified this notion by outlining how members of subgroups in society claim recognition and respect on behalf of those who have served in the military and were part of the same subgroup (cf. Gibson, 2012).

In conclusion, socially pertinent perceptions of veterans may be based upon a cultural and historical assumption that arbitrarily relates this population to heroic sentiments. Taking this into consideration would suggest that understandings of veterans may relate to a prevailing, social notion that its members are not fully aware. The cultural dimension may therefore suggest that societally pertinent understandings of veterans may therefore resonate with heroic sentiments.

However, within cultural frameworks, sub-cultural groups may differ in their views. Therefore, sub-cultural differences need to be considered in the construction of social knowledge. This will be addressed in the following.

2.3.3. The Public Dimension

Knowledge of social realities is created in public dimensions as society is not necessarily a consensus of opinions (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001a). Instead, society is considered to represent a field of tension that is created by members of different social groups. These social groups compete to impose their ideas on other members of society in order to increase their power (ibid). Therefore, in '*public spheres*' – any arena of social exchange (i.e. face-to-face discussions, media, social media) – social knowledge that is presented by members of different social groups competes, clashes and becomes re-negotiated (ibid). In this sense, knowledge about a social reality may be transformed when contested with different perspectives about the same social reality.

The public dimension may therefore suppose that different members in society may hold different perceptions of veterans. Therefore, social discourses in the public sphere (i.e. media debates, news) may impact understandings of veterans that are held by a member of British society. Here, particularly the most recent British deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan may be noteworthy as being commonly conceptualised in terms of a 'state crime' and subject of social scrutiny and disregard (i.e. Kauzarlich et al., 2001; cf. Whyte, 2007, 2010; YouGov, 2015; Hines et al., 2015). It could therefore be argued that those who had executed the 'state crime' would be socially conceptualised and publicly depicted as perpetrators and thus negatively perceived by the British public. Interestingly, studies indicated that this is not the case. Although the majority of the British public opposes the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan (cf. Gribble et al., 2014; YouGov, 2015), British public remained supportive towards veterans from these deployments (BSA, 2012). Literature that intended to elucidate why members of the British public may remain to be supportive of veterans regardless of their mission indicated that veterans may be understood in terms of their professional competence (cf. Gibson & Condor, 2009; Hines et al., 2015).

Therefore, the discrepancy between public attitudes towards the deployments and the veterans who fought in these deployments may be overcome by a public appreciation for the successful completion of occupational requirements (Hines et al., 2015). In this context, it is noteworthy to mention King (2010), who argues that the emergence of an all-professional military had changed the social identity of the soldier and the public perceptions of the UK Armed Forces as a consequence. Conscripted Forces, King (2010), drew on identities that resembled politically motivated citizen soldiers who were inspired by moral values, ethnic nationalism and masculine norms that made up for their lack of military experience. In contrast, the all-volunteer Forces of the 20th century relies on the professionalism of its members to operate effectively and cost efficiently. Today, so King (2013), the recruitment of Service Personnel is based upon the ability to perform a requested job and to adequately pass objective training standards. Therefore, the British public may understand military Personnel in terms of their professional achievement instead of their national identity (cf. ibid).

Gibson & Condor (2009) demonstrated and described how British soldiers' self-identified as professionals. Gibson & Condor (2009) pointed out that soldiers sometimes actively distanced themselves from the implication that their Service might be motivated by a sense of 'serving the country heroically' or 'heroic patriotic pride'. This rhetorical distancing, so Gibson & Condor (2009), happened at least in part to dissociate oneself from the consequences of their actions and from acting for one's country as indicating that one is acting for – and thus in personal agreement with – the policies of the government (Gibson & Condor, 2009; Gibson 2012).

A study on British cultural conceptualisations of 'Service' outlined similar results (cf. Gibson, 2012). Gibson (2012) combined previous findings on war memorials, social conceptualisations of the British Army, rhetorical conceptualisation and evaluations of Service with a discursive-rhetorical analysis of televised debates relating to the UK intervention in Iraq. The findings indicated that social notions on the UK Armed Forces' (ex)members' identity as professional facilitated maintaining positive representations of the UK Armed Forces *and* its (ex)members. Gibson (2012) concluded that the soldier's and the veteran's identity as professional allows members of society to dissociate the UK Armed Forces and its (ex)members from accountability as being ruled by the UK government. In this sense, socially perpetuated representations of soldiers and veterans, based upon performing a requested job, turned Service, so Gibson (2012), into an apolitical matter.

Soldiers and veterans were so socially conceptualised as carrying out instructions of the government of the day and thus distanced towards the implications and consequences of Service (cf. ibid).

However, though Gibson's (2012) provides fundamental explorative research on the social field in that individuals in British society form their understandings of veterans, to date no research has followed up on whether and to which extent social notions of veterans as ex-professionals are mirrored by individual understandings of veterans. Moreover, Gibson & Condor's (2009) conclusions on the British soldier's self-identification remained vague. This may be the case as the intention of Gibson & Condor's (2009) was to further understandings of how military service is being conceptualised by British soldiers. Instead of investigating British soldier's self-perceived identity, Gibson & Condor's (2009) drew conclusions on the soldier's identity based upon the soldiers' conceptualisation of military service. In this sense, it may be argued that Gibson & Condor's (2009) study may not accurately reflect-self perceptions.

However, to date the area of societal understandings that may relate to an occupational perspective when thinking of a veteran remains largely unresearched. Though previous literature addressed theoretical notions on representations of the UK Armed Forces (ex)member's occupational identity and to some extent observed whether these perspectives are held by British soldiers, public understandings remain unaddressed. Therefore, it remains questionable to which extent understandings of veterans in terms of their professional competence may be mirrored by members of the British public. In this sense, Hines et al.'s (2015) statement of supportive attitudes towards veterans to be explained by understandings of veterans in terms of their professional identity remains speculation.

In summary, the public dimension of social knowledge may suppose that understandings of veterans may change in the course of societal thematization and discourse. Therefore, particularly the exhaustive societal problematization of the British missions in Iraq and Afghanistan may have contributed to reconceptualization processes concerning societal understandings of veterans. To dissociate the veteran from the implication of Service, understandings of veterans may have been related to occupational perspectives that resonated with the professional British all-volunteer Force of the 20th century.

2.3.4. Implications of the Three Interrelated Dimensions of Public Life

In conclusion, the three interrelated dimensions of public life outline that the empiricist subject-object opposition is not enough to fully understand the fundamentally social nature of knowledge. The genesis of knowledge takes place in socio-cultural contexts that influence and constrain its development (Jovchelovitch, 2007). More concretely, although an individual may understand its perception of veterans as being unique and personalised, it has been framed within a socio-cultural context. Therefore, it can be assumed that the socio-cultural context has influenced the individual's understanding. However, although knowledge from social spheres may contribute to the formation of individuals' understandings, it does not equate with it. Just as much as perceptions of veterans cannot be explained by taking, an ultimately subjective approach, an overreliance on the collective could be similarly misleading (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Instead, the individual's construction of social knowledge may be encaptured by understanding it from a triangular perceptive that addresses the relationship between the 'ego'(I), the 'alter' (other) and the 'object'.

2.4. The 'Veteran' as Social Representation

Social representation theory (Moscovici, 1988, 2000, 2001) attempted to bridge the gap between the formation of understandings in terms of the collective and the subjective. Social representations are "a form of knowledge, socially produced with a practical function, namely to contribute to the construction of a reality shared by a social group or entity" (Jodelet, 1989, p. 36), they are culturally shared sets of understandings of socially prevalent realities. In this sense, social representations capture how people make their world meaningful by observing communication processes that determine the content and structure of beliefs and practices (Moscovici, 1984).

Crucially, social representations are thought to be actively developed in de-traditionalised, fluid, dynamic and public spheres which are easily accessible to members from different societies. They provide members with conditions of equality and allow to connect to and draw on information from very different worldviews. The legitimacy of understandings is established through rational discussions where arguments of authority (associated with collective representations of reality), are being replaced by the authority of arguments (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2007). In this sense, Moscovici (1984, p. 13) claims:

"Representations, obviously, are not created by individuals in isolation. Once created, however, they lead a life of their own, circulate, merge, attract and repel each other, and give birth to new representations, while old ones die out."

Therefore, Moscovici (1984) introduces the dynamic semiotic Ego-Alter-Object triangle that describes the relationship of social representational construction. As outlined in Figure 1., social representations are thought to emerge in the context of a reciprocal relationship between the 'Ego' (I), the 'Alter' (other) and the 'Object'. In conclusion, individuals and groups create representations through communication and interaction.

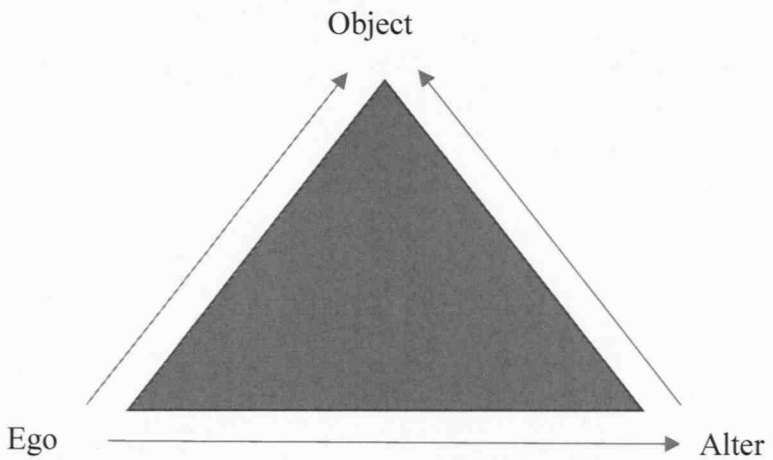

Figure 1.
Semiotic Triangle (cf. Moscovici, 1984, p. 9)

Primarily, social scientists consider communication and interaction to create and shape representations through eliciting intra-individual *'anchoring'* and *'objectification'* processes (i.e. Moscovici, 1984, 2000; Bauer & Gaskell, 1999; Breakwell, 1993; Clemence et al., 2014). Anchoring refers "to classify and to name something" (Moscovici, 1984, p. 30). On being classified, a set of rules, characteristics and behaviour is confined that differs from the set of rules, characteristics and behaviours of other realities. It involves stipulating what is permissible in relation to all members of the group and delimits the new reality from other,

pre-existing realities. Therefore, that something can be named (i.e. veteran) is thought to precipitate a social representation that differs from others. Moscovici (1984, p. 34) suggests:

> "a.) once named, the person or thing can be described and acquires certain characteristics and tendencies etc.; b.) he or she becomes distinct from other persons or things through these characteristics and tendencies; and c.) he or it becomes the object of a convention between those who adopt and share the same convention."

However, anchoring as a system of classification is not merely grading or labelling a social reality such as a group of people (veterans) as discrete entities. Instead, the primary objective of classification is to facilitate the formation of opinions, the interpretation of characteristics and the understanding behind these characteristics (Moscovici, 1984). In this sense, it may be assumed that naming a veteran would supposedly relate to recalling a set of all-encompassing characteristics or schema that are shared by members of this group (i.e. Service).

Anchoring is thought to be the dominant process in the case of a representation remaining unthematized and unproblematized. Then typical points of view and common perspectives are recycled and reformulated – the ontology of a representation is taken-for-granted. The more an individual's representation is conventual in nature, the more it is assumed to be fossilised (Moscovici, 2000) – lasting and permanent instead of ephemeral and fluidly-changing.

This may relate to understandings of veterans as heroes. Literature outlined that understandings of veterans as heroes may be a cultural assumption that derived from the historical military interventions of the UK Armed Forces (WW1, WW2; i.e. Gibson, 2012). Therefore, it may be assumed that culture-specific education and commemorative practices may mirror anchoring as predominant processes in British society that relate to historical veteran-hero depictions.

In contrast, objectification describes the process by which something abstract is made real. This is accomplished by attaching concrete meanings to abstract expressions. For example, the linguistic expression 'Veteran' becomes an ostensible reality when the individual attaches concrete mental pictures and a set of understandings that are applicable for veterans to the linguistic expression 'Veteran'. In this sense, objectification relates to a *'de-subjectification'*, or as Purkhardt (1993, p. 15) claims:

> "Objectification or de-subjectification is thus an active and creative process by which social representations are transformed such that the unfamiliar in one generation becomes familiar and natural in the next."

In conclusion, objectification identifies an iconic quality of an imprecise idea and reproduces that concept into an image. Therefore, what is naturally 'empty' and meaningless becomes filled with substance (Moscovici, 1984). Objectification is assumed to be the predominant process when an individual's social representation becomes challenged during times of crisis and upheaval and thus when it is the subject of tension (Duveen, 2001; Moscovici, 2000). Then the individual is challenged to find justifications for existing beliefs and attaches important new meanings to representations (Markova, 2000). Thus, fully-fledged representations, which individuals can rationalise and discuss, may have been subject to objectification. In this context, observing representations of British Iraq or Afghanistan veterans would be particularly interesting, as these missions have been widely scrutinised in British society (i.e. YouGov, 2015). As a consequence, individuals in British society may have re-conceptualised initial understandings of veterans in accordance to socially perpetuated information about the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan.

This notion outlines that when considering 'time' in the representational construction, it may be concluded that social representations have the potential to change. Therefore, Bauer & Gaskell (1999) extended the representational triangle (Figure 1.) by introducing the dimension 'time'. Bauer & Gaskell (1999) argue that Moscovici (1984) did not sufficiently address the 'past', 'now'(present) and 'future' of social representations. Therefore, they turned the representational triad, consisting of the 'Ego', the 'Other' and the 'Object', into a social representational project, consisting of the representational triad in the 'past', 'now'(present) and 'future' dimension (Figure 2).

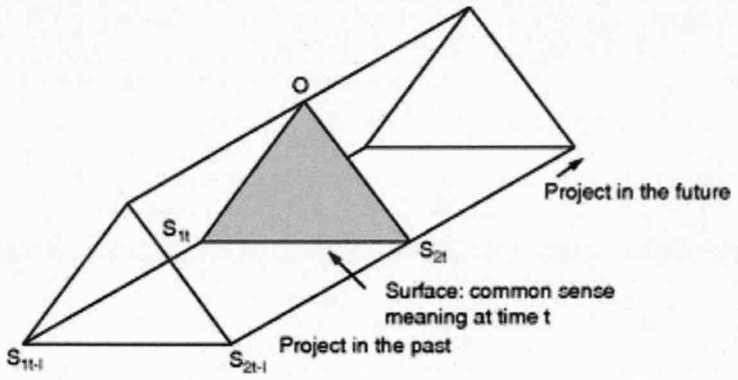

Figure 2.
Diagram of a 'Social Representational Project' (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999)

Time, as an additional dimension that needs to be considered, may also be significant in the context of understandings of veterans as a social representation. This may be the case as understandings of veterans may change in the course of a lifetime. As attending and celebrating institutional forms of commemoration and memorialisation represent an integral part of the English history curriculum (cf. DfE, 2013), individuals brought up in British society may form a specific representation of veterans during childhood. However, the ephemeral, fluidly changing nature of social representations (cf. Moscovici, 2000) would make it unlikely for a representation to persists through the course of a lifetime (cf. Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). In this sense, it may be possible that particularly personal experiences with veterans (i.e. having a veteran as a good friend) or experiences with that the veteran may be associated (i.e. experience with violence) may impact one's representation of the veteran (cf. Allport, 1958; Dovidio, Glick & Rudman, 2008). In conclusion, to understand why individuals may hold a specific representation of veterans, it may also be necessary to examine how individuals perceived to have changed their representation of veterans over time and which factors may have contributed to the representational change.

In summary, Social Representation Theory may present an appropriate approach to examine socially prevalent understandings of veterans exhaustively. This may be particularly the case as to date Social Representation Theory has been considered as a well-established and widely utilised theoretical framework that has successfully addressed contemporary social problems such as gendered identities (i.e. Duveen, 2001), racialised differences (Howarth, 2002; Howarth, 2004), health and sub-cultural health beliefs (i.e. Gervais & Jovchelovitch, 1998) or community development (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Therefore, Social

Representation Theory is thought to have the potential of inviting "practical engagement" (Moscovici, 1998, p. 405) by providing theoretical explanations upon which practical interventions may be based (de-Graft Aikins, 2002; Krause, 2002).

However, though Social Representation Theory is, amongst social scientists, widely acknowledged as "a revolutionary re-orientation of social psychology" (Fraser, 1994), definitions of 'social representations' have been subject to scrutiny. Its critics have argued that a clear and coherent definition of social representations may be unattainable as Moscovici's theoretical outlines are confusing (Billig, 1998) unclear (Jahoda, 1988), fragmented (McKinlay & Potter, 1987) or inconsistent (Potter, 1996) and resulting in social representational research being too divergent (Fife-Shaw, 1997). This criticism is surprising as there are numerous clear definitions to be found in the literature. An example of such a concrete, unambiguous definition is Jodelet's (1991) notion:

> "Social representations are images that condense manifold meanings that allow people to interpret what is happening; categories which serve to classify circumstances, phenomena and individuals with whom we deal, theories which permit us to establish facts about them. When we consider social representations embedded in the concrete reality of our social life, they are all the above together." (as cited in Howarth 2006; p. 70)

Here, Jodelet (1991) defines the ontology, the use and the origins of social representations. However, what remains dubious in Jodelet's (1991) definition of social representations is the scope of social representations. Fraser (1994) argues that the question of how partial or all-encompassing the scope of social representations is has never been addressed in Social Representation Theory, epitomising an essential limitation of this theory. However, the degree of social consensus on social representations has been addressed by an extensive series of previous social representational research (i.e. Ben-Asher, 2003; Vala et al., 1998; Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995). Moreover, the scope of social representations was also addressed by Moscovici's (1988, 2001) notion in that social representations are considered to take hegemonic, emancipated and polemic forms.

2.4.1. Hegemonic, Emancipated and Polemic Representations

Moscovici (i.e. 1988, 2001) argues that individuals may hold representations that are hegemonic, emancipated or polemic. Hegemonic representations are uniform and coercive

understandings which are shared but not produced by all members of a group. They are highly homogenous and can become shared to the extent that they become self-evident representations. Self-evident representations are those representations that social members do not acknowledge as such. Instead, they are represented as an undeniable reality. The nature of these self-evident representations facilitates their ability to perpetuate themselves and relieves social members of their responsibility to justify these (Orr, 2007). In contrast, emancipated representations are liberated understandings of subgroups. These are shaped by sources of information that are not accessible or are not believed by other members of society. They are not yet incompatible with hegemonic representations (Moscovici, 2000). Polemic representations are antagonistic understandings. They are generated in the course of social conflict or controversy with society and are incompatible with hegemonic representations.

The analysis of the public dimension regarding socially evident perceptions of the veteran indicated that hegemonic, emancipated and polemic perceptions of the veteran might circulate in UK society. Based upon a wide array of social psychological research, such as analyses of interviews, media, memorials or cultural and sub-cultural movement discourses and legacies, Gibson (2012), Gibson & Condor (2009), Coy et al. (2008) and Gibson & Abell (2004) suggests the veteran-hero representation to be an arbitrary cultural assumption. This cultural assumption that is prevalent in British society was found to be justified by cultural narratives relating to WW1 and WW2, that are communicated by war memorials (cf. Gibson, 2012). In this sense, it may be argued that the veteran-hero representation may not solely be a hegemonic but also a self-evident representation, a representation that represents an undeniable reality (Orr, 2007). The veteran-hero representation as a self-evident representation would suppose that members of British society are unable to justify the veteran-hero assumption fully. This may not be the case, as research outlined that the veteran's hero representation to be based upon a discursive contestation of antinomies (the 'good' vs. the 'bad') that is socially perpetuated through references to British history (the Allies vs. the Nazis).

However, to date research has solely theoretically addressed whether and to which extent the veteran-hero representation may be a culturally shared, hegemonic, representation. Therefore, it remains questionable whether social members may mirror the veteran-hero representation and whether or to which extent a possible hegemonic veteran-hero

representation that is held by social members to respond to theoretical notions of self-evident representations.

Research such as McGarry's (2012) and McGarry & Ferguson's (2012) interview studies on the victimisation of veterans may allow to relate the veteran-victim representation to an emancipated representation. This may be the case as the victimisation of veterans seemed not explicitly to oppose the veteran-hero representation but to focus on a different set of justifications. In this sense, it may be argued that the veteran-victim representation may have evolved from the veteran-hero representation and thus relates to the veteran-hero representation, however, is also distinct from it.

The veteran-victim representation may be particularly prevalent in today's culture as the most recent British interventions (Iraq and Afghanistan) may be considered as 'unpopular' wars (cf. YouGov, 2015). McGarry (2012) outlines that similarities may be found between UK social perceptions of the UK military intervention in Iraq/Afghanistan and US social perceptions of the US military intervention in Vietnam. McGarry (2012) moreover indicated British military intervention in Iraq to have considerable overlap with conceptualisations of a 'state crime' (Whyte 2007, 2010). As a result, an emancipated veteran-victim representation may be particularly prevalent in today's society. This may be further evidenced by social scientists who argue that media and Charities have taken up psychological and physical injury as a key theme in representing veterans (McCartney, 2011), reflecting the long-lasting social belief of military service being damaging (Connelly & Burgess, 2013). However, to date, whether and to which extent the veteran may be socially represented as victim remains unresearched. Although McCartney (2011) provides an exhaustive and in-depth analysis and interpretation of selected articles in the British press, her methodological rigidity is questionable. McCartney (2011) does not provide the reader with any information on sampling, selection criteria or instruments used for her analysis. Therefore, it remains dubious on which base McCartney (2011) selected articles and whether these were representative for the British press as a whole. Moreover, McCartney's (2011) focus was on the representation of British soldiers in the British press. The section that related to veterans provided a short overview of veteran-related depictions, however, this overview cannot be understood as epitomising general representations of veterans in the British press. In conclusion, though McCartney (2011) outlined *that* veterans are depicted as victims in the British press, the study does not allow to conclude that veteran-victim depictions are *the only* or *the predominant* way in which veterans are represented in media.

Therefore, to date, the public sphere, referring to social dialogues in which veterans are being discussed and specific understandings of veterans are contested and perpetuated, remains subject to further research.

Moreover, to date, it is unclear whether and to which extent individuals from the general public refer to veterans as victims. The limited evidence that research to date generated, provides solely information on the veterans' self-perceptions in relation to victimisation that had no relationship to Social Representation Theory (i.e. McGarry, 2012). In conclusion, it was not observed how veterans conceptualised and formed the veteran-victim representation, whether the conceptualisation referred to an emancipated representation that developed out of a hegemonic representation, why it did so or whether individuals with no military background were holding similar representations.

Lastly, the veteran as an ex-professional (outcome of a profession) might represent a polemic representation as it neither responds to heroic sentiments of serving (i.e. Gibson, 2012) nor to the veteran as suffering from Service-related experiences (i.e. McGarry, 2012). The veteran as an ex-professional may be therefore antagonistic and incompatible with the veteran-hero and the veteran-victim. Here, particularly King's (2010, 2013) notion on differences in the 20th century soldier-identity may draw a line between the veteran as ex-professional and as a hero. Instead of the politically motivated citizen soldier who is inspired by moral values, the professional soldier operates effectively and cost-efficiently to fulfil a requested duty. Thus, the ex-professional may relate to a polemic representation as it could be difficult to combine understandings of veterans as ex-professionals and as heroes. In contrast to the veteran-hero representation that evolved in a historical context where the 'good' veteran had fought (and defeated) the 'bad' evil-doers, the ex-professional may be understood as having completed any requested job.

The veteran as ex-professional may also be incompatible with understandings of veterans as victims. As Service is understood as a 'normal' occupation that implies duties just as any other job (cf. King, 2010), the damaging nature of Service may be understood as part of Service and performing the unique obligations implied in the military contract (cf. McGarry, 2012; Dandeker, 2006).

However, although research has outlined that individuals might refer to the veteran-ex-professional representation in some instances (i.e. King, 2010, 2013; Gibson, 2012), no scientific attempts have been made to fully understand the development and social scope of understandings concerning the veteran as ex-professional. Moreover, no studies have

examined this field from a social representational perspective that investigates how and why individuals may have formed the veteran-ex-professional representation. In this sense, it remains unclear whether and to which extent the general public understands veterans as ex-professional and under which conditions the ex-professional representation emerges. Therefore, King's (2010, 2013) notions remains a theoretical – nevertheless important – disquisition.

Moreover, though existing literature may allow to form hypothesises on hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations of the veteran, it remains questionable how these types of representations may interact. For example, to which extent are hegemonic, emancipated or polemic representations exclusive and recalled independently from each other? Are hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations self-contained representations, characterised by high intra-representational consensus between members of groups who hold the hegemonic, emancipated or polemic representation?
In this sense, theoretical notions of hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations are scrutinised by some social scientists (i.e. Fraser, 1994; 1986; Judd & Milburn; 1980). For example, Fraser (1994; p. 2) states:

> "Instead it [social representation] is likely to be an array of ideas with limited signs of agreement amongst unstable groupings, such that for example, all of the 30% who believe that benefits paid to unemployed people are too low is not necessarily contained within the 40% who hold the government responsible for creating unemployment or the 50% who believe that the unemployed are in no way responsible for their own unemployment. In such a population there would not be too convenient, readily discernible social representations of unemployment, a left-wing one and a right-wing one."

Here, Fraser (1994) argues that the tripartite division of self-contained representational types into hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations does not clarify what Fraser (1986) called a 'jumble of attitudes'. Consensus across a range of representations would therefore not be present – neither for the type of representation nor for the group as a whole or readily discernible sub-groups. However, scrutiny towards intra-representational consistency and coherence did not take Moscovici's (1984) theoretical notion on a representation's *contextual* dependency and legitimacy into account. More concretely, Moscovici (1984) argues that individuals can hold different and even opposing views about

the same reality as long as these views are embedded within different contexts. This would suppose that individuals may hold multiple understandings about the same reality simultaneously.

2.4.2. Cognitive Polyphasia

The theoretical notion *'cognitive polyphasia'*, first coined by Moscovici (1984), describes incompatible representations that refer to the same reality but organise and interpret this reality in distinct ways. In contrast, to *'cognitive dissonance'* (Festinger, 1962) that supposes an individual's inability to hold dichotomous representations without negatively affecting the self's equilibrium, cognitive polyphasia assumes that as long as each representation is locally consistent, even contradictory representations can coexist side by side. Therefore, "it is in the context of different life worlds that holding on to 'contradictory' representations makes sense" (Wagner et al., 2000; p. 306). In this sense, the coexistence of incompatible beliefs that form contradictory representations is thought to be

> "a normal state of affairs in communication and ordinary life. It occurs not only in societies at variance with each other but also within individuals. Consequently, the logical or cognitive unity of our mental life – which is taken for granted by many social psychologists – is a desideratum, not a fact." (Moscovici, 2001, p. 245)

Values, norms, context and aims are thought to regulate the choice individuals or social groups make in preferring one representation over the other. This was outlined in previous research that indicated different representations to evolve in different social settings (Wagner et al., 2000). In this sense, different circumstances and social contexts in which a specific reality is located are thought to require the individual to form also different situationally-dependent responses in order to behave in functional ways (Provencher, 2011). The same reality is conceptualised in different ways – all equally valid and contextually coherent.

Therefore, the veteran could be conceptualised differently and rationalities or justifications for these conceptualisations would be contextually dependent. For example, while a veteran-victim representation could be recalled in the context of understanding the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan as 'state crime', a veteran-hero representation might be recalled when thinking of the veteran's return to UK society and the transition into civilian life. In this

sense, the veteran could be contextually dependent understood as a victim and a hero as representations may be refuted or re-conceptualised in different contexts. Again, this outlines the ephemeral, fluidly changing nature of representations (i.e. Frilling, 2012). Thus, social representations are not solely a systematic framework of structured beliefs but also a process that describes how individuals create understandings of physical and social environments (Moscovici, 2000).

However, although cognitive polyphasia is acknowledged amongst social scientist to sufficiently explain *that* individuals may hold multiple representations at the same time, criticism addresses cognitive polyphasia not explaining *why* individuals may hold these multiple representations. Therefore, Breakwell (2016; p. 263) argues that why "social representations are accepted and used by an individual in their entity and sometimes they are not accepted or used at all" is not adequately investigated by theoretical notions of cognitive polyphasia. Breakwell (2016) consents with Doise (1993) who has scrutinised empirical work on social representations as focussing predominately on describing the content of social representations and anchoring and objectification processes. This field was pursued by academic research since 1993 with the focal point of interest being on examinations of how different representations compete in their claims of reality, and so defend, limit and exclude other representation of realities (i.e. Wagner et al., 2000; Jovchelovitch, 1996). However, a clear and comprehensive overview of struggle, conflict and resistance in individual representational construction has to date not been generated (cf. Howard, 2006). In this sense, it may be argued that the ways in that representations are generated and distributed by social groups and the functions these comprise have mainly been left unexplored (cf. Doise, 1993).

This limitation was addressed by recent research has addressed the question of why individuals may never have the same understanding of a representation. Breakwell (1986, 1993, 2001, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2014, 2016) therefore examined identity maintenance processes and how these may contribute to representational construction by relating Social Representation Theory to Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell, 2016, 2014, 2011, 2001).

2.4.3. Shaping Representations: Identity Process Theory in Social Representation Theory

Research highlighted that individuals may never share exactly the same understanding of a representation. People from even the most hegemonic group, who have the most similar sociodemographic characteristics and access to the most similar sources of information, always differ to some degree in their understandings (i.e. Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014; Rose et al., 1995). This issue was addressed by Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell, 2001, 2011, 2014, 2016) which assumed that the formation of a social representation is dependent upon identity construction processes. More specifically, the individual's awareness, acceptance and use of social representations are thought to be shaped by the two processes *'assimilation-accommodation'* and *'evaluation'*. While assimilation-accommodation is supposed to be a memory system, which absorbs new elements (i.e. personal values, attitudes, styles) and adjusts the existing identity structure to locate them, evaluation is considered to entail the allocation of value to identity elements. Both processes are complimentary information-processing systems which can be characterised as a series of rules for drawing inferences from new data in accordance to maintaining a positive identity structure (Breakwell, 2014). This positive identity-structure is thought to be affected by (1) continuity across time and situation, (2) uniqueness and distinctiveness from others, (3) self-efficacy – being confident and in control of one's life and (4) self-esteem – a feeling of self-worth (Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). Individuals are assumed to respond to aspects of social representations in accordance with how they threaten or secure these principles. When aspects of a representation cannot be aligned with these identity principles, then a positive identity structure is threatened, and the individual is supposed to reject these aspects or this understanding of the representation in general (i.e. Bonaitu, Breakwell & Cano, 1996). However, it is probably too simplistic to use the term 'rejection' when examining how identity constraints motivate the way social representations are formed. Most often a social representation becomes only subtly modified or an element is changed in emphasis (cf. Breakwell, 2016).

Therefore, individuals may select those representations of veterans which contribute positively to their identity structure and are thus aligned with identity principles - even if these contradict hegemonic, socially prevalent understandings. Thus, understandings of veterans may be determined by identity maintenance and development (cf. Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). However, to examine how and why representations of the veteran may be

accepted or rejected, an interpretative approach is necessary as previous research indicated that identity principles are rarely explicitly discussed. More commonly, they are latent drives that need to be uncovered and can only be assumed to be at work in shaping representations (cf. Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). However, although the IPT's highly interpretative approach may be subject to scrutiny as considered to be over-relying on interpretative methods, it may facilitate conclusions, describing why individuals chose some representations over others. Therefore, IPT may be a theory that would provide explanative power to understand how and why individuals shape representations in the way they do.

2.5. Conclusion

The present section provided an exhaustive overview of different theoretical perspectives that may be of use to examine how individuals in society may form their understandings and perceptions of veterans. By addressing the limitations of the empiricist and the socio-cultural perspective, it was argued that Social Representation Theory may be the most adequate theoretical means to investigate the formation of public beliefs concerning veterans. In doing so, the present chapter provided the reader with an overview of previous research on perceptions and representations of veterans in UK society.

However, to address the limitations of previous research and thus to investigate societally pertinent understandings of veterans more wholesomely, methodological considerations need to be made. Due to methodological openness, social representational research has produced an extensive series of qualitative and quantitative research in different fields of academic interest (Moscovici, 2001). In this sense, social representational research makes use of triangulation and methodolatry, avoiding "a slavish attachment and devotion to method" (Coyle, 2007, p. 26). However, to avoid excessive methodological experimentation that may ultimately lead to an 'anything-goes' outcome, the individual distinctive identities of discrete methodologies need to be maintained. Therefore, the following chapter will provide an overview of the quantitative, post-positivist research and the qualitative constructivist/interpretivist research paradigm. In doing so, the present project's methodological position will be clarified and the present thesis' research methods introduced.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The following describes the epistemological, philosophical and methodological framework within which this project's approach is situated. It presents a methodological rationale for the present project by outlining qualitative and quantitative research paradigms into which the examination of the 'social world' takes place (cf. Gillespie, 2004). Given the full range of specific methodological approaches, available within the quantitative and qualitative paradigms, the following will present solely methodological approaches of particular significance for the present project. Therefore, this chapter will provide an overview of quantitative and qualitative paradigms and epistemological and ontological assumptions. These will be related to the applications of methods in previous social representational research. The chapter will conclude with presenting a mixed-method procedure as being the most appropriate approach to address the limitations of the qualitative and quantitative paradigm.

3.2. Quantitative Paradigm: Post-Positivist Paradigm

3.2.1. Epistemology, Ontology and Methodology

Post-Positivism describes a less strict form of Positivism that developed in the middle of the 20th century. Positivism reflects an empirical approach that asserts methods, techniques and procedures from natural sciences to investigate the social world (Lee, 1992; Neuman, 2013). In this sense, a hard positivist ontology conceptualises the social reality as an observable 'objective reality' that can be investigated with knowable degrees of certainty. Investigation techniques are utilised that respond to objectively-correct 'hard' scientific research methods (cf. Carson et al., 2001; Long et al., 2000). Although the post-positivist paradigm maintained the positivism's ontological and epistemological contours, it turned the emphasis from certainty to probability (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, post-positivism remains to utilize strict empirical approaches that examine the causes of behaviour in order to produce 'certain' knowledge that is considered to be bound to probabilities of correctness (cf. Hanson & Grimmer, 2007; Bogdan & Biklen, 1997). In this sense, the post-positivist paradigm follows the notion that "no matter how faithfully the scientist adheres to scientific method research, research outcomes are neither totally objective nor unquestionably certain" (Crotty, 1998; p.

40). Post-Positivism, therefore, supports the idea that social scientists and natural scientists should employ similar methods of investigation as scientific knowledge is 'more representative' of truth than that derived from metaphysical speculation (cf. Schwandt, 2014). The value of the post-positivist paradigm in the production of 'certain' knowledge – within the realms of probabilities – is indubitably related to concepts such as reliability, validity and statistical significance. Post-positivist ontology and epistemology, therefore, requires hard-positivist research methodologies that allow the description of some parts of observable realities with certainty.

Quantitative methodologies are therefore based on numerical representations of issues and seek to form definite statements that can be considered as 'always true' (Hunt, 1994). The purpose of the research is to predict results, test theories and to determine the strength of relationships between variables or cause-effect relationships. The problem statement requires to at a minimum specify the variables to be studied and the supposed relationship between them. The variables are therefore operationally defined in order to facilitate replications that may confirm the results (cf. Hanson & Grimmer, 2007). Statistical reliability and validity are used in quantitative methodologies to defend generalisations and to specify the extent to that certainty is considered to have been achieved. This inductive-statistical orientation is particularly well-established in Psychology, rooted as a dominant scientific method in the early part of the 20th century by members of the Vienna Circle (including Gustav Bergmann, Rudolf Carnap, Herbert Feigl; cf. Kaboub, 2008).

Today, quantitative methodologies are *the* indispensable tool for hypothesis testing in Psychology and thus represent a well-acknowledged norm in the scientific community (Gigerenzer, 1993, 1991). Therefore, it is unsurprising that a growing body of social representational research utilised the quantitative paradigm for empirical research on social representations. As social representational research is characterised by the examination of a plurality of factors (i.e. historical, cultural, public dimensions, identity factors, significance of representation) the same plurality concerns data and methods of analysis in the study of social representations (Breakwell & Canter, 1993). Previous social representational studies, for example, analysed countable, categorizable and thus quantifiable data from diverse sources (i.e. text or images in media and internet, televised discussions, one-to-one interviews, group discussions) to conduct multivariate analyses of social representations and of the field in which they have evolved (i.e. Morant, 1998; Doise, Spini & Clémence, 1999; Jovchelovitch, 2001b; Moscardo, 2011). In this sense, the post-positivist research paradigm

has a well-established foundation in social representational research and may thus constitute potential for investigation of prevalent understandings of veterans and the field of their emergence.

Typical methodologies in social representational research include designs that are correlational, causal-comparative or quantitative and randomised control trials (cf. Clemence et al., 2014). Data gathering instruments include observations (i.e. media analysis of the representational field; cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b), questionnaires (i.e. structure of representations via word-association tasks; cf. Gomes, Oliveira & Sá, 2008) or experiments and tests (i.e. response-time measures of central vs. peripheral elements of a representation; cf. Abric & Verges, 1996). Within this context, the purpose of research is to discover laws and principles that govern the representational universe and to predict behaviours and understandings. Here, particularly the 'structural approach' in Social Representation Theory is noteworthy. The intention of the 'structural approach' is to understand the structure and function of social representations and to examine the production of hybrid forms of knowledge within social developments (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). The Structural Approach in Social Representations, therefore, operationalises aspects of social representations in terms of meanings that can be grouped, counted and analysed via multivariate statistical procedures. In this way, the 'structural approach' breaks social representations down into measurable variables that are tangible and independent from the researcher's understanding (cf. Hanson & Grimmer, 2007). Social representations, therefore, become definable and concrete as multivariate analyses allow to hierarchically order the meanings that representations entail (Abric 2012).

3.2.2. Limitations

However, though the post-positivist approach may provide substantial information on socially prevalent representations of veterans, the post-positivist approach may only limitedly address how representations of veterans have formed and why these representations have formed in the way they did. In conclusion, although the continuum of quantitative methodologies constitutes a common ground within which social representational research responds to the norm of psychological research, the limited explanative potential remains a considerable issue (cf. Mertens, 2014).

Moreover, though the post-positivist epistemology and ontology presumes the existence of an 'objective reality', it is assumed that this 'objective reality' can solely be known imperfectly (cf. Mertens, 2014). Findings from quantitative research may discover 'reality' only within the realms of probabilities. Therefore, the explanative potential of quantitative methodologies is limited to the description of general tendencies (cf. Haig, 2018). Instead of producing in-depth data that gives a detailed account on the subject of interest, quantitative methodologies quantify a given phenomenon, providing conclusions that are based upon these quantifications (cf. ibid). Social scientists, therefore, argue that the sole use of quantitative methodologies might constrain the development of Social Representation Theory by limiting it to the interpretation of the quantitative analysis (cf. Bauer & Gaskell, 2010).

In conclusion, the exclusive utilization of quantitative methodologies may not allow to adequately provide an exhaustive examination of the veteran from the social representational perspective. The qualitative paradigm may offer a means to generate in-depth data that allows examining underlying reasons and causes for the social representational construction. In this sense, the qualitative methodology examines the plurality of factors (i.e. historical, cultural, public dimensions, identity factors, significance of representation) involved in social representational construction that cannot be addressed by quantitative methodologies.

3.3. Qualitative Paradigm: Constructivist/Interpretivist Paradigm

3.3.1. Epistemology, Ontology and Methodology

The increasing acceptance of qualitative methodologies within the domain of social psychology has indubitably contributed to a richer understanding of socially relevant matters (cf. McGarry, 2012; Coyle, 2007). However, qualitative research is a relatively recent phenomenon, as quantitative approaches to social psychological areas of interest were deemed the norm. Until the late 1960ies, the positivist-empiricism and its epistemological position were understood as insignificant and negligible. However, this methodological unitary changed with the emergence of approaches from a symbolic interactionist perspective (i.e. Becker, 1992) and further developments of the qualitative research methods (cf. Holloway, 1997).

In today's academic field it is considered as being good practice to make epistemological positions explicit (cf. Holloway & Todres, 2003). As it is believed that the elucidation of personal experience may enhance understandings of the 'essence' of the socio-psychological phenomenon of interest, phenomenological approaches generally seek detailed descriptions as understood by the social actors themselves. These methodologies are encompassed within the realist epistemology. An example, therefore, is the centrality of *'double hermeneutics'* in the interpretative phenomenological analysis. Double hermeneutics indicate the two-stage interpretative process in which the researcher attempts to make sense of the participant's attempt to make sense of their psychological world (Smith & Osborne, 2003). Nevertheless, as Coyle (2007, p. 16) notes, "some relationship is usually between the analysis and 'truth' or 'reality'".

The value of a social constructionist epistemology was taken into consideration for this thesis. The present approach was considered in the methodological context of the ontological position of constructivism whereby truth and meaning are socially constructed by an individual's interaction with the social world. An individual's experience generates knowledge about the social world rather than this being discovered through scientific investigation (Brymann, 2008). In this sense, the 'ontology' of individual understandings of the veteran is conceptualised by 'chunks' of knowledge that the individual puts together in a personally logical and coherent way. More concretely, social constructionists would assume that individuals produce a set of personally 'true' taken-for-granteds' about veterans that do not necessarily reflect cultural taken-for-granted's (cf. Coyle, 2007). In conclusion, utilizing Social Representation Theory, this project follows the social constructionist's critical approach towards culturally constructed 'realities' that are solely mirrored by the individual (Coyle, 2007). Instead of assuming that individuals communicate understandings in everyday conversation that refer to a fixed 'objective reality', these understandings are considered to be products of social, cultural and historical contexts (cf. Burr, 2006).

From this position, the present project oriented towards the epistemological standpoint of social constructionist interpretivism "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social lifeworld" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). This interpretivist approach was found to be particularly valuable for the present thesis, as it allows examinations of how and why individuals attach meanings to the social representation 'Veteran' in the way that they do. Therefore, the project did not consider linking analysis to 'truth' beyond the text itself.

Instead, the current project took a more significant interest in examining the construction and functionality within the text. Thus, social constructionist epistemology was appropriate for the present research as it is primarily concerned with exploring how social reality is constructed by its social actors rather than how it is perceived (Coyle, 2007).

In defining a qualitative approach to methodology, it must be considered that qualitative research is based on a multitude of methods with different epistemological positions. It may be possible to speak of a qualitative paradigm, rather than of qualitative methodology. Most qualitative research, however, shares the assumption that knowledge is constructed and contextually dependent (Lyons, 2007). Within the process of knowledge construction, the qualitative methodology assumes ideologies, social positions, values and beliefs to play a pivotal role (cf. Coyle, 2007). Therefore, qualitative researchers generally expose themselves to social fields of knowledge construction, in all its complexity, as being highly influential for the final research outcome. In conclusion, qualitative research is defined as

> "an approach to the study of the social world which seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied" (Bryman, 2003, p. 46)

Qualitative research aims to understand reality from the viewpoint of those who are constructing it and is thus concerned with subjectivity and meaning. It is trying to make sense of "'what it is like' to experience particular conditions [...] and how people manage their conditions" (Willig, 2001, p. 9). Therefore, qualitative research does often not employ pre-determined hypothesis as they are discovery orientated but works with broader and more general research questions (Glaser, 1992). The research process is structured by an emerging theory within the data and allows flexibility in data collection and data analysis procedures. Though research that utilizes the qualitative paradigm is also orientated towards focused research questions that were formed by previous research and theory, its flexibility and versatility allow the investigation to be adapted in accordance to situational contexts and requirements. The qualitative approach was therefore deemed to offer an appropriate set of methodologies for understanding how an individual develops representations of veterans and how this representation is being rationalised and justified. The theoretical perspective of interpretivism offers the potential to access areas of interest not considered prior to the research and thus to uncover other 'layers of reality' that are consistent with the participant's perception of the world (Bryman, 2003). This is considered as producing a qualitative

'backdrop' to the world within which those who are being studied are located, like the social world of individuals in which British veterans may play more or less significant roles.

3.3.2. Limitations

Qualitative research may produce a richness in explanative data that may allow understanding of publicly pertinent perceptions of veterans in greater depth. However, though qualitative research may provide substantial information in representational construction, it is vulnerable to scepticism regarding its validity. Qualitative research is deemed to be less prescriptive, subjective in nature, drawn from small sample sizes and thus not generalizable (Denscombe, 2003). In this sense, the generalizability of the produced data remains subject to scrutiny. For example, to which extent are representations of veterans that are held by a small number of British individuals representative for prevalent representations of veterans in British society?

Although qualitative data provides exhaustive in-depth data, the results derived from that data may only allow conclusions on veteran-representations for the interviewee's representational construction. In this sense, a systematic analysis that would provide a more general overview of prevalent representational tendencies cannot be derived. Therefore, though the qualitative paradigm may explain representations of veterans in greater depth, the post-positivist paradigm may provide more general and representative insights into societally prevalent representations of veterans. In this sense, drawing together data on representational construction from a quantitative and qualitative perspective may allow an examination of social representational construction more thoroughly.

3.4. Mixed Method Approach

To address the limitations of both, the quantitative and the qualitative paradigm, the present project will pursue a mixed method approach. Mixed method approaches are commonly utilised in social representational research as they allow the same representation to be researched in multiple ways. In this sense, mixed methods provide data that allows the researcher to gain deeper understandings of individually and socially held social representations and the conditions for their emergence.

For example, Mapp, Hickson, Mercer, & Wellings (2016) observed social representations of sexually transmitted infections by utilizing quantitative data from Britain's third "National Health Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles" and conducting semi-structured

interviews with survey participants. While the quantitative data allowed to conclude on socially prevalent representation of sexually transmitted infections, the qualitative data allowed for explanation as to why these representations are held in more depth.
Similarly, Jovchelovitch (2001b) utilised a mixed method approach to examine social representations of the Brazilian public sphere. By conducting a quantitative media analysis of how the Brazilian public sphere is depicted in newspapers and magazines Jovchelovitch (2001b) was able to identify a set of factors that may constitute the Brazilian public sphere. Following her analysis, Jovchelovitch (2001b) conducted interviews and group discussions to understand how and why members of the Brazilian public mirror media depictions.

However, to date mixed method approaches and social representational approaches more generally have been scarcely used in research on the UK Armed Forces (except i.e. Hale, 2008, 2007). This is surprising as particularly in recent decades mixed method social representational research is considered to generate data that allows a fuller picture in explaining the social representational construction and the conditions of their emergence (cf. Flick, Foster & Caillaud, 2015). In this sense, social scientists argue:

> "By linking several approaches, which also means linking several types of data, and in assuming that these approaches are indicators for the social representation under study, a specific form of interpretation is possible – of data and the findings produced by a combination of methods" (Flick et al., 2015; p. 79)

Mixed method approaches may represent a substantial addition to the methodologies for studying social representations by responding to the idea of *'triangulation'* (Denzin, 2017). Triangulation refers to combining several approaches in the study of a phenomenon in order to see the phenomenon from different angles and thus elucidating diversity or complexity (Flick et al, 2015). In this way, triangulation offers the possibility to combine several perspectives systematically and to overcome the context-boundedness of materials and to utilise the partiality of the data to explore social representations of veterans in meaningful ways (Flick, 1992). A mixed method approach would therefore allow to further understandings how veterans are perceived by British society and to clarify why veterans are understood in these ways.

3.4.1. Choosing an Appropriate Mixed Method Design

Mixed method designs can be generally classified into two major categories: Sequential designs and concurrent designs (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003). In sequential designs either the qualitative or the quantitative data is collected in an initial stage, followed by the collection of the other data type in a second stage. In contrast concurrent designs, are characterised by the collection of both, the qualitative and quantitative data, in the same stage (Castro, Kellison, Boyd & Kopak, 2010). Each of these categories, have three more specific designs that are based on the emphasis given to the qualitative and quantitative data (equal/unequal; sequential exploratory, concurrent triangulation), the process used to analyse and integrate the data (sequential explanatory, concurred nested) and whether or not the theoretical basis underlying the study is related to advocacy or social change (concurrent transformative, sequential transformative).

In the context of the present project, particularly the sequential exploratory and the concurrent triangulation designs were deemed to be appropriate. This was the case as both designs allow to develop a more complete picture of publicly prevalent perceptions of veterans. More concretely, the sequential exploratory and the concurrent triangulation designs would help to explain, cross-validate and to corroborate quantitative results by its qualitative backdrop. This was important as cross-validating and corroborating quantitative and qualitative results offers the possibility to examine public perceptions of veterans in a structured and comprehensive way. In this sense, the sequential exploratory design provided a methodological framework that enhanced the understanding of the studied phenomenon, public perceptions of veterans. Although the sequential exploratory design requires substantially more time to complete all data collection in two separate stages, it was considered to be the best approach in contrast to the more feasible concurrent triangulation design. Therefore, the present project collected first data from media, then data from previous research on public opinions of veterans, followed by individual associations to military-related roles and lastly face-to-face interviews to clarify individual perceptions of veterans. In this sense, a cohesive set of studies was designed to examine and understand publicly pertinent perceptions of veterans in UK society.

3.4.2. Ethical Considerations

To protect research participants from harm and distress, potential risks to participants were identified and essential risk management procedures put into place. These risk management strategies concern particularly the studies which involved human individuals who participate voluntarily (qualitative interview and quantitative word-association study). Although the qualitative interview and quantitative word-association study exposed participants to a minimal physical risk, thinking of concepts such as war, violence and conflict which are inevitably related to the military may impact the subjective well-being. However, to lessen the chance of upset and distress, individuals who were interested in participating were well informed before deciding whether they wanted to conduct the study. Individuals who were interested in participating were asked to read the Participant Information (PI) sheet.

The PI sheets for all the studies which were conducted in the context of this thesis were approved by the Oxford Brookes Ethics Committee (UREC Registration Nr. 171072) and included sample questions and helpline numbers. Also, all question items that were used by the present thesis' research were approved by the Oxford Brookes Ethics Committee (UREC Registration Nr. 171072). Aligned with the approved risk management procedures, participants were always able to either take a break or to terminate the commenced quantitative and qualitative study. However, if participants decided to speak about personal, distressful, or upsetting experiences, the researcher did not stop the participant, but no further prompts were made to elaborate on these experiences.

In this sense, the present project carefully considered ethical implications before any participants were recruited or any data was collected. After ethical approval from Oxford Brookes University was obtained on the 7th of March 2017, before the quantitative, followed by the qualitative data collection commenced.

3.5.Conclusion

In conclusion, while Chapter II outlined the different dimensions that need be examined to understand socially pertinent representations of veterans fully, Chapter III provided an outline of methodological considerations. To understand perceptions of socially prevalent

representations of veterans, a mixed method approach was found to be a suitable approach as offering two advantages. Firstly, a mixed method approach examines the social representation 'Veteran' from different perspectives and thus responds to triangulation. Secondly, a mixed method approach addresses individually held *and* socially held representations and the conditions of their emergence. Following Chapter II, the methodological considerations discussed in Chapter III are used to fully explore and understand socially prevalent social representations of the veteran. The project, therefore, employed the following methods:

- *Examination of prevalent societally perpetuated social representations of the veteran through a content and chi-squared analysis of newspaper articles*

Chapter II indicated that the socio-cultural context in that representations of the veteran evolve may influence individual perceptions. Therefore, as a first step this project examined the cultural framework in that representations of veterans evolved. As media is most commonly associated with reflecting and influencing societal attitudes (i.e. Perse, 2001), a quantitative investigation of the veteran's depiction in print- and online media was conducted.

- *Examination of the publicly held beliefs concerning veterans through a content analysis of existing data from survey polls and opinions*

Previous quantitative studies that outlined pertinent perceptions of veterans in UK society were examined and compared. Therefore, information from different representative opinion polls and surveys was reviewed, summarised and contested. Pertinent perceptions were compared with factually correct information and erroneous stereotypes were determined.

- *Examination of the structure of the social representation 'Veteran' and its relationship to other military related representations through a quantitative word association task*

A quantitative study that examined the veteran as a social representation from the structural perspective was conducted. As it was outlined that elements of social representations differ in weightings, understandings of the veteran and other Service Personnel related stimuli

words were analysed in terms of central and peripheral elements. This allowed the examination of the representational field in that the veteran as social representation had evolved.

- *Examination of the construction of social representations of the more specified veteran role 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veteran' through a series of qualitative interviews with individuals from British society*

A qualitative perspective was taken to understand how veterans from the socially contested missions in Iraq and Afghanistan are conceptualised by members of the British public. This veteran population was selected following the structural analyses of veteran and veteran-related roles. The representations "British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' were found to be particularly prone to a hero-victim dichotomy that may be related to social scrutiny and recent public discourses about the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Therefore, it was assumed that individuals might hold multiple contradictory aspects and understandings of the veteran representation. Ways how representations may be globally dichotomous but contextually coherent and legitimate were be observed.

These methods complemented one another, forming an integrated whole that allowed the drawing of well-evidenced conclusions.

4. Depictions of British Veterans in Press

4.1. Introduction

This chapter represents a detailed investigation of depictions of British veterans in the press. First, the theoretical outline will provide an overview of the connection between the media and the public sphere that is considered to influence the formation of social representations (cf. 2. Theoretical Outline). The subsequent method section will provide the reader with crucial information on the sample (downloaded articles) by describing the procedure of data collection, the included articles and newspaper agencies. General information on content analysis and chi-squared tests will be provided, as these were the methods utilised to analyse the collected data. The result section will start with an interpretative overview of the determined themes and then present chi-squared analyses and post-hoc pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni correction. This section will conclude with the discussion of the present study's results. By addressing the limitations of this study, the conclusion section will lead to the next chapter in that representations of veterans were investigated on a cultural level.

4.2. Theoretical Outline

The public dimension of knowledge is assumed to play a noteworthy role in the creation, formation and acquisition of knowledge about social realities (i.e. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). On the operational level, the public dimension of knowledge may be transposed to the public sphere which describes a symbolic space in that exchange of knowledge about social realities may happen (Jovchelovitch, 2001b). Therefore, the public sphere is commonly understood as a symbolic 'street' in that natural, day-to-day discourses about socially relevant matters take place (i.e. Jovchelovitch, 2001b; Dahlgren, 1995; Koopmans & Statham, 2010). It is characterised by accessibility and presupposes a space that is common to all social members, being in contra-distinction to private spaces of the household.

The space of the symbolic 'street' also includes the arena of politics that resonates with the institutionalised public sphere (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). In this sense, the symbolic 'street' may be characterised by social actors and social institutions who routinely re-enact in the public sphere, have an intention and produce an effect on social relations.

In terms of the veteran, these social actors may be i.e. Charities that rely on depictions of veterans as victims to grant success for charitable campaigns (cf. McCartney, 2011), politicians who, in expressing their honour and appreciation for veterans, may want to win the general public's favour. Similarly, veterans themselves may become social actors in raising awareness for the general-veteran population by, for example, accomplishing extraordinary and attention-provoking tasks.

Media as medium of the symbolic 'street'

In this context, media plays a pivotal role as it presents social institutions, social actors and makes their activities accessibly to the general public. Media may, therefore, be considered as making the symbolic space of the 'street' more concrete and tangible through representations of social discourses that take place within the realms of the 'street' (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). In conclusion, by transposing social discourses onto the level of the individual, the media may be considered as possessing a mediating role that links the individual to its culture. More concretely, media may connect the personal lives of individuals to others through the depiction of socially relevant information (cf. Beardsworth, 1980). In doing so, media is thought to construct a chain of culturally shared and recognised experiences that are constitutive of a social representation (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). Particularly in an increasingly complex contemporary society, the media's mediating function may be significant. In this sense, Beardsworth (1980, p.371) points out that media has a

> "vital role of mediating between the individual, with his short range, personal knowledge of the social world, and those large macro-social processes which constrain him and impinge upon him, but which are by their very nature beyond his experience."

In its role, as supplementing experiences with social realities, media may epitomise a particular role in the context of representing veterans. As veterans form approx. 4% of the UK population (approx. 2.5 million veterans, MOD, 2017 vs. approx. 63.8 million residents, ONS, 2018; British Legion, 2014b), members of British society may not necessarily know a veteran in person. Individuals who have no or little contact to veterans from the UK Armed Forces might utilize media depictions of veterans to form opinions and perceptions of this population. Similarly, it might be possible that individuals who know veterans or are veterans themselves may rely on media depictions of veterans to form understandings about

a more general veteran-population. In this sense, media may have a fundamental role particularly in constructing social representations of veterans by transposing depictions of veterans, as a general veteran-population may only be indirectly accessible to members of the general public.

This notion may be further evidenced by social representational research on public perceptions of and attitudes towards AIDS and HIV in British society in the 80ies and 90ies. UK national health statistics indicated that approximately .07% of the British population were living with HIV or AIDS in 1994 (cf. Harker, 2010; ONS 2015). Therefore, only few individuals from general British public had direct experiences with individuals who have been diagnosed with AIDS or HIV. Media, so Lupton (2013), had played a particularly important role in forming the public's understanding of AIDS and HIV at that time. An extensive series of studies provided evidence for how depictions of AIDS and HIV in British media in the 80s and 90s were mirrored by perceptions from British individuals from the British public in the 80s and 90s (i.e. Lupton, 2013; Beharrel, 1991; Berridge, 1991; Clift & Stears, 1989; Wellings, 1988; Watney, 1987; Pratt, 1986). For example, in Berridge's (1991) exhaustive study of British television and press coverage of AIDS, she contents with earlier findings (Wellings, 1988; Watney, 1987) by noting AIDS to be predominantly represented as morally reprehensible 'gay plague', endangering 'innocent' heterosexuals from 1981 onwards. The notion of AIDS as morally reprehensible 'gay plague' was found to be reflected by British individuals' perceptions of and attitudes towards AIDS. British individuals responded to a

> "cluster of [question-]items related to moralism, punitiveness and homophobia: moralism being shown by a tendency to attribute AIDS to low moral standards and 'promiscuity', punitiveness by the advocacy of strong measures to deal with infected individuals, and homophobia by holding of negative attitudes towards gay men and their position with respect to AIDS. [...] A number of them [individuals] wrote additional comments on the questionnaire suggesting that God has provided people with a clear moral framework for regulating behaviour, and that AIDS is an illustration of what can happen if some choose not to follow Christian teaching [or at least] [...] a direct result of the low sexual morality in our society." (Clift & Stears, 1989; pp. 43 - 51)

In this sense, social scholars commonly refer to AIDS and HIV as a powerful example for public health researchers' and practitioners' tendency to neglect the importance of the role

played by media in framing public attitudes (cf. Lupton, 2014). In this sense, Lupton (2014) argues that publicly pertinent understandings of realities, as presented in mass media, profoundly influence individual understandings and attitudes towards these realities.

However, though not as extensively researched as the media's impact on individually held representations of illnesses, more recent studies indicated similar tendencies in other subject areas. For example, Lido et al. (2006) indicated that negative portrayals of asylum seekers in the British press had an immediate effect on reader assumptions about asylum seekers. After reading newspaper articles that linked asylum seekers to criminality, Lido et al. (2006) found participants to make more negative judgements about asylum seekers other more general contexts. However, the extent to which a lack of direct experiences with asylum seekers may have contributed to the impact of media on individually held understandings remained unaddressed.

Dietrich et al.'s (2006) study on the impact of media depictions of the mentally ill on individually held representations of the mentally ill yielded similar results. The findings indicated that individuals who read newspaper articles which related mentally ill people to violent crimes had an increased likelihood of describing mentally ill people as dangerous and violent (Dietrich et al., 2006). However, again, whether a lack of direct experiences with the mentally ill had contributed to a change in perceptions remained unclear. Therefore, though these studies have outlined *that* media had an impact on individually held understandings, the extent of the impact remains questionable. In conclusion, these examples did not address whether media may have been the sole source of information for individuals and to which extent individuals' understandings are therefore prone to media dependency.

However, as previous research outlined a "persuasive and saturation power of mass media" (Lupton, 2014; p.2) it may be suggested that mass media may play a similarly important role in constructing social perceptions of veterans. More concretely, just as British media coverage of different realities (i.e. AIDS, asylum seekers) was found to have similarities with the individual representations of these realities, media coverage of veterans may impact or reflect individually held representations of veterans.

The Media as Social Agent

However, in transposing depictions of social realities that may be inspired by social actors and institutions (referring to previous examples i.e. politicians, veterans, Charities), it is

noteworthy that media may follow its own intentions (i.e. increasing sales, following political agendas) and thus becomes a social actor of itself (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). In this sense, media may re-conceptualise representations of social realities and, in doing so, may offer a symbolic space for disputing contradictory and dichotomous opinions. The claim that media may play a fundamental role in offering a symbolic space for disputing opinions and thus challenge re-conceptualisations of representations is legitimised by reflections on history. Social scientists commonly refer to the radical development of the European culture following from the "Gutenberg Revolution" and thus the development of mass-produced movable-metal type print (cf. Habermas, 1989; McLuhan, 1962). Habermas (1989) outlined that the emergence of a distinctive European public sphere was stimulated by similarly distinctive local European periodical press. The printing industry that grew out of the capitalist economy provided in this sense a context of ambivalent relations between assemblies of critically minded private citizens and political institutions (cf. Thompson, 1994; Farr, 1994 McLuhan; 1962). The shift from script to mass-produced movable-metal type print therefore allowed media to reconceptualise the public sphere in terms of offering space for symbolic disputes, sustaining the exercise of power while opening new dimensions of accountability and visibility of it (Jovchelovitch, 2001b).

In conclusion, an over the century increasing pervasiveness of mass-media may legitimise social scientists' claims that in "a study about [...] social representations it is an absolute necessity to look at the media" (Jovchelovitch, 2001b, p.93). This present chapter adopts the perspective of Habermas (1989) who contends that media is *the* medium of the public sphere, and, theoretical notions of Farr (1993a) who has pointed out that there is a need for social representational research to study media content. Therefore, it is unsurprising that an extensive series of previous studies have drawn on investigations of media content when researching social representations. For example, Moscovici (1961) provided a detailed analysis of the French press in that he outlined different sectors of the press (i.e. Communist press, Catholic press) to represent psychoanalysis differently. In doing so, people of different sectors in society (i.e. Communists, Catholics) adopted these representations and conceptualised them likewise.

Jovchelovitch (2001b) conducted a similar study by content analysing Brazilian newspapers and magazines in terms of representations of the Brazilian public sphere. She outlined how media depictions of the public sphere were conceptualised by the press and mirrored by individuals from the Brazilian general public. However, in contrast to Moscovici (1961), the

selection of the newspaper- and magazine sample in Jovchelovitch's (2001b) study was not based upon newspapers that may reflect subgroups in society. Instead, she analysed the content of five major Brazilian quality daily newspapers that were located in four Brazilian regional capitals and the two most influential weekly magazines. Jovchelovitch (2001b) herself states to be "aware that they [selection of newspapers and magazines] do not fully cover the entire country" as "practical considerations have influenced [her] decision [to focus solely on five newspapers and two magazines], particularly reasons of time (this is a PhD study) and viability of the data (the data were sent from Brazil to be analysed in London)" (ibid, p.95). In spite of these limitations, Jovchelovitch (2001b) outlined that a preliminary analysis of a country's media landscape may be beneficial as a similar set of themes from the media analysis evolved in interviews and group discussions with Brazilian individuals.

Following this line of argumentation, the present project examined depictions of veterans in press. However, before presenting methods and sample, an overview of the UK media's rough contours will be provided.

Media Landscape in the UK

Habermas (1989) notion of the public sphere to be reconceptualised by the shift from politically governed script to critically minded, private citizen, mass-produced, movable-metal type print (cf. also Thompson, 1994; Farr, 1994 McLuhan; 1962) may be mirrored by the political affiliations of today's newspapers. This may be particularly the case for depictions of veterans, as decisions surrounding deployment and use of the military are considered as a political matter (Bland, 1999). Therefore, it may be possible that depictions of veterans may substantially differ with political affiliations of news agencies.

This notion was considered previously by social scientists who content newspaper production and consumption to be a highly polarized field within the UK (cf. Gekoski, Gray & Adler, 2012; Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008; Carvalho & Burgess, 2005; Zelizer et al., 2000; Rooney, 2000). More concretely, this highly polarized field is understood to unfold between reportages from news agencies that are somewhat politically charged, affiliated to labour (centre-left, left-wing), conservative (centre-right, right-wing) or not politically affiliated (cf. Rooney, 2000). Therefore, it is unsurprising that previous research indicated the content of British media to be in some subject matters (i.e. reporting on the government

and politicians) influenced by the agency's political affiliation (i.e. Brandenburg, 2002; Semetko, Blumler, Weaver & Barkin, 2013; Negrine, 2003; Curran & Seaton, 2002).

In this sense, political affiliation of news agencies may also be crucial in depictions of veterans as depictions of veterans and the military may be tainted by the extent the current foreign policies follow a news agency's party affiliation. Here, particularly the two most recent interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan may play a role. As both publicly scrutinised (i.e. YouGov, 2015) British deployments happened under the Labour-led government of Tony Blair, it may be argued that labour affiliated news agencies may also depict veterans and the military more beneficially than conservative affiliated news agencies. More concretely, if a news agency supported recent deployments for political reasons, it may be possible that it depicted the veteran and the UK Armed Forces in heroic ways. In contrast, if a news agency did politically not support the recent deployments, it may represent veterans as suffering from the consequences of a futile warfare.

However, Wilesmith (2011) who analysed media coverage of British deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan and interviews of key players from the government did not find substantial differences between media coverage of deployments in newspaper agencies. Instead, so Wilesmith (2011), media coverage tended to be undifferentiated and to have a more uniform effect in terms of "weakening support for the Iraq war" (Wilesmith, 2011; p.55).
In this sense, it may be possible that political affiliation of news agencies did not have an effect on depictions of veterans and the UK Armed Forces more generally. However, to date, no attempt has been made to examine whether or to which extent reportages on veterans may differ with political affiliations of the news agency. Though Wilesmith (2011) provided substantial information on the homogeneity in British press concerning representations of the British interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, more general conclusions on depictions of veterans in press remain problematic. More concretely, as Wilesmith (2011) did not examine depictions of veterans, whether and to which extent the political affiliation of news agencies may impact on how the veteran is being presented remains to date unaddressed.

Another aspect of the UK's highly polarized field of newspaper production and consumption relates to different qualities in newspaper formats (i.e. Gekoski, Gray & Adler, 2012; Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008; Carvalho & Burgess, 2005). Social scientists commonly distinguish between 'broadsheet' quality press (i.e. The Times; The Guardian), and, right and left wing

popular or mid-market 'tabloid' press (i.e. "The Sun; Daily Mail; cf. Rooney, 2000). Quality press has a reputation for traditionally text-led, higher-quality reporting of 'hard news', for employing specialists to discuss matters of public discourses and for providing the reader with critical reflections thereof (cf. Boykoff & Mansfield, 2008; Carvalho & Burgess, 2005). Statistics indicated that "the large majority of "quality daily" readers belong to white-collar social classes" (Ipsos MORI, 2005; p. 20) and thus are well-educated, influential and of higher social status than 'tabloid' newspaper readers (cf. ibid; cf. also Carvalho & Burgess, 2005). Therefore, the social status and influence of the quality press' readership are considered to compensate for lower circulation in terms of its power and impact on society (Rooney, 2000).

In contrast, statistics outlined the readership of popular or mid-market 'tabloid' press to be higher but less well-educated and predominantly coming from lower social classes which is why 'tabloid' press is "typically considered [as] 'working class' newspapers" (Boykoff & Mansfield, 2008; p.2; cf. also Ipsos MORI, 2005). Therefore, social scientists define 'tabloids' in terms of image led popular newspapers that tend to include more celebrity gossip and scandals than critical evaluations of political and international news (Zelizer et al., 2000). The drive for accessibility that increases sales is considered to culminate in an oversimplification of social issues and thus in avoidance of abstract or general reasoning (Rooney, 2000). 'Tabloids' are considered to be characterised by high circulation, emotive language and easy to consume formats with large headlines and an extensive use of pictures (cf. ibid). In conclusion, while quality press' impact on society draws upon its influential, well-educated readership, high circulation and accessibility are supposed to epitomise the 'tabloids'' power and impact on society (cf. ibid).

In summary, though 'broadsheet' quality press and 'tabloids' may differ in terms of quality, accessibility and circulation, both formats may similarly hold the power that supposedly allows to influence social attitudes and changes public opinions.

It may be possible that 'broadsheet' quality press and 'tabloids' may differ in terms of the representation of veterans. The representations of veterans in 'broadsheet' press may be based upon thoroughly argued analyses of information. For example, instead of thematising and perpetuating culturally predominant veteran-hero assumptions (cf. 2.3.1 The Historical Dimension; 2.3.2 The Public Dimension), 'broadsheet' press may critically discuss i.e. the social/governmental care for veterans or the veteran's position in society. In conclusion, it

may be possible that the veteran may be less often represented as a hero but in terms of relevant issues that affect the veteran-community.
In contrast, the 'tabloids'' drive for accessibility and increases in sales may not allow a singular perspective such as focussing on social issues affecting the veteran. Instead, the veteran may be presented in any way and any relation that promotes sales by the 'tabloid' press. Therefore, the 'tabloids'' "scandal- and sensationalism, too frequently masquerading in perverse guise as human interest" (Franklin, 1997; p.3), may reflect in depictions of veterans as both, heroes and victims.

Next, to 'broadsheet' and 'tabloid' press, the media landscape in Britain consists of a wide array of local newspapers. These are most often locally owned, representing social issues and discourses from a local perspective that "has a direct appeal to readers in its circulation area" (Williams, 1998; p. 52). In conclusion, the local press may depict aspects of veterans that are relevant for individuals in that region. In this sense, it may be possible that local press focusses on the veteran-hero theme as previous research identified local groups to refer to 'their' veterans when claiming recognition and respect (cf. Gibson, 2012). In the same way, the local press may utilize a cultural veteran-hero taken-for-granted to claim appreciation for the whole region. However, to date, there is no attempt to investigate this notion scientifically. Therefore, notions whether and to which extent the veteran may be represented as a hero by local press and how this may differ from 'broadsheet' or 'tabloid' newspaper formats remains speculation.

In conclusion, to date research has scarcely addressed how veterans are depicted in newspapers and whether these depictions may vary with the political affiliation of newspaper agency and newspaper format. Therefore, the following analysis will extend previous social representational research by utilizing common methods and procedures utilised to examine media that is considered to operationalise the public sphere (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). In doing so, this section intends to provide a snapshot of public discourses and socially prevalent depictions of the veteran. Therefore, the following will give an overview of the main elements that were found in the content of media depictions of veterans. More concretely, the following analysis will critically discuss and examine the content of articles relating to British veterans that were published in media and an interpretation thereof.

4.3.Methods

4.3.1. Literature Search and Sample

The present project focussed in its literature search predominantly on online news. This was the case as an extensive series of academic research indicated that the overall readership of printed news is steadily decreasing while the consumption of online news is on the rise (i.e. Ofcom, 2017; Statista, 2017; 2018). Only 29% of individuals in British society claim to use print-media for news in comparison to 48% of individuals in British society who stated to use online media such as the BBC, Daily Mail Online or Sky Online. In this sense, it may be concluded that with a decreasing circulation of print-media, its significance for and impact on public opinions may be as well declining while online media may be more important in influencing public opinions nowadays. The present project took the constant decline of print news consumption and increase in online news consumption into consideration by comprising only articles that were accessible online or print-press that was made accessible online (newspaper archive).

To investigate socially prevalent depictions of veterans, literature was gathered through reference searching and literature searches in the databases Google News and UKPressonline. The database Google News[2] was selected as it is a widely distributed, freely and easily accessible news aggregator (i.e. also available as App). Google News represents a continuous flow of articles, aggregated from a wide range of sources (i.e. Daily Mail, Sun, Guardian, The Telegraph) that are filtered in accordance to location (UK newspaper articles come up first when accessing Google News from a location within the UK). In conclusion, it was hypothesised that Google News would facilitate an examination of representations of veterans from different sectors of the press (i.e. 'tabloids', 'broadsheet' newspapers).
In contrast, the database UKPressonline[3] is a professional online research facility that requires a subscription. It contains archives of the most influential UK newspapers (such as the Daily Mail, The Telegraph, The Independent) that reach back to the 19th century. UKPressonline was therefore used as 'backup' to access articles about veterans that may not have been covered by Google News due to copyright issues (cf. Xalabarder, 2012).

[2] http://news.google.com
[3] http://www.ukpressonline.co.uk

As the newspaper analysis was an initial attempt to grasp a broad picture of the veteran's depiction in the news, a variety of search terms were utilised. Articles were selected and downloaded that referred in their headline and/or the subtitle to a combination of the following search terms: Firstly, a reference to a British human veteran individual or a more general group of British human veterans needed to be made in the headline and/or the subtitle. The search terms were: 'Veteran', "former Service Personnel", 'Ex-Service Personnel', "ex-Soldier", "ex-Navy", "ex-Army" "ex-Air Force". Secondly, a reference to a location in the UK needed to be made to ensure that articles related to British veterans. Therefore, the following search terms were utilised: "UK", "British", "Britain", "Scottish", "Scotland", "English", "England", "Ulster", "Northern Ireland", "Welsh", "Wales".

Sources were limited to published articles after the 22.5.2011 (the day of the last soldier's withdrawal from Iraq) and 2.2.2018. This time-frame was selected as it allowed to include a broader depiction of veterans. For example, media may have depicted soldiers as veterans from the most recent missions in Iraq or Afghanistan although remaining to serve in the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, potential depictions of veterans as a young, fit and healthy veteran-population (as being veterans solely from these deployments) could be included. This consideration followed the intention to examine representations of a general veteran population. More concretely, the media analysis' purpose was to examine contexts with which veterans were commonly associated. Essentially, these contexts were considered as representing social dialogues concerning veterans, epitomising the public sphere (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b).

In this sense, media definitions of veterans were not scrutinised as the present analysis focussed solely on an in-depth examination and interpretation of newspaper articles on veterans and how these may vary in terms of newspaper format and political affiliation of news agencies. In this sense, whether media used the term 'Veteran' in terms of the UK official definition (any individual who has served one day in the UK Armed Forces; cf. Armed Forces Covenant, 2011) or differently was not considered. In conclusion, veteran-types (i.e. Iraq veteran, Falkland veteran, WW1 veteran) were not differentiated as the present analysis intended to outline general tendencies and trends in social discussions about veterans.

From the databases a total of 335 articles that included a combination of the search terms in the headline or the subtitle and were published between the 22.5.2011 and the 2.2.2018 were identified. From these 335 articles, 284 articles (85%) were drawn from the online news

aggregator Google News and 51 articles (15%) from the online print-press archive UKPressonline. The following will refer to 'online press' when relating to newspaper articles from Google News and 'print-press' when relating to newspaper articles from UKPressonline. However, it needs to be noted that newspaper articles were commonly accessible through Google News *and* UKPressonline, as being published in online *and* print form. This explains the low number of articles drawn from UKPressonline as the print-press archive was searched after the Google News search had been concluded. However, articles that were available in online *and* print-form were not counted or downloaded twice. It was hypothesised that individuals would not read the same article twice, even if accessible online and in print. This decision was made as otherwise several other confounding factors that may determine an article's impact on public attitudes would have needed to be considered such as a news agency's influential power in terms of readership-influence and class, frequency and circulation, website-visits or likes. Therefore, it would have been necessary to introduce weightings that consider an article's potential impact on public attitudes. However, this would have exceeded the present project's intention, as weightings have not yet been introduced in any previous newspaper analysis.

Moreover, the present study intended to provide a general overview of the public sphere as to how the meanings of veterans may have evolved. An exhaustive examination of potential power differences between newspaper agencies, their publicised articles and how these differ in impacting public attitudes may, therefore, be a field that social scientists from the academic field of media sciences may want to address.

From the 335 articles, media colossuses such as BBC, The Guardian, The Telegraph or the Daily Mail had the most significant proportion of articles. This is unsurprising as these agencies are considered to be, together with The Sun, The Daily Record and the Daily Express amongst the 10 largest and most influential paper and online news agencies that produce over 300 000 newspaper articles a month in contrast to smaller newspaper agencies such as local agencies that produce approx. 10 000 newspaper articles per month (cf. Statista, 2018, 2017). The 335 articles were downloaded and are now accessible on the University-owned Google-Drive platform. An overview of the number of articles grouped by news agency, proportion of British individuals that generally utilize this news agency, in online or print form (cf. OfCom, 2017) and political affiliation of news agency defined by previous research (cf. McNair, 2017; Wodak, KhosraviNik & Mral, 2013; Brandenburg, 2006; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Sean & Pimlott, 1987) can be found in Table 1. Table 1 also provides

an overview of newspaper-quality, defined by previous literature that categorised British news into 'tabloid' and 'broadsheet' (i.e. European Journalism Observatory, 2011, Smith & Joffe, 2009; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Tunstall, 1996). Articles that were drawn from international and smaller local news agencies, uncategorised in previous research (i.e. European Journalism Observatory, 2011, Smith & Joffe, 2009; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Tunstall, 1996), were labelled with 'international' and 'local'.

Table 1.
Overview of newspaper group that published articles about veterans, format, influence and political affiliation

News Agency	Total Number of Veteran related Articles [Proportion of Total Articles]	Newspaper format/quality	Overall proportion of British people using this agency for online-news (Ofcom, 2017)	Overall proportion of British people using this agency for print-news (OfCom, 2017)	Newspaper Group	Political Affiliation of Newspaper Group
BBC	64 [19.1%]	'broadsheet'	56%	-	Statutory Cooperation	None/Other
The Guardian	45 [13.4%]	'broadsheet'	9%	9%	Guardian Media Group (Scott Trust)	Centre-left
The Telegraph	28 [8.4%]	'broadsheet'	4%	7%	Telegraph Group (Barclay brothers)	Centre-right
Daily Mail	25 [7.5%]	'tabloid'	10%	26%	Daily Mail and General Trust	Right Wing
The Independent	23 [6.7%]	'broadsheet'	4%	-	Novaya Gazeta	None/Other
Daily Record	16 [4.8%]	'tabloid'	<1%	2%	Trinity Mirror plc	Centre-left
The Mirror	16 [4.8%]	'tabloid'	2%	11%	Trinity Mirror plc	Centre-left

Express	14 [4.2%]	'tabloid'	<1%	<1%	Northern and Shell Media	Right Wing
The Sun	7 [2.1%]	'tabloid'	2%	22%	News International (Rupert Murdoch)	Right Wing
Wales Online/Western Mail	8 [2.4%]	Local	<1%	-	Trinity Mirror plc.	Centre-left
Belfast Telegraph	7 [2.1%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Independent News & Media plc	None/Other
Evening Standard	4 [1.2%]	'tabloid'	<1%	5%	Evgeny Lebev, DMGT	Centre-right
Lancashire Telegraph	4 [1.2%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Newsquest Media Group Ltd.	None/Other
Lancashire Post	3 [0.9%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
ITV	3 [0.9%]	'broadsheet'	5%	-	ITV studios	None/Other
Irish Central	2	International	International	International	International	International

	[0.6%]					
Liverpool Echo	3 [0.9%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Reach plc	Centre-left
The Scotsman	3 [0.9%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
The Third Force	3 [0.9%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations	None/Other
Daily Star	2 [0.6%]	'tabloid'	<1%	<1%	Northern and Shell Media	Right wing
Derby Telegraph	2 [0.6%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Trinity Mirror plc	Centre-left
Scottish Sun	2 [0.6%]	Local	<1%	<1%	News International (Rupert Murdoch)	Right wing
South Wales Argus	2 [0.6%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Newsquest Media Group Ltd.	None/Other
The Newsletter	2 [0.6%]	'tabloid'	<1%	-	Johnston Press	None/Other

The Irish News	2 [0.6%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Fitzpatrick Family	Left wing
The Blackpool Gazette	2 [0.6%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
Daily Opinion	2 [0.6%]	'tabloid'	<1%	-	Trinity Mirror plc	Centre-left
Metro	2 [0.6%]	'tabloid'	2%	<1%	DMGT Media	Centre-right
Banbury Guardian	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
Belfast Newsletter	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
Bristol Post	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Reach plc	Centre-left
Bucks Herald	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
Business Insider	1 [0.3%]	'broadsheet'	<1%	<1%	Axel Springer SE	None/Other
CBC	1 [0.3%]	International	International.	International	International	International

CommonSpace	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	-	Common Weal	None/Other
CRN	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Deadline News	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	-	Deadline Press	None/Other
Diss Express	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	-	Johnston Press	None/Other
East London & Wessex Guardian	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Guardian Media Group (Scott Trust)	Centre-Left
Evening Times	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	<1%	Newsquest Media Group Ltd.	None/Other
Evesham Journal	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Newsquest Media Group Ltd.	None/Other
Free Press	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	<1%	Newsquest Media Group Ltd.	None/Other
Games Radar	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International

Huffington Post	1 [0.3%]	Local	5%	<1%	Arianna Huffington	Centre-left
Irish Times	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Kotaku	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Leicester Mercury	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Trinity Mirror plc	Centre-left
Leinster Express	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Lifestyle New York	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Linlithgow Gazette	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
New York Daily News	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
New York Times	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Ireland News	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other
Penarth Times	1	Local	<1%	-	NewsNet Ltd	None/Other

	[0.3%]					
People	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Richmondshire Today	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	-	ICNN	None/Other
RT	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
RTE	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Scottish Housing	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Dundee Press Agency Ltd T/A Scottish News Agency	None/Other
Sky news	1 [0.3%]	'broadsheet'	14%	-	Sky plc	None/Other
The Canary	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	-	Independent media	Left wing
The Mail	1 [0.3%]	'tabloid'	<1%	<1%	Daily Mail and General Trust	Right wing
The News Portsmouth	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Johnston Press	None/Other

The Packet	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
The Times	1 [0.3%]	'broadsheet'	2%	9%	News UK	Centre-right
Vice	1 [0.3%]	International	International	International	International	International
Yorkshire Post	1 [0.3%]	Local	<1%	<1%	Yorkshire Post Newspapers	Centre- right

4.3.2. Instruments

4.3.2.1. Content Analysis

Content Analysis is an extensively used method for media analysis in social representational research (i.e. Morant, 1998; Jovchelovitch, 2001b; Schmitz, Filippone & Edelman, 2003; Washer & Joffe, 2006; Joffe, 2012). Bauer & Gaskell (2010, p. 132) justify the "interest in Content Analysis (CA) and its techniques" by understanding it as "the only method of text analysis that has been developed within the empirical social sciences". CA is considered to be a "technique for making inferences by systemically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969, p.601). This means more concretely that CA culminates specific features of texts (i.e. 'kinds', 'qualities', 'distinctions') into numerical descriptions. Therefore, CA is assumed to bridge statistical formalism and the qualitative analysis of data by being a hybrid technique, involving quantitative and qualitative aspects (cf. Bauer & Gaskell. 2010).

CA, therefore, provides the researcher with the possibility to qualitatively analyse quantitative textual data. In this sense, qualitative and quantitative paradigms may supplement each other, or as Polo (1959, p. 192) suggests:

> "[…] it should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed […]"

CA reduces the complexity of texts through systematic classification and counting of significant units of analysis (cf. Bauer & Gaskell, 2010). This allows the distillation of a large amount of data into a short description of some specific features, that are the subject of investigation. Essentially, there are two modes of CA: Textual and Thematic Analysis. While the textual analysis examines lexical contents of data in depth, Thematic Analysis refers to the investigation of re-occurring themes and patterns (Jovchelovitch, 2001b). The present project was more interested in media representations of veterans that went beyond the lexical content. Instead of counting word frequencies, the present project analysed reoccurring themes on how veterans were represented in the press. For example, as outlined in Chapter II, McCartney (2011) found that veterans were commonly depicted in the context of being a victim. Veterans, so McCartney (2011), were represented as suffering from social stereotyping or governmental callousness. However, as McCartney (2011) did not conduct

a sound theme-based CA but provided a rather general overview of randomly selected articles, further research remains necessary. The present study addresses this gap in knowledge.

4.3.2.2. Chi-Square Test

To understand a potential relationship between theme and newspaper format/political affiliation, bivariate analyses (chi-squared tests) were undertaken. The researcher also considered utilising log-linear analysis or conducting a two-way ANOVA with the variables 'theme', 'newspaper format' and 'political affiliation'. However, two separate chi-square tests sufficiently answered the research question – whether and how depictions of veterans in the press may vary in accordance to newspaper format and/or political affiliation. Therefore, neither a log-linear analysis nor a two-way ANOVA were justified by the research interest. Moreover, the chi-square test is a frequently used method in content analyses of media (i.e. Zaharopoulos, 1990; Barlow, Barlow & Chiricos, 1995; Clement & Golan & Wanta, 2001; Devitt, 2002; Foster, 2008).

Chi-squared tests are constructed from the sum of squared errors or through the sample variance and determine whether there are significant differences between the expected frequencies and the observed frequencies in different categories (Greenwood & Nikulin, 1996). In the context of the current project chi-squared tests allowed to observe whether the way in which veterans were depicted in press significantly differed in terms of newspaper format and political affiliation of newspaper agency. Statistically significant chi-squared tests would suggest that the ways veterans were depicted in press significantly differed between different newspaper formats and/or between political affiliations. In contrast, nonsignificant chi-squared tests would indicate that the different ways veterans were depicted in the press would be equally distributed across newspaper formats and/or across different political affiliations of news agencies. Though chi-squared tests cannot conclude causal relationships between variables, the results from the chi-squared tests allow an examination of how newspaper format and political affiliations may impact general trends of veteran depictions in newspapers.

4.4. Results

4.4.1. Initial Content Analysis and Chi-Squared Test

Developing Themes – Preliminary Content Analysis

To develop and define re-occurring themes, 50 randomly selected articles were deconstructed, simplified (to find the underlying meaning) and re-constructed (to verify assumptions about underlying meanings). This process was accompanied by a non-psychology postgraduate student and an undergraduate psychology student. At first, the articles indicated that a general distinction between veteran-hero, veteran-victim, veteran-perpetrator and veteran-other depictions may be drawn. By deconstructing the 50 aforementioned articles to determine the overriding theme, each article was allocated to *one* theme which predominantly represented the veteran. For example, articles that depicted and thematised veterans as suffering victims from deployment-related injuries, after having acted heroically during their deployment, were categorised into the veteran-victim category as this was the article's central theme. This general distinction between 'hero', 'victim', 'perpetrator' and 'other' category was found to be clear-cut and unambiguous. An initial codebook was generated in that category memberships were defined and exemplative articles for each category were provided (cf. Appendix 8). Inter-rater reliability was checked by one psychology undergraduate student who categorised 25% of randomly selected articles (85 articles from the total of 335 articles). Inter-rater reliability was found to be sufficiently validated as 92.35% of the 85 articles were correctly categorised.

An Excel-data sheet was generated in which the number of veteran-articles per newspaper agency and theme (hero, victim, perpetrator, other) were listed. In a separate column origin of articles (online press or print-press) was noted, whereby 'online press' related to newspaper articles sourced from the online news aggregator Google News and 'print-press' to newspaper articles that were drawn from the online print press archive UKPressonline.
Newspaper agencies that published articles about veterans were categorised into the newspaper formats 'broadsheet', 'tabloids', 'local' and 'international'. Numeric values were assigned to newspaper formats and noted in a separate column.
Lastly, newspaper agencies were also categorised in terms of political affiliation. Left-wing and Centre-left, were subsumed as 'left', Right-wing and Centre-right as 'right', agencies without political affiliation as 'none' and international news agencies as 'international' because political affiliations from international agencies did not refer to the British political

landscape. In a separate column, political affiliations of newspaper agencies were assigned to numeric values. An overview of the variables (theme, newspaper format, political affiliation) can be found in Table 2.

The data was transposed to SPSS and chi-squared tests were conducted to observe whether theme (depictions of veterans) significantly interacted with newspaper format (quality) and whether theme (depictions of veterans) significantly interacted with the political affiliation of newspaper agency.

Table 2.
Comparative Overview of Frequency, Themes, Newspaper Format and Political Affiliation

	Newspaper Agency Specifications	Number of Articles: Veteran-Victim (Online Press) [Print Press]	Number of Articles: Veteran-Hero (Online Press) [Print Press]	Number of Articles: Veteran-Perpetrator (Online Press) [Print Press]	Number of Articles: Veteran-Other (Online Press) [Print Press]
All	All Newspaper Agencies	166 (142) [24]	143 (120) [23]	15 (13) [2]	11 (9) [3]
Newspaper Format	'broadsheet'	92 (72) [20]	57 (44) [13]	8 [6] (2)	5 [4] (1)
	'tabloid'	49 (45) [4]	42 (32) [10]	6 [5] (1)	3 [2] (1)
	'international'	6 (6) [0]	13 (13) [0]	0 (0) [0]	0 [0] (0)
	'locals'	19 (19) [0]	31 (31) [0]	1 (1) [0]	3 (2) [1]

Political Affiliation	'left': Left wing; Centre-left	54 (43) [11]	35 (27) [8]	5 (3) [2]	3 (3) [0]
	'right': Right wing; Centre-right	43 (37) [6]	42 (36) [6]	3 (3) [0]	4 (3) [1]
	'none'	63 (56) [7]	53 (44) [9]	7 (6) [1]	4 (2) [2]
	'international'	6 (6) [0]	13 (13) [0]	0 (0) [0]	0 (0) [0]

Chi-Squared Test

Before the chi-squared tests were conducted careful considerations regarding the statistical value of the categories 'perpetrator' and 'other' were made. As both categories comprised less than 5% ('perpetrator': 4.5%, 'other': 3.3%) of the 335 articles, it was decided neither to include the 'perpetrator' nor the 'other' category in the subsequent analyses. Though it is here not suggested that prevalence of articles may equate with salience in the public mind, the low number of articles may propose an absence of public discourses that thematise veterans in relation to these themes. As the present study attempted to present an overview of public discourses that operationalise the public sphere in which individuals create understandings of social representations (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b), scarce public discourses relating to the veteran as perpetrator or in other ways may legitimise the exclusion of the themes 'perpetrator' and 'other'. Moreover, the exclusion of the themes 'perpetrator' and 'other' therefore contributed to statistically valid, concise chi-square test models.

A total of 309 newspaper articles that depicted the veteran as 'hero' or 'victim' remained, after excluding articles from the 'perpetrator' or 'other' category. The chi-squared test included the variables 'newspaper format' with four levels ('broadsheet', 'tabloids', 'internationals', 'local'), 'theme' with two levels ('hero', 'victim'), and 'political affiliation' with four levels ('left', 'right', 'none', 'international'). Assumptions of the chi-squared test were met as variables were categorical, the independence of observations (no relationship between the cases) was granted and the data was mutually exclusive (articles categorised into no more than one category). Moreover, the data was found to be appropriately distributed as 0 cells (0%) had an expected count of under 5 cases in each categorical variable group for both chi-square tests – 'theme vs. political affiliation' and 'theme vs. newspaper format'.

A chi-squared test of independence was calculated comparing the occurrences of 'theme' ('hero', 'victim') and political affiliation of newspapers ('left', 'right', 'none', 'international'). No significant association was found between the two variables ($\chi 2$ (3, N =309) = 3.71, p = .295). It may be concluded that depictions of veterans as heroes or victims may not stand in a statistically significant relationship with the political affiliation of news agencies.

A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the occurrence of 'hero' and 'victim' theme with 'broadsheet', 'tabloid', 'international' and 'local' newspaper formats. A significant interaction was found that indicated 'broadsheet', 'tabloids', 'international' and 'local' newspaper formats to report in significantly different proportions on the veteran as 'hero' and 'victim' ($\chi 2$ (3, N = 309) = 12.58, p = 0.006) with a small significant effect size (Φ=.20, p= .006). The analysis indicated that while 'broadsheet' press predominantly focuses on the veteran-victim depiction (hero: 38.3%, victim: 61.7%), depictions of veterans as heroes are predominant in 'international' (hero: 68.4, victim: 31.6) and 'local' press (hero: 62%, victim: 38%). 'Tabloids' depict veterans as heroes and victims in relatively equal proportions (hero: 46.2%, victim: 53.8%).

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons (cf. MacDonald & Gardner, 2000) with Bonferroni correction (p =.073) revealed a significant difference in frequency of 'hero' - 'victim' depictions in two instances. 'Broadsheet' newspaper significantly differed from 'international' press ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 168) = 6.31, p = .012; Φ=.19, p= .012) and from 'local' press ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 199) = 8.56, p = 0.003; Φ=.21, p= .003). Post-hoc pairwise comparisons indicated no significant differences between 'broadsheet' and 'tabloid' ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 240) = 1.45, p = .228), 'tabloid' and 'international' press ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 110) = 3.25, p = .077), 'tabloid' and 'local' press ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 141) = 3.25, p = .072), and, 'international' and 'local' press ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 69) = .25, p = .620). In conclusion, post-hoc pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni corrections, outlined that the previous descriptive comparison between veteran-victim and veteran-hero report coverage in percentages was significant. In this sense, the findings indicated that 'broadsheet' newspaper depicted the veteran significantly differently to 'international' and 'local' press. 'tabloids' represented a symbolic middle-ground between both, 'international'/'local' press and 'broadsheet' press.

4.4.2. Refined Theme-Based Content Analysis

Refining Categories – Content Analysis

After examining the general tendencies of veteran-depictions in print and online news, categories were further examined to define sub-themes and to take an in-depth interpretative approach. Again, due to the low number of articles that were comprised within the 'perpetrator' (15 articles, 4.5%) and 'other' category (11 articles, 3.3%), these categories were not further investigated.

The initial Code Book (cf. Appendix 7) was therefore further developed by refining contextual patterns in that veterans were represented as heroes and victims. The process of deconstructing, simplifying and re-constructing, 50 randomly selected articles, was repeated (cf. *Developing Themes)* to find sub-themes that hero and victim categories may comprise. Again, this process was accompanied by a non-psychology postgraduate student and an undergraduate psychology student. Three sub-themes emerged for each of the 'hero' and the 'victim' categories that were thematically related to justifying the veteran's 'hero' or 'victim' category membership. Within the 'hero' category the veteran's status was justified a.) by the veteran's past actions, b.) by the veteran's present actions, or, c.) through overcoming or adjusting to hardships such as service-related physical or psychological illnesses. Within the 'victim' category the veteran's victim status was justified a.) by the cost of the war in terms of physical and or psychological illnesses from which the veteran suffers, b.) institutional injustices and social callousness such as the social discrimination of veterans, or, c.) the veteran as being reliant on charitable organisations, that altruistically help the suffering veteran-individual. After sub-themes and inclusion criteria were defined and an example-article for each sub-theme was found, the initial Code Book was amended (cf. Appendix 9) and the remaining articles were categorised. A postgraduate student in media sciences, a psychology undergraduate student and an individual without a degree were asked to rate 85 (25%) randomly selected newspaper articles. Inter-rater reliability was found to be satisfactory with inter-rater concordances of 94% (80/85 articles, postgraduate student in media sciences), 96% (82/85 articles, individual without a degree) and 92% (78/85 articles, undergraduate student in psychology). Therefore, the sub-themes were considered to be sufficiently validated for further interpretative analysis. An overview of sub-theme definition and frequency can be found in Table 3.

Table 3.
Definition of Sub-Themes and Overview of Frequencies – Refined Content Analysis

Category	Theme	Definition	Total Number of Articles in Sub-Theme (proportion within category) [overall proportion]	Total Number of Articles in Category (proportion within category) [overall proportion]
Hero	a.) Veterans represent heroism justified by their actions in the past	The time in service induces the present perception: Special efforts during service serves in some occasions as justification for heroism. In other instances, heroism was justified by partaking in a deployment and serving the country in times of need.	94 (65.7%) [26.5%]	143 (100%) [40.3%]
	b.) Veterans represent heroism, justified by actions in the present	The veteran has an 'honourable carer': The heroic image is based on special communal deeds – most often – for other veterans (contribution to social life, selling poppies, offering a place in which the need for belonging is answered…)	26 (18.2%) [7.3%]	
	c.) Veterans represent heroism, justified by growth from victim-state	Veterans are active agents in successfully adapting to the 'cost of war' (the disadvantage). They accomplish extraordinary deeds and are represented as highly respectable and capable individuals, able to overcome even the most challenging life-situations	23 (16.1%) [6.5%]	

Victim	a.) Veterans suffer from the cost of war (i.e. physical, psychological disabilities)	The veteran becomes associated with the victim-state by representing the 'cost of war' by demonstrating physical or psychological damage.	43 (25.9%) [12.1%]	166 (100%) [46.8%]
	b.) Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness	The veteran becomes associated with the victim state as suffering from social discrimination to a lack of understanding, or not receiving the services the veteran should be entitled to.	70 (42.2%) [19.7%]	
	c.) Charitable organisations that need to help the victim-veteran	The veteran is suffering from the cost of war and/or institutional injustices and social callousness. However, the veteran's neediness is/will be addressed by charitable campaigns that administer to the victim veterans needs.	53 (31.9%) [14.9%]	
Perpetrator	The Perpetrator	Veterans as brutal, evil perpetrator, doing harm to individuals in public and to social systems more generally	15 (100%) [4.5%]	15 (100%) [4.5%]
Other	Other	Any other theme; i.e. Veterans vote against Brexit	11 (100%) [3.2%]	11 (100%) [3.2%]

Refined Interpretative Content Analysis – Results

As outlined in Table 3., proportions of depictions that characterised the veteran as a hero (40.3%) were comparable to proportions of depictions that characterised the veteran as a victim (46.8%). Within the 'hero' category, heroism was most commonly justified in the context of deployments (94/143; 65.7%). Heroism that was justified by present actions in the context of prosocial behaviour (26/143; 18.2%) was comparable with the frequency of articles that justified heroism in the context of overcoming the victim state (23/143; 16.1%).

The majority of articles that discussed the veteran as victim depicted veterans as victims from institutional negligence and social callousness (70/166, 42.2%). Although these articles commonly mentioned service-related physical and mental injuries, the focus was usually on services that the veteran would need but could not access or were not available. The sole depiction of the veteran as a suffering victim from the cost of war was also a frequent subtheme (43/166, 25.9%). However, more common were discussions about the impact of charitable organisations and governmental interventions that administered to the veterans' needs (53/166, 31.9%). These articles represented the veteran as a needy victim of war but framed the veteran in a more positive light as facing a better future.

The following will present an in-depth discussion of the identified themes. First, the veteran-hero related sub-themes will be discussed*: a.) Veterans represent heroism justified by their actions in the past, b.) Veterans represent heroism justified by actions in the present, and, c.) Veterans represent heroism justified by growth from victim state*. Then an in-depth discussion of the three veteran-victim related sub-themes will be presented: *a.) Veterans suffer from the cost of war, b.) Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness' and, c.) Charitable organisations that need to help the victim-veteran.* The 'perpetrator' and 'other' category will again not be included in the analysis as only a low number of articles were assigned to these categories ('perpetrator':15, 4.5%; 'other':11, 3.2%).

The veteran as a hero

Articles thematising the veteran-hero image reached nearly half of the proportion of analysed items (40.3%). The veteran's heroism showed three interrelated aspects: Articles focused on justifications of the veteran-hero relationship through reviewing the veteran's war experience and dehumanising the symbolic enemy, or representing Service as arbitrarily heroic, through

prosocial post-war actions, or managing and overcoming service-related injury. The following will provide an interpretative overview of the themes that were discussed in the articles.

Hero a.) Veterans represent heroism that is justified by their actions in the past

The basic notion of how the veteran representation became intertwined with the hero representation was exemplified by newspapers which focus on the veteran's past. The veteran-hero relationship was based upon representations of the veteran as a symbolic fighter for superseding good, human, Western values. A discursive sanctification of veterans was found to evolve that was based upon exaggerations of the 'evil' inhumane other and the 'good' morally-superior veteran (cf. also Gibson, 2012). In this sense, the morally-superior veteran represented a morally-superior Britain.

Britain's moral superiority justified actions even when these actions could be considered as amoral and apprehensive. An example, therefore, is violence and killing. Although killing generally opposes Western-core values (McCulloch, 1995), it became acceptable (even admirable) when focusing on the fight between the symbolic 'good' vs. 'evil'. An example therefore can be found in newspaper articles that discussed the killing of ISIS members. ISIS, a particularly pertinent threat to UK society through terrorist attacks, embodied inhumanity, injustice and cruelty and thus made these abstract concepts more tangible. For example, when referring to an ISIS 'compound', The Sun (4th December 2016; 'Hero SAS sniper records 100th kill after battling ISIS in Iraq and Afghanistan) states: "Inside the compound more than 100 men, women and children had reportedly been tortured and murdered by the terrorist commander and his henchmen". Also, The Mirror (30th May 2015: 'Hero British Army veteran taking on crazed ISIS jihadists high on drugs in Syria and Iraq') characterises ISIS members similarly; i.e. "They [ISIS members] have encouraged a nightmare of rape, public beheadings and sex attacks on female captives." Another comparable example is represented in The Express (31st December, 2015; 'Hero Brit fighting evil ISIS reveals beleaguered fighters are taking DRUGS on the battlefield'). Here, the ISIS' apprehensive amorality is being discussed by reporting on "increasingly frequent chemical attacks against Kurdish forces and [ISIS members] selling young female sex slaves to foreign mercenaries for the same price as a packet of cigarettes."

Essentially, the analysis revealed that ISIS was used as a representative category in that all those who accepted the ISIS 'ideology' were subsumed. This is exemplified in The Mirror's interview

with a British veteran (21st April 2015; 'British former soldier fighting ISIS warns there are 2,000 UK-born jihadis in Middle East'): "The people we're fighting against are coming here to rape and murder women and children. That's why they joined ISIS." In this sense, no differentiation was made between the 'organisation' ISIS and its 'members'. Instead, the enemy became a representation of the strange and evil, entirely dissociated from what it means to be a good civilian (cf. Said, 1978). ISIS fighters were characterised as opposing Western values by having little moral standards, self-discipline, being violent and sexually promiscuous (McCulloch, 1995). This is further evidenced by an article of The Mirror (30th December 2015, 'Hero British Army veteran taking on crazed ISIS jihadists high on drugs in Syria and Iraq'), thematising a British veteran's account on how ISIS jihadists sell underage girls as sex slaves for cigarettes, enjoy public rapes and beheadings, use chemical weapons and drugs to increase their fighting ability, i.e. "A former British soldier fighting with the Kurds against Islamic State has revealed the chilling truth about the bloody struggle. Sniper Allan Duncan told how heavily armed extremists are high on drugs as they go into battle. [...] And they sell young female sex slaves to foreign mercenaries for the price of a packet of cigarettes." Killing the ISIS enemy becomes, therefore, a necessary elimination of non-human symbols, representing socially despicable ideologies, or in the veteran's words: "When I look at IS prisoners, I see them as animals because of what they do to people" (ibid). This demonstrates how those who fought for dehumanising ideologies which ISIS symbolically stands for, became themselves dehumanised, facilitating an appreciation for the societally negatively evaluated use of force (McCartney, 2011).

'Killing' became therefore not solely acceptable but even appreciable as it referred to 'killing' an ideology rather than an individual. An example for the dehumanisation of the ISIS fighter was represented in The Sun (4th December 2016; 'Hero SAS sniper records 100th kill after battling ISIS in Iraq and Afghanistan): "The soldier, a veteran of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, killed the 'high value' target during the fierce fight for the ISIS stronghold". Essentially, this quote represents how the ISIS fighter became reduced to an object, to nothing but a target that may be eliminated for the mission's success. Crucially, the dehumanisation of individuals who were themselves involved in dehumanising acts may have allowed to present cruel details about killing, i.e.: "The bullet went through the driver's skull and lodged in the passenger's neck, killing them both." (Daily Mail, 12th September 2016; 'SAS sniper hero killed an ISIS terror leader who was about to incinerate hostages with a flamethrower by shooting its fuel tank from 1,500m'), or, "He [British veteran soldier] took the shot and the bullet almost

cut the terrorist in half. He was dead before he hit the floor" (Daily Star, 4th December 2016; 'Hero SAS sniper racks up his 100th ISIS KILL after UK DRONE-BOMBS compound'). In this sense, a comparison between the unrighteous enemy and the righteous British troops may have facilitated to emphasise the superiority of British social values.

However, comparisons in which the unrighteous enemy underlines the moral superiority of British troops were not exclusive to recent deployments. Any enemy that opposed the British empire offered the potential to be depicted as inhumane, evil and morally apprehensible by today's newspaper articles. For example, the description of the amoral Nazi enemy was extensively discussed to the point that the Nazi enemy became understood as unable of having any form of empathy – similar to the ISIS enemy. This is exemplified in the article 'British war veteran tells ITV News of the horrors he saw at Bergen-Belsen camp 70 years on' (ITV, 14th April 2015). The article describes a British veteran's experience in interrogating Nazi Germans; i.e. "the [concentration] camp's commander Josef Kramer […] was known as the 'The Beast of Belsen'. He [veteran] described the notorious commander as a 'bully' who showed no remorse for the thousands of deaths he was responsible for". Interestingly, the enemy's malice was represented as independent from gender. Female enemies were represented as equal in cruelty to their male counterparts, i.e. "Irma Grese […] tortured female prisoners at the camp. 'I [veteran speaking] asked her four times (whether she had any regrets over her actions) when she suddenly leapt to her feet and with a salute called out at the top of her voice 'Heil Hitler' and sat down again. We never got another word out of her.'" (ibid).

The reprehensibility of 'the enemy' was not solely unrelated to gender but also unrelated to ethnicity. Instead, 'the enemy' was characterised by moral despicability, whether describing Nazi Germans or their collaborators. The Japanese, for example, were commonly related to violations of the Geneva Convention. This is exemplified in the article 'VJ Day: Surviving the horrors of Japan's WW2 camps' (BBC, 12th August, 2015). Here, the Japanese mistreatment of the prosocial acting, heroic British prisoners of war exemplified the enemy's inhumanity and the unforeseeable misuse of power, i.e. "Random beating and torture was meted out at will by sadistic, brutal and unpredictable captors [referring to Japanese]."

Essentially, this demonstrates that depictions of the enemy's inhumanity to the extent of the enemy's dehumanisation, distributed by the media, represents neither a recent trend nor a phenomenon exclusive to the ISIS enemy. Instead, it may be argued that the veteran-hero, as representing the absolute 'good', draws necessarily on exaggerations of the enemy, as representing the absolute 'evil'. Therefore, it is unsurprising that not solely killing of the amoral

ISIS enemy was represented as being a socially acceptable righteous act but also the assassination of the amoral Nazi enemy, i.e. "Both Kramer and Grese were tried and hanged for their crimes" (ITV, 14th April 2015; 'British war veteran tells ITV News of the horrors he saw at Bergen-Belsen camp 70 years on').

In conclusion, when characterising the veteran as hero through past actions, the media seemed to symbolically focus on representations of the virtuous 'us' vs. the evil 'others'. However, the tendency to glorify the 'own' by drawing upon the reprehensibility of the 'others' is a common phenomenon in modern and earlier societies. Gaining a positive sense of one's in-group and of one's identity through comparison with negatively valued groups, peoples and cultures can be traced back in history to the early ages. For example, fifth century BC Athenians are likely to have gained positive self-evaluations through being defined as members of a non-barbaric culture (Joffe, 2007). Similarly, a critical examination of the historical evolvement of the *bourgeois* indicated that the *bourgeois* defined itself continually through the exclusion of what is marked as low, for example being dirty, repulsive, noisy or ill and contaminating (Stallybrass & White, 1986). In conclusion, media representations of the veteran's achievements which made him heroic may have been based upon implicit symbolic representations: The veteran as a representation of British (Western) values – order, reason, moral standards, discipline, sexual continence, self-control and altruism (McCulloch, 1995). The enemy, in contrast, became the symbolic oppositions to these values. Therefore, comparison allowed to create superior and inferior identities (Douglas, 2002) making the veteran to the symbolic representation of a superior culture and thus in a way also to the representation of anyone identifying with this culture or its values and norms.

Essentially, the participation in a war of values resulted in deployments as being characterised in terms of comprising a purifying aspect. The veteran became separated from the past and future but served as a timeless representation of a moral framework that is worthy of defending and for that the veteran considered to die for. Social values became in this sense attached to an all-absorbing sacrifice. The veteran's voluntary decision to sacrifice the own life in deployment qualified the person to become a hero for their lifetime. This theme became evident in articles like "Stalybridge D-Day hero Norman Coleman dies at the age of 92" (Manchester Evening News, 3rd February 2015) or "93-year-old WW2 hero achieves Biggin Hill spitfire dream" (The Bromley Times, 28th September, 2016). These articles demonstrated how deployment to the Second World War may be socially associated with an encompassing purification of the British

veteran's life in its entity. By deducting the veteran to the war experience, the person became ultimately 'good', as at times of need the veteran was willing to sacrifice their own life for higher ideals - British norms and values. For example, the 'purification' of the veteran through the veteran's willingness to sacrifice was exemplified in The Daily Mail's issue of the 12th June 2014 ("'I look at that beach and I can tell you where each was lying... I can still see their faces': Tears of D-Day veterans as they return to Normandy to honour their fallen comrades'"): "'They [British veterans] paid the price. They are the heroes,' said Melnikoff, of Cockeysville, Maryland. [...] In all, 19 world leaders, more than 1,000 veterans and many others have gathered to honour the troops and civilians who fell in mighty battles that helped bring Europe peace and unity", and, similarly in the Daily Mail issue of the 6th June 2015 ('D-Day heroes' courage remembered'): "Age may finally have wearied them but the courage and sacrifices of Second World War servicemen who helped rid Europe of the tyranny of the Nazis were remembered on the 71st anniversary of D-Day today."

However, similar to WW2, more recent wars were found to imply the 'purification' of the veteran's life in its entity that was related to the veteran's willingness to serve; i.e. "'So to everyone who served in the Falklands - those who are here today and those who aren't - I say on behalf of the British people that we are proud of you and we salute you. We will always be in your debt. Freedom is only won, and peace is only kept, because there are exceptionally brave people willing to travel to the other side of the world and lay their lives on the line'" (Daily Mail, 14th June 2012; 'We will always be here in full force': War heroes and islanders brave freezing weather to mark 30th anniversary of Falklands liberation'); or, "We owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to all who serve in our Armed Forces and especially to those on the front line in dangerous places such as Afghanistan." (The Telegraph, 9th November 2012; 'Armed Forces: sacrifices that must never be forgotten'). In this sense, the veteran became the symbolic protector not only of the British values but also of British people and thus – on the individual level – of a symbolic 'me'. This qualified the veteran to be a hero for their lifetime. For example, the articles "Hunstanton's Harry was a hero" (Lynn News, 9th November, 2016) and "Farewell, Fred: D-Day hero gets a fitting send-off" (Express, 2nd September 2016) indicate how the symbolic property "freedom" – more particularly European freedom – become associated to the veteran. In this sense, the word veteran become so closely related to hero, that it nearly substitutes the word. The following article powerfully exemplifies this, though *not* included in the analysis (as not focussing on a human veteran-individual): "He was a real veteran: Brave medal-winning military mule Jimson is among the HERO army animals of the British Raj celebrated in a new exhibition" (emphasis not added; Daily Mail, 3rd April 2017).

Hero b.) Veterans represent heroism, justified by actions in the present

The representation of the veteran as hero through present actions was closely related to the representation of the veteran as hero through past actions. The veteran's heroism was depicted as induced through the past but confirmed by the veteran's present and prospective future behaviour. Depictions of veterans were therefore based upon thematising altruistic behaviour and superior morality in different post-war circumstances. The circumstances in which the veteran demonstrated extraordinarily altruistic deeds were placed within the realms of everyday-life (i.e. The Scotsman, 5th June 2016; 'Former Scots soldier sets up fishing charity to help PTSD veterans') or within the realms of extreme situations (i.e. Daily Mail, 3rd June, 2016; 'British war veteran, 42, abandons his bid to scale Mount Everest just 500m from the top to turn back and help a stricken climber').

The veteran as hero through actions in the present highlighted therefore how the inherently selfless veteran continued to do good in the post-service life by helping those in need. Articles which were assigned to this theme presented the veteran commonly as the one who at first gave up their own life to protect Britain, British values and British people, and, in the post-service life continues to sacrifice to promote the greater good. For example, veterans were commonly represented as helping the Ex-Service community by aiding in transition or helping Charities financially. The veteran's heroic character which was made more tangible through selfless care for others was exemplified in the Cambridge News' (2nd December, 2016; 'Veteran pensioner raises over £1,000 for British Legion by collecting outside Iceland supermarket') interview with a veteran who collected money for the British Legion, i.e. "He [veteran] added: "I'm just giving something back. [...] People who leave the army, some of them haven't got anywhere to live and the Legion helps them". The veteran's extraordinary care for others was similarly depicted in the Huffington Post (2nd November 2017;). The article '86-Year-Old Veteran Raised Over £100,000 For Charity After A Chance Meeting On A Train' comprised an interview with a veteran who raised money to help the Ex-Service community; i.e. "The JustGiving page has since received donations from over 15,000 individuals sending the total skyrocketing from £300 to £108,000 in just 24 hours. When Jeffrey [veteran] heard the news from a friend in Bradford, he cried: 'What can I say, words are inadequate here.'"

However, veterans were not solely depicted as collecting extraordinary sums to help fellow members of the Ex-Service community. Typical depictions of veterans as heroes through their

altruistic motivation also thematised the veterans' innovative ideas to help others. An example, therefore, is represented in the article 'Ex-soldiers set up a company to help veterans make the transition from military to civilian life' in Wales Online (15th September 2015). Here two veteran-brothers were depicted as having successfully set up a business that helped former members of the Armed Forces launch careers in civilian society; i.e. "But more recently the brothers identified a gap in the market for a company able to translate military qualifications into civilian ones, and they have now formed The British Training Board, which works with accredited awarding bodies such as Agored Cymru and the National Open College Network to help individuals gain full credit in civilian life for training they have completed in the military." Similarly, the article 'Former Scots soldier sets up a fishing charity to help PTSD veterans' (The Scotsman, 5th June 2016) represented veterans as finding extraordinary strategies to help others, after having successfully overcome their own issues; cf. "Now 51, Mr Wilson, of Arbroath, Angus has turned to helping others who were struggling to deal with the turmoil of war and that all too difficult return into society after service. Mr Wilson, who himself has suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), has taken his love of fishing and the physical and mental benefits that it brings and set up Fishing for Veterans, the only organisation of its type in Scotland." In conclusion, the heroic character of the veteran that was based upon the veteran's selfless care for others was presented as evolving from processing difficulties that veterans encountered when transitioning to civilian society.

The veterans' altruistic actions, however, did also address the civilian community more generally. Veterans, for example, were depicted as intrinsically motivated to continue providing safety and care for members from the general public. The veteran's intrinsic motivation to protect people was exemplified in the article 'HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT Elite ex-army soldiers are hiding among pop concert crowds to keep us safe from Manchester Arena style terror attacks' (The Sun, 18th July 2017), and, in 'British war veteran, 42, abandons his bid to scale Mount Everest just 500m from the top to turn back and help a stricken climber' (Daily Mail, 3rd June, 2016). Therefore, the veteran's concern for the innocent public seemed to mark a personality attribute. In this sense, it may be argued that societal depictions of the veteran's intrinsically motivated altruism may have mirrored sentiments of a hegemonically constructed veteran-identity that is imposed on the veteran individual. In this sense, the veteran identity may not be a distinctive individual identity category interacting with those of a social meta-system anymore. Instead, the veteran-identity may represent a socially constructed facet of a representational system that is defined and communicated by society (cf. Duveen, 2001;

Moscovici, 1984). The veteran-identity may thus refer to an identity that is imperatively bound to an individual, similar to a gender identity (Duveen, 2001). In contrast to a contractually obliged identity that can be voluntarily adopted – *and rejected* (i.e. occupational identity), social definitions of the veteran-identity may refer to an all-encompassing identity as implying an intrinsic, specific personality.

Hero c.) Veterans represent heroism, justified by growth from victim-state

The third way in that articles justified the veteran's heroism thematised the veteran's management of service-related injuries. The veteran's success in overcoming and managing disabilities, that served as visual manifestations of the 'cost of war', was framed within extraordinary physical achievements. For example, 'Hero British amputee soldiers in amazing #22kill push-up challenge to combat military suicide' (The Mirror, 27th June, 2016) tells the emotionally laden story of two British veteran amputees who decided to do 22 push-ups for 22 days in a row. Though the 'push-up-challenge' refers to the factually incorrect belief that 22 UK veterans commit suicide per day, the two veterans take this misbelief on and promote a social perpetuation. Both veterans were triple-amputees who have lost their legs and one arm and gave a detailed narrative account on how they managed to adapt to new life-situation. As the veterans explain how suicidal thoughts may be managed, they become heroes not solely through adapting to life changes but by exemplifying care for others. Similarly, the article 'Afghan war hero Paul Jacobs to start charity walk in Huddersfield' (The Huddersfield Daily Examiner, 14th June 2016) describes the story of Paul who had sacrificed eye-sight and how this loss caused his life to become a positive contribution for others. By overcoming mainly psychological health problems, Paul was represented as "brave blind [...] mentally scarred" man who serves as an example of how psychological problems may be overcome with extraordinary will-power.

In this sense, the veteran became a motivational idol – also for civilians. For example, 'JUST OAR-SOME Hero Para Ben Parkinson's epic 120km Arctic kayaking challenge a decade after being blown up on Afghan mission' (The Sun, 19th September, 2016) tells the story of Ben, who lost his legs, broke his back and suffered brain damage in Afghanistan. Ben perceived his recovery by 'willpower', which enabled him not only to recover successfully but also challenged him to achieve something even most civilians would not be able to. This turns the veteran into an iconic idol of heroism. Similarly, 'Medal of honour: Cyclist Jon-Allan Butterworth becomes the first British serviceman injured in Iraq to win Paralympic gold nine

years after he lost his arm following a rocket attack in Basra' (Daily Mail, 11th September, 2016), implicitly attaches an invincible character to the veteran. The veteran as described in a super-human way was also found in other articles, e.g. 'Great Britain's military Paralympians ready to go in Rio after demonstrating incredible powers of recovery' (Daily Mail, 8th September, 2016). The phrase "incredible powers" may be understood as emphasising the veteran's ultimate self-efficacy to turn anything that life might bring into its best, an ability which may be an unreachable ideal for 'ordinary' civilians.

The veteran as victim

A slightly higher proportion of newspaper articles (46.8%) focussed on the veteran as being a victim in either of the following ways: The veteran as victim *(a) suffering from the 'cost of war'; (b) suffering from institutional injustice and social callousness,* or, *(c) relying on help offered by Charities and governmental interventions*. The following will give an interpretative overview of these sub-themes.

Victim a.) Veterans suffer from the 'cost of war'

Here, veterans become associated with the victim-state by symbolically representing the 'cost of war'. Therefore, articles grouped within this theme provided a detailed description of the 'horrors of war'. For example, the article 'Post-traumatic stress disorder is the invisible scar of war' that was published in The Telegraph (13th May 2014) exhaustively discussed the physical threats. i.e. "Isolated bases came under constant attack from enemy assaults, mortars and rocket fire. Patrols were close-combat affairs in high-standing crops, where the Taliban could often be heard moving in the next stand of maize prior to the start of a firefight. The increasing sophistication of roadside bombs became an enduring dread." This quote presents next to the obvious physical dangers more implicit psychological stresses associated to war exposure. Isolation, in this sense, may allow the reader to conclude that soldiers were left to their own devices in defending their lives. Moreover, the soldiers' awareness of the enemy preparing to fight may refer to an additional stressor – the uncontrollable, idiosyncratic evil of warfare. Lastly, the article also makes a more explicit reference to the psychological horrors of war by referring to "the loss of close friends and comrades, combat fatigue, the constant stress of facing death or serious injury".

The presentation of the 'horrors of war' that veterans have experienced set the scene in which health problems could make the 'horrors of war' tangible and more concrete. Therefore, negative social conceptualisations of war (cf. Sarricka & Wachelke, 2010) may have been objectified by relating physical and psychological health problems to normal consequences of war experience. This was exemplified in The Telegraph's issue of the 2nd November 2014 that calls to "remember the consequences of wars", particularly physical impairments such as "badly scarred skin, amputations, reconstructed bodies" ('Bryan Adams: 'Remember these soldiers and the consequences of war''). Similarly, articles represented psychological ill-health as a normal outcome of war exposure; i.e. "a significant number of veterans who serve in the Armed Forces continue to relive the horrors they experienced on the frontline or during their time in the Armed Forces" (The Telegraph; 11th May 2014; 'Afghanistan veterans seeking help over mental health is on the rise, says charity'); or, "help the rising toll of traumatised servicemen and women who are abandoned after returning from serving their country in war zones" (The Mirror, 22nd September 2016, 'Tragedy of the British troops who cannot live with the trauma of PTSD').

Essentially, articles that depicted the veteran as war-victim also provoked the reader to an emotional response. In this sense, the depiction of veterans suffering from their disability may be related to unify the veteran with the reader by eliciting empathy. At present, suffering is hypothesised to be the most meaningful and authentic experience with which everybody can associate (Furedi, 1998). It is a socially constructed agreement that the 'sufferer' is entitled to be compensated or rewarded for the sacrifice (Furedi, 1998). As the veteran is commonly depicted as lacking this compensation, the sub-themes 'Victim a.) Veterans suffer from the cost of war' and 'Victim b.) Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness' were found to be interconnected.

Victim b.) Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness

Articles assigned to this theme focussed on problematizing a twofold suffering: Suffering from psychological and physical harm on one side, and, on the other, suffering from social injustice and callousness. For example, "Afghanistan war veteran has to remortgage home to fund limb surgery" (The Telegraph, 27th December 2015) thematises how the British government and the NHS inadequately addressed injured Ex-Service Personnel's needs. While the veteran was presented as angry, suffering victim of war, the British government and the NHS were depicted as unhelpful and uncaring institutions that let veterans down; i.e. "And for the last 12 months he [veteran] has been virtually housebound while waiting for the NHS to fit new casts." Another

representative example for depictions of unhelpful and uncaring British institutions was found in The Independent's article 'Britain's 'forgotten' nuclear test veterans bring their battle for compensation to Commons' (27th October 2013). This article demonstrates how the British government denied veterans compensation and, instead, invests money in lawsuits that went on for years; i.e. "Successive UK governments have so far spent around £5m blocking legal action by the veterans to get compensation. The official position is that there is no correlation between the veterans' medical conditions and the tests." In this sense, an implicit notion of political self-interest and callousness may be transmitted. The government's concern for those who fought for it may, therefore, be considered to be replaced by the government's concern for its reputation. In following the government's intention to have a good reputation, the veteran who has accomplished a morally dubious duty was left aside and ignored; i.e. "We [veterans] are like ghosts, they [government] don't see you, they don't hear you".

Attitudes of negligence and callousness towards impaired veterans, however, were not solely represented as being an institutional phenomenon. Instead, also groups and members from British general public were characterised as having similar responses. An example therefore were The Sun's articles 'HERO'S TORMENT Taxi driver fined £1,000 for refusing to pick up blind war veteran because he had a guide dog' (26th September 2016), and, 'GUIDE DOG STORM Blind RAF veteran turned away from guest house because he had a guide dog" (19th August 2016). These articles thematise the callousness of individuals from British society who fail to acknowledge the veteran's sacrifice, leaving them "disgusted after being turned away" (The Sun, 19th August 2016) and "annoyed, embarrassed and ashamed" (The Sun, 26th September 2016) behind. Moreover, attitudes of social negligence and callousness were commonly depicted as affecting the veteran's health negatively. An example, therefore, is the article 'Driver tells a veteran to 'get another leg' in Woodley parking row' (BBC 30th November 2017) in that the psychological consequences of insult were discussed. The veteran was then depicted as having to overcome an additional hurdle by processing defamation and vituperation; i.e. "The verbal attack had left him [veteran] "frightened" and he had had problems sleeping since."

In conclusion, the veteran as suffering from institutional injustice and social callousness combined two aspects of suffering: Suffering from the 'cost of war' (physical/psychological impairments) *and* suffering from being let down and discriminated by institutions and members of the general public. These two united aspects of suffering created a two-sided victimhood.

More concretely, the veteran became the one who incurred injury for a society which now turns its back on him or her.

Another dominant aspect of this subtheme was the social discrimination of the veteran due to a lack of understanding or misunderstanding. For example, the issue of social neglection was critically evaluated in 'Forgotten underclass of young military veterans lost in civilian life, says study' (The Telegraph, 19th July 2016). It highlighted that the focus of care was on older generation veterans, while younger veterans who were suffering from emotional and physical disabilities related to 'the cost of war', were mostly ignored by British institutions and the government. Therefore, social and institutional callousness was considered to prevent young veterans from receiving the service, which they would need to reintegrate into British society. Similarly, the articles 'Veterans face job discrimination due to misplaced PTSD fears' (The Telegraph, 3 May 2016) and 'Bosses discriminate against ex-soldiers – see them as mentally unstable & poorly trained' (RT, 3rd October 2016) both, highlight and criticise social misunderstandings of veterans. By emphasising the society's inability to accept veterans, veterans became the victim of society and its stereotypes. In conclusion, although the reason for the veteran's victim-category membership is exchanged, the transmitted information confirms legitimacy for continuance in category-membership in a broader sense.

Victim c.) Charitable organisations that need to help the victim-veteran

In the Victim's sub-theme 'Charitable organisations that need to help the victim-veteran', the article's focus shifts from the veteran to an organisation that supports the veteran. In this theme, the veteran was put into a passive role and always characterised as a needy and helpless victim of war. For example, the article 'HELP FOR TROOPS Thousands of veterans will get faster access to mental health care under a £9million NHS programme' (The Sun, 1st of April 2017) discusses how the new NHS programme would help veterans with anxiety, stress, depression and alcoholism. To outline the urgent necessity of introducing the new programme, the article provided the reader with high numbers of veterans that have mental health and alcohol-related problems. For example, "Around 20,000 veterans a year already access talking therapies on the NHS", and, "Government figures released last year show the equivalent of 10 infantry battalions of soldiers have required medical treatment for drinking too much booze". It may be intentional that the author did not refer to the latest estimations of veterans who reside in British households (MOD, 2016). When taking into consideration that approx. 2.5 million veterans reside in Great Britain, the 20 000 veterans who are reported to access mental health care would

come down to 0.01% of the general veteran population. Similarly, the 3000 – 8000 (10 infantry battalions) individuals who required medical treatment for alcoholism would only represent 0.001% - 0.003% of the general veteran population. This would undermine the argument that veterans are in desperate need of help. Representing high numbers of veterans that are in need without making references to the general veteran population was commonly used to outline the veteran's neediness in this sub-theme.

The veteran's neediness was frequently embedded within the narrative of the heroic veteran who had sacrificed their own life for the greater cause. Therefore, articles implicitly transmitted a sense of guilt and blame for British society which does not treat veterans adequately. This is exemplified by the article 'Heroes of old deserve better' (Daily Record, 28th February 2012). In the article, the "ground-breaking Citizen Advice Bureau scheme" was lauded for success. However, it was considered that this scheme should be better funded and extended to support veterans further with desperately needed health care. The claim that the veteran needs to be better looked after and provided with more care for service-related injuries was justified by the remark: "If we cannot look out for those who were willing to risk everything for their country, it dishonours us all".

In the same way in which negligence was considered to bring dishonour, care and self-initiated help for veterans was glorified. An example, therefore, was found in the article 'Scottish charity project Bravehound wins national award' (The Third Force, 22nd August 2017). This article presented the Scottish charity project Bravehound as highly honourable "life-changing work with veterans" (ibid). Particularly, veterans who experienced combat were depicted as having difficulties in the transition to civilian life and the detrimental situation of suffering veterans stressed. Therefore, the article outlined an implicit association between combat exposure and ill-health that, though factually incorrect (cf. MOD, 2016), seems to be socially prevalent. However, the Charity's important contribution was societally appreciated to the extent that the BBC had broadcasted a reportage of it. In conclusion, by a small shift in emphasis, the charity became the centre of attention while veterans were put into a state of a pity.

4.5. Discussion

The results indicated that there may be well-established socially distributed veteran-hero and veteran-victim relationships. Media presents veterans nearly exclusively as heroes and as

victims. Therefore, media distributions of veterans resonate with theoretical notions of "constructing military service as [...] solemn function" that legitimises the "cultural assumptions regarding a category of persons who [...] deserve to be treated with more respect" (Gibson, 2012, p.145; cf. also Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008; Gibson & Condor, 2009). This, so Gibson (2012), performs important social identity management work as it allows individuals in a society to put themselves into the context of history. Particularly the results' discursive descriptions of dichotomies that were present in the subtheme 'Hero *a.) Veterans represent heroism that is justified by their actions in the past'* were aligned with previous research that found these dichotomies to be at the heart of the veteran-hero association (i.e. Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008; Gibson & Condor, 2009; Gibson, 2012). On the other side, media distributions resonate with theoretical notions of veterans as "victims [...] who are involved in a conflict [and] become injured or killed as a result" (Gibson, 2012, p. 135; cf. also De Groot, 1995; Goldensohn, 2006; Chattarji, 2000; McGarry, 2012; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). The results indicate that the conceptualisations of veterans within this framework served as an underlying baseline for all victim subthemes (*Victim: a. Veterans suffer from the cost of war; Victim: b. Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness; Victim: c. Charitable organisations that need to help the victim-veteran*). Therefore, the factually incorrect belief that experiencing war may be emotionally and/or physiologically damaging (cf. Connelly & Burgess, 2013; MOD, 2016) was found to be mirrored by depictions of veterans in the press.

Moreover, the findings from the present study suggest that political affiliation of newspaper agencies (left, right, none, international) did not significantly impact on the way British veterans were depicted in newspaper articles (victim or hero). In conclusion, though political affiliation of newspaper agencies may affect media coverage in other areas such as reports concerning the government and politicians (i.e. Brandenburg, 2002; Semetko, et al., 2013; Negrine, 2003; Curran & Seaton, 2002), the results indicated that this is may not be the case for depictions of veterans. Instead, the present findings were aligned with Wilesmith's (2011) notion of an apolitical, homogeneous media coverage in relation to British deployments and those related to it. Therefore, the evidence did not support the notion that depictions of the military and its members may be tainted by news agencies' party affiliations and by the extent to which these affiliations may be aligned with current foreign policies.

However, in contrast to the independence between news agencies' political affiliations and the ways in which British veterans were being represented, newspaper format ('broadsheet',

'tabloid', 'local' and 'international') was found to significantly impact on how veterans were being depicted in newspaper articles. While the results indicate that 'broadsheet' press tended to focus on the victimisation of the veteran, international/local press tended to focus on a heroization of veterans. 'Tabloid' press represented a balance between these two formats in terms of how veterans were being depicted.

Reasons for these proportions of veteran depictions may be explained by theoretical notions of the three interrelated dimensions of public life (historical dimension, cultural dimension, public dimension; cf. 2. Theoretical Framework). It may be possible that media depictions of British veterans in international press reflect the historical dimension of social knowledge. By taking a culture-external perspective, the international press may focus on evaluations and representations of British "foundational myths" (Liu & Hilton, 2005; p. 538) and their "constitutional charters" (ibid). Therefore, British history that formed the "constitutional charter" (ibid) of being (together with the US) a "world policeman [...] institutionalised through their [UK's] permanent seats on the U.N Security Council" (ibid), could have influenced international depictions of veterans as heroes. This may be particularly the case, as international news agencies included in this study were solely from Anglo Saxon countries which cooperated with the UK in military missions (USA: 47% of articles, Ireland: 41% of articles, Canada: 12% of articles). In conclusion, the macro level of culture-external perspectives that international media is forced to take might scratch the surface of stereotypical representations of British military actions that veterans may symbolise. In contrast, significantly increased depictions of veterans as heroes in local newspaper formats may be related to the micro level of local perspectives that may focus on promoting appreciation for the region. Therefore, local newspapers might combine the previously outlined cultural veteran-hero assumption (cf. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008) with their local region. This may allow to implicitly attach an extraordinary character or heroic sentiment to the local region. Previous research indicated that this is a common strategy of sub-groups in society to enforce social appreciation. For example:

> "[...] when the head of the National Association for Gypsy Women of the United Kingdom argued that '[we] don't believe our cultural way of life has ever been recognised or respected and we feel now it's time that it was', she mobilized a rhetorical bottom line that '[a]fter all the gypsy men of this country fought in the two world wars for king and country' (BBC News, 2004b). In this case, fighting for 'king and country' is mobilized on behalf of the group rather than the individual speaker [...] and claims for the group a moral right to recognition and respect."

In conclusion, similar to sub-groups in British society that utilise veteran-individuals from their group to legitimise their entitlement of social appreciation and acknowledgement, local newspaper agencies may focus on veteran-hero depictions for the same reason. This argument may also explain why the 'tabloid' press does not significantly differ from local formats in their proportion of veteran-hero depictions. On a national base, it may be argued that the appreciation for British veterans may reflect an appreciation for the British national identity and thus recognition for the British individual's national identity.

In contrast, significantly higher proportions of veteran-victim depictions in the national 'broadsheet' press may represent intracultural discourses. These discourses may address socio-cultural scrutiny towards the cost of the war of that veterans suffer from and social responses towards these sufferings. The dominance of veteran-victim representation in 'broadsheet' press may reflect the role of the press as a social agent that re-conceptualises culturally determined taken-for-granted's (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b). Similarly, to a media-induced cultural development in European history (cf. McLuhan, 1962), the significantly higher proportion of veteran-victim related articles in the 'broadsheet' press may reflect ambivalent relations between critically minded citizens and British politics. This may be particularly true for the 'broadsheet' press as "broadsheet or quality newspapers [are] characterised by extensive political and economic comment, which have relatively small but well-educated and influential readerships" (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005, p. 1460). In this sense, the 'broadsheet' press may be considered as representing a symbolic space for disputing contradictory and dichotomous "arguments and perspectives of various social actors [in contrast to a] [...] debate [that] is excessively simplified or excluded in other media" (ibid). More concretely, the 'broadsheet' press may report significantly more often on the veteran-victim theme as it is considered to offer more critical, nuanced and detailed analyses in matters of social life than other media. In conclusion, it may be argued that 'broadsheet' may dismantle culturally prevalent veteran-hero representations instead of uncritically representing it.

However, in contrast to significant differences between 'broadsheet', 'international' and 'local' press, the 'tabloid' press did not significantly differ from either of these press formats. This may be the case as 'tabloid' newspapers may uncritically adopt and depict the cultural veteran-hero assumption *and* social discourses on the neediness of the veteran who suffers from deployment-related injuries. This may be the case as the 'tabloid's' "dominant motive [...] is

to attract high readership." (Rooney, 2000; p. 91) and thus to accept any means necessary to increase sales. Therefore, it may be argued that whether the veteran is represented as a hero or as a victim mattered little to 'tabloid' press as long as the respective information may be exaggerated, dramatized and had the potential to scandalise the general public.

Like much of the quantitative content analytic research examining media depictions of representations, this study was limited by sampling and analytical procedures. Despite this study's ability to provide objective and generalizable information, further research in this area may need to consider a separation of veteran-types. While this study intended to provide a general and broad 'snap-shot' of veteran-related media depictions, future studies may want to investigate representations of veterans from specific deployments. In this sense, observations of specific interactions between hero/victim theme and veteran-type may want to be taken up by future research. As this study was exploratory and utilised a theme-based content analysis, future studies may also want to consider conducting a textual content analysis. In this sense, lexical contents and sentence structures could be investigated to examine e.g. specific veteran-related bywords (i.e. hero/heroic; poor/suffering) and their frequency.

Another limitation concerns the inclusion of articles as media-definitions of the veteran remained unquestioned. The inclusion criteria of articles referring to a British veteran in the title or subtitle may need to be further refined in order to allow a more critical adoption of newspaper articles. For example, it may be beneficial only to accept articles that refer to one British veteran individual. This would legitimise the exclusion of articles predominantly describing charitable organisations that help a more general veteran population. Therefore, the subsequent analyses may be more concise and a differentiation between veteran-types (i.e. WW2 veteran, Iraq veteran) would be facilitated. However, though this approach would have generated a more concise set of data that may have simplified subsequent categorisation processes, it would have excluded thematic complexes with which veterans were frequently associated. In this sense, it remains questionable whether and to which extent a more precise definition of inclusion criteria would have allowed the researcher to provide an overview of the public sphere in terms of social discourses that address the veteran.

Lastly, the present study did not take potential differences between the news agency's impact on social attitudes into account. However, to date, the question how different UK news agencies differ in terms of their impact on public attitudes remains unaddressed. Though it is known that 'tabloids' have a greater readership and a higher circulation, it is also known that the readership of 'broadsheet' newspapers is more influential and thus may comprise a more powerful group

in terms of policy making (cf. Rooney, 2000). However, the present study did not introduce weightings as even a thorough literature search did not answer the question of how articles may be weighted.

In conclusion, the present study's main limitations may be considered to follow its explorative nature. Future research may want to build upon the present findings and to delve in more nuanced and specific aspects of veteran-related depictions. However, though these limitations need to be considered and future research in this area is indubitable necessary, the present study fulfilled its intention. A general overview of common ways in which British veterans are being depicted in media was provided and differences between veteran-depictions and newspaper format/ political affiliation of news agencies were investigated.

4.6. Conclusion

As mentioned in the previous sections, the findings of the present chapter indicated that media depictions of British veterans predominantly refer to hero or victim representations that were outlined in 2. Theoretical Framework. However, unlike proposed by e.g. King (2010, 2013), the findings did not provide any evidence for representations of veterans as (ex)professionals. However, lacking evidence for media depictions of veterans as (ex)professionals do not allow to conclude that individuals in British society would not hold this representation. Media, in its role as social agent following its own intentions, may not want to depict the veteran as (ex)professional as this may not promote sales.

This issue serves as an example for the problem of limited inferences on matters of causality between culturally prevalent depictions of veterans and individually held representations thereof. More concretely, although the findings suggest that some media representations of veterans resonate with representations of veterans that were outlined in the Theoretical Framework, it remains questionable whether and to which extent individuals in British society accept and integrate these media depictions into a personalised belief system.

Therefore, to understand how and to which extent individuals in British public may hold social representations of veterans that include aspects of media depictions of veterans, opinion polls and surveys will be reviewed in the next chapter. Question items from different representative opinion polls and surveys that concern understandings of veterans will be reviewed, summarised and contested. Socially common understandings of veterans can be compared with

factually correct information and erroneous stereotypes determined. In this sense, the following chapter will make the leap from social discourses and depictions (social representations embedded within public sphere) to individual beliefs and understanding (social representations embedded within the individual's personalised beliefs).

5. Perceptions of British Veterans in UK Society – A Review of Opinion Polls and Surveys

5.1. Introduction

The present section will examine the field of pertinent social perceptions of veterans by providing a comparative overview of '*the given*' – socially pertinent understandings. Socially pertinent understandings will be accessed by reviewing veteran-related question items from existing opinion polls and surveys. Therefore, differences and similarities in answers to veteran-related question items from representative opinion polls and surveys will be discussed. To also determine social misperception of veterans, societally pertinent understandings of veterans will be compared with factually correct information.

5.2. Theoretical Outline

Chapter IV outlined that veterans from the UK Armed Forces may be considered as a focal point of public interest in the UK (cf. also Hines et al, 2015). Publicly distributed images of the veteran may refer to heroic and victimised representations of veterans in media. In conclusion, aspects of heroic and victimised representations of veterans that are perpetuated in media may be reflected in public perceptions of veterans. Despite the importance of pertinent public beliefs of veterans for i.e. the recruitment process or the veteran's successful reintegration into civilian society (Hines et al, 2015; Burdett, 2014), little is known about perceptions of veterans in UK society. While the US and other European countries produced robust research that relates to pertinent public perceptions of the military and its members, the UK failed to produce exhaustive analyses of nationally representative sample sizes (cf. Hines et al., 2015). Moreover, the few UK studies that represent rigorous and sound research on pertinent perceptions of the UK Armed Forces remain to date unrelated to each other. No scientific attempt has been made to evaluate publicly pertinent beliefs concerning veterans and thus to contrast and compare veteran-related question items from different opinion polls and surveys. The current state of knowledge may therefore neither allow the observation of coherence, development and shifts in opinions about veterans between different polls and surveys over time nor to determine publicly pertinent erroneous beliefs about veterans.

The present chapter addresses the gap in scientific knowledge regarding social perceptions of veterans by conducting an in-depth investigation of representative polls and surveys. Question items that relate to opinions about veterans were reviewed, grouped according to similarity and compared with factually correct information.

5.3. Methods

5.3.1. Literature Search

A systematic wide-ranging literature review was conducted by accessing the university owned library resources[4], the database UK Data Service[5] and Google. In addition, reference lists of all included polls and surveys were hand-searched, while also relevant known websites (i.e. Ministry of Defence[6]) were screened to make sure all relevant surveys and polls were included. The university-owned library resources were utilised as these included an easily accessible and exhaustive list of opinion polls and surveys from a wide array of different publishers. In contrast, the database UK Data Service represented a more specific database, offering the UK's most extensive collection of social, economic and population data resources. Lastly, Google served as "back-up" to make sure that no representative poll or survey which captured social opinions of veterans was overlooked.

The present study intended to provide a general overview of the ways in which veterans are being thought of in British society. Therefore, a variety of search terms were utilised. The databases were searched with a combination of the following search terms: "Opinion poll"/ "Survey", "British"/ "Britain"/ "UK"/ "United Kingdom", "public"/ "society" and 'Veteran'/ "former Service Personnel"/ 'Ex-Service Personnel'. Opinion polls and surveys were selected that included at least one question item that referred to the veteran, or veteran-related terms (i.e. Ex-Service Personnel, Former Personnel). To be included polls and surveys needed to have representative sample sizes for the UK population, and, to have been published between the 22.5.2011 (the day of the last soldier's withdrawal from Iraq) and the 1.11.2017 to ensure recency of polls and surveys.

[4] https://www.brookes.ac.uk/library/resources/catalogues/
[5] https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/
[6] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications

A total of 11 surveys and polls were selected that included 41 question items referring to veterans, or veteran-related terms (i.e. Former Personnel, Ex-Service Personnel…). An overview of publisher and number of question items can be found in **Table 4**.

Table 4
Overview of Publisher/Institute and Number of Question Items

Year of Publication	Publisher/Institute	Name of Publication	Number of Veteran Related Question Items
2017	Ashcroft, KCMG	'Veteran's Transition Report'	8
2015	Ipsos Mori & King's College London	'Hearts and Minds: Misperceptions and the Military'	4
Summer 2015	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
Winter 2014/2015	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
Spring 2014	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
Autumn 2013	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
Spring 2013	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
Autumn 2012	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
Spring 2012	ICM Survey	'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1
2012	Ashcroft, KCMG	'The Armed Forces & Society. The military in Britain-through the eyes of Service Personnel, employers and the public'	9
2012	British Social Attitudes	29, Nat Cen Research	13

5.4. Instruments

A theme-based content analysis (CA) grouped question items into thematic clusters. CA is considered to be "a technique used to extract desired information from a body of material [...] by systematically and objectively identifying specific characteristics of the material" (Smith, 2000; p. 314). The application of CA as a methodology for the present study provided the rationale for extracting veteran-related question items and for coding these question items in accordance to similarity. Therefore, the 41 extracted question items were grouped and categorised into five emerging themes. Themes referred to perceptions of the veteran's a.) employment situation, b.) housing situation, c.) skills and experiences, d.) physical/psychological well-being, and, e.) addictions and antisocial behaviour. An overview of the five themes can be found in **Table 5**. Inter-rater reliability for question item categorisation was obtained from one psychology postgraduate student. A 100% inter-rater concordance for all 41 question items was obtained which suggested homogeneity in question-item categorisation. Thus, the question-item categorisation was considered to be sufficiently validated for further analyses.

Although the researcher intended to conduct descriptive (comparison/interpretative analysis) *and* parametric (chi-square test, ANOVA/t-test, multiple linear regressions) data analyses, the latter exceeded the limits of the possible. This was the case as the published versions of polls' and surveys' did not allow to observe potential relationships between answers and sociodemographic characteristics like age, gender or education. The researcher was unsuccessful in contacting the relevant institutions and asking for permission to access the data sets. The researcher's request was either ignored, or financial contributions were requested that exceeded the project's resources. Thus, the impact of sociodemographic variables on veteran-related question items' answers could not be observed. Moreover, eye-balling thematic similarities in veteran-related question items indicated too few frequencies to conduct statistically relevant chi-square tests. Thus, tests that may have examined significant differences between factors such as time and changes in public understandings of veterans could not be conducted. Due to these limitations, the following will provide a descriptive, comparative and interpretative in-depth analysis of opinion polls' and surveys' question items. However, though no parametric tests could be conducted, the descriptive analysis will be sufficient to draw comparisons between socially prevailing opinions of veterans and factually correct information.

Table 5.
Definition of Themes

Theme	Description
Employment Situation	Question items/answers that relate to understandings of the veteran's employment situation (difficulties in finding a job)
Housing Situation	Question items/answers that refer to perceptions of homelessness amongst the veteran population
Skills and Experiences	Question items/answers that refer to understandings of the workplace relevant soft-skills and career attributes
Physical/Psychological Wellbeing	Question items/answers that refer to perceptions of the veteran's physical and psychological health
Addictions and Antisocial Behaviour	Question items/answers that refer to understandings of the veteran's behaviour towards others and references to law-abiding attitudes

5.5. Results

The following will present an analysis of the themes into which veteran-related questions of representative opinion polls and surveys were grouped. Each section will present and discuss potential differences between opinions from polls and surveys and will compare societies' common perceptions of veterans with factually correct information.

5.5.1. Perceptions of the Veteran's Employment Situation, Skills and Experiences

The following will discuss publicly pertinent perceptions that were categorised into 'Employment Situation', and, 'Skills and Experiences' in the light of factually correct information. **Table 6** and **Table 7** provide an overview of question items and how representative proportions of the British public answered these.

The Ministry of Defence (MOD) relies on the strength of its people and thus puts considerable investments into their professional development and training. Throughout their military career, all ranks progress through a structured network of courses (education and training) that provide Service Personnel with knowledge and skills. This is based upon the MOD's training and education policy (cf. MOD JSP 898, 2014) and consists of three overlapping areas: Professional Development, Career Management Personal Development and Elective Personal Development. Professional Development comprises generic courses with defined start and output standards necessary to undertake a military appointment, rank or role. Organised by Service Schools, accredited service partner or online courses, the MOD provides Service Personnel with opportunities to improve numeracy or literacy skills. Career Management is often not compulsory for all military appointments or rank promotions but intends to benefit the individual's career and therefore contribute to the Personnel's motivation. Elective Personal Development includes training and education that support Service Personnel's interests or future employment. Although less directly contributing to military capability, Elective Personal Development represents a central strand of professional development as it improves the Personnel's ability to respond to career development.

However, although a range of provisions exists within the three overlapping areas of Professional Development, Career Management Personal Development and Elective Personal Development, the main opportunities address literacy and numeracy, apprenticeships and vocational qualifications, command leadership and management training and – more generally – national degrees (i.e. GCSE, A - Levels, University Short Course Programmes, Postgraduate Studies).

Generally, these skills are acknowledged and appreciated by British society. For example, throughout the last decade ICM surveys indicated consistencies in the agreement of the British public with statements like "People who have left the Armed Forces have skills and experiences that help them to succeed in many different civilian careers" (68% to 78% between March 2012 to Summer 2015, cf. ICM surveys March, 2012 – Summer, 2015). Similarly, also 78% of individuals responsible for recruitment in companies perceived veterans as "Capable, experienced individuals with a lot to offer" and 60% evaluated the veteran's impact on the workplace as "positive" (Ashcroft, 2012). Here, particularly the veteran's discipline (57%) and loyalty (30%) were appreciated (Ashcroft, 2012). Veterans were perceived to be more likely

than civilians to possess many positive work-related attributes i.e. to work well under stress (91% agreed for officers and 86% for other ranks), to have excellent time management skills (93% agreed for officers and 86% for other ranks) or to have better communication skills than civilians (91% agreed for officer and 81% for other ranks, cf. Ashcroft, 2012).

In consideration of these consistently positive reflections on the veteran's employability, it is surprising that representative surveys and opinion polls outlined the British population to have a less favourable view of the veteran's employment situation. A considerable proportion of the British population perceives the veteran as being more likely to be unemployed than their civilian counterparts (47%; Ashcroft 2017/2014; 31% for officers and 45% for other ranks, Ipsos MORI, 2015; 30% for officers and 39% for other ranks, Ashcroft, 2012) or at least as likely to be unemployed as a civilian individual (50.7%, BSA, 2012). However, these perceptions are factually incorrect for the veteran-population that received Career Transition Partnerships (CTP) or CTP Future Horizons as this population was factually less likely to be unemployed than civilians (MOD Career Transition Partnership Ex-Service Personnel Employment, 2018). CTP delivers different kinds of free resettlement services to all ranks of the UK military and makes the transition from military to civilian life as successful as possible by providing workshops for i.e. writing a CV, learning job-interview techniques and applying for jobs. However, although all veterans are entitled to receive CTP, there are two exemptions. Firstly, veterans who were medically discharged (i.e. wounded, injured, sick) automatically qualify for the Core Resettlement Programme (CRP) regardless of time served. Where additional support is required, medically discharged veterans are entitled to access CTP Assists. CTP Assists offer specialist support that provides access to vocational assessments and a vocational opportunities portal or referrals to specialist employment consultants. Secondly, Service Leavers who completed less than four years of service or who faced compulsory discharge are not entitled to access the full CTP range of resettlement services but may use the CTP Future Horizons programme. CTP Future Horizons is a programme that offers the veteran the opportunity to speak to an employment advisor. Depending on the veteran's need for further support, access to advice from the Central Employment Team and the Career Advisor is provided.

However, despite MOD (2018) statistics indicating unemployment being significantly lower for veterans than for civilians, a few caveats must be considered when drawing comparisons between the veteran and the civilian population. Firstly, there were notable differences in

sociodemographic characteristics between the veteran and the civilian sample. For example, 90% of veterans were male compared with 49% of the UK population. Males are generally more likely to be employed than females (cf. ONS, 2018). Therefore, this gender disparity across compared populations may be driving employment rates of veterans being higher than those of the UK population. Secondly, employment and unemployment rates for veterans were estimated six months after they had left Service, while the UK working population will have included individuals who had sought employment for longer than six months. Lastly, MOD transition reports only include veterans who received CTP or CTP Future Horizon services. Therefore, MOD transition reports fail to include the whole veteran population.

Interestingly, data from the most recent Royal British Legion's household survey (2014) indicated that individuals from the Ex-Service community aged 16-64 are more likely to be unemployed than the general population (8% of veterans vs. 5% of civilians) and more likely to be economically inactive (32% of veterans vs. 22% of civilians). However, this difference may be explained by the definition of 'Ex-Service community'. The 'Ex-Service community' did not solely consist of the veteran population. Instead, the 'Ex-Service community' comprised 700.000 individuals from those around 120.000 veterans *and* 20.000 dependants were unemployed, around 130.000 veterans *and* 110.000 dependants were looking for work, and, around 160.000 veterans *and* 160.000 dependants were retired or in education. In this sense, it may be argued that the Royal British Legion's (2014) report may not be solely outdated by the MOD's (2018) publication but may also provide less accurate information on the veteran's employment situation.

Moreover, previous research identified specific risk-factors that are associated with a veteran's unemployment (cf. Burdett et al., 2018). Veterans were more likely to claim unemployment benefits when they were also Early Service Leavers, male, Ex-Army, less educated, leaving in an unplanned manner and having claimed unemployment benefits before Service. Moreover, anti-social behaviour and childhood adversities increased the likelihood of claiming unemployment benefits (Burdett et al., 2018). Interestingly, the veteran's risk-profile for unemployment related to the civilian's risk-profile for unemployment. Research indicated that low education, aggression and childhood adversities lead to long-term unemployment in adulthood in the civilian population (i.e. Daly & Delaney, 2013; Bellis et al., 2013; Kokko & Pulkkinen, 2000; Caspi, 1998). In conclusion, unemployment may be less likely to be

dependent upon discharge from the military but upon factors that put both, veterans *and* civilians, equally at risk of suffering from unemployment.

In summary, although veteran and civilian risk-profiles for unemployment are comparable, opinion polls and surveys indicated a high proportion of the UK general public as holding incorrect beliefs about the veteran's economic situation. While the British public was generally aware and appreciative of the veteran's skills and experiences acquired through military service, individuals in British public also held the belief that veterans suffer from a greater risk of unemployment (cf. **Table 6**). This raises the question: Why was the veteran perceived as both, highly skilled and employable but similarly as encountering difficulties in the job market?

Table 6.

Public Perceptions of the veteran's employment situation

Year of Publication	*Institution / Name of Publication*	*Sample*	*Question - Item*	*Percentage*
2017	Ashcroft, KCMG 'Veteran's Transition Report'	Representative survey with 2000 UK adults	Which of the following do you think are the most common problems faced by people leaving the Armed Forces?	Problems finding a new job: 41%
			Do you think each of the following are more likely to happen to someone who has been in the Armed? Forces compared to people in general, or less likely?	Unemployed (much/somewhat more likely): 47%

2015	Ipsos Mori & King's College London 'Hearts and Minds: Misperceptions and the Military'	Representative Survey with 1000 UK 18+ respondents	When thinking about the unemployment rate of former members of the Armed Forces, do you think that they have a higher, lower or roughly the same unemployment rate when compared to the general public	Higher: 31% Lower: 25% Roughly the same: 31% Don't know: 12%
			When thinking about the unemployment rate of former members of the Armed Forces from other ranks (non-officers), do you think that they have a higher, lower or roughly the same unemployment rate when compared to the general public	Higher: 45% Lower: 16% Roughly the same: 27% Don't know: 12%
2012	Ashcroft, KCMG 'The Armed Forces & Society. The military in Britain-through the eyes of Service Personnel, employers and the public	Representative survey with 2033 UK adults	Do you think a former officer in the Armed Forces would find it easier or more difficult than most other people to find a job outside the military?	Would find it easier than most people to find a new job: 29% No difference: 41% Would find it harder than most people to find a new job: 30%
			Do you think from other ranks (non-officers) in the Armed Forces would find it easier or more difficult than most other people to find a job outside the military?	Would find it easier than most people to find a new job: 15% No difference: 47% Would find it harder than most people to find a new job: 39%

2012	British Social Attitudes 29, Nat Cen Research	Representative sample of UK 18+ adults, N=1646	Who is more likely to have a job?	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 22.8% Civilians more likely: 22.5% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 50.7% Don't know: 3.7% Refusal: 0.2%

Table 7.

Public perceptions of the veteran's skills and experiences

Year of Publication	***Institution / Name of Publication***	***Sample***	***Question - Item***	**Percentage**
2012	Ashcroft, KCMG 'The Armed Forces & Society. The military in Britain-through the eyes of Service Personnel, employers and the public	508 individuals with responsibility for recruitment or hiring in small and medium-sized companies	Overall, how would you describe this person/these people's [those who have served in the Armed Forces] impact on the workplace?	Positive: 60% Neutral: 28% Negative: 10%
			Why would time in the Forces make you more inclined to progress that candidate's application? [Open ended: most frequent answers]	Disciplined: 57% Follow instructions/reliable/loyal: 30% Training/experience/skills: 13% Other: 6% Not stated: 24%
			Why would time in the Forces make you less inclined to progress that candidate's application? [Open-ended: most frequent answers]	Institutionalised/Inadaptable: 56% Lack of experience: 44%
			Please, can you say whether you think a former member of the Armed Forces is more likely to	Ability to follow instructions: More likely: 87%; About the Same: 7%; Less likely: 1%

	display the following attributes than applicants in general, or less likely?	Ability to work well under stress: More likely: 76%; About the Same: 20%; Less likely: 2% Time Management: More likely: 75%; About the Same: 19%; Less likely: 2% Communication skills: More likely: 58%; About the Same: 31%; Less likely: 5% Positive attitude to work: More likely: 56%; About the Same: 36%; Less likely: 2% People management skills: More likely: 44%; About the Same: 42%; Less likely: 7% Using their initiative More likely: 49%; About the Same: 32%; Less likely: 14% Technical qualifications and abilities: More likely: 40%; About the Same: 40%; Less likely: 13% Ability to make decisions independently: More likely: 40%; About the Same: 37%; Less likely: 18% Ability to come up with creative solutions to problems: More likely: 32%; About the Same: 50%; Less likely: 12%

	Directly relevant experience More likely: 13%; About the Same: 39%; Less likely: 40%
Please, can you say whether you think a former officer in the Armed Forces [whether you think a former member of the Armed Forces in other ranks] is likely or unlikely to possess the following characteristics?	Ability to follow instructions: likely: 88% [92%]; unlikely: 6% [2%] Ability to work well under stress: likely: 91% [86%]; unlikely: 1% [3%] Time Management: likely: 93% [86%]; unlikely: 2% [6%] Communication skills: likely: 91% [81%]; unlikely: 3% [9%] Positive attitude to work: likely: 86% [83%]; unlikely: 3% [5%] People management skills: likely: 89% [64%]; unlikely: 5% [24%] Using their initiative likely: 88% [72%]; unlikely: 5% [17%] Technical qualifications and abilities: likely: 69% [66%]; unlikely: 18% [22%] Ability to make decisions independently: likely: 88% [62%]; unlikely: 5% [25%] Ability to come up with creative solutions to problems: likely: 80% [63%]; unlikely: 9% [22%] Directly relevant experience likely: 45% [46%]; unlikely: 38% [37%]

			Thinking about people who are leaving after several years in the Armed Forces, which of the following best sums up what you think they would be like as individuals, even if neither completely describes your view?	Capable, experienced individuals with a lot to offer: 78% Aggressive, institutionalised, or likely to have problems: 10% Don't know: 10%
Summer 2015	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Thinking about the UK Armed Forces (Royal Navy, Royal Marines, Army and the Royal Air Force), could you please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements	People who have left the Armed Forces have skills and experiences that help them to succeed in many different civilian careers: Strongly Agree: 42% Tend to agree: 36% Neither/nor: 7% Tend to disagree: 8% Strongly disagree: 4% Don't know: 4%
Winter 2014/15	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Thinking about the UK Armed Forces (Royal Navy, Royal Marines, Army and the Royal Air Force), could you please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements	People who have left the Armed Forces have skills and experiences that help them to succeed in many different civilian careers: Strongly Agree: 46% Tend to agree: 29% Neither/nor: 9% Tend to disagree: 7% Strongly disagree: 4% Don't know: 4%

Spring 2014	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Former members of the UK Armed Forces (both Reservists and Regulars) gain skills and experience from their military service which are valued by civilian employers	Strongly Agree: 38% Tend to agree: 33% Neither/nor: 14% Tend to disagree: 6% Strongly disagree: 4% Don't know: 4%
Spring 2013	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Former members of the UK Armed Forces (both Reservists and Regulars) gain skills and experience from their military service which are valued by civilian employers	Strongly Agree: 33% Tend to agree: 41% Neither/nor: 13% Tend to disagree: 7% Strongly disagree: 3% Don't know: 3%
Autumn 2013	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Former members of the UK Armed Forces (both Reservists and Regulars) gain skills and experience from their military service which are valued by civilian employers	Strongly Agree: 33% Tend to agree: 35% Neither/nor: 17% Tend to disagree: 6% Strongly disagree: 4% Don't know: 5%
Autumn 2012	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Former members of the UK Armed Forces (both Reservists and Regulars) gain skills and experience from their military service which are valued by civilian employers	Strongly Agree: 32% Tend to agree: 39% Neither/nor: 13% Tend to disagree: 7% Strongly disagree: 3% Don't know: 6%

March 2012	ICM Survey 'MOD and Armed Forces Reputational Polling'	1000 GB adults aged 16+	Former members of the UK Armed Forces (both Reservists and Regulars) gain skills and experience from their military service which are valued by civilian employers	Strongly Agree: 38% Tend to agree: 33% Neither/nor: 14% Tend to disagree: 6% Strongly disagree: 4% Don't know: 4%

5.5.2. Perceptions of the Veteran's Housing Situation

The MOD's housing policy is generally based on provisions of suitable accommodations for singles or families. These accommodations intend to enable the entitled person or family to carry out their duties. While Personnel are serving, the MOD is providing financial aid for individuals to purchase homes. Also, Service accommodations are approximately a third to a half cheaper than civilian equivalences as these accommodations are being subsidised by the government. However, the entitlement to military-provided accommodation usually ends when Personnel leave regular service. In general, Personnel receive three months' notice to vacate the accommodation which ideally coincides with the discharge date. Through the 'Joint Services Housing Advice Office' (JSHAO), the MOD provides specialist housing information and advice on finding civilian housing options. This happens in 'briefs' – presentations followed by discussions and advice sessions which are available to Service Personnel at any point in their career. Moreover, the JSHAO gives guidance on relevant housing issues and service providers on their website and in a monthly magazine. The JSHAO also manages the MOD Referral Scheme, whereby those at risk of homelessness are assisted in finding vacant social housing.

Another supportive measure addresses homeownership. To enable Service Personnel to buy property, the MOD operates a scheme known as Long Service Advance of Pay (LASP) which entitles Personnel with four or more years of trained service, to access a ten-year interest-free loan of £8500. Since 2010 the MOD also offers an interest-free loan of up to £75000 for Personnel with four to six years experience (Armed Forces Home Ownership Scheme, AFHOS). The most recently established scheme (Forces Help to Buy Scheme, est. 2014) offers interest free loans of up to 50% of salary. Therefore, it is unsurprising that recent surveys indicated 59% of members from the Royal Navy to own a property, 54% of Personnel from the Royal Air Force do so, 50% of their colleagues from the Royal Marines and 34% of Army-members, which may be an expression of their more nomadic existence in general (cf. AFCAS Survey, 2013).

Taking these sources of support into consideration, it is somewhat unsurprising that research identified a decreasing rate of homelessness among the veteran population since the 1990s (Quilgars et al., 2017). Reports indicate very low numbers of veterans who have experienced a period of homelessness. Rough estimates reckon that between 3% - 6% of the Armed Forces'

total outflow may become homeless for a period of time (National Audit Office, 2007; University of York, 2008). Similarly, a homeless provision survey suggested that approximately 3% of accommodation project users and 2-3% of day centre users, direct access hostels and second stage clients were veterans (Homeless Link; 2016; SNAP, 2013; Jones et al., 2014). In conclusion, surveys indicated that veterans were slightly less likely than members of the civilian population to be homeless (6.1% of civilians are homeless according to the Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey, 2007). Interestingly, this is not accurately reflected in public perceptions of the veterans' housing situation. As outlined in **Table 8**, surveys and opinion polls indicated that the British public generally understands homelessness to be higher amongst Ex-Members of the Armed Forces (40%, Ipsos MORI, 2015; 47%, Ashcroft & KCMG, 2017), or just about as likely as civilian population (44%, BSA, 2012). However, it is questionable why this erroneous perception is pertinent in British general public.

Table 8.

Public Perceptions of the veterans housing situation

Year of Publication	*Institution / Name of Publication*	*Sample*	*Question - Item*	*Percentage*
2017	Ashcroft, KCMG 'Veteran's Transition Report'	Representative survey with 2000 UK adults	Which of the following do you think are the most common problems faced by people leaving the Armed Forces? Do you think each of the following are more likely to happen to someone who has been in the Armed Forces compared to people in general, or less likely?	Homelessness 23% Homelessness (much/somewhat more likely): 47%
2015	Ipsos Mori & King's College London 'Hearts and Minds: Misperceptions and the Military'	Representative Survey with 1000 UK 18+ respondents	Thinking about people who are homeless, meaning those living on streets, within the [UK], do you think that former members of the Armed Forces are more likely, less likely or roughly the same when compared to the general public	More likely: 40% Less likely: 15% About as likely: 32% Don't know: 12%

2012	British Social Attitudes 29, Nat Cen Research	Representative sample of UK 18+ adults, 3311 respondents	Be homeless	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 18.5% Civilians more likely: 33.1% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 44.3% Don't know: 3.8% Refusal: 0.3%

5.5.3. Perceptions of the Veteran's Behaviour

This section splits the veteran's behaviour into three sections: First, general anti-social behaviour, conceptualised as being imprisoned, will be discussed. Then, a short section will present publicly pertinent opinions and factually correct information on risk-drinking behaviour and alcoholism among veterans. Lastly, drug and substance abuse among veterans will be discussed by contrasting public perceptions and factual information. The relevant question items that refer to this theme can be found in **Table 9**.

Anti-social Behaviour: Imprisonment

To date, most accurate figures of estimates on the numbers of veterans in UK custody draw on evidence from prisoner surveys and inspections (i.e. HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2014; DASA, 2010; cf. also Royal British Legion, 2014a). Research made clear that veterans are less likely to be incarcerated than members from the civilian population (approx. 3.5% - 6% of the veteran population compared to approx. 10.5% of the civilian population; British Legion, 2014a; HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2014; DASA, 2010; NAPO, 2009).

However, results from recent studies indicate that although the proportion of imprisoned veterans to be less than a comparable sample of the general population, violent offending did not follow this trend and was overrepresented in the veteran sample (MacManus, 2013). Imprisoned veterans were more likely to have been convicted of more serious crimes and thus had longer sentences than members from the general public (63% of the veteran population reported to have sentences over four years vs. 53% of the general prisoner population; 39% of the veteran population reported to have sentences over ten years vs. 26% of the general prisoner population; HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2014; DASA 2010).

In conclusion, the most common offences committed by veterans differed from those committed by the general population. The veteran's most frequent offences included violence against a person (33% of veteran prisoner population vs. 29% of general prisoner population) and sexual offences (25% of veteran population vs. 11% of the civilian population; cf. DASA, 2010).

To understand and identify 'risk profiles', recent studies conducted interviews with imprisoned veterans and consulted experts in research, mental health, social care, criminal justice and legal matters (i.e. Howard League, 2014; MacManus et al., 2013). The reoccurring themes were integral links between poor mental health, alcohol, substance misuse and offending behaviour (i.e. MacManus et al., 2013, MacManus et al., 2015). In conclusion, the Howard League (2014)

identified three 'risk-profiles': The first group comprised veterans who had adverse childhood experiences and suffered from violence. These problems were associated prior to listing and were often accompanied by substance or alcohol misuse. The second group contained veterans whose difficulties arose during their service and which were often related to their *'discharge'* – meaning the release of their military obligations (i.e. mental health or physical injury, cf. also Fear et al., 2010). The third group contains veterans who experienced transition-related issues (i.e. finding a job). However, all three 'risk-profiles' were found to be related to social isolation and exclusion, alcohol or substance abuse and financial problems which are all more general, social 'risk-factors' for criminal behaviour (Howard League, 2014). In conclusion, the background risk profile of veteran-offender was similar to that of other, civilian offenders (cf. MacManus et al., 2015; DASA, 2010).

However, although previous research successfully identified risk factors in offenders, to date there is only a small existing body of literature that quantitatively investigated causal factors in offending behaviour (cf. MacManus et al., 2015). Previous research that addressed causal relationships between 'risk-profiles' and offending behaviour, did so exclusively in the context of deployment and combat experience. For example, MacManus et al. (2015) found that deployment was not independently associated with increased risk of offending behaviour, though that serving in a combat role conferred an additional risk for offending behaviour. Increased exposure to traumatic events during deployment also increased the risk of offending behaviour, and, offending behaviour was found to be strongly associated with post-deployment alcohol misuse, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and high levels of self-reported aggressive behaviour (MacManus et al., 2015). Rona et al. (2015) provided further evidence for these relationships. The results indicated strong intermediate associations between combat exposure, any mental health problem (i.e. PTSD, alcohol misuse), childhood adversities and anger.

In conclusion, evidence indicated that the small proportion of veterans who committed offences might be related to a complex interaction between their experiences in the military, mental health problems and their socioeconomic circumstances while transitioning from the military to civilian life (cf. MacManus, 2015). Thus, better collaborations between the criminal justice system and mental health agencies, greater support and interventions not just during the incarceration but also earlier in the criminal pathway may be required to help veterans that are experiencing difficulties in readjusting to civilian life (cf. MacManus, 2013).

However, the fact that veterans are approx. 30% less likely to be in prison than civilians was most often not acknowledged by members of the general public. For example, the majority of the British public thought that former Armed Forces Personnel were just as likely to be in prison (35%) or even more likely to be in prison (19%) than the population as a whole (cf. Ipsos MORI, 2015; Ashcroft & KCMG, 2017). An equal split between correct and incorrect perceptions can be found in earlier surveys (i.e. BSA, 2012: "Be in prison" – Civilians more likely: 44.9%, Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 43.4%;). In conclusion, British society today seems to be misinformed about the veterans' likeliness to be imprisoned. However, to date no scientific attempt investigated this misperception in greater depth.

Risk-drinking behaviour (alcoholism)

Research suggests alcohol misuse to be common among Service Personnel. For example, Service Personnel was found to have significantly higher levels of alcohol consumption than the general population (i.e. Thandi et al., 2015; Fear, 2007 Iversen et al., 2007), particularly when being in periods of *'decompression'* – the period of leave given to Service Personnel after deployment (Hacker-Hughes et al., 2008). However, alcohol misuse was found to continue being a problem when Service Personnel leave the UK Armed Forces, being one of the Ex-Service Personnel's most common problems for which only a small proportion of veterans seek help (Murphy et al., 2016; Alcohol-Concern, 2012; Fear, Wood & Wessely, 2009).

The majority of the UK public has correctly identified risk-drinking behaviour and alcohol misuse as a common problem for Ex-Service Personnel. For example, evidence indicated that 51% of the general population would identify the veteran as much more likely or somewhat more likely to be addicted to alcohol (Ashcroft & KCMG, 2017). Correctly identifying Ex-Service Personnel's risk-drinking behaviour, however, is a recent trend. In earlier surveys, the majority of the UK population perceived both, civilians and Ex-Service Personnel to be equally likely to misuse alcohol (55.3%, BSA, 2012).

In conclusion, the majority of today's British public seemed to be well aware of the veteran's alcohol consumption. However, the question why the general public may adopt negative facts but are seemingly more resistant to positive factually correct information (i.e. imprisonment, homelessness) remains.

Drug abuse

Evidence indicated the misuse of alcohol to be a far more significant problem for members and Ex-Members of the UK Armed Forces than the misuse of other substances such as drugs (Centre for Social Justice, 2014). Therefore, both, polysubstance misuse (misusing both, drugs and alcohol) and drug abuse were found to be minor issues amongst (Ex)Service Personnel (NAPO, 2009; Centre for Social Justice, 2014). For example, the 2011 study of the health needs of veterans living in Wales (Welsh Government Consultation Document, 2013) found that drug use among veterans was generally comparable with lower rates than in the general population. Similar tendencies were outlined in the Veteran's Aid Annual Report (2013) concerning the London veteran population, in the NAPO Report (2009) concerning the imprisoned veteran-population, and on a more national base, in the Centre for Social Justice Report (2014) concerning the veteran population as a whole. Therefore, previous research provided evidence for the veteran population being less likely to abuse drugs than the civilian population (cf. Home Office, 2013). In conclusion, also in the academic field prevalent research that discusses potential relationships between British veteran's substance abuse and problematic gambling attitudes (i.e. Roberts et al., 2018; Dighton et al., 2018) without further investigating these relationships may be misleading.

Interestingly, previous research indicated that people in British society may have erroneous beliefs regarding the veteran's likeliness to abuse drugs. The majority of the British population understands veterans as either as likely as members of the general public to abuse drugs (BSA, 2012), or as more likely to be addicted to drugs than civilians (Ashcroft & KCMG, 2017). The question why this erroneous belief remains to be pertinent in UK society, however, remained to date unaddressed.

Table 9.

Public perceptions of anti-social behaviour, alcoholism and substance abuse

Year of Publication	***Institution / Name of Publication***	***Sample***	***Question - Item***	***Percentage***
2017	Ashcroft, KCMG 'Veteran's Transition Report'	Representative survey with 2000 UK adults	Which of the following do you think are the most common problems faced by people leaving the Armed Forces?	Problems adjusting to a civilian environment: 65% Family Problems: 15% Alcohol or substance abuse: 12%
			Do you think each of the following are more likely to happen to someone who has been in the Armed Forces compared to people in general, or less likely?	Drug addiction (much/somewhat more likely): 37% Alcohol addiction (much more/somewhat more likely): 51% Prison (much/somewhat more likely): 17%
2015	Ipsos Mori & King's College London 'Hearts and Minds: Misperceptions and the Military'	Representative Survey with 1000 UK 18+ respondents	And lastly, when thinking about people who are currently in prison in the [UK], do you think that former members of the Armed Forces are more likely, less likely or about as likely compared to the general population	More likely: 19% More likely: 19% Less likely: 31% About as likely: 35% Don't know: 14%

2012	British Social Attitudes 29, Nat Cen Research	Representative sample of UK 18+ adults, N=1646	Be law-abiding	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 39.4% Civilians more likely: 9% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 48.2% Don't know: 3.2% Refusal: 0.2%
			Commit acts of domestic violence	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 18.2% Civilians more likely: 18.9% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 57.8% Don't know: 4.9% Refusal: 0.2%
			Be in prison	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 6.8% Civilians more likely: 44.9% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 43.4% Don't know: 4.7% Refusal: 0.2%
			Take illegal drugs?	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 8.5% Civilians more likely: 41.3% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 45.4% Don't know: 4.6% Refusal: 0.2%

	Misuse of alcohol?	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 17.1% Civilians more likely: 23.8% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 55.3% Don't know: 3.6% Refusal: 0.2%
	Have a racist attitude/behaviour	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 10.6% Civilians more likely: 32.6% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 51.6% Don't know: 4.9% Refusal: 0.2%
	Behave in an anti-social way	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 6.3% Civilians more likely: 44.0% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 46.1% Don't know: 3.4% Refusal: 0.2%
	Have stable personal relationships	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 8.5% Civilians more likely: 37.9% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 48.2% Don't know: 5.2% Refusal: 0.2%

5.5.4. Perceptions of the Veterans' Physical and Psychological Wellbeing

Healthcare provisions for the UK Forces are managed by the Defence Medical Service (DMS) which employs 7500 Armed Forces, 2200 civilian and 3500 reservist health professionals (Defence Medical Services, 2018). The DMS provides healthcare for 147,030 UK Regular Forces Personnel, including servicemen within the UK, abroad, at sea and in some circumstances also for dependants of Personnel and entitled civilians. The DMS has no formal remit or funding set aside for veterans whose care lies within the competence of the NHS, as it does for reservists. Where appropriate the DMS also provides screenings and assessments for veterans and reservists, however, only in conjunction with the individual's GP who remains primacy for the individual's care (DMS, 2018).

On enlistment, the responsibility of the recruit (except for reservists) transfers from the NHS to the DMS where the MOD initiates a health record. The health record is managed by the Defence Medical Information Capability Programme and includes a summary of pre-enlistment examinations and the healthcare commissioned by the DMS. It remains archived by the NHS and is retrievable upon discharge of the individual by the responsible NHS GP.
Therefore, the Service Personnel's health remains well monitored and provides evidence for the overwhelming majority of Service Leavers departing in healthy and fit conditions (MOD, 2017). That most Service Leavers depart healthily may be related to the high levels of physical fitness required to serve in the UK Armed Forces. Before discharge, Service Leavers need to complete the *'release medical process'* – a consultation three months before discharge to identify and address remaining medical problems and a final consultation in the last days before discharge to review the medical condition of the Service Leaver. The Service Leaver is then provided with the FMed133, a paper document that includes a summary of the in-service healthcare and advice for future healthcare providers how to access the individuals' in-service medical history. The Service Leaver is advised to register with a dentist and an NHS GP to whom he shall pass the FMed155 onto. On leaving, the veteran is entitled to full NHS healthcare and under specific circumstance also eligible for priority treatment.

- *The Veteran's Physical Health*

The British Legion's UK household survey of the Ex-Service Community (British Legion, 2014b) outlined that working-age veterans (aged 16-64) were significantly more likely to report long-term illnesses that limit their activities. However, in response to the British Legion's (2014b) report, the MOD raised three main statistical concerns that the MOD took into

consideration in its 2014 Annual Population Survey (MOD, 2016). Firstly, the MOD (2016) criticised differences in the population structures that were not considered in the Legion's (2014b) report. The veteran proportion was predominantly male and older than the non-veteran population. While the MOD's Annual Population Survey (2016) used standardising procedures to take the population structures into account, the Legion's (2014b) failed to incorporate these procedures into their analyses. Secondly, the MOD (2016) outlined that the Legion's (2014b) large sample size may have produced statistically significant results, although the differences between observations were only trivial, as the effect size was not calculated. The MOD (2016) used the measure of effect to identify differences that were large enough to note and not solely statistically significant. Lastly, the MOD (2016) found the Legion's (2014b) standard test formulas to assume the data was from a simple random sample. The formula would have needed to be adjusted, using the design factor, to take account of both, the standardisation and the sample design. In contrast to the Legion's (2014b) study, the MOD provided a full background quality report with information on statistical procedures provided. By taking these statistical adjustments into account, the MOD (2016) did not find any statistically significant differences between the veteran and the civilian population in terms of physical health problems. A comparison between the MOD's and the Legion's results can be found in Table 10.

Similar tendencies were outlined in more recent research. For example, the MOD's (2017a) Annual Population Survey, indicated that there was no significant difference between veterans and civilians in terms of health problems limiting or affecting the amount and kind of activities (i.e. work that can be carried out). Veterans and civilians also commonly reported the same three long-term health conditions: Heart, blood pressure, or circulatory related conditions (33% of both: Working age veterans and civilians; 53% of both: Retirement age veterans and civilians); Legs or Feet related conditions (35% and 27% of working age veterans and civilians; 37% and 34% of retirement age veterans and civilians); Back or neck related conditions (31% and 25% of working age veterans and civilians; 23% and 22% of retirement age veterans and civilians); Moreover, retirement age veterans also reported difficulties hearing (23%), with no statistically significant difference to retirement age civilians (17%; cf. MOD, 2017a; McManus et al., 2009;).

However, while research outlined no significant differences between the veteran and the civilian-population, studies indicated significant differences within the veteran population. For example, Hotopf et al. (2006) found a weak association between the presence of multiple

physical symptoms and deployment. Moreover, the impact of deployment on the veteran's physical health also depended upon the deployment. In this sense, not all deployments affected the veteran's health negatively – some deployments did more so than others (Unwin et al., 1999). Thus, instead of deployment being per-se physically damaging, the weak association between multiple physical symptoms and deployment may be explained by the physical challenges of deployment that are more apparent in some deployments. This is further evidenced by studies that examined the consequences of overstretch in the UK Armed Forces. For example, Rona et al. (2007) outlined that Personnel who were deployed for 13 months or more in the past three years were more likely to have multiple physical symptoms. However, this was not the case if the Personnel were not overstretched.

In conclusion, though generally spoken the majority of veterans from the UK Armed Forces does not statistically differ from the civilian population in terms of physical health, the physically straining nature of deployment may be related to physical symptoms.

Table 10.

Differences between British Legion's (2014b) and MOD's (2016) report on the veteran's physical health

Physical Health Problem	Veteran [Civilian] British Legion (2014b)	Veteran [Civilian] MOD (2016)
Back problems	14% [7%]	32.4% [25.5%]
Problems with legs and feet	15% [7%]	34.8% [27.5%]
Problems with Arms	9% [5%]	22.4% [18.8%]
Chest, breathing problems	-	17.6% [19.6%]
Heart, blood pressure, circulation	12% [7%]	33.1% [34.2%]
Difficulty in hearing	6% [2%]	10.1% [7.3%]
Difficulty in seeing	5% [1%]	4.9% [5.0%]
Speech Impairment	-	1.4% [1.2%]
Diabetes	6% [3%]	13.2% [14.5%]
Stomach, liver, kidney, digestion	-	15% [14.2%]
Progressive illness N.E.C.	-	5.9% [5.9%]
Total: Self-reported long-term illness	24% [13%]	40.2% [35.4%]

- *The Veteran's psychological health*

Goodwin et al. (2015) outlined that common mental health disorders may be more common amongst currently serving Personnel of the UK Armed Forces than in the civilian population. However, as Goodwin et al.'s (2015) study reflected proportions of currently serving Personnel, direct inferences to a veteran population cannot be drawn.

The British Legion (2014b) indicated significant differences between the veteran's psychological health and the civilian's. However, the MOD's (2016) report rejected the Legion's (2014b) findings due to the same statistical limitations concerning standardisation procedures, sample size and measure effect as mentioned in the previous section *(- The Veteran's physiological health*). In contrast to the Legion's (2014b) survey, the MOD (2016) did not find any significant differences between the veteran's and the civilian's psychological health. An overview can be found in Table 11.

Table 11.

Differences between British Legion's (2014b) and MOD's (2016) report on the veteran's psychological health

Psychological Health Problem	**Veteran [Civilian] British Legion (2014b)**	**Veteran [Civilian] MOD (2016)**
Depression	10% [6%]	22% [18.5%]
Mental Illness, phobia, panics	-	9.7% [8.8%]
Total: Self-reported long-term illness	24% [13%]	40.2% [35.4%]

Longitudinal studies also outlined insignificant differences between the veteran and the civilian population. Analyses of the MOD's Mental Health Reports between 2007 and 2012 indicated that the number of Personnel in need of mental health services ranged between 1.8% and 3.2 % (MOD, 2017b). Moreover, the prevalence of mental health problems declined with age (cf. MOD, 2017b), a trend that is supported by evidence from KCMHR studies (cf. Wessely, 2012). Also, estimates regarding the prevalence of PTSD in service-Personnel and veteran populations are considerably low. Longitudinal studies indicated that the PTSD prevalence ranged between

3% and 6% which is comparable to estimates of PTSD prevalence in members of the general public (3% to 5%, APMS, 2009; Hunt, Wessely, Jones, Rona & Greenberg, 2014).

Similarly, suicide rates were not higher among the veteran population. Research outlined that veterans were less likely than civilians to commit suicide (Kapur, While, Blatchley, Bray, Harrison, 2009). However, although the overall suicide rates were lower for veterans, the rates for young veterans (16-24) and those classified as Early Service Leavers (less than four years of service) represented an exemption. Evidence suggests that these populations are at increased risk of suicide as a result of pre-service vulnerability, referring to childhood adversities and low educational attainment (cf. KCMHR, 2017).

Pre-service vulnerability was also associated with affecting the psychological health of veterans negatively. An extensive series of research indicated that psychological health problems may relate to a combination of intrinsic factors (individual factors) and extraneous factors (experiences during deployment; i.e. Jones et al., 2012; Iversen et al., 2008; Rona et al., 2007; Browne et al. 2007; Hotopf et al., 2006). For example, individuals from the regular (full-time) veteran population were more at risk to suffer from psychological health problems when pre-service vulnerability was combined with combat experience, being lower rank, ex-Army and unmarried (Iversen et al., 2008; Iversen et al, 2007). Reserve veterans, however, were found to be generally at higher risk than regular veterans as reserve veterans did not have access to the usual support networks of the regular military, so Iversen & Greenberg (2009) argued. For example, Fear et al. (2010) found only a weak association between deployment and probable post-traumatic stress disorder in regular Personnel (full-time Personnel) while a strong association between deployment and probable post-traumatic stress disorder for reservists (part-time Personnel) was outlined. Alcohol misuse was significantly associated with deployment for both, regular and reservist Personnel.
However, for both veteran populations, regulars and reservists, evidence failed to find an effect of length of tour or number of tours on psychological health (KCMHR, 2017). The veteran's psychological health was found to be only negatively affected when the Armed Forces Harmony Guidelines were not followed or when the actual tour length exceeded expectations (KCMHR, 2017).

In conclusion, although research outlined that the majority of Service Leavers do well, a minority of veterans were identified to have experienced adverse mental health. This group was

also found to be at risk of suffering from social exclusion and unemployment (Iversen et al., 2005). Steps to improve the knowledge and expertise of primary care services about veterans' mental health issues and to increase the availability of treatment options are therefore crucial to optimise the veterans' transition and economic situation.

However, research indicated that the veterans' willingness to access these primary care services might be problematic (Mellotte et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2015; Iversen et al., 2011). This is the case as psychological health problems were found to remain subject to stigmatisation, though not a to static stigmatisation (Jones et al., 2015). Instead, the stigma associated with psychological health problems seemed to fluctuate in proportion to the frequency and severity of psychological health problems – the more severe the psychological health problems which were experienced, the less individuals were likely to access help services due to fear of stigmatisation (cf. ibid).

However, studies indicated that the barrier of stigmatisation in help-seeking behaviour might be overcome by *'initial enablers'* that included social support, motivation and the media (cf. Mellotte et al., 2017; Iversen et al., 2011). *'Treatment pathway enablers'* were found to help overcoming the second, more practical barrier of help-seeking behaviour by facilitating access to a veteran-specific service and establishing a good therapeutic relationship after having been diagnosed with a mental health problem (cf. ibid). Moreover, recent research indicated an increase in the absolute number of veterans visiting Service Charities and the NHS for help with mental health problems (KCMHR, 2017). This increase in help-seeking behaviour may reflect a modest reduction in the stigmatisation of psychological health problems (cf. KSMHR, 2017).

In summary, there is no clear evidence that the veteran's mental health is substantially worse than that of a comparable civilian population. A small minority of veterans may experience psychological health problems, particularly combat veterans, those with pre-service vulnerability, Early Service Leavers and reservists.

- *Opinion Polls and Surveys*

Despite the evidence suggesting veterans to be in good physical and mental health, public opinions towards the veteran's health are negative. For example, as outlined in **Table 12**, statistics indicated that the UK general population perceived mental (82%) or physical (61%; Ashcroft & KCMG, 2017) health problems, or, mental *and* physical health problems (92%,

Ashcroft, 2012) to be common among the veteran population. Similarly, the majority of the general public misperceives veterans to be more likely to commit suicide (54%; Ashcroft & KCMG, 2017; 50.9%, BSA, 2012). In conclusion, the British general population seemed to have erroneous beliefs about the veteran's state of health. However, the question why these erroneous beliefs are socially pertinent and resistant to change remains to date unresearched.

Table 12.

Public perceptions of the veteran's physical/psychological wellbeing

Year of Publication	***Institution / Name of Publication***	***Sample***	***Question - Item***	***Percentage***
2017	Ashcroft, KCMG 'Veteran's Transition Report'	Representative survey with 2000 UK adults	Which of the following do you think are the most common problems faced by people leaving the Armed Forces? Do you think each of the following are more likely to happen to someone who has been in the Armed Forces compared to people in general, or less likely? What percentage of former members of the Armed Forces do you think have some kind of physical, emotional or mental health problem? That is, for every 100 people who leave the Armed Forces, how many do you think go on to have a problem like this as a result of their time in the military?	Mental Health Problems: 82% Physical injuries or physical health problems: 61% Mental health problems (much more/somewhat more likely): 54% Suicide (much more/somewhat more likely): 54% Mean Estimate: 54%
2012	Ashcroft, KCMG	Representative survey with	How common do you think it is for former members of the Armed Forces to have some	Very common: 34% Quite common: 57%

	'The Armed Forces & Society. The military in Britain-through the eyes of Service Personnel, employers and the public'	2033 UK adults	kind of physical, emotional or mental health problem as a result of their times in the Forces?	Quite rare: 8% Very rare: <1%
2012	British Social Attitudes 29, Nat Cen Research	Representative sample of UK 18+ adults, N=1646	Have suicidal tendencies	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 50.9% Civilians more likely: 6.0% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 38.2% Don't know: 4.7% Refusal: 0.2%
			Have a mental illness	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 46.5% Civilians more likely: 5.5% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 44.2% Don't know: 3.5% Refusal: 0.2%

Have a physical disability	Ex-Service Personnel more likely: 51.2% Civilians more likely: 7.3% Ex-Service Personnel and Civilians equally likely: 38.4% Don't know: 2.9% Refusal: 0.2%

7.6. Discussion

Previous research indicated the majority of British veterans to be successful in beginning new careers, are of good health and unlikely to suffer from homelessness. However, evidence from different polls and surveys indicated members of British society to hold a set of factually incorrect beliefs. In British society, veterans are commonly perceived as

- being highly skilled individuals
- struggling to find employment (*factually incorrect*)
- more likely or equally likely to be homeless as members of the general public (*factually incorrect*)
- just as likely as a member of the general public to be in prison (*factually incorrect*)
- likely to engage in risk-drinking behaviours (*factually correct*)
- more likely to abuse drugs (*factually incorrect*)
- being more likely to have suicidal tendencies and physical or psychological health problems (*factually incorrect*)

In conclusion, the evaluation of opinion polls and surveys indicated that individuals in UK society may hold erroneous and negative beliefs about veterans. Thus, the depiction of veterans as victims that was found to be a common theme in media may resonate with publicly pertinent perceptions of veterans. In this sense, it may be possible that societally pertinent conceptualisations of veterans as being damaged victims may be related to influences from media.

However, the results did not overlap with any aspects that concerned the veteran-hero representation, also found to be present in media. This does not allow to draw the conclusion that individuals in British society do not understand veterans as heroes. Instead, the closed ended question format may not have allowed participants to relate veterans to heroism.

This outlines a general problem with the present data that makes it difficult to explain these pertinent contradictory and erroneous beliefs. Surveys and opinion polls focussed solely on quantitative closed-ended questions. This question format provided basic and descriptive information and failed to address false beliefs in an explanative nature. In this sense, original beliefs about veterans were not investigated as individuals answered given question items that may have had little significance for the individual's original understanding of a veteran.

Moreover, it is questionable whether individuals thought about veterans when answering question items. Although, using terms that describe the veteran ('people leaving the Armed Forces', 'former members of the Armed Forces'), or using related terms ('Ex-Service Personnel'), no survey or poll referred to the actual term 'Veteran'. The reasons, why surveys and polls used these terms instead of 'veteran' were not outlined. Therefore, it is not entirely clear whether individuals would give the same answers when being introduced to the term 'Veteran'. Lastly, surveys and polls failed to conduct (or publish) substantial data analyses. For example, the polls and surveys did not provide any information on how sociodemographic characteristics may impact perceptions of veterans or whether any potential answering patterns of veteran-related question items were found. In this sense, future research may want to gain access to data from the publishers in order to conduct a thorough analysis of socially prevalent understandings of veterans.

However, while further analyses and comparisons between existing data sets would be beneficial for future studies, the current chapter's findings fulfilled its intention. The findings provided a systematic overview of socially pertinent perceptions of veterans and assessed factual information to outline whether these perceptions were correct. Therefore, the present chapter provided the reader with an overview of (mis)beliefs relating to veterans from the UK Armed Forces.

5.7. Conclusion

The evaluation of opinion polls and surveys indicated that individuals in UK society hold erroneous and negative beliefs about veterans. These erroneous and negative beliefs partially reflected media depictions of veterans. In this sense, the current findings were partially aligned with previous research on social representations that indicated the interdependence of media and individual representations (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b).

However, due to limitations of data production (i.e. closed-ended questions) and analyses (i.e. absence of thorough, in-depth analyses), reasons for these beliefs and determining or contributing factors (i.e. sociodemographic characteristics, answering patterns) could not be concluded. To clarify and understand social representations of veterans, the next chapter will conduct an open-ended word association task. The structural approach in social representation theory will be utilised to conclude how (mis)beliefs about veterans may be explained.

6. The Structure of the Social Representation 'Veteran'

6.1. Introduction

The last section closed with highlighting that members from British public may hold a set of dichotomous and erroneous beliefs about veterans which partially reflect representations of veterans in British media. The present section examines representations of veterans from a quantitative, structural perspective. Therefore, this section starts with a theoretical overview of the structural approach in Social Representation Theory and its historical origins. Moreover, a brief summary of how this approach had been utilised in previous studies will be provided. Then, advantages of the structural approach in relation to understanding representations of veterans by clarifying the veteran's representational structure will be outlined. The quantitative study will be introduced by providing an overview of the recruited population, the means of data collection and analyses. Following the presentation of the results, the present chapter will conclude with a general discussion.

6.2. Theoretical Outline

The structural approach in Social Representation Theory observes intra-representational hierarchies of meanings and the relationship of different representations to each other (i.e. Abric 1989). The structural approach evolved surrounding experimental studies that intended to understand the role of social representations in different situations (i.e. Abric, 1989, 2012). Therefore, the structural approach relies on the principles of *Gestalt Psychologie* (i.e. Ash, 1952, Heider, 1958) by hypothesising that internally held representations of reality are determining an individual's behaviour. Within this general framework, the structures of social representations were thought to be comparable to cognitive structures in terms of "any form of interdependence among cognitive elements, whatever their definitions, which has motivational, affective, attitudinal, behavioural, or cognitive consequences" (Zajonc, 1968, p. 321).

This unified formalism allowed social scientists to consider social representations as composed of elementary units, connected by mental associations (Lahlou & Abric, 2011). Elementary units are commonly known as *'cognemes'* (Codol, 1969) – smallest cognitive units, usually nouns or verbal signs (Lahlou, 1996). Cognemes describe the relationship between a social

object and its different aspects (Wachelke, 2012). They represent "elementary bricks of human thought" (Lahlou & Abric, 2011, p. 204) and thus comprise the meaning of a linguistic description. In this sense, verbal aspects of representations are thought to be structured and formed around these descriptive elements (Lahlou & Abric, 2011). However, the symbolic property of cognemes has been problematized in research. For example, 'equality' was found to be a constituting element for 'the ideal group' (cf. ibid). However, 'equality' is itself a social representation and thus constituted of more cognemes. Therefore, what is thought to be a cogneme of 'the ideal group' dissolves in more cognemes. The contour of what is being described is defined by the resolution of our descriptive system, or, more concretely: Social representations can only be described by accessing other social representations (cf. Markova, 2000).

However, although subject to caveats, the structural approach in Social Representation Theory is thought to be an adequate procedure to examine the composure of understandings, as "this is the way humans make descriptors: with signs, elements referring to other objects" (Lahlou & Abric, 2011), or, as Codol (1969, p. 65) writes: "When a person represents something, it is always in reference to something else". In this way, the structural approach in Social Representation Theory may have some tangencies with theoretical notions on themata as origins of human thinking. Themata are defined as pre-categorizations which arise from thinking in oppositions and antimonies (i.e. inner or outer, higher or lower, cf. Taylor 1989). Markova (2000) suggests that thinking in these dyadic taxonomies is a result of socialisation. For example, definitions of short are dependent on and relative of references to long and understandings of black are founded on non-black comparisons. However, in contrast to viewing dyadic oppositions as strictly separate 'either-or', they are considered to be related and to have an effect on each other (Markova, 2015). This interdependence has permeated the *Naturphilosophie* of the 19th century and was adopted by a number of approaches in the social sciences of the 20th century, like for example, theoretical notions on interactionism, intersubjectivity and dialogical approaches (cf. Markova, 2015; Gillespie & Cornish 2010a, 2010b; Linell, 2009; Rommetveit, 1974).

In this sense, recent research has theorised themata, defined as "concept images", "primary conceptions" or "primitive notions" also to be "at the heart of social representations" (Moscovici & Vignaux, 2000, pp. 176-177). As themata supposedly derive from socialisation-induced dyadic, common sense thinking, the mode of thinking which social representations also

address, social representations are thought to evolve from themata. In conclusion, social representations, defined as accessible compounds of meanings (Moscovici, 2000), may be seen in relation to themata as concrete manifestations of the highly symbolic nature of themata, which are hardly ever directly observable and unconsciously held rather than reflectively deliberated (Markova, 2015; Holton, 1973).

The notion of themata and cognemes, therefore, address the ontological problem of the structural approach. If so-called primary conceptions and understandings that themata supposedly comprise remain abstract, research cannot access these (cf. Markova, 2015). However, if conceptions and understandings become accessible through expressions, they rely on references to other expressions. In conclusion, though cognemes may represent essential bricks of human thoughts, they are not atomic elements, exhaustive and independent in nature (cf. Lahlou & Abric, 2011). The following will, therefore, refrain from the term 'cognemes' but will instead use 'elements' to emphasise the relational dependency of verbal descriptors.

Thus, social representations may be considered as defined in terms of their relationships to other representations. The structural approach in Social Representation Theory provides theoretical outlines and methodological requirements to do so by introducing weightings. The basic notion of the structural approach is that every social representation is defined as a "hierarchical, coherent system" (Abric, 1987, p. 67). Representations are thought to consist of more and less important elements which are categorised, belonging to either the central core (central elements) or the periphery (peripheral elements). Elements in the core (central elements) are limited to a small number of unambiguous and consensual components of a representation. They are unconditional, essential, constitutive properties that give meaning to the entire representation. In this sense, the core is considered to be the consensual component of a social representation. It has a stabilising function for and is thus characterised by a certain degree of inertia in the face of change (Abric, 2001).

However, the representational core and its elements can only be understood in terms of its complement, the peripheral zone. The peripheral zone acts as an interface between the individually held social representation and reality. In contrast to central elements, peripheral elements are contextually and situationally dependent; they are 'conditional' in nature. Organised by the peripheral system, they adopt the representation to make it fit into the immediate situation and thus enable people to behave in functional ways (Flamnet, 1994).

Therefore, the present chapter will conceptualise the term 'Veteran' as a reference to a social representation. The social representation 'Veteran' as conceptualised from the structural perspective would assume the representation 'Veteran' to comprise a set of meanings that are hierarchically structured. More important elements would be central elements. These unconditional descriptors would comprise essential elements that describe basic constituents in understandings of a veteran. Without these basic constituents, a person could not be categorised as a veteran. An example, therefore, would be to understand the veteran in terms of having served in the UK Armed Forces. An individual that has not served in the UK Armed Forces could not be categorised as veteran due to having failed to fulfil this basic requirement. In contrast, less important, situationally dependent descriptors would represent peripheral elements. These would allow putting the veteran into the context which the representation is being recalled from. A potential example would be to refer to veterans as being mutilated. While this may be a useful constituent to characterise the veteran in some instances (i.e. mutilated individuals at a veteran parade), it may not be adequate in other circumstances (i.e. mutilated individuals in a hospital – not all mutilated individuals are veterans).

It may, therefore, be possible that dichotomous or contradictory understandings of veterans may relate to differences in the importance and weightings of beliefs. For example, an individual may think of a veteran as being generally heroic and only in specific instances as a victim. Therefore, while 'hero' would then be a more important, central element, 'victim' would be a potentially less important, situationally dependent and thus peripheral element (or vice-versa in similar constellations). This would allow the individual to avoid psychological discomfort, commonly known as cognitive dissonance (cf. Festinger, 1962).
However, it would also be possible that hero and victim are perceived to be contextually dependent but equally correct. Then, understandings of veterans as being heroes and victims would represent locally but not globally consistent rationalities. Different beliefs would, therefore, possess different kinds of justifications which responds to the theoretical notion cognitive polyphasia (Moscovici, 2000).

However, introducing weightings and thus a hierarchical structure of meanings may have an additional advantage. Observations of the representational core and the periphery allow the examination of the relationships between representations. For example, social representations were shown to stand in hierarchical relationships, i.e. 'money' was found to be the superordinate representation, which also labelled inferior representations as 'bank' (middle)

and 'profit' (inferior; cf. Abric & Verges, 1996), or, in an antimony relationship, i.e. different expressions of the same thematic property which only differed in evaluation: 'employed-unemployed', 'security-insecurity', 'disordered-fit', 'old-young' (cf. Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Miland, 2002). Previous research suggested that underlying themata may be observed by examining the core and periphery of representations. If different representations are similarly structured in terms of their representational core and their periphery, then this interdependence may refer to a common themata that these representations respond to (i.e. Abric & Verges, 1996; Miland, 2002; Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Markova, 2015). This is an important notion as underlying themata might implicitly determine the broad contours of a representation. In this sense, representational relationships may impact understandings reciprocally and are thus worth taking into consideration when examining representational structures.

More concretely, inter-representational relationships of the social representation 'Veteran' may influence understandings of the veteran as being structured around specific meaning entailing themata. For example, etymological considerations outline that inter-representational connections and thus the social representational field may be important for of the representation 'Veteran' as in Anglo-Saxon countries 'Veteran' has multiple meanings. The word 'Veteran' originates in the early 16th century, deriving from the French 'vétéran' and the Latin 'veteranus', both meaning 'old' (cf. Skeat & Skeat, 1993). In this sense, people in Anglo-Saxon countries commonly refer to the word 'Veteran' as an adjective when describing a person, an animal or an object advanced in years (i.e. veteran car – a car constructed before 1919; veteran tree – a tree of advanced size and age), as a noun when referring to a person who had a long experience in a particular field (i.e. the veteran-teacher, the veteran-trainer) or an ex-member of the Armed Forces (cf. Stevensen, 2010). In conclusion, when recalling veterans as Ex-Members of the Armed Forces, the representational field in that understandings of the veteran as ex-member of the Armed Forces is anchored may be particularly important. In this sense, it may be possible that the representation 'Veteran' may be starkly connected with other roles in the military as in other contexts 'Veteran' may mean something entirely different. Strong inter-representational relationships between militarily related representations would point to an underlying more general military 'themata' in that different roles of the military may be embedded (Markova, 2005). In conclusion, when investigating the structure of the veteran as a social representation, it may be crucial to examine, contrast and compare the structure of other military related roles also.

Moreover, examining the structure of the social representation 'Veteran' may also allow an understanding of whether some adverse erroneous beliefs may relate to the 'Veteran's' etymology referring to old age (Stevensen, 2010). The fact that the image of old people is stained by negative stereotypes, relating to ill-health and economic inactivity, has been exhaustively researched (cf. Tuckman & Lorge, 1953). For example, previous research on social representations of 'old people' indicated that intellectual and physical decline are central elements in characterising 'old people' (cf. Gamyard, 2006). Therefore, it may be possible that understandings of Service and attribution of war exposure play only a minor role in the victimisation of veterans that relates to ill-health and its consequences (i.e. difficulties getting a job, homelessness). Instead, the veteran may be victimised due to stereotypes that relate to old-age.

Would this be the case, then a victimisation may be less significant when individuals describe a younger veteran generation. Therefore, it would be useful to compare the internal structure of the representation 'Veteran' with the internal structure of a deployment-experienced younger veteran population like veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan. In this sense, contrasting the structure of the veteran's social representation with the structure of British veterans who served in Iraq/Afghanistan's social representations may allow to determine whether old age and/or war experience may be related to the victimisation of veterans.

Particularly, Army veterans offer the potential to observe potential relationships between the veteran as victim of war and the veteran as victim of old age further. This is the case, as the Army is commonly associated with front-line experience and face-to-face fighting that compares to the culturally perpetuated 'horrors of war' of WW1 and WW2 front-line fighting (cf. Heffernan, 1995; Fussel, 2009; Woodward & Jenkings, 2013).

In conclusion, it may be hypothesised that if the victimisation of veterans is related to old age, then victimisation may be only part of the central core of the representation 'Veteran', however not for the representations 'British Army Iraq veteran' or 'British Army Afghanistan veteran'. However, if victimisation is related to war experience, then it may be part of all three representation's core. Moreover, to fully understand the role of war experience in the victimisation of veterans, comparisons with the internal structure of the representation 'Ex-Service Personnel' may be necessary. This may be the case as the term 'Ex-Service Personnel' had been commonly used in British culture to refer to those who left service without having been deployed (cf. Dandeker, 2006; Stanhope, 1979). It may be hypothesised that if the victimisation of veterans is related to war experience but not to old-age, then victimisation may not be part of the 'Ex- Service Personnel' representation's core.

Lastly, also comparisons between the veteran related representations ('Veteran', 'British Army Iraq veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel') and representations of active Service Personnel may be advantageous. This may be the case, as comparisons between veteran related representations and representations of active Service Personnel may allow for clarification of why previous research had indicated that veterans may be generally less well perceived than active Service Personnel (cf. Hines et al., 2015; Ashcroft, 2012, 2017). In this sense, the present study also observed the representational structure of 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' next to the veteran related representations, to cover the full military lifespan.

However, research also indicated that social group membership and sociodemographic characteristics may impact structures of individually held social representations (i.e. Lorenci-Cioldi, 1998; Clemence et al., 2014). As outlined in Chapter V, previous studies tended to neglect reporting on the impact of sociodemographic characteristics on understandings of veterans or active Service Personnel more generally. Therefore, the present project drew on a set of sociodemographic characteristics that was found to influence socially pertinent understandings of the UK Armed Forces (i.e. Hines et al, 2015; BMG Research, 2017). Hines et al. (2015) suggested that the general public's perception of the UK Armed Forces varies in relation to gender, age, social class, education and political affiliation. In general, older people, conservatives, and men were more supportive of the UK Armed Forces and its missions. Similarly, personal military experience and family connections to the military were likely to influence attitudes about the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, it was hypothesised that these sociodemographic characteristics may impact the social representational structure of the 'Veteran'. Moreover, as Chapter II outlined the public sphere (societal discourses) may impact on social representational construction, it was assumed that time since residing in the UK (being exposed to a country's societal discourse) and place of residence (England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland) may influence understandings of veterans. Lastly, also more general factors (i.e. religion and national pride) were observed on a more exploratory basis. The phrasing of the sociodemographic questions was aligned with the phrasing of previous surveys and polls (i.e. BSA, 2012; BMG Research, 2017). An overview of question items and their relation to previous studies can be found in **Table 13**.

Table 13.
Overview of Sociodemographic Question Sources

Question Item	Phrasing Source	Subject Matter impacted by Sociodemographic Characteristic	Source
What gender are you?	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces	BSA (2012) BMG Research (2017)
How old are you (in years)?	BMG Research (2017)	UK Armed Forces	BSA (2012) BMG Research (2017)
What is your ethnicity?	BMG Research (2017)	UK Armed Forces	BMG Research (2017)
What is your religion?	BSA (2012)	War and Peace	Sarrica & Contarello (2004)
Some people describe their political views as being left wing or right wing. How would you describe your own views?	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces,	BSA (2012)
What is your highest level of qualification?	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces,	BSA (2012)
How important is your country to you?	BMG Research (2017)	UK Armed Forces,	BMG Research (2017)
How proud are you of your country?	Exploratory	Exploratory	Exploratory, cf. BMG Research (2017)
Where do you currently live?	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces,	BSA (2012)

How long have you been living in the UK for?	Exploratory	Impact of public sphere on Representational Construction	i.e. Jovchelovitch (2001, 2001b) Moscovici (1961)
Which role do British military veterans play in your daily life?	Exploratory	Impact of public sphere on Representational Construction	i.e. Jovchelovitch (2001, 2001b) Moscovici (1961)
How much do you know about British veterans from the UK Armed Forces?	Exploratory	Impact of public sphere on Representational Construction	i.e. Jovchelovitch (2001, 2001b) Moscovici (1961)
How much do you know about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans?	Exploratory	Impact of public sphere on Representational Construction	i.e. Jovchelovitch (2001, 2001b) Moscovici (1961)
Which role do British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play in your daily life?	Exploratory	Impact of public sphere on Representational Construction	i.e. Jovchelovitch (2001, 2001b) Moscovici (1961)
From your current point of view: Which of the following statement describes your attitude towards UK missions in Iraq best?	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces, Support worthiness of Ex-Members of the UK Armed Forces	BSA (2012) BMG Research (2017)
From your current point of view: Which of the following statement describes your attitude towards UK missions in Afghanistan best?	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces, Support worthiness of Ex-Members of the UK Armed Forces	BSA (2012)

Do you know somebody in the UK Armed Forces? Please select the closest relationship	BSA (2012)	UK Armed Forces	BSA (2012)
What is your general opinion of the UK Armed Forces?	BSA (2012)	Support worthiness of Ex-Members of the UK Armed Forces	BSA (2012)

In conclusion, the present chapter follows theoretical notions which argue that social representations may only be adequately understood when considering their structure. In this sense, the present chapter takes Quenza (2005; p. 79) into account who argued that

> "[…] research on social representations should explore the internal organisation of representations in order to understand their conformation, functioning and eventual transformation. Accordingly, access to the contents does not suffice to understand ways in which a social representation operates."

Therefore, the structural approach in social representation theory may allow an answer to how the representation 'Veteran' may be intra-representationally structured and inter-representationally connected. In the present chapter the following questions will be answered:

Question Set 1 - Regarding the internal structure:

Examining the Objectification of 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran, 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit':

- *What are the central and peripheral elements of 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit'?*
- *How do central and peripheral elements of 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' compare to central and peripheral elements of 'Veteran'?*
- *How are representational elements affected by sociodemographic characteristics?*
- *How do elements of a representation relate to each other within the same representation?*

Question Set 2 - Regarding the external structure:

Examining anchoring of the 'Veteran' within the social representational field:

- *To which extent do people treat military representations similarly? Or, to which extent are 'Veteran'- intra-representational relationships similar to other military related intra-representational relationships?*
- *And thus: Does evidence allow to conclude that 'Veteran' is part of a more general, underlying military theme of which also 'British Army Iraq veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' are part of?*

6.3. Methods

6.3.1. Participants

A total of 517 participants were recruited by advertisements on the Oxford Brookes participant panel, notice boards at Oxford Brookes University premises and online platforms like Twitter, Facebook and the 'Daily Info Oxford'[7]. No patterns in participant recruitment were detected as Durbin-Watson values were acceptable (not below 1 or above 3). A total of 234 responses remained after excluding participants who were not living in the UK (and thus not part of UK society) or did not press the 'Submit' button which would have made it unethical to use their data. Therefore, the 234 collected responses may indicate general tendencies concerning understandings of veterans, however, the findings are unrepresentative for the UK population.

A detailed overview of sociodemographic characteristics can be found in Table 14, Table 15, and Table 16. These three tables present the sociodemographic characteristics grouped into general demographic information (i.e. gender, age, education), information relating to the UK (i.e. place of residency, time since residing in the UK) and more specific information on the UK Armed Forces (i.e. social distance to the UK Forces, opinions about the UK Forces).

[7] https://www.dailyinfo.co.uk/

Table 14.

General demographic information; age/gender/education/ethnicity/Religion

Demographic Characteristic	Frequency
Gender	Female: 151 (64.5%) Male: 83 (35.5%)
Age	M = 24.21 (SD = 9.01)
Education	Above A-levels: 128 (54.7%) A-levels or equiv.: 105 (44.9%) Below A-levels: 1 (0.4%)
Nationality	British: 193 (82.5%) Other:41 (17.5%)
Ethnicity	White: 193 (82.5%) Asian/ Asian British: 21 (9%) Black/ African/ Caribbean: 5 (2.1%) Mixed/multiple ethnic: 9 (3.8%) Other: 6 (2.3%
Religion	No religion: 110 (47%) Christian: 102 (43.6%) Muslim: 6 (2.6%) Other: 16 (7.8%)

Table 15.

Demographic Information relating to the UK

Demographic Characteristic	Frequency
Place of residency	England: 223 (95.3%) Other: 11 (4.7%)
Time since residing in the UK	Before 2011: 174 (74.4%) Between 2002 – 2011: 19 (8.1%) Between 2012 – 2015: 18 (7.7%) Between 2016 and now: 23 (9.8%)
Pride towards country	Very proud: 65 (27.8%) Proud: 83 (35.5%) Neutral: 63 (26.9%) Rather not proud: 12 (5.1%) Not proud: 11 (4.7%)
Importance of country	Very important: 97 (41.5%) Important: 80 (34.2%) Somewhat important: 45 (19.2) Not important: 12 (5.1%)
Political Opinions	Left wing: 39 (16.4%) Somewhat to the left: 54 (23.1%) Middle of the road: 102 (43.6%) Somewhat to the right: 28 (12%) Right-wing: 11 (4.7%)

Table 16.

Information about nationality, residency, political opinions and perceptions of the home country

Attitude	Frequency
Opinion about the UK Forces	Very high: 71 (30.3%) High: 67 (28.6%) Neither high nor low: 72 (30.8%) Low: 17 (7.3%) Very low: 7 (5%)
Opinions about the British intervention in Iraq	It was right to send British Forces: 8 (3.4%) Rather right: 75 (32.1%) Rather wrong: 92 (39.3%) Wrong: 57 (25.2%)
Opinions about the British intervention in Afghanistan	It was right to send British Forces: 18 (7.7%) Rather right: 89 (38%) Rather wrong: 84 (35.9%) Wrong: 43 (18.4%)
Role of British military veterans in the participant's life	No role: 96 (41%) No particular role: 77 (32.9%) Important role: 45 (19.2%) Very important role: 16 (6.8%)
Role of British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans in the participant's life	No role: 109 (46.6%) No particular role: 84 (35.9%) Important role: 28 (12%) Very important role: 13 (5.6%)
Knowledge About veterans from the UK Armed Forces	Very little: 84 (35.9%) Little: 67 (28.3%) Somewhat: 62 (26.5%) A lot: 21 (9%)
Knowledge About British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans	Very little: 97 (41.5%) Little: 73 (21.2%) Somewhat: 47 (20.1%) A lot: 17 (7.3%)
Social Distance to the UK Armed Forces	No contact to the UK Armed Forces (no member/ ex-member in a social circle: 84 (35.9%) Distant contact (a member/ex-member in distant social circle): 60 (25.6%)

Close contact (a member/ex-member in close social circle): 84 (35.9%)
Member/ Ex-member of the UK Armed Forces: 3 (1.3%)

6.3.2. Materials & Procedure

6.3.2.1. Instrument

Methodological procedures which are commonly used in research on the structure of social representations were utilised (i.e. Di-Giacomo, 1980; Sarrica & Contarello, 2004, Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1988; cf. Clemence, Doise, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2014). Therefore, the present project followed the notion of previous research that central elements may be differentiated from peripheral elements by salience (i.e. Abric,1989). An open-ended word-association task with importance ratings (very – not at all important) was utilised. Data was collected by means of self-completed online questionnaires. The first section of the questionnaire comprised basic information surrounding the study and required the participant to give informed consent. The second section concerned six word-association tasks to explore people's representations of 'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit'. This section explored the objectification of the stimuli representations.

Objectification Measures

Participants were presented with a preparatory slide before each word association slide. This slide aimed to facilitate the production of original associations and so to reduce answers based on reflective thoughts. Therefore, the set-up of the word association task reflected findings from cognitive theory's dual-processing models (i.e. Evans, 2008; Kahneman & Egan, 2011). As previous research indicated that individuals produce high-capacity and intuitive thoughts which draw on associations in Type 1 processing and engage in more thoughtful reasoning by eliciting Type 2 processing, Response Time was found to be a crucial measure for distinguishing Type 1 from Type 2 processing (Pennycook, Fugelsang, & Koehler, 2015; Thompson, Turner, & Pennycook, 2011). It was concluded that the word-association task would only provide insight into people's intuitive understanding of veterans and other military related roles when Type 1 processes are triggered (cf. Pennycook et al. 2015). To avoid the activation of Type 2 monitoring processes and to facilitate the production of Type 1 dependant intuitive associations

it was decided to time-pressure participants. Therefore, the preparatory slide asked the participant to write down the first three words that come to mind when reading the word presented on the following page and explained that the participant would be timed. When participants pressed the 'Next' button, they were presented with a stimulus word and three Text-Entry Form Fields into which they could type their answers. Below the third Text-Entry Form Field, participants saw a timer, which displayed seconds and hundredths of a second, counting upwards.

The six stimulus words ('Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit') were presented in a random order; however, each of them first displaying the same preparatory slide. In this sense, the participant was reminded of typing in initial associations.

Anchoring Measures

After completing the word association task, the participant was presented with a preparatory slide. This slide introduced the third section, a valence task. The preparatory slide aimed to facilitate Type 2 processing and to encourage reflective thoughts by explaining that the participant would no longer be timed (cf. Pennycook et al. 2016). After participants pressed the 'Next' button, participants were asked to rank the importance of all of their previously given associations (3 responses x 6 stimuli words) for each stimulus word (6x3 for 'Veteran', 6x3 for 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 6x3 for 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 6x3 for 'Ex- Service Personnel', 6x3 for 'Soldier' and 6x3 for 'Recruit'). Each slide presented one stimulus word in a randomised order and the 6x3 associations previously given. The participant was required to rate each association in accordance to perceived importance on a 5-point Likert scale ('Extremely important', 'Very important', 'Moderately Important', 'Slightly important', 'Not at all important'). This procedure aimed to model the representational field in which the 'Veteran' may be embedded in a more intuitively understandable manner.

This valence measurement followed the design of previous research and allowed to observe the representational field of 'Veteran' by following the theoretical notion that social representations acquire their specification through the symbolic space between representations (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993). In this sense, similarity and dissimilarity in degree or evaluation between the 'Veteran' and other military related representations ('British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex- Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit') could be observed.

Inter-Individual Difference Measures

If social representations are defined as organising principles that regulate symbolic relations of shared realities, then it needs to be concluded that the organisation generates inter-individual and inter-group differences and variations (i.e. Lorenci-Cioldi, 1998; Clemence et al., 2014). These variations were addressed by the study's last section, section four. Here sociodemographic information was collected to understand how representational content may be shaped and influenced by inter-individual differences and sociodemographic factors. As previous research did not address the impact of sociodemographic factors in public perceptions of veterans, sociodemographic characteristics that were found to impact perceptions of the UK Armed Forces more generally were included (i.e. Hines et al, 2015; BMG Research, 2017).

After completing the final section, the participant was asked to press the 'Submit' button to conclude the study (the full questionnaire is included in Appendix 1). To comply with the code of ethics in psychological research, only data from participants who pressed the 'Submit' button was utilised.

6.3.2.2. Data Analysis

The data was entered into SPSS for subsequent analyses. It was decided to use SPSS instead of IT packages that are designed to quantitatively analyse qualitative data such as SPAD-T (Lebart et al., 1989) as these packages would not have allowed consistency in data processing. This is the case as IT packages that quantitatively analyse qualitative data (i.e. SPAD-T) are unable to conduct complex quantitative investigations such as multiple linear regressions and factor analyses, commonly utilised methods in social representational research (i.e. Clemence et al., 2014). In conclusion, SPSS was found to be the most appropriate software package to answer the present chapter's research questions.

Raw Word Frequency Analysis

To generate a broad overview of association-frequency a raw word frequency analysis was conducted. Initial observations of word frequencies aided the subsequent content analysis by providing an initial overview of the data.

Content Analysis, Category Frequency Analyses

A theme-based Content Analysis (CA; Bardin, 1977) was conducted to facilitate further descriptive and parametric analyses. Data-aggregating procedures such as grouping semantically similar answers together were used, representing a frequently used technique that allows to make the corpus of data more uniform and less ambiguous (i.e. Bolasco, Morrone & Baiocchi, 1999; Sarrica & Contarello, 2004). Therefore, semantically similar answers such as items which expressed the same semantic content and differed only in grammatical form, expression, spelling or upper or lower cases were put together (i.e. Honor – honour, Bravery – brave). Together with relevant literature (i.e. Sarrica & Contarello, 2004; McCulloch, 1995; Joffe & Staerkle, 2007) the evaluation of saliences, frequencies and characteristics of associations guided the subsequent construction of theme-based categories. A non-psychology undergraduate student accompanied this process.

Hierarchical Evocation Method

In order to describe the representational structure frequency analyses would have been insufficient as previous research identified valence to be an important component in determining the centrality of understandings (cf. Dany, Urdapilleta & Lo Monaco, 2015). This project applied the Hierarchical Evocation Method (Abric, 2012), a commonly used method in social representational research to distinguish the core from the peripheral elements (i.e. Abric, 2003; Baquiano & Mendez, 2016, Levy, Boumelki & Guillet, 2010, Gomez, Oliveira & Sa, 2008). The Hierarchical Evocation Method allowed to combine two criteria: The frequency of mentioning and the hierarchical order of valence (importance). Cross-referencing these two criteria produced a four-area chart (cf. Figure 3).

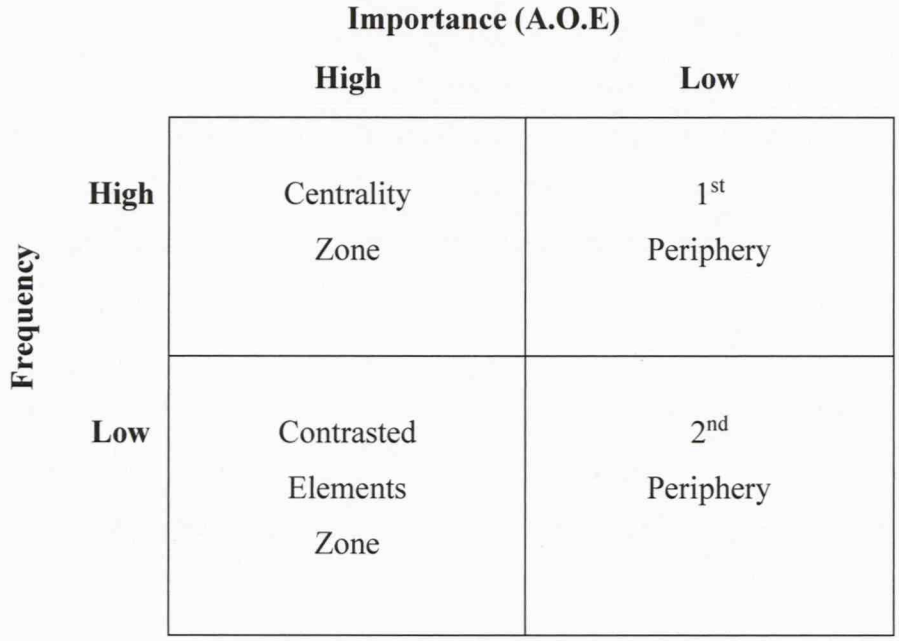

Figure 3. *Hierarchical Evocation Method Model*

The threshold for frequencies is determined by the number of words divided through the number of previously defined categories that respond to the idea of *'representational elements'* or *'elements'*. The distinction between a 'high' and 'low' importance of these elements is made by utilizing the valence/importance ratings' mean as the cut-off point. In this sense, the left upper corner of the chart contains the representation's central elements on the base of high frequency and importance. These central elements ought to be defined by the homogeneity of group understandings, stability, coherence, change resistance and rigidity. The left bottom cell comprises categories which are named by fewer people but are considered as very important. The first and second periphery contain mutant elements, oscillating in the adaptation to the situation and social context (cf. Baquiano & Mendez, 2016). While the first periphery contains important but infrequent elements, the second periphery is constituted of infrequent and unimportant elements. In this sense, they allow for the integration of individual experiences and tolerate heterogeneity and contradictions.

Multiple Linear Regressions with Sociodemographic Characteristics

MRA is a commonly used method in social representational research (Clemence et al. 2014, Doise & Papastamou, 1987). It is a technique for explaining the variation in a dependent variable by observing the relationship with independent variables. Therefore, MRA allowed an examination of the interplay of sociodemographic characteristics and element valences by

apprehending the organisation of inter-individual differences. The MRA's results allowed to conclude which sociodemographic characteristics may facilitate or inhibit evocation of representational elements and allowed to compare how sociodemographic factors impacted on different military related representations.

Factor Analysis – Principal Component Analysis

To observe intra-representational relationships between elements of a representation, it was necessary to induce a new method of data analysis: Factor Analysis. Factor Analysis allowed us to understand and simplify patterns of relationships underlying measured variables (Beavers, Lounsbury, Richards, Huck, Skolits, & Esquivel, 2013). In social representational research both Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Common Factor Analysis (CFA) are frequently used models of Factor Analysis (cf. Clemence et al., 2014). This project utilized a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) as PCA allowed to reduce the number of variables while retaining as much of the original variance as possible (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003). In doing so, links and patterns between profiles of individual responses in element valence were observed and ways in which element valence scorings covary, oppose or were independent of each other were examined. This facilitated observations of latent answering patterns and conclusions on how representational elements related to each other. In other words, the internal structures of the representations were observed by reviewing answering patterns.

Correlation of Intra-Representational Relationships between Military- related Representations

A Pearson's Correlation for all militarily related stimuli words of the previously derived intra-representational relationship component scores was conducted. This compared the internal structures of different military related representations and thus examined whether and to which extent the 'Veteran' may be part of a more general military themata.

6.4. Results

6.4.1. Constructing Categories – Content Analysis of Associations

Construction of Categories

Categories were constructed by relating findings from previous literature to the data set and by observing frequencies and similarities within the data (i.e. Sarrica & Wachelke, 2012; Sarrica & Contarello, 2004; Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998). Therefore, inductive and deductive approaches were combined in order to generate a coherent and consistent coding system.

Deductively defined Categories

To define the categories 'War' and 'Peace' findings from word association tasks that were conducted by Sarrica & Wachelke (2012) and Sarrica & Contarello (2004) were utilised. These studies indicated that 'War' was commonly associated with weapons, death, damage and destruction. 'Peace', on the contrary, was frequently associated with disarmament, sharing and interpersonal relationships (i.e. friendships; cf. also Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998).

The categories 'Heroism', 'Victimisation' and 'Job/Occupation' were built upon the results of this project's media analysis and previous literature which discussed socially pertinent representation of those who have served in the UK Armed Forces (i.e. Gibson, 2012, Gibson & Condor, 2009; Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008, McGarry & Walklate, 2011; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; McGarry, 2012, Walklate, 2007; Gibson & Abell, 2004; King 2003, 2010). Although these studies used methodologies other than word association tasks (i.e. discursive of discursive inscriptions and narrative accounts), these studies allowed to draw essential thematic inferences on the construction of categories. Therefore, findings from previous research was accessed that outlined which associations may fall into the semantic or thematic field 'Heroism' (i.e. brave, courageous, valiant), 'Victimisation' ('suffering–from' associations, i.e. physical/ psychological impairments, social/institutional mistreatment) and 'Job/Occupation' (associations referring to an all-volunteer Force, i.e. MOD Job).

Inductively Defined Categories

However, word-frequencies and similarities indicated that the raw data comprised additional thematic properties that could not be subsumed into the categories 'War', 'Peace', 'Victimisation', 'Heroism' and 'Job/Occupation'. Therefore, an exhaustive in-depth analysis of the raw-data determined eight further categories ('Experience and Age', 'Positive Characterisation', 'National Belonging', 'Negative Characterisation', 'Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations', 'Other', 'Reference to Scene of Deployment', 'Physical Description', 'Superordinate Group'). An overview of the categories and category-definition with examples can be found in Table 17 (the full list of codings can be found in Appendix 3).

Inter-rater reliability

Interrater reliability was validated by concordance in category ratings with one undergraduate psychology student and one postgraduate non-psychology student for 421 words (87.65% and 83.85% inter-rater concordance). In this sense, the data was found to be coherently categorised into autonomous and distinctive categories.

Table 17.

Category Definition, Examples

Category Name	Definition	Examples
1. Heroism	Associations which characterise the stimuli words as being something superior, heroic; Descriptions referring to looking up to something/somebody	Heroic Bravery Saviour
2. Experience and Age	Associations which characterise stimuli words by levels of training, experience and age	Training Young Old
3. War	Associations which were found by previous research to be referring to war (i.e. Sarrica & Contarello, 2004)	War Destruction Death
4. Positive Characterisation	Associations which are in Western Society perceived as being positive character traits, aligned with Western values (i.e. McCulloch, 1995; Joffe & Staerkle, 2007); associations which contribute positively to employability	Trustworthy Friendly Smart
5. National Belonging	Associations which refer to British or in-group belonging; associations grounded on national inclusion or more subordinated group belonging	One of us Ours English
6. Victimisation	Associations which refer to suffering from something	PTSD Crippled Maimed
7. Negative Characterisation	Associations which are in Western Society perceived as being negative character traits, cannot be aligned with Western values (i.e. McCulloch, 1995; Joffe & Staerkle, 2007); associations which impact employability negatively	Selfish Racist Dumb
		Job

8. Job/ Occupation	Associations which refer to jobs, being employed and descriptive synonyms of these aspects	Professional MOD Jobs
9. Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	Naming Politicians, reasons which were presented in the media as motive for the missions in Iraq/Afghanistan, reference to ally countries	Oil Blair USA
10. Other	Answers based upon the participants not knowing what to associate with the stimuli word and random associations which did not fit any of the 13 remaining categories	? Mountains Don't Know
11. Reference to Scene of Deployment	Describing or naming cities and countries to which the UK Forces have been deployed; Synonyms for deployment or for being deployed	Afghanistan Iraq Ireland
12. Physical Description	Physical description of the person (not characterisations)	Man Woman Beard
13. Superordinate Group	Reference to a group within the Forces/ to the membership within this group/ to the Forces/Military in general	RAF Army Soldier
14. Peace	Associations which previous research found to be related to peace (i.e. Sarrica & Contarello, 2004)	Freedom Peace Keeper Peace one day

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However, to maintain consistency with a commonly used terminology in the structural approach in Social Representation Theory, the following will refrain from the use 'categories' but instead refer to *'representational elements'* or *'elements'* (cf. Flamnet, 1994; Abric, 2001).

6.4.2. Hierarchical Evocation Method

The following will focus on the descriptive comparisons of the representational structures of 'Veteran' and other military related roles to answer the research questions:

- *What are the central and peripheral elements of 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit'?*
- *How do central and peripheral elements of 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' compare to central and peripheral elements of 'Veteran'?*

To create the four-squared HEM models, the mean frequency as the threshold was created by dividing the number of words included in the analysis by the number of categories or '*representational elements*'. The number of associations produced for *each* stimuli term (702) divided by the number of representational elements for each stimuli term (14) resulted in a value of 50.14. Four quadrants were obtained from crossing the frequency and the average of the importance/valence-ratings (lower and higher than the mean). More readily recalled elements with high valence ratings have a high probability of containing most of the representation's central elements.

The following will present the HEM models' findings for each representation. Then, after each representation has been presented, an exhaustive discussion will address the aforementioned research questions.

'Veteran'

Central elements covered a wide range of descriptive elements which the participants perceived to be characteristic of veterans. These were 'War', 'Victimisation', 'Heroism', 'Experience and Age', 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Superordinate Group' (cf. Table 18). Particularly the absence of categories in the first periphery and solely the categories 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Other' as part of the contrasting element-cell emphasise that the 'Veteran' may be a well-defined and hegemonic representation. This supposes that 'Veteran' comprised a set of widely shared understandings between prticipants, which, in their manifestation, have only slightly deviated inter-individually. In this sense, the central elements give an indication of how individuals in British society may position themselves towards the veteran – being a hero and a victim.

Table 18.
Structure of the 'Veteran' Representation

		A.O.E	
		High A.O.E (>1.18)	**Low A.O.E (<1.18)**
		Zone of Central Core	**First Periphery**
Frequency	**High Frequency (>50)**	War (*f*= 80, A.O.E = 2.33) Victimisation (*f* = 100, A.O.E = 1.71) Heroism (*f*= *147*, A.O.E = 1.84) Experience and Age (*f* = 162, A.O.E = 1.97) Superordinate Group (*f* = *88*, A.O.E = 1.57)	X
	Low Frequency (<50)	**Contrasted Elements** Other (*f* = *18,* A.O.E = 1.35) Positive Characterisation (*f*= 48, A.O.E = 1.23)	**Second Periphery** Negative Characterisation (*f*=*3*, A.O.E = .75) National Belonging (*f* = *16*, A.O.E = .75) Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations (*f* = *12*, A.O.E = .73) Reference to Scene of Deployment (*f* = 2, A.O.E = .46) Physical Description (*f* = 11, A.O.E = .77) Job/ Occupation (*f*= *13*, A.O.E= .94) Peace (*f* = *2*, A.O.E = .08)

'Ex-Service Personnel'

The 'Ex-Service Personnel's' HEM model indicated high similarities with the 'Veteran's' HEM model (cf. Table 19). The zone of the central core comprised six categories, five of them shared with the stimulus term 'Veteran': 'Victimisation', 'Heroism', 'Experience and Age', 'Positive Characterisation', 'Superordinate Group' and 'Other'. In conclusion, people in British society may have a well-elaborated mental picture of 'Ex-Service Personnel' which only slightly differs from what was associated to the stimulus term 'Veteran'. The only exception, however, was the element 'War' that was part of the contrasting zone instead of being part of the central core for 'Ex-Service Personnel'. This may reflect social norms to use the term 'Ex-Service Personnel' when describing those who have been employed in the UK Armed Forces without having served in military operations (Dandeker, 2006). However, as Table 19 shows, the same set of elements as for 'Veteran' were found to be within the first or second periphery of the representation 'Ex-Service Personnel'.

Table 19.
Structure of the 'Ex-Service Personnel' Representation

		A.O.E	
		High A.O.E (>1.31)	**Low A.O.E (<1.31)**
		Zone of Central Core	**First Periphery**
Frequency	**High Frequency (>50)**	Victimisation (f = 103, A.O.E = 1.95) Heroism (f= *128,* A.O.E = 1.95) Experience and Age (f = *104*, A.O.E = 2.26) Positive Characterisation (f= 69, A.O.E = 1.47) Superordinate Group (f = 122, A.O.E = 1.78) Other (f = 52, A.O.E =1.49)	X
	Low Frequency (<50)	**Contrasted Elements** War (f= 44, A.O.E = 2.50)	**Second Periphery** Negative Characterisation (f=17, A.O,E = .90) National Belonging (f = 12, A.O.E = .86) Job/ Occupation (f= *26*, A.O.E= 1.03) Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations (f = 5, A.O.E = .78) Reference to Scene of Deployment (f = 3, A.O.E = .51) Physical Description (f = 16, A.O.E = .84) Peace (f = *1*, A.O.E = .07)

'British Army Iraq Veteran'

The final structure of the 'British Army Iraq Veteran's' HEM model slightly deviates from the 'Veteran's' HEM model (cf. Table 20). Similar to the 'Veteran's' HEM model, central elements for 'British Army Iraq Veteran' included the categories 'War', 'Victimisation' and 'Heroism'. However, other elements that were central for the 'Veteran's' HEM model were found to be rated as equally important (A.O.E ratings) but less often listed for 'British Army Iraq Veteran'. More concretely, fewer participants recalled elements related to 'Superordinate Group', 'Experience and Age', 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Other'. However, individuals who did recall these elements perceived them as being equally important as for characterising the representation 'Veteran'. Again, the first and second periphery comprised the same set of elements for 'British Army Iraq Veteran' as found in the 'Veteran's' HEM model. As outlined in Table 20, the elements 'Negative Characterisation', 'National Belonging', 'Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations', 'Reference to Scene of Deployment', 'Physical Description', 'Job/ Occupation' and 'Peace' seemed to be of little importance when describing the representation 'British Army Iraq Veteran'.

Table 20.
Structure of the British Army Iraq Veteran Representation

		A.O.E	
		High A.O.E (>1.15)	**Low A.O.E (<1.15)**
		Zone of Central Core	**First Periphery**
Frequency	**High Frequency (>50)**	War (*f*= 187, A.O.E = 2.19) Victimisation (*f* = 130, A.O.E = 1.68) Heroism (*f*= *126*, A.O.E = 1.78)	X
	Low Frequency (<50)	**Contrasted Elements** Superordinate Group (*f* = *48*, A.O.E = 1.54) Experience and Age (*f* = *40*, A.O.E = 1.97) Positive Characterisation (*f*= *34*, A.O.E = 1.29) Other (*f* = *24,* A.O.E = 1.34)	**Second Periphery** Negative Characterisation (*f*=*15*, A.O.E = .73) National Belonging (*f* = *17*, A.O.E = .74) Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations (*f* = *44*, A.O.E = .62) Reference to Scene of Deployment (*f* = 15, A.O.E = .42) Physical Description (*f* = 14, A.O.E = .77) Job/ Occupation (*f*= *6*, A.O.E= 1.03) Peace (*f* = 1, A.O.E = .08)

'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'

The HEM model outlined 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' to have exactly the same structure as 'British Army Iraq Veteran' (cf. Table 21). This may indicate that people in British society may understand British Army veterans who were deployed to Afghanistan and British Army veterans who were deployed to Iraq identically.

Table 21.
Structure of the British Army Afghanistan Veteran Representation

		A.O.E	
		High A.O.E (>1.14)	**Low A.O.E (<1.14)**
		Zone of Central Core	**First Periphery**
Frequency	**High Frequency (>50)**	War (*f*= 200, A.O.E = 2.18) Victimisation (*f* = 122, A.O.E = 1.68) Heroism (*f*= *134*, A.O.E = 1.76)	X
	Low Frequency (<50)	**Contrasted Elements** Superordinate Group (*f* = 32, A.O.E = 1.54) Experience and Age (*f* = *36*, A.O.E = 1.95) Positive Characterisation (*f*= 28, A.O.E = 1.32) Other (*f* = *33,* A.O.E = 1.27)	**Second Periphery** Negative Characterisation (*f*=*26*, A.O.E = .74) National Belonging (*f* = *20*, A.O.E = .74) Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations (*f* = *25*, A.O.E = .62) Reference to Scene of Deployment (*f* = 18, A.O.E = .41) Physical Description (*f* = 18, A.O.E = .72) Job/ Occupation (*f*= *6*, A.O.E= .98) Peace (*f* = *4*, A.O.E = .07)

'Solider'

The 'Soldier's' HEM model indicated some similarities with the 'Veteran's' HEM model. Central elements for the stimulus representation 'Soldier' were 'War', 'Heroism', 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Superordinate Group' (Table 22). The first and second periphery outlined again similarities with the 'Veteran's' HEM model by being comprised of the same elements. The contrasting zone was differently structured as it comprised the elements 'Victimisation', 'Experience and Age' and 'Other' – elements that were part of the 'Veteran's' core . In conclusion, differences in the core of the 'Soldier's' HEM model indicate that participant understandings of soldiers and veterans may be distinctive but also related to each other as some central elements were shared.

Table 22.
Structure of the 'Soldier' Representation

		A.O.E	
		High A.O.E (>1.22)	**Low A.O.E (<1.22)**
		Zone of Central Core	**First Periphery**
Frequency	**High Frequency (>50)**	War (*f*= 221, A.O.E = 2.22) Heroism (*f*= 143, A.O.E = 1.57) Positive Characterisation (*f*= *70*, A.O.E= 1.27) Superordinate Group (*f*= *60*, A.O.E= 1.42)	X
		Contrasted Elements	**Second Periphery**
	Low Frequency (<50)	Victimisation (*f*= *34*, A.O.E= 1.94) Experience and Age (*f*= 25, A.O.E= 2.45) Other (*f*= *27*, A.O.E=1.51)	Negative Characterisation (*f*= 25 A.O.E= .85) National Belonging (*f*= 24, A.O.E= .75) Job/ Occupation (*f*= 10, A.O.E= .98) Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations (*f*= *8*, A.O.E= .81) Reference to Scene of Deployment (*f*= 7, A.O.E= .57) Physical Description (*f*= *45*, A.O.E= .78) Peace (*f*= 3, A.O.E= .07)

'Recruit'

The representational structure of 'Recruit' indicated to have some similarities with the representational structure of the 'Veteran'. However, the 'Recruit's' representational structure had greater similarities with the 'Ex-Service Personnel's' than with the 'Veteran's'. This was the case as the 'Recruit's' HEM model comprised 'Heroism', 'Experience and Age', 'Positive Characterisation', 'Superordinate Group', 'Job/Occupation' and 'Other' in its central core. Interestingly, the central elements of the 'Recruit's' HEM model indicate that participant understandings of recruits were generally less related to 'War' or 'Victimisation'. Instead, 'Job/Occupation' seemed to play an important role in characterising recruits (cf. Table 23). Therefore, the results indicated that understandings of recruits may relate Service to an employment.

Table 23.
Structure of the Recruit Representation

		A.O.E	
		High A.O.E (>1.43)	**Low A.O.E (<1.43)**
Frequency		**Zone of Central Core**	**First Periphery**
	High Frequency (>50)	Heroism (*f*= *61*, A.O.E = 2.01) Experience and Age (*f* = 222, A.O.E = 2.45) Positive Characterisation (*f*= *67*, A.O.E = 1.61) Superordinate Group (*f* = *63*, A.O.E = 1.94) Other (*f* = *62*, A.O.E =1.62) Job/ Occupation (*f* = 102, A.O.E = 1.12)	X
		Contrasted Elements	**Second Periphery**
	Low Frequency (<50)	War (*f*= *37*, A.O.E = 2.33) Victimisation (*f*= *36*, A.O.E= 2.12)	Negative Characterisation (*f* = *18*, A.O.E = .85) National Belonging (*f* = *22*, A.O.E = .94) Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations (*f* = 0, A.O.E <.01) Reference to Scene of Deployment (*f* = *3*, A.O.E= .45) Physical Description (*f*= *9*, A.O.E= .73) Peace (*f* = 0, A.O.E <.01)

Discussion

The HEM models indicated that all six military related representations were socially well-defined representations with organised central cores. The results outlined that all stimuli words were structured around a stable, highly salient and evocative core that shared inter-representationally many similarities. However, the HEM models indicated also a general split between representations related to veteran-roles and active Service Personnel. This split was characterised by differences in the evocation of 'Victimisation' and 'Positive Characterisation'.

Veteran-related HEM models indicated that out of 14 elements, all models included only seven elements as part of the central core or the contrasting zone. The other seven elements were part of the second periphery, indicating very little importance for all veteran-related HEM models. In conclusion, public perceptions of veterans may be very similar to perceptions of Ex-Service Personnel and veterans from the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The results indicated particularly the representations 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' to be similarly understood by participants, as these two representations were identically structured. Differences between the HEM models of 'British Army Iraq Veteran'/ 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' and 'Veteran' may only be of superficial nature. While the same set of elements were of equal importance for all three representations, differences in frequencies of element evocation accounted for dissimilarities in the representational structures. That the representational cores of 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' solely comprised 'Heroism', 'Victimisation' and 'War' may reflect social scrutiny of these missions (cf. YouGov, 2015, Hines et al., 2015). This scrutiny may have facilitated re-objectification processes through social discourse.

More concretely, the "public's disquiet over the reasons for fighting [in Iraq and Afghanistan]" (McCartney, 2011; p.47) that may have entered the public sphere through "cultural transmission, including the work of war artists and television documentaries" (ibid) may be reflected in understandings of veterans from these missions. In accordance with Social Representation Theory, social problematization and thematization of the deployments may have reconceptualised the more fossilised representation 'Veteran' (cf. Duveen, 2001; Moscovici, 2000). Thus, 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' may have been subject to re-objectification and subsequent re-anchoring processes that focussed only on some elements of the more general 'Veteran' representation ('Heroism', 'Victimisation' and 'War'). Other elements which were of general, less emotionally evocative nature such as

'Superordinate Group' or 'Experience and Age' were less frequently mentioned as these may not have been extensively discussed in societal discourses.
In this sense, though the two representations 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' may be distinct from the representation 'Veteran', they may be highly related to the 'Veteran' as having evolved from this representation.

In contrast, the HEM models of the representation 'Ex-Service Personnel' may differ from the 'Veteran' on a more substantial basis. A fundamental difference between 'Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' related to the evocation of the element 'War'. 'War' was part of the central core for the 'Veteran's' but less frequently recalled and thus part of the contrasting zone for the 'Ex-Service Personnel's' HEM model. Moreover, also 'Other' and 'Positive Characterisation' were part of the central core of the 'Ex-Service Personnel's' but only part of the contrasting zone of the 'Veteran's' HEM model. This may indicate that participants referred to historically evolved norms and definitions by reserving the term 'Veteran' exclusively for those who have been actively involved in military action (Dandeker et al., 2006; Barr, 2001). Moreover, the element 'Other' as being part of the central core for 'Ex-Service Personnel' may indicate that the term 'Ex-Service Personnel' might generally be less well known and opaque. Reasons that explain why 'Positive Characterisation' was found to be part of the 'Ex-Service Personnel's' but not of the 'Veteran's' core may relate to general tendencies outlined in the HEM models. The HEM models indicated that 'Positive Characterisation' and 'War' were almost mutually exclusive in the stimuli representations' central cores. This may be explained by previous research that outlined highly emotionally laden and negative associations to be core elements when 'War' was considered to be a social representation (i.e. Sarricka & Wachelke, 2012; Sarricka & Wachelke, 2010; Sarrica & Contarello, 2004;). Therefore, it may be possible that when recalling 'War', its destructive nature becomes the focal point of the participant's attention, leading to an exclusion of 'Positive Characterisation'.
However, 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Veteran' shared the majority of elements in the central core. 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Veteran' comprised cues about social positioning ('Heroism', 'Victimisation'), contextual information in which to situate the representation ('Superordinate Group') and descriptors of maturity ('Experience and Age'). Similarly, 'Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' shared elements in the first and second periphery.
In summary, it may be concluded that, though the HEM models indicated some differences between veteran-related representations, differences were few and/or of rather superficial nature.

The HEM-models indicated similarities also between the veteran-related representations and the active Service Personnel's representations. The same set of seven elements that was salient for veteran-related representations was also salient for 'Recruit' and 'Soldier'. Therefore, the zone of the central core and the contrasting zone comprised the same elements as previously found for veteran-related representations (except for 'Job/Occupation' which was also part of the central core for 'Recruit'). In this sense, the present findings mirrored previous studies that suggested "military service as 'serving the country' [to] perform a solemn function" in British society (Gibson, 2012, p. 144). As 'Heroism' was part of the core for all military related representations, the HEM models' results were aligned with literature that suggested an association between heroism and (former) Service Personnel to be one of the "most deep-rooted cultural assumptions" in British society (Gibson, 2012, p. 144; cf. also Billig, 1996).

However, a notable difference was the absence of 'Victimisation' as part of the central zone for active Service Personnel related representations. In this sense, 'Victimisation' seemed to be perceived as less central to active Service Personnel. This may explain more positive perceptions of active Service Personnel, outlined in previous research (i.e. Hines et al., 2015). Moreover, 'Positive Characterisation' was an attribute that was more frequently recalled and thus part of the central core for active Service Personnel while it was perceived as equally important but less salient for most veteran-related stimuli terms.

In conclusion, the present findings mirrored general social tendencies that outline more positive perceptions of active Service Personnel when compared to veterans (Hines et al., 2015; Ashcroft 2012, 2017; BSA, 2012). More concretely, participants considered veterans less frequently in terms of inherent positive characteristics but more commonly as suffering from some form of damage such as a disability, service-related experiences or social and institutional callousness. However, why suffering is particularly salient for veteran-related representations remains questionable.

In conclusion, the results indicate suffering may be understood as a characteristic of post-service life. The findings therefore may reflect that understandings of military service may be associated to some form of damage as a natural consequence of Service. Therefore, the present result may mirror the results of the media analysis (Chapter III) which indicated a widely circulated depiction of veterans as suffering victims. However, this would not explain why the

representation 'Ex-Service Personnel' did not comprise 'War' but 'Victimisation' in its core. The attribution of 'Victimisation' may be also explained by difficulties in transition and the adaption to civilian life more generally. In this sense, veteran-related representations may be understood as retrospectively damaged by their Service, whether they have been deployed or not. The adaption to an 'inhumane' institution that requires and prepares the individual to kill may, therefore, stand in interaction with highly emotional and negative associations to war that oppose Western core values (cf. Sarricka & Wachelke, 2013; McCulloch, 1995; Said, 1993). In this sense, participants may have understood all veteran-related representations as having gone through life-changing adaptions when adjusting to the military environment that cannot be made undone when re-entering civilian life. While active Service Personnel might be understood as not (yet) being affected by the inability to readjust to civilian life, veterans may be perceived as realising that they cannot do so anymore. This would explain why Ashcroft & KCMG (2017) found socially pertinent understandings of veterans to be "scarred for life" (p. 1), with the majority of participants responding to "problems adjusting to a civilian environment" (p. 3) as representing a crucial and predominant issue in the veterans' lives. This may also explain why positive perceptions in terms of the element 'Positive Characterisation' were more salient for currently serving than for veteran-related representations (except for 'Ex-Service Personnel'). It may be in the context of the civilian life in which participants understand the veteran as unable to use positive dispositions such as commitment and dedication that were constituting the element 'Positive Characterisation'.

In light of the present findings, it seemed unlikely that the victimisation of veterans and thus 'suffering from' associations were related to the veteran's etymology as referring to old age (Stevensen, 2010). The fact that also a younger veteran-population ('British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Iraq Veteran') comprised 'Victimisation' as part of its central core indicated that negative stereotypes towards veterans may not *exclusively* be explained by stereotypes towards the elderly (cf. Gamyard, 2006; Tuckman & Lorge, 1953). The image of old people that is associated with suffering from physical and psychological ill-health may therefore not be the sole foundation for the veterans' victimisation.

However, similarities in the HEM models of all military related representations may allow inferences to be drawn on the external structure of military related representations. In accordance to previous social representational research, it may be concluded that similarities concerning the intra-representational structure may express inter-representational connections

between representations (i.e. Abric & Verges, 1996, Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Miland, 2002). The present findings may, therefore, suggest that contextual relationships between veteran- and other military related representations may be essential. This may be explained by the etymological considerations of the term 'veteran', comprising multiple meanings in the English language (cf. Stevensen, 2010; Skeat & Skeat, 1993). In conclusion, when recalling understandings of a veteran from the UK Armed Forces, individuals may *need* to recall the UK Armed Forces' context – and thus understandings of other military related roles – as in a different context also the meaning of 'Veteran' would differ (i.e. veteran car). Therefore, understandings of veterans may be well embedded in a more general military 'themata' and thus highly interrelated with representations that are part of the same underlying 'themata' (cf. Markova, 2005).

Essentially, the findings did provide some evidence for *cognitive polyphasia* (Moscovici, 2000) in terms of the veteran being understood as a hero *and* as a victim. The results indicated that 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation' were equally important and thus being part of the central core for all veteran related-representations. Therefore, contextually consistent rationalities may explain the acceptance of seemingly ambiguous categories.

In summary, the HEM models provided substantial information on the general structure of military related representations and similarities between the structures of military related representations. In this sense, the current section sufficiently answers the research questions:

- *What are the central and peripheral elements of 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit'?*
- *How do central and peripheral elements of 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' compare to central and peripheral elements of 'Veteran'?*

However, the homogeneity in the cohort's sociodemographic characteristics does not allow to draw indubitable conclusions. The recruited cohort consisted predominately of white, well-educated females in their mid-twenties that have little contact to the UK Armed Forces and its Ex-Members. In this sense, the descriptive nature of HEM may comprise substantial biases that distort conclusions on cognitive polyphasia. More concretely, the present findings may reflect how the majority of *this particular* population may have understood veterans, however, without

taking potential differences of subcultures into account. This also represents a more general caveat that needs to be taken into consideration. HEM is a classification technique that aims to elucidate the way social representations are categorised descriptively. The criterion that is used depends upon the proximity and similarity of representational elements. Therefore, individuals are treated as sharing the same element referent and being consensual within the classification of the representations. In conclusion, although it is possible to distinguish the core and periphery of the examined representations, the descriptive nature of HEM does not allow to take subcultural differences into account as.

In conclusion, it may be possible that a substantial proportion of participants had focussed on 'Heroism', while another substantial proportion had focussed on 'Victimisation'. In this sense, both, 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation', would be represented in the representational core. Thus, while evidence would suggest that the results reflect cognitive polyphasia, a part of the recruited population may have characterised veterans as heroes, whilst another part may have characterised veterans as victims. In this sense, it is necessary to observe whether and to which extent sociodemographic characteristics such as age and gender may relate to the evocation of elements such as 'Victimisation' and 'Heroism'. Therefore, the following will investigate potential relationships between sociodemographic characteristics and evocation of elements by conducting a Multiple Linear Regression analysis (MLR).

6.4.3. Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

To understand whether sociodemographic characteristics influence element evocation, multiple linear regressions were conducted. Therefore, this section intends to answer the research question:

How are representational elements affected by sociodemographic characteristics?

To gain statistically valid and concise regression models, sociodemographic characteristics of the recruited population were eyeballed. Initial analyses indicated that some sociodemographic characteristics tapped onto the same underlying theoretical construct and thus needed to be

recoded and merged. Therefore, hypotheses were formed about sociodemographic item-similarity which were subsequently checked by reliability analyses.
It was assumed that answers about social distance to and self-perceived knowledge of veterans and social distance to and self-perceived knowledge of British Iraq or Afghanistan veterans would be highly correlated. Cronbach's alpha of .85 supported this assumption. Thus, these variables were recoded into one interval variable. Although it was considered to also put the social distance towards UK Armed Forces measure into this group, a significantly lower Cronbach's Alpha (.74) indicated that these should be kept as separate variables. Attitudes towards British missions in Afghanistan and British missions in Iraq had a high Cronbach's alpha value of .89. Thus, these two items were recoded and merged into one. Importance of home country and pride of home country had moderate Cronbach's alpha values of .78. However, it was decided to group these two items, as they both tapped onto the theoretical construct of national pride. The variables were re-coded by averaging and adding means after checking a similar coding structure. Table 24. gives an overview of the alterations made based upon Cronbach Alpha values.

After eyeballing the frequencies of sociodemographic characteristics, it was considered to induce binary variables. Religion measures indicated that the majority of the cohort referred to having no religion, followed by Christianity and very few occurrences of other religions. Therefore, it was decided to recode Religion into a binary variable of not having or having a religion. Similarly, frequency measures of ethnicity indicated homogeneity amongst the recruited cohort. Thus, Ethnicity was recoded into 'White' and 'Other'. An overview of all recoded binary scaled variables can be found in Table 25.
Ten of the sociodemographic measures showed to tap onto more independent constructs and needed no or very little recoding (i.e. reverse scorings). Therefore, a total of 14 sociodemographic characteristics were used as Independent Variable (IV). The final list of the sociodemographic characteristics can be found in Table 26.

Categories that were part of the core or the contrasting zone in the HEM models for the military related representations constituted the Multiple Linear Regression Models' Dependent Variable (DV). Therefore, the mean importance rating for each of the seven categories

- 'War'
- 'Victimisation'

- 'Heroism'
- 'Superordinate Group'
- 'Experience and Age'
- 'Positive Characterisation'
- 'Other'

were calculated for all military related representations. As the category 'Job/Occupation' was found to be part of the central core for 'Recruit', the mean importance rating was also calculated for this category and stimulus word. In this sense, a mean importance rating ranging from 0 – 5 was created for each participant in each category. The exclusion of mean importance ratings that equated with zero was considered. However, subsampling the sample population in this way could lead to an overfit model that performs poorly on out of sample data. Given that the categorical data must be translated into a continuous space in order to fit a hyperplane and, that mean importance rating is that mapping then after its application, zeros need to be retained. Moreover, as the Boxplots and Normal Q-Q Plots for each DV (Appendix 4) did not indicate the presence of outliers, subsampling may have induced a bias. Therefore, the Multiple Linear Regressions included the mean importance ratings of all 234 participants as DV.

Also, a preliminary G* Power Analysis (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner & Lang, 2009). for multiple linear regressions with 14 predictors was conducted. The results suggested a sample size of 197 participants. Therefore, the present study's sample size of 234 participants allowed to derive statistically valid and concise regression models with the 14 sociodemographic characteristics (IV) and 7 (8 for 'Recruit') elements (DV).

Table 24.
Initial and Recoded Items according to Cronbach's Alpha values

Initial Item	Cronbach's Alpha	Recoded Item Name / Label
a.) Which role do British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play in your daily life? b.) Which role do British military veterans play in your daily life? c.) How much do you know about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans?	.85	Social distance and self-perceived knowledge about veterans

d.) How much do you know about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans?		
a.) Which of the following describes your attitude towards British missions in Afghanistan best? b.) Which of the following describes your attitude towards British missions in Iraq best?	.89	Attitudes towards British missions in Iraq and Afghanistan
a.) How proud are you of your country? b.) How important is your country to you?	.78	National pride

Table 25.
Initial Items with Answer Category Frequencies and Recoded Binary Items

Initial Item	Answer Categories and Frequencies	Recoded Binary Item
What is your Religion?	110 (47%) no religion 102 (43.6%) Christian 6 (2.6%) Muslim 16 (7.8%) other religions	110 (47%) no religion 124 (53%) religion
What is your ethnicity?	193 (82.5%) White 21 (9%) Asian/Asian British 5 (2.1%) Black/African/ Caribbean British 9 (3.8%) Mixed Multiple Ethnic 6 (2.3%) Other ethnic group or preferred not to say	193 (82.5%) White 41 (17.5%) Other

Table 26.
Final List of Sociodemographic Characteristics included in the Multiple Linear Regression as Independent Variables and their Coding

Sociodemographic Factors	Coding
General Opinion of the Forces	1 = very low opinion 2 = low opinion 3 = neither a low nor a high opinion 4 = high opinion 5 = very high opinion
Age	[range from 18 to 67]
Education	1 = No Qualification 2 = Below A-Levels or equivalent 3 = A-Levels or equivalent 4 = Higher Education
Gender	1 = Female 2 = Male
Nationality	1 = UK 2 = Other
Residency: England vs Other Part of the UK	1 = England 2 = Other part of the UK
Social Distance towards the UK Armed Forces	1 = I do not know anybody who is or has been in the UK Armed Forces 2 = I distantly know somebody who is or has been in the UK Armed Forces 3 = Someone who is or has been in the UK Forces is close to me 4 = I myself am or have been part of the UK Forces
Political opinion	1 = Left Wing 2 = Rather Left Wing 3 = Middle of the Road 4 = Rather Right Wing 5 = Right Wing
Social distance and self-perceived knowledge about British veterans	1 = very little knowledge/veteran plays no important role in daily life 2 = little knowledge/veteran plays no particular important role in daily life 3 = somewhat knowledge/veterans play role in daily life 4 = a lot of knowledge/veterans play important role in daily life

Attitude towards UK Forces' missions in Iraq and Afghanistan	1 = The UK was wrong to send its Armed Forces to Iraq/Afghanistan 2 = The UK was rather wrong to send its Armed Forces to Iraq/Afghanistan 3 = The UK was rather right to send its Armed Forces to Iraq/Afghanistan 4 = The UK was right to send its Armed Forces to Iraq/Afghanistan
National pride	1 = My home country is not important/ I feel not proud of my home country 2 = My home country is somewhat important/ I feel somewhat proud of my home country 3 = My home country is important/ I feel proud of my home country 4 = My home country is very important / I feel very proud of my home country
Time since residency in the UK	1 = I am living in the UK since between 2016 - now 2 = I am living in the UK since between 2012 and 2015 3 = I am living in the UK since between 2002-2011 4 = I am living in the UK since before 2001
Ethnicity	1 = White 2 = Other
Religion	1 = no religion 2 = having a religion

Results

An overview of significant Multiple Linear Regression Models of sociodemographic characteristics x element evocation per stimulus word ('Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier', 'Recruit') can be found in **Table 27**.

All significant models had acceptable measures of autocorrelation (Durban Watson values were in the acceptable range between 1.5 and 2.5) and the predictors' multicollinearity was found to have satisfactory tolerance levels above .1 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) and VIF scores below 4 (Pan & Jackson, 2008). The following will examine and compare significant predictors in detail.

Table 27.
Significant Multiple Linear Regression Models:
Top Line: Elements, Left Margin: Predictor, Within Field: Stimuli terms for that interaction was found to be significant

	'Heroism'	**'Experience and Age'**	**'War'**	**'Victimisation'**	**'Superordinate Group'**
General Opinion of the Forces	-	-	'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'Recruit'	-	-
Age	'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel'	-	-	-	-
Residency: England vs Other Part of the UK	-	-	-	-	'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'

Social distance and self-perceived knowledge about British veterans	-	'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier', 'Recruit'	-	-	-
National Pride	-	-	'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran',	'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier', 'Recruit'	'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier',

Time since residency in the UK	-	'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier', 'Recruit'	'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Recruit'	-	'Veteran', 'Soldier'
Total Predictor Occurrences	2	12	6	6	9

a. Heroism

The multiple linear regression indicated that sociodemographic factors were significantly related to 'Heroism' valency scores for

- 'Veteran', F (14, 233) = 1.97, p =.021,
- 'Ex-Service Personnel', F (14, 233) = 1.81, p =.038

The variance in element valences which could be accounted for by significant sociodemographic factors was in the range between 10% and 11%. The model summary is outlined in Table 28.

Table 28.
Model Summary for Significant Regressions - Heroism

Stimulus Word	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Durbin Watson
Veteran	.34	.112	.055	1.80
Ex-Service Personnel	.32	.104	.047	1.81

Significant Predictors – 'Heroism'

An overview of significant sociodemographic characteristics' coefficient scores can be found in found in Table 29.

- 'Age'

With acceptable Tolerance (.82) and VIF (1.22) scores, 'Age' was found to be a significant predictor in 'Heroism' evocation for 'Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' regression models. With increasing age, the less 'Heroism' was perceived to be an important characteristic for 'Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel'. The similarity of coefficient scores across the stimuli words indicated that age impacted both stimuli words equally.

Table 29
Coefficient Scores for standard multiple regression of 'Heroism' and significant sociodemographic characteristics

Stimulus Word [Significant Predictor]	Unstandardized Coefficients B [SD]	Standardized Coefficients β	t	Sig
Veteran [Age]	-.030 [.01]	-.16	-2.32	.035
Ex-Service Personnel [Age]	-.25 [.01]	-.15	-2.12	.017

b. 'Experience and Age'

For all stimuli words multiple linear regressions models with sociodemographic characteristics and 'Experience and Age' were found to be significant:

- 'Veteran', F (14, 233) = 2.26, p =.007
- 'Ex-Service Personnel', F (14, 233) = 2.89, p <.001
- 'British Army Iraq Veteran', F (14, 233) = 2.69, p =.001
- 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', F (14, 233) = 2.22 p =.008
- 'Soldier', F (14,233) = 3.66, p <.001
- 'Recruit', F (14,233) = 1.83, p =.036

The variance in element valences related to the examined sociodemographic factors ranged between 10% and 19%. Table 30 gives an overview of the model summary.

Table 30.
Model Summary for Significant Regressions – Experience and Age

Stimulus Word	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Durbin Watson
Veteran	.36	.13	.07	1.88
Ex-Service Personnel	.40	.16	.10	1.86
British Army Iraq Veteran	.38	.15	.09	1.89
British Army Afghanistan Veteran	.35	.12	.07	1.84
Soldier	.45	.19	.14	1.93

Recruit	.32	.11	.05	1.73

Significant Predictors – 'Experience and Age'

An overview of significant sociodemographic characteristics' and their coefficient scores can be found in **Table 31**.

- 'Social distance and self-perceived knowledge'

Across all stimuli words, 'Social distance and self-perceived knowledge' significantly predicted 'Experience and Age' valence scores. With acceptable tolerance levels (.55) and VIF (1.82) scores, increased social contact and self-perceived knowledge predicted significantly lower 'Experience and Age' valence scores across all stimuli words. As presented in Table 30., standardized β coefficients ranged between -.20 and -.25 which indicated that the different stimuli words were similarly affected by social distance and self-perceived knowledge in terms of 'Experience and Age' valence.

- 'Time since residing in the UK'

'Time since residing in the UK' was found to be a significant and independent predictor (Tolerance = .36, VIF = 2.81) for 'Experience and Age' valence scores across all stimuli words. The longer one has been residing in the UK the higher were valence scores for 'Experience and Age' across all military related representations. Standardized β coefficients ranged between .17 and .36.

Table 31.

Coefficient Scores for standard multiple regression of 'Experience and Age' and significant sociodemographic characteristics

Stimulus Word [Significant Predictor]	Unstandardized Coefficients B [SD]	Standardized Coefficients β	t	Sig
Veteran [Social distance and self-perceived knowledge Veterans]	-.39 [.14]	-.22	-2.60	.010
Ex-Service Personnel [Social distance and self-perceived knowledge Veterans]	-.44 [.15]	-.24	-2.87	.004
British Army Iraq Veteran [Social distance and self-perceived knowledge Veterans]	-.37 [.14]	-.23	-2.68	.008
British Army Afghanistan Veteran [Social distance and self-perceived knowledge Veterans]	-.32 [.14]	-.20	-2.33	.021
Soldier [Social distance and self-perceived knowledge Veterans]	-.51 [.16]	-.27	-3.28	.001
Recruit [Social distance and self-perceived knowledge Veterans]	-.47 [.17]	-.24	-2.80	.006
Veteran [Time since residing in the UK]	.41 [.13]	.33	3.12	.002

Ex-Service Personnel [Time since residing in the UK]	.49 [.15]	.35	3.33	.001
British Army Iraq Veteran [Time since residing in the UK]	.47 [.14]	.36	3.45	.001
British Army Afghanistan Veteran [Time since residing in the UK]	.34 [.14]	.27	2.49	.014
Soldier [Time since residing in the UK]	.36 [.15]	.24	2.38	.018
Recruit [Time since residing in the UK]	.26 [.16]	.17	1.59	.013

c. 'War'

'War' valence scores yielded significant regressions models with sociodemographic characteristics for the stimuli words

- 'Ex-Service Personnel', F (14, 233) = 1.92, p=.026
- 'British Army Iraq Veteran', (F (14, 233) = 2.27, p =.007
- 'Recruit', (F (14, 233) = 2.48, p =.003
-

The variance in element valences related to the examined sociodemographic factors ranged from 11% to 14%. Table 32 gives an overview of the model summary.

Table 32.
Model Summary for Significant Regressions - War

Stimulus Word	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Durbin Watson
Ex-Service Personnel	.33	.11	.05	2.03
British Army Iraq Veteran	.36	.13	.07	1.89
Recruit	.37	.14	.08	1.94

Significant Predictors – 'War'

An overview of significant sociodemographic characteristics' and their coefficient scores can be found in Table 33.

- 'National Pride'

The regression models for 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'British Army Iraq Veteran' found 'National Pride' (Tolerance= .69, VIF=1.45) to significantly predict 'War' valence scores. The more national pride was exhibited, the lower were 'War' valance scores. Standardised β coefficients ranged between -.16 and -.18 which indicated that the different stimuli words were similarly affected by national pride in terms of 'War' valence scores.

- 'Time since residing in the UK'

'Time since residing in the UK' was found to be a significant and independent predictor (Tolerance = .37, VIF = 2.81) for 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Recruit'. The longer one had been residing in the UK the higher were valency scores for 'War'. The standardized β coefficient for both stimuli words were .22.

- 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces'

For 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'Recruit', 'War' valence scores were significantly impacted by 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces' (Tolerance = .55, VIF = 1.81). The more the UK Armed Forces were appreciated, the less were 'War' valence scores. Standardised β coefficients ranged between -.18 and -.22.

Table 33.
Coefficient Scores for standard multiple regression of 'War' and significant sociodemographic characteristics

Stimulus Word [Significant Predictor]	Unstandardized Coefficients B [SD]	Standardized Coefficients β	t	Sig
Ex-Service Personnel [National Pride]	-.27 [.13]	-.16	-2.13	.035
British Army Iraq Veteran [National Pride]	-.25 [.15]	-.18	-2.19	.029
Ex-Service Personnel [Time since Residing in the UK]	.31 [.15]	.22	2.06	.041
Recruit [Time since Residing in the UK]	.29 [14]	.22	2.05	.042
British Army Iraq Veteran [Opinion about the UK Armed Forces]	-.26 [10]	-.21	2.45	.014
Recruit [Opinion about the UK Armed Forces]	-.23 [.11]	-.18	-.215	.033

d. 'Victimisation'

'Victimisation' was found be significantly predicted by sociodemographic factors for all stimuli words:

- 'Veteran', F (14, 233) = 1.97, p =.021
- 'Ex-Service Personnel', F (14, 233) = 2.23, p =.008
- 'British Army Iraq Veteran', F (14, 233) = 2.16, p =.010
- 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', F (14, 233) = 2.02 p =.017
- 'Soldier', F (14, 233) = 2.63 p =.001

- 'Recruit', F (14, 233) = 2.20 p =.018

Element valences were explained by sociodemographic factors by 11% and 14%. An overview of the model summary can be found in Table 34.

Table 34.
Model Summary for Significant Regression Models - Victimisation

Stimulus Word	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Durbin Watson
Veteran	.33	.11	.06	2.10
Ex-Service Personnel	.35	.13	.07	2.04
British Army Iraq Veteran	.35	.12	.07	2.09
British Army Afghanistan Veteran	.34	.12	.06	2.07
Soldier	.38	.14	.09	1.98
Recruit	.34	.11	.06	2.01

Significant Predictors – 'Victimisation'

An overview of significant sociodemographic characteristics' and their coefficient scores can be found in Table 335.

- 'National Pride'

'National Pride' was found to be a significant predictor across stimuli words for 'Victimisation' valence scores. With acceptable tolerance levels of .69 and a VIF of 1.44, increased national pride indicated reduced 'Victimisation' valence scores for all stimuli words. As presented in Table 35, standardised β coefficients ranged between -.09 and -.23.

Table 35.
Coefficient Scores for standard multiple regression of 'Victimisation' and significant sociodemographic characteristics

Stimulus Word [Significant Predictor]	Unstandardized Coefficients B [SD]	Standardized Coefficients β	t	Sig
Veteran [National Pride]	-.33 [.13]	-.20	-2.58	.011
Ex-Service Personnel [National Pride]	-.44 [.14]	-.23	-3.03	.003
British Army Iraq Veteran [National Pride]	-.34 [.13]	-.21	-2.68	.008
British Army Afghanistan Veteran [National Pride]	-.35 [.13]	-.21	-2.06	.014
Soldier [National Pride]	-.31 [.14]	-.16	-2.15	.033
Recruit [National Pride]	-.32 [.16]	-.09	-1.20	.049

e. 'Superordinate Group'

Sociodemographic factors predicted significant valence scores of the 'Superordinate Group' for

- 'Veteran', F (14, 233) = 1.95, p =.027
- 'Ex-Service Personnel', F (14, 233) = 2.28, p =.006
- 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', F (14, 233) = 1.88 p =.029
- 'Soldier', F (14, 233) = 1.81 p =.038

The element valences which were explained by sociodemographic factors ranged from 10% to 13%. An overview of the model summary can be found in Table 36.

Table 36.
Model Summary for Significant Regression Models – 'Superordinate Group'

Stimulus Word	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Durbin Watson
Veteran	.33	.11	.05	1.93
Ex-Service Personnel	.36	.13	.07	1.98
British Army Afghanistan Veteran	.33	.11	.05	2.09
Soldier	.32	.10	.05	1.89

Significant Predictors – 'Superordinate Group'

An overview of significant sociodemographic characteristics' and their coefficient scores can be found in Table 37.

- 'National Pride'

Across all stimuli, words' the sociodemographic characteristic 'National Pride' significantly predicted 'Superordinate Group' valence scores. With acceptable tolerance levels (.69) and VIF (1.44) scores, increased national pride significantly decreased 'Superordinate Group' valence scores across all stimuli words. Standardized β coefficients ranged between -.15 and -.21.

- 'Place of Residency'

Regression models indicated that 'Place of Residency' (Tolerance = .924, VIF=1.082) significantly predicted 'Superordinate Group' valance scores for the stimuli words 'Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' and 'Soldier'. As outlined in **Table 37.**, residing in another part of the UK than England significantly decreased 'Superordinate Group' valence scores with standardized β coefficients ranged between -.14 and -.16.

- 'Time since residing in the UK'

For 'Veteran' and 'Soldier', the sociodemographic characteristic 'Time since residing in the UK' was found to significantly predict 'Superordinate Group' valence scores (Tolerance=

.36, VIF = 2.81). The longer one has been in the UK, the higher were also the 'Superordinate Group' valence scores with standardized β coefficients ranging between .31 to .27.

Table 37.
Coefficient Scores for standard multiple regression of Superordinate Group and significant sociodemographic characteristics

Stimulus Word [Significant Predictor]	Unstandardized Coefficients B [SD]	Standardized Coefficients β	t	Sig
Veteran [National Pride]	-.28 [.14]	-.15	-1.99	.048
Ex-Service Personnel [National Pride]	-.41 [.15]	-.21	-2.73	.007
British Army Afghanistan Veteran [National Pride]	-.38 [.14]	-.21	-2.78	.006
Soldier [National Pride]	-.25 [.13]	-.15	-1.96	.049
Veteran [Place of residency-other UK]	-1.18 [.49]	-.16	-2.43	.016
Ex-Service Personnel [Place of residency-other UK]	-1.28 [.52]	-.16	-2.44	.016
British Army Afghanistan Veteran [Place of residency-other UK]	-1.03 [.48]	-.14	-2.15	.033
Veteran [Time since Residing in the UK]	.41 [.17]	.27	2.48	.014
Soldier [Time since Residing in the UK]	.44 [.15]	.31	2.93	.004

f. 'Positive Characterisation'

Sociodemographic characteristics did not significantly predict 'Positive Characterisation' valence scores for any stimulus words.

g. 'Other'

Sociodemographic characteristics did not significantly predict 'Other' valence scores for any stimulus words.

h. 'Job/Occupation'

Sociodemographic characteristics did not significantly predict 'Job/Occupation' valence scores for 'Recruit'. A Multiple Linear Regression analyses for sociodemographic factors x 'Job/Occupation' was solely conducted for 'Recruit' as the HEM models outlined 'Job/Occupation' not to be part of any other stimulus word's core or contrasting zone.

Discussion

Multiple linear regressions (MLR) examined the influence of sociodemographic factors (14 predictors) on core/contrasting zone element valency (6 elements, 7 elements for Recruit) of military related representations (6 representations). A total of 37 MLR were conducted from which 22 MLR yielded significant regression models:

- For all six military- related representations: 'Experience and Age', 'Victimisation'
- For 'Veteran' additionally: 'War', 'Heroism', 'Superordinate Group';
- For 'Ex-Service Personnel' additionally: 'War', 'Heroism', 'Superordinate Group';
- For additionally 'British Army Iraq Veteran': 'War', 'Superordinate Group';
- For 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' additionally: 'Superordinate Group';
- For 'Recruit' additionally: 'War':

From the total of 14 sociodemographic characteristics, five characteristics were found to significantly predict element valence scores at least in one instance for one military related representation. Three characteristics were found to significantly predict element valence scores significantly for all military related representation at least in one instance:

- 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces': For 'War' ('British Army Iraq Veteran', 'Recruit')
- 'Age': For 'Heroism' ('Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel')
- 'Place of Residency': For 'Superordinate Group' ('Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran')
- 'Social Distance': For 'Experience and Age' (all six military- related representations)
- 'National Pride': For 'Victimisation' (all six military- related representations); For 'War' ('Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran'); For 'Superordinate Group' ('Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier', 'Recruit')
- 'Time since residing in the UK': For 'Experience and Age' (all six military- related representations); For 'Superordinate Group' ('Veteran', 'Soldier')

In summary, the present findings indicated that military related representations were impacted similarly by similar sociodemographic characteristics. More concretely, the results showed that the same set of sociodemographic characteristics impacted on the understandings of veterans and active Service Personnel equally. If valence scores were significantly predicted by sociodemographic characteristics, a significant regression model was found for at least one veteran-related and one active Service Personnel representation. Moreover, the results outlined inter-representational similarities between the direction of predicted valence scores. This means that significant sociodemographic characteristics predicted either increased or decreased valence scores consistently across different military related representations. More concretely, there was no instance in which significant sociodemographic characteristics predicted increased element valence for one military related representation while significantly predicting decreased element valence for another military related representation.

However, significant regression models outlined weak to moderate variance scores, ranging from 10% to 19% (cf. Cohen, 1988). As this would suppose that the impact of sociodemographic characteristics on the characterisation of military related representations was considerably low, it may be concluded that military related representations may be hegemonic, socially shared representations.

Therefore, the present findings were aligned with previous research that investigated public perceptions of the UK Armed Forces more generally and suggested "most people, irrespectively of age, educational qualifications or political affiliations – hold the military in

high regard" (Hines et al., 2015, p. 699). The present results may suggest that members of the British public do not solely perceive the UK Armed Forces hegemonically but also its (ex-) members. Moreover, this project found similar sociodemographic characteristics to be significant predictors when compared to previous research. For example, 'Place of Residency' that the BMG (2017) indicated to impact perceptions of the Forces and military-members also influenced element evocation in the present study. Moreover, aligned with Hines et al. (2015), social distance ('Social distance and self-perceived knowledge about veterans') and 'Age' were found to be significant predictors.

However, similarities between previous and present findings remain subject to scrutiny as it is unclear to which extent previous studies and the current study investigated identical underlying constructs. For example, equating this study's 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation' evocation with previous studies' positive/negative perceptions are interpretative approaches from which coherently argued conclusions cannot be derived. Similarly, it is questionable how 'Experience and Age', 'War' and 'Superordinate Group' evocation may be related to previous findings. It is unclear whether these elements may be classified as and thus related to positive perceptions, negative perceptions or if they belong to neither of these classifications. In this sense, the exploratory nature of the present project implies caveats that concern dissimilarities in conceptualisations of opinions. However, the present analysis did not intend to produce comparable data to previous research. Instead, MLRs were used to clarify whether and to which extent individuals in British society may vary in their understandings of military related representations.

In conclusion, the present study provided substantial evidence for some sociodemographic characteristics that may be pivotal not only in perceptions of the military (i.e. Hines et al., 2015) but also for its (ex-) members. Particularly sociodemographic characteristics relating to social distance, time residing in the UK and national pride may be important. These three sociodemographic factors were not solely the most frequent significant predictors but also had generally a higher predictive power (except 'National Pride') when averaging standardised β values ('Social Distance': Frequency (F) = 6, Mean (M) = .26; 'National Pride': F = 12, M = .18, 'Time since residing in the UK': F = 10, M .27; vs. 'Age': F = 2, M = .16; 'Place of Residency': F = 3, M = 15; 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces': F = 2, M = .19).

Moreover, the importance of the three sociodemographic factors, 'Social Distance', 'National Pride' and 'Time since residing in the UK', was particularly salient, when only the veteran-related representations were taken into consideration ('Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'). Frequency and averaged standardised β values of 'Social Distance', 'National Pride' and 'Time since residing in the UK' were higher than frequency and averaged standardised β values of 'Age', 'Place of Residency' and 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces' ('Social Distance': Frequency (F) = 4, Mean (M) = .22; 'National Pride': F = 9, M = .20; 'Time since residing in the UK': F = 6, M .29; vs 'Age': F = 2, M = .16; 'Place of Residency': F = 3, M = 15; 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces': F = 1, M = .21).

Social Representation Theory may explain why the sociodemographic factors 'Social Distance', 'National Pride' and 'Time since residing in the UK' may be particularly important in perceptions of military related representations.

Firstly, social distance to veterans from the UK Armed Forces may be explained by theoretical notions on representational construction (cf. Breakwell, 1993). Essentially. social distance to veterans from the UK Armed Forces may impact understandings of those who (have) served as it may affect how significant (ex)members of the UK Armed Forces may be to an individual. Significance of a social representation is assumed to affect social representational construction, as, so Jaspal & Breakwell (2014), individuals tend to have less developed and coherent understandings of representations that individuals classify as being personally insignificant.

In conclusion, individuals who know a veteran and/or are well informed about veterans may have a more fully-fledged representation as veterans have more significance in these individuals' everyday-lives (cf. Breakwell, 1993). Socially perpetuated information (i.e. depictions of veterans as victims in media) may become challenged and potentially rejected in the course of contesting personal experience and the presented information. For example, veterans' descendants may be less inclined to make references to 'Experience and Age' as other, more personally relevant descriptors may come to mind when describing a veteran. Moreover, taking the sample cohorts young age into consideration (M=24.76 [SD=9.6]) it may be likely that relatives who are veterans (i.e. father, mother, brother, sister, boyfriend, girlfriend) are neither particularly old nor young (unlike WW1, WW2 veterans). In this sense, age or experience as reference points for military related representations may be relatively unimportant to participants from this study who claimed to know a veteran.

Therefore, 'Social distance' may impact perceptions and characterisations of military related representations as an increased significance of veterans in an individual's life may have facilitated the recollection of some specific personally meaningful associations (cf. Breakwell, 1993).

Secondly, the reason why 'National Pride' was found to be an important sociodemographic predictor of representational characterisation may be explained by previous research that investigated public perceptions of military service (i.e. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009; Gibson & Abell, 2004). Theoretical notions on heroic representations of military service in British culture suggested that these representations involve a patriotic sentiment (Gibson, 2012). More concretely, these representations draw upon notions that are suggested to conceptualise fighting the morally inferior 'other' (cf. Gibson, 2012; McCulloch, 1995). Therefore, the predictor 'National Pride' may operationalise a more symbolic underlying disposition that draws on oppositions between the morally superior 'own' vs the amoral 'other' (cf. Douglas, 2002). In light of this, increased 'National Pride' predicted decreased 'Victimisation', 'War' and 'Superordinate Group' evocation as these associations may relate to destructive and negatively evaluated components of warfare.

Thirdly, the predictor 'Time since residing in the UK' may be explained by social representational research on the public sphere (i.e. Jovchelovitch, 2001b; Moscovici, 1967, 2001). 'Time since residing in the UK' operationalised the length of time that the individual was part of the British public sphere. In this sense, the significance of the predictor 'Time since residing in the UK' indicates that exposure to British public discourses had an impact on social representational construction. The present findings were therefore aligned with previous research indicating that individuals in a society mirror social representations that are prevalent in this society's 'public-sphere' (i.e. Jovchelovitch, 2001b; Moscovici, 1967, 2001). As increased 'Time since residing in the UK' also increased the evocation of 'Experience and Age', 'Superordinate Group' and 'War', it may be concluded that these elements may be part of prevalent societal discourses (i.e. discussions about the most recent deployments, different military corps, depictions of elderly individuals and their needs).

In conclusion, the findings indicated that the coexistence of 'Victimisation' and 'Heroism' as part of the veteran-related stimuli's representational core could not be fully explained by sociodemographic characteristics. Instead, the multiple linear regression models provided

further evidence for cognitive polyphasia – meaning that even contradictory beliefs about a social representation can be held side by side if these beliefs are perceived to be contextually legitimate. Therefore, the results did not provide substantial evidence to conclude that one subgroup may refer to veteran-related representations as heroes while another subgroup refers to veteran-related representations as victims. Instead, the findings indicate that military related representations may be more generally hegemonically constructed in terms of heroes and victims.

However, although the Multiple Linear Regression Models provided essential explanative insights that allowed to further understandings regarding publicly prevalent perceptions of veterans, caveats regarding the method need to be taken into consideration. For example, the high number of independent variables may cause concern as modelling errors may be the consequence thereof. The key task of Multiple Linear Regression is to fit a hyperplane through a multi-dimensional space of data points. However, although the amount of explained variance in the dependent variable will be increased by adding independent variables into a multiple linear regression model, the individual error when predicting a single datum may be greater. In conclusion, a high number of independent variables may result in an over-fit model. The present project tried to address this limitation by assessing the degree of contribution made towards explaining sample variance for each of the independent variables. In all cases, the independent variables' multicollinearity was found to have satisfactory tolerance levels above .1 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) and VIF scores below 4 (Pan & Jackson, 2008). Moreover, a G* Power Analysis (Faul et al., 2009) indicated that the present sample size was satisfactory for conducting Multiple Linear Regressions with 14 IVs. Therefore, the concern about the present study's high number of IVs could be sufficiently addressed. Moreover, as the Boxplots (cf. Appendix 4) did not indicate any outliers, it can be assumed that the Multiple Linear Regressions models were not subject to excessive modelling errors.

Another limitation concerns the sociodemographic homogeneity of the present sample population in relation to the nature of the method. The Multiple Linear Regression's predictive capabilities diminish with distance from sample. In this sense, as the sample population was predominately white, well-educated and female, it may be difficult to extrapolate the findings to out of sample scenarios. This remains a limitation that needs to be addressed by future research.

Additionally, Multiple Multivariate Linear Regressions can be sensitive to overfitting, as they try to account not only for the true results but any random error within the sample population. These issues are more prevalent when modelling continuous sensory data within the real world. However, given that the independent variables are categorical it is unlikely that participants would have misrepresented themselves.

Finally, Multiple Linear Regressions can only be applied whilst modelling linear relationships between the dependent variable and its independent contributors. Would the relationship be a higher order interaction then, transformation of the inputs would be required so that a linear sum could be formed in terms of their functions, or that alternative methods of analysis be conducted. However, the Normal Q-Q plots (cf. Appendix 4) outline that all relationships between the dependent and independent variables were clearly linear as there was little deviation from the line to indicate otherwise.

However, although these limitations, particularly for large numbers of Multiple Linear Regressions, need to be considered, the results were found to be advantageous for answering the question

- *How are representational elements affected by sociodemographic characteristics?*

This is the case as alternative statistical analyses such as correlations or different linear models would not have allowed to determine the relative influence of the predictor variables to the criterion value effectively. Therefore, Multiple Linear Regressions allowed find patterns in the present data which were related to sociodemographic characteristic. Essentially, the findings provided further evidence that cognitive polyphasia may explain the hero-victim dichotomy. In conclusion, the following section will observe latent relationships between intra-representational categories. To examine contextual differences between seemingly contradictory elements such as the hero-victim dichotomy Principal Component Factor Analyses will be conducted.

6.4.4. Principal Component Factor Analysis

To understand how categories within the representations relate to one another, Principal Component Factor Analyses (PCA) were conducted. Therefore, this section intended to answer the research question:

- *How do elements of a representation relate to each other within the representation?*

Initial examinations indicated data suitability for structure detection: The data-set satisfied the requested criteria of a 10 case-minimum for each item in the instrument being used (Garson, 2012). With a sample size of 234 for 14 categories, the data set provided a ratio of 16.71 cases per item. Also test measures of sampling adequacy were found to satisfy the criteria by calculating Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin scores. Each representation had a value above the recommended cut-off point .60, with .70 for 'Veteran', .72 for 'Ex-Service Personnel', .72 for 'British Army Iraq Veteran', .70 for 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', .64 for 'Soldier' and .67 for 'Recruit'. Also, Bartlett's test of sphericity was satisfactory for all stimuli words indicating further suitability of data for structure detection ('Veteran': $\chi 2$ (91) = 327.17, $p < .01$; 'Ex-Service Personnel': $\chi 2$ (91) = 357.94, $p < .01$; 'British Army Iraq Veteran': $\chi 2$ (91) = 335.55, $p < .01$; 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran': $\chi 2$ (91) = 295.51, $p < .01$; 'Soldier': $\chi 2$ (91) = 270.26, $p < .01$; 'Recruit': $\chi 2$ (91) = 296.62, $p < .01$). Therefore, the necessary requirements were met to conduct Principal Component Factor Analyses.

'Veteran'

A Principal Component Analysis for the stimulus word 'Veteran' was conducted. Initial observations of Eigenvalues showed that the first two factors had Eigenvalues of 2.60 and 1.48 and explained 18.59% and 10.56%. The third, fourth and fifth factors had Eigenvalues just over one (1.24, 1.19, 1.09). Factor solutions for two, three, four and five-factor models were examined using the varimax rotation of the factor loading matrix. After eyeballing the scree plot, it was decided to use the two-factor solution. Although only explaining only 28.78% of the variance and thus being below the commonly accepted threshold of 40%, it was examined that the curve initially started to flatten after component two (cf. Figure 4). Moreover, neither of the three, four or five component factor models had at least three item loadings above the cut-off point of .4, which indicated the unsuitability of these models further (Osborne & Costello, 2005; Raubenheimer, 2004). The final two component model included six items with high primary loadings (over .5) and five with marginal factor loadings (between .4 and .5). As the present research question was primarily concerned with detecting latent answering patterns to conclude how items related to each other, no item was deleted during the analysis. Therefore, although neither of the elements 'Reference to Scene of Deployment', 'Peace' or 'National Belonging' met the criteria of having a primary factor loading above the cut-off point of .4 or cross-loadings of .3 or above, the elements remained

to be included in the final factor model. The factor loading matrix for this final solution is presented in Table 38.

Interactions between 'Experience and Age', 'War', 'Superordinate Group', 'Victimisation', 'Physical Description' and 'Other' were comprised in component one. Component two comprised interactions between 'Positive Characterisation', 'Negative Characterisation', and 'Heroism' that were oppositional related to 'Job/Occupation'. Component one ($\alpha = .65$) and component two ($\alpha = .34$) had moderate to poor internal consistency scores. In this sense, the results indicate rather general tendencies that outline 'Victimisation' to be related to superficial descriptions of the individual in the context of the unique challenges of deployment and 'Heroism' to be understood more in terms of being an inherent personality trait.

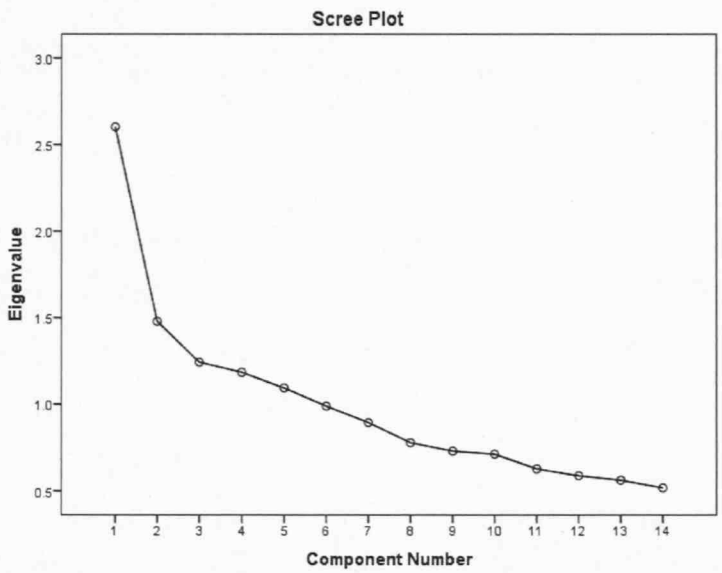

Figure 4. *Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 'Veteran'*

Table 38.
Rotated Component Matrix for 'Veteran'

	Component	
	1	2
Experience and Age	.67	.17
War	.62	
Superordinate Category	.60	-33
Victim	.59	.12
Physical Description	.58	.20
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	.47	-.29
Other	.47	.18
Reference to Scene of Deployment	.38	-.14
Peace	-.21	-.16
Positive Characterisation		.71
Negative Characterisation	.11	.45
Hero	.15	.43
Job/ Occupation	.22	-.41
National Belonging		.29

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

'Ex-Service Personnel'

A Principal Component Analysis for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel' was conducted. The initial model indicated that five factors had Eigenvalues above 1. The first two factors had Eigenvalues of 2.78 and 1.47 and explained above 18.29% and 11.87% of the variance. Factors three, four, five and six had Eigenvalues close to 1 (1.18, 1.16, 1.09, 1.00). The scree plot indicated the two-factor model to be the most appropriate model as the

curve started to flatten after the second factor (cf. Figure 5). However, factor models for three, four and five factors were also observed by using the varimax rotation for the factor loading matrixes. Neither of the three, four or five factor models had at least three item loadings above the .4 cut-off point, indicating the unsuitability of these models (cf. Osborne et al., 2005; Raubenheimer, 2004). The final two component model explained 30.16% of the variance and included seven items with high primary loadings (over .5) and three factors with marginal loadings between .4 and .5. 'War', 'Heroism' and 'Superordinate Group' had considerably high cross-factor loadings about or above .3 or -.3. As in the 'Veteran's' factor matrix, 'National Belonging' and 'Peace' neither met the criteria of showing singular primary loadings above .4 or cross-loadings of above .3. However, all elements remained to be included in the final factor model (cf. Table 39).

Category interactions between 'Victimisation', 'Experience and Age', 'War', 'Other', 'Physical Description' and 'Negative Characterisation' were comprised in component one. In contrast, component two indicated interactions between 'Superordinate Group', 'Political Motives/Politicians/Other Nations', 'Job/Occupation' and 'Reference to Scene of Deployment' that were oppositional related to 'Positive Characterisation'. However, as Component 1 ($\alpha = .67$) and Component 2 ($\alpha = .44$) had moderae to poor internal consistency scores, low intercorrelation between test items may be assumed. In this sense, the findings indicate similar general tendencies of intra-representational relationships between 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Veteran'. 'Victimisation' was found to be again related to superficial descriptions of the individual in the context of the unique challenges of deployment and 'Heroism' in opposition to understandings of Service as being an occupation.

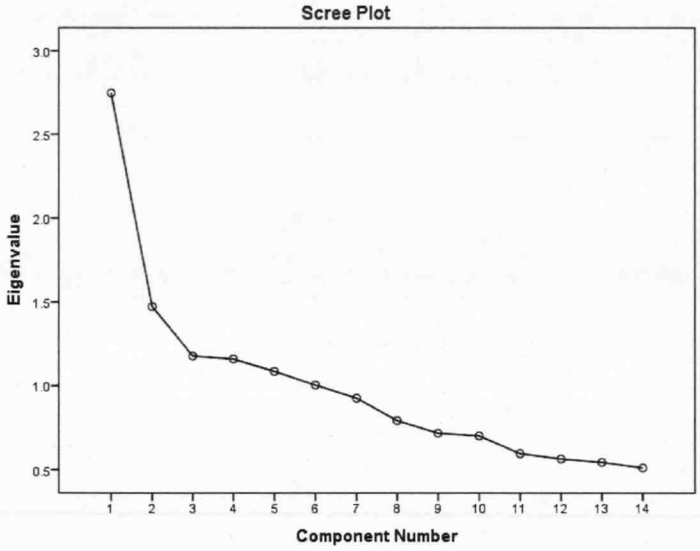

Figure 5. *Scree Plot of Eigenvalues 'Ex-Service Personnel'*

Table 39.
Rotated Component Matrix for 'Ex-Service Personnel'

	Component	
	1	2
Victimisation	.68	
Experience and Age	.66	.13
War	.60	.38
Other	.58	
Physical Description	.58	.16
Negative Characterisation	.43	-.28
Heroism	.31	-.30
Peace	-.27	
Superordinate Category	.37	.57
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	.20	.55
Job / Occupation		.50
Positive Characterisation	.29	-.46
Reference to Scene of Deployment	.18	.44
National Belonging		

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.[a]
a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

'British Army Iraq Veteran'

A Principal Component Analysis for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran' was conducted. Initial observations of Eigenvalues showed that 'British Army Iraq Veteran' had similarities with the stimulus word 'Veteran'. Five Eigenvalues had scores above 1. The first two factors had Eigenvalues of 2.14 and 1.48 and explained 15.28% and 10.54%. The third, fourth and fifth factor had Eigenvalues of 1.23, 1.11 and 1.05. Factor solutions for two, three, four and five factor models were examined by using the varimax rotation of the factor loading matrix. The scree plot of 'British Army Iraq Veteran' was very similar to the 'Veteran's' (cf. Figure 6). It was decided to use the two factor model as the curve in the scree plot initially started to flatten after component two. Also, neither of the three, four or five

component factor models had at least three item loadings above the cut-off point of .4 and were thematically less interpretable. The final two component factor model explained 29.69% of the variance and included seven elements with high primary loadings (over .5) and two with marginal factor loadings between .4 and .5. The remaining four elements ('National Belonging', 'Reference to Scene of Deployment', 'Job/Occupation', 'Peace') neither reached the cut-off point of .4 nor had cross-loadings of .3 or above. However, these four items remained to be included in the analysis. The factor loading matrix for the final solution is presented in Table 40.

Interactions between 'Experience and Age', 'War', 'Superordinate Group', 'Victimisation', 'Physical Description', 'Other' and 'Political Motives/Politicians/Other Nations' were comprised in component one. Component two outlined interactions between 'Positive Characterisation', 'Negative Characterisation' and 'Heroism'. However, component one (α = .67) and component two (α = .34) had questionable to poor internal consistency scores which suggested low intercorrelation between test items. In this sense, the results indicate the same tendencies as found in the representational structure of the 'Veteran': 'Victimisation' was found to be related to superficial descriptions of the individual in the context of the unique challenges of deployment and 'Heroism' was found to be understood more in terms of being an inherent personality trait.

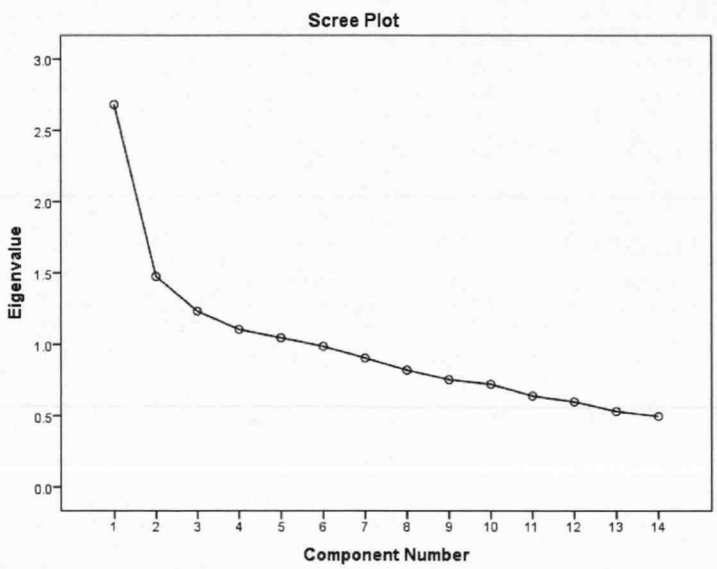

Figure 6. *Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 'British Army Iraq Veteran'*

Table 40.
Rotated Component Matrix 'British Army Iraq Veteran'

	Component	
	1	2
Experience and Age	.69	.29
War	.66	
Superordinate Category	.62	-.28
Victimisation	.58	.24
Physical Description	.54	.19
Other	.52	
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	.47	-.23
Reference to Scene of Deployment	.31	
Job / Occupation	.27	-.25
Positive Characterisation		.68
Negative Characterisation	.16	.49
Heroism	.13	.46
National Belonging		.39
Peace	-.17	-.21

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.[a]
a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'

A Principal Component Analysis for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' was conducted. The initial observation of Eigenvalues showed that 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' had six factors with Eigenvalues above 1. The first factor had an Eigenvalue of 1.85, explaining 13.20% of the variance. The second, third and fourth factor had Eigenvalues of 1.43, 1.40 and 1.34 each explained around 10% of variances (10.24%, 9.98%, 9.55%). The fifth and sixth factors Eigenvalues of 1.28 and 1.1 and explained 9.13% and 8.50% of the variance. Though the Scree Plot indicated the trend that the curve initially started to flatten after the second factor (cf. Figure 7), three, four, five and six factor solutions were examined using the varimax rotation. The results indicated the two factor solution to

be the only option which comprised at least three item loadings above the cut-off point of .4 on each component. The final two factor model explained 28.38% of the variance and included six items with high primary loadings (over .5) and two items with a marginal factor loading between .4 and .5. Moreover, two items yielded considerably high cross-loadings above .3 (cf. Table 41). Four category items ('National Belonging', 'Reference to Scene of Deployment', 'Negative Characterisation', 'Peace') neither reached the cut-off point of .4 nor had cross-loadings of .3 or above but remained to be included in the final factor model. The final factor model is outlined in Table 41.

Interactions between 'Experience and Age', 'Physical Description', 'Victimisation', 'Superordinate Group', 'War', and 'Other' were comprised in component one. Component two outlined category interactions between 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Heroism' that stood in the oppositional relationship with 'Job/Occupation' and 'Political Motives/Politicians/Other Nations'. However, as Component one (α = .61) and component two (α = .36) had questionable to poor internal consistency scores, low intercorrelation between intra-representational elements can be assumed.

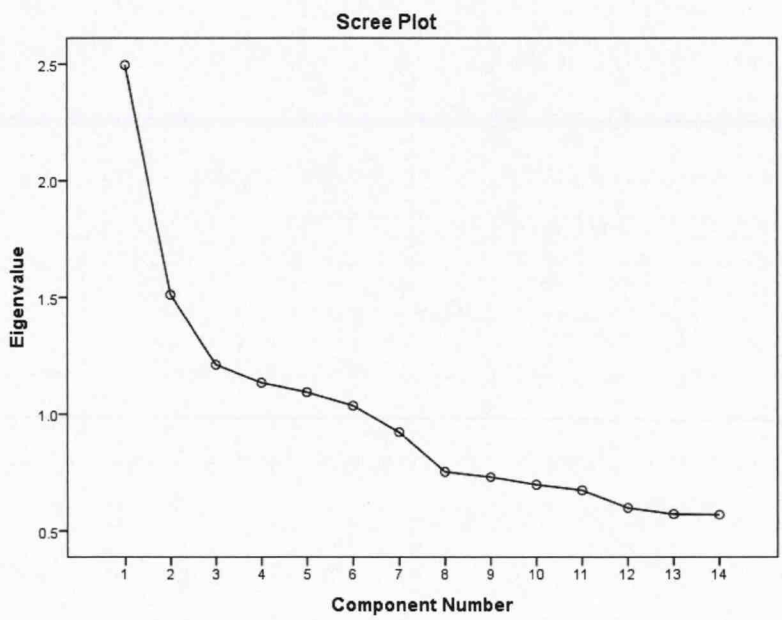

Figure 7. *Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'*

Table 41.
Component Matrix 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'

	Component	
	1	2
Experience and Age	.64	.17
Physical Description	.57	
Victimisation	.56	.19
Superordinate Category	.56	-.43
War	.56	-.18
Other	.43	.28
Reference to Scene of Deployment	.39	
Peace	-.18	.10
Positive Characterisation	.11	.69
Heroism	.21	.50
Job / Occupation	.21	-.41
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	.40	-.41
National Belonging		.31
Negative Characterisation	.23	.30

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.a

'Soldier'

A Principal Component Analysis for the stimulus word 'Soldier' was conducted. Initial observations of Eigenvalues showed that the first two factors had Eigenvalues of 2.39 and 1.39 and explained 17.05% and 10.00%. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth factor had Eigenvalues just above one (1.11, 1.07, 1.05, 1.00). Although factor solutions for three, four, five and six-factor models were also examined using the varimax rotation, the two factor solution was found to be the most appropriate factor matrix. This decision has been made after eyeballing the scree plot, which indicated that the curve initially started to flatten after component two (cf. Figure 8).

The final two component model included seven items with high primary loadings (over .5) and two items with considerably high cross-loadings above the cut-off point .3. Five items

had neither high factor items over .5/-.5, marginal loadings over .4/-4 on one factor nor did they have marginal cross-loadings above .3/-3 on both components. As the present section's research question was primarily concerned with detecting latent answering patterns to conclude how elements related to each other, no item was deleted during the analysis. The factor loading matrix for the final solution is presented in Table 42.

Interactions between 'War', 'Experience and Age', 'Physical Description', 'Superordinate Group' and 'Other' were outlined by component one. Component two indicated interactions between 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Heroism' standing in oppositional relationship with 'Political Motives/Politicians/Other Nations'. Component one ($\alpha = .59$) and Component two ($\alpha = .24$) had questionable to poor internal consistency scores, suggesting low intercorrelation between test items.

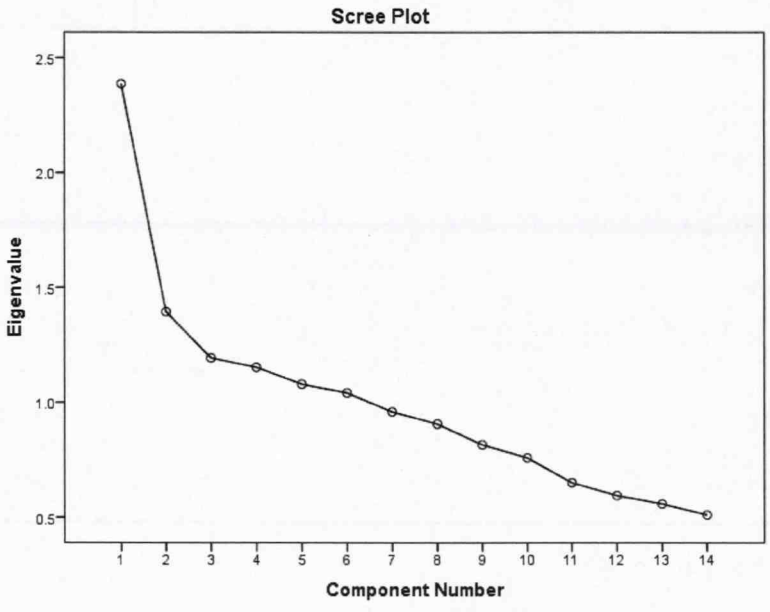

Figure 8. *Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 'Soldier'*

Table 42.
Rotated Component Matrix for 'Soldier'

	Component	
	1	2
War	.65	.21
Experience and Age	.59	.18
Physical Description	.58	
Superordinate Group	.53	
Other	.51	
Victimisation	.51	.31
Reference to Scene of Deployment	.34	-.21
Job/ Occupation	.23	-.21
Positive Characterisation		.61
Heroism	.11	.51
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	.46	-.51
Negative Characterisation	.10	.32
Peace	-.17	-.31
National Belonging	-.19	.23

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.[a]

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

'Recruit'

The Principal Component Analysis with varimax rotation for the stimulus word 'Recruit' showed that the first five factors had Eigenvalues of above one. However, the Scree Plot clearly suggested a two-factor solution as the curve started to flatten after the second component (cf. Figure 9). However, factor solutions also with three, four and five factors were observed but found to be less suitable when compared to the two-factor model. The first two factors had Eigenvalues of 2.46 and 1.48 and explained together 28.12% of the variance (Factor one: 17.54%, Factor two: 10.58%). The final two factor solution included five items with high factor loadings (above .5/-.5; 'Experience and Age', 'Victimisation', 'War', 'Physical Description', 'Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations', 'Heroism')

and two items with marginal factor loadings between .4/-.4 and .4/ -.4 ('Other', 'Positive Characterisation'). Two items had considerably high cross-loadings with both components above the cut-off point of .3/-.3 ('Superordinate Group', 'Negative Characterisation'). Four items had no noteworthy loadings on either component ('Peace', 'National Belonging', 'References to Scene of Deployment', 'Job/Occupation'). The final rotated component matrix can be found in Table 43.

Interactions between 'Experience and Age', 'Victimisation', 'War', 'Physical Description', 'Superordinate Group' and 'Other' were outlined by component one. Component two indicated interactions between 'Positive Characterisation', 'Negative Characterisation' and 'Heroism' that stood in an oppositional relationship with 'Political Motives/Politicians/Other Nations'. Component one ($\alpha = .62$) and component two ($\alpha = .28$) had questionable to poor internal consistency scores which indicated low intercorrelation between test items.

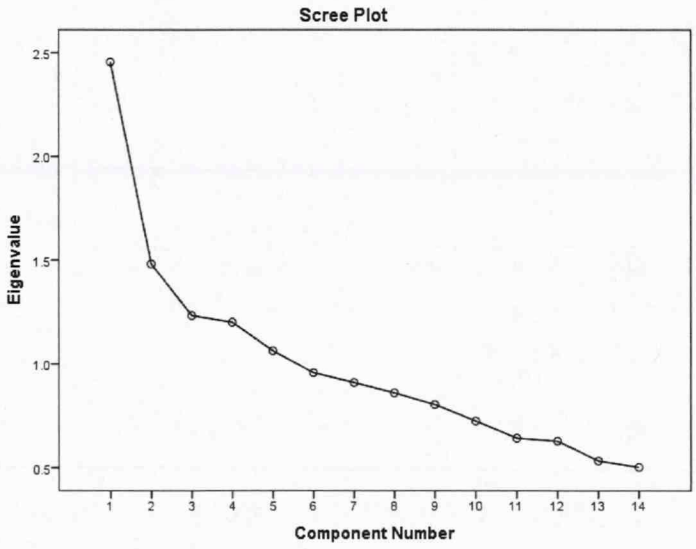

Figure 9. *Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 'Recruit'*

Table 43.
Rotated Component Matrix for 'Recruit'

	Component	
	1	2
Experience and Age	.68	
Victimisation	.67	-.20
War	.56	.29
Physical Description	.54	
Superordinate Group	.48	.40
Other	.47	.17
Peace	-.30	.11
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	.28	.53
Heroism	.20	-.51
Positive Characterisation	.23	-.47
Negative Characterisation	.32	-.43
References to Scene of Deployment	.22	.38
Job/Occupation	.16	.32
National Belonging		-.14

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.[a]

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Discussion

The Principal Component Factor Analyses with a varimax rotation indicated a two factor structure being the most appropriate solution for all stimuli words. The choice of structure models was clear-cut as all stimuli words' three, four, five and (where applicable) six model solutions did not fulfil the criteria of accommodating at least three item loadings above the cut-off point of .4 per component (Osborne & Costello, 2005; Raubenheimer, 2004). Moreover, examinations of scree plot curves provided further evidence for the suitability of the two-factor models. Therefore, although the variance scores ranged between 27% and 30% (Mean (M) = 29%) and were thus below the commonly accepted threshold of 40%, three-, four-, five- and six- factor models were dismissed as these did not fulfil guidelines suggested by previous research (Osborne & Costello, 2005; Raubenheimer, 2004).

The analysis of the representational structure revealed some general tendencies of military related intra-representational relationships that were similar across stimuli words. Generally, component one was found to be more homogenous, having higher internal consistency scores than component two. Component one had Cronbach Alpha values ranging between .59 and .67 (M = .64) while component two may had Cronbach Alpha values between .29 and .44 (M = .33).

In component one, relationships between 'Victimisation', 'Experience and Age', 'War', 'Physical Description' and 'Other' were identified. Component one may, therefore, indicate that the recollection of 'Victimisation' might be starkly interwoven with focusing on superficial descriptions of the individual in the context of the unique challenges of deployment. However, 'Soldier' did not follow this tendency in relationships of elements. Considerable cross-loadings between component one and component two did not allow to categorise 'Victimisation' exclusively to one component. In this sense, 'Victimisation' may have represented a general comment. This, however, was rather unsurprising as the HEM models indicated 'Victimisation' to be a less important element as it was not being situated in the representational core of 'Soldier'.

In comparison, component two was less uniform across the six representations' factor models. For 'Recruit' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' component two focussed on political and occupational aspects which stood in an oppositional relationship with individual characterisations and heroism. In comparison, for 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' and 'Soldier', component two focussed on individual characterisations and heroism which stood in an oppositional relationship with the evocation of political or occupational aspects. In conclusion, although differing in weightings between representations, component two may have outlined 'Heroism' to be generally related to characterisations of an inherent personality.

Moreover, comparisons between the representations' factor models (cf.

Table **44**) indicated that some elements did not have any significant relationship with other categories. These two elements were 'Peace' and 'National Belonging'. Therefore, the results indicated that associations which belonged to either of these elements were independently recalled and did not interact with the evocation of other elements. When taking the HEM models into account, it may be concluded that these elements may neither be important nor associated with any more relevant element comprised in the representational core.

Crucially, the results indicated that 'Victimisation' and 'Heroism' were accommodated in dissimilar contextual information. In conclusion, the present section provided further evidence for *cognitive polyphasia* (Moscovici, 2000). Different rationalities that were embedded in different contexts may allow to perceive veterans as both, heroes and victims. More concretely, while in the context of destruction, danger and deindividuation, the veteran may be perceived as a non-agentic victim, the context of the veteran's inherent personality dispositions made the veteran to be understood as a hero. Different contextually coherent rationalities which justify both beliefs may, therefore, allow the individual to maintain self-perceived consistency in characterisations of veterans. In summary: Individuals may accommodate both, 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation', in the core of veteran related representation as 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation' were found to be embedded in different contextual information.

In this sense, the results answered the research question:

- *How do elements of a representation relate to each other within the representation?*

However, although the Principal Component Factor Analyses for military related representations provided further evidence for *cognitive polyphasia,* low variance scores, particularly of component two, need to be considered. Therefore, the PCA and its results remain subject to scrutiny as its reliability remains unclear. However, the existing data set would not have allowed an increase in the number of components in factor models (i.e. three, four, five or six-factor models) as then each component would have accommodated less than three item loadings above the cut-off point of .4 (Osborne & Costello, 2005; Raubenheimer, 2004). A less conservative value such as .3 (Field, 2013) could have been utilised as the cut-off point though it remains questionable whether this would have promoted the subsequent

components' internal consistency scores. Moreover, a less conservative value would not have contributed to answering the question whether representational-relationships may provide further evidence for *cognitive polyphasia.*

In conclusion, the present section indicated that cognitive polyphasia might explain the coexistence of 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation' in the veteran-related representational cores. Moreover, this section indicated that participants treated the six representations in comparable ways. Therefore, as evidence outlined that military related representations

- were similarly structured in terms of core and peripheral elements (cf. 5.4.2; HEM models)
- were similarly impacted by sociodemographic characteristics in terms of category-evocation (cf. 5.4.3; MLR models)
- had comparable intra-representational category relationships (cf. present section; PCA)

it may be argued that military related representations may be part of a more general, meaning entailing military 'themata'. This would follow previous social representational research that outlined inter-representational relationships to indicate an underlying thematic property (i.e. 'employed-unemployed', 'security-insecurity', 'disordered-fit', 'old-young'; cf. Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Miland, 2002). To examine concordance in inter-representational answering patterns the following will, therefore, present a correlational analysis of component scores (component one with component one; component two with component two).

Table 44.
Summary of Component Distribution

	Veteran	Ex-Service Personnel	British Army Iraq Veteran	British Army Afghanistan Veteran	Soldier	Recruit
Experience and Age	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1
Physical Description	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1
War	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1
Other	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1
Victimisation	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	Comp. 1	*Cross-loadings*	Comp. 1
Superordinate Category	Comp. 1	*Cross-loadings*	Comp. 1	*Cross-loadings*	Comp. 1	*Cross-loadings*
Political Motives/ Politicians/ Other Nations	Comp. 1	*Comp. 2*	Comp. 1	*Cross-loadings*	*Cross-loadings*	*Comp. 2*
Positive Characterisation	Comp. 2	Comp. 2 (neg.)	Comp. 2	Comp. 2	Comp. 2	Comp. 2 (neg.)
Heroism	Comp. 2	Comp. 2 (neg.)	Comp. 2	Comp. 2	Comp. 2	Comp. 2 (neg.)
Job/ Occupation	Comp. 2 (neg.)	Comp. 2	-	Comp. 2 (neg.)	-	-
Negative Characterisation	Comp. 2	*Comp. 1*	Comp. 2	-	-	*Cross-loadings*
Reference to Scene of Deployment	-	Comp. 2	-	-	-	-
National Belonging	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peace	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note. Comp. 1 = Component 1; Comp. 2 = Component 2; Cross-loadings = Cross loadings above .3 on Component 1 and Component 2; neg. = negative loading; Italic = Differences between Category Component Scores

6.4.5. Correlation of Inter-Representational Component Scores

To observe representational component score relationships a 12x12 Pearson correlation was conducted. This intended to answer the last set of research questions that were outlined at the beginning of this chapter:

- *To which extent do people treat military representations similarly? Or, to which extent are 'Veteran' intra-representational relationships similar to other military related representations' intra-representational relationships?*
- *And thus: Does evidence allow to conclude that the veteran is part of a more general, underlying military theme of which also the 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and the 'Recruit' are being part of?*

Therefore, the 12x12 Pearson correlation utilised the PCA's component one and two *'z-scores'* – the number of standard deviations from the mean. More concretely, the following z-scores were compared:

- Component 1 z-scores for 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' were compared with each other

and

- Component 2 z-scores for 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' were compared with each other

The results indicated strong significant correlations between component one and component one, and, component two and component two scores Negative Correlations may be explained by differences in component two weightings.

More concretely, the results outlined a particularly strong significant relationship between 'Veteran' answering patterns and answering patterns of veterans from the most recent conflicts. 'Veteran' and 'British Army Iraq Veteran' component one scores (r (234) = .92, $p<.001$) and 'Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' component one scores (r (234) = .93, $p<.001$) stood in a strong positive significant relationship. Similarly, correlations for component two scores of 'Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' (r (234) = .89, $p<.001$) and 'Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' (r (234) = .87, $p<.001$) indicated strong positive significant relationships.

Similarly, strong positive correlations were found between 'Veteran' and 'Soldier' component one scores (r (234) = .90, p<.001), however, less strong significant correlations were outlined between these representations' component two scores (r (234) = .73, p<.001). 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Recruit' outlined lower correlations with 'Veteran', however, remaining to be classified as strong significant relationships ('Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' component one: r (234) = .74, p<.001; 'Veteran' and 'Recruit' component one: r (234) = .77, p<.001). Strong negative correlations were found between 'Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' component two (r (234) =. -74, p<.001) and 'Veteran' and 'Recruit' component two scores (r (234) = -.70, p<.001). This may be explained by differences in weightings. While for 'Recruit' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' component two focussed on political and occupational aspects which stood in an oppositional relationship with individual characterisations and heroism, for 'Veteran' component two focussed on individual characterisations and heroism which stood in an oppositional relationship with the evocation of political or occupational aspects.

Moreover, the correlation matrix indicated that all military related representations' component one scores stood in strong positive relationships; the lowest being correlations between 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'British Army Iraq Veteran' (r (234) = .72, p<.001), and, 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Soldier' (r (234) = .72, p<.001) component one scores; Similarly, component two scores for all military related representations stood in at least moderate significant relationships; the lowest correlation being between 'Ex-Service Personnel' and 'Soldier' component two scores (r (234) = -.61, p<.001).

Table 45.
Correlation of Component Scores

	V1	V2	ESP1	ESP2	BAIV1	BAIV2	BAAV1	BAAV2	S1	S2
V1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
V2	.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ESP1	**.74****	.44**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ESP2	.50**	**-.74****	.000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BAIV1	**.92****	-.08	**.72****	.52**	-	-	-	-	-	-
BAIV2	.06	**.89****	.47**	**-.66****	.00	-	-	-	-	-
BAAV1	**.93****	.17*	**.82****	.34**	**.90****	.24**	-	-	-	-
BAAV2	-.19**	**.87****	.25**	**-.78****	-.29**	**.87****	.00	-	-	-
S1	**.90****	-.06	**.72****	.49**	**.90****	.03	**.86****	-.23**	-	-
S2	.03	**.73****	.42**	**-.61****	-.00	**.73****	.18**	**.64****	.00	-
R1	**.77****	.24**	**.82****	.20**	**.73****	.30**	**.79****	.04	**.76****	.33**
R2	.36**	**-.70****	-.10	**.83****	.40**	**-.68****	.21**	**-.74****	.38**	**-.69****

Note. Abbreviations: *Veteran Component 1 = V1, Veteran Component 2 = V2, Ex-Service Personnel Component 1 = ESP1, Ex-Service Personnel Component 2 = ESP2, British Army Iraq Veteran Component 1 = BAIV1, British Army Afghanistan Veteran Component 2 = BAIV2, British Army Afghanistan Veteran Component 1 = BAAV1, British Army Afghanistan Veteran Component 2 = BAAV2, Soldier Component 1 = S1, Soldier Component 2 = S2, Recruit Component 1 = R1, Recruit Component 2 = R2*; **Bold**: Strong significant correlations

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Discussion

In conclusion, correlations of component scores indicated that the structure of the representation 'Veteran' may stand in a stronger relationship with veterans from recent missions. However, the representation 'Veteran' indicated strong relationships with all military representations. More generally, all military related representations seemed to have significant and strong inter-representational relationships. This may indicate that the representations 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Soldier' and 'Recruit' may be similarly structured in terms of element relationships with

- Component one, in that the recollection of victimisation was found to stand in connection to superficial descriptions of the individual in the context of the unique challenges of deployment

and

- Component two, in that heroism was found to be related to characterisations of the individuals' dispositions and thus understood more in terms of an inherent personality trait

This means that participants treated military related representations in similar ways. In conclusion, the representation 'Veteran' may be inter-related and intertwined with representations of military-roles more generally. Moreover, following previous research that found inter-representational relationships to indicate subordinate meaning entailing 'themata', inter-representational relationships between all military related representations may indicate military related representations to be a concrete expressions of a symbolic, underlying 'themata' (cf. Abric & Verges, 1996, Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Miland, 2002; Moscovici, 2000; Holton, 1978; Markova, 2015). This means more concretely that different military related representations may be based upon more intuitive understandings of the military.

Minor differences between the representational structures may be explained by looking back to the representations' HEM models. For example, the representations of 'Recruit' and 'Ex-Service Personnel' were the only HEM models in which 'War' was not part of the core. This overlap in the representational structure is unsurprising as the term 'Ex-Service Personnel' had been formally used to describe Personnel without war experience (cf. Dandeker et al. 2006; Barr, 2001) and the term 'Recruit' defines a population that has recently joined the Forces and is thus without war experience. In conclusion, higher similarities between these two representational structures may be explained by an absence of associated war experience. Therefore, it may be concluded that understandings of war experience may have a considerable impact on representational understandings.

High correlations between 'Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' give further evidence for the argument that the two latter, more specified veteran roles, may have evolved from a general and potentially fossilised 'Veteran' representation (cf. Duveen, 2001; Moscovici, 2000). Therefore, evidence supported the assumption that dissimilarities between HEM models of 'Veteran' and more specified veteran representations may only be superficial in nature. More concretely, intensive public discourses on British military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan (cf. Hines et al., 2015) may have facilitated a re-objectification of more specific veteran roles that relate to these missions. In conclusion, 'Veteran' may be a representation that is in its ontology being taken-for-granted, a lasting and permanent foundation from which more specific veteran-

representations evolved. More specific representations may, therefore, focus on some elements that are part of the general and fossilised representation's core while emphasising other elements less (cf. Duveen, 2001). The representations 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' may, therefore, mirror cultural discourses about British military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan (cf. McCartney, 2011).

In contrast, the evidence indicated that 'Soldier' might be situated between representations that were related to war ('Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran') and representations which were less related to war but to occupational aspects ('Recruit', 'Ex-Service Personnel'). In this sense, individuals treated the representation 'Soldier' not dissimilarly from other military related representations, however, in a less uniform and homogenous way than the representational groups previously discussed ('Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' vs. 'Recruit', 'Ex-Service Personnel'). In comparison, 'Soldier' may represent a symbolic middle-ground by having experienced war, however, the experience of war being part of the soldier's professional competence. In this sense, the 'Soldier' representation's answering patterns were comparable to both representational groups.

However, similarities between the six military related representations may also be a result of the participants' demographics. The sample comprised predominantly white, well-educated English females in their mid-twenties who have no or little contact to the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, the representational structure may be atypical for members of the UK general public. This may be the case as previous research outlined significance, familiarity and perceptual saliency of representations to impact individual understandings of these representations (i.e. Breakwell, 2001; Jaspal & Breakwell 2014; Ottaway, Hayden & Oakes, 2001; Rothermund & Wentura, 2004). In this sense, it may be argued that inter-representational similarities in the representational structures may be related to the recruited cohort's homogeneity in terms of sociodemographic characteristics. This may be further evidenced by section "5.4.3 Multiple Linear Regression Analysis" that outlined age and social distance to veterans from the UK Armed Forces as significantly impacting characterisations of military related representations. Therefore, though the correlational study of answering patterns in category evocation provided some evidence for a more general military-themata that may accommodate different military related representations, the study's generalizability remains questionable.

Although these caveats need to be taken into consideration, the present analysis has sufficiently answered the last set of research questions that were outlined at the beginning of this section:

- *To which extent do people treat military representations similarly? Or, to which extent are 'Veteran' intra-representational relationships similar to other military related representations' intra-representational relationships?*
- *And thus: Does evidence allow us to conclude that the veteran is part of a more general, underlying military theme of which also the 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier' and the 'Recruit' are being part of?*

The correlational analysis answered these proposed questions by providing evidence for high inter-representational relationships and thus indicated that all military related representations might be part of the same more symbolic 'themata'. More concretely, individuals treating the six military- related representations similarly may indicate these representations as being embedded in an underlying meaning-entailing military 'themata'.

6.5. Discussion

The present chapter provided an exploratory approach that intended to provide insight into the social representational structure of the 'Veteran' and to examine how this structure may compare and relate to other military related representations and their social representational structures. Therefore, the present section presents an exhaustive series of statistical analyses that investigated the six military related representations and inter-representational relationships in depth.

More concretely, this chapter produced key findings that sufficiently answered the research questions, proposed at the beginning of this chapter. The key findings are summarised in the following.

- 'Heroism' was found to be part of all military related representational cores ('Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel', 'Soldier', 'Recruit'). In this sense, the present findings may provide further evidence for previous research that outlined an integral link between

military service and heroism as being a predominant cultural assumption in British society (c.f. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008).

- 'Victimisation' was in the representational core of all veteran-related representations ('Veteran', 'British Army Iraq Veteran', 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran', 'Ex-Service Personnel'). In this sense, the results were aligned with previous research that indicated veterans to be commonly characterised as victims (i.e. Ashcroft, 2012, 2017; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; McGarry, 2012; McGarry & Walklate, 2011). However, the results also outlined that the veteran's victimisation cannot solely be explained by the recollection of highly emotional and negative associations to war (Sarricka & Wachelke, 2013) nor by stereotypes that may relate to the veteran's etymological origins ('old age', cf. Stevensen, 2010; Gamyard, 2006; Tuckman & Lorge, 1953). Instead, the victimisation of veterans may relate to problems that occur when re-entering civilian life as 'Victimization' did not represent a central element for active Service Personnel. However, further research needs to address underlying rationalities in the victimisation of veterans to further understandings concerning the victimisation of veterans in more detail.

- The results indicated that cognitive polyphasia (i.e. Moscovici, 2000) might explain the coexistence of contradictory characterisations ('Heroism' vs 'Victimisation') in the representational core. The findings indicated 'Heroism' and 'Victimisation' to be embedded in different contexts. While 'Victimisation' was related to superficial descriptions of the individual in the context of the unique challenges of deployment, 'Heroism' seemed to be related to inherent character dispositions. In conclusion, individuals in British society may understand veteran-related representations of heroes *and* victims as contextually coherent rationalities which justify both beliefs.

- Sociodemographic characteristics impacted the characterisation (evocation of elements) of all six military- related representations in similar ways. More concretely, a set of sociodemographic characteristics was found to predict a similar increase and decrease of characterisations across all six representations. Particularly the sociodemographic characteristics 'Social Distance', 'Time since residing in the UK' and 'National Pride' may have been important as being more often significant and in average of higher predictive power than 'Age', 'Place of Residency' and 'Opinion of the UK Armed Forces' that were also significant predictors. However,

as the variance that could be explained by sociodemographic characteristics was low, the findings were aligned with previous research that suggested the UK Armed Forces to be homogenously characterised by the British population (i.e. Hines et al., 2015).

- As military- related representations had similar HEM-, MLR- and PCA-models, it was unsurprising that the correlational analysis of answering patterns (PCA component one and two z-scores) outlined mutual relationships between military related representations. In this sense, it may be concluded that all six military related representations were inter-representationally connected. Moreover, the inter-representational connections may provide evidence for a more general military-representational field in which military related representations were embedded. In conclusion, perceptions of veterans may be starkly interwoven and dependent upon perceptions of other military related representations and therefore potentially also upon an underlying, less-concrete military themata (Moscovici, 2000, Holton, 1978, Markova, 2015). This may be comparable with previous research that investigated the themata 'Age' which comprised the more concrete expressions 'old' and 'young' (Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Miland, 2002).

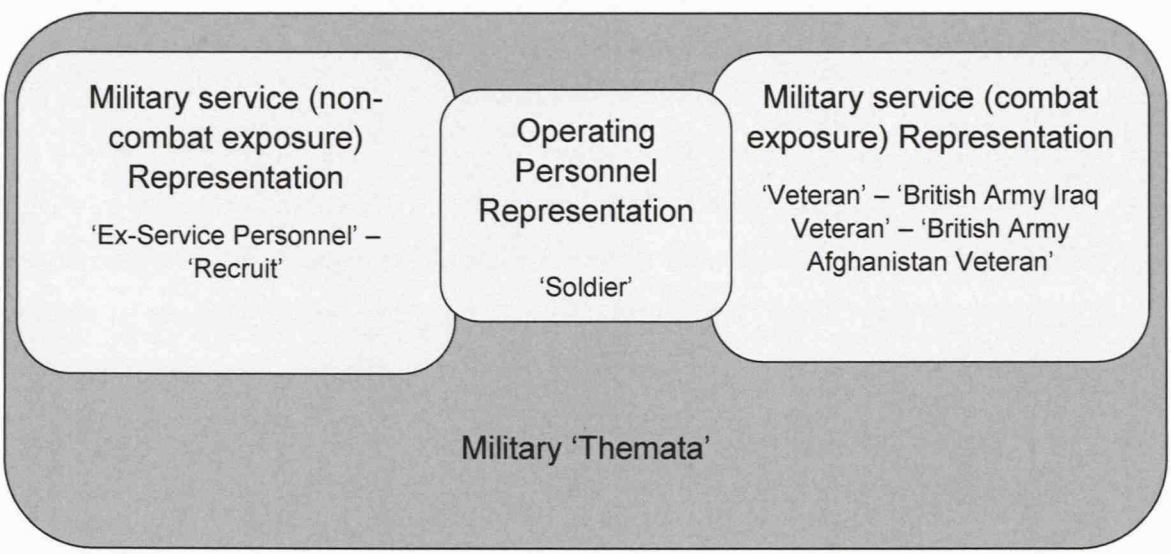

Figure 10.

Visualisation: Inter-Representational Relationships indicating a Military Themata

In summary, the present findings were aligned with previous research. For example, the notion that the representation 'Veteran' may be related to heroism may resonate with the historical and cultural dimension of knowledge (cf. Theoretical Framework). To understand veterans as heroes may therefore resonate with previous research that outlined military service to have a heroic character (i.e. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008), reflecting a British constitutional charter (Liu & Hilton, 2005). In this sense, heroism may draw on a 'foundational myth' that evolved from social narratives of the British military intervention in WW1 and WW2. A hegemonic construction of military related representations that comprise 'Heroism' as an essential part of the representational core may, therefore, respond to a cultural assumption that is deeply rooted in representations of British history. These socially shared understandings of British history are considered to be communicated and thus objectified through institutional forms of remembering in museums and at commemoration services, education and media (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Adams, Stinmetz & Zamponi, 2003; Hamilton, Sherman, & Castelli, 2002; Schwartz, 1997). Therefore, the relationship between heroism and the military may be intertwined with highly prescriptive narratives of history that define the 'normal' role of Britain in the world. This may be further evidenced by the absence of the prediction of 'Heroism' in the Multiple Linear Regression Models. Although 'Age' significantly predicted 'Heroism' category evocation for 'Veteran' and 'Ex-Service Personnel', the accounted variance was low and only marginally significant. 'Heroism' may therefore be a generally accepted attribution, independent from sociodemographic characteristics.

In contrast, the victimisation of military related representations may be less deeply-rooted in cultural charters and socially perpetuated foundational myths. Instead, theoretical notions would suggest the victimisation of veterans to be embedded in cultural discourses and thus in the public dimension of knowledge (i.e. McGarry, 2012; McCartney, 2011). The present results were aligned with this notion as veterans from highly societally scrutinised missions in Iraq and Afghanistan (cf. Gribble et al., 2014; YouGov, 2015) had a more distilled form of the hero-victim dichotomy in their representational cores ('Heroism', 'Victimisation', 'War').

In conclusion, the British military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan may represent 'unpopular' wars just as the US intervention in Vietnam. Therefore, British veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan may have become as much victims of an illegitimate warfare as US Vietnam veterans in the 70ies (Wessley, 2005; Thomson, 1998).

However, conceptualisations of war as the reason why veterans suffer may have been complemented by old age, experience and superficial descriptions of the individual. In this sense, the findings could not be fully aligned with previous research that indicated veterans to be conceptualised as victims solely from war exposure (cf. McGarry, 2012; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; Waklate, 2007).

However, the results did not indicate veterans to be understood as ex-professionals by members of the British public. Therefore, the present findings did not content with King's (2010, 2013) notion on the change of the soldier's (and thus the veteran's) social identity as being societally acknowledged in terms of a professional identity. The category 'Job/Occupation' was solely part of the 'Recruit's' representational core which may be explained by the 'Recruit's' etymology. Next to being a term that describes someone who had recently joined the Armed Forces, 'Recruit' is also a descriptor referring to a new member of an organisation or a supporter of a cause (cf. Stevenson, 2010).
In this sense, the assumption that the British public separates its opinion regarding military operations and the veteran who has solely accomplished *a* job (cf. Hines et al., 2015) was not supported by the present findings. Therefore, the all-volunteer Forces of the 20th century which relies on the professionalism of its members to operate effectively and cost-efficiently was not found to impact the publicly ascribed identity of those who serve and who have served. Individuals of the British public do not necessarily understand military Personnel in terms of their professional capacity but in terms of historically founded, culturally perpetuated and publicly discussed notions of Service.

Although the results have provided an exploratory, exhaustive analysis of social representational structures and their inter-representational relationships, a number of caveats need to be taken into consideration. A limitation that has already been discussed in previous sections addresses the homogeneity of this study's sample cohort. As the sample comprised a high proportion of white, well-educated females in their mid 20ies, the present findings may not be considered as representative of the British general public. Unlike previous work in the field of publicly pertinent perceptions of the UK Armed Forces (cf. Hines et al., 2015), the present project did not recruit a proportion of groups with different sociodemographic characteristics. This questions the findings' generalizability and is particularly problematic in the context of the MLR. It may be argued that the recruited cohort may have been too

homogenous to find significant predictors in element evocation. Moreover, the recruited cohort's homogeneity may explain low variance scores between 10% and 16% for significant regression models.

The homogeneity in the recruited cohort also represents the main limitation of the HEM models, being descriptive in nature. Instead of outlining representational structures of military related representations that are held by the British public, the HEM models may only provide information on representational structures of military related representations of this particular participant-cohort. In this sense, the hegemonic construction of military related representations may only reflect the homogenous sociodemographic characteristics of the recruited population. It would be advisable for future studies to recruit a more representative population.

Another caveat that needs to be taken into consideration addresses low variance scores of the PCA which did not reach the generally accepted threshold of 40%. An increased number of components by deciding on three-, four-, five- or six- factor models instead of the two-factor model might have also increased the explained variance. However, each component would not have accommodated three item loadings above the cut-off point of .4 (Osborne & Costello, 2005; Raubenheimer, 2004) and thus would have violated a commonly accepted threshold.

Lastly, also the use of z-scores which were derived from the PCA for the correlational analysis may be subject to scrutiny. As particularly component two indicated low internal consistency, it is possible that a potential bias was carried into the correlational analysis.

However, though future studies may want to address these limitations, the present study has provided relevant information on the social representational structure of veterans and other military related representations. In consideration of the gap in existing knowledge within this field, the present study furthered the field of knowledge by utilizing a novel approach to understand how the representation 'Veteran' may be socially understood and connected to other military related representations.

6.6. Conclusion

The existing data and the methods of analysis were sufficient to conclude that public understandings of veterans may be hegemonic (socially shared), well embedded and interconnected in a broader representational military-themata. Moreover, the results allowed

to conclude that *cognitive polyphasia* may explain how veterans may be understood as being both, heroes and victims. However, observations of rationalities and justifications for characterisations remained unaddressed. These rationalities and justifications may represent crucial bits of information that may have the potential to fully explain how and why perceptions of veterans evolved in the way they did.

In conclusion, to examine the way individually held perceptions are contested, rationalised and justified may further elucidate understandings of socially pertinent stereotypes and the conditions of their emergence. This would facilitate sound and well-evidenced statements on potential strategies to resolve socially pertinent stereotypes.
To illuminate socially pertinent stereotypes and the conditions of their emergence a qualitative examinations of understandings concerning 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' may be useful. This may be the case as the HEM models indicated both representations to comprise solely 'Heroism', 'Victimisation' and 'War' as part of their central core. Therefore, it may be concluded that these representations outline a more 'distilled' form of cognitive polyphasia that could be representative for hero-victim dichotomies in other veteran-related representations more generally.

The following will present an exhaustive qualitative observation of the way in which beliefs and understandings of 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' are contested, rationalised and justified. This will facilitate drawing conclusions on how understandings of veterans as heroes and victims evolve, whether other understandings such as ex-professionals (cf. King, 2010, 2013) develop, and, how individuals combine these understandings.

7. Explaining Beliefs and Perceptions about 'British Army Iraq/Afghanistan Veterans'

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapters indicated that the hero-victim dichotomy was part of all veteran-related representations' central cores. However, as the representations 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' only comprised 'Heroism', 'Victimisation' and 'War' as core elements, it may be concluded that further examinations concerning the hero-victim dichotomy focus on these representations.

Moreover, the investigation of 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' had practical considerations. As being a younger veteran population, veterans from the most recent missions may be most disadvantaged by erroneous stereotypes. For example, erroneous attributions of mental and physical ill-health may affect the veteran's economic situation and thus hinder a successful transition to civilian life.

In conclusion, the current chapter represents a qualitative interview study that intended to explain social perceptions of veterans by drawing on 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' as an exemplary veteran-population. The chapter will commence with a recapitulation of Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 1986, 2001) which describes why individuals may hold specific representations. Then an overview of design and the methods will be provided. After describing the analytical procedure, the result section will represents an in-depth analysis of the narrative accounts. Finally, Chapter VII will close with an exhaustive discussion in which the limitations and directions for future research will be addressed.

7.2. Theoretical Outline

The quantitative findings indicated particularly 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' to have 'Heroism and 'Victimisation' almost exclusively in their cores. However, rationalities that justified these understandings remained unaddressed.

The present chapter intends to differentiate sets of understandings that relate to the representation 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veteran' in order to compare and contrast

rationalities and justifications. Therefore, the present chapter will categorise sets of understandings that characterise the social representation 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' into more specified and nuanced social representations. Guided by theory and the previous chapter's results, three distinct representations evolved: A representation of 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' that related to heroism (cf. "7.5.1. The Hero"), a representation of 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' that related to victimisation (cf. "7.5.2. The Victim"), and, a representation of amoral and evil 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' (cf. "7.5.3. The Perpetrator").

The differentiation of the social representation 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veteran' into three, more specified representations was necessary to examine reasons why individuals may hold specific nuanced representations further by drawing upon Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell 1986, 2001). As outlined in Chapter II, Identity Process Theory would suggest representational selectivity to be governed by underlying identity maintenance processes (cf. Jaspal; & Breakwell, 2014). Therefore, individuals would understand 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' in a way that would promote a positive sense of self. In this sense, Breakwell (2015) argues that representational variation and divergence is not random across individuals and groups. Instead,

> "[i]t is ordered, systematic, and, in part predictable in terms of IPT expectations concerning the desire to achieve and maintain esteem, efficacy, distinctiveness and continuity for individual identity. [...] IPT assumes not only that social representations frame the realm of the possible identity content and evaluation, but that identity principles will determine in part at least the nature of the individual interaction with the social representation." (Breakwell, 2015; p. 264)

Therefore, the investigation of the social representation 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veteran' needs to take two considerations into account. Firstly, IPT supposes that groups of individuals would take on specific perspectives to satisfy the four underlying tenets of identity: Continuity across time and situation, uniqueness/distinctiveness from others, self-efficacy, and self-esteem (cf. Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). In conclusion, groups of people may take on similar though not identical representations as satisfying these tenets in similar ways. Therefore, underlying constituents of different representations that relate to 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' need to be examined. This will allow an examination of how information is contested, negotiated and combined so that different representations of the same reality, 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans', had evolved.

Secondly, reasons why specific rationalities that constitute different understandings of a representation are believed whilst others are rejected need to be investigated. In other words, if individuals are able to hold more than one representation side by side (*cognitive polyphasia*, Moscovici, 2000), what determines their selection? IPT would propose that solely veteran-related beliefs would be assimilated, accommodated in a pre-existing belief structure, and evaluated in their significance when promoting a positive identity structure. For example, previous research that utilized IPT indicated that risk perception was dovetailed by identity maintenance processes. Individuals tended to deny information that related local beach pollution when having a strong local identity (Bonaito, Breakwell & Cano, 1996). The authors concluded that factual information is rejected when threatening a positive sense of self and thus standing in opposition to the four underlying tenets of identity construction.

However, to date research has failed to utilize IPT to clarify the social representational construction of military-roles, particularly the social representational construction of veterans. In this sense, this chapter will take an exploratory, qualitative approach to investigate underlying constituents of the representation 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veteran' and to examine how these constituents may resonate with the four underlying tenets of identity construction.

7.3. Choosing an Appropriate Design

In the course of this project, various methods have been reviewed to set up an appropriate methodological framework. The following will introduce the chosen methods and briefly explain why these methods were considered to be the most appropriate methodological approaches.

Interviewing – Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method (BNIM)

To gain data that covers aspects from participant-centred unstructured narratives on perceptions of veterans on one side, and, on the other, theory-driven aspects that allow for a greater in-depth explanation of accounts, it was decided to use semi-structured interviews, based upon the three-part interview schedule of BNIM (Wengraf, 2001). The BNIM (Wengraf, 2001) is founded on the work of Schutze (1992) and epitomises the methods of Chaitin (2003) and Holloway & Jefferson (2000). Wengraf (2007) conceptualises BNIM as a method of narrative interviewing that has restricted intervention from the side of the

researcher. It requires the researcher to listen and to resist the urge to interrupt. Therefore, Wengraf (2007) argues that the BNIM is particularly useful when learning to become an interviewer in addition to deriving from a phenomenological position relevant to this methodology.

Basically, biographic narrative interviewing has a semi-structured interview schedule. The schedule comprises three sub-sessions that are carried out successively. Sub-session 1 (SS1) intends to induce a narrative, in which the researcher makes it explicit to the participant that there will be no prompts or interruption from the side of the interviewer. SS1 consists of a single question that requests either a partially or an entirely personal narrative account on the subject of interest from the participant. During this part, the researcher only takes notes and provides encouraging prompts for the participant to continue with the narrative.
The second sub-session (SS2) comprises follow-up prompts, designed to elicit further narratives. The follow-up prompts use the participant's own terms of reference and are ordered in the way they were elicited in the participant's narrative. Therefore, the participant is asked to provide further explanations and elaborations on specific points that were unclear and may play a significant role in answering the research's intentions.
The third sub-session (SS3) is a theory-driven session. Questions in SS3 comprise specific questions, based on pre-existing knowledge. By integrating information from the reviewed literature, these questions intend to provide theory-driven richness (Wengraf, 2001).
In this sense, biographic narrative interviews, based upon the BNIM, offered the opportunity to examine freely associated, participant-structured understandings of the veteran, to follow up on these and to ask questions of a more theoretical interest. As this is a unique approach that was to date not considered in other types of semi-structured interviews, BNIM was found to be the most appropriate approach for the present research.

Method of Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and Thematic Analysis were both considered as methods of analysis for the present project. The choice between these two was particularly challenging as both approaches offered specific advantages that would have been beneficial for the current project. Moreover, both approaches are commonly utilized qualitative tools to examine social representations from the epistemological standpoint of social constructionist interpretivism (i.e. McGarry, 2012; Mouro & Castro, 2012; Moloney, Williams & Blair, 2012; Jovchelovitch, 2002; Wagner et al., 2000; Gervais & Jovchelovich,

1998). The following will present a brief review of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and Thematic Analysis and will outline why the Thematic Analysis was found to represent a more beneficial approach for the current project.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a qualitative analytical technique that intends to capture the participant's attempt to make sense of their reality, or more concretely, relevant aspects of their personal and social world (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Being grounded in phenomenology but also acknowledging "a debt to symbolic interactionism" (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p. 54), IPT focusses on the meanings lived experiences hold for the individual, reflecting its phenomenological lens. Therefore, IPT would have provided substantial information on individual perceptions of veterans as it would have allowed to conduct in-depth explorations of each individual's perception of veterans. This deemed useful, given that literature to date is predominantly descriptive.

However, whilst there is a visible merit in IPA's association with hermeneutics, the commitment to phenomenology was found to be problematic for the current project. IPA is a fundamentally inductive methodology as the themes that emerge are exclusively associated with the data itself, rather than within existing theories (Patton, 1990). IPA generally engages with theory in a post-hoc fashion, invoking existing theories into the discussion rather than during the results.

In this light, IPT as a methodology for the present project may not be considered as the most appropriate choice. The present study intended to understand how public perceptions evolve and are being justified. Therefore, the analysis of accounts intended to discover underlying understandings which may be at work in governing more specific veteran-related perception-forming processes. Perception-forming processes may not directly relate to 'lived-experiences', the phenomenon which IPT is deemed to be the most suitable methodological approach for. Moreover, the use of theory in IPT research is not entirely unproblematic in terms of the present study. The findings from the quantitative study on the structural approach in Social Representation Theory (Section III) allowed us to derive a set of preliminary representations which relate to each other in specific ways within the theoretical contours of Social Representation Theory. The present study, therefore, intends to provide an analytical snapshot of meanings in terms of pertinent perceptions and representations of veterans, while simultaneously providing theoretical depth to the analyses. The

consideration of these caveats may allow to conclude that a deductive Thematic Analysis may be the more suitable methodological approach for the present project.

Qualitative Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis is described as a "method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is minimally organized and describes the data, and, frequently goes further by allowing to add theoretical depth to the data in a quasi-theory-deductive manner (Boyatzis, 1998). Yet, there is no clear agreement about methodological outlines of Thematic Analysis, as being a flexible tool, that is compatible with both, essentialist and constructivist paradigm (Roulston, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998). It is commonly used in the examination of meanings, experiences and realities how these are perceived by individuals. More concretely, Thematic Analysis offers the possibility to examine the reality in the way the individual understands and experiences it. However, besides that, Thematic Analysis can also be used to examine ways in that social phenomena are rhetorically constructed and thus take lexical perspectives into consideration. In this way, Thematic Analysis may be methodologically positioned, as the contextualist approach with a critical realist epistemology (cf. Willig, 1999 for a full account) – "a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). Indeed, the combination of the essentialist and social constructionist paradigm would address the commonly criticised aspect of Thematic Analysis as not allowing "the researcher to make claims about language use, or fine-grained functionality of talk" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.97).

In conclusion, the present project may be well situated within the methodological outlines of Thematic Analysis. Thematic Analysis would offer the potential to report on understandings of veterans as perceived realities and similarly deconstruct these understandings in order to locate underlying meaning entailing themes. In this sense, Thematic Analysis would allow to categorise and compare rationalities and justifications of socially pertinent perceptions of veterans.

Moreover, a-priori theoretical engagement plays a crucial role in Thematic Analysis, to the extent that it is assumed that "Thematic Analysis has limited interpretative power beyond mere description if it is not used within an existing theoretical framework that anchors the analytic claims that are made" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97). The Thematic Analysis offers the opportunity not only to descriptively present underlying, meaning entailing themes but

also to examine and explain these themes in a theory-induced fashion which may be advantageous for the present project.

In short, given the current project's aim to investigate socially pertinent perceptions and justifications for these perceptions, this Thematic Analysis was considered as being more appropriate than IPA.

7.4. Methods

7.4.1. Participants, Recruitment and Sample

The qualitative study utilized the quantitative study's evidence on the impact of sociodemographic characteristics. To provide a thorough analysis of how and why different understandings of the same reality ('British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans') may evolve the qualitative study recruited participants from different cohorts. Participants

- varied in social distance to veterans as increased 'social distance to veterans from the UK Armed Forces' was a significant predictor in the MLR (Chapter VI)

- varied in national pride as increased 'National Pride' significantly predicted decreased 'Victimisation' evocation (cf. MLR in Chapter VI)

- were residing in the UK since the beginning of the Afghanistan intervention in 2001 as it was assumed that participants were exposed to the same set of socially perpetuated information and 'Time since Residing in the UK' was found to be a significant predictor in the MLR (Chapter VI).

The project also focussed on recruiting a cohort that varied in age, education, ethnicity (though being a British citizen) and religion as these factors were considered to play a potential role (cf. previous research i.e. BMG, 2017; Hines et al., 2015)

A sample of 29 participants was recruited by advertisements on the Oxford Brookes participant panel, notice boards at Oxford Brookes University premises and by snowball sampling strategy. An overview of sociodemographic characteristics can be found in Table 46.

Table 46.
Overview of Participants and Sociodemographic Characteristics

Name (anonym.)	***Social Distance***	***National Pride***	***Age***	***Education***	***Ethnicity***	***Religion***
Mike	No Contact	Very Proud	63	Below A Levels	British	Christian (Pentecostal)
Tim	No Contact	Very Proud	57	Below A Levels	British	N/A
Sam	No Contact	Very Proud	31	Above A Levels	British	N/A
Yargul	No Contact	Very Proud	25	Below A Levels	British/ Kurdish-Iraqi	N/A
Yassin	No Contact	Very Proud	21	Above A Levels	British/ Bangladeshi	Muslim
Melike	No Contact	Very Proud	21	Below A Levels	British/ Bangladeshi	Muslim
Trudy	No Contact	Proud	73	Above A Levels	British/ South African	Christian (Rom.Cat.)
Elif	No contact	Proud	29	Above A Levels	British/ Turkish	N/A
Jessi	No contact	Proud	19	Below A Levels	British/ Bangladeshi	Muslim
Zabrina	No Contact	Not Proud	56	Above A Levels	British/ Caribbean	Christian (Rom.Cat)
Thanh	No Contact	Not Proud	28	Above A Levels	British/ Vietnamese	Buddhist
Anna	No contact	Not Proud	25	Above A levels	British	N/A

Shaun	No Contact	Not Proud	20	Below A Levels	British	N/A
Caleb	Contact (dad, Afghanistan veteran)	Very Proud	19	Above A Levels	British	N/A
James	Contact (friend, Iraq veteran)	Very Proud	61	Below A levels	British	Christian (C.o.E.)
Kim	Contact (clients, Afghanistan and Iraq veterans)	Very Proud	55	Above A levels	British	N/A
Rachel	Contact (friend, Afghanistan and Iraq veteran)	Very Proud	25	Above A levels	British/ Caribbean	N/A
Nicolas	Contact (nephew Afghanistan veteran)	Proud	60	Below A levels but professional degrees	British	Christian (C.o.E)
Julie	Contact (dad, Afghanistan veteran)	Proud	19	Below A levels	British	N/A
Emma	Contact (clients, Afghanistan and Iraq veterans)	Proud	25	Above A Levels	British	N/A
Danielle	Contact (uncle, Iraq veteran)	Not Proud	21	Above A Levels	British	N/A

Jonathan	Afghanistan, Iraq veteran	Very Proud	57	Below A levels	British	N/A
Nathaniel	Afghanistan, Iraq veteran	Very Proud	46	Below A levels	British/ Scottish	Christian (C.o.S)
Simeon	Afghanistan, Iraq veteran	Very proud	45	Below A levels	British	N/A
Jack	Afghanistan veteran	Very Proud	23	Above A levels	British	N/A
Phil	Afghanistan, Iraq veteran	Proud	55	Below A levels	British	N/A
Felix	Afghanistan, Iraq veteran	Proud	50	Above A levels	British	Christian (Rom.Cath.)
Christian	Afghanistan, Iraq veteran	Proud	35	Below A levels	British/ Caribbean	N/A
Marcus	Afghanistan veteran	Proud	33	Above A levels	British	N/A

7.4.2. Interviewing and Interview Schedule

Twenty-nine face-to-face interviews were conducted individually, each of them lasting between 45 and 165 minutes. The interview schedule was structured into three sub-sessions following the interview structure of the BNIM (Wengraf, 2001). The first stage encouraged participants to speak freely about their perceptions of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans. Therefore, the initial question (SS1) was open to allow a narrative history: '*Thank you for your participation. As you know I am interested in finding out what people think of British Army veterans, who served in Iraq or Afghanistan. I would like to ask you to think about those who have been part of the British Army and deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan. What do you think of a person who is a British Army veteran and was deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan?*'

The second part consisted of questions that were based upon the participants' responses from the initial question (SS1). These follow-up probes (SS2) encouraged the participant to elaborate on information related to the area of the study's interest further in order to clarify

the respondent's meanings (Smith & Eatough, 2007). An example of a question in SS2 would be: '*You described that you see British Army veterans as xxx. What do you mean with xxxx. Why is that an important characteristic for the veteran?'*

The final sub-section (SS3) comprised specific questions that were based on pre-existing knowledge, by integrating information from the reviewed literature. These questions surrounded changes in personal perceptions regarding the veteran and understandings of socially prevalent perceptions and attitudes towards the conveyors of these representational understandings. An example, therefore, would be: *'How do you think most people in the UK understand/think of British Army Iraq / Afghanistan veterans? Why would they do so?'*.

The interview schedule was piloted, and minorly amended as the focus of the analysis shifted slightly after reviewing the pilot study and -analysis. Instead of focussing on underlying identity principles in representational construction, the interviews observed answering patterns and contextual relationships in representational construction. However, differences between the pilot- and the main study's interviews were superficial in nature. Changes concerned predominantly SS2 follow up questions as these were made less in-depth and identity-related. Moreover, SS3 question items were deleted that did not provide substantial information on representational construction in the pilot (i.e. *'When you told me about what you understand of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in question 1, you said that this person was [xxx]. Did you think of a particular gender? Why do you think you associated this particular gender?'*). The interview schedule, the pilot interview schedule and the development of the interview schedule can be found in Appendix 6 and Appendix 7.

The interviews were conducted during a 13 month time period between April, 2017 and May, 2018. However, the time-span did not have any impact on the content of earlier or later interviews with the exception relating to minor differences between the pilot and main interviews. The audio-taped interviews were transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were sent to participants for checking as the Oxford Brookes University Ethics Board required the researcher to do so. The participants made minor changes such as adding additional information or reframing sentences and then sent the corrected versions back to the researcher. The transcripts were analysed with Thematic Analysis. This allowed to exhaustively examine the way how understandings were contested, negotiated and intersected.

7.4.3. Analytical Procedure

As mentioned previously, the present project utilized a primarily deductive Thematic Analysis (Brown & Clark, 2006) to determine and understand key aspects that govern perceptions of veterans. Following the transcription of the qualitative data, the transcripts were repeatedly read to become as intimate as possible with the accounts. Initial ideas about key topics and potential themes were noted, using NVivo 13, a qualitative data analysis software.

The data was then reread and reviewed to identify potential key ideas that emerged repeatedly and which may form themes. At this stage the data was coded by categorising interview extracts. Here transcripts that referred to solely one representation were of vital importance. These allowed to identify connected thematic properties that, drawn together, resembled ways in which 'The Hero' and 'The Victim' were established. These representations were established by drawing inferences from relevant literature that discussed veterans in heroic and victimised ways (cf. Gibson, 2012, Gibson & Condor, 2009; Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008, McGarry & Walklate, 2011; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; McGarry, 2012, Walklate, 2007; Gibson & Abell, 2004).

For example, Anna, Elif, Zabrina, Shaun and Trudy's accounts were found to characterise veterans only in victimised ways. In contrast, Jack and Sam's narratives discussed the veteran solely in heroic ways while no significant references to veterans as victims were made. By contrasting these two groups it became evident that participants referred to similar thematic properties, however, in different ways. Therefore, similar narratives and extracts were grouped together, and a hierarchical structure of nodes was generated. During this process, also narrative accounts that referred to 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' in multiple ways were used to fully understand the contextual relationship in which each veteran-representation evolved. For example, the majority of participants (Jonathan, Nathaniel, Simeon, Phil, Caleb, Emma, James, Julie, Kim, Nicolas, Jessi and Tim) understood the veteran in some instances as a hero and in others as a victim. Opinions about the veteran were therefore found to be highly contextually dependent.

Several mind-maps were created in order to fully understand the interaction of nodes and their contextual relationship. In the next step, nodes were merged into initial codes. By taking the nodes' contextual information into account, the generated codes intended to identify meanings that lie beneath the semantic surface of the data.

Following this, the transcripts were then reread to establish any inductive non-coded topics from the narratives that did not fit into the pre-exiting codes. For example, perceptions of the British military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan as being heroic, selfless acts were commonly justified by perceptions of the heroic and selfless military interventions in WW1 and WW2. Here, direct inferences from 'heroic missions' were drawn to justify the veteran's heroism. These justifications which allowed to characterise veterans as 'always-to-be-heroes' seemed to reflect an unquestioned and undifferentiated transposition of social narratives from historic British military interventions. However, at the first glance, this justification remained un-coded as it was commonly mentioned in passing. To incorporate this justification into the analysis, existing codes were modified and the sub-theme "Impact of the hegemonic representation of British military history" was created.

In this sense, the coding scheme was continually modified, and new material was incorporated. This process allowed to identify an additional representation 'The Perpetrator'. 'The Perpetrator' was an antagonist representation that stood in relationship with both, 'The Hero' and 'The Victim'. After the data was fully coded and sufficient excerpts were found to support each code, themes were established, and three superordinate themes were identified (cf. Table 47).

A theme, as defined by Braun & Clark (2006), needs to say, "something important about the data in relation to the research question" (ibid, p.82). An appropriate theme would, therefore, represent "some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (ibid, p.82). Thus, the information which was captured in the initial coding scheme was reviewed to identify underlying contextual and structural communalities within the data. Collapsing and clustering codes that shared meaningful patterns and unifying features allowed to determine three constituent themes. These three constituent themes related to a.) perceptions of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan (situation, external factor), b.) perceptions of the veteran's personality (character, internal factor), and, c.) perceptions of how deployments have affected veterans (situation *and* character, amalgamation of internal and external factor).

The three reciprocatively interacting constituents were defined as: a. The Situation: Understandings of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, b. The Veteran: Understandings of the Veteran's Personality, and, c. The Sacrifice: Understandings of the Situation's Impact on the Veteran. During this stage, a particular focus was placed upon representational relationships to identify distinctiveness of the three representations 'The

Hero', 'The Victim' and 'The Perpetrator'. This was challenging as individuals tended to vividly change context and with it their perception of the veteran. For example, discussing the altruistic character of a veteran who joined to help others and who had accomplished heroic deeds during deployment justified the understanding of the veteran as a hero. However, when the participant went on elaborating on the deployments' general futility and on governmental self-interest, the veteran became commonly a poor victim suffering from deployment-related experiences, injustice and governmental callousness. In this sense, participants were able to vividly change representations of veterans within a few sentences. To understand how the themes worked together and in which contexts the veteran was understood differently, multiple thematic maps were constructed which provided the researcher with a general overview.

The next step was a recursive process, reviewing potential themes. Here, themes were developed further by setting the themes in relation to the entire data set and the collated extracts. This allowed for understanding whether the initially coded extracts were still supporting the theme in meaningful ways. The subsequently refined themes were then defined and a final mind-map for each representation was drawn. This mind-map outlined the structure of themes, subthemes and their relationships. An overview of these themes can be found in Table 47.

Table 47.
Overview of Veteran Representations and Constituents

Theme	Hero	Victim	Perpetrator
The Situation: Understandings of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan	**a.) Conceptualisations of the deployments** War and violence can be justified for the greater good – Iraq and Afghanistan were justified as a mission goal/ alternate mission goal	**a.) Conceptualisations of the deployments** War and violence were understood to be justifiable for greater good but Iraq and Afghanistan were not justified as no mission goal was accomplished or Iraq and Afghanistan were unjustified as war and violence were considered as unjustifiable	**a.) Conceptualisations of the deployments** Conceptualisations of the deployments played a minor role – more importantly, the context in that the "Perpetrator" appeared was always characterised by illegitimate and morally reprehensible violence
	b.) Impact of the hegemonic representation of British military history Inferences from deployments in WW1 and WW2 were drawn to conceptualise deployments and veterans	**b.) Impact of the hegemonic representation of British military history** Inferences from deployments in WW1 and WW2 were rejected, socially pertinent veteran-hero representations were opposed	**b.) Impact of the hegemonic representation of British military history** Historic military interventions played a minor role, the perpetrator was not associated to veterans from WW1 and WW2
The Veteran: Understandings of the veteran's personality	The 'veteran' as an expression of an altruistic, morally superior personality	The 'veteran' as an expression of a well-intending but naïve personality Veterans who referred to the veteran-victim representation dissociated the veteran from a specific personality	The veteran has a barbaric, violent nature and lacks intelligence. Reasons for the barbaric nature were speculated to originate in childhood adversities, social deprivation or expressions of a violent and psychologically disturbed personality

The Sacrifice: Understandings of the situation's impact on the veteran	**a.) Following Orders** Orders were conceptualised as promoting the greater good	**a.) Following Orders** Orders were conceptualised as transgressing the veteran's moral values – 'moral injury' (except veteran population – part of the 'job')	**a.) Following Orders** Following orders was positively constructed in terms of preventing unnecessary violence that the perpetrator may want to commit
	b.) Exposure to the battlefield Existentially threatening environment may have an impact on the veteran's physical or psychological wellbeing; However, the veteran is thought to be able to overcome adversities	**b.) Exposure to the battlefield** Witnessing violence in the battlefield was considered as transgressing the veteran's moral values – 'moral injury' (except veteran population – part of the 'job') – life wrecking experience	**b.) Exposure to the battlefield** Witnessing violence in the battlefield was considered not to affect the veteran's mental health but the physical health for which the veteran should be compensated
	c.) Committing violent actions Violent actions were thought to promote the greater good – this justification was utilized to dissociate the veteran from long lasting, potential mental health adversities	**c.) Committing violent actions** Violent actions were thought to be illegitimate and thus transgressing the veteran's moral values – 'moral injury' (except the veteran population – part of the 'job')	**c.) Committing violent actions** Violent actions were thought to be the reason why the perpetrator had joined the Forces and not to affect the perpetrator's mental health
	d.) Public responses to the veteran's sacrifice Honour the heroic sacrifice and appreciate the veteran	**d.) Public responses to the veteran's sacrifice** Pity the veteran's futile sacrifice and commiserate the individual	**d.) Public responses to the veteran's sacrifice** No emotional reaction, the perpetrator should be compensated for incurred injury

7.5. Results

The qualitative analysis revealed the veteran to be commonly conceptualised in three ways: as hero, victim and perpetrator. The way in which the veteran was conceptualised depended upon understandings of the three themes 'The Situation: Understanding of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan', 'The Veteran: Understanding of the Veteran's Personality' and 'The Sacrifice: Understanding of the Situation's Impact on the Veteran".

Positive perceptions of deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan set a 'heroic' scene that allowed the well-intending and altruistic hero-veteran to act. Though the veteran was considered to have potentially incurred psychological or physical damage through witnessing atrocities and encountering dangerous situations, the veteran was considered to overcome health adversities. This was the case as the veteran's contribution was conceptualised as something the veteran could be proud of in terms of having promoted the greater good.

In contrast, negative attitudes towards British military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan drew attention to the futility of war. The veteran was then characterised as being a well-intending but naïve individual who has been forced to use illegitimate violence by a callous government. Therefore, whilst the veteran-hero was understood to overcome Service-related health adversities as having promoted the greater good, the veteran-victim was considered as having incurred life-wrecking psychological and physical damage associated with unjustified violence.

The perpetrator representation was a supplementing representation. It evolved when torture and intentional civilian killings were discussed. Therefore, conceptualisations of the deployments played solely a minor role. Instead, the perpetrator was considered to be evil-in nature, a socially deprived welfare case characterised by taking pleasure in violence. In this sense, the perpetrator expressed abnormal behaviour and was thus commonly associated with pre-enlistment ill-mental health. Though participants considered the perpetrator to suffer from physical impairments, pre-enlistment ill-mental health was considered to shield the perpetrator from Service related psychological ill-health.

Interestingly, most participants were able to hold multiple representations of 'British Army Afghanistan / Iraq Veterans'. Therefore, the results followed the theoretical notion of *cognitive polyphasia* (Moscovici, 1986). As long as each representation was contextually legitimate, participants could hold different – even contradictory representations (cf. Table 48). In one context, the veteran was described in one way, whilst in another context, the

veteran was understood differently. The recollection of contexts that determined the representation of the veteran mirrored identity relevant aspects of identity construction (cf. Breakwell, 2014). For example, if participants thought to know little about British veterans and/or the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, understandings of personally significant matters that related to British veterans in the widest sense were recalled (i.e. ethical conduct of reference groups, fear of existential threats). Similarly, participants who were veterans themselves or related to veterans and thus had increased personal knowledge about this population formed and expressed representation of 'British Army Iraq / Afghanistan Veterans' based upon identity-relevant information (i.e. personal experience with violence). In this sense, the results indicated that identity maintenance processes governed acceptance and rejection of information that concerns veterans.

To demonstrate the findings, the following will pursue a coherent structure for each representation. Therefore, each representation will be discussed in terms of the three constituting themes ('The Situation: Understandings of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan', 'The Veteran: Understandings of the Veteran's Personality', 'The Sacrifice: Understandings of the Situation's Impact on the Veteran'). The discussion of each of the veteran as hero, victim and perpetrator will conclude with an interpretative analysis of identity-relevant factors that explained the adoption and rejection of representations in accordance to Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 2001). However, whilst the discussion of the three constituting themes will be elaborated in great detail, the interpretative analysis of identity relevant factors will remain brief. This was the case as the study focussed on contextual dependency of representational construction.

Table 48.

Frequency of Representation-Occurrence in narrative accounts

Representation	**Frequency (number of participants)**	**Participants**
Hero	7% (2/29)	Jack (veteran) Sam (no contact)
Hero and Victim	38% (11/29)	Jonathan (veteran) Nathaniel (veteran) Simeon (veteran) Phil (veteran) Caleb (contact) Emma (contact) James (contact) Julie (contact) Kim (contact) Nicolas (contact) Tim (no contact) Jessi (no contact)
Hero and Perpetrator	17% (5/29)	Christian (veteran) Melike (no contact) Yargul (no contact) Yassin (no contact)
Victim	21% (6/29)	Felix (veteran) Marcus (veteran) Anna (no contact) Elif (no contact) Shaun (no contact) Trudy (no contact) Zabrina (no contact)
Victim and Perpetrator	17% (5/29)	Danielle (contact) Rachel (contact) Mike (no contact) Thanh (no contact)
Perpetrator	0% (0/29)	

7.5.1. The Hero

The findings indicated that the majority of participants understood the veteran as a hero. A total of 18 participants (62%) referred to the veteran as a hero. The hero representation as exclusive representation was identified in the narrative accounts of two participants (11%). In the accounts of twelve participants (67%) the analysis revealed the coexistence of the hero and victim representation and in the accounts of four participants (22%) the coexistence of the hero and perpetrator representation.

Participants differed in social contact to the Armed Forces in terms of six participants (33%) having no contact to the UK Armed Forces, seven (34%) being in a close relationship to an Iraq or Afghanistan veteran and six (33%) participants being veterans from the deployments in Iraq or Afghanistan themselves.

7.5.1.1. The Situation: Understandings of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan

Conceptualisation of the deployments

A necessary constituent of the veteran-hero representation was the understanding of the veteran to having accomplished heroic-deeds. Essentially, participants conceptualised the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan in similar ways which allowed to situate the veteran into a heroic context. The deployments were conceptualised in terms of providing humanitarian aid, protecting the civilian society and fighting for superior moral values, i.e. equality or freedom. For example:

> *'Cause they [veterans] help the countries... like Iraq and Afghanistan are broken down cause of the terrorists and the veteran was like rebuilding the country, yeah and that's just what they do. [...] Like they help with water systems, bringing in food, sorting out food rations, providing temporary accommodation as well, so they do quite a lot.' (Yargul, no contact)*

> *'When the war started, obviously Bin Laden was one of them who they were after in Afghanistan. Same with Saddam in Iraq. With all that warfare going on, kids being killed. They [veterans] had to do something about these people, like - they had to take the terrorists out. It was necessary.' (James, contact)*

'We [British Army] did the right thing and continue to do that by supporting the Afghan people to improve their country. So, I am quite happy - what we [soldiers] have done there was correct and needed to be done anyway. It was a bit of a deceitful, unjust state. So, things needed to be done anyway. Otherwise it would have got worse and they'd have all these types of camps to train terrorist groups and we [soldiers] went there, destroyed that and tried to create a country which is sustainable, and people have got rights and that sort of thing.' (Jonathan, veteran)

As these three quotes outline, individuals justified the veteran-hero representation by associating altruistic motives to the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. The British military intervention was thought to be justified by promoting the welfare of innocents on one side and, on the other, by eliminating threats that jeopardise this welfare. Participants formed a basic narrative story arc that entailed protagonists (veteran - hero) and antagonists (terrorists/dictators – villain); it described the conflict from an initial state of affairs (rule of terrorists/dictator) to a resolution (free civilians through British intervention; cf. Propp, 1968; Liu & Laszlo, 2007).

Therefore, to understand the conflict, participants produced 'lay knowledge' that was not necessarily an objective reflection of the conflict. Individuals rather used a set of dichotomies – the 'just' vs. the 'unjust', the 'moral' vs. the 'amoral' – to establish a hierarchy between societies. This hierarchy reified the superiority of the British, and, on the individual level, the superiority of the own British identity. The British identity was therefore constructed not solely by what people affiliated with, but by their comparisons with other groups in which the British emerged as the superior party (cf. Joffe, 2007; Said, 1978). Therefore, excluding what was marked as opposing to Western-values (oppositions of i.e. high moral standards, discipline and altruism; McCulloch, 1995) may have facilitated maintaining a positive self-understanding. However, those associated with undesirable, non-Western qualities, were represented as a mild threat in a distant country, a 'far-away' challenge to the 'own' Western values, to being seen as potential purveyors of chaos in Britain, *'potential terrorist – people, up for no good'* (Christian). War, therefore, became legitimised as a necessary means, a vital measure, to implement superior values into an anyway violent and inferior culture. For example,

'Like in Iraq it was obviously, the case to free the people in that country, they are doing their job. Like taking away dictatorship, giving people their rights to do what they want to do instead of being told. [...] Of course, it was a success. I know the last resort should be war. But people

in these countries are not necessarily able to talk, to discuss to get a peaceful solution. War - that is usually their way they do things.' (James, contact)

As this quote outlines, constructing British military intervention in terms of a division between the 'other' disruptive, transgressive 'them' and the 'own' decorous 'us' served two functions. It did not only legitimise the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan but also justified why these missions were thought to be successful.

Hence, when holding the veteran-hero representation, deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan were sparsely evaluated in terms of the official mission goals (i.e. finding weapons of mass destruction). Participants rather reflected on the deployments as having achieved an altruistically motivated contribution that promoted the greater good. Therefore, socially distributed information about failure or success of deployments mattered little to participants. For example:

'Some [newspapers] say yes [mission was success], others say no. Did we really do the right thing [British military intervention in Iraq/Afghanistan]? Was it necessary? From my current perspective: They did the right thing! They had the right perspective, the right intention to help people. They did a great job.' (Yassin, no contact)

This quote demonstrates how the deployments were related to promoting greater welfare, a prevalent pattern in all narrative accounts that comprised the veteran-hero representation. The belief that the deployments were altruistically orientated provided a rationality to justify why information that scrutinised and questioned the deployments may be ignored or rejected. Participants rather made references to British history to outline that British deployments have always been motivated by achieving the greater good. This justified understandings of today's military interventions to be motivated by promoting the greater good.

In conclusion, the veteran-hero representation relied on British history as a "constitutional charter" (Liu & Hilton, 2005; p. 538) – a "foundational myth for a society" (ibid). Foundational myths represent points of reference that define rights and obligations for a group and legitimize its social and political arrangements (Malinowski, 1926). In this sense, 83% (15/18) participants referred to British military interventions in the first and second world war to derive justifications for the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. For example:

'Cause you need to do something, you can't just let rogue nations have like nuclear weapons or oppress or kill their people, pretty much. You know, if we leave it for a while, that country

would generally become worse – so you had to stop it. Like Nazi Germany – same story.' (Christian, veteran)

'Their role was to go out and to defend the interest of our country, protecting your friends and family like in the two world wars.' (Nicolas, contact)

These quotes demonstrate how a culture's historical experience has been used to draw inferences to current situations.

The impact of the hegemonic representation of British military history

Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan were understood as the 'right thing to do' as participants constructed these missions in similar ways as the British intervention in the first and second world war. In this sense, the participants' accounts reflected "Britain's charter [that] sees it [deploying soldiers to Iraq/Afghanistan] as a world policeman with the US, just as in 1941 when the two nations combined to defend democracy against Germany, Italy and Japan" (Liu & Hilton, 2005; p. 538). The 'British charter' mirrored a hegemonic representation of British military history that was culturally transmitted across generations and to newcomers (i.e. immigrants) through media and education, having a highly prescriptive character (cf. Liu & Hilton, 2005). Within this hegemonic representation, a socially prevalent picture of the veteran was thought to be communicated. For example:

'I feel that it has a lot to do with education if I'm honest. I have been in education nearly my whole life. Like – those event days, we had memorial days. For example, in my secondary school we had memorial days for WW1 and WW2 and we were so, we literately had a day to celebrate. [...] I thought they [veterans] are so brave, they put their life at risk for us. They are heroes! I mean I was told: These people, these veterans, they are really brave because they have put their lives at risk for us. But I think I have never really processed and questioned that. So, when I think about these Iraq and Afghanistan veterans I think: Okay, what great people.' (Jessi, no contact)

Here Jessi reflects on the influence of a socially constructed image of historical wars, communicated through commemoration, and, on its implications on her perceptions of those who have served in warfare – back then and now. She understood the veteran-hero image as culturally produced by social reflections of sacrificial sentiments that were related to altruistic deeds (sacrificing the own life for others). However, as a matter of fact, Jessi was

the only participant who held the veteran-hero representation and reflected on adoptions of cultural ideals and definitions. The reason for that might lie in Jessi's attempt to understand her thoughts about the veteran as being both British and Bangladeshi *('I think it is having to follow the rules of the government like in order to fit into society. You have to follow this perspective of the veteran being a hero.' Jessi*). Therefore, Jessi's account indicates her veteran-hero representation may reflect a social taken-for-granted that she unveiled by drawing on her Bangladeshi identity. In this sense, to adopt socially perpetuated understandings of British veterans and British military interventions seemed to be an implicit duty related to Jessy's British identity.

In summary, to establish the veteran-hero representation individuals needed to set a 'heroic scene' in which 'heroic deeds' could be achieved. The conceptualisation of the Iraq and Afghanistan campaigns by drawing on British history allowed to legitimise the missions as motivated by altruism. This provided a rationale to understand the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan as *'worthwhile' (Melike)* or *'great success' (Jonathan).* The more the 'heroic scene' reflected on the 'inhumane other' (terrorist), the more the veteran became the altruistic and caring counterpart as symbolic representation of own (British/Western) superior values and norms (i.e. *'They have served humanity!' Melike; 'They have protected the citizens over there and over here.', Yassin).* That the veteran was understood as a symbolic fighter against evil had a positive spill-over effect on the characterisation of the veteran as an individual.

7.5.1.2. The Veteran: Understandings of the veteran's personality

The second core-belief in constructing veterans as heroes followed a natural progression from constructions of deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan as being altruistically motivated. Essentially, the abstract notion 'heroism' was conceptualised through 'bravery' – the willingness to experience existential threats for other people's wellbeing. Therefore, altruistic deeds, heroism and bravery stood in a reciprocal triad, each being used to define the other. For example:

> *Those who are doing it for the country, I think they are really brave cause they are putting the life on line for us! That's what makes a hero! (Yargul, no contact)*

'You start building hospitals, when he [father – Afghanistan veteran] first got there and you know being shot at and things like that... while building a hospital. You know it takes some bravery to do that and you know I respect him for that and... yeah it's heroic.' (Caleb, contact)

'People [veterans], brave people who have actually sacrificed something for the good, trying to save lives... yeah, that's a hero to me.' (Simeon, veteran)

As these three quotes outline, understandings of the veteran-hero representation were highly intertwined with bravery. Therefore, it is unsurprising that all 18 narrative accounts in which the veteran-hero representation was identified, comprised 'brave' within the first 31 words of the interview. Bravery became, therefore the 'ultimate' word to describe the veteran, it became *the* definer that it nearly equated with veteran (*'Veteran – brave, you know, that's nearly a synonym in our culture.' Sam*).

Crucially, bravery was thought to be a natural disposition, an expression of a more altruistic personality. As bravery was highly intertwined with understandings of the veteran, the veteran was thought to have an inherently different personality. This personality was characterised by supreme moral values that the veteran-individual was willing to defend. For example,

'Well, some people are born naturally to do good things, to do their country well, to help the people of their country. I think some people are just like that – whilst others are not bothered. So, the veterans, I think they are just born that way, it's their personality. [...] To stand up and be willing to sacrifice your life for other countries, other people – for humanity. If it was me, I would want to help these people [...] I could do little – but sacrificing my life, no.' (Melike, no contact)

'Very brave person deserves a medal for going there in the purpose of doing the best for their country. [...] Well, knowing Matt, he is very British and defends his country and the queen. That's a common personality thing. [...] I wouldn't want to do it – I wouldn't want to be shot at. So, they are brave.' (James, contact)

'It's an ambition deep inside you. It's more than a job, it's your nature. [...] It is all about doing something extraordinary at the time. We are all doing things that go above and beyond. That's 'cause of your ethics - [...] it's from deep inside you.' (Christian, veteran)

These quotes outline how understandings of bravery as related to a specific, inherently different personality transformed understandings of what it means to be a veteran. 'Veteran' therefore turned into an expression of the individual rather than seeing the individual as a veteran. More concretely, participants did not consider external factors such as training to elevate specific innate dispositions. Instead, being a veteran was something a person was considered to be born to.

In this sense, the process in which the "ordinary [veteran as outcome of a job] becomes extraordinary [veteran as the outcome of a vocation]" (Pargament & Mahoney, 2005, p.180) explained an apparent discursive sanctification of veterans. Here is not claimed that the veteran itself was perceived as having a spiritual character but that the veteran was constructed in these terms. This was reflected by the abundance of spiritual terminology and references employed in the veteran-hero representation. Veterans were either understood as simply following a religiously correct lifestyle, i.e. *'As Muslim I think, it is an honourable thing to do to actually fight for your country' (Jessi, Muslim)* or attributed to 'holiness', i.e. *'they are like Jesus!' (Sam, no religious affiliation)*, *'We wanna be viewed as the saviours!' (Jack, no religious affiliation)*.

In conclusion, the understanding that heroic deeds could only be done by heroic people constructed a social category 'Veteran' that reflected self-positioning towards Service. Whilst for the veteran-population the social category 'Veteran' comprised a personality that contributed to a positive self-perception, it allowed the non-veteran population to distance itself from Service. Therefore, non-veterans maintained a positive identity structure by understanding themselves as having a different nature and thus a different place in society (i.e. *'I feel that I serve the country, being a good civilian [...] following rules and regulations – 'cause you are what your country wants you to do', Yassin*). That allowed to class reservations to serve as being a normal human response to threat-exposure and explained the veteran's innate, *'quite foreign drive'* (Tim) to having signed up in the UK Forces (*'[It] is not really natural to want to put your life on the line. [...] I just can't imagine being in that situation myself.'; Emma*).

Interestingly, although also the veteran-population described the supreme veteran-personality equally as non-veterans, the notion of having this personality oneself was commonly rejected. More commonly, the altruistic personality was thought to be the reason why other veterans joined, whilst understanding one's own motivation to serve as being a

family tradition, having more selfish origins (i.e. adventure, social contacts, opportunities), or a combination of both. This pattern evolved in 83% (5/6) of the veteran's narrative accounts, as outlined in the following:

> *'You need to have a special vocation to serve... I find it humbling cause the work ethics is phenomenal... I think it is the drive to serve, giving something back to the community. It's fantastic... I mean, mine was more of a tradition cause my father was in, his father, his father.... I left school with not very good grades – I wanted to see the world and let someone other pay.' (Simeon, veteran)*

This quote is exemplative for the most often contradictory nature of the veteran's self-positionings towards the hero-representation. Veterans were therefore aware that their own personality might not be as altruistic as the veteran-personality was socially understood to be, however, it may well have been the reason for the other veterans' willingness to serve. However, as veterans conceptualised themselves as having ultimately similar experiences that contributed to the greater good *('he has been in the same place as you and experienced the same things as you', Jack*) they thought to rightfully share hero category-membership with other veterans *('No. We are all the same blokes', Jack).* Therefore, veterans who held the veteran-hero representation maintained the two-essential constituents of the hero representation: Understandings of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan as being an altruistic deed (external factor) and understanding the decision to serve as altruistically motivated (internal factor). However, the significance of these elements was shifted so that understandings of Service as an altruistic deed (external factor) became the more important aspect, outweighing the decision to serve (internal factor). This allowed combing realistic self-evaluations with understandings of veterans as being qualitatively different and worthy of honour and respect.

In summary, lauding veterans for highest moral values that originated in an altruistic disposition, positively impacted the non-veteran's *and* the veteran's self-image. On one side, it allowed non-veterans to reflect on having a different place in society and to appreciate the sacrifice that they did not have to make. On the other, veterans felt socially appreciated for being attributed with an altruistic character that was made responsible for the veteran's decision to serve, to be deployed and to experience existential threats. Therefore, the veteran-hero representation was characterised by appreciating and honouring the veteran's voluntary

sacrifice of encountering dangerous situations that may lead to physical or psychological harm.

7.5.1.3. The Sacrifice: Understandings of the situation's impact on the veteran

When individuals referred to the context of the veteran-hero representation, references to following orders (100%, 18/18), battlefield exposure (94%, 17/18) and committing violence (89%, 16/18) were made. How participants related veterans to these themes will be elaborated on in the following.

Following Orders

Crucially, the evaluation of deployments and the veteran's personality influenced how the veteran's sacrifice and appropriate responses towards it were understood. As deployments were understood as having promoted the greater good and the veteran was thought to be altruistically motivated, the veteran's expectancy towards the situation was perceived to be met. In conclusion, the veteran was attributed with having full agency in following orders as following orders was conceptualised in terms of promoting the greater good. The execution of commands was thought to comply with volitional actions as both followed altruistic motives. As participants understood the values of the veteran-individual to be aligned with the values of the institution and the worthiness of the situation, participants understood following orders as an authentic expression of the veteran's altruistic personality. The veteran's trust in the orders was therefore not solely understood to be necessary but also to be well placed as orders contribute to the overall good. For example:

> *'They follow their orders to help the country by minimizing terrorist threat. [...] The veteran needs to be tough, needs to focus on their orders cause [...] otherwise they wouldn't have been able to eliminate the terrorists. [...] Then, seeing what they have seen does not break them down,' (Yargul)*

> *'They [veterans] did what they were told to do ...to defend or fight or whatever they had to do. [...] They fought for... it's for freedom, and obviously to defend their country or the empire. It's essential that they follow their orders to accomplish these goals - even if they can't see the bigger picture, it does not make sense to them... It's necessary.' (James, contact)*

'Sometimes people [were getting] killed, injured and you couldn't do anything. Cause it wasn't part of your mission to protect these people. You have to stick to your mission cause it is for the greater good overall... cause you might not know the overall plan.' (Christian, veteran)

These three quotes are typical examples for perceptions concerning following orders in the context of the veteran-hero representation. Crucially, orders were understood as manifestations of the deployments' altruistic motivations that were aligned with the veteran's intention. In this way, orders allowed to maintain attributions of agency towards the veteran whilst simultaneously acknowledging that the deployments comprised amoral/cruel incidences (i.e. violence against civilians). As the veteran was working towards the greater good, cruel/amoral incidences that the veteran may have encountered were conceptualised as unfortunate but necessary casualties. Therefore, the execution of orders allowed to position the veteran into a professional framework that conceptualised the experience of amoral/cruel instances as 'part of the job'.

Interestingly, though the veteran was considered to have full agency, the quotes also indicate that it was considered to be unnecessary for the veteran to understand the orders. Instead, participants suggested it would be sufficient for the veteran to act in good faith. This dichotomy that poses the question how the veteran may maintain full agency when blindly following orders may be unravelled as follows.

The quotes provide additional evidence that understandings of veterans as heroes may require a 'heroic' scene in which the veteran can act heroically. This scene is characterised by a well-intending government that deployed troops to promote the greater good. Therefore, the veteran could blindly rely on the orders from superiors as superiors were just as interested to promote the greater good as the veteran. In conclusion, the veteran could be understood as having full agency over actions required by the orders as these actions represented the veteran's innate altruistic disposition. Though orders were commanded, participants seemed to implicitly assume that veterans would have willingly decided to act in the way they were ordered to, if being aware of the full spectrum of information. In this sense, following orders seemed to be equated with voluntary decisions that were an authentic expression of the veteran's personality.

Exposure to the battle-field

Interestingly, although being understood as 'part of the job', 94% (17/18) of the hero-representation occurrences indicated that witnessing amoral/cruel instances were directly related to negatively affecting the veteran's mental wellbeing. More importantly, however, in all the occurrences, also references to the professional framework were made. The framework was then turned into a 'moral compass' that was understood to legitimise the veteran's experience by giving it purpose and meaning. Therefore, the veteran was not only understood as having incurred mental adversities but also as having overcome these adversities.

> *'You know seeing those things [friends being shot, innocents dying] that the military see, I don't think anybody can say they've seen the same things. That's why I think they'd come out with PTSD, shellshock, all sorts of things. [...] Sure – they will get over it! That's a fact! Cause they did it for a reason! There was a purpose to it...- they followed their orders for a purpose. You need to think about the purpose!' (Sam, no contact)*

> *'When my dad came back from Afghanistan, he wasn't the same person anymore. He was distant, always tired, quiet – yeah very quiet, very sad... He had sort of a second personality. Mum told me that he had seen horrendous things – he didn't want to speak about it. But he got better cause I think he understood that what he had done was necessary to help people! He's just a very helpful person.' (Julie, contact)*

> *'You'll get over it [trauma] when you know what you did was right and necessary. You get that from seeing people shot, being blown up, IED's, being shot at - trauma... Trauma is depending on the individual and how they see it. Yeah, it's damaging but you get over it if you know what you did it for...' (Simeon, veteran)*

Essentially, these quotes uncover two main aspects in understandings of the veteran's mental health. Firstly, encountering war scenes is generally perceived to be psychologically damaging, and secondly, the veteran is thought to be able to overcome psychological damage by legitimising actions. Therefore, the hero representation comprised the notion that the veteran overcomes psychological harm rather than not having incurred or passively suffering from psychological harm. These quotes, therefore, indicate that the legitimacy of the deployments in terms of promoting the good of the greater allowed the veteran to overcome the experience of atrocities and violence. In a sense, it could be argued that participants conceptualised Service related mental health problems as an emotional problem that could

be overcome by logical thinking. Although none of the participants explicitly expressed this idea implicitly, the quotes seemed to correspond to the idea that a mental-health problem could be addressed by 'getting oneself together' and taking a rational perspective instead of an emotional one. In this sense, the legitimacy of the deployment played a pivotal role for the understandings of the veterans' mental health. Though the 'horrors of war' were axiomatically related to mental health adversities, the legitimacy of the deployments justified to understand mental health adversities as being solely of temporary nature. Interestingly, this understanding was held by participants who did not know anybody in the UK Armed Forces, those who knew veterans and even veterans themselves who have held the hero representation. In this sense, social distance mattered little for the conceptualisation of mental health adversities.

Committing violent actions

'*Killing*' – actively committing a violent act and not solely experiencing violence – was thought to have little psychological impact in the veteran-hero context. Here, direct or indirect references to the rules of engagement were used to construct the 'moral compass'. This allowed to conceptualise killing as being dyadic: 'good killing' – killing that complied with the rules of engagement, or 'bad killing' – killing that violated the rules of engagement. Understanding the veteran as having only participated in 'good killing' contributed to the coherence of the veteran-hero representation and allowed to classify 'killing' as an honourable and brave contribution for society. Examples like the following were made by 89% (16/18) of the participants:

> *'You know, we should not really have these bad people, the terrorists, in our society. So, I think that is the reason for why they go off and eliminated them – and that is heroic. [...] You have to be brave enough, [...] cause the terrorists, they are going to shoot back. [...] No, it won't affect them [veteran] too much, I'd think – cause it needed to be done!' (Melike, no contact)*

> *'If you're, you know, engaged in a conflict to save a thousand people I think there I some way... you know if you're protecting yourself, if you're saving people, I think it's acceptable for that sort of scenario to happen [killing]. [...] I think it is necessary to save people in war zones. [...] Sometimes you can't help, can't help – so as long as it's necessary it will probably not affect them [mental health].' (Caleb, contact)*

'If you shoot back, that obviously needs to be lawful. Your live needs to be threatened – so there is what we call rules of engagement. [...] So long as it is lawful, and people see that it was either them or the other person, then it [killing] can be accepted quite easily. I didn't come across many people who have regretted doing what they did. I didn't come across anybody who would have said: I wish I wouldn't have shot that guy, killed the enemy. Never ever. But I have never spoken to anybody who did it not lawfully.' (Jonathan, veteran)

These quotes illustrate how 'othering' allowed to identify 'good' killing and to associate it with being a heroic deed. The requirement to kill was therefore seen as a responsibility following from correctly interpreted complex in-theatre rules of engagement. Interestingly, when killing was perceived as a contribution towards a beneficial superior good, participants refrained from using the word 'killing'. Instead, the veteran e.g. '*eliminated*' (Yargul, Yassin) the enemy, or was '*fighting factions*' (Nicolas). This wording may have resolved a potential conflict between understanding the use of violence on one side as moral and necessary in specific contexts, such as encountering the amoral enemy, but on the other also as unsympathetic and barbaric, as an opposition towards altruistic Western core values (McCulloch, 1995; Said, 1993). The emphasis on the British technological supremacy (modernity and progress) resolved this conflict further by objectifying the distinction between barbaric killing and a culturally advanced elimination of targeted enemies (i.e. *'With the technology, yeah, they prevent us from threat.'*; *Yargul*). In this sense, technological superiority did not only serve as an argument to construct 'otherness' and to position the 'other' as inferior but also to legitimise British technologized violence as appropriate means to oppose the 'other'. Technology therefore allowed to construct understandings of British warfare as having a degree of mastery over the arbitrariness of the battlefield, dissociating British interventions from barbaric killing. Barbaric killing became acts committed by an inferior and less developed culture, an illegitimate offence from '*the terrorists*' (Melike), '*the enemy*' (Jack) against '*innocent civilians' (Yassin*) or *'our people'* (Sam). This allowed the building of a coherently argued hero-representation.

Crucially, however, the separation of legitimate and illegitimate killing allowed to rationalise and differentiate the consequences of killing. Whilst 'good' or legitimate killing was understood as only marginally affecting the veterans' mental wellbeing, serious psychological impairments were attributed to 'bad' or illegitimate killing. These psychological impairments seemingly objectified social core values as making failures to

comply with the broad conventions of society's moral conduct tangible. In this way, observable negative consequences of amoral behaviour visualised both, social ideals of altruism and non-violence and the violation of these ideals, by transforming them into concrete realities. Psychological impairments became a "termed personification" (Joffe, 2007, p. 206), a graspable reality which substituted abstract ideas. This is exemplified in the following:

> *'I can justify all what I did – but when you killed unlawfully? You know, that could lead to loads of different distresses. I think it would be a problem if someone comes to the conclusion that they didn't do it lawfully, this would lead to more distress and a change in their behaviour. It could be anything: Self destructive behaviour, drink – that sort of thing, abuse, self-harm – that could lead to all sorts of thing, couldn't it? When people are distressed like that. Could lead to avoidance.' (Jonathan, veteran)*

> *'Well, I guess if you do the wrong stuff, it's sort of damaging, you know. I mean, not that I did the wrong stuff, I mean, like acting against the rules and stuff, but, I mean, like... like, I can justify everything I did – like, nothing I did was against the rules, so I am fine. But when you did do the wrong stuff, you know, like unintentionally, you know? It will play with your mind, you won't be able to cope, you gonna get nuts cause it won't go away. You gonna keep thinking about it – it's gonna make you mad.' (Phil, veteran)*

> *'So, if they haven't paid any attention to the rules of engagement they start to shame or blame themselves or are ashamed of their own reactions in the trauma scenario. Because then the perception of the soldier or veteran is that "I didn't do the right thing" or "I have killed illegally". And that's one of the things which can cause trauma when they come home.' (Kim, contact)*

These quotes indicate that the rules of engagement served as a moral framework which, when applied correctly, legitimised killing and prevented from psychological distress, a consequence associated with reflections on illegitimate killing. The underlying factors of psychological distress were attributions of shame and guilt, a logical consequence of the veteran–hero personality: As illegitimate killing was understood as transgressing the veteran's high internal moral standards, veterans were perceived to be inclined to ruminate over the misdeed, wishing they would have behaved differently. Therefore, when the hero-veteran was thought to have killed illegitimately, a failure to forgive oneself was anticipated.

The "failure or inability to forgive oneself is problematic morally and psychologically" (Griswold, 2007, p. 122), as "self-forgiveness restores the capability to carry on as functioning person even after causing [...] harm or death to other innocent persons" (Gamlund, 2011, p. 125). In this sense, understandings of an absence of self-forgiveness justified attributions of adverse mental health outcomes which were perceived to materialize in social avoidance, psychological disorders and addictive behaviours.

Therefore, the veteran could be easily classified as a 'healthy individual' – the veteran who had not been involved in the illegitimate killing, or as an 'unhealthy individual' – the 'unlucky' veteran who had been involved in the illegitimate killing.

Public Responses to the Veteran's sacrifice

The narrative accounts outlined that the coherently argued veteran-hero representation affected understandings of appropriate social responses to the veteran's sacrifice. Consequences of Service (i.e. physiological and psychological harm, dedication and commitment of time) were acknowledged but understood in terms of honourable sacrifices which needed appreciation rather than commiseration. For example,

> *'It is a great sacrifice. A great honour that they went out there and stuff for our freedom. If they go out there and are not there anymore, cause they have been killed and stuff... it is very sad, you know. That they have sacrificed their life for us.' (Yassin, no contact)*

> *'What people [veterans] sacrifice and that especially when negative things happen, like war, that there are positive people that are trying to help and trying to do their best, that's amazing, and if they get PTSD or have injuries – we need to appreciate that. We need to be positive about it... and thankful for their sacrifice.' (Julie, contact)*

> *'They [British public] are very grateful, it makes you proud. Cause this is something I have been doing for nearly 40 years. [...] For the sacrifice, you are living away from home, dangerous conditions. Some people gave the ultimate sacrifice, some people died, and I think they are grateful for that... obviously in a very British... distant way... but they are grateful for that. And I personally think that's the way how it should be.' (Jonathan, veteran)*

These narrative accounts are exemplative for understandings of appropriate social responses to the veteran's sacrifice that were apparent in all veteran-hero representation contexts. Interestingly, all veterans who held the hero representation referred to feeling appreciated and supported by the British public. This was even the case when veterans made negative experiences. For example,

> *'I was spat at because I was wearing uniform and medal. And that was on a Remembrance Day and that was disgusting. Did I get upset about it? Yes, I did at that time. 20 mins later – I pitied that person. [...] But generally, I think they are very supportive of their troops. Proud and supportive.' (Simeon, veteran)*

In conclusion, the veteran's perception of the British public reflected most often their self-perception. Although veterans recalled instances of both, being honoured and being abused, opinions of how the majority of the British public would view them was always aligned with the veteran's own response towards the sacrifice. Therefore, if veterans themselves held the hero-representation and thought about their sacrifice as honourable, the narrative account outlined considerable overlap with how they thought to be considered by the majority of the British public.

In conclusion, ultimately the analysis of the veteran's sacrifice indicated that battlefield-exposure was thought to have negative and psychologically harmful effects on the veteran-individual. As outlined in the beginning, these are factually incorrect beliefs. Therefore, even though the veteran was considered to be a hero, the destructive nature of war served as a foundation to adopt the unquestioned assumption of injury as a veteran's necessary prerequisite. However, as the missions were perceived to be altruistically motivated and aligned with the veteran's altruistic intention, the victimisation of the veteran was considerably low. The veteran was understood to be able to overcome incurred damage through the missions' legitimacy. Therefore, it can be concluded that social perceptions of the veteran's neediness may be governed by social perceptions of the deployments.

7.5.1.4. Significance for identity

As described in the theoretical chapter, the process of social representational construction is assumed to be determined by four tenets of identity – continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem

and self-efficacy. These four tenets are thought to govern acceptance and rejection of information in accordance to maintaining a positive self-regard (Breakwell, 2016). Based upon this theoretical notion the construction of the veteran-hero representation would be influenced by identity maintenance processes and thus by the four tenets of identity construction. This means more concretely that participants would have accepted and believed information about veterans that was of personal relevance and contributed to a positive sense of self. In contrast, information that would have threatened a positive sense of self would have been rejected by participants.

The Thematic Analysis of narrative accounts indicated that, in the context of understanding the veteran as a hero, all participants positioned themselves towards what they understood it means to be British. Therefore, the veteran became the symbolic fighter of what was associated with the UK and direct references to justify the veteran-hero representation were made. This was particularly the case when participants were 1st or 2nd generation immigrants (Yargul: British/ Iraqi, Yassin: British/Bangladeshi, Melike: British/ Bangladeshi, Jessi: British/ Bangladeshi). Then social norms and values were contested, and participants drew on personal experiences to justify British values (i.e. freedom, equality) as being superior.

A second pattern identified references to personal ties that related to interactions with veterans and justified seeing veterans as heroes. This pattern occurred in 56% (10/18) of narrative accounts, or effectively in the narrative accounts of 11/12 individuals (92%) that knew a British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veteran or were veterans themselves. Here it is not said that these participants did not *also* refer to their British identity in constructing and rationalising the veteran-hero representation. On the contrary, participants coherently argued the veteran-hero representation by drawing on both: Situating the veteran in terms of personal evaluations of what it means to be British, and, situating the veteran in terms of their personal experiences with the veteran they know. However, the veteran-population generally referred to the social category 'Veteran' when constructing veterans as heroes. Therefore, veterans refrained from using words like i.e. 'bravery' or 'hero'/'heroic' to characterise themselves. 'Bravery' and 'heroism' was rather used to characterise veterans as a social category and to relate oneself then to this category.

In conclusion, the following section will provide an interpretational overview of how constructing the veteran-hero representation may have been related to identity maintenance

processes. Therefore, this section will analyse which contributions the veteran-hero representation may have made to maintain a positive self-regard. In conclusion, the potential impact of the hero representation on the four identity tenets that are thought to be constituents of positive self-regard (continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy; Breakwell, 2016) will be analysed. Each of the four identity tenets will be discussed by one representative example. This will allow the reader to gain a general overview of ways in which the veteran-hero representation may have corresponded with identity tenets.

Continuity

The continuity principle refers to "persistent sameness with oneself" (cf. Breakwell, 1992, p.8). It describes an individual's disposition to have congruency within the realms of the same identity (Breakwell, 1992).

To understand how the social representation of the veteran may be related to the continuity principle, it is necessary to take an interpretative approach. The analysis revealed that the veteran had a symbolic meaning that concerned the veteran as an embodiment of protection: The veteran became a defender of societies and values. More relevant for the continuity-principle was, however, the fact that the veteran was understood as a protector of the *British* society and thus defender of the country that sustained participants (i.e. *'protecting British civilians', 'protecting freedom', Yassin; 'protector of British values', James*). Britain was therefore treated in symbolic ways. Britain did not solely comprise a country and its people but instead also of values, a culture and a way of life, that were known and appreciated by the participants.

Therefore, 89% (16/18) of the participants positioned themselves in terms of '*owing my life to the country' (James)*, as they understood the country in terms of having nurtured them and giving them a place where they could feel genuinely appreciated. This is exemplified by interpreting Sam's narrative account:

> *'Britain's my home, obviously I was born here. I think Britain has always been there for me, you know. Britain will always be there for me... people gonna change – I'm gonna change – but Britain will always be there for me, cause I <u>am</u> British [...] It allows me to develop and to build my life without fear of prosecution or of being affected by the outside world, you know.' (Sam, no contact).*

This account was exemplative for how individuals commonly referred to their national identity in the context of the veteran-hero representation. As outlined in Sam's quote, Britain

was presented in personified ways that provided stability for a lifetime. The British identity provided Sam with identity continuity, shielding him from identity-threat. In this sense, the results indicated that the British identity may be seen as an underlying identity that may become more or less salient, however, that always remains a crucial, unchanging part of oneself. The stability of the underlying British identity may therefore promote growth and change as it provides the participants with the feeling of living in a safe place.

Therefore, when taking the significance of the British identity into account, it is unsurprising that participants adopted culturally prevalent notions of the veteran (*'Veteran – brave, you know, that's nearly a synonym in our culture. The veteran, he is one of our people, you know?', Sam*). The veteran as *'defender of my home'* (Yargul) may therefore indicate that the veteran's importance to an individual may be defined through the personal meaning of one's home country.

Distinctiveness

The distinctiveness principle describes that individuals strive to optimise distinctiveness from other people by pinpointing unique elements of identity (Breakwell, 1992). This would assume that participants constructed individualised understandings of veterans that allow them to be different from others. The analysis indicated that a feeling of distinctiveness may have been achieved by constructing the British military interventions essentially in terms of contrasting the altruistic, moral 'us' (British) vs. the transgressive, amoral 'them' (terrorists). Distinctiveness in identity may have therefore derived from identification on a national level. However, reasons for why participants understood Britain to be morally supreme varied in accordance to the significance of identity. For example:

> *'Some [women] may be forced to cover, forced to stay home, are abused, education – they are not allowed to have any, particularly women.*
> *I: Because of the terrorists?*
> *M: Yeah, because of the terrorists, cause it is unfair. Women are born as women, it is not alright to restrict women of the education. And the British know that - you see, I am at University cause I am British [Bangladeshi parents]. I'm the only one in my family who goes to a University. Cause the women in these countries [Iraq/Afghanistan], they are restricted. So, I do think that our veterans, they have done a good thing in going out and fighting these terrorists. Cause I'm a woman myself, I wouldn't like them to be empowered. So, our veteran*

gave the women more opportunity by driving these terrorist groups out and killing them.' (Melike, no contact)

Melike exemplifies how she was rationalised her thoughts about British supremacy. As she is a 2nd generation immigrant, she contested her understanding of what it means to be a British woman with what it means to be a South-East Asian woman. As she associates equality to Britain, her British identity increases in significance. This was particularly the case when Melike mentions education, for her part of her British identity. By setting herself into a relationship with her relatives, who have not been at University, her identity-distinctiveness may be considered to be promoted. This may explain why Melike refers to veterans, who fought for British values in other countries, in heroic ways.

Similar answering patterns were found for other abstract values that were associated with British values. For example, altruism was a trait considered to be particular for British society. Yargul a 2nd generation immigrant whose family was from Iraq elaborated on this:

'Like in my household (Kurdish-Iraqi), the Army is a no-no [...] whereas in my head – I do see it as dangerous, but I see the pros, like I see that they wanna help people. [...] That's cause my family is from Iraq – I am British, I get 'British thinking', you know?', Yargul (no contact)

Here, Yargul explains that she could understand altruism in terms of endangering one's own life to help others only through her British identity. In this sense, altruism and Yargul's emphasis on the British perspective that she understood herself may have raised Yargul's distinctiveness from other members of her Kurdish-Iraqi family. Yargul's Britishness may, therefore, justify why she perceived herself to be different from the rest of her family. Therefore, her conceptualisation of the veteran as helpful, altruistic individual may have contributed to distinctiveness in identity.

Similarly, the symbolic value 'freedom' may have positively contributed to self-perception. James provides an example thereof by explaining how the 'own' British freedom opposes the 'other' Muslim freedom. Just as Yargul, James assumed that different cultures think differently, justifying that 'others' could not understand freedom:

'They'd [Muslims] characterise our veteran as an enemy cause he's been to the countries where they might be coming from. And personally, I think that our people that went to these

countries were trying to help – make them free, but they [Muslims] don't get 'freedom' cause that's just how they are.' James (no contact)

In this quote James exemplifies how contesting perceptions of freedom may allow to understand one's own perception to be superior to others'. In this sense, the other's inability to understand freedom in the way James did may be considered as promoting distinctiveness. Therefore, comparisons between conceptualisations of freedom of the morally apprehensible 'them' and the morally supreme 'us' allowed to draw a clear line. The veteran-hero representation may therefore again resonate implicitly with underlying identity processes that allowed to maintain a positive sense of self.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem relates to the IPT's notion that the individual is thought to seek an identity structure that allows to achieve and maintain self-esteem (cf. Breakwell, 1992). The narrative accounts indicated that the self-esteem and the distinctiveness principle had considerable overlap. This may be the case because the hero representation most often relied upon differentiations between ingroup and outgroup. Therefore, the morally inferior (i.e. terrorists) did not only allow to draw a line between 'them' (morally inferior) and 'us' ('British') but may have also promoted self-esteem. This was the case as the British individual may have related to the veteran as a symbolic representation of Britain and thus of oneself in terms of one's national identity. In conclusion, 61% (11/18) of participants referred their right to be proud to be British by constructing others as morally despicable. The veteran, in this context, was again the symbolic fighter against evil. For example:

'I mean things like standing up for freedom, fighting for justice – the right things, the moral things. This is what the UK stands for... They are British values... highest moral values. This is what makes me proud to be British - To serve Britain. To eradicate things around the world that go against the British ideology.!' (Jack, veteran)

In this example, Jack constructs pride upon the notion that his British moral values are superior to others. Although he does not explicitly mention a particular group, he makes indirect references by representing his aversions against 'things' that do not comply with his British values. Therefore, not only that moral superiority justified the pride he takes in his nationality but also to have served in the British Forces.

However, 29% (7/8) of the participants did not explicitly mention pride but the analysis revealed similar patterns that contributed positively to self-esteem (i.e. *'When you think of all we have here in Britain: Our economy, job perspectives – we can do literately whatever we want in the UK [...] The veteran? Well, quite obviously he is the one who made all this possible, who protected us and continues to do so! Because in other countries you don't have these opportunities.'* Emma).

In conclusion, it may be possible that the veteran-hero representation was significant to the individual as it was related to understandings of constructions of Britain as a superior society.

Self-Efficacy

Self-Efficacy refers to the individual's drive to maintain an identity structure that is characterised by competence and control. The absence of self-efficacy is associated with feelings of futility and helplessness (Breakwell, 1992). In this sense, the narrative accounts indicated that participants constructed understandings of veterans that contributed to feeling secure and thus able to pursue personal interests, to develop and to maintain a sense of control in one's life. Therefore, self-efficacy was found to play an important role in all accounts that referred to the veteran as a hero. As exemplified in the following, the veteran was understood as a defender of the individual's safety that allowed it to prosper and develop.

> *'[The veteran fought for] social beliefs in the fact that freedom to go about our daily lives without the fear of being blown up by a suicide bomber or being rundown by some crazed guy from Belgium in a lorry, just the freedom to just live our lives how we want to. [...] To know that I am protected allows me to get education, get a job – work, all that sort of things.' (Sam, no contact)*

This narrative account outlines how the veteran-hero representation may have answered the need for protection. Upon this basis, life choices and goals can be pursued that relate to personal growth. Therefore, understandings of a veteran as a hero may relate to the tenet self-esteem as it may allow the individual to maintain a feeling of being in control over one's life. References to the veteran as a protector against terrorist-threats were made in all the participants' narrative accounts. Therefore, it made little difference whether the participant had no contact with the UK Armed Forces (i.e. '*We can get on with our daily lives. Cause the veteran protects us from terrorists.' Yargul*), knew a British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veteran *(i.e. 'My dad was deployed to protect us from ter*rorists.' Julie) or were veterans

themselves (i.e. *'It is quite difficult to evaluate the impact we have made. The only thing is, we sort of made our country slightly safer.'* Christian).

In conclusion, the veteran hero representation may have related to self-efficacy as the veteran-hero, allowed the individual to attribute safety and security to its position. This may have promoted the feeling to be in control of circumstances that relate to one's own life.

7.5.2. The Victim

The analysis indicated that the victim representation was the most commonly held representation. From the total of 29 participants, 23 participants (79%) referred to the victim representation in at least one instance. A total of seven participants (30%) only referred to the veteran as a victim. In the narrative accounts of twelve participants (52%) the analysis revealed the coexistence of the hero and victim representation and in the accounts of four participants (17%) the coexistence of the victim and perpetrator representation. Participants differed in social contact to the Armed Forces in terms of nine (39%) having no contact to the UK Armed Forces, eight (34%) being in close contact with a British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veteran and six (27%) being British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans themselves.

7.5.2.1. The Situation: Understandings of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan

Conceptualisation of the deployments

A necessary constituent for the victim-representation was that the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan were conceptualised as a futile waste of British resources. Therefore, participants held one of the following convictions. 87% (20/23) of the narrative accounts indicated that participants understood violence and war as justified as long as they were contributing to the greater good. However, the deployments in Iraq and/or Afghanistan were thought to have failed in accomplishing the mission goal and/or to have not been altruistically motivated. 17% (3/23) of the narrative accounts outlined that participants thought of war and violence to be generally unjustifiable and thus thought deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan to be unjustified. Therefore, all participants understood the deployments in Iraq and/or Afghanistan as failed and/or unnecessary when referring to the veteran-victim representation.

Crucially, aversions to the deployments were justified by understanding the British government acting out of self-interests. Violation of expectations in terms of mission objectives and outcome formed a rationale in which the government was understood to have acted deliberately in bad faith. For example:

'I still don't know much about the war. I still don't see the reason why they had to kill him [Saddam Hussein], I think that was unnecessary. Cause he was just trying to protect his country. [...] But I, for real, I think it is an achievement that the British government wanted to do. They didn't care about the soldiers, about who got in the way or how they did do it. They wanted to have the oil, the money.' (Zabrina, no contact)

'Because Iraq and Afghanistan were far more nebulous [than 1 WW, 2 WW] – were they fighting to have the country? To get the oil wells? To get rid of the Taliban? Other groups? It's all very confused – why are you fighting? [...] If it was for political reasons – to gain control over resources – then it wasn't worth it; Then politicians should be held accountable for the death of our soldiers.' (Nicolas, contact)

'We set our aims based an incorrect conceptualization of what the conflict was, which meant we could never succeed, it was impossible for us to succeed. [...] Everything in Afghanistan was noise before the defeat because there was no strategy and the government needs to take full responsibility for it. In a nutshell, the mission was poorly conceived and poorly executed, the government treated soldiers and civilians unfairly.' (Marcus, veteran)

As exemplified in the quotes above, the British government was perceived to be incompetent and disingenuous. In this sense, the British government was considered to have used its Forces imprudently for activities that were classified as unjust or amoral. Therefore, the missions' basic narrative story arc was dubiously constructed. Participants were either not clear about the distribution of roles in terms of identifying protagonist and antagonist (politicians? Terrorists?) or associated the role of the antagonist to a deceitful British government. In both cases, however, the government was anthropomorphically described as having failed in taking care for soldiers and civilians. The lack in consideration of people involved in the deployments that were associated with the British government, resulted in an immediate response of mistrust that reminded of a symbolic breach of psychological contract (cf. Rousseau, 2001). If veterans conceptualised the deployments as ill-planned and -executed, veterans dissociated themselves either from the government or from the UK Armed Forces, depending upon which institution was made responsible for the attributed failure. Therefore, all veterans who held the victim representation referred to a feeling of disillusionment at least in one instance. Felix exemplified this:

'I was deployed alongside the diplomats and the leaders and commanders of the whole mission. I was able to see how dysfunctional the whole mission was. In Iraq, you could have had an illusion that somebody knew what they were doing. Maybe I didn't, but someone did. There was no such illusion in Afghanistan. Our tasks were pointless [...] Everybody's [Colonels, Generals] thrashing around in an extremely complex and dangerous environment. Finding themselves bewildered as I am but putting a veneer of competence and confidence over this catastrophic confusion. The lack of consideration was very disillusioning.' (Felix, veteran)

Felix' account represented experiences of 'disillusionment' that related to being unjustifiably exposed to existential threats. Particularly attributions of incompetence and dishonesty to superiors contributed to understandings of high organisational fault by associating deliberate acts of bad faith to authorities (reneging; Rousseau, 1998). Therefore, a breach of symbolic contract may explain Felix' dissociation from the Forces by understanding his veteran identity as '*not as significant as being a barrister or being an academic' (Felix, veteran)*. However, attributions of high organisational fault were only found in two of the veterans' narrative accounts (33%, 2/6). Therefore, dissociation from one's veteran identity was scarce.

Instead, veterans commonly attributed low organisational fault to the government by understanding it as having acted to the best of its knowledge at that time. Therefore, the circumstances were thought to have been outside of organisational control (cf. disruption; Rousseau, 1998). This attitude was found in 67% (4/6) of those veterans who referred to the veteran-victim representation:

'Both [deployments] were disillusioning. [...] Iraq? At the time with the information that the government had – it seemed legal but at hindsight, the last few years: Should we have went there? Probably not. We didn't achieve anything there anyway.' (Nathaniel, veteran)

Nathaniel here outlines that, although he perceived the mission in Iraq as futile, he did not understand the government as having acted deliberately in bad faith. As the unnecessary exposure to a threatening environment was thought to have been justified and legitimate at that time, the veteran-identity remained an important part of Nathaniel's self-concept ('*I'm proud, very proud to be a veteran from these two deployments' Nathaniel, veteran*).

Therefore, in the absence of the deployments' success the government was attributed with little fault. Though having acted imprudently, the government was understood as good-

willing but misinformed and became an unwitting victim similar to the veteran-victim. Instead of being the victim of governmental malice and self-interest, the veteran was rather a victim of governmental unknowingness and incompetence. In this sense, the degree of attributed governmental fault varied between veteran participants. However, though the degree of fault varied, all veteran-participants agreed in the futility of the mission, that the government should not have deployed its soldiers.

The impact of hegemonic representation of British military history

Participants that referred to the veteran-victim representation identified and rejected what they understood to be a socially prevalent veteran-hero assumption. This veteran-hero assumption was thought to be based upon commemorative practices. Particularly the non-veteran population elaborated on rejecting socially ascribed definitions (10/15, 63% of the non-veteran population who held the victim-representation). In contrast, only 2/6 (33%) veterans discussed why they felt that socially pertinent notions on understanding veterans as heroes were inappropriate.

In this sense, participants distanced themselves from what they understood as a highly socially scripted understanding of the veteran. This understanding was thought to laud veterans for the highest moral values that represented the veteran's altruism. Therefore, the veteran-hero representation could not be dovetailed with veterans from the most recent missions which were perceived as motivated by illegal governmental self-interests. In 52% (12/23) of the narrative accounts the veteran-hero representation, however, became only rejected when rationalised. In this sense, the hero representation seemed to refer to a self-evident representation, a representation that social members did not recognize as such. Instead, it has been unconsciously adopted and became an undeniable reality (Orr, 2007). The self-evident hero representation though became rejected when rationalised. This is exemplified in the following:

> *'It is just like these two words: Veteran and brave - it is like they are linked [...], it is like a word association. Yeah... don't know why. [...] I have been taught to have respect 'cause they are brave... have been conditioned in school. It's all they teach you in the UK. [...] because of the World War 1 and 2, all of the soldiers, they were heroes, they were real, and everybody loved them. They saved us. So, veterans are still wrapped up in this glorious heroes' ethos.*
> *I: Do you think it is the same for Iraq and Afghanistan veterans?*

A; I don't think it is the same for Iraq and Afghanistan veterans. [...] To me they are not brave, they are cowards. [...] Being brave is saying: No, I don't agree, and I don't want to do things this way.' (Anna, no contact)

'Even if you would ask me again, it [veteran-bravery] is something like the first thing which would come up. But I think, like what I said [I don't think that the deployments were justified.], I don't know how to explain it. I think it is what other people think. And it comes into my recollection – but I don't feel that this word [bravery] is actually true – it is like 'ah – this is red'. It is a statement which may be true for society. Maybe also a bit for me – but I don't feel that it is really true.' (Elif, no contact)

These quotes outline that participants seemed to have a clear understanding of just and unjust wars. In this way, these two quotes exemplify how participants unravelled the veteran-hero representation as being a culturally produced and socially indoctrinated representation. 'Bravery' as an example for a defining characteristic of the hero representation became an empty label, a 'politically correct' expression, a thing that is being expected to be said (cf. Markova, 2007). In this sense, the socially scripted definition of what it means to be a veteran was scrutinized and participants dissociated themselves from these definitions.

In some instances, attributions of the government acting in bad faith seemed to taint perceptions of the socially perpetuated hero-image. The veteran-hero representation was then thought to be just another governmentally promoted deceit. However, in the veteran-population this attitude was only prevalent if veterans thought the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan were based upon malicious intent. This happened in two instances (7%,2/23). For example:

The veteran-hero lie is a useful constituency for when the government is doing stupid stuff they can talk about heroes and when the military want to stop budget cuts they talk about our brave boys and girls. [...] Its damaging because it puts a protective gloss around the Forces that makes them impervious to change.' (Marcus, veteran)

This account exemplifies how deceit and self-interest becomes a general characteristic of the British government. The government was therefore not only thought to have acted unfaithfully in deploying soldiers but also in distributing a wrong-image of the soldier. This again was associated to self-interest and failings to provide genuine care of their ex-soldiers.

This attitude went along with attributions of high levels of organisational fault. In summary, veterans identified and rejected the veteran-hero representation along with identifying and rejecting the British government, as being an unfaithful institution.

In conclusion, negative perceptions of the missions based upon failing in accomplishing (altruistic) goals set a scene in which the veteran-victim representation could evolve. Therefore, participants distanced themselves from socially perpetuated images of the veteran (hero-representation) and tried to understand the veteran's voluntary participation in an unjust war.

7.5.2.2. The Veteran: Understandings of the veteran's personality

The second essential constituent in the veteran-victim representation related to understandings of the veteran-personality. These comprised rationalities that addressed the veteran's willingness to join the UK Armed Forces and thus a voluntary involvement in (illegitimate) violence.

Crucially, the veteran-personality in the context of the victim-representation was discussed very differently by non-veteran and veteran participants. When the veteran was described in the victim context, non-veteran participants perceived veterans to have similar altruistic traits as when perceived in the hero-representation context. However, as the focus in the context of the veteran-victim representation was based upon governmental deceit and bad faith, the well-intending veteran was understood to be 'tricked' into service. Instead of joining the UK Armed Forces as an expression of their innate personality, as within the veteran-hero representation, recruitment was understood in terms of the government advertising lies that enticed well-intending but naïve individuals into Service. Therefore mendacious propaganda and false promises were emphasised when the veteran was understood as a victim by civilians. For example:

> *'There was still a lot of propaganda [advertisements to join the Forces], they were still tricked to sign up – and so that is why I don't want to call it brave. Because, yes, it is brave. But I feel that this bravery is used to trick a lot of people to doing something they are not fully aware of the consequences [experiencing violence] it has.' (Elif, no contact)*

'I probably prefer to use the word "tricked". [...] I don't really know how to describe it, cause it's tricked... you feel like you're not tricked, you signed up to be part of the military, you known what you're going into cause you think you gonna be a hero. But, a lot of it is, you're told what to do. So, you fight in unknown wars, you know, you don't really know what you're fighting for, like in Iraq. You, maybe, maybe you cannot say 'waste your life', but - sort of.' (Caleb, contact)

These accounts are exemplative of 11/23 (48%) narratives that explicitly referred to being 'tricked' into service. Participants justified the veteran's decision to serve by anticipating an unthoughtful response to socially perpetuated images of Service. Therefore, the veteran was thought to have only considered one aspect – to become a hero – whilst neglecting deployments and the experience of existential threats. Attributions of naivety that were implicitly related to limited intelligence of the veteran were consequences thereof. Participants then created a 'Forest Gump' like veteran-personality, characterised by well-intending unknowingness. For example:

'I imagine them, maybe full of idealism ... yeah... and then reality steps in and you think "oh my god" and then perhaps a disillusionment.' (Trudy, no contact)

'What kind of person wants to do that? Potentially being in a violent conflict – what kind of person would aspire and enjoy fighting somebody? Probably quite naïve or nitwitted.' (Danielle, contact)

These accounts indicate how the veteran was understood to become 'innocently' involved in unjust violence. By attributing naivety and unthoughtfulness to the veteran-personality, the veteran was understood as having unintentionally 'ended up' on an illegitimate battlefield. Crucially, associating well-intending unknowingness to the veteran's personality allowed to ascribe a lack of agency to the veteran. Therefore, participants constructed the veteran in terms of a vulnerable group that has sought to make a valuable contribution in joining the British Armed Forces. This created a symbolic distance that facilitated holding the veteran in positive regard, whilst simultaneously opposing the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. In conclusion, the veteran became a victim of the naïve submission to organisations that used their power in the case of Iraq and Afghanistan unfaithfully.

Interestingly, in the context of discussing the futility of deployments, veterans conceptualised the veteran-personality differently. Then, socially scripted veteran-personalities (i.e. heroic/ brave/ naïve) became generally refuted and the veteran was thought to have no specific personality. For example:

> *'I: And when you think about the veterans that have served in these missions [Iraq/Afghanistan]? How would you describe British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans?*
> *M: I can't answer that question, you have to give me something more than that, [...] there is no one characteristic that unites them.' (Marcus, veteran)*

Here Marcus exemplifies how veterans perceive veterans in the victim context - individuals that shared no specific dispositions. Veterans then rejected society, imposing an imperative obligation on the individual to adopt a particular veteran-identity (Duveen, 2001). Veterans rather understood 'Veteran' to be a socially emancipated identity, an identity that an individual can voluntary adopt – and in Marcus' case reject. More concretely, in the context of perceived illegitimacy, Service became a job that anybody else could have done, requiring skills that anyone else could have. This created symbolic distance to guilt as exemplified in the following:

> *'But that's a social guilt [referring to the deployment in Iraq] – not my individual guilt. I did my job because I was told by society to go and do a job. [...] Anyone could have replaced me – anyone could have. It was just a job.' (Jonathan, veteran)*

This quote is exemplative of the veterans' accounts in the context of the veteran-victim representation. In this way, both, perceptions of the mission's futility and a positive self-concept could be maintained. Interestingly, within this context also the notion of bravery was dissociated from Personnel in the UK Armed Forces. Rather were brave deeds (i.e. putting their own live behind other people's) understood to be 'part of the job'. For example:

> *'Brave? Heroic? No, that's all rubbish. [...] Nobody in the military is brave. They do their job and if they go and save someone's life, that's your job to do that. If you don't do your job, fine, but that's your job. It's not brave.' (Felix, veteran)*

This quote was exemplative of two veteran accounts (33%, 2/6) and indicates that brave deeds that were inevitably related to Service were thought not to require bravery. However,

the deployments, though being perceived as failures, were thought to have improved employability. For example,

> *'I think the difference with me now is that I have lived and breathed this war and wrote a PhD on it and wrote a book on it and now I consult on it. Deployment changed my life ... for the better.' (Marcus, veteran)*

> *'For me, it was an adventure, and it was a test. It was very challenging, made me more resilient. I met many interesting people who helped me to get the job I have now.' (Felix, veteran)*

As illustrated in these quotes, the benefit of deployment was understood as providing transferable soft-skills. Therefore, instead of understanding deployment as encapsulated experience, it was considered as being part of one's ongoing life that allowed to develop skills of personal significance. In this sense, 3/6 (50%) veterans referred to skills that went beyond the experience of deployment itself. This facilitated the process of distancing oneself from being a veteran as an expression of their personality. Instead, the oral accounts indicated that although the veteran identity was generally appreciated, it was understood as being just another identity that played a rather minor role in their current life (i.e. *'[Being a veteran is] not as important as being a barrister or being an academic. But yeah. In my little hierarchy of identities.', Felix, veteran*).

In summary, in the context of the futility of the deployments, the veteran's personality was perceived differently by non-veterans and veterans. Whilst the former understood the veteran as a naïve and cognitively disadvantaged individual that was 'tricked' into service, the latter externalised guilt by rejecting the notion of 'Veteran' being an expression of a specific personality (anybody could have done the 'job'). In conclusion, as the evaluation of the veteran's personality differed, also perceptions of the veteran's sacrifice and appropriate social responses varied to some extent. This will be elaborated in the following.

7.5.2.3. The Sacrifice: Understandings of the situation's impact on the veteran

Crucially, attributions of agency determined understandings of the veteran's sacrifice. In 15/23 narrative accounts (65%), the veteran in the veteran-victim context was perceived to suffer from having a lack of agency within the illegitimate mission. This elicited compassionate, emotional responses towards a pitiful victim. In contrast, 7/23 participants (30%, including all veteran-participants) understood veterans as having acted legitimately within the realms of an illegitimate mission and thus attributed agency towards the veteran. In these instances, emotional responses to the veteran's 'sacrifice' were scarce.

Following Orders

In 68% of the accounts, the perception of the deployments' illegitimacy could not be aligned with anticipations of the well-intending, naïve veteran who had joined to serve the greater good. The veteran was then understood as having no agency for the committed illegal actions, making the veteran into a victim of orders. By executing orders, the veteran seemed to become a victim of 'structural powerlessness' (Walkalate, 2007). 'Structural powerlessness' applied to the veteran regarding the location (deployed to war-scenes) on one side, and, on the other, concerning the impact of the structure on behaviours (veterans as having had to follow their orders in the course of their duty; cf. Walklate, 2007). This made the veteran to a 'deserving victim', a "victim through no fault of their own" (Walklate, 2007, p.469). The veteran was thus considered as a victim without choice, as being unable to question the participation in the conflicts (cf. McGarry & Ferguson, 2012); or in Kim's words, '*Because in the Armed Forces.... you can't actually walk away from it [war]. You have no choice, you can't say: "No, I don't feel like it today."*'.

More concretely, in the context of a deceitful mission following orders became conceptualised as a futile task. As there was no greater benefit that the veteran could have achieved, orders were thought to transgress the veteran's good-willing intentions. The execution of orders turned the veteran therefore into a misused individual. For example,

> *'All this is happening to this poor person and there is no cause, there is no reason for it. What they are told [referring to orders] is bullshit but they need to get on with it, doing it.' (Shaun, no contact)*

'I would refer to them as poor individuals that ended up fighting in a conflict, doing things they didn't want to.' (Emma, contact)

These quotes of exemplative for 57% (13/23) of narrative accounts that outlined following orders to take away the veteran's agency. The veteran was understood as being a non-agentic marionette, as having no power to make decisions (i.e. whether to participate in the conflict, whether actions are justified and thus worthy of doing) and thus deserving to be pitied. Thus, understandings of veterans did in this context not fulfil any requirement of agentic acting (Barandiaran, Fi Paolo & Rohde, 2009). Veterans were instead conceptualised as blindly following haphazard orders, failing to

a.) define the own individuality: The veteran's individual potential was perceived to be taken away; the veteran was solely *an* instrument that could be easily replaced
b.) be the active source of activity in the environment: Inability to make own decisions
c.) regulate their own activity in relation to certain norms: Inability to make decisions based upon social norms such as peace and avoidance of violence (cf. McCulloch, 1995)

In this sense, the narrative accounts indicated that even the experience of 'structural powerlessness' had negative impacts on the veteran's mental health. For example:

'You must go to these countries [Iraq/Afghanistan], you know that you know that a percentage is going to die. So, you know that... it's going to be them? It's going to be me? You know, it's just a constant stress, you have the people in charge. And they [officers] determine what you are going to do – if they say, you need to go there you are going to do it. And if there is a sniper there or something, you still need to do it! And people have died there, and you want me to go there? And you need to go, and you have no choice, that's it. That sort of stress – it makes you turn nuts cause it's not what you've thought it [Service] to be.' (Shaun, no contact)

'It must be very difficult, very difficult to be in that situation [deployment], I'd imagine. To have someone else in charge of you - he might send you off to die without any reason, maybe just because he doesn't like the way you've tied your laces? You have no rights, no right to say no. That makes me ponder: Did they take this into consideration when they signed their life away? It must be very difficult - emotionally, psychologically disturbing, very disturbing, I'd imagine.' (Nicolas, contact)

These quotes are exemplative for 30% (7/23) of the narrative accounts, highlighting the immediate contingent nature of the veteran's former existence as a soldier by associating 'structural powerlessness' to eliciting psychological damage. The veteran became a victim of psychological distress that was associated with being subdued to follow unfaithful superiors – a violation of what the veteran was thought to have expected from Service. Governmental deceit, related to deploying soldiers in unjustified wars, was therefore deflected with understandings of ill-considered superiors. In this sense, the veteran symbolised psychological consequences of hierarchical arbitrariness. This allowed participants to voice aversions against obedience demanding structures more generally (*'We should not have these systems which require you to shut-up and do as you're told.' Anna*).

In contrast, 6/23 participants (26%) refrained from understanding veterans as lacking agency in illegitimate deployments. Essentially, these participants were themselves veterans from Iraq or Afghanistan. Although they also perceived orders as futile, all six Iraq and/or Afghanistan veterans described situations in which veterans were thought to have made a valuable contribution within these *'pointless tasks'* (Felix). In all instances, the contribution reflected self-initiated protection of civilians or comrade soldiers. For example:

> *'Our task, which was to look for weapons of mass destruction, and my order that I was given pulled Tony's toes out of the fire and was a stupid waste of the resources that we were given. [...] I personally made efforts to give different tasks to my men, so they were doing something that at least helped force protection. It was quite successful as far as I'm concerned. We did some good, assisting the protection mission rather than assisting with finding weapons of mass destruction. All my men returned home, nobody got injured, it was very successful.' (Felix, veteran)*

This quote exemplifies how veterans understood themselves as fully agentic individuals, pursuing a personally useful duty. This allowed veterans to maintain a positive understanding of themselves whilst simultaneously perceiving the execution of their orders as futile. Or, more concretely, within a situation in that veterans lacked agency, veterans found a niche in which they could contribute towards the greater good. Within this niche, veterans were able to fulfil all conditions for agency, posed by Barandiaran et al. (2009). The veteran was able to make decisions which

d.) define the own individuality: Self-perceptions of having done what one personally considered to be 'right'

e.) were the active source of activity in the environment: Accomplishment of self-initiated actions that were understood as having promoted the greater good within the realms of one's possibilities

f.) regulated their own activity in relation to certain norms: Self-perceived fulfilment of own norms (having promoted the greater good) and occupational, military-duty related norms (having accomplished whatever was requested)

In conclusion, veteran participants rarely considered themselves to be non-agentic victims but as having made one's own judgements for which they feel accountable for. Therefore, non-veterans' and veterans' quotes that discussed agency or the absence of agency indicated profound differences between the observer's assessment of agency and the veteran's own assessment. Whilst the organisational external perspective of non-veterans saw the veteran-victim within the realms of social decision making, veterans considered their capacity to make decisions within the realms of the military. Therefore, different frames of reference were utilized to conceptualise agency in terms of one's own capacity to make decisions and to act accordingly may explain different perspectives in the attribution of agency.

Exposure to the battle-field

When referring to the victim-representation, 61% (14/23) of the participants engaged in perpetual recollections of what was thought to be a morally reprehensible battlefield. Therefore, the experience of war was equated with the vividly imagined experience of uncontrollable violence. The focus of the narrative accounts then slightly shifted from thematising veterans who have been deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan to discussing the horrific deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan from which veterans suffer. For example:

> *'Seeing people being killed, civilians being killed, women, children – their colleagues being blown up, you know. Dead bodies surrounding them. How they had to die is horrific sometimes – heads blown up, arms, you know – limbs, everywhere. Of course, for anyone to see that, it has to be traumatising. It is not something you can see every day. It is unhealthy to see these things.' (Zabrina, no contact)*

'It must be difficult, very very difficult because it is a threatening, deadly environment. Because you are going to see all sorts of things – your best pal being blown up next to you, having no legs anymore, blood, flesh – open wounds. Dead bodies – children, women and even your so-called enemies... It must be disturbing, very very disturbing. I don't think you could get away without trauma.' (Nicolas, contact)

As exemplified in these quotes, the mere exposure to the illusory battlefield served as rationality to justify the attribution of mental damage. Damage became part of the core beliefs in the individuals' understandings of what it means to be a veteran. Those without visually identifiable damage, e.g. a physical injury, were attributed to have incurred psychological damage; i.e. *'So, maybe they haven't been physically injured but mentally they're injured cause of what they have seen over there. [...] maybe not 100% but 99% of them are damaged in some way or the other.' (Nicolas, contact)*. In this sense, the veteran was understood as suffering from moral injury, 'transgressions [that] arise from [...] bearing witness to intense human suffering or the grotesque aftermath of battle' (Litz, 2012, p. 1). Veterans as victims were constructed in terms of fragility and lability – they became '*unstable'* (Elif), *'damaged'* (Trudy), *'poor individuals' (Shaun).*

In conclusion, attributions of damaged mental health were not based on reflections of critically evaluated, objective information. On the contrary, understanding the damaged pitiful individual rooted in highly emotional responses to experiencing (futile) existential threats. Veterans, therefore, became casualties, '*pawns in political power games' (Anna)*, that were not only disregarded during their Service but also on their return into civilian society. For example,

'The veteran is forgotten and left to his own devices. The guys just don't get the support they deserve after returning from the wars, having seen all this horrific stuff [referring to violence on the battlefield]. And on their return, they are literately forgotten! There is no law or anything that says: "Veterans need to be cared for!" – That should be addressed, I think.' (Tim, no contact)

'We're sending our troops to far away wars [referring to Iraq/Afghanistan]. Out there, they witness all sorts of troubling scenarios – but there's not enough support on the civilian side,

for when they leave the army. The Forces have got their own support and setup, but what shall they do once they are discharged from that?' (Kim, contact)

These quotes were exemplative in 30% (7/23) of narrative accounts that discussed the veteran as a victim of battlefield exposure *and* social negligence. Therefore, veterans were understood not only to suffer from unjustly incurred damage that resulted from governmental deceit but also from social and/or governmental negligence on their return. In this sense, the veteran's inability to get help may mirror attributions of a veteran's naïve and cognitively limited nature. Therefore, the veteran's personality that created symbolic distance to dissociate the veteran from negative understandings of the deployments had a negative connotation. The veteran as lacking agency over their own actions during the deployment was also attributed with lacking agency over one's own actions after the deployment. The veteran became a helpless, needy and forlorn individual, an individual that was understood to have *'lost everything. Who can he [veteran] talk to? There is no help – and even if there were any, he wouldn't know how to access it; Has no friends, no family cause he had neglected them for too long and also cause of the trauma. The Army took his life away! What is left? Nothing.'* (Zabrina, no contact).

This accusatory attitude towards the government and society was mirrored by one veteran. Nathaniel, who based his understanding upon experiencing PTSD. Nathaniel thought that the government failed to provide appropriate care for Service related injury:

'The government has done nothing – it's disgusting! If the servicemen has left the service, it is especially hard for him to get the support he needs. [...] I think because the life-experience you had, watching someone being blown up in front of you is not an everyday event and people outside the forces cannot understand it unless they have seen it. And what it does to you... when I came back from Iraq...my wife said to me that I was a different man. Just... everything... you are not the man who has left here six months ago... cause what I have seen. It changes you.' (Nathaniel, veteran)

Here, Nathaniel mirrors socially pertinent perceptions that were addressed previously. Nathaniel, therefore, refers to moral injury as a cause of psychological damage that he had incurred. He became a victim of a violent situation to the extent that he was unrecognisable to his partner. The government, considered to be morally obliged to care for veterans, however, was made accountable for the self-perceived absence of adequate support by

Nathaniel. Moreover, the rupture of connection that results from military discharge was understood as representing an additional burden for veterans and a hinderance of access to help services. In this sense, the rupture of one's connection to the military and military-comrades which Nathaniel mentions, may resonate with the absence of the feeling to belong somewhere and thus threatening identity continuity. On their discharge, veterans were thus attributed to having to reconceptualize their identity at a particularly difficult time in that they may be physically and/or mentally impaired and insufficiently cared for. This notion follows social stereotypes and misperceptions about the help and services that veterans are eligible to access (cf. Chapter V).

Interestingly, although Nathaniel refers to the veteran in this position as generally lacking agency (resembling the narrative accounts outlined previously in this section), he positions himself differently. Nathaniel felt he overcame psychological damage through reaching out – something that he understands veterans are rarely able to do:

> *'People can't deal with it – it needs a social support, network, friends and family – and the vast majority of cases, they drink, drugs, lose their careers, people become homeless and stuff. They were not able to deal with the mental health problems and so they tend to drink – they lost their careers, marriages. That's not ideal for you. [...] But for me it was different... my wife and I when I came back from Afghanistan – we just spoke about it. I spoke to people – to help me, to get on with.' (Nathaniel, veteran)*

This quote outlines that veterans themselves refer to the veteran-victim representation, even though dissociating themselves from being a victim. The same set of social misbeliefs (i.e. job- and homelessness, alcohol and drug addiction) are attributed to the general veteran-population who made similar experiences and who incurred similar psychological damage as Nathaniel. In this sense, the outcome of psychological health problems and the loss of identity are discussed in the full scope. In conclusion, losing one's military identity was associated with the loss of several other identities such as social and professional identities (i.e. friend, employee), manifesting in addictions, unemployment and homelessness. Therefore, the transition of becoming a (medically discharged) veteran was characterised as a downward spiral in that the veteran exerts coping mechanisms that deteriorate the veteran's life situation. In this sense, the veteran loses relatedness and connection to others as well as agency over the own life.

Interestingly, Nathaniel dissociated himself from this situation and understood himself as a fully agentic individual. This may have provided symbolic distance to a 'more general', suffering veteran population and allowed for maintaining a positive self-view whilst simultaneously holding the veteran-victim representation. Veterans were therefore constructed as 'deserving victims' in some instances also by veterans.

Interestingly, 3/6 veterans (50%) similarly understood the battlefield as *'lethal environment'* (Phil) that may '*cause mental injuries that veterans should be compensated for'* (Jonathan). However, in contrast to Nathaniel, these participants did not incur any Service-related damage. Therefore, they also constructed the 'deserving victim' category (3/6 veterans, 50%) but did not feel the right to associate oneself to this category. This provided a rationale to simultaneously distance oneself but acknowledging socially perpetuated information of the damaged veteran (i.e. '*I think there is a lot of problems with mental health [related to veterans who served in Iraq/Afghanistan]. [...] I don't know too much about it – word of mouth, I guess...' Phil, veteran*).

However, two veterans who attributed high fault to the government for deploying their soldiers to Iraq and Afghanistan did not construct a 'deserving victim' category. These two veterans (Felix and Marcus) refrained from attributing specific rights to the veteran or psychological damage.

> *'Bollocks – why should it impact my psychological wellbeing? Or anybody's? Of course, the battlefield is no pleasant atmosphere – no place for a tea party. But you'll get over it. You don't need to get emotional about it. If you need help – there is plenty available in the military. Bollocks, psychological distress!' (Marcus, veteran)*

Marcus here explicitly distances himself from the psychological distress associated to the battlefield. However, by acknowledging that the UK Armed Forces provide support, he simultaneously acknowledges that people may need help and thus may be negatively affected by their experiences. Crucially, Markus' and Felix' narrative accounts indicated that if veterans dissociated themselves from the UK Armed Forces (cf. breach of psychological contract with high organisational fault; Rousseau, 2001), then understandings of the battlefield were less emotional. In a way, Marcus and Felix, therefore, took the position that it is healthy and necessary to rupture connections to the Forces. Instead of indulging on one's

military identity, experiences on the battlefield need to be considered as just another part of one's '*dangerous but well paid job*' (Felix, veteran) – though a rather unpleasant one. Veterans who incurred damage through exposure to the battlefield became victims not 'deserving victims'. Instead, injured veterans became 'undeserving victims', a "far from ideal victim [...] strong, perceived as blameworthy, and of an equal match to an aggressor" (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; p. 136). For example:

> *'You're just unlucky, like that's unlucky [referring to damage] and here's the compensation and I respect you and you knew the risks, you joined up and unfortunately bad luck, it happens so here's some money.' (Marcus, veteran)*

As this quote outlines, the veteran who incurred damage may be a victim, however with no claim to a victim status. Therefore, Marcus and Felix understood that giving one's life was '*part of the deal*' (Felix, veteran) and thus injury had to be expected. Instead of scrutinizing and criticising governmental care for veterans, injured veterans were considered to be adequately compensated and supported ('*There is no doubt about injured veterans being sufficiently cared for and looked after – this is a fact. They don't need to play the 'veteran-card'*", Felix, veteran). Therefore, an overreliance on one's veteran identity and an over-connectedness with the military was considered unnecessary in the civilian life.

In summary, in the veteran-victim representation context, veterans were constructed either in terms of 'deserving' or 'undeserving victims'. Battlefield exposure was thought to be damaging not only in terms of the veteran's physical but also in terms of psychological health. This was related to witnessing violence. However, participants identified actively partaking in violence to be similarly damaging. This will be further elaborated in the next section.

Committing violent actions

Crucially, individuals followed the rationality that killing needed a justification in order to prevent psychological harm. Therefore, the more missions in Iraq and Afghanistan were scrutinized and perceived as being illegitimate, the more the veteran became understood as having incurred psychological damage through the participation in committing violent actions. In other words, killing became illegitimate as the missions were understood as being illegitimate. Then, the veteran turned for participants into a political pawn who had made no positive impact in Iraq or Afghanistan. Therefore, the combination of the socially distributed

'veteran-personality' and negative perceptions of the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan made the veteran into a well-meaning victim of illegitimate violence. This was the case for 74% (17/23) of the veteran and non-veteran participants as the following will exemplify:

> *'Alcohol problems, Drug problems, PTSD... like I say even having only on your conscience that you have killed someone. And let's say you have killed someone, and you are happy with this decision, you might read later that – oh, it was all organised by the CIA... how would that affect your psychology? I know, if I would have done that, if that would have been me, and say I was a lower ranking person who did not have access to this kind of information. I would be like: Fuck, I have just killed someone, and I had no clue about the details. [...] My assumption is that at least 90% come back and are deeply affected by the consequences [of killing] either immediately or later. (Elif, no contact)*

> *'The veteran might try to stop thinking about things like killing – it is still there – and suddenly it will all burst out. [...] They might get depressed, anxiety – depending on the type of person you are, and it all comes out and affects them in a bad way. [...] Even [if] they may have to kill someone to protect themselves. It is difficult to know that you have killed others. I think it must have been very difficult to focus the people, to legitimise the killing in these unjustified missions, so I think that was the problem.' (Nicolas, contact)*

> *'Firing a round at someone – that affects you. You don't know whether you have injured that person. That has an effect on you, that is not an everyday thing that you do. [...] Taking someone's life is not a natural thing. You are trained to do it, but you are still a human being – you are a soldier, but you are still a human being. [...] And then you realize that all you do is to protect an oil supply. That's not a great feeling. That's not what I've gone out for.' (Nathaniel, veteran)*

As these quotes indicated, the participants' judgements about the missions' illegitimacy negatively impacted perceptions of the veteran's psychological well-being. Particularly understandings of the missions as politically motivated and lacking moral values led them to perceive these as aimless, worthless insurgency campaigns in which 'the good, innocent civilians' could not be differentiated from the 'bad, amoral terrorists'. This contributed to a rationality which allowed to understand the veteran as suffering from bad mental health. Participants, therefore, took a moral ethical perspective in evaluating the veteran's guilt

(Gamlund, 2011). On one side, the veteran was understood as having done wrong through the involvement in illegitimate killings or in the execution of potentially innocent people. On the other side the veteran was perceived as having a justification (i.e. acted to the best of his knowledge at that time, lawful self-defence) or an excuse (following the orders, no possibility to be disobedient) for their actions. The veteran's participation in violence was thus excused as "to regard a conduct as excused is to admit that the conduct was wrong but to claim that the person who engaged in the conduct lacked substantial capacity to conform his conduct to the relevant norms and thus was not fully a responsible agent." (Gamlund, 2011; p.109). This made the veteran on one side understood as having low fault, blameworthiness or culpability. On the other side, the attribution of a well-intending veteran-personality constructed the conviction that the veteran could not forgive himself. In this sense, individuals perceived that the veteran's realisation of wrongdoing would destroy his self-understanding, as it would undermine the well-intending personality.

However, again when veterans attributed organisational fault and dissociated themselves from the UK Armed Forces the consequences of killing were understood slightly differently. Although the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan were perceived as illegitimate, unstructured and futile, killing was as unemotionally described as experiences on the battlefield. Veterans understood themselves in terms of doing a job, despite understanding killing in this context as being amoral and unjust. However, as killing was part of the unique obligations implied by the military contract, it was similarly treated as a necessary requirement to fulfil the job. For example,

> *In a nutshell, Afghanistan was a disaster – it was unlawful killing, not justified. Look, when you've got contact you need to kill, you are required to kill. You are obliged to. But that does not mean it's justified [...] No! Quite obviously it did not affect my wellbeing. I interpreted the rules of engagement correctly. I have no personal guilt, that's bollocks. The government sent us into Helmand, it's a social guilt. Ballocks, personal guilt! (Marcus, veteran)*

This quote exemplifies 4/6 (67%) veteran-participants' accounts. As this quote indicates, killing was understood as being part of the military contract and thus dissociated from the evocation of emotions. The veteran was then understood in terms of little blameworthiness as "there is nothing to forgive unless the person has deliberately done wrong to another person" (Schroeder et al., 2017, p.15). As blameworthiness or culpability is considered a necessary condition for forgiveness, self-doubts and self-forgiveness which were previously

related to the veteran were not understood as being applicable. Instead, the government which approved the missions and deployed its soldiers was thought to be held accountable and thus attributed to guilt and blame. In some instances, killing seemed to add to displaced trust in the government as requiring the execution of what was perceived as illegitimate violence. This may have contributed to perceptions of high governmental fault and potentially resulted in the anticipation of veterans as additionally disenchanted (cf. Rousseau, 1995).

In conclusion, killing as 'part of the job' allowed to build a coherent rationality that distanced the veteran-individual from the socially disapproved use of lethal force (McCartney, 2011). In this way, a positive sense of self could be maintained.

Public Responses to the Veteran's sacrifice

Essentially, appropriate responses to the veteran's sacrifice ranged from emotively commiserating the poor veteran-individual to soberly evaluating damage as a consequence of what one has signed up for. Whether individuals pitied the veteran or understood damage as 'part of the job' depended upon classifications of the veteran as 'deserving victim' or 'undeserving victim'.

When the veteran was constructed in terms of a deserving victim (20/23, 87%), participants demanded social change. For example,

> *'It's a horrible position [coming back from war]. A lot of them are not even themselves when they come back cause they are just horrified. [...] and on their return, they are literately forgotten. What's there for them? And what it's like to be out there to literately be on the dull. Literately being forgotten. [...] We need to do something about it – why hasn't there anything been done yet? Poor people.' (Zabrina, no contact)*

> *'I feel strongly about it [veteran health services]. We offer all kinds of service for all sorts of groups. But when it comes down to the veteran? He has been deployed for us, our country – he helped us, now we need to help him! I feel quite strongly about it, we need to prioritise veterans, we need to implement a service that suits the veteran's needs – we need to do something about it now!' (Kim, contact)*

As these quotes exemplify, the veteran as 'deserving victim' was thought to need support that is not provided. In conclusion, it may be possible that the veteran's violation of expectation was understood to qualify the veteran for compensation. The veteran, as the one

who has naively joined with the best intentions and has been misused by a deceitful government, was thought to be 'truly' worthy of support. In this way, society was made responsible for providing the care that the deceitful government failed to.

In contrast, when the veteran was constructed in terms of an 'undeserving victim' (2/23, 7%), then the veteran's sacrifice was thought to be worthy of compensation, however, only in terms of benefits. Instead of criticising the current approach to provide care for veterans, overly appreciating the veteran was thought to be unnecessary. For example:

> *'You [addressing the injured veteran] get money and you know we're [referring to society] going to help you, we're going to do everything we can to help you, we shouldn't denigrate you like they did with the veterans in Vietnam after the war, that was awful but you shouldn't also put them on a pedestal.' (Marcus, veteran)*

In conclusion, when the injury was conceptualised as part of the military contract that the individual had signed, pity and commiseration were thought to be an inappropriate social response to injury. As injury was understood to be part of the dangerous occupation, comparisons to similarly dangerous occupations were made, i.e. *'like a fireman, going into buildings and pulling people out' (Marcus, veteran)*. These comparisons served to justify the argument of social pity being unnecessary.

In summary, the veteran in the victim context was thought to have incurred potential physical but necessarily psychological injury that was related to moral injury. The majority of participants (20/23; 87%) who understood the veteran in the victim context conceptualised the veteran as a 'deserving victim', a victim without choice. This attitude allowed participants to separate their opinions about the veteran-individual and the mission in Iraq and/or Afghanistan. However, on the downside, this separation also took away the veteran's agency which led to the veteran being understood as a helpless and pitiful individual. The veteran as a helpless and pitiful individual was also thought to be helpless in a civilian society, unable to access the help that would be needed.

On the contrary, veterans who thought that the government deliberately acted in bad faith when deploying soldiers, did not have such an attitude. The veteran was thought to have

followed an occupation that was dangerous, however, not necessarily damaging. Therefore, commiseration was thought to be the wrong social response.

7.5.2.4. Significance for identity

The veteran-victim representation seemed to be an outcome of a contestation between the socially perpetuated hero-representation and attitudes towards unjustified violence and war. Particularly one's own experiences and those of identity relevant reference groups played an important role in influencing and adopting understandings whilst rejecting others. Therefore, 7/23 (30%) participants drew on traumatising experiences (i.e. episodes of depression and self-harm, rape, suicidal thoughts), 10/23 participants (43%) referred to experiences from relevant groups (i.e. referring to family experiences in Northern Ireland, Grenada, South Africa) or values from ingroups (i.e. religious identity, pacifists). In contrast, veterans from the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan evaluated their veteran identity and what this identity meant to them in their daily lives (6/23; 26%).

The following will provide an overview of how the veteran-victim representation may have contributed to identity-maintenance. Therefore, narrative accounts on perceptions of the veteran as a victim will be related to the four identity principles continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy (Breakwell, 2016).

Continuity

Crucially, all participants who held the victim-representation tried to dovetail violence and the use of force – socially devalued concepts (cf. McCartney, 2011) – with a culturally perpetuated veteran-hero representation. Therefore, all participants recognised two aspects, that were difficult to combine: The veteran as a well-intending individual that joined naively to promote the greater good, and, the veteran as having inflicted violence, war and death. Thus, individuals were confronted with the question how the 'good' individual could commit 'bad' actions while being the same person?

In this sense, the victim representation seemed to be the outcome of the individual's attempt to understand whether and to which extent the veteran who had inflicted illegitimate violence should be supported or not. The individual was therefore challenged to find an overarching rationality that allowed to maintain self-perceived persistency in one's understandings and

thus identity continuity. More concretely, if an individual had strong aversions to violence, Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 2001) would propose that continuity in identity could not be maintained when appreciating the veteran who had inflicted violence. In conclusion, individuals were able to maintain continuity in identity by finding an overarching rationality in that the veteran could be separated from their actions (i.e. viewing the veteran as occupational identity – the veteran did solely what he was told to do) or by contextually downplaying one identity (i.e. British self) and identifying with another (i.e. pacifist self).

Contextually downplaying one identity happened particularly when the individual strongly identified with a sub-cultural group who had opposing views with the British identity. In this sense, the two identities could not be combined and, as the sub-cultural group identity had more significance for the individual, it overruled the British identity. This happened in 35% (8/23) of the narrative accounts. For example,

> *'Because in Islam we are taught that killing is, there is no justifiable reason to kill. And even when our prophet, our prophet he said you should never kill. And it is weird because I have never seen it in that perspective. To kill for your country – no, it does fit into Islam in any way. It always says: Do good for your country. But killing – it doesn't say that in any way. In our religion, it is a difficult thing because killing in Islam, it is so wrong. So, veterans, they did wrong. I think what I said before [referring to appreciation for veterans] was just what I'd say from my British perspective.' (Jessi, no contact)*

Jessi here exemplifies how she can understand the veteran as both – doing good (from the British perspective) and doing evil (from the Muslim perspective). Therefore, Jessi's Muslim identity that dismisses killing as being amoral could not be aligned with her British identity that understands killing as sometimes necessary. In conclusion, although Jessi understood the veteran from both identities (the veteran doing good and doing bad), her Muslim identity was stronger and made her unable to tolerate killing. As the British society was understood to have legitimised killing, the British identity was downplayed in this context. This was a common strategy when participants referred to killing i.e. *'It makes me not proud to be British, not proud to have this passport.' (Thanh, Ethnicity: Vietnamese); 'They [British] have done some good things and some bad things, like invading so many different countries [...]. I don't feel British – this place is just where I ended up with my parents.' (Zabrina, Ethnicity: Caribbean) 'And this [elaboration on war as morally wrong] makes me say: Yes,*

am proud to be British – but prouder to be Christian – I follow Christian, not British ethics.' (Mike, Ethnicity: British).

However, the British identity was never entirely rejected. Through understanding the veteran as well-intending and naïve, understandings of the veteran's personality could be aligned with socially perpetuated positive understandings of the veteran's personality (hegemonic veteran-hero representation). In summary, that the veteran could be perceived positively, however, in a pitiful way may relate to an individual attempt to maintain identity continuity. More concretely, by making the government accountable for violence, the veteran-victim representation allowed to maintain an appreciation for the veteran as a human being. In doing so, the individual could combine different facets of identity by externalising violence, attributing it to an impersonal abstract 'British government' and maintaining an appreciation for human beings (such as the British veteran). Therefore, temporarily downplaying one's national identity in the context of illegitimate violence may have facilitated maintaining persistent sameness with oneself that related to high life-valuation – an appreciated value in today's post-modern society (cf. Mooney, 1977). In this sense, the perception of the veteran as a victim of their actions, requested from a callous government, provided a rationality that may have fitted well with participant beliefs and thus contributed to identity continuity.

However, more commonly (14/23; 61%) participants found an overarching rationality that allowed to combine violence-refuting, non-violent Western core values (McCulloch, 1995; Joffe & Staerkle, 2007) with the British identity, an identity associated to a country that was considered to have promoted unjustified violence. Here, the veteran was thought to be a good, highly moral British ex-soldier, who had been misused (only) in this instance. Therefore, the government may have made a mistake in Iraq and Afghanistan, however, the British veteran needs to be generally appreciated as British military interventions were generally promoting the greater good. In this context, identifying the veteran as victim mirrored a positive evaluation of the own-altruistic values that were to some extent dovetailed with what was understood as British values. For example:

'Maybe our recent invasions weren't a great success. But if you look back in history, we have fought in some important wars!
I: And when you think about the veteran from Iraq and Afghanistan – how would you relate the veteran, I mean your dad, to that?

C: He [veteran] didn't want to hurt anyone, he joined it to protect people and make a positive impact.' (Julie, contact)

Here Julie exemplifies how the veteran-victim representation may have promoted identity continuity. The veteran-victim representation allowed Julie to understand the veteran as always well-intending. Whether thinking about her father, a veteran, or when thinking about British veterans from history more generally, Julie positioned herself in terms of understanding the veteran more symbolically as consistently promoting the greater good. Iraq and Afghanistan were therefore conceptualised as a sole exemption in British history of military success that promoted the good of the greater. In this sense, understanding veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan as victims allowed Julie to maintain her understanding of the veteran that generally related to well-intending individuals who promote the greater good. Therefore, the victim representation facilitated maintaining understandings that may have been important to the participants' identity construction by combining the rationale of the veteran as a well-intending individual and the futility of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. In conclusion, a minor tweak in the hero-representation may have created the victim representation and allowed persistent sameness in one's understandings and attitudes to be maintained, referring to the continuity principle.

In summary, continuity in the understanding of the veteran seemed to resonate with continuity in one's own identity as veteran-victim representations seemed to relate to aspects that were important to one's own identity (i.e. being the daughter of a veteran, being a pacifist, being religious).

Distinctiveness

The victim-representation was associated with promoting distinctiveness in identity on several occasions. In 17/23 (74%) of instances, the veteran-victim representation allowed participants to demonstrate sound moral values that are superior to governmentally legitimized interventions. For example:

> *'Killing people – it's just wrong. There could be no possible circumstance in which killing could be justified. And it will come back, they will suffer cause the memories of taking a life won't go away. It's just sad, I feel for them. [...]*

I: How did you form this opinion?

A: War is wrong. I'm a pacifist by nurture. I have been brought up by a doctor and a teacher who have strong moral values.' (Anna, no contact)

Here Anna exemplifies how killing and war became the overriding and more significant theme as it allowed to demonstrate a deeper understanding of the matter. Without dissociating herself entirely from the general public's opinion of the appreciated veteran-individual, Anna was able to present sound moral values.

Similarly, first-hand experiences or narratives of identity relevant affiliation groups promoted to see the veteran as a victim. Participants then identified themselves in terms of personal relationships on a sub-cultural level by not accepting the full scope of socially pertinent veteran representation. This was the case in 10/23 instances (43%), for example:

'I definitely think I have quite a different view on veterans than a lot of people because I suppose [...] they don't understand the personal stuff behind a deployment. My dad has missed – just an example which comes to my mind – my last birthday and my graduation because he was helping people in faraway countries. People don't know which kind of sacrifices veterans have made. People – they just don't understand.' (Julie, contact)

Julie exemplifies in this quote how the veteran-victim representation allowed to demonstrate deeper understanding. By sharing her insight and knowledge about veterans that is not accessible to individuals in the general public, Julie's identity as a veteran's daughter may have promoted distinctiveness - pinpointing unique elements of identity (Breakwell, 1992).

Self-Esteem

All participants who referred to the veteran-victim representation understood themselves as standing up for specific identity-relevant ingroups and experiences. This may relate to positively impacting self-esteem. For example, the accounts of participants who strongly identified with pacifist or religious identities indicated that self-esteem derived from holding superior values. These participants (35%, 8/23) considered the veteran as a victim of self-inflicted violence that justified the rationality of the futility and reprehensibility of violence. For example:

'How could one return and be a normal person [veteran]? Obviously, he is gonna suffer – emotional problems – PTSD. He's gonna be crippled physically and emotionally. [...] I know that cause I have strong moral values and I ... I know it, I know it cause I have seen it. War is no good – evil begets evil, violence begets violence. The poor veteran is gonna suffer – unfortunately, but that's just what they get. [...] You can be glad if you have strong moral values, not many people have any moral values anymore... [...] they [values] give me direction ... they make me proud – yes, I am proud to have strong moral values.' (Zabrina, no contact)

Here, Zabrina exemplifies how supposedly inferior ethical conduct may lead to health adversities. Crucially, contesting one's own values with values that may tolerate violence had two benefits. Firstly, it explained why the veteran necessarily suffers from physical or psychological ill-health. Secondly, the comparison of values allowed to identify one's own moral conduct as being superior and to explain the origin of particularly psychological health problems. Therefore, self-ascribed superior moral values seemed to also imply a superior understanding of mental health problems.

Interestingly, also participants who recalled traumatising experiences related to violence (7/23, 30%) considered themselves as having a superior understanding of how to deal with the aftermath of violence. All participants who had suffered from violence-related trauma, therefore, sympathised with the veteran but simultaneously represented themselves as 'best-practice' role model. In this sense, the veteran-victim may have contributed to self-esteem by elaborating on reflections of one's own accomplishment in dealing with mental health adversities. For example:

'I know how it feels like [to have PTSD]. In a way, I can see how having those thoughts in your head... It's like... but then – I got better with therapy.... And it would be the same for them – they are in the same position as I have been. And if they would get themselves together and look out for help... I know it's hard – I know it's hard because I've had the experience... but you need to get yourself together – you need to!' (Elif, no contact)

As demonstrated in this quote, Elif compared herself with the veteran. Suffering, "one of few experiences with which everyone can feel comfortable" (Fuerdi, 1996, p. 82), allowed to relate own experiences to the veterans' and thus also relate to the veteran on a human level. However, by referring to her way of overcoming trauma, Elif put herself in the position

of a role model, requesting the veteran to do the same. In this sense, Elif emphasised her self-control in relation to the phrase '*get yourself together*', a factor that was used to differentiate the veteran from oneself. Therefore, participants who had experienced and overcome violence-related trauma elaborated on what the veteran may have to do and explaining their accomplishments in dealing with trauma. In conclusion, the veteran-victim may have contributed to self-esteem by allowing to represent particular 'insider' knowledge, and, by reflecting on one's own successful way in overcoming trauma-related mental health adversities.

In a similar way, veterans themselves may have drawn upon self-esteem when considering the veteran-victim representation. Veterans commonly separated the veteran-population into fully agentic veterans and veterans without agency. Whilst they categorised themselves into the former group, the latter represented the pitiful opposition to fully agentic individuals. Therefore, drawing comparisons between the two groups may have increased the veteran's self-esteem as outlined in the following:

> *'You got the veteran's covenant which made law and didn't make law. You got guys who lost limbs or got nuts and have to wait in NHS waiting queues. No, he gave his limb or his mind for you, he should be fast-tracked. And the poor guy, he can't help himself. [...] I've been medically discharged ....*
>
> ....
>
> *just looking at my sticks over there...*
>
> *... But for me – it's different cause I have a job where I earn 7 times my salary now... But when you think of the poor veteran who has no opportunities – it's disgusting!' (Simeon, veteran)*

Simeon's quote is exemplative of 4/6 (67%) of veterans who have held the veteran-victim representation. Here, the pitiful individual allowed Simeon to understand himself as being in a better position. In this way, the veteran-victim representation may have provided a rationale that contributed positively to self-esteem.

Self-Efficacy

In 11/23 narrative accounts (48%) the veteran-victim representations occurred in a context in which participants contrasted themselves with the poor veteran-population that lacked self-efficacy. The veteran's absence of self-efficacy was commonly characterised by incurred psychological and physical damage that hindered the veteran's self-fulfilment.

Therefore, the veteran-victim's Service-related disabilities were considered to impact employability negatively and to keep the veteran from what the veteran used to enjoy. In this sense, the victim representation may have promoted self-efficacy by understanding oneself to have more competence and control over one's life than the victim-veteran. For example:

> *Well, you need to consider – what's left? He [veteran] may have lost a couple of limbs, got emotional issues - shellshock, PTSD, whatever it is called. I guess he won't be able to keep his wife or family without limbs. He can't work. He vegetates in an old people's home ... or maybe in a hospital for the rest of his life. It's a shame, really – a waste of life. [...] Well – It makes me realize... makes me thankful for my life that is full of opportunities – I am white, male, in my 20ies – the world lies at my feet... I am glad that I didn't join the Army [has completed an Army taster-weekend]. I have managed to leg my way into other jobs.' (Shaun, no contact)*

Here Shaun exemplifies how physical and psychological impairments were considered to limit the veteran in exerting self-efficacy over their own life. Crucially, as physical and psychological impairments were arbitrarily related to war experience, reflections on the veteran's limited self-efficacy may have increased the awareness of one's own self-efficacy. Therefore, the poor state of the veteran, being unable to have control over their own life, reflected what the participant was *not* – dependent upon others. Therefore, contrasting the veteran's with their own situation in the context of independency and self-fulfilment may have contributed to constructing positive self-regard.

Although not all participants who referred to the veteran-victim representation engaged in this pattern, the ones who did concluded that they should be grateful for having and maintaining control over their lives. (i.e. *'When you see them [other veterans from deployments in Iraq/Afghanistan] and stuff and in the media and stuff [referring to disabilities] ... You take stock and realize... I guess, I've been very lucky.' Phil, veteran*).

Moreover, Emma and Kim, the two participants who worked as therapists constructed their occupational identity as an expression of their personal identity. These two participants gave several examples in their narrative accounts that they understood providing help as being an essential part of their identity. Therefore, the victim-representation may have allowed Emma and Kim to associate themselves with what they perceived as possessing an appreciated and accepted role in society. For example,

'You get a lot of satisfaction when you see what you have actually done, when you see how much better he [veteran] is ... after a couple of weeks. It's such a positive feeling because you know – he [veteran] went through all of that [referring to battle scene] for us. And now it's my turn. I can do my part and help him sorting himself out.' (Emma, contact)

Emma here may have referred to self-efficacy by explaining to make a difference in somebody's life. In conclusion, it may be possible that the veteran-victim representation had facilitated maintaining a positive self-regard by associating oneself with making a positive contribution.

7.5.3. The Perpetrator

The analysis outlined that the veteran-perpetrator representation was a sparsely used representation that only 28% (8/29) of the participants referred to. Interestingly, no narrative account referred to solely the perpetrator representation. The perpetrator representation served rather as a contrasting representation that provided a rationale for veterans who committed amoral violence. The definition of amoral violence, however, depended upon the participant and ranged from i.e. assassinating the 'innocent' (i.e. children, women), torturing prisoners, raping women, or killing more generally.

The following will provide an in-depth discussion of the perpetrator as discussed by participants. However, as only eight participants held the perpetrator representation, the organisation of the quotes will be slightly amended. Instead, of providing up to three quotes followed by an interpretation, this section will utilize one to two carefully selected quotes. This was done as only one veteran (13%, 1/8), two participants (25%, 2/8) who knew British Army Iraq / Afghanistan veterans and five participants (62%, 5/8) who did not know anybody in the UK Armed Forces referred to the perpetrator representation at least in one instance.

7.5.3.1. The Situation: Understandings of the Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan

Conceptualisation of the deployments

All eight accounts in which the perpetrator representation was identified referred to a scene in that unjustified violence and evil took place. Therefore, the conceptualisation of the deployments mattered little. Instead, the immediate context in which the perpetrator acted

was characterised by amorality and reprehensibility. In this sense, participants commonly referred to the manslaughter committed by Alexander Blackman and the torture of Iraqi prisoners in detention centres such as Abu Naji.

As the perpetrator complemented the hero and the victim representation, participants commonly described the perpetrator's inherent 'evil nature' in the context of the 'evil scene'. Four participants (50%), for example, described scenes relating to torture or the killing of innocents:

> *There was a trial of these British army veterans, who were in a detention centre in Iraq. And they were pictured beating up captured Iraqi civilians, or people they believed...who were fighting for the Iraqi army. These pictures...they have tortured, people beating them up and stuff... [...] And you can see... you can see these people, I mean these veterans, they are not normal, never have been.' (Yargul, no contact)*

> *'The legitimacy of the mission in Afghanistan may have been worthwhile, I am definite on that ... but torture, manslaughter – these are thingare against the Geneva Convention, the rules of engagement. Those who fail to comply with the Geneva Convention or the rules of engagement need to be tried and sentenced like Alex Blackman. Whether the mission is lawful or not – your actions must always comply with the rules of engagement. [...] It can happen in any mission, it's [veteran who failed to comply] just the odd one out, the one has some sort of psychopath trait.' (Christian, veteran)*

These two quotes exemplified how the perpetrator representation had been located within pre-existing conceptualisations of the deployments that set the scene for the veteran-hero or victim representation. Therefore, instead of discussing general notions relating to the legitimacy or futility of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, the perpetrator required a concrete scene in that an unlawful action had been committed.

Four participants (50%) constructed the situation in which the perpetrator was located slightly differently. These four participants conceptualised the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan as being unjustified. Thus, violence that happened in the course of these deployments was considered as illegitimate. In this context, participants differentiated between the naïve and altruistic veteran-victim and the evil-intending perpetrator-veteran by understanding the perpetrator's killing as more reprehensible than the veteran-victim's. This is exemplified in the following:

'There is no condition under which warfare could be legitimise [...] and the British interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan were probably illegal! That's my opinion. The veteran had to cause havoc, killed innocent children, civilians... But then, maybe there are also those who have enjoyed causing havoc.... I think there was something about torture on the telly. ... killing poor innocent civilians, torturing Iraqi prisoners? Gruesome, barbaric!' (Mike, no contact)

'From what we know Iraq and Afghanistan were unjustified wars – the government used its soldiers to control the oil wells. Those who got in their way were nothing but collateral damage.

I: How would a veteran feel today – knowing that he has been used for evil purposes?

D: Well, maybe for some of them it was only the killing aspect – to hunt the enemy down... like animals... and maybe this mind-set also explains why Iraqi prisoners have been tortured in the detention centres – dreadful.' (Danielle, contact)

The quotes indicates how participants maintained coherence in the conceptualisation of the deployments whilst differentiating between veteran-types. In this sense, the conceptualisation of specific situations played again a pivotal role. To fully explain specific situations which comprised particularly amoral actions that did not fit to the naïve, well-intending veteran-victim, the representation of the evil-natured veteran-perpetrator was formed. Therefore, participants who thought of killing as always illegitimate, or killing in the context of Iraq and Afghanistan as illegitimate, conceptualised kinds of situations that qualitatively differed from the veteran-victim's killing. One situation was characterised by the naïve veteran unintentionally 'ending up' killing a person as being required to do so. The second situation comprised the veteran-perpetrator who enjoyed unnecessary violence. Therefore, whilst the veteran could not be made accountable in situation one, the evil-intending veteran was considered as expressing the evil-natured personality in situation two.

In summary, conceptualisations of the situation in that the perpetrator acted were characterised by amorality and illegitimacy. Therefore, in contrast to the hero- and the victim- representation the perpetrator representation did not draw on evaluations of the mission-outcome but on the veteran's moral conduct within the situations of these missions.

The impact of hegemonic representation of British military history

Participants that referred to the veteran-perpetrator representation understood the veteran as acting against the norms and conventions of British society that the UK Armed Forces represent. Thus, the perpetrator-veteran also stood in opposition to hegemonic representations of British military history and its protagonists. Therefore, three participants (38%) made direct references to the perpetrator who violated the well-intending and altruistic intentions of the British military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan. For example,

> *'I think the problem is the one who joined for wrong motives. You know, cause he joined cause he wanted to kill others – cause maybe he had a racist approach, I don't know. [...] I think it needs to be addressed, cause when you think about previous wars [referring to WW1, WW2]– they wouldn't have let these people in.' (Melike, no contact)*

> *'I think the Army needs to be more careful with recruitment. Like – I am not quite sure, but what I have heard these problems [civilian deaths, rape, torture], they are more like recent ones. I don't think we had these sorts of things happening in the second World War.' (Yassin, no contact)*

Essentially, these quotes indicate that participants were misinformed, though appreciative, about recruitment in British history. As a matter of fact, in the UK conscription was the rule rather than an exception until 1960 (with the last formally conscripted men demobbed in 1963; Vinen, 2015). Conscription in the UK had existed for two periods in modern times. The first period was introduced by the Military service Act that passed approval in January 1916 and lasted until 1920. This imposed conscription on all single men who were aged 18 to 41 (except the medically unfit, clergymen, teachers and specific kinds of industrial workers) and was raised to the age limit of 51 in May 1916. The second period in which the UK conscripted soldiers (1939-1960) was called National Service. On the day Britain declared war on Germany (3.9.1939) the parliament introduced the National Service Act that imposed conscription of men aged between 18-42 (except the medical unfit or others in key industry jobs). Together with unmarried women and childless widows between the age of 20-30 who were made liable for call-up, the age limit of National Service for men was raised to 60 in December 1941. After some reformations in 1948, National Service ended gradually from 1957 – 1960 (cf. Vinen, 2015).

In conclusion, National Service would not have allowed selectivity in recruitment. On the contrary, all men had to fulfil their duty and were drafted into the military. Therefore, the notion that amoral actions were committed by a specific veteran-perpetrator 'type' and represent a recent phenomenon may be factually incorrect. Socially distributed notions on the heroic British military intervention in WW1 and WW2 may explain the stark division between the good hero-veteran and the evil-perpetrator veteran who had evil intent.
Here, it may be noteworthy that all participants who held such a stark division were 1st or 2nd generation immigrants (Yassin, Yargul, Melike) who had no contact with the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, none of these participants could have related to first-hand experiences with relatives who might have been conscripted. Limited knowledge of the UK Armed Forces, therefore, seemed to promote a coherent argument that a sub-set of British veterans may be responsible for committing amoral violence. Although the argument of 'evil' people having infiltrated Service and being responsible for 'evil' actions may be factually erroneous, it is subjectively correct as following a logical progression.

However, as outlined previously solely 38% of narratives contrasted hegemonic representations of the beneficially perceived protagonist from heroic wars with the negatively perceived perpetrator who had caused unnecessary suffering. In this sense, participants did draw, to some extent, on British history to conceptualise the perpetrator and associated the perpetrator to specific settings in which the perpetrator could act. Crucially, however, these references were always characterised by the perpetrator's 'evil' personality. Therefore, the perpetrator was the hero- and victim- representation's counterpart, essentially characterised by a malicious nature.

7.5.3.2. The Veteran: Understandings of the veteran's personality

The cornerstone of the perpetrator representation were anticipations of a deficiency in the veteran's personality These deficiencies were understood as the reason why the veteran had joined the Army in the first place. Therefore, in all the participants' (8/8, 100%) narrative accounts, attributions of cognitive limitations went gradually hand in hand with anticipating appreciation of violence. Participants formed the rationale 'barbaric deeds can only be done by barbaric people' to justify the veteran's voluntary participation in violence. Therefore, participants who referred to the perpetrator representation objectified the anticipated

barbarism by attributing intellectual restrictions and a greater willingness to use Force to the perpetrator-veteran. Interestingly, the UK Armed Forces in this context were very positively perceived, as successfully accommodating a 'savage' subset of the British population. For example:

> *'I think the military is a good thing. There is room for people who lack feelings. Like some people just don't have empathy – it is just how these people develop. It is just who they are. So, for example if you are someone who wouldn't get traumatised as you don't have empathy you might say: Yeah, I want to use that in a way that helps society, I can go into the army! And I think that's [lack of empathy] a more common thing if you don't have high intelligence, I think then it is more common to think: Yeah, I am in the army, got power can do whatever I want, can kill whoever I want.' (Danielle, contact)*

Crucially, these accounts indicate how participants anticipated low intelligence to be an innate characteristic of the veteran-perpetrator. Essentially, limited cognitive abilities were understood to affect the extent to which the veteran-individual could relate to other human beings and thus to inhibit empathy. In conclusion, the veteran was perceived to be subjected to an inability to respond empathically, as a fundamental, biological heritage shared among *higher* social animals (cf. Preston & de Waal, 2002). The veteran was perceived to be unable to engage in a "fundamentally civic orientation among human beings" (Liu & Laszlo, 2007), forming a rationale for understandings of the veteran's difficulties to be part of a civilian society. In this sense, the military offered the veteran an opportunity to be themselves, '*a place where they are appreciated in the way they are' (Anna)* and, moreover, successful precisely because of their attributed deficiency. Although the veteran-personally lacked essential elements associated to socially appreciated values, the legitimacy of the deficient personality was granted as the veteran's intention to the make most of the existing, innate 'skill-set' was acknowledged. Therefore, participants who referred to the veteran's low intelligence as a source of their barbaric nature also associated social deprivation to the perpetrator veteran. For example:

> *'Like a lot of people who are involved in these things (amoral actions), they join the Army from tough upbringings. A lot of people see the Army as a way out. Probably frequently using drugs, involved in criminal activities. They see the Army as opportunity to better themselves. again, if you have been brought up in a poor underprivileged neighbourhood, you know, rough I'd say.' (Christian, veteran)*

Christian's quote was exemplative for 5/8 narrative accounts in the veteran-perpetrator context (68%). In this quote, Christian identified a subset of the soldier population (and thus retrospectively of the veteran population) as suffering from pre-enlistment deprivation. By understanding this population as naturally more barbaric and savage than others, the military had been constructed in terms of accommodating these populations and providing them with the opportunity to better themselves and simultaneously contribute something to society – even if this contribution was thought to be in the context of Iraq and Afghanistan *'the government's dirty work' (Rachel, contact).* Therefore, perpetrators were thought to have little blame. Although participants understood them as having enjoyed the experience of killing, they only did what the government had requested them to do. The perpetrator with little blameworthiness was identified in 3/8 narratives (38%).

In contrast, 5/8 (62%) of the narrative accounts outlined that participants referred to a perpetrator-population that was characterised by high blameworthiness. If the veteran-perpetrator was located into a context of self-initiated illegitimate violence, the veteran-perpetrator became a vicious antagonist to the hero/victim-veteran. For example:

> *'Cause when you think about the torture camps and the innocent children that were shot. And I don't think these people, like the ones who just wanna go out and kill, that they have no strong healthy mind. I think they do it for their own pleasure – without rules and they have sort of a psychological issue.' Yargul (no contact)*

> *'killing innocent civilians ... and then coming back? That person is dangerous – psychologically restricted. He has joined for killing, not for serving the country.' Yassin (no contact)*

These quotes are representative of 62% (5/8) of narrative accounts which thematised the perpetrator who had joined to satisfy their innate drive to commit violent actions. As these quotes outline, a strict separation between amoral but governmentally initiated killing and amoral but self-initiated killing indicated that participants commonly created a moral 'hierarchy' of veterans. The first category was a perpetrator unrelated category. This category comprised the altruistically motivated, selfless veteran lauded for superior values (hero/victim representation). The perpetrator was therefore understood as not rightfully partaking in the first category. Instead, a second category was constructed that comprised

the perpetrator-antagonist as embodying motivations for having joined the UK Armed Forces that opposed Western core values (i.e. selfish/ barbaric personality vs. altruism, moral standards, discipline; cf. McCulloch, 1995).

However, within this category, there was a 'good perpetrator' – enjoying amoral actions that the government was thought to be responsible for, and the 'bad' perpetrator – enjoying amoral actions that were self-initiated. The 'good' perpetrator was identified in 75% (3/4) accounts in which also the victim-perpetrator representation was identified. Therefore, a pivotal characteristic of the 'good' perpetrator was taking pleasure in the illegal killing that the government had required of veterans. Though the 'good' perpetrator commonly utilized exaggerated forms of violence such as torture, participants were unclear whether this was part of following orders (i.e. *'And we don't know why they did that [torturing prisoners during enquiries]. Maybe it was part of their orders, maybe it wasn't – I don't know.' Mike, no contact*). Though the 'good' perpetrator was considered to be morally reprehensible, the 'good' perpetrator predominantly committed amoral actions that were required from an amoral government. In this sense, definitions of 'good' and 'bad' perpetrators depended upon the attributed deceitfulness of the UK government. The 'good' perpetrator often evolved in the context of voicing mistrust against the UK government and associating the government to malice, self-interest and deceit. For example:

> *'They were oil wars – the government wanted to make profit. Money, that was why the UK sent soldiers to Iraq and Afghanistan. [...] Torture is horrendous– but if it was the most efficient way to get information? I think they didn't care too much – they just needed the righ people for it.' (Danielle, no contact)*

Though Danielle's negative understanding of the government was the most extreme view, participants who held the 'good' perpetrator representation had generally negative understandings of the UK government. More commonly, participants left it open whether the government would have secretly promoted violations of the Geneva convention. Instead, a possibility was discussed in which orders given by an amoral government may have implicitly comprised extraordinarily violent actions. The 'good' perpetrator was therefore considered to be an unscrupulous instrument, assigned to commit amoral tasks. As 'evilness' was a pivotal characteristic of the perpetrator, the 'good' perpetrator enjoyed doing these amoral tasks. In summary, the perpetrator's attributed 'evil' nature was made use of by an amoral government.

In contrast to the 'good' perpetrator, who may have followed amoral orders, the 'bad' perpetrator's evil actions were considered to be self-initiated. Therefore, the majority of participants (80%, 4/5) who held the 'bad' perpetrator representation understood the UK government as well intending and helpful. For example:

> *'The government sent them [British troops] to help, to protect the people against the terrorists.*
> *I: Previously you mentioned torture– what about that?*
> *M: Some were crazed guys who went there to kill ... or wanted to take revenge on Muslims. They didn't care – they just wanted to kill. They are ruthless people, ruthless veterans!' (Melike, no contact)*

This quote indicates how the 'bad' perpetrator evolved in the context of illegitimate and exaggerated violence. Crucially, in the context of the 'bad' perpetrator, the UK government were commonly (80%, 4/5 participants) conceptualised as having good intentions. As the majority of the veterans were considered as well-intending and altruistic, the 'bad' perpetrator provided a rationale to justify killings that violated the rules of engagement; *i.e. 'And it is them ['bad' perpetrator]– yeah, they are the ones who kill the innocents. [...] Cause that's what they enjoy doing.' (Yargul, no contact).* In this sense, discipline and following orders differentiated the 'bad' perpetrator from the 'good' perpetrator. Whilst the 'good' perpetrator solely committed amoral actions required by superiors, the 'bad' perpetrator did not follow the orders and violated the rules of engagement by taking own initiative.

In summary, though the discipline to follow orders differentiated the 'good' from the 'bad' perpetrator both perpetrator-types shared attributions of a cognitively limited and barbaric nature. In this sense, lacking empathy as a pivotal characteristic of the perpetrator was considered to result from the combination of the perpetrator's affective deficiency and lacking of cognitive abilities. This combination was understood to have direct consequences on how violence was perceived to affect the veteran's well-being.

7.5.3.3. The Sacrifice: Understandings of the situation's impact on the veteran

Essentially, attributions of violence as being in the veteran's nature were thought to shield the perpetrator from adverse mental health outcomes. Instead, participants attributed limited

cognitive abilities to the veteran that reflected childhood adversities and pre-enlistment psychopathic tendencies. Horrific experiences, relating to battlefield exposure and committing violent actions, were thought to be what the perpetrator-veteran would have expected. Moreover, the innate barbaric personality of the veteran-perpetrator was considered to elicit enjoyment when encountering these experiences. However, whilst amoral orders were considered to be enjoyable for the 'good' perpetrator, following orders was thought to keep the 'bad' perpetrator from committing more evil than absolutely necessary. This will be elaborated in the following.

Following Orders

Orders in the context of the perpetrator were conceptualised as having a different impact on the veteran's mental health, when compared with the conceptualisation of orders in the context of the hero / victim. Instead of conceptualising following orders as damaging for the veteran's health but pivotal (cf. veteran-hero) or reprehensible (cf. veteran-victim), following orders was considered to have no impact on the perpetrator's mental health. This was the case for both perpetrator types – the 'good' and the 'bad' perpetrator.

Participants, therefore, formed the rationale that committing violent actions and encountering the horrific battlefield was what the perpetrator longed to experience. As the perpetrator's intention was evil, following orders would not affect the veteran's health negatively. For example:

> *'They have fulfilled their duty – a dreadful duty. And those who were bloodthirsty, those who did not care about others, I don't think it affected them at all [...] psychologically – I mean PTSD and shellshock. They enjoyed doing what they were told to cause they don't have a conscience ... didn't question [orders].' (Mike, no contact)*

Here, Mike exemplifies how committing violent, unjustified actions that the perpetrator was asked to do was considered not to constitute a problem for the perpetrator. Moreover, the perpetrator's amoral 'nature' allowed unjust violence to be tolerated. In this sense, the perpetrator was considered to be resilient against mental health adversities.

Interestingly, in the context of the 'bad' perpetrator orders were conceptualised differently, as the 'bad' perpetrator commonly evolved when participants also held the hero representation, orders were understood to promote the greater good. In the context of the 'bad' perpetrator, orders were therefore related to a preventive measure which keeps harm to a minimum, a means to protect innocents. For example,

'This would not have happened [referring to rape and abuse of Iraqi civilians] if they'd followed their orders at that time. They'd been out'a'control – out'a'control!'

I: How did they lose control?

Y: No ... they'd never been in control of themselves – it was the orders that had kept them back – the orders, you understand what I'm saying?' (Yargul, no contact)

Yargul's quote was representative of 5/8 (62%) of participants that referred to the perpetrator-representation. In the 'bad' perpetrator-context, orders were understood to play a crucial role as they provided an ethical framework of governmentally and thus socially accepted levels of violence. By symbolising a structure, orders were thought to give the veteran-perpetrator the opportunity to structure themselves. In this sense, obeying orders would have the potential to *'learn useful skills, like how to interact with others – cause violence is not the only way to solve a problem' (Danielle, contact)*.

Crucially, however, the perpetrator's inability to control one's desires may be understood as expressions of the perpetrator's innate, pre-enlistment ill-mental health. As previous literature indicated an absence of self-control to be a definer for barbarity and madness (cf. Jodelet, 199; McCulloch, 1995), the attribution of the perpetrator's inability to exercise control over one's desires may be based upon conceptualisations of the perpetrator's deficient mental health. This is exemplified in the following quote in that the perpetrator's inability to control their violence-loving nature was considered to represent a concrete expression of ill-mental health:

'Cause, why would you do that [harm civilians]? Cause they weren't told... like..., nobody said like: Go and shoot that child! Why would you do that? There has to be something wrong with their psychology, I'd suppose. You can't help, you can' help.' (Thanh, no contact)

This quote is representative of 5/8 narrative accounts (62%). Therefore, the veteran-perpetrator who did not follow the orders was conceptualised as a hopeless case whose violent drive is a symptom of underlying psychopathic tendencies. Following orders, or in this case ignoring orders, allowed to objectify psychological ill-health. More importantly, understanding the voluntary participation in amoral violence as an outcome of ill-health allowed to distance oneself from amoral violence. As self-initiated amoral actions became a symptom of an illness, it could easily be dissociated from the self-concept. It became something that 'the others' do, or in Mike's words, *'Under no possible circumstances could*

we do what they have done in the torture camps in Iraq.' In this sense, following orders – or ignoring orders provided a rationale that justified the perpetrator's evil nature.

Exposure to the battle-field

All participants who referred to the veteran-perpetrator representation were convinced that battlefield exposure would have little effect on the perpetrator. Three participants (38%) made the perpetrator's *'cold heartedness' (Rachel, contact)* responsible for increased resilience to violence. These three participants thought that the combination of an innate disposition to violence together with desensitising training shielded from adverse mental health effects. For example,

> *'It all depends. I mean, like front-line soldiers, they are trained to do that. [...] And it depends on the way you think of it [violence], the way you have been brought up, maybe what they have seen previously. When you are used to violence, it will affect you less and this is also why front-line soldiers are less affected. They come from troubled backgrounds.' (Christian, veteran)*

This quote exemplifies why the veteran in the perpetrator context was thought to be less affected by the passive experience of violence. Therefore, previous exposure to violence was thought to immunize against future exposure. The veteran-perpetrator was thus conceptualised as 'made' for the battlefield through nature, nurture and training. Interestingly, training in preparation for and immunizing against violence that is to be encountered on the battlefield was solely mentioned in the context of the perpetrator, not in the context of the hero nor in the context of the victim. Therefore, it may be argued that a decreased sensitivity to violence may not have been compatible with descriptions of well-intending altruistic character dispositions of the hero and the victim.

More commonly, however, were anticipations of the veteran's 'evil' personality that shielded the veteran-perpetrator from mental health adversities (5/8, 63%). Therefore, participants focussed on the 'evilness' ascribed to the perpetrator's natural disposition. As the perpetrator was understood as taking personal pleasure in encountering the horrors of the battle-field, battlefield experiences were considered not to affect the perpetrator:

> *'Nah – seeing bombings, people being killed? Nah, won't affect them [perpetrator], cause that is why they went off to war. That's what they wanted to see cause they have sort of twisted minds.' (Yargul, no contact)*

Crucially, characterising the veteran as a perpetrator allowed a symbolic space to war-related victimisation to be created. Though warfare remained to be seen as a phenomenon beyond the veteran's control, the veteran was not seen as a victim as the conditions of 'structural powerlessness' were either not met or not exclusively related to war-exposure (cf. Walklate, 2007). Neither the location nor the impact of the structure on behaviours was beyond the veteran's expectance as the perpetrator was understood to willingly encounter the battlefield and to be engaging in violence. This was reflected in understandings of the perpetrator in terms of committing violent actions.

Committing violent actions

In the context of the perpetrator, the theme committing violent actions was similarly discussed as with the exposure to the battlefield. As perpetrator-veterans were characterised as enjoying violent scenes, the perpetrator was also understood as looking forward to committing violent actions. Therefore, committing violent actions were thought to be a condition in which the veteran-perpetrator felt comfortable and related to anticipations of ill-mental health. This was described in 6/8 (75%) narratives:

> *'Some of them, I mean for some of them.... something's wrong with some of them. Like, I do understand people who have twisted minds cause my uncle, my uncle, he is very abusive, violent... there are sort of many things wrong with him. And I'd never say, I'd never say... Like, I mean he shouldn't join the Army cause he's unpredictable. But I think that's what's going wrong with the Army nowadays.... that's why you have civilian deaths – soldiers with twisted minds. The Army doesn't screen people, really.' (Yargul, no contact)*

As this quote exemplifies, participants engaged in attempts to understand how the perpetrator would be able to kill innocents. The attribution of pre-enlistment mental health problems provided a rationale which allowed to coherently argue how 'bad' killings could happen. In this sense, participants thought that the perpetrator was worthy of blame, however, the mental illness excused killing as the veteran "lacked substantial capacity to conform his conduct to relevant norms" (Schroeder et al., 2017, p.15). Therefore, although the veteran's moral transgression, acting against social altruistic norms, would deserve high blame, the 'insanity defence' (Gamlund, 2011) excused the amoral conduct.

In this sense, the perpetrator was understood as being only in little need of self-forgiveness as not realizing that he would need to be forgiven. Unlike a 'healthy individual', the perpetrator was thought not to be struck by remorse by the very nature of the perpetrator's evil personality. Therefore, the perpetrator was perceived to be less affected by moral injury and the impact of killing was evaluated as non-existent (i.e. '*If someone is going there and just killing civilians, they are not going to be traumatised cause they don't care – they are a bit sociopath anyway.' Danielle, contact).*

In summary, as guilt involves an acknowledgement of the deleterious effect of behaviour on others, the anticipation of psychopathic tendencies allowed to see the perpetrator as having done wrong but without deserving blame for it (cf. Nazarov, 2015). Rather than the perpetrator, the UK Armed Forces were thought to carry institutional guilt by having failed to assess the perpetrator's abnormality.

Public Responses to the Veteran's sacrifice

Only three participants (38%) engaged in evaluations of the veteran's sacrifice in the perpetrator context and considerations of appropriate public responses thereof. This may have been the case, as violence was thought to have little impact on the perpetrator's mental health. Physical injuries were thought to be unlucky incidents that happened to the veteran. For example:

> *'You have to consider – this is [exposure to violence] what he [veteran] wanted to do. And being blown up... it's just part of it [battlefield].... he should still get compensation though [...] because he fought for our country.' (Melike, no contact)*

Here, Melike exemplifies how physical damage was understood to be a natural consequence of battlefield exposure. However, though undeserving of an emotional response, the veteran was still thought to be worthy of support as having protected the country. This support-worthiness did not even diminish when the perpetrator was thought to have violated the moral conduct on his own behalf. The following quote exemplifies an attitude identified in 25% (2/8) of the narrative accounts in the perpetrator context:

> *'We have to offer education ... especially for those who ... went out and killed civilians. They need education – it will help them to get back into society, to get over problems of their past!' (Mike, no contact)*

Education was therefore thought to be a vital means enabling the perpetrator to process pre-enlistment deficiencies which lead the perpetrator to his evil nature. Therefore, support was understood as an opportunity to integrate the evil-natured perpetrator into a society the perpetrator never had been part of before.

7.5.3.4. Significance for identity

The perpetrator-representation seemed to be a polemic representation, a contrasting representation which allowed the participants' to understand their main representation as always being true. Identity relevant reference groups played, therefore, a minor role, as the perpetrator-representation solely supplemented the hero- and victim-representation. The following will provide an overview of how the perpetrator representation might have resonated with the participant's attempt to maintain a positive identity. In conclusion, the following will briefly discuss how narrative accounts in the context of the perpetrator may be related to the four identity principles continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy (i.e. Breakwell, 2016).

Continuity

The perpetrator representation allowed to rationalise incidents during deployments that could not be aligned with the well-intending victim and hero veteran-representation. In this sense, veterans who had committed amoral actions but had not incurred mental health problems were considered to have pre-enlistment ill-mental health. Therefore, the perpetrator representation explained why some veterans may not have incurred psychological damage whilst having committed and witnessed amoral violence. In conclusion, it may be possible that the perpetrator representation evolved so that the hero- and the victim- representation may have been more coherently argued. The perpetrator may have contributed to the persistent sameness of one's opinion and thus to identity continuity by providing a rationality that evidenced the general correctness of the hero- or victim representation. For example:

> *'I don't think that these thingies [being altruistic/brave, being aggressive/violent] contradict each other. Cause veterans are not all the same – some are gonna be more on the heroic and others more on the psychopath spectrum. [...] As a Muslim I believe that we all have different duties to fulfil and the [heroic] veteran fulfilled his duty. But the one who just went out to kill*

people – that's against my religion – cause he cannot say that he'd fulfilled his duty to the best of his abilities.' (Yassin, no contact)

Yassin's quote was representative for 4/8 (50%) of the narrative accounts. Yassin here exemplifies how he was able to evidence his veteran-hero representation to be generally correct by drawing on the antagonistic veteran-perpetrator representation. In this sense, Yassin coherently argued the hero-representation by dividing the veteran population into the 'good' and 'bad'. Therefore, incidences such as torture and amoral violence did not require a re-conceptualisation of the hero-representation but allowed to maintain persistent sameness with one's opinion. In conclusion, maintaining the same opinion about the veteran by drawing upon an antagonistic perpetrator representation may have promoted identity continuity.

Although other participants did not refer to their religious identity but to i.e. their occupational identity, the same tendency had been identified (i.e. '*We 're not all the same. Some guys are just a bit bonkers but most of us are more like me – we were doing it cause we wanted to help', Christian, veteran*). In this sense, the split of the veteran-population allowed to maintain the same identity determined perspectives (cf. hero- and victim-representation). The perpetrator provided a rationale which justified this perspective in all contexts.

Interestingly, this split between the well-intending and the evil-intending veteran could even characterise the same veteran person, however, in different contexts. However, when the participant was prompted how the same person may have two characters, well-intending and evil, the participants commonly formed an overarching rationality. This overarching rationality resonated with the participant's identity such as a religious identity. This is exemplified in the following:

'Veterans? I honour, respect them, they are very brave people who joined for helping others – they never wanted to harm – they did their job and the unnecessary killing that had happened was just to fulfil the requirement of their job. It is a brutal vocation and a dangerous one of course and I have total respect for them. [...]

[discussing civilian deaths]

[...] It probably happened out of rage.

I: Why would someone get into this rage?

M: Probably abuse, terrible aversity particularly in childhood. Definitely related to childhood adversities. A violent nature, nasty personality – these sorts of things!

I: Sorry, I am confused – you mentioned beforehand that you feel they'd be brave and worthy of respect?

M: Well, of course I'd respect him. Who am I to disrespect whom God respects? I must respect the other one as God respects him. No judgement. I am a sinner – who says that the sins I have committed are any better or worse than others? That I'd be any better than the veteran in a moral sense?' (Mike, no contact)

This quote was representative of 4/8 (50%) of narrative accounts. Depending upon the context, the veteran was described as an altruistic *and* as a morally reprehensible individual. However, when prompted Mike brought these two representations together by focussing on his religious identity. Instead of revising what he had said previously or splitting the veteran population into two, Mike ignored potential contradictions but focussed on appreciation of the individual. This aspect could be fully supported by his religious identity. In this sense, Mike's religious identity allowed him to ignore contradictory aspects of different representations but to maintain the same overall attitude towards the veteran. However, this was not only the case for religious identities. Similar tendencies were identified when people drew on non-violent ideologies that were based upon traumatic experiences (Thanh, Rachel, Danielle).

Distinctiveness

In 5/8 instances (63%) the perpetrator-representation may has been utilized to make references to the distinctiveness-principle. This was particularly the case when participants were asked to imagine a population that would not share their opinion of veterans. The perpetrator was then utilized to refer to one's own superior knowledge. For example:

'Y: I think, anarchists, radical pacifists, ISIS people – they wouldn't share my view. Cause they don't understand, don't understand!

I: What do you mean – don't understand?

Y: Yeah – we've had these torture camps, civilians killed and stuff, but this happened cause the Army is no good in recruiting people. They are crazy people who do this stuff – crazy people. And they [referring to the previously mentioned outgroups] can't see it – you know? They can't understand – it happened cause a few veterans are nuts.' (Yargul, no contact)

As exemplified in the quote above, the veteran-perpetrator representation may have served for differentiation purposes. Knowledge about the existence of the perpetrator was therefore

considered to differentiate oneself from negatively evaluated outgroups who were understood as being inferior in knowledge. Interestingly, those with inferior knowledge were identified as groups with criminal connotations such as 'radicals' or 'ISIS' and thus also morally devalued. In this sense, a strict division between people that belonged to negatively evaluated outgroups and oneself may have contributed to maintaining a positive sense of identity by differentiation. In this way, the perpetrator-representation may have served the distinctiveness-principle as it allowed to differentiate between oneself and the other. This was the case in 3/8 (38%) instances in that the perpetrator-representation was identified.

In 2/8 (25%) instances, however, participants took a slightly different approach. Participants engaged in classifying perceptions as different, however, without an attempt to build a hierarchy of understandings. For example:

> *'T: Yes, they'd [British general public] have different opinions.*
> *I: What do you think about these people?*
> *T: Well, they didn't make my experiences – like I said before with my depression and stuff [referring to suicidal thoughts and self-harm]. To be able to hurt a human being... you need to have some sort of apathy, psychological problems. But not everyone has made these kinds of experiences...' (Thanh, no contact)*

Here Thanh exemplifies how she thought that her personal experiences provided her with more insight about the ill-mental health that the perpetrator suffers. Inferences based upon personal experiences provided therefore a rationality considered to understand the psychological well-being of the perpetrator better than individuals from the general population. The veteran-perpetrator representation, therefore, may have served the distinctiveness principle by emphasising deep insight into the matter of the perpetrator's ill-mental health.

Self-Esteem

The perpetrator-representation resonated with the self-esteem principle particularly in narrative accounts of two participants. These two participants were themselves closely related to the UK Armed Forces (Rachel and Christian). By declaring one group of veterans as perpetrators (outgroup), the ingroup could be held in higher regard. This impacted on self-esteem positively as Christian demonstrates:

'Most front-line soldiers are very violent, they came from tough upbringings. [...] I wouldn't classify myself as violent, no. I think my position (warrant officer) is very different – it's 'managing violence'. We keep them [front-line soldiers] from doing dumb stuff; It's a difficult task that not everyone could do. So, I'm quite proud of that to be honest.' (Christian, veteran)

In this quote, Christian demonstrates how the differentiation between the violent front-line soldier and himself as a manager of violence may have increased his self-esteem. The perpetrator representation contrasted between populations and externalised socially devalued concepts that related to the use of Force (McCartney, 2011). The comparison between the sensible and the violent veteran group may have facilitated maintaining positive self-perceptions as it allowed to identify with the positive, non-violent group. Moreover, as keeping the violent group under control was thought to require special skills, the perpetrator-representation may have contributed to self-esteem as being something only few could do. However, direct references to self-esteem were rare as the perpetrator-representation was most often used as a contrasting representation that legitimised the hero- or victim-representation and thus resonated more often with the continuity principle.

Self-Efficacy

Explicit references to increased self-efficacy were only identified in Christian's and Rachel's accounts. This was unsurprising as Christian and Rachel were the only participants who were both closely related to the UK Armed Forces and who held the perpetrator representation. These two narrative accounts indicated that the perpetrator may have impacted self-efficacy by contrasting the own vs. the other's capability to be in control over one's own life. Whilst Christian and Rachel felt in control over their lives, they understood the perpetrator as unable to make free decisions as being misinformed and controlled by their violent-desires. In this sense, the perpetrator's deficiencies were used for contrasting purposes in which their own self-efficacy was emphasised. For example:

'I can make a decision – they [perpetrator] can't. [...] It's just... When I went to visit one of my friends in hospital [who has been blown up by an IED in Afghanistan] and they've all been watching these videos [...] Clips of how they'd been mutilated – of themselves being blown up, of others being blown up – it's like an obsession. [...] well, I just thought: 'That won't really get you anywhere!' But it's like an obsession, their desire for violence is just like an addiction. They have no mental space to think about their future. [...] It [reflecting her visit] made me

appreciative, really appreciative ... for what I've got, my freedom, my independence, my education, my opportunities' (Rachel, contact)

This quote outlines how the perpetrator-veteran was attributed with an inability to control their inherent violent-nature. Even in a desperate situation caused by violence, Rachel understood the perpetrator to be unable to let go from their violent drive. In this sense, the perpetrator was characterised as unable to consider adequate future steps and thus also unable to be in control over the own life. Crucially, however, reflections on the perpetrator's lacking self-efficacy allowed to emphasise one's own self-efficacy. The participant was the one who was *not* 'addicted' to violence but capable to make free decisions and to live a life full of opportunities. Therefore, contrasting the absence and the presence of perceived self-efficacy may have contributed positively to maintaining a positive self-perception and thus identity structure. However, direct references that related to raised self-efficacy in the context of the veteran-perpetrator representation were infrequent (2/8, 25%).

7.6.Discussion

Representations and Relations

The present study provided an overview of how people from UK society who vary in social distance to veterans from the most recent missions in Iraq and Afghanistan perceive this population. Crucially, the findings indicated that the combination of participant-understandings of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, of the veteran's personality and of the situation's impact on the veteran may be the key to explain different representations of veterans. The combination of these themes allowed to identify three different veteran-representations: The hegemonic hero representation, the emancipated victim representation and the polemic perpetrator representation.

- **The hegemonic veteran-hero representation**

The hero representation seemed to relate to a 'hegemonic representation' – a representation that is uniformly constructed, shared by most members and prevailing in symbolic or affective practices in a society (cf. Moscovici, 1988). In this sense, the hero representation was found to be culturally produced and socially indoctrinated.

More concretely, the results indicated that the hero representation may be an objectified expression of a more symbolic 'constitutional charter' which defines a country's social rights

and obligations (cf. Liu & Hilton, 2005). This 'constitutional charter' seemed to be based upon a 'foundational myth', representing heroic British military interventions in WW1 and WW2 and comprising heroic representations of its protagonists – the veteran.
In conclusion, as the hegemonic veteran-hero representation may be located within a British 'foundational myth', the hero-representation's highly prescriptive character that participants reflected upon may be related to the 'foundational myth's' prescriptive character (cf. Liu & Hilton, 2005; Hamilton, Sherman, & Castelli, 2002; Malinowski, 1926). If an individual accepts British a 'foundational myth' of military interventions the individual may therefore also implicitly accept socially constructed representations of veterans.

In this sense, symbolic and affective social practices were found to play a pivotal role in the distribution of the veteran-hero representation. More concretely, the veteran-hero representation was found to be communicated by a wide array of practices that penetrated all aspects of social life i.e. institutionalised forms of commemoration (i.e. commemoration services), museums, education and media. Therefore, it was unsurprising that the results indicated the veteran-hero representation to be not solely a hegemonic representation but also a 'self-evident' representation (Orr, 2007) – an undeniable reality that, when questioned, could not be fully justified (Breakwell, 2011). More concretely, in the context of the hero-representation, the veteran was labelled with specific characteristics (i.e. 'brave') that mirrored a hegemonic, social justification (i.e. 'the veteran is brave because he fought for the country). However, when asked to elaborate on reasons why specific characteristics may be associated with the veteran and thus to express a more nuanced explanation for these characteristics, participants were unable to do so. Instead, characteristics were tautologically defined (i.e., 'A veteran is brave - Brave means being brave') and thus remaining self-explanatory and 'empty' (cf. Orr, 2007).

In conclusion, the results were aligned with previous research that argued social conceptualisation of military service in terms of representing a solemn function to be a 'taken-for-granted' in British society (i.e. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008). However, the present results extended previous research by providing information on how British individuals who vary in social distance to the UK Armed Forces related heroic representations of Service to those who have left Service. In this sense, the findings did not solely indicate that heroic representations of those who have served exist in British society but also explained conditions under which heroic

representations of those who have served are integrated into individualised understandings. By conceptualising the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan in terms of discursive dichotomies that thematised threats (i.e. evil transgressors vs. righteous us) and values (i.e. freedom – oppression), the veteran was discussed on a more symbolic level (good vs. evil). Crucially, the veteran's willingness to experience threat and danger for the greater good was attributed to an inherent, superior personality. However, in attributions of a superior personality, conceptualisations of a symbolic threat were pivotal. If a symbolic threat (i.e. terrorist) could not be identified and a veteran's deployment was not understood as promoting a greater good, then the veteran was not attributed with a superior but a well-intending though naïve personality (cf. victim). Here, the qualitative results draw an important parallel that explains this study's quantitative part. As outlined in the previous chapter, the word association's answering patterns (cf. Principal Component Analysis) indicated that the thematic clusters 'Heroism', 'Positive Characterisation' and 'Negative Characterisation' were related clusters. The qualitative study provided further evidence that indicated heroism to be considered as being an expression of the veteran's innate character.

Crucially, understanding Service as an expression of an innate disposition had a twofold function. Firstly, this understanding impacted the veteran's self-regard positively. Though veterans commonly dissociated themselves from some aspects of a superior veteran-personality (i.e. superior altruism), this personality was commonly understood to be represented by a more 'general' veteran-population. Nevertheless, veterans considered themselves as rightfully partaking in the hero-veteran category as having fulfilled the same duties as those who were considered as having a superior personality. In conclusion, though veterans did not consider *their* Service as an expression of a superior personality, veterans commonly represented Service as related to the superior personality from members of a more general veteran population. In this sense, veterans could dovetail realistic self-understandings with socially distributed representations of the veteran-hero. Secondly, the superior veteran-personality was a useful constituency to create symbolic distance to Service for non-veteran participants. By following the rationale that heroic deeds can only be done by heroic people (and thus not by oneself) individuals were able to fully justify the self-ascribed incapability to serve. In this sense, Service was constructed as having a 'solemn function' (cf. Gibson, 2012) by understanding that it could only be conducted by 'solemn people'. Essentially, this understanding may be explained by vivid imaginations relating to the 'horrors of war' – or more concretely, the 'horrors of the battlefield'. Mental

constructions of the 'horrors of the battlefield' seemed to relate to representations of British military history that are communicated by commemorative practices, education and media that thematised WW1 and WW2.

In conclusion, depictions of WW1 and WW2 were identified to form social understandings of deployment and the horrors of the battlefield. WW1 was arguably the first war in that mass media played a significant role in disseminating images and news from the UK Fighting Front to the British Home Front (Hannah, 2009; Williams 1999). Although British governmental propaganda agencies were considered to be in control of battlefront-depictions, UK public imagination was drawn to cruelty, death and mutilation (i.e. commissioned battle-film 'Battle of the Somme'; cf. Simmonds, 2013). Crucially, however, these depictions remain to be subject of contemporary interest and debate in UK society in terms of poetry (i.e. Owen, 1965) or media (i.e. Loughran, 2017; Smith, 2017, Roper, 2017). For example, photographs and witness accounts from the 'horrors of the trenches' are to this very day a common theme in social discourses (i.e. "Horror beyond imagination: The most haunting account of the trenches you'll ever read - from a brilliant anthology by Birdsong author Sebastian Faulks", Daily Mail, 3. 8. 2014). Similarly, depictions of the horrific battlefield in WW2 are to date commonly presented and socially discussed (i.e. "Bloody casualties, bombed out cities and weary men: The horrors of World War II revealed in never-before-seen pictures of the Western Front taken by four-star general", Daily Mail, 21.8.2015).

In conclusion, socially pertinent understandings of 'the battlefield' may have contributed to the non-veteran population's attempt to create a symbolic distance between oneself and Service. By conceptualisation, the British military intervention in WW1/ WW2 and in Iraq/Afghanistan in terms of promoting the greater good, overlapping understandings of protagonists (a veteran from WW1/WW2 – a veteran from Iraq/Afghanistan) and antagonist (Nazi Germany – Al-Qaida/ISIS terrorists) were a logical conclusion. The British veteran from Iraq and Afghanistan became in this sense a highly iconic figure that justified one's reservation to serve oneself. The hero-representation may therefore conceal an underlying attitude of 'Thank you for your Service – that I didn't have to.'

In summary, the present study was aligned with previous findings that indicated a prevalence of a hegemonic veteran-hero representation (i.e. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009,

Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008). However, the individual's acceptance of this hegemonic-representation may be related to a self-distancing from socially perpetuated depictions of the 'horrors of war'. The construction of the veteran as a social category may have facilitated this self-distancing.

- **The emancipated veteran-victim representation**

The veteran-victim representation related to an emancipated representation, a distinctive representation that has evolved from a hegemonic representation. An emancipated representation is characterised by not (yet) being incompatible with a hegemonic representation (cf. Moscovici, 1988). It is a representation with "a certain degree of autonomy with respect to the interacting segments of society" (Moscovici 1988, p, 221). In this sense, though the veteran-victim and the veteran-hero representation were dissimilar and exclusive representations, both representations had tangencies that particularly concerned the veteran-personality. The hero *and* the victim representation were both characterised by a well-intending personality. However, in the context of the veteran-victim representation, the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, or violence more generally, were perceived to be illegitimate. Illegitimacy in this context was defined by attributions of bad faith to the government that was understood as having concealed, selfish interests for deploying its soldiers (i.e. oil, power). The conceptualisation of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan had considerable overlap with what literature describes as 'state crime', defined by illegal and socially amoral acts committed by and in the interest of state power (Kauzlarich, et al., 2001). The attribution of well-intending naivety as shared character trait among the veteran-population represented a minor tweak that differentiated the 'hero' from the 'victim'. Crucially, the minor tweak mirrored veterans in the context of a victimological perspective (i.e. Kauzlarich et al., 2001; Bodner, 2008; Ruggiero, 2005). In this context, veterans "while 'doing their unpleasant, ennobling duty', are being victimised by state and corporate actors" (Ruggiero, 2005, p.251).

Stereotypical understandings and misinformation about Service associated to attributions of lacking agency indicated to be the cornerstone of the veteran-victim representation. The lack of agency concerned the veteran's location (i.e. deployment in Iraq/Afghanistan) and the structure of behaviours (i.e. following orders) and thus allowed to conceptualise the veterans as 'deserving victim', a victim through no fault of their own (Walklate, 2007). Crucially, the veteran as 'deserving victim' conceptualised a population in terms of vulnerability and

weakness. This conceptualisation may explain why veterans who participated in this study rejected the label of being a 'victim'. The findings, therefore, mirrored earlier studies that found veterans to characterise themselves in terms of 'undeserving victims' – soldiers (and thus veterans) of choice (cf. McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). The 'undeserving victim' negates the veteran being legitimately ascribed a 'victim status' given that veterans had the choice to join the British Army and (unlike civilians) were an equal match to those they fought. Veterans, therefore, had no claim for a victim status, even if injured in conflict.

The current study indicated that the 'undeserving victim' – the soldier of choice – was particularly evident when the deployments were perceived as illegitimate. The veteran as 'undeserving victim' was then conceptualised in terms of taking a professional stance. The veteran-individual perceived to have little blameworthiness for violent actions – even if illegitimate – as having followed orders that were part of the 'job'. In this context veteran-narratives reminded of the 'Superior Orders Defence' (commonly known as 'Nuremberg Defence'; Osiel, 2017), a plea that a person (whether related to i.e. the military, law enforcement, firefighting force) could not be held guilty for actions ordered by a superior instance (Insco, 2003). This facilitated maintaining positive self-perceptions by understanding oneself in terms of successfully completing occupational requirements instead of being a non-agentic victim of illegitimate orders. In conclusion, although veterans refrained from explicitly classifying themselves as victims, the contextual descriptions overlapped with what victimological literature aptly defines as 'undeserving victim' (McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). In this sense, veterans defined themselves not in terms of being victims of a 'state crime' (Kauzlarich et al., 2001) but as required to follow orders in the context of a 'state crime'.

In summary, the results indicated that perceptions of the illegitimate use of violence facilitated re-conceptualisations of the veteran's superior personality. Whilst this personality was characterised as inferior and naïve by non-veterans, the veteran population considered veterans in this context to have no specific personality at all. Therefore, a minor tweak in conceptualisations of the veteran's personality made the veteran-victim representation to a distinctive representation, however, not yet incompatible with the hero representation. Instead, the victim representation had a certain degree of autonomy that depended upon individual conceptualisations of legitimate violence. In this sense, the victim-representation related to an emancipated representation.

- **The polemic veteran-perpetrator representation**

The perpetrator representation related to a polemic representation as being a "mutually exclusive" representation that was determined by "antagonistic relations" (Moscovici, 1988; p. 221). In this sense, the veteran-perpetrator representation facilitated the explanation of socially distributed information about illegitimate violence conducted by (ex) members of the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, the veteran-perpetrator representation served representational consistency by addressing and explaining aspects that the hero and victim representation could not provide a rationale for (i.e. why some veterans were not damaged by war-exposure), and, in some cases, dovetailed opinions about the UK Armed Forces as being institutionalising and barbaric but likewise necessary and important (cf. barbaric people need barbaric institutions – 'different things for different people').

In this sense, the perpetrator was based upon "conditional descriptors [...] legitimate alternatives [that allow] discursive variations from changes in the context and possible inconsistencies" (Quenza, 2005; p. 83). It served complementing functions by representing antagonistic, oppositional relationships as the perpetrator was constructed in terms of dichotomies. More concretely, the perpetrator was considered to be what a hero/victim was not considered to be. Whilst both, the veteran-hero and the veteran-victim were basically characterised by a well-intending personality, the veteran-perpetrator represented malice by taking pleasure in violence. Although the perpetrator was considered to be morally reprehensible, distinctions were made between pursuing self-initiated illegitimate violence or by solely taking pleasure in governmentally initiated illegitimate violence. Whilst the former was conceptualised in terms of a more evil nature and often represented the counter-part of the hero, the latter was thought to be less malicious and commonly represented the antagonist of the victim.

Crucially, however, the perpetrator was an infrequently recollected representation. This mirrors the findings outlined in the previous chapters. For example, in the newspaper analysis only 1.42% of articles discussed the veteran as the perpetrator. Thus, the few occurrences of veteran-perpetrator representations in the narrative accounts might be explained by an infrequent social discourse and little information that relates the veteran to an evil-doer. Similarly, the quantitative word-association indicated that the thematic cluster that might have related to the perpetrator (i.e. 'Negative Characterisation') was not part of the representational core of any veteran-related representation. This evidence supports the present findings that the perpetrator representation may be a contextually dependent

complementary and polemic. Therefore, it may be concluded that the perpetrator-representation may not resemble equal importance as the victim or the hero representation.

- **Representational Relationships and Cognitive Polyphasia**

Essentially, this study's findings indicated that more than one veteran-related representation could coexist side by side within the same individual. Therefore, depending on the context, participants spoke about the same veteran individual in different ways or split the veteran population into heroes, victims and/or perpetrators. Crucially, however, each representation was locally, not globally consistent. More concretely, the veteran was characterised in one context in one way (i.e. as a hero) whilst being characterised in a different way, in a different context (i.e. as a victim). Therefore, the results were aligned with theoretical notions of cognitive polyphasia (Moscovici, 1984) that describe different situationally-dependent representations as responding to different social contexts.

In conclusion, the results indicated that the hero, victim and perpetrator representations were part of a wholesome and interconnected triangle that allowed participants to switch from one representation to another (cf. Figure 11). Therefore, holding on these representations of veterans responded to Wagner et al.'s (2011) notion that "in the context of different life worlds [...] holding on to 'contradictory' representations makes sense" (p.306).

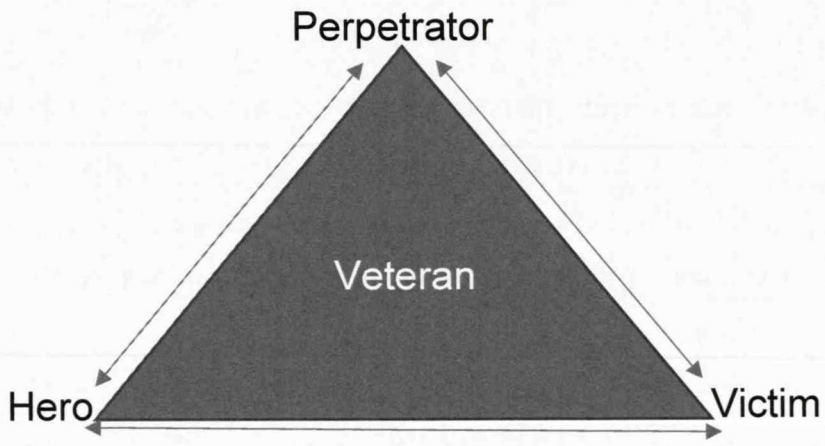

Figure 11.
Representational Triangle Hero-Victim-Perpetrator

Participants were able to understand veterans from different perspectives. In the context of legitimised violence, the veteran was seen as a hero, whereas in the context of illegitimate

violence the veteran became -depending upon agency- a deserving or undeserving victim or a perpetrator. Therefore, beliefs which seem to be incompatible were used to create a reality that was – at least for the individual – logically coherent and consistent. In conclusion, individuals were following a reasoning process that is starkly simplified in Figure 12. Essentially, the context of a mission that was subjectively perceived as being the legitimately built foundation of the veteran-hero representation. If this was not the case, the veteran became understood as being a victim or a perpetrator. Whether a veteran was considered to be a victim or perpetrator depended upon attributions of taking pleasure in violence.

In conclusion, as individuals were able to hold and follow more than one strand of reasoning process the individual's representation depended upon which context the individual emphasised. For example, the narrative accounts indicated that the legitimacy of the deployments and the use of force more generally were conceptualised in different ways. Commonly British military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan were understood as legitimised in the context of counter-terrorism, however, as being illegitimate when thinking of oil and political power (i.e. Caleb, Jonathan, Emma, James). Whilst a veteran was therefore understood as a hero in the context of the protection of a terrorist threat, the same veteran was considered as a victim in the context of governmental self-interest and of unjust, illegal deployments

In conclusion, the results indicated that cognitive polyphasia did not solely apply to representations of the veteran but also to the representational context in that the veteran was embedded. This means concretely, that individuals may hold different representations of the same reality (such as the veteran), as they hold dissimilar but equally valid and justified understandings of contexts in that different representations were embedded (i.e. deployments being justified by counter-terrorism *and* deployments being unjustified as administered by the greedy and self-interested government). In this sense, the explanation for a more 'distilled' form of cognitive polyphasia that the quantitative study (Chapter VI) outlined to apply to 'British Army Iraq Veteran' and 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran' may be explained by a less hegemonically constructed representation of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. In contrast to i.e. WW1 and WW2 in that European countries designated heroes and villains in terms of 'definite roles' (cf. Liu & Hilton, 2005), deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan were less socially scripted. In this sense, understandings of British Army Iraq and Afghanistan veterans had tangencies with US Vietnam veterans, commonly presented

to be as much victims as the civilian Vietnamese (Wessley, 2005), German Wehrmacht soldiers represented as needlessly sacrificed in a futile Nazi warfare (Wolfenden, 2007) but also with British WW2 veterans, heroes of a heroic British warfare that promoted the greater good (cf. Gibson, 2012).

Therefore, whilst literature indicated previous wars to be hegemonically constructed in terms of "narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going" (Liu & Hilton, 2005; p. 1), the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan were less so. The British intervention could be understood as both, needless *and* useful. Therefore, in the absence of socially distributed hegemonic information that designated Britain to a prescribed role (i.e. saviour vs. aggressor), the absence of a hegemonic definition of the veteran was a logical consequence. Just as the British intervention could be understood as both, necessary *and* unnecessary, the veteran could be understood as hero *and/or* victim *and/or* perpetrator. In conclusion, the absence of a hegemonic representation that provided members of the British public with consistent 'lay-knowledge' to understand the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan may explain why British Iraq and Afghanistan veterans were placed within the realms of an interconnected representational triangle (Figure 11) .

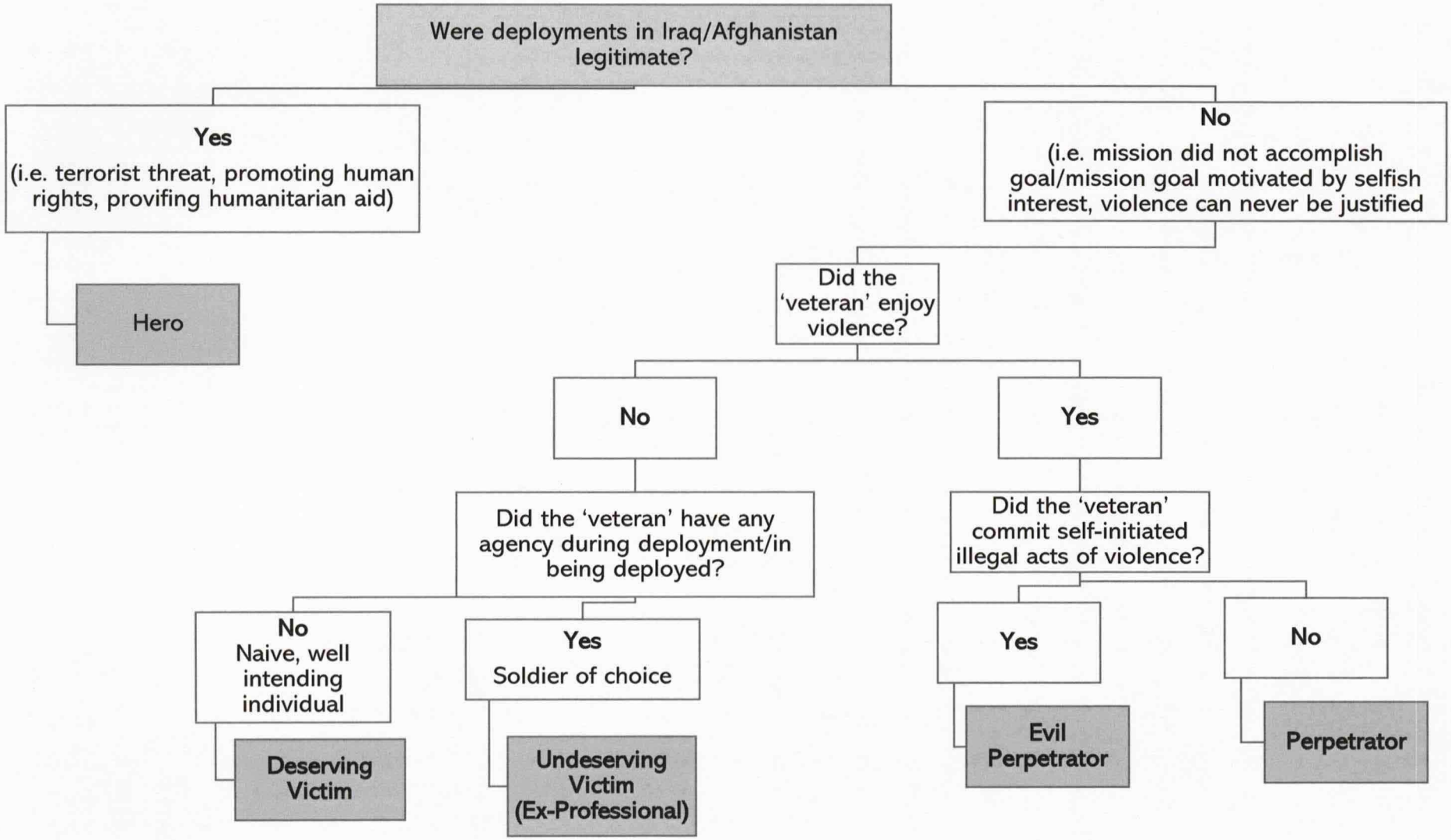

Figure 12.
Starkly Simplified Reasoning Process

The results of the current study explained factually incorrect but socially pertinent stereotypes about the veteran that were outlined in representative surveys and opinion polls. To begin with, misperceptions that relate to physical injuries may be simply explained by perceptions of the damaging nature of war. As 86% (25/29) of the participants did not differentiate between veterans from the front line and veterans more generally, it is unsurprising that the veteran population as a whole was thought to be more affected by physical injuries. In this trend social distance played a minor role as only 40% (3/8) of veterans and 13% (1/8) of participants with close social contact to veterans identified frontline soldiers as being exposed to greater risks than 'other' veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan. In conclusion, erroneous beliefs that concern veterans as being more likely to have physical disabilities than civilians may be explained by prevalent misbeliefs about Service and deployment. Therefore, instead of thematizing what veterans actually might have done in the course of the deployment, the veteran population as a whole was equated with front-line and combat exposure. In this way, a high proportion of pivotal roles in deployment, unrelated to front-line or combat exposure were ignored (i.e. logistics, signals, HR). This ignorance may also explain negative misperceptions about the veteran's psychological well-being that were outlined by opinions polls and surveys.

However, anticipations of psychological health problems were more complex in nature. Basically, the narrative accounts indicated that adverse mental health effects were always related to – more or less – vividly imagined 'horrors of war'. In this context, mental health adversities were understood as the outcome of moral transgressions. Therefore, the narrative accounts reflected theoretical notions on 'moral injury' (i.e. Nazarov, 2015).

To identify potential moral transgressions, the veteran-personality served as a point of reference. The well-intending veteran who fought in a 'heroic' war, defined by promoting the greater good, was understood to *may* have incurred 'moral injury'. However, as the veteran's action served the greater good, reflecting on actions as a requirement to promote the greater good were thought to have a health-promoting effect.

In contrast, if the well-intending but naïve veteran fought in an illegitimate conflict, then reflections of Service had no such health-promoting effect. Instead, the well-intending but naïve veteran-personality was thought to forbid the veteran to overcome wrongdoing and the veteran was considered to lack self-forgiveness. Moral transgression was understood to lead

to rumination over the inflicted violence, leading to social exclusion. Alcohol and substance abuse were understood as a coping strategy, home- and joblessness logical consequences thereof. In this context, socially pertinent misbeliefs about the poor mental health of veterans that were outlined in opinion polls and surveys may be associated with low public support for the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan (i.e. YouGov, 2015). More particularly, as British military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan have been generally perceived as unsuccessful and without clear, coherent goal (i.e. Gribble et al., 2015), the legitimacy of these missions remains subject to questioning. Therefore, the veteran who fought in these wars may have suffered from reflections on the illegitimacy of violence in this context. Or, as Treadwell (2010, p. 73) aptly comments on the position of the British veteran from Iraq and Afghanistan:

> "[…] the other casualties of war are, perhaps, those soldiers who return seemingly physically healthy after military service, and the unfortunate people who, at some unspecified point in the future will become victims of their crime [referring to mental health adversities]."

It is noteworthy that adverse mental health outcomes were only attributed if the veteran was constructed in terms of being a 'deserving victim'. In this sense, individuals could distance themselves from the veteran to take a sympathetic and supportive attitude. In contrast, if the veteran was thought to be an 'undeserving victim' – a soldier by choice – guilt and blame were dissociated from the veteran. Illegitimate violent actions were then conceptualised as having followed legitimate orders and thus veterans were considered as not being accountable for their actions' questionable legality. Interestingly, references of veterans as being 'undeserving victims' were solely identified in the present project's veteran population. This may be related to an attempt of maintaining agency over one's actions whilst simultaneously dissociating oneself from the accountability of these actions' consequences.

However, when the veteran was understood as an evil-intending (perpetrator), the veteran was thought to be an underprivileged pre-enlistment welfare case. Therefore, the 'recruited population' was constructed in terms of deficiencies that related to cognitive abilities and social deprivation. Interestingly, this construction mirrored factually correct information as recent studies indicated that the majority of British Army infantry recruits had low academic

achievements, trouble with the police and had engaged in hazardous behaviour related to drug and alcohol abuse prior enlistment (Kiernan et al., 2016).

Social deprivation was associated with barbarism and inhibited empathy, as being a biological heritage shared among *higher* social animals (cf. Preston & de Waal, 2002). As barbarism and decreased empathy were classified as per-se abnormal psychological functioning, the perpetrator was thought to suffer from pre-enlistment ill-psychological health.

In conclusion, the mental health of veterans in the context of the hero, the victim and the perpetrator representation were understood to be impaired, though for different reasons. These differences accounted for perceptions whether or whether not the veteran could overcome mental health problems and which 'side-effects' (homelessness, joblessness, alcohol/drug addiction) were associated with ill-mental health. Therefore, the findings indicate that socially pertinent misbeliefs about the veteran's mental health may be explained by different rationalities that were based upon misinformation about Service and the veteran-population more generally. An overview is provided in Figure 13.

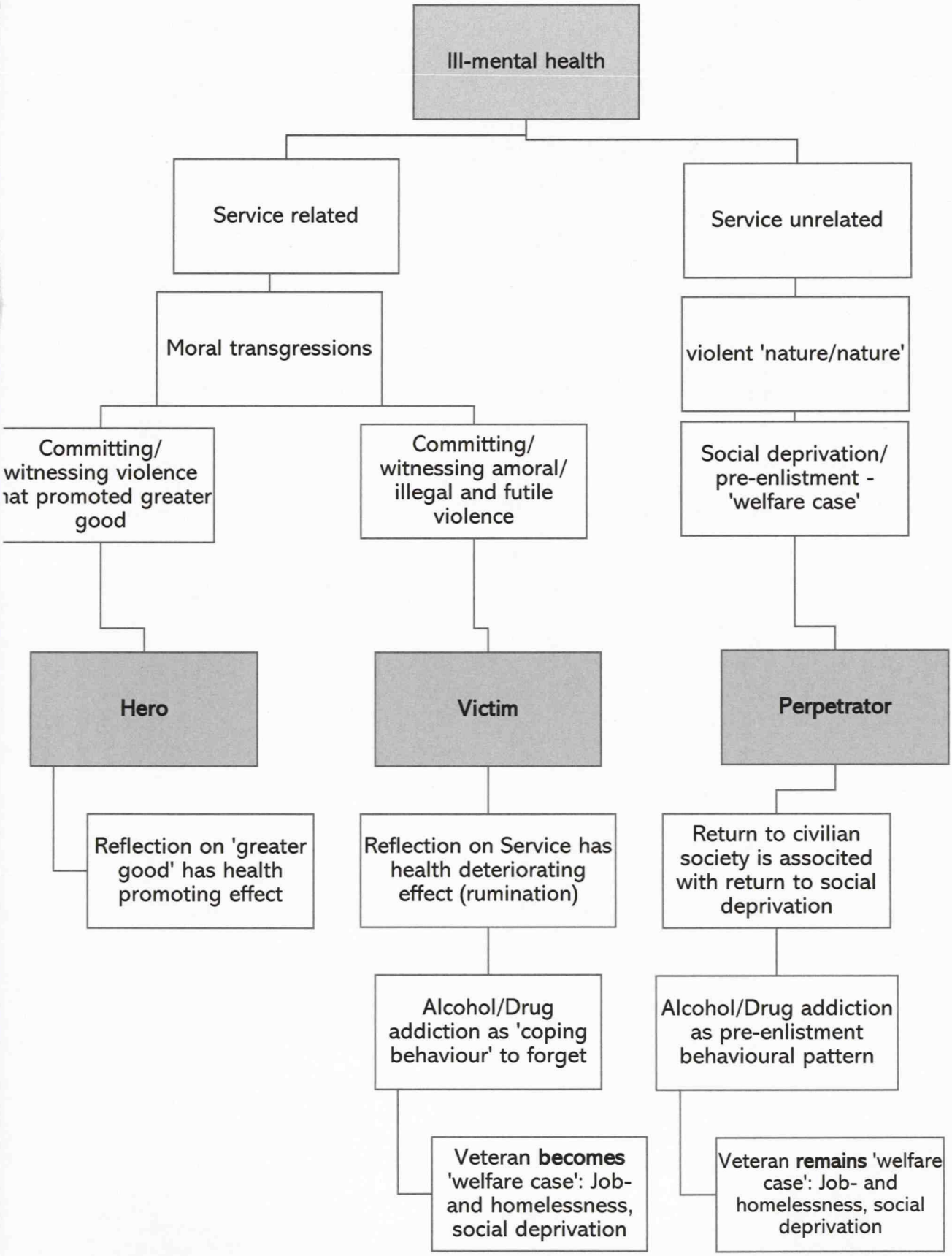

Figure 13.

'ummary of justifications for attributions of ill mental health to the veteran (hero – victim – perpetrator)

Identity Processes and Representational Selectivity

So far, this section discussed different representations of the veteran, how these representations related to each other and how socially pertinent misbeliefs about the veteran may be explained. The following will engage in a more theoretical discussion that addresses why participants referred to the veteran in the way they did and described a context that suited a specific representation of the veteran more than another.

Crucially, the present results indicated that individuals will accept and use social representations in a way that has significance for the individual's identity. Therefore, the present results were aligned with Identity Process Theory (cf. Breakwell, 2014, 2011, 2010a, 2010b, 2001, 1993, Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). More concretely, individuals created personalised representations of British Army Iraq / Afghanistan veterans by forming personally meaningful connections with British Army Iraq / Afghanistan veterans. Therefore, individuals took a wide array of subject matters into account such as i.e. pre-existing perceptions of veterans, in-group relevant understandings of Iraq / Afghanistan veterans, conceptualisations of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, opinions about war and killing more generally, personal or ingroup relevant experiences with violence. Essentially, however, personal significance of these subject matters was found to explain why individuals emphasised particular representations and particular situational contexts over others. Therefore, the results indicated that individuals created a hierarchical structure of contexts and veteran-representations of that more important contexts and representations were resonating with the more important aspects of one's identity. This is aligned with Identity Process Theory suggesting

> "[…] that individuals […] will accept and use (i.e. reproduce and act in accordance with) a particular social representation to differing degrees, depending upon it's potential impact upon their identity" (Breakwell, 2014; p. 127).

For example, Zabrina who emphasised the victim representation had internalised her family's experiences of the1983's invasion of Grenada so that they became vivid memories of her own youth. As the horrors of war became the overriding, perpetually discussed key-theme, Zabrina contextually downplayed her British identity, representing a nation that permits illegitimate violence. In conclusion, Zabrina's emphasis on her family-related Caribbean identity may explain why she emphasised the veteran-victim representation.

However, individuals that held multiple strong identities were able to fully justify also multiple representations of veterans. For example, Jessi, a 2nd generation British and strong faith Muslim appreciated British values (i.e. equality) that allowed her to pursue education. The veteran was a symbolic protector of these values and thus as a hero. However, as she could not dovetail killing – even if for the greater good – with her religious identity, she understood the veteran in the context of her Muslim identity as being a perpetrator. In conclusion, Jessi held two contextually legitimate representations - when referring to her British identity the veteran was a hero whilst being a perpetrator when referring to her religious identity became more salient.

Therefore, the results indicated that even if individuals did not know anything about veterans, identity relevant themes that in the widest sense related to veterans were recalled. Instead of evaluating information objectively and deriving realistic conclusions, participants focussed on one theme (i.e. war experience) that was either directly meaningful to the individual (i.e. personal experience) or meaningful for an identity relevant ingroup (i.e. religious values). The representation of a veteran that responded to identity relevant themes was then understood as being one's personalised representation (cf. Breakwell, 2016).

Reasons for why identity may govern representational construction may be explained by preferences to live in a subjectively meaningful reality than living in an objectively observable reality. However, to live in a meaningful environment identity creation processes are thought to be required (Breakwell, 2014, 2001, Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014), as being the foundation for evaluation and comparison – and thus the cornerstone of meaningfulness (Breakwell, 2001). Therefore, reasons why individuals accepted some representations of veterans that were embedded within some identity relevant contexts, whilst rejecting others in less identity relevant contexts indicated to express underlying identity maintenance processes (cf. Breakwell; 2001, 1986). In this sense, the results were aligned with IPT by indicating representations that resonated with the four underlying tenets of identity construction (continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy) to be accepted; (cf. Breakwell, 2016, 2014, 2010a, 2010b, 2001; Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). A representation that did not contribute positively to identity construction was either ignored or rejected.

An example, therefore, can be found in Anna's account. Although Anna considered viewing the veteran as a hero from the perspective of her national identity, she rejected this notion as

feeling unable to do so from her identity as a daughter of pacifist parents. Anna elaborated on the pivotal role that her family played and how her relationship with her mother provided her with self-esteem, self-efficacy and distinctiveness during a time where she had suffered from an eating disorder and depression. Anna, therefore, felt highly affiliated to her parent's (1st generation Irish immigrants) negative opinion about war and violence.

In conclusion, the results indicated that among the realm of the available social representations, individuals utilized representations of the veteran that were of significance to the individual's identity. The present study's results extended the series of previous research on IPT and social representational construction (i.e. Bonauito et al., 1996, Jaspal & Yanpolsky, 2011; Thrush et al., 1997, 1999; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), outlining that "individuals were found to reject social representations that might threaten important aspects of their identity" (Breakwell, 2014, p. 127).

Aligned with IPT, the underlying tenets of identity (continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy; Breakwell, 2016, 2014, 2010a, 2010b, 2001; Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014) governed assimilation-accommodating and evaluation processes of veteran-related information. More concretely, participants only integrated information that contributed to the 'trueness' of a pre-existing reality. Factually correct information was only then accepted and understood as 'true' when this information was coherent with personal and ingroup-relevant experiences or values and assumptions derived from these experiences and values. For example, if the veteran was associated with war and war was conceptualised as horrific and damaging, then the veteran was understood as suffering from war exposure. However, if war was conceptualised as horrific but necessary for promoting the good of the greater, then the veteran was considered to be negatively impacted by war but able to overcome the negative effects war experience may have.

In this sense, if information that was incoherent with personal and ingroup-relevant experiences and values (i.e. veteran is not damaged), it was rejected and thought to be deceitful or a misleading conspiracy (i.e. government wanting to promote recruitment). The results were therefore aligned with previous studies indicating representations to be construed and interpreted in a way that validated pre-existing personal beliefs and in-group relevant beliefs (i.e. Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). This explains why *factually* correct information such as veterans to be less likely than

members of the civilian population to suffer from ill-mental health may have had little significance for the individual.

Limitations

Although the current study offered a discursive approach to understand pertinent perceptions of veterans and socially prevalent stereotypes, it suffered from a number of limitations. The first limitation addresses the construction of representational categories (hero, victim, perpetrator). Although the representational categories were predominately deductively constructed, the "data [was] not coded in an epistemological vacuum" (Braun & Clark, 2007, p. 84). In other words, this limitation concerns the researcher's inability to free oneself from theoretical and epistemological comments. However, the researcher addressed this potential bias by cross-checking themes and interpretations with a non-psychology postgraduate student.

The second limitation concerns the flexibility of the method that allows a wide range of analytic options. By constructing three representation that evolved from answering patterns, it may be possible that other, more implicit representations have been overlooked. Moreover, the strict division between representations that was founded on answering-patterns, did not allow to fully address interactions between representation. Participants tended to switch from one representation to another and sometimes reconsidered their thoughts, took back or reframed what they have said previously. Therefore, the potential range of the analysis could be widened by observing switch-over points between the hero-victim, hero-perpetrator and victim-perpetrator in greater depth. However, the current study tried to address these dichotomies by relating to Identity Process Theory and examining the role of identity in the construction of the veteran. Admittingly, this observation would have required greater depth as the analysis provided a rather brief overview of identity processes that might have been at work in shaping representations of veterans. However, this would have gone beyond reasonable limits as a thorough investigation of the role identity may play would have required an additional study. To fully understand which role identity plays in individual constructions of the veteran, a smaller sample size (6-10 participants) should have been recruited and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith & Eatough, 2007) used to analyse the narrative accounts. For the current project, however, an IPA analysis would have restricted the crystallisation of more general themes that were found to construct socially pertinent representations.

In conclusion, it would be advisable for future research to focus on identity processes in terms how these influence representational constructions of veterans in greater depth.

7.7. Conclusion

The findings of the qualitative analysis shed light onto socially pertinent understandings of veterans that may contribute to understanding socially pertinent erroneous and stereotypical perceptions of veterans. Therefore, the findings allowed to conclude how different representations of veterans were constructed by examining evolving themes. The observation how themes governed representational construction facilitated comparisons between the representations. This was important as determining underlying, constituting tenets in stereotypical and erroneous perceptions of veterans may facilitate to change these perceptions. Therefore, the present study gives an indication what needs to be done that veterans may be understood more beneficially by the UK public. However, the findings that relate to identity process theory indicated that changing pertinent misbeliefs about veterans would require more than the distribution of factually correct information. Factually correct information needs to be believed and thus integrated into pre-existing understandings of reality. However, as conceptualisations of the veteran were attached to identity-relevant conceptualisations of horrific war experiences, it may be difficult to dissociate today's veteran from the damaging outcomes related to conceptualisations of war. Therefore, social reflections and practices that communicate the veteran's heroic contribution within the horrific battlefield may also implicitly communicate two aspects – the veteran as having heroically overcome the battlefield but in a different context simultaneously suffering from the battlefield. To dissociate the veteran from erroneous attributions of adverse mental health, it may be necessary to also dissociate the veteran from conceptualisations of the 'horrors of war' that were predominately related to historic warfare.

In conclusion, as conceptualisations of war and the veteran were closely knit together, the dissociation of the veteran from socially pertinent negative stereotypes may require emphasising a distinction between *today's* veteran and the veteran from *historical warfare*. The term 'Veteran' may therefore be inadequate to describe those who have left Service today. Instead, social conceptualisations of today's veterans as ex-professionals may be desirable – and thus understandings of veterans without a specifically altruistic, naïve or evil personality. This may facilitate a representational re-conceptualisation of veterans as ex-

professionals and so may improve social understandings of veterans. Moreover, a re-conceptualization of veterans as ex-professionals may also help the veteran population in successfully transitioning into civilian society as latest research indicated a successful transition to be promoted by accepting one's veteran identity whilst emphasising another identity (Brewer & Herron, 2018). More concretely, if veterans focussed on their past life and their heroic contribution, they easily slipped into indulging on their military past and seeking to maintain military connections. However, if individuals understood 'Veteran' as *part* of their identity that referred to their encapsulated military past, then they were more successful in transitioning (cf. ibid). Thus, understandings of 'Veteran' as all-encompassing expression of one's personality (particularly evident in '7.5.1 The Hero') may be unhelpful. In conclusion, the results indicated that though King's (2010, 2013) notion on the changed identity of the military and its (ex)members in terms of their professional capacity may not be reflected in participant-accounts, it may be desirable. A representational re-conceptualisation of *today's* veterans as being neither heroes, victims nor perpetrators but everyday individuals may therefore facilitate dissociations between the veteran and socially held stereotypes (i.e. ill-mental health).

However, although the current study outlined ways to improve the veteran's reputation, it may be beneficial to conduct a further set of studies that explains how identity maintenance processes govern representational construction more clearly. These studies would provide further evidence how interventions that may improve the veteran's reputation may be accepted by individuals as resonating with underlying identity processes.

8. General Discussion and Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

The present chapter will draw the different findings from the present report together. Therefore, the first part will present an overview of the present report's results. The results from the different chapters will be compared and implications will be discussed. Then, the results will be discussed more globally in the light of previous research. In doing so, the thesis' three main research questions

(1) In which ways are British veterans represented and understood in British society?
(2) How may beliefs about British veterans, held by members of the British public, be explained?
(3) Taking the evidence from this report into consideration – how could the veteran's reputation be improved?

that were posed in Chapter 1 will be answered. After the discussion of findings and overall conclusions, the success and limitations of the methodology and methods will be reflected upon. Also, some of the more general limitations of this report will be presented. Finally, ways in which this research develops on from the current literature and how it adds to it will be discussed. The present chapter will then conclude with presenting general conclusions.

8.2. Triangulation and Integration of the Findings

The present thesis demonstrates various types of triangulation by combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon, some ways in which they were applied and integrated, and the value added to the work. Therefore, triangulation was used for improving reliability and the convergent validation of the present thesis' methods. Table 49 gives an overview of the different methods, results obtained and concluding questions which were answered by the following study.

Essentially, the present thesis used *methodological triangulation* (Denzin, 1978) by collecting quantitative and qualitative data to gain a more complete picture. *Data*

triangulation (ibid) was achieved by retrieving data from different sources like newspaper articles or opinion polls, and, by recruiting from different populations such as veterans and civilians. This allowed the researcher to implement, compare and contrast different perspectives of the same phenomenon. *Investigator triangulation* (ibid) was attained through the researcher's supervision and through integrating multiple inter-disciplinary students at the coding stages in which the inter-rater reliability was checked. This allowed the researcher to include perspectives of multiple researchers. *Theoretical triangulation* (ibid) involved in-depth explorations of paradigmatic differences framing each method and analysis.

However, triangulation also offers the possibility to evaluate the different sets of findings holistically by engaging in an integration of their components (cf. Lewin, Glenton & Oxman, 2009; O'Cathain, Murphy & Nicholl, 2007). To consider agreement, partial agreement, silence or dissonance between the findings, a mixed-methods matrix was produced (cf. Table 49). Mixed method matrices which identify meta-themes that cut across the findings from the different methods are commonly used to triangulate data from quantitative and qualitative studies (Creswell & Clark, 2017; O'Cathain, Murphy & Nicholl, 2010; Farmer, Robinson, Elliott & Eyles, 2006). Along the lines of the Miles & Hubermann's meta-matrix (Miles, Hubermann, Hubermann & Hubermann, 1994), the rows represent the qualitative and quantitative studies and the columns display the different meta themes in relation to each study (cf. **Table 50**). This way to display the findings allows to contrast and compare the results from the different types of data and thus facilitates finding patterns across all quantitative and qualitative studies (cf. O'Cathain et al., 2007; Wendler, 2001). An exhaustive discussion of each meta-theme in which the findings of the studies will be interconnected follows the presentation of the Table 50.

Table 49.
Overview of research and findings

	Newspaper Article Analysis	Analysis of Opinion Polls and Surveys	Quantitative Word-Association Task	Qualitative Interview Study
Purpose	To investigate societally prevalent depictions of and discourses about veterans	To examine whether heroic and victimised perceptions of veterans are mirrored by UK individual opinions	To understand whether how individuals if/how may hold contradictory beliefs about veterans and how these beliefs may differ between veteran-roles and active service personnel	To examine rationalities that justify understandings of veterans and to investigate why individuals may focus on some representations of veterans while ignoring others
Method	Content Analysis and Chi Squared Analysis of newspaper articles	Content Analysis of veteran-related question items from UK representative surveys and polls	Content Analysis, Hierarchical Evocation Method, Multiple Linear Regressions, Principal Component Analysis and Correlations	Thematic Analysis of semi-structured interviews
Material	335 newspaper articles from Google News and UK PressOnline	41 question-items extracted from 11 surveys/polls	702 associations to each of the following stimuli words: Veteran, Ex-Service Personnel, British Army Iraq Veteran, British Army Afghanistan Veteran, Recruit, Soldier	29 semi-structured interviews with individuals who differ in social contact to veterans (13 no contact, 8 close social contact) or are veterans themselves (8 British Army Iraq/Afgahnsitan veterans)

Results	Veterans are depicted as heroes and victims in relatively equal proportions	Individuals in UK society hold a set of heroizing, appreciating and erroneous, victimizing beliefs about veterans	Victimization and Heroism were two thematic categories that were part of the central core of all veteran related stimuli words, however, not of active service personnel related stimuli words; while sociodemographic characteristics mattered little in category-evocation, the PCA indicated heroism and victimization to be embedded in different contexts	The results indicate how individuals were able to rationalise multiple representations of the veteran (hero, victim, perpetrator); which representation individuals believed to be the 'true' representation depended on themes that were important for an individual's identity;
Concluding Question	Are these depictions mirrored by public opinions?	Do contradicting beliefs about veterans reside in the same individual? Are there any differences between how veteran-related roles how and active service personnel is being perceived?	How do people rationalise their beliefs about veterans? Why do individuals hold some beliefs about veterans and reject others?	Understandings of veterans are dependent on a set of themes; how these themes are interpreted depends on underlying tenets of identity construction

Table 50.
Integration of Results: Meta Matrix (cf. Miles et al, 1994)

	Study	The Veteran as Hero	The Veteran as Victim	The Veteran as Perpetrator
Exploratory Studies: How are veterans depicted and perceived?	**Newspapaper Analysis**	Hero by - their heroic actions - overcoming disabilities	Victim of - injuries incurred by war - social/ institutional injustice	Perpetrator by - inherently evil, violence-loving personality
	Opinion Polls and Surveys	Hero as - being highly qualified, valourus individuals	Victim of - alcoholism, drug abuse, - suicidal tendencies and physical/ psychological health problems - homelessness and unemployment	-
Explanatory Studies: How can perceptions be explained?	**Word-Association Study**	Heroic sentiments relate to personality traits	Victimizing sentiments relate to - deindividuation - war connected themes	-
	Interview Study	Heroic sentiments originate in - anticipations a morally superior 'Veteran Personality' - beliefs that war/deployments are necessary and legitimate	Victimizing sentiments originate in - anticipations of a well-intending, naïve 'Veteran Personality' - emphasising the physically and mentally damaging 'horrors of war' and illegitimate violence/killings	Perpetrator-related sentiments originmate in - anticipations of an evil-intending, violence-loving personality

The veteran as hero

Each study produced evidence for heroic representations of veterans. Essentially, the results indicated that attributions of heroism related to conceptualisations of the veteran's personality. In line with the results of the analysis of opinion polls and surveys, the quantitative word-association study found heroism to be related to the thematic categories which comprised personality traits and inherent dispositions. The interview study elaborated this notion further by indicating that veterans were understood in terms of an inherently different, morally superior personality which 'drove' the veteran into the military. Therefore, the attributed altruistic motives for joining were considered to lie within the veteran's natural disposition which 'drove' the veteran into the UK Armed Forces. In this sense, 'veteran' became an identity that was imperatively bound to an individual. In contrast to a contractually obliged identity that can be voluntarily adopted and rejected, 'veteran' was found to be a definer of one's personality (cf. Duveen, 2001; Moscovici, 1984). The veteran-identity as an imperatively bound identity that implies social constructivism (being defined and communicated by society, cf. Duveen, 2001) was further evidenced by the newspaper analysis. The Thematic Analysis of newspaper analysis indicated that veterans were commonly presented within the realms of extraordinary, altruistic deeds in the veteran's past- and post- military life, strength and willpower. However, the results also outline that articles which depicted veterans in the context of extraordinary, altruistic deeds, strength and willpower also transferred a specific veteran-identity that was characterised by strength, selflessness and invincibility. In conclusion, heroic representations of veterans may originate in societally perpetuated depictions of veterans.

However, although the qualitative and quantitative studies indicated that heroic representations of veterans may originate in conceptualisations of the veteran's personality, the interview study provided further in-depth explanative potential. Essentially, the interview study indicated that specific conditions need to be met for individuals to accept the societally distributed morally superior 'Veteran Personality'. To integrate societally distributed information about veterans into one's personal belief system, the results indicated that also the veteran's actions needed to be perceived as necessary and legitimate. More concretely, only if killing, violence and deployments were perceived as worthwhile contributions towards the greater good, then also the veteran's morally superior personality

tended to be reiterated and discussed. Although veterans were still considered as being possibly damaged by their service, their sacrifice was thought to be worthy of honour and respect. However, reasons why individuals understood killing, violence and deployments as necessary and legitimate was found to relate to underlying identity processes (cf. Breakwell et al., 2014). Perceptions of veterans as heroes therefore responded to personal fears about personal security, the loss of specific lifestyles and an appreciation for the society of which one is part of.

The veteran as victim

All studies that are part of the present thesis produced evidence for victimised representations of veterans. Therefore, the results of the newspaper analysis, analysis of opinion polls and surveys, the word association task and the interview study all comprised similar components which, when drawn together, can be used to explain each other. For example, the erroneous attribution of veterans as being more likely than civilians to suffer from physical and mental health problems, suicidal tendencies, alcoholism, drug abuse, homelessness and unemployment were found to be widely distributed by media (cf. Chapter 4) and believed by individuals in British society (cf. Chapter 5). However, the explanative potential of the quantitative word association study and the qualitative interview study allowed the researcher to understand why these beliefs may be widely accepted by individuals from UK society.

The examination of word-association relationships in the quantitative study indicated victimising sentiments were related to deindividuated and war-related perspectives. Therefore, negative and factually incorrect beliefs about veterans that were outlined in opinion polls and surveys may be related to conceptualisations of deployment and warfare. Qualitative data from the interview study evidenced this notion further by indicating victimising sentiments were discussed in the context of the imagined 'horrors of war'. The veteran's physical or mental health problem served therefore as an argument also for the futility of war. More concretely, in the context of a governmentally approved deployment that was perceived to be illegitimate and futile, veterans were characterised as misused, well-intending victims of the violence that they themselves inflicted. As veterans were understood to be unable to tolerate the injustice in which they have been involved due to their naïve but

well-intending personality, veterans were considered to be at high risk of developing serious mental health problems. The veteran's alcoholism and drug abuse (a societally prevalent belief but an erroneous one, cf. Chapter 5), were considered to be a method of coping with mental health problems, and, homelessness and unemployment (cf. ibid) the consequences thereof. In this context, the veteran was characterised as being a needy, socially excluded, helpless individual. Aligned with socially prevalent depictions of veterans (cf. Chapter 4), veterans were pitied and considered as non-agentic individuals who rely on external sources of help.

Therefore, socially prevalent depictions of veterans (cf. Chapter 4) were found to be mirrored by public perceptions of veterans (cf. Chapter 5) and related to understandings of war and deployment (cf. Chapter 6 and 7). Essentially, however, the interview study indicated that in the context of victimised understandings of veterans, the participants were aware about widely distributed conceptualisations of the veteran's morally superior personality, however, rejected these. Instead, the participants focussed on other information which was also prevalent in media but more aligned with one's personal belief. The results indicated that the acceptance of victimised representation related to identity processes (cf. Breakwell et al., 2014). Victimized perceptions of veterans contributed positively to the interviewee's identity maintenance by allowing to demonstrate sound moral values and to appreciate the veteran-individual while disregarding violent actions.

The veteran as perpetrator

Evidence for the representation of veterans as perpetrators was only found in the newspaper analysis and the interview study. However, also in these two studies the veteran was sparsely represented as a perpetrator. The newspaper analysis indicated that only 4.5% of articles depicted veterans as perpetrators who enjoy committing evil and amoral actions. This may explain the absence of the perpetrator representation in the analysis of opinion polls and surveys (Chapter 5) and in the word association study (Chapter 6). As the newspaper analysis indicated that veterans as perpetrators are sparsely thematised in the public sphere, the absence of public understandings of veterans as perpetrators may be a consequence (cf. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Moreover, the interview study indicated that the perpetrator was used as a contrasting and complementing representation to the hero and victim

representation. The perpetrator representation only emerged in the context of discussing pleasure in committing unjustified acts of violence and illegal killing.

In this sense, the newspaper analysis and the interview study outlined that conceptualisations of veterans as perpetrators are starkly personality-driven representation. The veteran was characterised by an inherently evil, violence-loving personality. Instead of being well-intending and altruistically motivated as the hero and victim, the violent nature was understood to 'drive' the veteran into the UK Armed Forces. In conclusion, evil and morally reprehensible actions were rationalised by anticipating inherently different, 'evil' people. However, although the notion of 'evil deeds are committed by evil people' was not widely distributed by media (cf. Chapter 4), the results of the interview study indicated it to be generally believed by individuals in British society (cf. Chapter 7). This may be the case as this notion responds to underlying tenets of identity construction (cf. Breakwell et al., 2014). The perpetrator representation contributed to the interviewee's identity maintenance by allowing to maintain the same, appreciative perspective of individuals while disapproving unjustified and illegal acts of violence. In this sense, deeper knowledge and insight into injustice and violence was displayed by rationalising and distinguishing 'good' and morally reprehensible 'bad' deeds.

8.3. The Findings in the Light of Previous Literature

This section will provide a comprehensive overview of the present thesis' results and will discuss these in the light of previous literature. In doing so, the results will be related to the report's three general research questions that were posed in Chapter I. The present section will conclude with presenting overall conclusions and recommendations which were derived from the report's findings.

8.3.1. Research Question 1: In which ways are British veterans represented and understood in British society?

Previous research argued the military and roles related to the military to be socially perceived as heroes and/or victims and/or ex-professionals. In comparison, the findings from the

present project indicated the veteran to be understood as hero, victim and/or perpetrator whereby the latter representation was solely a scarcely used, complementary representation. The following will provide an overview of how the present findings relate to previous research and how they extend existing knowledge in the field of social understandings of veterans.

The veteran as hero

Previous research based its arguments upon the historical and cultural dimension of social knowledge within which heroic understanding of Service and veterans form a cultural 'taken-for-granted' (i.e. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008; Liu & Hilton, 2005). The present report's findings provided evidence for this cultural taken-for-granted particularly through examinations of the public sphere. The public sphere, operationalised by publicly pertinent discussions of veterans in the press (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001b), was found to be characterised by heroic sentiments in relation to the veteran. More concretely, the analysis of British veteran's in press indicated that a significant proportion of newspaper articles (43%) presented the veteran as a hero for different reasons. In this sense, the present results contradicted McCartney's (2011) who solely thematised victimisation in depictions of veterans in the British press. As McCartney's (2011) subject of interest was depictions of soldiers, she only marginally examined and discussed depictions of veterans. In this sense, the present study adds to existing literature by providing a systematic, methodologically rigid review that indicates heroic sentiments to be comprised within socially pertinent discussions of veterans.

While the results could not be fully aligned with McCartney (2011), the present findings indicated similarities with Gibson (2012). Gibson (2012) who analysed televised debates observed heroic sentiments to be associated with Service and those who have served. The present findings extended this notion by providing a more systematic examination of the press, indicating veterans to be arbitrarily related to heroism as Service was arbitrarily conceptualised in terms of heroic actions.

The present qualitative and quantitative studies furthered understandings by their explanative potential. To clarify the relatedness between heroic sentiments and Service the present findings drew together research on representations of British history (cf. Liu &

Hilton, 2005) and representations of military service (Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008). Heroism seemed to draw upon socially perpetuated representations of historical British military interventions. Intangible representation of a historical warfare became concrete through socially perpetuated representations of heroic protagonists who partook in historical warfare. Veterans from historical wars were conceptualised to be motivated to partake in war by a heroic personality as intending to promote the greater good. Factually correct information about conscription and National Service was ignored.

Conceptualisations of the veteran's altruistic personality from historical wars were found to spill-over onto conceptualisation of the personality of the veteran from today. This allowed to differentiate veterans from the 'normal' population and to glorify or more specifically discursively sanctify the veteran for an inherent, morally superior personality. Simultaneously, however, for members from the civilian population the glorification provided a rationality to distance oneself to Service and thus to the 'horrors of war'. In contrast, though veterans did not understand themselves as having this personality, the veteran's superior personality was associated with the 'bona fide' veteran. Therefore, veterans commonly contented with the notion of the general veteran population to have a superior personality.

In this sense, the present report clarified the role of socially perpetuated notions of historical warfare in conceptualisations of today's veterans. Moreover, the present quantitative and qualitative study extended the field of existing knowledge by illuminating how socially perpetuated heroic sentiments are related to Service and to those who have served (cf. Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Condor, 2009, Coy, Woehrle & Maney, 2008) and are mirrored by members of British society. In doing so, the present project reflected on rationalities with those members of the British public justified the veteran-hero representation.

The veteran as victim

Previous research based its arguments upon the public dimension of social knowledge within that veterans were culturally conceptualised as victims (i.e. Hines et al., 2015; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). More concretely, previous research indicated that veterans might be represented in the context of suffering from war-induced psychological trauma (cf.

Thomson, 1998; Wessley, 2005; McGarry, 2012; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012). In conclusion, scholars argue that in the context of ill-perceived warfare, increasing public attention is placed on the emotional costs of deployments (cf. Brewer & Herron, 2018). Therefore, scholars assume that recent trends of increasing participation in commemorations and memorialisation's by the British public coupled with increasing opportunities for veterans to retell horrific war-stories boost victimised depictions of veterans in British society (ibid).

Aligned with previous research the present results indicated public discourses to relate the veteran to victimising sentiments. This is a notion that has been extensively discussed by McCartney (2011). The present study therefore indicated that the majority of articles portrayed the veteran as a victim of wartime experience and governmental/institutional callousness, arguing that little help has been provided for veteran-casualties.
Crucially, the present project furthered existing knowledge by examining factors that contributed to victimised understandings of veterans. The quantitative and qualitative findings indicated that socially perpetuated conceptualisations of war as horrific experience might constitute the foundation for conceptualisations of veterans as victims. In this sense, the present results were partially aligned with previous research that emphasised conceptualisations of veterans as victims to be particularly apparent in the context of publicly ill-perceived deployments (Thomson, 1998). The present results indicated that socially perpetuated conceptualisations of the 'horrors of war' together with an individual set of values might determine perceptions of veterans as also determining the differentiation between legitimate and illegitimate wars.

In conclusion, while tangencies with previous research relating to the victimisation of veterans were identified (Brewer & Herron, 2018, McCartney, 2011; Thomson, 1998), the present project explains victimising sentiments more thoroughly. Thus, the project drew on a variety of sources such as research based upon the victimological perspective (i.e. McGarry, 2007; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; Walklate, 2007), the perspective of history (i.e. Liu & Hilton, 2005, Liu & Laszlo, 2007; Bar Tal, 2000, Halbwachs, 1992) and the perspective of identity (Breakwell, 2014, 2011, 2010a, 2010b, 2001, 1993, Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014) to understand what constitutes the representation of the veteran-victim.

The veteran as ex-professional

Arguments that were based upon the public dimension of social knowledge outlined that veterans may be culturally conceptualised as (ex)professionals (i.e. Hines et al. 2015; King 2013, 2010). This argument addressed the supposedly changed identity of an all-volunteer Force of the 20th century and its members. However, though King's notion (2010, 2013) of the UK Armed Forces as being a modern all-volunteer Force that recruits members in accordance to professional abilities may be factually correct, this notion was not found to be mirrored by members of the British public. Instead, the results indicated that the veteran maintained to be understood as intrinsically motivated by values and altruism. In this sense, the results could not be aligned with Hines et al.'s (2015) suggestion that publicly pertinent supportive attitudes towards British veterans from deployments in Iraq or Afghanistan may express understandings of the veteran as a professional capacity. In conclusion, the present findings did not indicate public awareness of Personnel to be recruited based on their ability to perform the job and pass objective performance standards (cf. Hines et al., 2015, King, 2013, 2010). The results from the empirical studies found that the veteran in terms of a professional capacity had been neither communicated in the public sphere (media analysis) nor reflected in utterances from individuals in British society (quantitative word association and qualitative interview study).

The absence of conceptualisations of the veteran in terms of the professional capacity may be explained by the dominance of personality-related conceptualisations of the veteran, related to socially perpetuated narratives of war. These narratives may not provide the symbolic space to understand the veteran as fulfilling the requirements of an occupation. The only context in that veterans themselves perceived the veteran-identity as the outcome of a profession was, when disagreeing with deployments, orders or authorities. While the non-veteran population then perceived veterans as victims of structural powerlessness (cf. McGarry, 2012; McGarry, & Walklate, 2011; Walklate, 2007), the veteran-population understood the accomplishment of orders as an occupational requirement and dissociated the veteran-identity from a specific personality. However, as the present project did not examine the absence of representations but how and why individuals held specific representations of

the veteran, further research may be required to examine why veterans were sparsely conceptualised in terms of their professional capacity.

The veteran as perpetrator

The veteran as the perpetrator had been sparsely discussed in previous research. McCartney (2011) argues that the absence of publicly pertinent conceptualisations of soldiers as villains in today's society may be related to the rise of the soldier-victim image. McCartney (2011) argues that the soldier-victim image was modified over the 20th century as aggressive behaviour and substance abuse was commonly attributed to war trauma.

However, while the present report's examination of the public sphere (media analysis) and the quantitative results content with McCartney's (2011) notion on the absence of the villain representation, the findings in the qualitative study cannot be aligned with McCartney (2011). Instead of attributing aggressive behaviour and the illegitimate use of violence, the qualitative findings outlined that a perpetrator representation was formed to justify illegitimate and morally apprehensible killings. Therefore, a small proportion of participants (28%) associated pre-enlistment ill-mental health to veterans as this allowed to perceive the general understanding of a veteran (hero or victim) to be always correct. In this sense, the perpetrator seemed to form an antagonistic representation to maintain representational consistency (cf. Moscovici, 2000).

8.3.2. Research Question 2: How may beliefs about British veterans, held by members of the British public, be explained?

The predominance of individually held representations of veterans as heroes *and* victims may be explained by the encompassing pervasiveness of these representations in all aspects of the British public life. Therefore, heroic *and* victimising sentiments were found to originate in identity relevant pre-existing cultural structures in terms of the historical, cultural and public dimension of knowledge (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001a; Sellars, Rortry & Brandom, 1997). More concretely, representations of veterans seemed to be founded upon a social narrative of heroic interventions in British military history (cf. historical dimension of knowledge, Jovchelovitch, 2001a). Therefore, heroic sentiments of today's veterans may be

manifestations of more abstract representations of heroic British military history, communicated via education and social commemoration and memorialisation (cf. Liu & Hilton, 2005; Liu & Laszlo, 2007; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In conclusion, the present results mirrored previous research that argued collective understandings of objectified narratives to guide the development of cultural, ideological frameworks (cf. Liu & Laszlo, 2007; Propp, 1968, Bar Tal, 2000, Cabecinhas, 2006). Within these cultural, ideological frameworks, cultural taken-for-granted's are perpetuated that explain how things are and supposed to be seen (Halbwachs, 1992; Campbell, 2008; Propp, 2010; Pennebaker, Paez & Rimé, 2013, Wertsch, 2002). Crucially, the results indicated that cultural taken-for-granted's comprise heroic sentiments upon that the veteran-hero representation may have been founded. This notion was evidenced by participant-accounts that referred to the veteran-hero as 'self-evident representation', a representation that social members do not acknowledge as such (cf. Orr, 2007). The veteran-hero represented an undeniable reality that was tautologically justified, relieving social members of their responsibility to find rationalities for these (cf. Orr, 2007).

In conclusion, a cultural taken-for-granted in terms of "the least obviously cultural utterances – the ones with which everyone agrees" (Gibson, 2012; p. 144) may explain individual conceptualisations of veterans as heroes. In this sense, the present results mirror previous research that assumes knowledge to have reciprocally interacting historical and cultural dimensions (Jovchelovitch, 2001a; Bhabha, 1994; Geertz, 1993; Levy-Bruhl, 1910/ 1985; Said, 1978).

Interestingly, while indicating that heroic sentiments may be expressions of the historical and cultural dimension of knowledge, the results outlined that victimising sentiments may resonate particularly with the public dimensions. Therefore, the findings mirrored previous research that outlined increasing public awareness of today's veterans in victimised ways (i.e. Brewer & Herron, 2018; McCartney, 2011; McGarry & Ferguson, 2012; Wessley, 2005). Crucially, however, the victim-representation may be a result of minor differences in conceptualisations of underlying representational constituents. More concretely, the findings indicated that a tweak in the conceptualisation of justified use of violence that resulted in attributions of illegitimacy towards recent deployments might have changed perceptions of veterans as admirable heroes into veterans as pitiful victims. In this sense, the field of tension

that concerns the legitimacy of violence was found to be expressed in areas of social exchange, impacting publicly pertinent perceptions of veterans.
In conclusion, the present findings were aligned with previous research that indicated social discourses to influence opinions (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2001a, Moscovici, 1988). Particularly publicly pertinent representations of the British missions in Iraq and Afghanistan in terms of a questionable legitimacy at the outset (cf. Zolo, 2009), of failings to protect civilian lives (cf. Iraq Body Count, 2011) and the countries' socio-economic structures (cf. Fisk, 2008) may have facilitated victimological definitions of veterans (cf. McGarry, 2012, Whyte, 2010, 2007; Ruggiero, 2005, Kauzarlich et al., 2001.).

The present project contents with theoretical notions that assume subjective understandings of social realities to be solely adequately understood if examined in the context of the historical, cultural and public dimension of knowledge (Jovchelovitch, 2007, 2001a; Moscovici, 1988; Durkheim 1996, first published in 1898). In this sense, the dominance of a veteran's well-intending personality that was comprised within the realms of the historical, cultural and public dimension of knowledge, may also explain why veterans were sparsely understood as perpetrators or ex-professionals. While the perpetrator was characterised by attributions of malice and evil intent, legitimising the voluntary and illegitimate use of force, the representation of the ex-professional required the attribution of no particular personality disposition. Interestingly, this representation was solely utilised by veterans if they stood in opposition towards orders that they were required to follow.

In conclusion, the present project indicated that understandings of veterans as heroes and/or victims to be predominant in British society and these understandings to have the same origins, being highly interconnected with each other. While a veteran was understood as a hero in one context, the same individual could be labelled as a victim in another context. Therefore, the present findings were aligned with social representational notions of cognitive polyphasia, assuming that individuals are able to hold contradictory but contextually coherent representations of the same reality (Moscovici, 2001, 2000, 1988). Crucially, however, the present project extended the field of existing knowledge by relating Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell, 2014, 2011, 2010a, 2010b, 2001, 1993, Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014) to social representational cognitive polyphasia (Moscovici, 2001, 2000,

1988). Aligned with IPT, individuals were found to construct personally meaningful and coherent understandings of veterans. Although individuals were aware and utilised different representations of the veteran, they preferred some specific contexts within that some specific representations were embedded over others. In this sense, the present project found not solely social representational construction to be governed by underlying identity processes as suggested by IPT. Instead, the results indicated that also the recollection of specific contexts in that different social representations were located may be governed by underlying tenets of identity. Therefore, individuals tended not to objectively evaluate information about veterans, but to relate this information to personally meaningful themes (i.e. national pride for British values, understandings of violence and war) from which then personally significant understandings of veterans were derived. While the veteran could still be understood as hero, victim and perpetrator, the personal significance of one context was found to explain an emphasis of the representation that was embedded within this context. Therefore, the present project indicated that IPT might provide an explanative potential to further understandings of cognitive polyphasia.

A more practical finding considered explanations for publicly held erroneous and negative stereotypes towards veterans outlined in opinion polls and surveys (cf. Ashcroft, 2017, 2014, 2012; Ipsos Mori & KCL, 2015; ICM, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2012, BSA, 2012). The results indicated that social conceptualisations of war and the attribution of illegitimacy towards the use of violence might be the underlying reason for stereotypical perceptions of veterans. Factually incorrect beliefs about the veteran's physical and mental health, addictive behaviours, joblessness and homelessness may, therefore, originate in conceptualisations of war and violence. Therefore, negative depictions of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan perpetuated in media and publicly pertinent scrutiny towards these missions (i.e. YouGov, 2015; Hines et al., 2015) may have fuelled the re-anchoring and re-objectification of veterans. However, they were not the exclusive reason for victimising sentiments.

In conclusion, the results indicated that IPT and Social Representation Theory might explain erroneous and factually incorrect information that opinion polls and surveys outlined to be pertinent in British society. To change socially pertinent negative understandings, it may require considering identity maintenance processes.

8.3.3. Research Question 3: Taking evidence from this report into consideration – how could the veteran's reputation be improved?

The present report's findings suggest that representations of veterans may be intertwined with identity relevant, emotive concepts such as national pride, conceptualisations of Britain as 'home' and its history or perceptions of war and violence. These results suggest that if specific social contexts are considered (i.e. worth of home country, peace-loving, non-barbaric values), the relevant matching dimensions of the individual's identity became key factors (i.e. national identity, pacifist or religious identity). However, each identity seemed to 'work' at its proper place, showing that multiple contextually dependent identities can coexist and with these multiple contextually dependent representations of the veteran. In other words, several identities can be nested within one another for the same individual, each of them, recalling specific veteran-representations and serving different purposes accordingly. Such multi-level identity connected conceptualisation of the social representation 'Veteran' is perfectly combinable with IPT and Social Representation Theory (i.e. Breakwell, 2014, 2011, 2010a, 2010b, 2001, 1993, Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014; Moscovici, 2001, 2000, 1988, 1984). In conclusion, changing erroneous and stereotypical perceptions of veterans may be difficult as these may encompass expressions of identity.

The persistence of factually erroneous understandings as a response to identities has been extensively researched in different subject matters (i.e. Murtagh et al., 2014; Breakwell, 2010, 1988; Bonaiuto, Breakwell & Cano, 1996; Twigger-Ross, C., Bonaiuto, M., & Breakwell, 2003). For example, Bonaiuto et al (1996) found identity processes to play a significant role in perceptions of British beach pollution. Bonaiuto et al. (1996) found that acceptance and rejection of factually correct information about beach pollution to be governed by local and national identity. In particular, the denial of factually correct information was found to be a sort of 'perceptual defence' that was equivalent to strategies used to cope with identity threat (cf. Bonaiuto, 1996; Breakwell, 1986). In conclusion, if a belief is in a form relevant for or related to identity, individuals may be hesitant to change this belief. This notion was further evidenced by research that found subjects to ignore health warnings or consider them as factually incorrect if the unhealthy behaviour such as smoking

constituted an important aspect in one's identity (i.e. increasing self-esteem or self-worth; Hansen et al., 2010). Similarly, Liberman & Chaiken (1992) outlined that subjects exposed to a personally relevant message that threatened important parts of the self-image were less likely to believe this message as subjects exposed to a personally irrelevant message that did not threaten important aspects of the self-image. In this sense, Murtagh et al. (2014) argues that the rejection of factually correct information

> "[…] may be the outcome of psychological deflection processes which are initiated as a response to threats of identity. Threats to identity are defined as a contravention of the principles of operation of the self-concept, that is, contravention of the need to maintain or enhance self-esteem, self-efficacy, continuity and distinctiveness" (; p. 346)

In conclusion, challenging reconceptualization processes of factually erroneous perceptions of veterans that resonate with important aspects of identity may be difficult. Previous research outlined a set of strategies with that these reconceptualization processes may be achieved. For example, Barnett & Vasileiou (2014) suggested designing interventions that satisfy identity motives by reconceptualising the context in that the representation is being recalled. Barnett & Vasileiou (2014) exemplify this notion by a study on representations of clinically diagnosed nut-allergy. They argue that representations of nut allergy need to be differentiated from commonly intertwined representations of allergies from food intolerance and 'pickiness'. In conclusion, re-conceptualisation by re-objectification and re-anchoring of the 'allergy' representation would be required to decrease the risk behaviour of those who suffer from clinically diagnosed nut-allergy. Thematization and re-conceptualisation of 'allergy' would provide the opportunity to frame factually correct information in a way that enhances or strengthens the principled operation of identity processes. Similarly, Marcu, Uzzel & Barnett (2011) suggested that in order to raise public awareness of Lyme disease the social representation 'countryside' needs to be re-conceptualised by perpetuating information that responds to individual identity processes of personal meanings related to 'countryside'. In the same way, Murtagh et al (2014) proposed new discourses that resonate with tenets of identity and avoid identity-threat to re-conceptualise 'climate-change' and promote more sustainable behaviour patterns.

However, the issue that previous research poses relates to the absence of concrete strategies or interventions that may be of relevance for the present project. Although previous studies found intervention strategies that avoided identity-threat and fulfilled basic tenets of identity to successfully promote social representational reconceptualization and avoidance of risk-behaviour, these strategies cannot be directly adopted as having little thematic relevance. Instead, previous literature may solely provide the theoretical foundation for intervening in social representational construction by outlining that it is "important to be aware of what relevant identities actually are involved" (Barnett & Vasileiou, 2014; p. 372).

In conclusion, by investigating different representations of the veteran and examining how identity relevant factors may resonate with these representations, factually incorrect stereotypes that are comprised within these representations may be clarified. Therefore, the present project outlined that erroneous beliefs such as an increased likeliness for veterans to suffer from physical and psychological ill-health and associated effects (i.e. suicidal tendencies, job- and/or homelessness) to be a conglomerate of identity relevant perspectives. More concretely, erroneous stereotypes seemed to respond to two identity-relevant aspects. Aspects associated with home and home country, and, aspects associated with violence and killing. Though violence was considered as always having a damaging effect, the damaging effect was particularly prevalent if the focus shifted on identities that reflected altruistic, peace-loving, morally superior 'Western' values (cf. McCulloch, 1995; Said, 1993).
In summary, individuals commonly appreciated the veteran for a heroic and altruistic personality when considering the veteran from the national identity. Simultaneously, the veteran was also pitied for the consequences of the well-intending personality as suffering from reflections on amoral actions that the veteran was required to commit from the perspective of identities that appreciated non-violent attitudes. Therefore, personality-driven understandings of veterans may fuel erroneous negative stereotypes. This notion may be further evidenced by understandings of veterans as having an evil-intending personality whose pleasure in violence was considered to be an expression of pre-enlistment ill-mental health.

'Veteran' as an expression of one's personality may, therefore, provide the foundation for factually erroneous, negative stereotypes. Whether the personality had been characterised as

well-intending or evil-intending mattered little. The veteran was understood as being damaged through violence, as violence was incompatible with a well-intending personality, or, having pre-enlistment psychological damage – with violence being an expression of ill-mental health.

Therefore, the results did not content with King's (2010, 2013) notion that the in the course of a 20th century all-professional Force the soldier's and veteran's identities have changed. On the contrary, personality-driven understandings of veterans were indices that the veteran remained to be publicly considered as highly motivated citizen (ex)soldier and not as having done *a* job that the veteran was trained to do (cf. Burk, 2002). The present findings did not reflect a proposed change in public perceptions of Western military institutions, stemming from increasing perceptions of Armed Forces Personnel as individuals that are defined by personal or familial relationships and professional competence (cf. Burk, 2002). This may be explained by the pivotal role of public commemoration in UK society, representing a "sense of collective identity and solidary among British people" (Brewer, 2006, p. 117). It may be argued that the absence of understandings that relate veterans to ex-professionals may, therefore, mirror understandings of veterans that were of more significance for individual identity construction processes. In this sense, the results also outlined some publicly pertinent erroneous beliefs and misperception about the UK Armed Forces and Service more generally. Attached to heroic notions of Service, perpetuated in the form of commemorative practices, memorialisation and education, were misbeliefs and erroneous assumption that related to the nature of Service. An example of such a misbelief concerned the selectivity in the recruitment processes of the UK Armed Forces. As the UK Armed Forces drew on conscription until 1960 (Vinen, 2015), the notion that solely individuals who have had a specific personality had served, or that the UK Armed Forces selected recruits in accordance to a specific personality, is factually incorrect. Similarly, erroneous were conceptualisations of deployment found to be erroneous, as non-veterans equated deployment with combat and front-line experience. This may explain attributions of high prevalence of impairments among veterans.

Essentially, *these* socially perpetuated narratives presenting the veteran as hero and information that conceptualises veterans as victims or in some instances as perpetrators may be picked up as they respond better to identity relevant themes than understandings of

veterans being everyday people. In conclusion, though Personnel may be recruited upon their ability to perform a job and pass objective performance standards (cf. King, 2010, 2013), this notion may be less significant for identity and thus has been ignored by participants. However, as the results indicated negative stereotypes to originate in understandings of veterans as heroes, victims and perpetrators, these conceptualisations may be unhelpful in improving the veteran's reputation. In conclusion, though the present findings did not content with King (2010, 2013) and Burk (2002) that publicly pertinent conceptualisation of the veteran in terms of an occupational identity *had* changed, it may be argued that they may *have to change* to improve the veteran's reputation.

In conclusion, the results indicated a social perpetuation of heroic sentiments to remain problematic. On one side, the heroization implies social sentiments of appreciation and gratitude for experiencing the socially attributed 'horrors of warfare'. However, on the other side, it also implies social liability for the veteran's horrific experiences and the – almost certain – psychological and physical damage that the veteran incurred through these experiences. More concretely, the findings suggest it may be beneficial to promote societal understandings of veterans as ex-professionals, not as a heroes nor as a victims. Thus, to reconceptualise the veteran, it might be necessary to perpetuate information that facilitates associations between the 'Veteran' and a normal end-state of the military career in terms of an everyday profession. Alongside dissociating the veteran from negative stereotypes that relate to ill-health, the reconceptualization of 'Veteran' as an outcome of an everyday profession of an everyday person may have an additional advantage. If the soldiering becomes associated to a profession, then qualified individuals, whether male *or* female, may be understood as being able to accomplish this profession. This notion has been posed by King (2013) who argues that particularly in Iraq and Afghanistan women were acknowledged alongside men as having accomplished a job for which they were trained to do. Therefore, anecdotal evidence, so King (2013), Taylor (2011) and Bury (2010) suggest, perpetuates depictions of serving women in terms of their professional competence, transmitting a sense of normality of their presence to otherwise all-male units. However, as the present results did not reflect understandings of veterans to be based upon their professional competence, it is unsurprising that female veterans were not mentioned throughout the interviews – neither by veterans nor by non-veterans. Therefore, dissociating

the veteran from a specific personality and promoting understandings of veterans related to an occupational identity may also improve perceptions about gender equality and evoke positive effects on recruitment.

In summary, the findings indicated that there might be three aspects that may need to be considered to reconceptualise understandings of veterans.

- *Dissociating today's veteran from the 'horror of war'*

The 'horror of war' is a vividly imagined foundational myth that relates to British history and justifies heroic perceptions of WW1 and WW2 veterans. As the results indicated this to be a culturally prevalent and socially accepted assumption, it might be necessary to re-conceptualise understandings of a 'modern veteran'. In this way, the 'horrors of war' narrative could be acknowledged and maintained as resonating with an important part of the individual's national identity. However, the 'horrors of war' may need to be dissociated from *modern* warfare. In this way, pre-existing, identity-relevant knowledge may be maintained and would not contradict information that relates to the 'modern veteran'. In short, to improve perceptions about veterans from today, understandings of the 'horror of war' may remain – however, only in history and textbooks.

- *Challenging 'Myths' of Service*

Erroneous preconceptions of what it means to serve were common amongst all non-veteran participants. These preconceptions were particularly problematic in the context of deployment. Deployment was equated with combat experience or front-line exposure that facilitated associations to imaginations of the 'horrors of war'. To conquer negative stereotypes that relate to today's veteran, it might be necessary to provide more information about roles in a deployment that are unrelated to front-line exposure. Moreover, attributions of specific veteran-personalities proved to be problematic as these personalities justified ill-mental health. Surprisingly, this tendency was also prevalent within the veteran-population. To dissociate the veteran from erroneous beliefs that relate to psychological disorders, it may be necessary to present the veteran from today's Service as an everyday person without specific character traits. Thus existing 'myths' of Service, deployment and the veteran's personality may need to be challenged.

- *Constructing hegemonic narratives*

Essentially, perceptions of the deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan impacted on perceptions of veterans. The narratives indicated that dichotomous perceptions about intentions, mission goals and the role of the government were reflected in negative and stigmatizing understandings of veterans. Therefore, to improve public perceptions of veterans it may require individuals to associate the deployments with some mission goal that was achieved. For example, the narrative accounts indicated that veterans from deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan were beneficially perceived when these deployments were conceptualised in terms of counter-terrorism. Counter-terrorism played a particularly significant role as it represents an 'invisible threat' that can be related to recent British history (i.e. IRA). Therefore, terrorist attacks represent not only a pre-existing reality but also a for the individual significant one. Therefore, an emphasis on counter-terrorism relating to Iraq and Afghanistan may allow to improve the veteran's reputation.

8.4. Reflections on Method and Methodology

As stated in 1. Problem Outline, this report intended to understand and explain socially pertinent perceptions of veterans. By virtue of methods and methodology employed during this research, this has been successfully achieved within this project. However, in setting out to understand socially pertinent perceptions, this project has been predominantly exploratory as to date no research conducted an in-depth series of studies to explain publicly held understandings of veterans. In particular, none have done so within the socio-cultural framework of Social Representation Theory. Therefore, the present project epitomises a triangulated investigation of the veteran and more specified veteran roles as social representation. Previous social representational research guided the present investigation of

- the public sphere (cf. Chapter IV; i.e. Jovchelovitch, 2001b; Farr, 1993; Habermas,1989; Moscovici, 1961)
- the representational structure (cf. Chapter VI; i.e. Abric, 2000; Abric & Verges, 1996; Guimelli & Roquette, 2004; Miland, 2002; Flamnet, 1994)
- the representational field (cf. Chapter VI; i.e. Markova, 2015; Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Miland, 2002)

- and the representational construction (cf. Chapter VII; i.e. Bonauito et al., 1996, Jaspal & Yanpolsky, 2011; Thrush et al., 1997, 1999; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

None of the above literature on social representational research explained socially held understandings of those who have served in the UK Armed Forces.

The present project found a mixed-method social representational research approach to be a useful tool in investigating socially held stereotypes with the backdrop of the UK Armed Forces. While many reports opt either for qualitative or quantitative analyses, the current project aimed to bridge the gap between these methodologies within social psychology by demonstrating the theoretical and methodological advantages of a mixed-method design. This design has been found to have its particular benefit in offering a more wholesome approach to understanding socially pertinent stereotypes and perceptions towards veterans. On one side the quantitative approach allowed for examination of the structures of beliefs in a more exploratory way, the qualitative approach on the other hand gave greater explanatory insight into reasons for these structures. The current report, therefore, brought together an empirical snapshot outlining general tendencies in constructions and formations of public opinions towards veterans by quantitative means and a rich in-depth data analysis of underlying patterns in these constructions and formations.

In conclusion, the methodological and theoretical triangulation that Flick et al. (2015) defines as combining several approaches in the study of a phenomenon, produced exhaustive data. Therefore, a systematic combination of qualitative and quantitative methods facilitated explorative investigations of socially pertinent (mis)perceptions that went beyond confirming results. Different methodological and theoretical perspectives opened a more comprehensive empirical ground to wholesomely investigate understandings of veterans. In this sense, the triangulation of methods was found to adequately further knowledge relating to socially pertinent perceptions of veterans outlined in opinion polls and surveys by providing evidence upon that future interventions may be based.

8.5.Limitations and Future Directions

The broad range of methodological and epistemological approaches that are available in social psychological research allows for the reflection upon the appropriateness of this study's framework in comparison to other methodological frameworks. The present report draws on a mixed-method, quantitative and qualitative design to understand socially pertinent understandings of veterans. Social scientists generally acknowledge the mixed-methods approach as "substantial addition to the methodologies for studying social representations" (Flick et al., 2015; p. 79; cf. also Clarke, 2010; Flick & Röhnsch, 2007). Nonetheless, the current project features limitations in relation to research design which will be addressed here.

Firstly, caveats that lie within the nature of the mixed-method's methodology need to be considered. Mixed-method designs are considered to endanger the distinctiveness of methodologies (Greene, 2008). More concretely, the dimension of the uniqueness of methodological characteristics may be somewhat neglected leading to excessive methodological experimentation. Therefore, the mixed-method approach is criticised as methodologies may be used in an 'anything goes' fashion and thus without theoretical foundation or critical reflection (Flick et al., 2012; Greene, 2008). It is important to avoid this, while not falling into an intense commitment to a particular methodology and losing sight of research aims. More concretely, while it is imperative to critically reflect the employed methods and keep their unique distinctiveness in terms of advantages and disadvantages, a "slavish attachment and devotion to method" (Coyle, 2007, p.26) needs to be avoided.

The present project addressed these points by employing a flexible, though critically scrutinised set of methods that are well-established in social representational research. In this sense, the employed qualitative and quantitative methods preserved the individual 'identities' of discrete methodologies while similarly maintaining flexibility and avoiding a methodolatrous stance (cf. Coyle, 2007).

Secondly, caveats and limitations that concern the qualitative and quantitative studies need to be considered. For example, the sample of the quantitative study remains subject to scrutiny. Although the quantitative sample size had been considerably large, it was

unbalanced in terms of demographics. The recruited population was predominately consisting of white, well-educated females in their twenties who lived in England. This questions the generalizability of the quantitative results. It may be possible that beliefs about veterans were solely structured in the way they were by this population. Though the Multiple Linear Regressions indicated this to be unlikely, it would be advisable to seek a more representative sample for future research.

For example, though proportions of participants who did not know anybody in the Forces and people who knew someone who is or has been in the UK Armed Forces were balanced, only 3 participants had served in the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, it remains questionable to which extent these three people expressed opinions that are generally prevalent among Armed Forces' (ex)members. This is particularly relevant in the context of previous studies that drew on representative cohorts. These studies indicated that personal military experience is likely to influence attitudes towards the Armed Forces positively (i.e. Hines et al., 2015; Krueger & Pedraza, 2012). However, the present project tried to address this issue by coding the social distance variable as a continuous variable ranging from 1 representing the lowest form of contact (not knowing anybody in the Forces) to 5 representing the highest form of contact (being an (ex)member oneself).

A similar problem constitutes the predominance of young females who comprised the recruited cohort. Previous studies found that older people and men tend to be more supportive of their military and its (ex)members (cf. Hines et al., 2015; Clements, 2011; Scotto et al., 2011; cf. also Manigart, 1996). It may be argued that females have generally a lower interest in the UK Armed Forces and thus the UK Armed Forces have also a lower significance. This may be exemplified by research that indicated low numbers of females to consider joining the UK Armed Forces. Statistical data on the employment of women in the British Armed Forces indicated low proportions of recruited women. Women working in the UK Armed Forces ranged from 9% to 10% between 2005 and 2015 (cf. House of Commons Defence Committee, 2006; MOD, 2015). Reasons for consistently low recruitment and employment rates for women in the UK Armed Forces are considered to reflect the requirements of physical selection, which although controlled for gender, are still rigorous (Woodward & Duncanson; 2016). Moreover, Woodward & Duncanson (2016) argue that low numbers of recruited and employed women may be related to particular public imaginations, such as the Armed Forces epitomising the last bastion of a set of traditional

masculinist values. Therefore, it may be likely that public narratives about the working environment and sort of work involved may be less appealing to large numbers of young women.

In conclusion, it may be argued that the dominance of a female population in the present project's recruited sample population may comprise fewer members of UK society who are actively interested in the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, the sample's cohort may have answered less positively than if a representative cohort for UK society would have been recruited.

In this sense, the subsequent set of statistical analyses may remain subject to scrutiny. For example, it could be argued that HEM models may be misleading as the Hierarchical Evocation Method relies on descriptive measures. The descriptive nature of the HEM models may therefore not allow inferences or predictions about a general population to be made. The hegemonic construction of military related representations may only reflect the homogenous sociodemographic characteristics of the recruited population. Similarly, the cohort's sociodemographic homogeneity may question the Multiple Linear Regressions' findings. It may be argued that the recruited cohort would be too homogenous to find significant predictors in category evocation. In conclusion, though the present quantitative study may outline general tendencies within a specific cohort, the generalizability of the results remains subject to scrutiny and needs to be addressed by future research.

Another limitation relates to the Content Analysis of associations. Although concordance in interrater reliability was high (87.65% and 83.85% inter-rater concordance), only 421 randomly selected words (10% of the total words) were rated by two externals. Therefore, it may be possible that the categorisation of the words is subject to methodological flaws. It may be suggested that future research may want to utilise more automated procedures of grouping and categorising words (i.e. EVOC, ALCESTE). However, these methods could not be utilised for the present study as they did not offer the necessary variety in statistical analysis methods to answer the posed research questions.

Moreover, the limitations of the current project's qualitative approach may have constrained the validity of the findings. Although the project intended to recruit a balanced sample, reservists who have been deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan were not recruited. However, this

population might have provided crucial information on the 'Ex-Professional' representation, or, more concretely how 'Veteran' may become an occupational identity. Interviewing reservists may provide substantial evidence whether and to which extent a set of equally significant identities (i.e. father, husband, teacher) may contribute to the development of a veteran-identity that was less associated with personality traits. This notion may be considered as further evidenced by recent research indicating that reservists live with a transitional self, going back and forth between their civilian and military deployment (Brewer & Herron, 2018). As reservists are considered to exchange personal and military identities readily, it may be unlikely for reservists to associate a specific personality solely to their military identity – as opposing identity continuity, referring to "persistent sameness with oneself" (cf. Breakwell, 1992, p.8). More concretely, while an individual may express to adapt its identity to contextual differences and social requirements, it would be unlikely for that individual to consciously express wholesome changes in its personality (cf. Breakwell, 2016). In conclusion, it may be argued that a 'transition-trained' reservist's identity that Brewer & Herron (2018) understand as facilitating the transition to civilian life on discharge, may be beneficial as continuity in identity had been maintained. This notion is evidenced by previous research on challenges in identity transformation. For example, studies in the area of self-consistency and self-concept differentiation showed that life satisfaction and psychological well-being scores were significantly related to increased self-consistency and self-perceived authenticity in multiple identities (i.e. Diehl, Hastings and Stanton 2003, Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne and Ilardi, 1997; Donahue, Robins, Roberts and John, 1993; Roberts and Donahue, 1994; Lutz and Ross, 2003). Multiple 'anything goes' identities may be therefore just as detrimental as having an ontological identity defined by one's military identity.

In conclusion, the reservist may refrain from adopting personality-driven representations such as heroes, victims or perpetrators as the reservist may have a set of less encompassing identities that are perceived to be consistent. Thus, a reservist may adopt an occupational identity and may be more likely to refer to veterans as 'ex-professionals'. However, as this was not addressed in the present project, further research that examines former reservists' understandings of veterans and potential tangencies with former regulars' perceptions of veterans remain subject of future research.

Another caveat may address the integration of the pilot interviews into the main study as these were orientated towards uncovering identity principles instead of representational construction. The major difference between the pilot interviews and the rest of the data, however, concerned in-depth follow-up questions that made the interview substantially longer. However, all 29 interviews contained the required information that related to representational construction. Although the focus of the analysis slightly shifted, all interviews provided sufficient evidence to explain representational constructions and were, therefore, made use of.

A potential issue also concerns the researcher's ethnicity. The researcher's German-related ethnicity may have been problematic when participants described British intervention in the Second World War. Descriptions of the inhumane German enemy and the 'Drittes Reich' were either revised and referred to as 'Nazi' enemy and 'Nazi-Regime', or temporal restrictions have been made by using phrases such as 'Germans back then'. Therefore, it may be possible that elaborations on British heroism, justified by the past, have not been explained in the detail the participants would have originally intended to.

Lastly, it needs to be noted that the researcher had chosen to select and arrange certain themes based on how understandings of veterans can be explained. In doing so, it is to be suggested that some of the phenomenological values have been undermined by seeing participants' understandings not through their 'eyes' but through a 'bi-focal lens' (the participant's and the researcher's) or a 'tri-focal lens' (the participant's, the researcher's and the theory's; cf. Bryman, 2003). In observing this, it becomes questionable whether the participants' 'voices' have been sufficiently well heard. In conclusion, future research may want to address this field by examining perceptions through a more phenomenological lens and thus by an in-depth IPA analysis.

8.6. Implications for Theory and Policy

Regardless of these limitations, this report has not only succeeded in addressing the key questions sufficiently, but it has also made a contribution for the many facets of research paradigms in Social Representation Theory. To discuss the implications for theory and

policy in greater depth, the following will provide a structured outline that elaborates on this project's contributions.

8.6.1. Implications for Theory

Hegemonic, Emancipated, Polemic Representations and Cognitive Polyphasia

The qualitative and quantitative findings indicated that the coexistence of dichotomous beliefs concerning the veterans was aligned with the notion of cognitive polyphasia (cf. Jovchelovitch, 2002; Mouro & Castro, 2012; Moloney, Williams & Blair, 2012; Wagner et al., 2000). The results outlined that individuals in British society simultaneously hold different representations of the veteran that are locally but not globally consistent. The veteran is understood in one way in one context and in another way when thinking of another context.

Crucially, however, the results indicated that individuals might hold hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations in different contexts. This has not been previously investigated as research to date has solely described the process of development from hegemonic to emancipated and polemic social representations. For example, Ben-Asher (2003) examined how dialogue guides the development of emancipated and polemic representations from former hegemonic representations by the example of Israeli Reservists' parents who lost faith in the Reserve Naval Commando. Similarly, Bonnes & Secchiaroli's (1995) study on social representations of occupations held by individuals of different residential areas in Brazilian society did not investigate whether different types of representations may interact. Instead, only the constitution of hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations was observed. Similarly, Vala et al. (1998) examined different types of representations in a theoretical paper, however, emphasised only the functions which these may have.

Neither of the above studies examined whether the different types of representations develop from hegemonic representations and in consequence substitute these, or whether hegemonic representations remain in a different less significant context in that the representation is not/less often recalled.

More concretely: Were Israeli Reservists' parents who lost faith in the Reserve Naval Commando still able to justify and legitimise the previously held hegemonic representation or did the emancipated/polemic representation substitute the hegemonic representation?

Similarly, were members of Brazilian sub-groups that expressed emancipated/polemic representations of occupations unable to rationalise hegemonic representations? Although previous studies on types of representations provided substantial information on their development, they did not provide evidence whether these different representations may be held simultaneously.

The present study furthered existing knowledge by observing hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations and the context in that they were recalled. Essentially, this novel approach allowed to examine that even hegemonic hero and polemic perpetrator representations, representations that ought to be incompatible and mutually exclusive (Moscovici, 2000) were perceived to be fully legitimate in different contexts. In conclusion, the present project indicated that representations did not substitute each other, even if not believed in their entirety. Therefore, cognitive polyphasia (Moscovici, 2000) accounted even if representations were viewed from the perspective of social perpetuation and representational re-conceptualisation. More concretely, even if one representation had evolved from another, the original representation (i.e. veteran-hero) and the novel representation (i.e. veteran-victim/perpetrator) could coexist.

Cognitive Polyphasia and Identity Process Theory

However, more than solely outlining that British individuals were prone to cognitive polyphasia when thinking about veterans, the present findings may explain underlying reasons for the acceptance of more than one or even dichotomous representations. When combining cognitive polyphasia and Identity Process Theory, it becomes evident that individuals only integrated representations that were contributing to identity maintenance procedures. More concretely, representations that had some significance for individuals were integrated while those without significance remained personally meaningless for the individual. Therefore, the latter were prone to be rejected or rarely used.

More concretely, the findings indicated that rather than referring to a more or less objective representation the individual utilised those representations that were associated with themes (i.e. violence, war) of significance. For example, if the individual related to pacifist or religious doctrines, the individual focussed on the amorality of war and killing and

elaborated on themes related to these concepts. The rejection of representations that contradicted these themes (hero) and the integration of representations that were coherent with personalised understandings of these themes (victim/perpetrator) is obvious in nature. That the narrative account and references to different representations in different contexts seemed to be contradictory from an 'outside' perspective mattered little to the individual as the individual maintained personal coherence in its beliefs.

In conclusion, the findings indicated that the persistence of dichotomous and erroneous stereotypes towards veterans might be related to identity maintenance procedures. Concretely, the results indicated that representations might be explained by the individual's attempt to create and maintain a positive sense of identity by self-positioning in terms of emotionally-evocative concepts of national identity, the use of violence and war more generally. For example, high national pride was commonly related to narratives that conceptualised British culture, its norms and values as being superior to others and the veteran as being the representation of British (moral) superiority.
Therefore, the findings would suggest that individuals tend to form understandings of new realities not solely by anchoring it in pre-existing information and objectifying it through concrete pictures. Instead, the identification process may govern the representational construction of novel realities in accordance with the most meaningful chunks of knowledge. These most meaningful chunks of knowledge may be determined by information that is of current significance for the individual and plays an important role in maintaining a positive sense of self.

In summary, different representations were locally consistent in different contexts, *and*, different contexts differed in significance for the individual. Thus, the representation that was located in a personally more important *context* was also found to be more important for the individual. However, to prove this further research needs to be undertaken that combines theoretical notions of cognitive polyphasia with IPT. This research would need to investigate the role of identity principles in cognitive polyphasia and representational construction more thoroughly than the present project did. As this was not part of the present project's research intentions, it may be suggested that future research may want to conduct small-sample size IPA studies in this field of theory development.

The structural approach in Social Representation Theory and Identity Process Theory

The results outlined that a convergence between the structural approach in Social Representation Theory and Identity Process Theory may provide substantial value for both theoretical notions. The results of the present project's quantitative study that utilised the structural approach allowed to determine beliefs that are frequently associated with military roles and to evaluate the importance of these beliefs. However, although the structural approach allowed to examine intra-representational category relationships and inter-representational similarities between category relationships, it was not possible to outline reasons for these category saliencies.

In accordance to the qualitative findings, it may be concluded category salience to be determined by the evocation of a theme that is relevant for the individual while neglecting other themes that are less relevant for one's identity. Therefore, a convergence between the structural approach and IPT may facilitate understandings of how individual perceptions may be determined by theme-significance, and, how theme-significance may be governed by identity-maintenance. Thus, it is argued that finding a way to examine themes that are important for the individual's identity may allow to understand, or even predict, individual perceptions of realities that are embedded within these themes.

This notion may be exemplified by Sarrica & Wachelke's (2014) quantitative word association study that examined representations of war and peace. Sarrica & Wachelke (2014) here assume that

> "different positions [referring the core and the periphery] in the representational field are systematic and may be governed by psychological, sociological and psychosocial variables" (ibid, p. 167)

Therefore, Sarrica & Wachelke suggest that individuals may recall specific labelling characteristics (associations) for war and peace as these associations may resonate with themes that are significant for the individual (i.e. social well-being or intergroup relations). However, in the actual study, this notion remained unaddressed. This is problematic as in accordance to IPT it may be suggested that particularly abstract concepts such as war and peace may require to recall themes that may have tangencies with significant themes or

identity relevant reference groups. Breakwell (1993) exemplified this notion in a longitudinal study on voting patterns of teenagers. The majority of teenagers were found to hold mutually contradictory opinions on political issues as they put fragments of somewhat personally meaningful political opinions together. Possession of coherent opinions, however, were linked to a personally significant membership with an appropriate group such as a political party (cf. Breakwell, 1993). In conclusion, to study the representation under question may not be sufficient when investigating social representations. Instead, also the recalled labelling characteristics (associations) may need to be studied to understand the personal significance of these associations.

However, this is a novel perspective that would need to find ways in which notions on IPT and the structural approach could be quantitatively investigated. A potential way to combine the two theoretical approaches would be to ask participants for reasons why they gave this association and to rank list how important these reasons are to them personally. This, however, needs to be elaborated and picked up by future research.

8.6.2. Implications for Policy

The Present Findings in the Light of Novel Contributions

Considerations of the policy implications of the present findings should take into account how the field of existing knowledge has been furthered since the commencement of the project. Recent trends in studies of socially pertinent perceptions of veterans followed a similar approach to the present study's methodology. For example, Latter, Powell & Ward (2018), released a nationally representative study, that combined a quantitative survey, comprised of word and image association tasks, and qualitative interviews with individuals of differing social distances to veterans and with veterans themselves in October 2018. Latter et al.'s (2018) results were aligned with the present report's findings in multiple ways. For example, with a quantitative approach Latter et al. (2018) outlined that the majority of the UK population understands veterans in terms of an expression of a person's character. From representative cohorts, 72% say that a person's character is defined to at least a moderate degree by serving whereas 29% say that a person's character is defined to a high degree by serving. Latter et al. (2018) found this notion to be shared amongst those who served

personally *as well as by* subjects of varying distance to the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, Latter et al.'s (2018) results were aligned with the present project's qualitative study. Also aligned with the present report's findings were the predominance of positive and the absence of negative associations to veterans that Latter et al. (2018) outlined in a word association task. However, though this may be noteworthy, differences in coding – procedures (inclusion criteria of 'positive' and 'negative') may not allow for direct inferences to be drawn or comparisons to be made. Lastly, Latter et al. (2018) also identified a similar set of social misbeliefs about veterans as those outlined and examined in the present report (i.e. prevalence of ill mental health, unemployment, homelessness, alcohol and drug addictions as coping behaviours for trauma).

Erroneous attributions of ill mental health, unemployment, homelessness and the abuse of alcohol and drugs were also outlined in Armour et al.'s (2018) study that focussed on Northern Irish perceptions of the UK Armed Forces and it's (ex)members and in the SoSfD (2018) – a UK government consultation paper detailing strategies for addressing veteran-issues.

However, though these studies may be advantageous to draw on as representative samples for the UK population, it may be argued that the absence of a theoretical framework restricts the explanative potential of the results. More concretely: Why do people in UK society have these erroneous beliefs? How did these beliefs form and why are they so pervasive? Why does social distance matter so little in forming perceptions of veterans? Why do people recall specific associations and what do these associations mean to the individual?

These questions cannot be answered without drawing upon a theoretical foundation such as Social Representation Theory. Although it is not suggested that Social Representation Theory provides the only approach to investigate perceptions of veterans, it was found to be a useful framework with which social perceptions of veterans could be examined more wholesomely.

Moreover, as the pervasiveness of erroneous beliefs had already been outlined in previous studies (cf. Chapter V), it is questionable whether recent studies have furthered existing knowledge. Therefore, though novel contributions were aligned with the present report's findings, they do not provide an alternate framework that would allow the present findings to be viewed from different perspectives.

The Present Findings in the Light of Possible Interventions

Though the present project examines and explains socially pertinent stereotypes towards veterans, concrete intervention strategies that may improve the veteran's reputation need to be considered. To date, research has outlined *that* public perceptions of veterans need change though does not provide any evidence-based strategies that would allow conclusions on *how* public perceptions may change (cf. SoSfD, 2018). To identify potential intervention-strategies that may improve the veteran's reputation, literature was examined that concerned changing publicly pertinent perceptions in other thematic contexts.

Essentially, as public perceptions of veterans had some overlap with suffering from ill-mental health, intervention strategies concerning the reconceptualization of stereotypes towards mental illnesses were examined (i.e. Phelan, Link, Steve & Pescosolido, 2000; Jorm, Angermeyer & Katschnig, 2000; Corrigan et al., 2012, 2007 Corrigan, 2004a; Larson & Corrigan, 2008; Reinke et al., 2004)

Research identified three main strategies to challenge socially pertinent stereotypes towards the mental illnesses: Protest, education, and contact (cf. Rüsch, Angermeyer & Corrigan, 2005; Reinke et al., 2004; Corrigan & Penn; 1999). A combination of these intervention methods was found to be most beneficial (Rüsch et al., 2005).

The first strategy that social psychological research identified in diminishing stereotypes of mental illnesses was 'protest' (ibid). This was exemplified in US and German initiatives addressing stereotypical advertising or media messages, successfully leading to a decrease in stereotypes of mental ill health being held within society (i.e. Rüsch et al., 2005; Corrigan & Watson, 2002). Wahl (1997), for example, provided anecdotal evidence for protest campaigns that have been effective in getting stereotypical images of mental illnesses withdrawn. Wahl (1997) found that when members of a society had less exposure to examples of these stereotypes then the belief of these views was granted less credence in the 'vox populi'.

However, protest is a reactive strategy that attempts to diminish negative stereotypes and fails to promote more positive attitudes (Corrigan & Watson, 2002). Moreover, in the context of the veteran, initiatives that monitor socially perpetuated depictions of veterans may be an

inadequate means to improve the veteran's reputation in UK society as reminding of censorship. In this sense, an absence of social problematizations of veteran-issues may be undesirable as this would neither allow a scrutinization of the current state of policies, governmental attitudes and social perspectives nor would it encourage social changes (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). However, social informers such as mass media may be asked to refer to accurate numbers or to make references to proportions of the total population when representing the situation of veterans (i.e. homeless, mentally ill, or unemployed). This may influence the public dialogue positively by providing factually correct information and educating people on veteran-issues.

The second strategy that research identified to successfully diminish negative mental health stereotypes focussed on 'education' (Corrigan & Watson, 2004). Brief educational courses on mental illness were found to reduce the attribution of negative stereotypes towards people with mental illnesses amongst a variety of populations such as police officers, industrial workers and government employees or high school students (Dalky, 2012; Corrigan et al., 2007; Corrigan, 2004b; Watson, Corrigan & Ottai, 2004). Thus, strategically providing information on mental illness may lessen negative stereotypes.
In the context of public beliefs about veterans, education may play a role in the presentation of today's veteran. It may be necessary to educate individuals not solely about the horrific conditions of historical warfare more generally, but also on today's military and more recent deployments. For example, education may promote people's understanding of deployment as this would provide the potential for reflection on the diverse roles that are necessary in deployments. This may rectify misunderstandings concerning the veteran's personality by dissociating the veteran from specific personality dispositions. The veteran from today may then be defined instead in terms of profession-specific knowledge and skills. In conclusion, by 'de-mystifying' deployment conditions and Service roles the modern veterans may become associated with an occupational identity.

The third strategy that was identified by previous research on challenging stereotypes against the mentally ill was 'contact' (Rüsch et al., 2005). Social stereotypes towards mental illnesses further diminished when members of the public were able to contact individuals with mental illnesses (i.e. Corrigan et al., 2012; Thornicroft et al., 2008; Couture & Penn,

2003). However, research also identified an inverse relationship between having no contact to individuals with mental illnesses and endorsing psychiatric stereotypes (i.e. Angermeyer & Matschinger, 2003; Corrigan et al., 2001). Therefore, Corrigan & Watson (2002) suggest that opportunities for the public to meet individuals with mental illness may alleviate the stigma. The strength of the effect of a change in stereotypes was found to be dependent upon the level of disconfirmation by the minority group member. Contact experiences with individuals that do not at all resemble stereotypes, held by the minority group, are unlikely to have a major effect on these stereotypes (Rüsch et al., 2005). For example, research indicated that a highly attractive female who suffers from a mental health illness but who is successful in her occupation and personal life may not diminish stigma (Kunda & Oleson, 1997). Instead, this female would be subtyped as unusual for mental health illnesses and reclassified as belonging to 'us' (those without mental health illness; cf. Gaertner, 1990). This would suggest that contact with a veteran who does not suffer from mental health illnesses may not be perceived as belonging to the veteran-group. Particularly as polls and surveys indicated mental illnesses to be strongly associated to the veteran it may be difficult to reconceptualise stereotypical ways in that veterans are perceived. Instead, to dissociate the veteran from negative stereotypes, a combination of 'protest' against the mass-distribution of erroneous information, 'education' of British individuals by providing factually correct information, and, 'contact' with today's veterans may be required.

A way out – Challenging Representations, Changing Beliefs?

Evidence indicated the term 'Veteran' to be tied into historical perspectives and closely associated with conceptualisations of barbaric warfare, a horrific battlefield, shellshock and limb-loss. To endure these experiences the veteran is attributed with a specific superior personality that constituted understandings of veterans as heroes, victims and perpetrators. These associations between conceptualisations of war and the veteran were found to be reflected in commemoration and institutionalised forms of remembering to this very day. These practices corresponded to aspects of one's national identity and perceptions of the home country. I conclusion, the term 'Veteran' may not be an adequate for today's veteran population. Instead of reconceptualising the existing term 'Veteran' in order to dissociate the veteran from erroneous beliefs, it may be more efficacious to plan intervention strategies

that distribute information about today's veterans in relation to an alternate term. Therefore, the present project's findings agree with Latter et al. (2018) who suggested the term 'Veteran' to be limiting and more problematic than helpful as associations drawn from the word 'Veteran' do not accurately reflect the distribution of veterans across society. More concretely, the term 'Veteran', so Latter et al. (2018), does not seem to be recognised as commonplace and was not part of the everyday language or conversation when referring to those who have served in the UK Armed Forces. Instead, 'Veteran' was found to be a politically charged, emotionally loaded word that is utilized by media to depict extreme cases or in the context of generating charitable support. Latter et al. (2018) therefore suggests introducing 'Ex-Service' as a more intuitive and widely used alternative.

However, to dissociate veterans from negative stereotypes it may be insufficient to solely exchange terms. Due to historical perspectives associated to the term 'Veteran' and the societal norm to use 'Ex-Service' for those who have served without being deployed (cf. Dandeker, 2006), both terms may be inadequate to describe today's veterans. More concretely, exchanging the term 'Veteran' to 'Ex-Service' may solely dissociate the individual who has served from attributions of mental health illnesses as these are erroneously attributed to deployment. Therefore, incorrect understandings of those who have experienced deployment may persist.

Instead, it may be more advantageous to use the well-evidenced intervention strategies that combine 'protest', 'education' and 'contact' (cf. Rüsch, Angermeyer & Corrigan, 2005; Reinke et al., 2004; Corrigan & Penn; 1999) to communicate an alternate term (i.e. 'Discharged', 'Modern Veteran'). Crucially, it is suggested that changing a term referring to those who have served may need to be accompanied by distributing factually correct information about veterans, Service and deployment. In this sense, the occupational identity of the UK Armed Forces (ex)members' needs to be emphasised by dissociating modern warfare from historical warfare and de-mystifying Service. This would address today's "misunderstanding of the military life, compared to when most families included someone who had served in the Second World War or did National Service" (SoSfD, 2018; p. 7). The present project therefore suggests that a re-conceptualisation of today's veterans may require challenging preconceptions of historical warfare and dissociating today's veterans from the

consequences of the 'horrors of war'. Instead, the professional competence, unique knowledge and valuable skills of today's veterans should be socially discussed in the context of a modernized, technological warfare that successfully accomplished *a* mission goal.
In this sense, erroneous perceptions of veterans may originate in a civil-military gap that needs to be addressed. Though Hines et al. (2015) found only minor discrepancies in attitudes between civil and military cultures, convergences between the military and civilian culture may need to be pursued to highlight the operational profile of the UK Armed Forces. Therefore, the present project contents with Hines et al.'s (2015, p. 705) notion that

> "[…] different parts of the public are likely to think of Service and Ex-Service Personnel in terms of a shifting kaleidoscope of images: the hero, the victim, and the villain. Such myths, including the idea that most Service Personnel are damaged by their service, provide the context in which military and political concerns in the United Kingdom about the civil–military gap becoming a gulf are likely to resurface."

By distributing information about the UK Armed Forces' in its occupational identity, educating members of British society about different jobs that one can pursue within the UK Armed Forces and rectifying perceptions of deployment, and, facilitating social contact with those veterans who emphasise their occupational identity and present 'normal' everyday individuals, perceptions of veterans may be improved (cf. protest, education, contact intervention strategy; i.e. Rüsch, Angermeyer & Corrigan, 2005; Reinke et al., 2004; Corrigan & Penn; 1999).

In conclusion, the findings from the present project content with the recent governmental consultation paper (SoSfD, 2018). This paper proposed a set of strategies that intend to improve relationships and connections between the civilian and military sector, to facilitate the transition of veterans and, in doing so, educates civilian society about veterans and veterans' needs. Essentially, however, the present project provides evidence that furthered understandings how the aims of the SoSfD's (2018) 10-year strategy may be achieved. Therefore, future studies may utilize the present project's results to plan evidence-based interventions how the reputation of veterans may be improved.

8.7. General Conclusions

The present report provided a detailed and multi-faceted account on socially pertinent beliefs about veterans, focussing on the structural approach in Social Representation Theory and Identity Process Theory within the general framework of Social Representation Theory. The report took a mixed-methods approach to examine and explain publicly pertinent beliefs about veterans.

The findings indicated that individuals in British society understand the 'damaged' veteran as being the normal end-state of a military career. In this sense, understandings of veterans seemed to be well embedded in more general understandings of a military-themata that also comprised other military roles. Moreover, the results indicated that understandings of the veteran as having incurred 'damage' may have its foundation in a social belief of a veteran's moral superiority. Together with misinformation about Service, deployment and socially perpetuated conceptualisations of war as horrific experience, the veteran is stereotyped as physically and psychologically damaged, neglected, pitiful individual that suffers from job- and homelessness.

However, individuals were generally able to understand veterans simultaneously in different ways – as heroes, victims and/or perpetrators. Which representation of the veteran was recalled – the hero, victim or perpetrator – depended upon underlying identity maintenance processes. Therefore, the results outlined that individuals responded to emotionally-evocative concepts such violence and war in ways that allowed to maintain a positive sense of self.

In conclusion, to dissociate the veteran from publicly pertinent stereotypes it may be necessary to place emphasis upon the veteran's occupational identity. However, in order to do so, civil-military relationships may need to be improved and socially misperceptions about Service and deployments clarified. Therefore, individuals from British society would need to be able to distinguish a modern warfare conducted by a professional all-volunteer Force from a historical 'horrific' warfare (i.e. 'horrors of the trenches') conducted by a conscripted Force. Soldiers and veterans may then become associated to occupational identities, doing a job they have been trained to do, and less to identities that resembled politically motivated citizen soldiers – inspired by moral values, ethnic nationalism and

masculine norms (cf. King, 2010). In this sense, the UK Armed Forces would represent a professional institution that accommodates equally professional individuals.

The evidence presented in this project reiterates the utility of Social Representation Theory, the structural approach in Social Representation Theory and Identity Process Theory as robust social psychological theories that explain the construction and formation of understandings. The utility of a combination of these theories allowed to understand socially pertinent understandings of veterans by converging the social aspect in the creation of understandings (Social Representation Theory, structural approach in Social Representation Theory) and the intrapsychic level of cognition (Identity Process Theory).

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10. Appendices

Appendix 1.

Participant Information Sheet and Full Questionnaire – Word Association Task

Understanding and Explaining the Perception of Veterans in UK Society

You are being invited to take part in a research study. To help you decide whether or not to take part, please read the following information about why the research is being conducted.

What is the purpose of the study?
The aim of this study is to find out how people in UK society perceive those who currently serve and have been serving in the UK Forces. The resulting findings will contribute to an understanding of how people think about different military roles.

Who is eligible to take part in this study?
You are eligible for this study if you are over 18 years of age.

Do I have to take part?
No. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part.

What will happen to me if I take part?
You will be asked to fill in a questionnaire and to provide some words related to military roles. This will only take 15 minutes.

What are the possible benefits and risks of taking part?
The research will contribute to our understanding of what people think of military roles. It is very unlikely that this task will cause emotional arousal. However, if you feel uncomfortable during the task, you can immediately terminate it. If you experience feelings of intense distress, despair, please consider contacting a help-line like the 24/7 Samaritans helpline: Tel: 116 123

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?
Only the researcher and supervisors will have access to the data. The data generated in the course of the research will be retained in accordance with the University's policy of Academic Integrity and will be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project. Personal details will be stored according to University Guidelines and will not be made public or passed on to any companies. If you have provided your contact details to enter the prize draw, they will be deleted permanently after the winner was drawn.

What should I do if I want to take part?
If you wish to take part, tick the consent form boxes below.

What will happen with the data?
Data will be analysed, written up as part of the PhD Thesis 'Understanding and Explaining

the Perception of Veterans in UK Society' and might be published in academic journals or conferences.

Who is organising and funding the research?
The project was funded by the Oxford Brookes University 150th Anniversary Nigel Groome PhD Research Studentship.
Headington Campus, Headington Rd, Oxford OX3 0BP

Who has reviewed the study?
This study has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee at Oxford Brookes University. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research project please contact: ethics@brookes.ac.uk

Contact for Further Information
For further information regarding this study, please contact the researcher or supervisor. Their contact details can be found above.

Thank you for taking time to read this information.

Rita Phillips

This is a doctoral research study and has been approved by Oxford Brookes University Research Ethics Committee: study number 171072

PLEASE TICK BOXES:

☐ I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study

☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw myself or any unprocessed data without giving reason

☐ I agree to take part in the above study

☐ I agree that the data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in accordance to University guidelines and to its use in academic publications

- Page Break -

What is your nationality?

- ○ United Kingdom
- ○ Other

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when reading the word presented on the following page.
You may also use words which you have already used on the previous slides.
Please try to do this as fast as possible, you are timed!

Ready? Please press green button

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a

Recruit

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when reading the word presented on the following page.
You may also use words which you have already used on the previous slides.
Please try to do this as fast as possible, you are timed!

Ready? Please press green button

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a

Soldier

1

2

3

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when reading the word presented on the following page.
You may also use words which you have already used on the previous slides.
Please try to do this as fast as possible, you are timed!

Ready? Please press green button

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a

Ex-Service Personnel

1

2

3

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when reading the word presented on the following page.
You may also use words which you have already used on the previous slides.
Please try to do this as fast as possible, you are timed!

Ready? Please press green button

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a

Veteran

1

2

3

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when reading the word presented on the following page.
You may also use words which you have already used on the previous slides.
Please try to do this as fast as possible, you are timed!

Ready? Please press green button

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a

British Army Iraq Veteran

1

2

3

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when reading the word presented on the following page.
You may also use words which you have already used on the previous slides.
Please try to do this as fast as possible, you are timed!

Ready? Please press green button

- Page Break -

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a

British Army Afghanistan Veteran

1

2

3

- Page Break -

Thank you. You will not be timed anymore.

On the following pages, you will be asked how important a list of words is to describe roles in the military.

Please take your time and give accurate answers!
You can leave your Email address to enter the Amazon voucher prize draw after the following task

- Page Break -

How important are the following words to describe a
Soldier

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

- Page Break -

How important are the following words to describe a Recruit

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

- Page Break -

How important are the following words to describe Ex-Service Personnel

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

- Page Break -

How important are the following words to describe a Veteran

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

- Page Break -

How important are the following words to describe a British Army Iraq Veteran

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

- Page Break -

How important are the following words to describe a British Army Afghanistan Veteran

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
» 1	○	○	○	○	○
» 2	○	○	○	○	○
» 3	○	○	○	○	○

- Page Break -

Thank you, please provide following information about yourself

What gender are you?

- ○ Woman
- ○ Man
- ○ Non-binary

How old are you (in years)?

18

What is your ethnicity?

- (●) White (i.e. white British, Irish, European)
- ( ) Asian/ Asian British (i.e. Indian Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese)
- ( ) Black/ African/ Carribean British
- ( ) Mixed Multiple Ethnic Groups (i.e. White & Black African, White & BlackCaribbean, White & Asian)
- ( ) Other Ethnic Group (i.e. Arab)

What is your Religion

- ( ) No religion
- ( ) Christian
- ( ) Muslim
- ( ) Sikh
- ( ) Hindu
- ( ) Buddhist
- ( ) Jewish
- ( ) Spiritualist
- ( ) Unknown

Some people describe their political views as being left wing or right wing. How would you describe your own views?

- ( ) Left Wing
- ( ) Somewhat to the left
- ( ) Middle of the road
- ( ) Somewhat to the right

- Right Wing
- Prefer not to say

What is your highest level of qualification?

- No qualification
- Below A-levels or equivalent
- A-levels or equivalent
- Higher education

How important is your country to you?

- My country is very important to me
- My country is quite important to me
- My country is somewhat important to me
- My country is not important to me

How proud are you of your country?

- I am proud of my country
- I am rather proud of my country
- I feel neutral about my home country
- I am rather not proud of my country
- I am not proud of my country

Where do you currently live?

- England
- Scotland

- Wales
- Northern Ireland
- Other part of the UK
- Not in the UK

How long have you been living in the UK for?

- I am currently not living in the UK
- Since before 2001
- Since between 2002-2011
- Since between 2012-2015
- Since between 2016 and now

Which role do British military veterans play in your daily life?

- British military veterans play a very important role in my daily life
- British military veterans play an important role in my daily life
- British military veterans play no particularly important role in my daily life
- British military veterans play no role in my daily life

How much do you know about British veterans from the UK Armed Forces?

- I know a lot about British veterans from the UK Armed Forces
- I know somewhat about British veterans from the UK Armed Forces
- I know a little about British veterans from the UK Armed Forces
- I know very little about British veterans from the UK Armed Forces

How much do you know about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans?

- I know a lot about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans
- I know somewhat about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans
- I know a little about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans
- I know very little about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans

Which role do British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play in your daily life?

- British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play a very important role in my daily life
- British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play an important role in my daily life
- British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play no particularly important role in my daily life
- British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans play no important role in my daily life

From your current point of view: Which of the following statement describes your attitude towards UK missions in Iraq best?

- The UK was right to send its Armed Forces to Iraq
- The UK was rather right to send its Armed Forces to Iraq
- The UK was rather wrong to send its Armed Forces to Iraq
- The UK was wrong to send its Armed Forces to Iraq

From your current point of view: Which of the following statement describes your attitude towards UK missions in Afghanistan best?

- The UK was right to send its Armed Forces to Afghanistan
- The UK was rather right to send its Armed Forces to Afghanistan

- The UK was rather wrong to send its Armed Forces to Afghanistan
- The UK was wrong to send its Armed Forces to Afghanistan

Do you know somebody in the UK Armed Forces?
Please select the closest relationship

- I do not know anybody who is or has been in the UK Armed Forces
- I distantly know somebody who is or has been in the UK Armed Forces
- Someone who is or has been in the UK Armed Forces is close to me (i.e. family member or close friend)
- I currently am or have been in the UK Armed Forces but was not deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan
- I have served in Iraq or Afghanistan as part of the UK Armed Forces

What is your general opinion of the UK Armed Forces?

- I have a very high opinion
- I have a high opinion
- I have a neither high nor low opinion
- I have a low opinion
- I have a very low opinion

Thank you for taking part in this research.

Appendix 2.

Raw Words Frequency Tables

Table 1: Soldier

P' ...wn the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a Soldier-1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	war	74	9.1	9.1	9.1
	brave	56	6.9	6.9	16.0
	army	38	4.7	4.7	20.7
	strong	34	4.2	4.2	24.8
	gun	20	2.5	2.5	27.3
	hero	16	2.0	2.0	29.3
	uniform	16	2.0	2.0	31.2
	fighter	15	1.8	1.8	33.1
	fighting	15	1.8	1.8	34.9
	death	14	1.7	1.7	36.7
	green	13	1.6	1.6	38.3
	military	13	1.6	1.6	39.9
	fight	12	1.5	1.5	41.3
	guns	12	1.5	1.5	42.8
	loyal	11	1.4	1.4	44.2
	young	10	1.2	1.2	45.4
	man	9	1.1	1.1	46.5
	trained	9	1.1	1.1	47.6
	patriotic	8	1.0	1.0	48.6
	tough	8	1.0	1.0	49.6
	killing	6	.7	.7	50.3
	courageous	5	.6	.6	50.9
	disciplined	5	.6	.6	51.5
	heroic	5	.6	.6	52.2
	protection	5	.6	.6	52.8
	protector	5	.6	.6	53.4
	warrior	5	.6	.6	54.0
	weapon	5	.6	.6	54.6
	afghanistan	4	.5	.5	55.1

armed	4	.5	.5	55.6
country	4	.5	.5	56.1
fit	4	.5	.5	56.6
helmet	4	.5	.5	57.1
obedient	4	.5	.5	57.6
reliable	4	.5	.5	58.1
respect	4	.5	.5	58.5
battle	3	.4	.4	58.9
camouflage	3	.4	.4	59.3
dedicated	3	.4	.4	59.7
defender	3	.4	.4	60.0
duty	3	.4	.4	60.4
hard	3	.4	.4	60.8
protect	3	.4	.4	61.1
rifle	3	.4	.4	61.5
sad	3	.4	.4	61.9
security	3	.4	.4	62.2
strength	3	.4	.4	62.6
strict	3	.4	.4	63.0
big	2	.2	.2	63.2
blood	2	.2	.2	63.5
caring	2	.2	.2	63.7
child	2	.2	.2	64.0
courage	2	.2	.2	64.2
defence	2	.2	.2	64.5
defend	2	.2	.2	64.7
hard work	2	.2	.2	64.9
hardworking	2	.2	.2	65.2
heros	2	.2	.2	65.4
honor	2	.2	.2	65.7
honour	2	.2	.2	65.9
in danger	2	.2	.2	66.2
infantry	2	.2	.2	66.4
iraq	2	.2	.2	66.7
khaki	2	.2	.2	66.9
killer	2	.2	.2	67.2
loyalty	2	.2	.2	67.4
navy	2	.2	.2	67.7
patriotism	2	.2	.2	67.9

professional	2	.2	.2	68.1
protectors	2	.2	.2	68.4
ptsd	2	.2	.2	68.6
queen	2	.2	.2	68.9
sacrifice	2	.2	.2	69.1
sadness	2	.2	.2	69.4
sailor	2	.2	.2	69.6
selfless	2	.2	.2	69.9
service	2	.2	.2	70.1
shoot	2	.2	.2	70.4
skilled	2	.2	.2	70.6
smart	2	.2	.2	70.8
stern	2	.2	.2	71.1
stong	2	.2	.2	71.3
trauma	2	.2	.2	71.6
troop	2	.2	.2	71.8
underpaid	2	.2	.2	72.1
usa	2	.2	.2	72.3
veteran	2	.2	.2	72.6
working class	2	.2	.2	72.8
"pongo"	1	.1	.1	72.9
alone	1	.1	.1	73.1
america	1	.1	.1	73.2
angry	1	.1	.1	73.3
angst	1	.1	.1	73.4
ant	1	.1	.1	73.6
Armed Forces	1	.1	.1	73.7
attack	1	.1	.1	73.8
authoritative	1	.1	.1	73.9
bad paid	1	.1	.1	74.0
ball	1	.1	.1	74.2
barrack	1	.1	.1	74.3
battalion	1	.1	.1	74.4
bearhat	1	.1	.1	74.5
big man	1	.1	.1	74.7
blind	1	.1	.1	74.8
blind follower	1	.1	.1	74.9
boisterous	1	.1	.1	75.0
boots	1	.1	.1	75.2

brace	1	.1	.1	75.3
brain washed	1	.1	.1	75.4
brave men and women	1	.1	.1	75.5
braveness	1	.1	.1	75.6
brother	1	.1	.1	75.8
brotherhood	1	.1	.1	75.9
brutal	1	.1	.1	76.0
brutality	1	.1	.1	76.1
bullets	1	.1	.1	76.3
busy	1	.1	.1	76.4
cadet	1	.1	.1	76.5
camo	1	.1	.1	76.6
can't go home frequently	1	.1	.1	76.8
capable	1	.1	.1	76.9
career	1	.1	.1	77.0
ccf	1	.1	.1	77.1
choice	1	.1	.1	77.2
clean	1	.1	.1	77.4
clever	1	.1	.1	77.5
combat	1	.1	.1	77.6
comrade	1	.1	.1	77.7
confident	1	.1	.1	77.9
conforming	1	.1	.1	78.0
dad	1	.1	.1	78.1
damaged	1	.1	.1	78.2
danger	1	.1	.1	78.4
determined	1	.1	.1	78.5
devoted	1	.1	.1	78.6
die	1	.1	.1	78.7
difficult	1	.1	.1	78.8
dip in your egg	1	.1	.1	79.0
discipline	1	.1	.1	79.1
disposable	1	.1	.1	79.2
dumb	1	.1	.1	79.3
effective	1	.1	.1	79.5
enforce	1	.1	.1	79.6
exercise	1	.1	.1	79.7
expendable	1	.1	.1	79.8
family	1	.1	.1	80.0

fast	1	.1	.1	80.1
fierce	1	.1	.1	80.2
fire	1	.1	.1	80.3
firearm	1	.1	.1	80.4
flag	1	.1	.1	80.6
following orders	1	.1	.1	80.7
follows orders	1	.1	.1	80.8
force	1	.1	.1	80.9
forces	1	.1	.1	81.1
form	1	.1	.1	81.2
forward thinking	1	.1	.1	81.3
freedom	1	.1	.1	81.4
frontline	1	.1	.1	81.5
goal	1	.1	.1	81.7
good	1	.1	.1	81.8
government	1	.1	.1	81.9
grandfather	1	.1	.1	82.0
grave	1	.1	.1	82.2
guardsman	1	.1	.1	82.3
hard job	1	.1	.1	82.4
hard working	1	.1	.1	82.5
harm	1	.1	.1	82.7
healthy	1	.1	.1	82.8
helpful	1	.1	.1	82.9
helping	1	.1	.1	83.0
hierarchy	1	.1	.1	83.1
honest	1	.1	.1	83.3
honorable	1	.1	.1	83.4
humanity	1	.1	.1	83.5
hurted	1	.1	.1	83.6
i don't know	1	.1	.1	83.8
ignornet	1	.1	.1	83.9
impressive	1	.1	.1	84.0
influenced	1	.1	.1	84.1
injuries	1	.1	.1	84.3
innocent	1	.1	.1	84.4
insury	1	.1	.1	84.5
ireland	1	.1	.1	84.6
jets	1	.1	.1	84.7

job	1	.1	.1	84.9
khaki colour	1	.1	.1	85.0
kill	1	.1	.1	85.1
kind	1	.1	.1	85.2
lead	1	.1	.1	85.4
loialty	1	.1	.1	85.5
london	1	.1	.1	85.6
machine gun	1	.1	.1	85.7
maimed	1	.1	.1	85.9
male	1	.1	.1	86.0
manipulated	1	.1	.1	86.1
marines	1	.1	.1	86.2
medal	1	.1	.1	86.3
member	1	.1	.1	86.5
men	1	.1	.1	86.6
mentality tough	1	.1	.1	86.7
militant	1	.1	.1	86.8
misses family	1	.1	.1	87.0
mud	1	.1	.1	87.1
murderer	1	.1	.1	87.2
naive	1	.1	.1	87.3
necessary	1	.1	.1	87.5
noise	1	.1	.1	87.6
number	1	.1	.1	87.7
obay	1	.1	.1	87.8
obey	1	.1	.1	87.9
objective	1	.1	.1	88.1
occupation	1	.1	.1	88.2
officer	1	.1	.1	88.3
order	1	.1	.1	88.4
orderly	1	.1	.1	88.6
organised	1	.1	.1	88.7
parachute regiment	1	.1	.1	88.8
passionate	1	.1	.1	88.9
patriot	1	.1	.1	89.1
pawn	1	.1	.1	89.2
pawns	1	.1	.1	89.3
peace	1	.1	.1	89.4

people who care for our country by protecting us	1	.1	.1	89.5
people who fight other countries	1	.1	.1	89.7
person	1	.1	.1	89.8
physically fit	1	.1	.1	89.9
platoon	1	.1	.1	90.0
poor	1	.1	.1	90.2
power	1	.1	.1	90.3
press ups	1	.1	.1	90.4
procedural	1	.1	.1	90.5
protecter	1	.1	.1	90.7
protective	1	.1	.1	90.8
proud	1	.1	.1	90.9
puppet	1	.1	.1	91.0
quick thinking	1	.1	.1	91.1
rank	1	.1	.1	91.3
rape	1	.1	.1	91.4
ready	1	.1	.1	91.5
regime	1	.1	.1	91.6
resourceful	1	.1	.1	91.8
respectable	1	.1	.1	91.9
responsability	1	.1	.1	92.0
roman	1	.1	.1	92.1
rounded	1	.1	.1	92.3
royal marines	1	.1	.1	92.4
rules	1	.1	.1	92.5
safe	1	.1	.1	92.6
safety	1	.1	.1	92.7
scapegoated	1	.1	.1	92.9
scared	1	.1	.1	93.0
scars	1	.1	.1	93.1
scary	1	.1	.1	93.2
shaver	1	.1	.1	93.4
slave	1	.1	.1	93.5
sports	1	.1	.1	93.6
squad	1	.1	.1	93.7
squaddie	1	.1	.1	93.8
stand for a longtime	1	.1	.1	94.0

stealth	1	.1	.1	94.1
stress	1	.1	.1	94.2
stressed	1	.1	.1	94.3
strong minded	1	.1	.1	94.5
stronge	1	.1	.1	94.6
stupid	1	.1	.1	94.7
subservient	1	.1	.1	94.8
suppressed	1	.1	.1	95.0
survivor	1	.1	.1	95.1
system	1	.1	.1	95.2
tactics	1	.1	.1	95.3
tall	1	.1	.1	95.4
tank	1	.1	.1	95.6
tanks	1	.1	.1	95.7
tattoo	1	.1	.1	95.8
team	1	.1	.1	95.9
teamwork	1	.1	.1	96.1
teenager	1	.1	.1	96.2
their family	1	.1	.1	96.3
tin	1	.1	.1	96.4
tired	1	.1	.1	96.6
tolerance	1	.1	.1	96.7
tour	1	.1	.1	96.8
training	1	.1	.1	96.9
trenches	1	.1	.1	97.0
tribute	1	.1	.1	97.2
troubled (later in life)	1	.1	.1	97.3
true	1	.1	.1	97.4
trustworthy	1	.1	.1	97.5
underpreciated	1	.1	.1	97.7
uneducated	1	.1	.1	97.8
uniformed	1	.1	.1	97.9
unit	1	.1	.1	98.0
unsafe	1	.1	.1	98.2
valued	1	.1	.1	98.3
varied	1	.1	.1	98.4
victim	1	.1	.1	98.5
violence	1	.1	.1	98.6
vital	1	.1	.1	98.8

vulnerable	1	.1	.1	98.9
warrier	1	.1	.1	99.0
weaponry	1	.1	.1	99.1
weapons	1	.1	.1	99.3
well built	1	.1	.1	99.4
why	1	.1	.1	99.5
why?	1	.1	.1	99.6
woman	1	.1	.1	99.8
wounded	1	.1	.1	99.9
wounds	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	813	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: Recruit

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a Recruit-1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	young	85	10.5	10.5	10.5
	new	43	5.3	5.3	15.7
	army	36	4.4	4.4	20.2
	job	28	3.4	3.4	23.6
	brave	24	3.0	3.0	26.6
	soldier	16	2.0	2.0	28.5
	work	16	2.0	2.0	30.5
	naive	13	1.6	1.6	32.1
	training	12	1.5	1.5	33.6
	learning	10	1.2	1.2	34.8
	inexperienced	9	1.1	1.1	35.9
	fresh	8	1.0	1.0	36.9
	join	8	1.0	1.0	37.9
	interview	7	.9	.9	38.7
	strong	7	.9	.9	39.6
	ambitious	6	.7	.7	40.3
	determined	6	.7	.7	41.1
	hopeful	6	.7	.7	41.8
	military	6	.7	.7	42.6
	beginner	5	.6	.6	43.2
	employ	5	.6	.6	43.8
	hard	5	.6	.6	44.4
	war	5	.6	.6	45.0
	career	4	.5	.5	45.5
	duty	4	.5	.5	46.0
	employment	4	.5	.5	46.5
	enlist	4	.5	.5	47.0
	enthusiastic	4	.5	.5	47.5
	fit	4	.5	.5	48.0
	future	4	.5	.5	48.5
	opportunity	4	.5	.5	49.0
	scared	4	.5	.5	49.4
	team	4	.5	.5	49.9
	willing	4	.5	.5	50.4

challenge	3	.4	.4	50.8
discipline	3	.4	.4	51.2
forces	3	.4	.4	51.5
help	3	.4	.4	51.9
hire	3	.4	.4	52.3
impressionable	3	.4	.4	52.6
life	3	.4	.4	53.0
malleable	3	.4	.4	53.4
novice	3	.4	.4	53.8
private	3	.4	.4	54.1
scary	3	.4	.4	54.5
train	3	.4	.4	54.9
agency	2	.2	.2	55.1
application	2	.2	.2	55.4
begin	2	.2	.2	55.6
boy	2	.2	.2	55.8
bravery	2	.2	.2	56.1
choice	2	.2	.2	56.3
death	2	.2	.2	56.6
eager	2	.2	.2	56.8
enroll	2	.2	.2	57.1
fear	2	.2	.2	57.3
find	2	.2	.2	57.6
forced	2	.2	.2	57.8
gain	2	.2	.2	58.1
group	2	.2	.2	58.3
hero	2	.2	.2	58.5
idealistic	2	.2	.2	58.8
immature	2	.2	.2	59.0
learn	2	.2	.2	59.3
male	2	.2	.2	59.5
money	2	.2	.2	59.8
navy	2	.2	.2	60.0
newbie	2	.2	.2	60.3
people	2	.2	.2	60.5
potential	2	.2	.2	60.8
propaganda	2	.2	.2	61.0
protect	2	.2	.2	61.3
selection	2	.2	.2	61.5

serve	2	.2	.2	61.7
sign up	2	.2	.2	62.0
skills	2	.2	.2	62.2
smart	2	.2	.2	62.5
strict	2	.2	.2	62.7
take	2	.2	.2	63.0
trainee	2	.2	.2	63.2
uneducated	2	.2	.2	63.5
unexperienced	2	.2	.2	63.7
untrained	2	.2	.2	64.0
voluntary	2	.2	.2	64.2
volunteer	2	.2	.2	64.5
vulnerable	2	.2	.2	64.7
wanted	2	.2	.2	64.9
able	1	.1	.1	65.1
admin	1	.1	.1	65.2
admirable	1	.1	.1	65.3
advertise	1	.1	.1	65.4
advertised	1	.1	.1	65.6
advertisement	1	.1	.1	65.7
afghanistan	1	.1	.1	65.8
afraid	1	.1	.1	65.9
again	1	.1	.1	66.1
aimful	1	.1	.1	66.2
anxiety	1	.1	.1	66.3
anxious	1	.1	.1	66.4
apply	1	.1	.1	66.5
Armed Forces	1	.1	.1	66.7
army officer	1	.1	.1	66.8
asbo	1	.1	.1	66.9
aspiring	1	.1	.1	67.0
assault course	1	.1	.1	67.2
assessment	1	.1	.1	67.3
attack	1	.1	.1	67.4
barracks	1	.1	.1	67.5
basic	1	.1	.1	67.7
battle	1	.1	.1	67.8
beneficial	1	.1	.1	67.9
bird	1	.1	.1	68.0

bone	1	.1	.1	68.1
boot	1	.1	.1	68.3
bootcamp	1	.1	.1	68.4
bossy	1	.1	.1	68.5
brave choice	1	.1	.1	68.6
british	1	.1	.1	68.8
building	1	.1	.1	68.9
bully	1	.1	.1	69.0
buy	1	.1	.1	69.1
cadet	1	.1	.1	69.2
call	1	.1	.1	69.4
called	1	.1	.1	69.5
candidate	1	.1	.1	69.6
challenging	1	.1	.1	69.7
charity	1	.1	.1	69.9
child	1	.1	.1	70.0
collect	1	.1	.1	70.1
commitment	1	.1	.1	70.2
competition	1	.1	.1	70.4
comradeship	1	.1	.1	70.5
confident	1	.1	.1	70.6
contracts	1	.1	.1	70.7
courageous	1	.1	.1	70.8
coward	1	.1	.1	71.0
cult	1	.1	.1	71.1
cv	1	.1	.1	71.2
dedicated	1	.1	.1	71.3
defence	1	.1	.1	71.5
delusions of grandeur	1	.1	.1	71.6
difficult in my country	1	.1	.1	71.7
disadvantage	1	.1	.1	71.8
disallusioned	1	.1	.1	72.0
doomed man	1	.1	.1	72.1
dreams	1	.1	.1	72.2
drill sergeant	1	.1	.1	72.3
drills	1	.1	.1	72.4
drop-out	1	.1	.1	72.6
dumb	1	.1	.1	72.7
education	1	.1	.1	72.8

eligibility	1	.1	.1	72.9
employe	1	.1	.1	73.1
professional	1	.1	.1	73.2
professionals	1	.1	.1	73.3
employers	1	.1	.1	73.4
endurance	1	.1	.1	73.6
energy	1	.1	.1	73.7
engage	1	.1	.1	73.8
enmployer	1	.1	.1	73.9
ethusiastic	1	.1	.1	74.0
examination	1	.1	.1	74.2
exciting	1	.1	.1	74.3
exercise	1	.1	.1	74.4
expectation	1	.1	.1	74.5
false	1	.1	.1	74.7
family	1	.1	.1	74.8
fast	1	.1	.1	74.9
fight	1	.1	.1	75.0
fitness	1	.1	.1	75.2
fix	1	.1	.1	75.3
force	1	.1	.1	75.4
forms	1	.1	.1	75.5
fresher	1	.1	.1	75.6
freshman	1	.1	.1	75.8
friends	1	.1	.1	75.9
from a different era	1	.1	.1	76.0
gather	1	.1	.1	76.1
generation	1	.1	.1	76.3
getting people in	1	.1	.1	76.4
good	1	.1	.1	76.5
good decison	1	.1	.1	76.6
good luck	1	.1	.1	76.8
green	1	.1	.1	76.9
grit	1	.1	.1	77.0
guidance	1	.1	.1	77.1
gun	1	.1	.1	77.2
handsome	1	.1	.1	77.4
happy	1	.1	.1	77.5
hard work	1	.1	.1	77.6

hard working	1	.1	.1	77.7
hardworking	1	.1	.1	77.9
help needed	1	.1	.1	78.0
helpful	1	.1	.1	78.1
hire smb	1	.1	.1	78.2
hired servant	1	.1	.1	78.4
hiring	1	.1	.1	78.5
hope	1	.1	.1	78.6
hope you make it	1	.1	.1	78.7
hr	1	.1	.1	78.8
idol	1	.1	.1	79.0
in training	1	.1	.1	79.1
induct	1	.1	.1	79.2
inexperenced	1	.1	.1	79.3
inexperianced	1	.1	.1	79.5
infantry	1	.1	.1	79.6
initiation	1	.1	.1	79.7
innocent	1	.1	.1	79.8
interested	1	.1	.1	80.0
involved	1	.1	.1	80.1
jobs	1	.1	.1	80.2
joining	1	.1	.1	80.3
junior	1	.1	.1	80.4
just getting into the military	1	.1	.1	80.6
keen	1	.1	.1	80.7
killing	1	.1	.1	80.8
knowlege	1	.1	.1	80.9
lack	1	.1	.1	81.1
leave	1	.1	.1	81.2
legends to be	1	.1	.1	81.3
legion	1	.1	.1	81.4
lie	1	.1	.1	81.5
little	1	.1	.1	81.7
look	1	.1	.1	81.8
looks better then the true is	1	.1	.1	81.9
lost	1	.1	.1	82.0
love	1	.1	.1	82.2
lowest rank	1	.1	.1	82.3
lying	1	.1	.1	82.4

mad	1	.1	.1	82.5
manipulated	1	.1	.1	82.7
manipulation	1	.1	.1	82.8
march	1	.1	.1	82.9
market	1	.1	.1	83.0
masculine	1	.1	.1	83.1
membership	1	.1	.1	83.3
men	1	.1	.1	83.4
mentally strong	1	.1	.1	83.5
meticulous	1	.1	.1	83.6
militant	1	.1	.1	83.8
misleading	1	.1	.1	83.9
misleasing	1	.1	.1	84.0
mod jobs	1	.1	.1	84.1
muddy	1	.1	.1	84.3
myself	1	.1	.1	84.4
nee	1	.1	.1	84.5
need	1	.1	.1	84.6
need of soldiers	1	.1	.1	84.7
needed	1	.1	.1	84.9
nervous	1	.1	.1	85.0
new meat	1	.1	.1	85.1
new staff	1	.1	.1	85.2
new starter	1	.1	.1	85.4
noble	1	.1	.1	85.5
non-experience	1	.1	.1	85.6
nuke	1	.1	.1	85.7
obedient	1	.1	.1	85.9
officer	1	.1	.1	86.0
official	1	.1	.1	86.1
oportunity	1	.1	.1	86.2
oppurtunity	1	.1	.1	86.3
optimistic	1	.1	.1	86.5
orderly	1	.1	.1	86.6
organisation	1	.1	.1	86.7
participants	1	.1	.1	86.8
patriotic	1	.1	.1	87.0
pawn	1	.1	.1	87.1

people who are moving countries but with the same job	1	.1	.1	87.2
people who are moving to different departments	1	.1	.1	87.3
people who are retiring	1	.1	.1	87.5
person	1	.1	.1	87.6
physical	1	.1	.1	87.7
population	1	.1	.1	87.8
possibility	1	.1	.1	87.9
preparation	1	.1	.1	88.1
prepared	1	.1	.1	88.2
pride	1	.1	.1	88.3
prision	1	.1	.1	88.4
prison	1	.1	.1	88.6
process	1	.1	.1	88.7
propoganda	1	.1	.1	88.8
prosperous	1	.1	.1	88.9
protector	1	.1	.1	89.1
proud	1	.1	.1	89.2
puppet	1	.1	.1	89.3
put together	1	.1	.1	89.4
quiet	1	.1	.1	89.5
raleigh	1	.1	.1	89.7
rank	1	.1	.1	89.8
raw	1	.1	.1	89.9
recruitment	1	.1	.1	90.0
requirements	1	.1	.1	90.2
research	1	.1	.1	90.3
respected	1	.1	.1	90.4
risk-taker	1	.1	.1	90.5
risking life	1	.1	.1	90.7
rookie	1	.1	.1	90.8
rooky	1	.1	.1	90.9
routine	1	.1	.1	91.0
rsearch	1	.1	.1	91.1
ryan	1	.1	.1	91.3
sacrifice	1	.1	.1	91.4
safe	1	.1	.1	91.5

sailor	1	.1	.1	91.6
salary	1	.1	.1	91.8
sect	1	.1	.1	91.9
seek	1	.1	.1	92.0
selfish	1	.1	.1	92.1
sergeant	1	.1	.1	92.3
service	1	.1	.1	92.4
sheep	1	.1	.1	92.5
shoot	1	.1	.1	92.6
shooting	1	.1	.1	92.7
shop	1	.1	.1	92.9
signing up	1	.1	.1	93.0
skill	1	.1	.1	93.1
skilled	1	.1	.1	93.2
small	1	.1	.1	93.4
smile	1	.1	.1	93.5
society	1	.1	.1	93.6
sodier	1	.1	.1	93.7
solder	1	.1	.1	93.8
soldier to be	1	.1	.1	94.0
soldiers	1	.1	.1	94.1
solider	1	.1	.1	94.2
sorry	1	.1	.1	94.3
special	1	.1	.1	94.5
squaddy	1	.1	.1	94.6
start	1	.1	.1	94.7
stern	1	.1	.1	94.8
stress	1	.1	.1	95.0
stressful	1	.1	.1	95.1
sttong	1	.1	.1	95.2
study	1	.1	.1	95.3
suffering	1	.1	.1	95.4
sweat	1	.1	.1	95.6
talent	1	.1	.1	95.7
task	1	.1	.1	95.8
teenager	1	.1	.1	95.9
test	1	.1	.1	96.1
thank you for picking up the shield and sword	1	.1	.1	96.2

title	1	.1	.1	96.3
tough	1	.1	.1	96.4
town centre	1	.1	.1	96.6
traning	1	.1	.1	96.7
trial	1	.1	.1	96.8
trick	1	.1	.1	96.9
trying	1	.1	.1	97.0
unaware	1	.1	.1	97.2
underpaid	1	.1	.1	97.3
undisciplined	1	.1	.1	97.4
unexsperienced	1	.1	.1	97.5
uniform	1	.1	.1	97.7
unit	1	.1	.1	97.8
unknown	1	.1	.1	97.9
unprepared	1	.1	.1	98.0
unshapen	1	.1	.1	98.2
unskilled	1	.1	.1	98.3
untidy	1	.1	.1	98.4
untutored	1	.1	.1	98.5
vacancy	1	.1	.1	98.6
volutary	1	.1	.1	98.8
want	1	.1	.1	98.9
weak	1	.1	.1	99.0
weedy	1	.1	.1	99.1
why	1	.1	.1	99.3
woman	1	.1	.1	99.4
worker	1	.1	.1	99.5
working hours	1	.1	.1	99.6
young men	1	.1	.1	99.8
younge	1	.1	.1	99.9
youngster	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	813	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: Ex-Service Personnel

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a Ex-Service Personnel-1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	veteran	32	3.9	3.9	3.9
	army	31	3.8	3.8	7.7
	retired	29	3.6	3.6	11.3
	old	25	3.1	3.1	14.4
	brave	22	2.7	2.7	17.1
	military	22	2.7	2.7	19.8
	war	15	1.8	1.8	21.6
	hero	13	1.6	1.6	23.2
	respect	13	1.6	1.6	24.8
	experienced	12	1.5	1.5	26.3
	soldier	12	1.5	1.5	27.8
	injured	11	1.4	1.4	29.2
	strong	10	1.2	1.2	30.4
	older	7	.9	.9	31.2
	proud	6	.7	.7	32.0
	duty	5	.6	.6	32.6
	homeless	5	.6	.6	33.2
	important	5	.6	.6	33.8
	professional	5	.6	.6	34.4
	service	5	.6	.6	35.1
	tired	5	.6	.6	35.7
	wounded	5	.6	.6	36.3
	courageous	4	.5	.5	36.8
	discharged	4	.5	.5	37.3
	forgotten	4	.5	.5	37.8
	good	4	.5	.5	38.3
	guns	4	.5	.5	38.7
	help	4	.5	.5	39.2
	injury	4	.5	.5	39.7
	legend	4	.5	.5	40.2
	loyal	4	.5	.5	40.7
	navy	4	.5	.5	41.2
	nothing	4	.5	.5	41.7
	past	4	.5	.5	42.2

people	4	.5	.5	42.7
person	4	.5	.5	43.2
poor	4	.5	.5	43.7
pride	4	.5	.5	44.2
ptsd	4	.5	.5	44.6
security	4	.5	.5	45.1
skilled	4	.5	.5	45.6
trauma	4	.5	.5	46.1
wise	4	.5	.5	46.6
-	3	.4	.4	47.0
?	3	.4	.4	47.4
career	3	.4	.4	47.7
committed	3	.4	.4	48.1
elderly	3	.4	.4	48.5
experience	3	.4	.4	48.8
family	3	.4	.4	49.2
fit	3	.4	.4	49.6
forces	3	.4	.4	49.9
free	3	.4	.4	50.3
honourable	3	.4	.4	50.7
injuries	3	.4	.4	51.0
iraq	3	.4	.4	51.4
police	3	.4	.4	51.8
smart	3	.4	.4	52.2
solider	3	.4	.4	52.5
support	3	.4	.4	52.9
unemployed	3	.4	.4	53.3
admiration	2	.2	.2	53.5
afghanistan	2	.2	.2	53.8
alone	2	.2	.2	54.0
battle	2	.2	.2	54.2
broken	2	.2	.2	54.5
changed	2	.2	.2	54.7
civilian	2	.2	.2	55.0
confused	2	.2	.2	55.2
courage	2	.2	.2	55.5
dedicated	2	.2	.2	55.7
discipline	2	.2	.2	56.0
disciplined	2	.2	.2	56.2

dog	2	.2	.2	56.5
done	2	.2	.2	56.7
dont know	2	.2	.2	56.9
fighter	2	.2	.2	57.2
finished	2	.2	.2	57.4
formal	2	.2	.2	57.7
former	2	.2	.2	57.9
grateful	2	.2	.2	58.2
grey	2	.2	.2	58.4
kind	2	.2	.2	58.7
knowledgable	2	.2	.2	58.9
lost	2	.2	.2	59.2
men	2	.2	.2	59.4
mental health	2	.2	.2	59.7
office	2	.2	.2	59.9
officer	2	.2	.2	60.1
pension	2	.2	.2	60.4
private	2	.2	.2	60.6
raf	2	.2	.2	60.9
respected	2	.2	.2	61.1
respectful	2	.2	.2	61.4
sacrifice	2	.2	.2	61.6
secret	2	.2	.2	61.9
serious	2	.2	.2	62.1
survivor	2	.2	.2	62.4
tough	2	.2	.2	62.6
unappreciated	2	.2	.2	62.9
underpaid	2	.2	.2	63.1
uniform	2	.2	.2	63.3
veterans	2	.2	.2	63.6
young	2	.2	.2	63.8
abandoned	1	.1	.1	64.0
adapting	1	.1	.1	64.1
adjustment	1	.1	.1	64.2
admin	1	.1	.1	64.3
admirable	1	.1	.1	64.5
admired	1	.1	.1	64.6
aged	1	.1	.1	64.7
agressive	1	.1	.1	64.8

america	1	.1	.1	64.9
angry	1	.1	.1	65.1
arm	1	.1	.1	65.2
auxiliar	1	.1	.1	65.3
back home	1	.1	.1	65.4
banner-carrying	1	.1	.1	65.6
benefit	1	.1	.1	65.7
bigger range	1	.1	.1	65.8
blocked	1	.1	.1	65.9
bodyguard	1	.1	.1	66.1
boring	1	.1	.1	66.2
bossy	1	.1	.1	66.3
bouncer	1	.1	.1	66.4
bravery	1	.1	.1	66.5
business	1	.1	.1	66.7
careful	1	.1	.1	66.8
church	1	.1	.1	66.9
citize	1	.1	.1	67.0
civil life	1	.1	.1	67.2
clever	1	.1	.1	67.3
closed doors	1	.1	.1	67.4
compassionate	1	.1	.1	67.5
complete	1	.1	.1	67.7
computers	1	.1	.1	67.8
construction	1	.1	.1	67.9
consulting	1	.1	.1	68.0
contemplative	1	.1	.1	68.1
controlled	1	.1	.1	68.3
country	1	.1	.1	68.4
custumer	1	.1	.1	68.5
dad	1	.1	.1	68.6
damaged	1	.1	.1	68.8
danger	1	.1	.1	68.9
dangerous	1	.1	.1	69.0
dedication	1	.1	.1	69.1
departed	1	.1	.1	69.2
depressed	1	.1	.1	69.4
deserving	1	.1	.1	69.5
deserving of respect	1	.1	.1	69.6

desk job	1	.1	.1	69.7
destroyed	1	.1	.1	69.9
devoted	1	.1	.1	70.0
devotion	1	.1	.1	70.1
difficult	1	.1	.1	70.2
difficulties	1	.1	.1	70.4
diplomat	1	.1	.1	70.5
disagreements	1	.1	.1	70.6
disaplined	1	.1	.1	70.7
dishonoured	1	.1	.1	70.8
dislocation	1	.1	.1	71.0
disqualified	1	.1	.1	71.1
distinguished	1	.1	.1	71.2
don't know	1	.1	.1	71.3
done with servic3	1	.1	.1	71.5
effect	1	.1	.1	71.6
efficient	1	.1	.1	71.7
employment	1	.1	.1	71.8
end	1	.1	.1	72.0
enthusiastic	1	.1	.1	72.1
escort service	1	.1	.1	72.2
ex	1	.1	.1	72.3
ex Armed Forces	1	.1	.1	72.4
ex army	1	.1	.1	72.6
ex boyfriend	1	.1	.1	72.7
ex forces	1	.1	.1	72.8
ex military	1	.1	.1	72.9
ex worker	1	.1	.1	73.1
ex-soldier	1	.1	.1	73.2
experenced	1	.1	.1	73.3
fbi	1	.1	.1	73.4
fear	1	.1	.1	73.6
fight	1	.1	.1	73.7
finish	1	.1	.1	73.8
finished service	1	.1	.1	73.9
fired	1	.1	.1	74.0
food	1	.1	.1	74.2
forest gump	1	.1	.1	74.3
forties	1	.1	.1	74.4

forward-thinking	1	.1	.1	74.5
fprgotten	1	.1	.1	74.7
freedom	1	.1	.1	74.8
frustration	1	.1	.1	74.9
fun	1	.1	.1	75.0
good caring people who want to care for countries	1	.1	.1	75.2
good harted people	1	.1	.1	75.3
good people	1	.1	.1	75.4
got interesting anecdotes	1	.1	.1	75.5
government	1	.1	.1	75.6
grandparents	1	.1	.1	75.8
granparent	1	.1	.1	75.9
gratitude	1	.1	.1	76.0
grumpy	1	.1	.1	76.1
guard	1	.1	.1	76.3
guardian	1	.1	.1	76.4
guidance	1	.1	.1	76.5
gun	1	.1	.1	76.6
happy	1	.1	.1	76.8
hard	1	.1	.1	76.9
hard life	1	.1	.1	77.0
hard worker	1	.1	.1	77.1
hard working	1	.1	.1	77.2
hard-working	1	.1	.1	77.4
hardened	1	.1	.1	77.5
hardworker	1	.1	.1	77.6
harmed	1	.1	.1	77.7
helper	1	.1	.1	77.9
helpfull	1	.1	.1	78.0
heores	1	.1	.1	78.1
heros	1	.1	.1	78.2
hidden	1	.1	.1	78.4
home	1	.1	.1	78.5
home safe	1	.1	.1	78.6
homelessness	1	.1	.1	78.7
honor	1	.1	.1	78.8
honorable	1	.1	.1	79.0
honored	1	.1	.1	79.1

hope	1	.1	.1	79.2
how did you find your training?	1	.1	.1	79.3
human resources	1	.1	.1	79.5
hurt	1	.1	.1	79.6
hurted	1	.1	.1	79.7
illness	1	.1	.1	79.8
in need of support	1	.1	.1	80.0
indifferent	1	.1	.1	80.1
individual	1	.1	.1	80.2
influential	1	.1	.1	80.3
information	1	.1	.1	80.4
inspiring	1	.1	.1	80.6
intelligence	1	.1	.1	80.7
intelligence adviser	1	.1	.1	80.8
intelligent	1	.1	.1	80.9
jamesbond	1	.1	.1	81.1
job seeking	1	.1	.1	81.2
killed mandem	1	.1	.1	81.3
killing	1	.1	.1	81.4
knowledgeable	1	.1	.1	81.5
labout	1	.1	.1	81.7
leader	1	.1	.1	81.8
left	1	.1	.1	81.9
legends	1	.1	.1	82.0
lifestyle	1	.1	.1	82.2
lonley	1	.1	.1	82.3
lonliness	1	.1	.1	82.4
look after	1	.1	.1	82.5
loyalty	1	.1	.1	82.7
lucky	1	.1	.1	82.8
made it	1	.1	.1	82.9
maimed	1	.1	.1	83.0
male	1	.1	.1	83.1
meaning	1	.1	.1	83.3
medals	1	.1	.1	83.4
melancholia	1	.1	.1	83.5
member	1	.1	.1	83.6
mi6	1	.1	.1	83.8

middle-age	1	.1	.1	83.9
miltary	1	.1	.1	84.0
mistreated	1	.1	.1	84.1
misunderstood	1	.1	.1	84.3
national	1	.1	.1	84.4
need to help them	1	.1	.1	84.5
neglected	1	.1	.1	84.6
network	1	.1	.1	84.7
nightmare	1	.1	.1	84.9
no idea	1	.1	.1	85.0
no longer working	1	.1	.1	85.1
noble	1	.1	.1	85.2
non violent	1	.1	.1	85.4
non-soldier	1	.1	.1	85.5
nostalgic	1	.1	.1	85.6
not integrated	1	.1	.1	85.7
not shown	1	.1	.1	85.9
not working	1	.1	.1	86.0
nurse	1	.1	.1	86.1
obedience	1	.1	.1	86.2
officiant	1	.1	.1	86.3
ofice	1	.1	.1	86.5
opportunity	1	.1	.1	86.6
organised	1	.1	.1	86.7
paper	1	.1	.1	86.8
patriotic	1	.1	.1	87.0
pawn	1	.1	.1	87.1
pensioner	1	.1	.1	87.2
people who have served in service before	1	.1	.1	87.3
persons	1	.1	.1	87.5
phone calls	1	.1	.1	87.6
post traumtic stress	1	.1	.1	87.7
potential	1	.1	.1	87.8
power	1	.1	.1	87.9
prepared	1	.1	.1	88.1
private army	1	.1	.1	88.2
profession	1	.1	.1	88.3
progressive	1	.1	.1	88.4

public servant	1	.1	.1	88.6
puppet	1	.1	.1	88.7
quality	1	.1	.1	88.8
re-train	1	.1	.1	88.9
recruitment	1	.1	.1	89.1
rehab	1	.1	.1	89.2
remaindered	1	.1	.1	89.3
repatriation	1	.1	.1	89.4
reservist	1	.1	.1	89.5
resilient	1	.1	.1	89.7
resourceful	1	.1	.1	89.8
respectable	1	.1	.1	89.9
resrves	1	.1	.1	90.0
rest	1	.1	.1	90.2
retire	1	.1	.1	90.3
retirement	1	.1	.1	90.4
retreat	1	.1	.1	90.5
rich	1	.1	.1	90.7
rogue	1	.1	.1	90.8
rootless	1	.1	.1	90.9
safe guard	1	.1	.1	91.0
scared	1	.1	.1	91.1
scars	1	.1	.1	91.3
serve	1	.1	.1	91.4
served	1	.1	.1	91.5
server not recognized	1	.1	.1	91.6
serviced	1	.1	.1	91.8
severe	1	.1	.1	91.9
shot	1	.1	.1	92.0
sickness	1	.1	.1	92.1
skills	1	.1	.1	92.3
slow	1	.1	.1	92.4
smile less	1	.1	.1	92.5
solidier	1	.1	.1	92.6
some people who have worked in national service	1	.1	.1	92.7
specialist	1	.1	.1	92.9
staff	1	.1	.1	93.0
stern	1	.1	.1	93.1

stigma	1	.1	.1	93.2
still devoted	1	.1	.1	93.4
straight edge	1	.1	.1	93.5
stren	1	.1	.1	93.6
stress	1	.1	.1	93.7
stressed	1	.1	.1	93.8
stricted	1	.1	.1	94.0
strong minded	1	.1	.1	94.1
stronge	1	.1	.1	94.2
suffering	1	.1	.1	94.3
supporter	1	.1	.1	94.5
survived	1	.1	.1	94.6
thank you	1	.1	.1	94.7
thank you for your servive	1	.1	.1	94.8
thank-you	1	.1	.1	95.0
ties	1	.1	.1	95.1
tolerance	1	.1	.1	95.2
trained	1	.1	.1	95.3
training	1	.1	.1	95.4
tribute	1	.1	.1	95.6
trieste	1	.1	.1	95.7
trooping the colour	1	.1	.1	95.8
troubled	1	.1	.1	95.9
trust	1	.1	.1	96.1
turnover	1	.1	.1	96.2
typewriter	1	.1	.1	96.3
understanding	1	.1	.1	96.4
unforgiven	1	.1	.1	96.6
unfortunate	1	.1	.1	96.7
unhappy	1	.1	.1	96.8
unknown	1	.1	.1	96.9
unutilised	1	.1	.1	97.0
used to be	1	.1	.1	97.2
useful	1	.1	.1	97.3
valued	1	.1	.1	97.4
venerable	1	.1	.1	97.5
veteren	1	.1	.1	97.7
victim	1	.1	.1	97.8
vietnam	1	.1	.1	97.9

vulnerable	1	.1	.1	98.0
waiter	1	.1	.1	98.2
war imprisonment	1	.1	.1	98.3
what is this iob	1	.1	.1	98.4
what part of the Armed Forces did u serve?	1	.1	.1	98.5
when?	1	.1	.1	98.6
why	1	.1	.1	98.8
why?	1	.1	.1	98.9
wisdom	1	.1	.1	99.0
work	1	.1	.1	99.1
work force	1	.1	.1	99.3
worked hard	1	.1	.1	99.4
worker	1	.1	.1	99.5
workers	1	.1	.1	99.6
workforce	1	.1	.1	99.8
wound	1	.1	.1	99.9
wounds	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	813	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: Veteran

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a Veteran-1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	old	88	10.8	10.8	10.8
	war	57	7.0	7.0	17.8
	soldier	34	4.2	4.2	22.0
	hero	31	3.8	3.8	25.8
	brave	29	3.6	3.6	29.4
	army	26	3.2	3.2	32.6
	experienced	25	3.1	3.1	35.7
	respect	13	1.6	1.6	37.3
	retired	13	1.6	1.6	38.9
	military	12	1.5	1.5	40.3
	older	10	1.2	1.2	41.6
	strong	10	1.2	1.2	42.8
	experience	9	1.1	1.1	43.9
	ptsd	9	1.1	1.1	45.0
	survivor	8	1.0	1.0	46.0
	homeless	6	.7	.7	46.7
	injury	6	.7	.7	47.5
	medals	6	.7	.7	48.2
	pride	6	.7	.7	49.0
	tough	6	.7	.7	49.7
	damaged	5	.6	.6	50.3
	fighter	5	.6	.6	50.9
	honour	5	.6	.6	51.5
	service	5	.6	.6	52.2
	skilled	5	.6	.6	52.8
	wounded	5	.6	.6	53.4
	america	4	.5	.5	53.9
	courageous	4	.5	.5	54.4
	elderly	4	.5	.5	54.9
	forgotten	4	.5	.5	55.4
	hurt	4	.5	.5	55.8
	injured	4	.5	.5	56.3
	man	4	.5	.5	56.8
	poor	4	.5	.5	57.3

proud	4	.5	.5	57.8
sacrifice	4	.5	.5	58.3
solider	4	.5	.5	58.8
wise	4	.5	.5	59.3
disabled	3	.4	.4	59.7
fighting	3	.4	.4	60.0
free	3	.4	.4	60.4
green	3	.4	.4	60.8
gun	3	.4	.4	61.1
nationalism	3	.4	.4	61.5
navy	3	.4	.4	61.9
uniform	3	.4	.4	62.2
afghanistan	2	.2	.2	62.5
alone	2	.2	.2	62.7
angry	2	.2	.2	63.0
anxiety	2	.2	.2	63.2
british	2	.2	.2	63.5
clever	2	.2	.2	63.7
country	2	.2	.2	64.0
disability	2	.2	.2	64.2
duty	2	.2	.2	64.5
expert	2	.2	.2	64.7
fight	2	.2	.2	64.9
finished	2	.2	.2	65.2
hard	2	.2	.2	65.4
hard working	2	.2	.2	65.7
helping	2	.2	.2	65.9
honourable	2	.2	.2	66.2
iraq	2	.2	.2	66.4
killer	2	.2	.2	66.7
knowledge	2	.2	.2	66.9
knowledgeable	2	.2	.2	67.2
leader	2	.2	.2	67.4
lonely	2	.2	.2	67.7
loyal	2	.2	.2	67.9
medal	2	.2	.2	68.1
old man	2	.2	.2	68.4
pain	2	.2	.2	68.6
peace	2	.2	.2	68.9

pstd	2	.2	.2	69.1
respected	2	.2	.2	69.4
saviour	2	.2	.2	69.6
senior	2	.2	.2	69.9
served	2	.2	.2	70.1
strength	2	.2	.2	70.4
tired	2	.2	.2	70.6
troubled	2	.2	.2	70.8
underpaid	2	.2	.2	71.1
useful	2	.2	.2	71.3
vets	2	.2	.2	71.6
vietnam	2	.2	.2	71.8
violence	2	.2	.2	72.1
vulnerable	2	.2	.2	72.3
ww2	2	.2	.2	72.6
accomplished	1	.1	.1	72.7
accurate	1	.1	.1	72.8
adaptation	1	.1	.1	72.9
addiction	1	.1	.1	73.1
adjustment	1	.1	.1	73.2
admired	1	.1	.1	73.3
age	1	.1	.1	73.4
aged	1	.1	.1	73.6
aid	1	.1	.1	73.7
amazing	1	.1	.1	73.8
american	1	.1	.1	73.9
army and military Personnel	1	.1	.1	74.0
assistance	1	.1	.1	74.2
authority	1	.1	.1	74.3
badges	1	.1	.1	74.4
battle-worn	1	.1	.1	74.5
betrayed	1	.1	.1	74.7
bitter	1	.1	.1	74.8
calm	1	.1	.1	74.9
car	1	.1	.1	75.0
care	1	.1	.1	75.2
celebrated	1	.1	.1	75.3
charity	1	.1	.1	75.4
citizen	1	.1	.1	75.5

combat	1	.1	.1	75.6
commitment	1	.1	.1	75.8
conflict	1	.1	.1	75.9
conservative	1	.1	.1	76.0
coragous	1	.1	.1	76.1
countryman	1	.1	.1	76.3
damager	1	.1	.1	76.4
death	1	.1	.1	76.5
depression	1	.1	.1	76.6
determination	1	.1	.1	76.8
devoted	1	.1	.1	76.9
discarded	1	.1	.1	77.0
discharged	1	.1	.1	77.1
discipline	1	.1	.1	77.2
dogs	1	.1	.1	77.4
duration	1	.1	.1	77.5
dust	1	.1	.1	77.6
educated	1	.1	.1	77.7
eldery	1	.1	.1	77.9
emotional	1	.1	.1	78.0
endurance	1	.1	.1	78.1
ex member	1	.1	.1	78.2
ex military	1	.1	.1	78.4
ex-military	1	.1	.1	78.5
example	1	.1	.1	78.6
experenced	1	.1	.1	78.7
experient	1	.1	.1	78.8
fabulous	1	.1	.1	79.0
families	1	.1	.1	79.1
fear	1	.1	.1	79.2
fighter jet	1	.1	.1	79.3
flags	1	.1	.1	79.5
food	1	.1	.1	79.6
for me - horses that are 15 or older	1	.1	.1	79.7
force	1	.1	.1	79.8
forgetted	1	.1	.1	80.0
former	1	.1	.1	80.1
formerly	1	.1	.1	80.2

fought	1	.1	.1	80.3
frustration	1	.1	.1	80.4
gaming	1	.1	.1	80.6
generation	1	.1	.1	80.7
good	1	.1	.1	80.8
grandfather	1	.1	.1	80.9
granma	1	.1	.1	81.1
great	1	.1	.1	81.2
green clothes	1	.1	.1	81.3
gtandsd	1	.1	.1	81.4
handicap	1	.1	.1	81.5
happy	1	.1	.1	81.7
hardcore	1	.1	.1	81.8
hardened	1	.1	.1	81.9
hardworking	1	.1	.1	82.0
hardy	1	.1	.1	82.2
hate	1	.1	.1	82.3
helmet	1	.1	.1	82.4
help	1	.1	.1	82.5
helper	1	.1	.1	82.7
heroe	1	.1	.1	82.8
heroic	1	.1	.1	82.9
history	1	.1	.1	83.0
homelss	1	.1	.1	83.1
honor	1	.1	.1	83.3
honored	1	.1	.1	83.4
honoured	1	.1	.1	83.5
hope	1	.1	.1	83.6
humanity	1	.1	.1	83.8
ill	1	.1	.1	83.9
indebted	1	.1	.1	84.0
injuries	1	.1	.1	84.1
insuries	1	.1	.1	84.3
inteligent	1	.1	.1	84.4
intelligent	1	.1	.1	84.5
intern	1	.1	.1	84.6
iron	1	.1	.1	84.7
issues	1	.1	.1	84.9
job	1	.1	.1	85.0

learned	1	.1	.1	85.1
legend	1	.1	.1	85.2
legendary	1	.1	.1	85.4
lifestyle	1	.1	.1	85.5
like his country	1	.1	.1	85.6
lost	1	.1	.1	85.7
mankind	1	.1	.1	85.9
marchs	1	.1	.1	86.0
mature	1	.1	.1	86.1
meat	1	.1	.1	86.2
memories	1	.1	.1	86.3
mental health	1	.1	.1	86.5
mentally tough	1	.1	.1	86.6
missing	1	.1	.1	86.7
mistreated	1	.1	.1	86.8
nationalist	1	.1	.1	87.0
necessary	1	.1	.1	87.1
nightmares	1	.1	.1	87.2
noble	1	.1	.1	87.3
not working	1	.1	.1	87.5
old but good people who have saved our country	1	.1	.1	87.6
old or wounded	1	.1	.1	87.7
older military	1	.1	.1	87.8
optismistic	1	.1	.1	87.9
our	1	.1	.1	88.1
over 50	1	.1	.1	88.2
owed	1	.1	.1	88.3
parent	1	.1	.1	88.4
past	1	.1	.1	88.6
patriot	1	.1	.1	88.7
patroitic	1	.1	.1	88.8
peace keeper	1	.1	.1	88.9
pension	1	.1	.1	89.1
people need help	1	.1	.1	89.2
people who have served for our country in the old years	1	.1	.1	89.3
person	1	.1	.1	89.4
physically broken	1	.1	.1	89.5

poppy	1	.1	.1	89.7
post war soldiers	1	.1	.1	89.8
powerful	1	.1	.1	89.9
practical	1	.1	.1	90.0
practice	1	.1	.1	90.2
practise	1	.1	.1	90.3
pro	1	.1	.1	90.4
professional	1	.1	.1	90.5
protected	1	.1	.1	90.7
protection	1	.1	.1	90.8
proud to have served	1	.1	.1	90.9
puppy	1	.1	.1	91.0
raf	1	.1	.1	91.1
rank	1	.1	.1	91.3
recruit	1	.1	.1	91.4
rejected	1	.1	.1	91.5
reliable	1	.1	.1	91.6
resourceful	1	.1	.1	91.8
respectable	1	.1	.1	91.9
responsible	1	.1	.1	92.0
retired soldier	1	.1	.1	92.1
right wing	1	.1	.1	92.3
rugby	1	.1	.1	92.4
rusty	1	.1	.1	92.5
safe	1	.1	.1	92.6
savvier	1	.1	.1	92.7
scared	1	.1	.1	92.9
seasoned	1	.1	.1	93.0
selfless	1	.1	.1	93.1
served the country	1	.1	.1	93.2
served their country	1	.1	.1	93.4
served well	1	.1	.1	93.5
server	1	.1	.1	93.6
shell-shock	1	.1	.1	93.7
shellshock	1	.1	.1	93.8
shock	1	.1	.1	94.0
skill	1	.1	.1	94.1
soldiers	1	.1	.1	94.2
someone who has served	1	.1	.1	94.3

state	1	.1	.1	94.5
still working	1	.1	.1	94.6
stories	1	.1	.1	94.7
strict	1	.1	.1	94.8
success	1	.1	.1	95.0
support	1	.1	.1	95.1
survival	1	.1	.1	95.2
survived	1	.1	.1	95.3
team	1	.1	.1	95.4
thank you for your service	1	.1	.1	95.6
tofu	1	.1	.1	95.7
tolerance	1	.1	.1	95.8
traditional	1	.1	.1	95.9
trained	1	.1	.1	96.1
trauma	1	.1	.1	96.2
traumata	1	.1	.1	96.3
tribute	1	.1	.1	96.4
trouble	1	.1	.1	96.6
true britain	1	.1	.1	96.7
trumatized	1	.1	.1	96.8
underappreciated	1	.1	.1	96.9
unemployed	1	.1	.1	97.0
unemployment	1	.1	.1	97.2
unwanted	1	.1	.1	97.3
used	1	.1	.1	97.4
valued	1	.1	.1	97.5
values their nationality	1	.1	.1	97.7
vegetarian	1	.1	.1	97.8
vet	1	.1	.1	97.9
veternary	1	.1	.1	98.0
victim	1	.1	.1	98.2
voilence	1	.1	.1	98.3
weak	1	.1	.1	98.4
weapon	1	.1	.1	98.5
well trained	1	.1	.1	98.6
what country did you serve	1	.1	.1	98.8
wheelchair	1	.1	.1	98.9
why did you decide to serve	1	.1	.1	99.0
world war	1	.1	.1	99.1

	world war 1 & 2 soldiers	1	.1	.1	99.3
	world war one	1	.1	.1	99.4
	world war two	1	.1	.1	99.5
	world-weary	1	.1	.1	99.6
	worn	1	.1	.1	99.8
	wounds	1	.1	.1	99.9
	young	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	813	100.0	100.0	

Table 5: British Army Iraq Veteran

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a British Army Iraq V...-1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	war	66	8.1	8.1	8.1
	brave	52	6.4	6.4	14.5
	soldier	24	3.0	3.0	17.5
	hero	23	2.8	2.8	20.3
	ptsd	17	2.1	2.1	22.4
	strong	16	2.0	2.0	24.4
	army	13	1.6	1.6	26.0
	death	11	1.4	1.4	27.3
	injured	11	1.4	1.4	28.7
	old	11	1.4	1.4	30.0
	sad	11	1.4	1.4	31.4
	oil	10	1.2	1.2	32.6
	blair	8	1.0	1.0	33.6
	young	8	1.0	1.0	34.6
	courageous	7	.9	.9	35.4

danger	6	.7	.7	36.2
tough	6	.7	.7	36.9
trauma	6	.7	.7	37.6
unnecessary	6	.7	.7	38.4
fear	5	.6	.6	39.0
fighting	5	.6	.6	39.6
hard	5	.6	.6	40.2
man	5	.6	.6	40.8
respect	5	.6	.6	41.5
tony blair	5	.6	.6	42.1
traumatised	5	.6	.6	42.7
damaged	4	.5	.5	43.2
experienced	4	.5	.5	43.7
injury	4	.5	.5	44.2
iraq	4	.5	.5	44.6
older	4	.5	.5	45.1
retired	4	.5	.5	45.6
sacrifice	4	.5	.5	46.1
terrorism	4	.5	.5	46.6
unjust	4	.5	.5	47.1
amputee	3	.4	.4	47.5
bomb	3	.4	.4	47.8
bombs	3	.4	.4	48.2
bush	3	.4	.4	48.6
courage	3	.4	.4	49.0
family	3	.4	.4	49.3
fighter	3	.4	.4	49.7
hurt	3	.4	.4	50.1
ied	3	.4	.4	50.4
military	3	.4	.4	50.8
pawn	3	.4	.4	51.2
proud	3	.4	.4	51.5
same as afganistan	3	.4	.4	51.9
scarred	3	.4	.4	52.3
scary	3	.4	.4	52.6
service	3	.4	.4	53.0
terror	3	.4	.4	53.4
traumatic	3	.4	.4	53.8
usa	3	.4	.4	54.1

wounded	3	.4	.4	54.5
america	2	.2	.2	54.7
battle	2	.2	.2	55.0
blood	2	.2	.2	55.2
bombing	2	.2	.2	55.5
bravery	2	.2	.2	55.7
britain	2	.2	.2	56.0
british	2	.2	.2	56.2
challenging	2	.2	.2	56.5
conflict	2	.2	.2	56.7
confused	2	.2	.2	56.9
dangerous	2	.2	.2	57.2
distressed	2	.2	.2	57.4
emotional	2	.2	.2	57.7
explosion	2	.2	.2	57.9
fight	2	.2	.2	58.2
forgotten	2	.2	.2	58.4
help	2	.2	.2	58.7
helper	2	.2	.2	58.9
history	2	.2	.2	59.2
home	2	.2	.2	59.4
honour	2	.2	.2	59.7
iraq war	2	.2	.2	59.9
loyal	2	.2	.2	60.1
misguided	2	.2	.2	60.4
nuclear	2	.2	.2	60.6
person	2	.2	.2	60.9
post traumatic stress	2	.2	.2	61.1
respectful	2	.2	.2	61.4
saddam	2	.2	.2	61.6
sand	2	.2	.2	61.9
senior	2	.2	.2	62.1
skilled	2	.2	.2	62.4
soldiers	2	.2	.2	62.6
solider	2	.2	.2	62.9
suffering	2	.2	.2	63.1
survivor	2	.2	.2	63.3
troubled	2	.2	.2	63.6
underpaid	2	.2	.2	63.8

unfair	2	.2	.2	64.1
uniform	2	.2	.2	64.3
vulnerable	2	.2	.2	64.6
warrior	2	.2	.2	64.8
1990s	1	.1	.1	64.9
2006	1	.1	.1	65.1
9-11	1	.1	.1	65.2
a lot of killed	1	.1	.1	65.3
abused	1	.1	.1	65.4
accomplished	1	.1	.1	65.6
action	1	.1	.1	65.7
actuality	1	.1	.1	65.8
adjustment	1	.1	.1	65.9
admiration	1	.1	.1	66.1
affected	1	.1	.1	66.2
agressive	1	.1	.1	66.3
aid	1	.1	.1	66.4
aiding	1	.1	.1	66.5
alliance with us	1	.1	.1	66.7
amazing	1	.1	.1	66.8
angry	1	.1	.1	66.9
another war	1	.1	.1	67.0
anti hero	1	.1	.1	67.2
anxiety	1	.1	.1	67.3
armed	1	.1	.1	67.4
army man in the iraq war	1	.1	.1	67.5
away	1	.1	.1	67.7
bad	1	.1	.1	67.8
battle hardened	1	.1	.1	67.9
betrayed	1	.1	.1	68.0
blameless	1	.1	.1	68.1
bobms	1	.1	.1	68.3
brace	1	.1	.1	68.4
broken	1	.1	.1	68.5
bunker	1	.1	.1	68.6
camo	1	.1	.1	68.8
casuality	1	.1	.1	68.9
charity	1	.1	.1	69.0
chilcot	1	.1	.1	69.1

commited	1	.1	.1	69.2
conservative	1	.1	.1	69.4
contracted	1	.1	.1	69.5
contribution	1	.1	.1	69.6
counrty	1	.1	.1	69.7
counties	1	.1	.1	69.9
criminal	1	.1	.1	70.0
criminals	1	.1	.1	70.1
crisis	1	.1	.1	70.2
cruel	1	.1	.1	70.4
dated	1	.1	.1	70.5
dead	1	.1	.1	70.6
deaths	1	.1	.1	70.7
deceived	1	.1	.1	70.8
defence	1	.1	.1	71.0
depression	1	.1	.1	71.1
descruction	1	.1	.1	71.2
desert	1	.1	.1	71.3
dessert	1	.1	.1	71.5
determination	1	.1	.1	71.6
devastating	1	.1	.1	71.7
devotion	1	.1	.1	71.8
different	1	.1	.1	72.0
difficulties	1	.1	.1	72.1
disaster	1	.1	.1	72.2
dispute	1	.1	.1	72.3
distinguished	1	.1	.1	72.4
done some stuff	1	.1	.1	72.6
dust	1	.1	.1	72.7
dusty	1	.1	.1	72.8
dutiful	1	.1	.1	72.9
duty	1	.1	.1	73.1
europe	1	.1	.1	73.2
evil	1	.1	.1	73.3
ex soldier	1	.1	.1	73.4
exeprienced	1	.1	.1	73.6
failed	1	.1	.1	73.7
far	1	.1	.1	73.8
fearless	1	.1	.1	73.9

fierce	1	.1	.1	74.0
fit	1	.1	.1	74.2
food	1	.1	.1	74.3
forced	1	.1	.1	74.4
forces	1	.1	.1	74.5
foreign	1	.1	.1	74.7
foreign aid	1	.1	.1	74.8
friction	1	.1	.1	74.9
friends	1	.1	.1	75.0
go get them	1	.1	.1	75.2
good	1	.1	.1	75.3
green	1	.1	.1	75.4
gulf war	1	.1	.1	75.5
h4h	1	.1	.1	75.6
hard working	1	.1	.1	75.8
hardened	1	.1	.1	75.9
hardship	1	.1	.1	76.0
harrowing	1	.1	.1	76.1
harsh	1	.1	.1	76.3
harsh conditions	1	.1	.1	76.4
hate	1	.1	.1	76.5
hate it	1	.1	.1	76.6
health	1	.1	.1	76.8
heart	1	.1	.1	76.9
hell	1	.1	.1	77.0
helpfull	1	.1	.1	77.1
heroes	1	.1	.1	77.2
heroic	1	.1	.1	77.4
homeless	1	.1	.1	77.5
honor	1	.1	.1	77.6
honored	1	.1	.1	77.7
hope	1	.1	.1	77.9
horrific	1	.1	.1	78.0
ignored	1	.1	.1	78.1
important	1	.1	.1	78.2
inequality	1	.1	.1	78.4
injuries	1	.1	.1	78.5
injust	1	.1	.1	78.6
innocent	1	.1	.1	78.7

innocents	1	.1	.1	78.8
inspiring	1	.1	.1	79.0
insury	1	.1	.1	79.1
intelligence	1	.1	.1	79.2
invasion	1	.1	.1	79.3
isis	1	.1	.1	79.5
islamic state	1	.1	.1	79.6
kakis	1	.1	.1	79.7
killer	1	.1	.1	79.8
kurds	1	.1	.1	80.0
laddy	1	.1	.1	80.1
language	1	.1	.1	80.2
leading	1	.1	.1	80.3
legend	1	.1	.1	80.4
liberated	1	.1	.1	80.6
life	1	.1	.1	80.7
lifestyle	1	.1	.1	80.8
lives	1	.1	.1	80.9
loneliness	1	.1	.1	81.1
lonely	1	.1	.1	81.2
loss	1	.1	.1	81.3
losses	1	.1	.1	81.4
make love not war	1	.1	.1	81.5
manipulated	1	.1	.1	81.7
mankind	1	.1	.1	81.8
marines	1	.1	.1	81.9
may be suffering ptsd	1	.1	.1	82.0
medal	1	.1	.1	82.2
member	1	.1	.1	82.3
memories	1	.1	.1	82.4
men	1	.1	.1	82.5
mental	1	.1	.1	82.7
mental health	1	.1	.1	82.8
mentally strong	1	.1	.1	82.9
middle east	1	.1	.1	83.0
milatary	1	.1	.1	83.1
mines	1	.1	.1	83.3
misjudged	1	.1	.1	83.4
missing	1	.1	.1	83.5

misused	1	.1	.1	83.6
money	1	.1	.1	83.8
murderer	1	.1	.1	83.9
murderers	1	.1	.1	84.0
muslim	1	.1	.1	84.1
my dad	1	.1	.1	84.3
nationalism	1	.1	.1	84.4
nationalist	1	.1	.1	84.5
negativitity	1	.1	.1	84.6
nervous	1	.1	.1	84.7
neutral	1	.1	.1	84.9
nigel fourage	1	.1	.1	85.0
not home	1	.1	.1	85.1
not respected	1	.1	.1	85.2
nuclear weapons	1	.1	.1	85.4
obama	1	.1	.1	85.5
old man	1	.1	.1	85.6
orderly	1	.1	.1	85.7
organised	1	.1	.1	85.9
overseas	1	.1	.1	86.0
pain	1	.1	.1	86.1
patriot	1	.1	.1	86.2
patriotic	1	.1	.1	86.3
peace	1	.1	.1	86.5
people	1	.1	.1	86.6
people away from home	1	.1	.1	86.7
people have fought in a war	1	.1	.1	86.8
people who have endangered their lives for us	1	.1	.1	87.0
people who have protected us	1	.1	.1	87.1
phycology	1	.1	.1	87.2
pointless	1	.1	.1	87.3
politics	1	.1	.1	87.5
poor country	1	.1	.1	87.6
positive	1	.1	.1	87.7
postwar	1	.1	.1	87.8
power	1	.1	.1	87.9
powerful	1	.1	.1	88.1

professional	1	.1	.1	88.2
protector	1	.1	.1	88.3
pstd	1	.1	.1	88.4
psychological	1	.1	.1	88.6
psychotherapy	1	.1	.1	88.7
pts	1	.1	.1	88.8
puppet	1	.1	.1	88.9
purpose	1	.1	.1	89.1
queen	1	.1	.1	89.2
raf	1	.1	.1	89.3
reality	1	.1	.1	89.4
recent	1	.1	.1	89.5
refugees	1	.1	.1	89.7
resilient	1	.1	.1	89.8
respected	1	.1	.1	89.9
responsible	1	.1	.1	90.0
retirement	1	.1	.1	90.2
risk	1	.1	.1	90.3
sadam	1	.1	.1	90.4
saddam hussain	1	.1	.1	90.5
sadness	1	.1	.1	90.7
safe	1	.1	.1	90.8
savvier	1	.1	.1	90.9
scared	1	.1	.1	91.0
secular	1	.1	.1	91.1
seen horrible things	1	.1	.1	91.3
selfless	1	.1	.1	91.4
serious	1	.1	.1	91.5
served	1	.1	.1	91.6
server	1	.1	.1	91.8
ship	1	.1	.1	91.9
shocked	1	.1	.1	92.0
shooter	1	.1	.1	92.1
shooting	1	.1	.1	92.3
small	1	.1	.1	92.4
soliders	1	.1	.1	92.5
souldiers	1	.1	.1	92.6
squandered efforts	1	.1	.1	92.7
stable	1	.1	.1	92.9

stay along	1	.1	.1	93.0
stories	1	.1	.1	93.1
stressfull	1	.1	.1	93.2
strive	1	.1	.1	93.4
strong minded	1	.1	.1	93.5
suddam	1	.1	.1	93.6
survived	1	.1	.1	93.7
sympathy	1	.1	.1	93.8
tank	1	.1	.1	94.0
tanks	1	.1	.1	94.1
tears	1	.1	.1	94.2
teats	1	.1	.1	94.3
terrible	1	.1	.1	94.5
terroism	1	.1	.1	94.6
terrorist	1	.1	.1	94.7
thank you for your service	1	.1	.1	94.8
thankful	1	.1	.1	95.0
tired	1	.1	.1	95.1
tool	1	.1	.1	95.2
tours	1	.1	.1	95.3
tragic	1	.1	.1	95.4
trained	1	.1	.1	95.6
trobled	1	.1	.1	95.7
trustowrthy	1	.1	.1	95.8
under appreciated	1	.1	.1	95.9
uneccesary	1	.1	.1	96.1
unemployment	1	.1	.1	96.2
unhappy	1	.1	.1	96.3
unknown	1	.1	.1	96.4
unlawful	1	.1	.1	96.6
unlucky	1	.1	.1	96.7
unnecassary	1	.1	.1	96.8
unnecessary war	1	.1	.1	96.9
unpopular	1	.1	.1	97.0
us	1	.1	.1	97.2
useless	1	.1	.1	97.3
valued	1	.1	.1	97.4
veteran	1	.1	.1	97.5
victim	1	.1	.1	97.7

violence	1	.1	.1	97.8
volunteer	1	.1	.1	97.9
waste	1	.1	.1	98.0
waste of life	1	.1	.1	98.2
wasted	1	.1	.1	98.3
wasten	1	.1	.1	98.4
water	1	.1	.1	98.5
weapon	1	.1	.1	98.6
weapons	1	.1	.1	98.8
well bulit	1	.1	.1	98.9
western desire for oil	1	.1	.1	99.0
why?	1	.1	.1	99.1
wisdom	1	.1	.1	99.3
wise	1	.1	.1	99.4
withdrawn	1	.1	.1	99.5
witness	1	.1	.1	99.6
wmds	1	.1	.1	99.8
wounds	1	.1	.1	99.9
wrong	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	813	100.0	100.0	

Table 6: British Army Afghanistan Veteran

Please write down the first 3 words that come to your mind when thinking of a British Army Afghan...-1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	war	78	9.6	9.6	9.6
	brave	56	6.9	6.9	16.5
	hero	23	2.8	2.8	19.3
	ptsd	18	2.2	2.2	21.5
	old	16	2.0	2.0	23.5
	soldier	16	2.0	2.0	25.5
	strong	16	2.0	2.0	27.4
	death	13	1.6	1.6	29.0
	sad	13	1.6	1.6	30.6
	injured	11	1.4	1.4	32.0
	army	9	1.1	1.1	33.1
	fighting	9	1.1	1.1	34.2
	wounded	8	1.0	1.0	35.2
	courageous	7	.9	.9	36.0
	desert	7	.9	.9	36.9
	fight	7	.9	.9	37.8
	respect	7	.9	.9	38.6
	tough	7	.9	.9	39.5
	young	7	.9	.9	40.3
	afghanistan	6	.7	.7	41.1
	family	6	.7	.7	41.8
	oil	6	.7	.7	42.6
	danger	5	.6	.6	43.2
	experienced	5	.6	.6	43.8
	peace	5	.6	.6	44.4
	violence	5	.6	.6	45.0
	bombs	4	.5	.5	45.5
	fear	4	.5	.5	46.0
	guns	4	.5	.5	46.5
	heat	4	.5	.5	47.0
	man	4	.5	.5	47.5
	military	4	.5	.5	48.0
	trauma	4	.5	.5	48.5
	traumatised	4	.5	.5	49.0

blood	3	.4	.4	49.3
british	3	.4	.4	49.7
conflict	3	.4	.4	50.1
country	3	.4	.4	50.4
damaged	3	.4	.4	50.8
duty	3	.4	.4	51.2
green	3	.4	.4	51.5
gun	3	.4	.4	51.9
homeless	3	.4	.4	52.3
hurt	3	.4	.4	52.6
pride	3	.4	.4	53.0
recent	3	.4	.4	53.4
retired	3	.4	.4	53.8
sacrifice	3	.4	.4	54.1
scarred	3	.4	.4	54.5
scary	3	.4	.4	54.9
survivor	3	.4	.4	55.2
taliban	3	.4	.4	55.6
terrorism	3	.4	.4	56.0
unfair	3	.4	.4	56.3
abroad	2	.2	.2	56.6
america	2	.2	.2	56.8
attack	2	.2	.2	57.1
battle	2	.2	.2	57.3
bitter	2	.2	.2	57.6
blair	2	.2	.2	57.8
bomb	2	.2	.2	58.1
bravery	2	.2	.2	58.3
bush	2	.2	.2	58.5
camouflage	2	.2	.2	58.8
difficult	2	.2	.2	59.0
emotional	2	.2	.2	59.3
fearless	2	.2	.2	59.5
forgotten	2	.2	.2	59.8
hard	2	.2	.2	60.0
health	2	.2	.2	60.3
helmand	2	.2	.2	60.5
heroic	2	.2	.2	60.8
injuries	2	.2	.2	61.0

invasion	2	.2	.2	61.3
iraq	2	.2	.2	61.5
killer	2	.2	.2	61.7
legend	2	.2	.2	62.0
lost	2	.2	.2	62.2
love	2	.2	.2	62.5
male	2	.2	.2	62.7
media	2	.2	.2	63.0
misused	2	.2	.2	63.2
murderer	2	.2	.2	63.5
muslim	2	.2	.2	63.7
patriotic	2	.2	.2	64.0
pawn	2	.2	.2	64.2
people	2	.2	.2	64.5
person	2	.2	.2	64.7
pointless	2	.2	.2	64.9
poor	2	.2	.2	65.2
power	2	.2	.2	65.4
serious	2	.2	.2	65.7
service	2	.2	.2	65.9
soldiers	2	.2	.2	66.2
terror	2	.2	.2	66.4
tired	2	.2	.2	66.7
traumatic	2	.2	.2	66.9
troubled	2	.2	.2	67.2
uniform	2	.2	.2	67.4
unknown	2	.2	.2	67.7
usa	2	.2	.2	67.9
waste	2	.2	.2	68.1
abandoned	1	.1	.1	68.3
admeration	1	.1	.1	68.4
admirable	1	.1	.1	68.5
advanced	1	.1	.1	68.6
affected	1	.1	.1	68.8
afraid	1	.1	.1	68.9
aid	1	.1	.1	69.0
alone	1	.1	.1	69.1
amazing	1	.1	.1	69.2
amputee	1	.1	.1	69.4

anxiety	1	.1	.1	69.5
arms	1	.1	.1	69.6
away from home	1	.1	.1	69.7
awful	1	.1	.1	69.9
bad	1	.1	.1	70.0
battle-hardened	1	.1	.1	70.1
beard	1	.1	.1	70.2
best	1	.1	.1	70.4
betrayed	1	.1	.1	70.5
bird	1	.1	.1	70.6
blameless	1	.1	.1	70.7
bombed	1	.1	.1	70.8
bombing	1	.1	.1	71.0
boms	1	.1	.1	71.1
broken	1	.1	.1	71.2
brotherhood	1	.1	.1	71.3
brutality	1	.1	.1	71.5
capable	1	.1	.1	71.6
combat	1	.1	.1	71.7
combat-prooven	1	.1	.1	71.8
commitment	1	.1	.1	72.0
comradeship	1	.1	.1	72.1
concerned	1	.1	.1	72.2
confident	1	.1	.1	72.3
conservative	1	.1	.1	72.4
contracted	1	.1	.1	72.6
cool	1	.1	.1	72.7
crazy	1	.1	.1	72.8
crime	1	.1	.1	72.9
crippled	1	.1	.1	73.1
dangerous	1	.1	.1	73.2
dead	1	.1	.1	73.3
defence	1	.1	.1	73.4
deserts	1	.1	.1	73.6
devoted	1	.1	.1	73.7
distinguished	1	.1	.1	73.8
dodgy	1	.1	.1	73.9
doomed	1	.1	.1	74.0
dusty	1	.1	.1	74.2

eldery	1	.1	.1	74.3
enemy of a sovereign state	1	.1	.1	74.4
england	1	.1	.1	74.5
english	1	.1	.1	74.7
evil	1	.1	.1	74.8
ex military	1	.1	.1	74.9
failure	1	.1	.1	75.0
families	1	.1	.1	75.2
far away	1	.1	.1	75.3
fascist	1	.1	.1	75.4
finance	1	.1	.1	75.5
fire	1	.1	.1	75.6
firearms	1	.1	.1	75.8
food	1	.1	.1	75.9
foreign	1	.1	.1	76.0
fortunate	1	.1	.1	76.1
freedom fighter	1	.1	.1	76.3
frustrated	1	.1	.1	76.4
funeral	1	.1	.1	76.5
futile	1	.1	.1	76.6
gunman	1	.1	.1	76.8
h4h	1	.1	.1	76.9
handicapped	1	.1	.1	77.0
hard working	1	.1	.1	77.1
hardened	1	.1	.1	77.2
harmed	1	.1	.1	77.4
hat	1	.1	.1	77.5
hate	1	.1	.1	77.6
hate it	1	.1	.1	77.7
help	1	.1	.1	77.9
help people	1	.1	.1	78.0
hero's	1	.1	.1	78.1
home	1	.1	.1	78.2
homeland	1	.1	.1	78.4
honor	1	.1	.1	78.5
honorable	1	.1	.1	78.6
honored	1	.1	.1	78.7
honourable	1	.1	.1	78.8

honourable to being a solider-it's a life not a job	1	.1	.1	79.0
hope	1	.1	.1	79.1
horror	1	.1	.1	79.2
hot	1	.1	.1	79.3
i don't know	1	.1	.1	79.5
ied	1	.1	.1	79.6
impossible	1	.1	.1	79.7
impressive	1	.1	.1	79.8
injury	1	.1	.1	80.0
injustice	1	.1	.1	80.1
innocent	1	.1	.1	80.2
insisting	1	.1	.1	80.3
interesting	1	.1	.1	80.4
international	1	.1	.1	80.6
invader	1	.1	.1	80.7
invalid	1	.1	.1	80.8
iraq war	1	.1	.1	80.9
iron willed	1	.1	.1	81.1
isis	1	.1	.1	81.2
issues	1	.1	.1	81.3
jobless	1	.1	.1	81.4
kajaki	1	.1	.1	81.5
kids in afghanistan	1	.1	.1	81.7
killing	1	.1	.1	81.8
laddish	1	.1	.1	81.9
landmines	1	.1	.1	82.0
left	1	.1	.1	82.2
lifestyle	1	.1	.1	82.3
lives	1	.1	.1	82.4
lonely	1	.1	.1	82.5
lonley	1	.1	.1	82.7
loss	1	.1	.1	82.8
loss of limbs	1	.1	.1	82.9
loyal	1	.1	.1	83.0
loyalty	1	.1	.1	83.1
lucky	1	.1	.1	83.3
make love not war	1	.1	.1	83.4
many	1	.1	.1	83.5

marked	1	.1	.1	83.6
marks	1	.1	.1	83.8
medal	1	.1	.1	83.9
mendal	1	.1	.1	84.0
mental health	1	.1	.1	84.1
mental problems	1	.1	.1	84.3
mentally chocked	1	.1	.1	84.4
mentally unstable	1	.1	.1	84.5
middle east	1	.1	.1	84.6
middle-east	1	.1	.1	84.7
mind	1	.1	.1	84.9
misunderstanding	1	.1	.1	85.0
modern	1	.1	.1	85.1
morbid	1	.1	.1	85.2
motivated	1	.1	.1	85.4
mountains	1	.1	.1	85.5
multi nationality	1	.1	.1	85.6
murder	1	.1	.1	85.7
muslims	1	.1	.1	85.9
national	1	.1	.1	86.0
national army	1	.1	.1	86.1
nationalism	1	.1	.1	86.2
nato	1	.1	.1	86.3
need	1	.1	.1	86.5
nervous	1	.1	.1	86.6
obligation	1	.1	.1	86.7
oil opportunist	1	.1	.1	86.8
old man	1	.1	.1	87.0
one of ours	1	.1	.1	87.1
osama	1	.1	.1	87.2
pain	1	.1	.1	87.3
past	1	.1	.1	87.5
pawns	1	.1	.1	87.6
peace one day	1	.1	.1	87.7
people who have fought for our country before	1	.1	.1	87.8
people who have protected us	1	.1	.1	87.9
physcology	1	.1	.1	88.1

postwar illness	1	.1	.1	88.2
pressure	1	.1	.1	88.3
probably needs help	1	.1	.1	88.4
protection	1	.1	.1	88.6
proud	1	.1	.1	88.7
pstd	1	.1	.1	88.8
psychology	1	.1	.1	88.9
puppet	1	.1	.1	89.1
queen	1	.1	.1	89.2
questions	1	.1	.1	89.3
racist	1	.1	.1	89.4
raf	1	.1	.1	89.5
rare	1	.1	.1	89.7
refugee	1	.1	.1	89.8
relief	1	.1	.1	89.9
resilient	1	.1	.1	90.0
respectful	1	.1	.1	90.2
responsibilities	1	.1	.1	90.3
retirement	1	.1	.1	90.4
rifle	1	.1	.1	90.5
risk	1	.1	.1	90.7
sacary	1	.1	.1	90.8
safe	1	.1	.1	90.9
safety	1	.1	.1	91.0
scared	1	.1	.1	91.1
seniour	1	.1	.1	91.3
serve	1	.1	.1	91.4
served	1	.1	.1	91.5
served with purpose	1	.1	.1	91.6
shellshock	1	.1	.1	91.8
shocked	1	.1	.1	91.9
skill	1	.1	.1	92.0
skilled	1	.1	.1	92.1
skinhead	1	.1	.1	92.3
snipers	1	.1	.1	92.4
solders	1	.1	.1	92.5
soldior	1	.1	.1	92.6
some homeless	1	.1	.1	92.7

someone who fought for afghanistan	1	.1	.1	92.9
souldiers	1	.1	.1	93.0
stong	1	.1	.1	93.1
stressed	1	.1	.1	93.2
strong minddd	1	.1	.1	93.4
struggling	1	.1	.1	93.5
suffering	1	.1	.1	93.6
suicide	1	.1	.1	93.7
suntan	1	.1	.1	93.8
support	1	.1	.1	94.0
survival	1	.1	.1	94.1
survivors	1	.1	.1	94.2
sympathy	1	.1	.1	94.3
taken for granted	1	.1	.1	94.5
tall	1	.1	.1	94.6
team	1	.1	.1	94.7
tense	1	.1	.1	94.8
terroism	1	.1	.1	95.0
tested	1	.1	.1	95.1
thankfull	1	.1	.1	95.2
the ideal soldier	1	.1	.1	95.3
the people suffering	1	.1	.1	95.4
time	1	.1	.1	95.6
togetherness	1	.1	.1	95.7
tony blair	1	.1	.1	95.8
torture	1	.1	.1	95.9
tragic	1	.1	.1	96.1
trained	1	.1	.1	96.2
travelled	1	.1	.1	96.3
tv	1	.1	.1	96.4
under valued	1	.1	.1	96.6
underpaid	1	.1	.1	96.7
understated	1	.1	.1	96.8
undervalued	1	.1	.1	96.9
unecessary	1	.1	.1	97.0
unlucky	1	.1	.1	97.2
unnecassay	1	.1	.1	97.3
unstable	1	.1	.1	97.4

	us	1	.1	.1	97.5
	useless	1	.1	.1	97.7
	valued	1	.1	.1	97.8
	vet	1	.1	.1	97.9
	veteran	1	.1	.1	98.0
	victim	1	.1	.1	98.2
	victory	1	.1	.1	98.3
	volunteer	1	.1	.1	98.4
	vulnerable	1	.1	.1	98.5
	wae	1	.1	.1	98.6
	war on terror	1	.1	.1	98.8
	warrior	1	.1	.1	98.9
	wason	1	.1	.1	99.0
	waste of time	1	.1	.1	99.1
	weapon	1	.1	.1	99.3
	weird	1	.1	.1	99.4
	white	1	.1	.1	99.5
	willing	1	.1	.1	99.6
	worn	1	.1	.1	99.8
	worthy	1	.1	.1	99.9
	younger	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	813	100.0	100.0	

Table 6: All Words

All words

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	war	295	6.0	6.0	6.0
	brave	239	4.9	4.9	10.9
	army	153	3.1	3.1	14.1
	old	140	2.9	2.9	17.0
	young	113	2.3	2.3	19.3
	hero	108	2.2	2.2	21.5
	soldier	102	2.1	2.1	23.6
	strong	93	1.9	1.9	25.5
	military	60	1.2	1.2	26.7
	ptsd	50	1.0	1.0	27.7
	retired	49	1.0	1.0	28.7

experienced	46	.9	.9	29.7
new	43	.9	.9	30.6
respect	42	.9	.9	31.4
death	41	.8	.8	32.3
injured	37	.8	.8	33.0
veteran	36	.7	.7	33.8
fighting	32	.7	.7	34.4
job	30	.6	.6	35.0
tough	30	.6	.6	35.6
courageous	28	.6	.6	36.2
gun	28	.6	.6	36.8
sad	27	.6	.6	37.4
uniform	26	.5	.5	37.9
fight	25	.5	.5	38.4
fighter	25	.5	.5	38.9
man	22	.5	.5	39.4
wounded	22	.5	.5	39.8
green	21	.4	.4	40.2
older	21	.4	.4	40.7
guns	20	.4	.4	41.1
loyal	20	.4	.4	41.5
duty	18	.4	.4	41.9
hard	18	.4	.4	42.2
service	18	.4	.4	42.6
trauma	17	.3	.3	42.9
work	17	.3	.3	43.3
oil	16	.3	.3	43.6
proud	16	.3	.3	44.0
sacrifice	16	.3	.3	44.3
survivor	16	.3	.3	44.6
afghanistan	15	.3	.3	44.9
homeless	15	.3	.3	45.2
injury	15	.3	.3	45.5
skilled	15	.3	.3	45.8
damaged	14	.3	.3	46.1
family	14	.3	.3	46.4
naive	14	.3	.3	46.7
pride	14	.3	.3	47.0
training	14	.3	.3	47.3

danger	13	.3	.3	47.5
fear	13	.3	.3	47.8
iraq	13	.3	.3	48.1
patriotic	13	.3	.3	48.3
trained	13	.3	.3	48.6
experience	12	.2	.2	48.9
fit	12	.2	.2	49.1
forgotten	12	.2	.2	49.3
help	11	.2	.2	49.6
hurt	11	.2	.2	49.8
navy	11	.2	.2	50.0
person	11	.2	.2	50.2
poor	11	.2	.2	50.5
tired	11	.2	.2	50.7
america	10	.2	.2	50.9
battle	10	.2	.2	51.1
blair	10	.2	.2	51.3
country	10	.2	.2	51.5
learning	10	.2	.2	51.7
scary	10	.2	.2	51.9
solider	10	.2	.2	52.1
underpaid	10	.2	.2	52.3
heroic	9	.2	.2	52.5
honour	9	.2	.2	52.7
inexperienced	9	.2	.2	52.9
killing	9	.2	.2	53.1
peace	9	.2	.2	53.3
people	9	.2	.2	53.4
professional	9	.2	.2	53.6
scared	9	.2	.2	53.8
traumatised	9	.2	.2	54.0
violence	9	.2	.2	54.2
vulnerable	9	.2	.2	54.4
wise	9	.2	.2	54.6
british	8	.2	.2	54.7
career	8	.2	.2	54.9
desert	8	.2	.2	55.0
forces	8	.2	.2	55.2
fresh	8	.2	.2	55.4

good	8	.2	.2	55.5
injuries	8	.2	.2	55.7
join	8	.2	.2	55.9
legend	8	.2	.2	56.0
pawn	8	.2	.2	56.2
warrior	8	.2	.2	56.4
weapon	8	.2	.2	56.5
blood	7	.1	.1	56.7
bombs	7	.1	.1	56.8
bravery	7	.1	.1	56.9
courage	7	.1	.1	57.1
determined	7	.1	.1	57.2
discipline	7	.1	.1	57.4
disciplined	7	.1	.1	57.5
elderly	7	.1	.1	57.7
hard working	7	.1	.1	57.8
interview	7	.1	.1	58.0
killer	7	.1	.1	58.1
medals	7	.1	.1	58.2
protection	7	.1	.1	58.4
protector	7	.1	.1	58.5
security	7	.1	.1	58.7
smart	7	.1	.1	58.8
team	7	.1	.1	59.0
terrorism	7	.1	.1	59.1
troubled	7	.1	.1	59.2
usa	7	.1	.1	59.4
alone	6	.1	.1	59.5
ambitious	6	.1	.1	59.6
conflict	6	.1	.1	59.8
dedicated	6	.1	.1	59.9
free	6	.1	.1	60.0
honor	6	.1	.1	60.1
honourable	6	.1	.1	60.3
hopeful	6	.1	.1	60.4
important	6	.1	.1	60.5
lost	6	.1	.1	60.6
male	6	.1	.1	60.7
past	6	.1	.1	60.9

respected	6	.1	.1	61.0
scarred	6	.1	.1	61.1
soldiers	6	.1	.1	61.2
strict	6	.1	.1	61.4
tony blair	6	.1	.1	61.5
unnecessary	6	.1	.1	61.6
angry	5	.1	.1	61.7
anxiety	5	.1	.1	61.8
armed	5	.1	.1	61.9
beginner	5	.1	.1	62.0
bomb	5	.1	.1	62.1
bush	5	.1	.1	62.2
camouflage	5	.1	.1	62.3
defence	5	.1	.1	62.4
discharged	5	.1	.1	62.5
emotional	5	.1	.1	62.6
employ	5	.1	.1	62.7
employment	5	.1	.1	62.8
enthusiastic	5	.1	.1	62.9
helmet	5	.1	.1	63.0
hope	5	.1	.1	63.1
medal	5	.1	.1	63.2
men	5	.1	.1	63.3
mental health	5	.1	.1	63.4
nationalism	5	.1	.1	63.6
obedient	5	.1	.1	63.7
opportunity	5	.1	.1	63.8
power	5	.1	.1	63.9
private	5	.1	.1	64.0
protect	5	.1	.1	64.1
puppet	5	.1	.1	64.2
raf	5	.1	.1	64.3
reliable	5	.1	.1	64.4
respectful	5	.1	.1	64.5
safe	5	.1	.1	64.6
serious	5	.1	.1	64.7
served	5	.1	.1	64.8
strength	5	.1	.1	64.9
suffering	5	.1	.1	65.0

support	5	.1	.1	65.1
terror	5	.1	.1	65.2
traumatic	5	.1	.1	65.3
unfair	5	.1	.1	65.4
unknown	5	.1	.1	65.5
valued	5	.1	.1	65.6
victim	5	.1	.1	65.7
willing	5	.1	.1	65.8
amputee	4	.1	.1	65.9
attack	4	.1	.1	66.0
broken	4	.1	.1	66.1
clever	4	.1	.1	66.1
confused	4	.1	.1	66.2
dangerous	4	.1	.1	66.3
devoted	4	.1	.1	66.4
difficult	4	.1	.1	66.5
enlist	4	.1	.1	66.5
finished	4	.1	.1	66.6
food	4	.1	.1	66.7
future	4	.1	.1	66.8
hardened	4	.1	.1	66.9
hardworking	4	.1	.1	67.0
heat	4	.1	.1	67.0
helper	4	.1	.1	67.1
home	4	.1	.1	67.2
honored	4	.1	.1	67.3
ied	4	.1	.1	67.4
innocent	4	.1	.1	67.4
life	4	.1	.1	67.5
lifestyle	4	.1	.1	67.6
lonely	4	.1	.1	67.7
loyalty	4	.1	.1	67.8
murderer	4	.1	.1	67.9
nothing	4	.1	.1	67.9
officer	4	.1	.1	68.0
old man	4	.1	.1	68.1
pain	4	.1	.1	68.2
pstd	4	.1	.1	68.3
queen	4	.1	.1	68.3

recent	4	.1	.1	68.4
rifle	4	.1	.1	68.5
selfless	4	.1	.1	68.6
senior	4	.1	.1	68.7
serve	4	.1	.1	68.8
stern	4	.1	.1	68.8
unemployed	4	.1	.1	68.9
unjust	4	.1	.1	69.0
volunteer	4	.1	.1	69.1
wounds	4	.1	.1	69.2
-	3	.1	.1	69.2
?	3	.1	.1	69.3
adjustment	3	.1	.1	69.4
admirable	3	.1	.1	69.4
admiration	3	.1	.1	69.5
aid	3	.1	.1	69.5
amazing	3	.1	.1	69.6
betrayed	3	.1	.1	69.7
bitter	3	.1	.1	69.7
bombing	3	.1	.1	69.8
challenge	3	.1	.1	69.8
challenging	3	.1	.1	69.9
charity	3	.1	.1	70.0
child	3	.1	.1	70.0
choice	3	.1	.1	70.1
combat	3	.1	.1	70.2
commitment	3	.1	.1	70.2
committed	3	.1	.1	70.3
confident	3	.1	.1	70.3
conservative	3	.1	.1	70.4
defender	3	.1	.1	70.5
disabled	3	.1	.1	70.5
distinguished	3	.1	.1	70.6
ex military	3	.1	.1	70.6
fearless	3	.1	.1	70.7
force	3	.1	.1	70.8
forced	3	.1	.1	70.8
former	3	.1	.1	70.9
happy	3	.1	.1	71.0

hard work	3	.1	.1	71.0
hate	3	.1	.1	71.1
health	3	.1	.1	71.1
helping	3	.1	.1	71.2
heros	3	.1	.1	71.3
hire	3	.1	.1	71.3
history	3	.1	.1	71.4
honorable	3	.1	.1	71.4
impressionable	3	.1	.1	71.5
infantry	3	.1	.1	71.6
invasion	3	.1	.1	71.6
iraq war	3	.1	.1	71.7
kind	3	.1	.1	71.8
knowledgeable	3	.1	.1	71.8
leader	3	.1	.1	71.9
love	3	.1	.1	71.9
malleable	3	.1	.1	72.0
manipulated	3	.1	.1	72.1
member	3	.1	.1	72.1
misused	3	.1	.1	72.2
money	3	.1	.1	72.2
muslim	3	.1	.1	72.3
nervous	3	.1	.1	72.4
noble	3	.1	.1	72.4
novice	3	.1	.1	72.5
orderly	3	.1	.1	72.6
organised	3	.1	.1	72.6
patriot	3	.1	.1	72.7
pension	3	.1	.1	72.7
pointless	3	.1	.1	72.8
police	3	.1	.1	72.9
potential	3	.1	.1	72.9
rank	3	.1	.1	73.0
resilient	3	.1	.1	73.0
resourceful	3	.1	.1	73.1
respectable	3	.1	.1	73.2
retirement	3	.1	.1	73.2
sadness	3	.1	.1	73.3
sailor	3	.1	.1	73.3

same as afganistan	3	.1	.1	73.4
shoot	3	.1	.1	73.5
skill	3	.1	.1	73.5
skills	3	.1	.1	73.6
stong	3	.1	.1	73.7
stress	3	.1	.1	73.7
stressed	3	.1	.1	73.8
strong minded	3	.1	.1	73.8
survived	3	.1	.1	73.9
taliban	3	.1	.1	74.0
tolerance	3	.1	.1	74.0
train	3	.1	.1	74.1
tribute	3	.1	.1	74.1
uneducated	3	.1	.1	74.2
useful	3	.1	.1	74.3
vietnam	3	.1	.1	74.3
waste	3	.1	.1	74.4
why	3	.1	.1	74.5
why?	3	.1	.1	74.5
abandoned	2	.0	.0	74.6
abroad	2	.0	.0	74.6
accomplished	2	.0	.0	74.6
admin	2	.0	.0	74.7
admired	2	.0	.0	74.7
affected	2	.0	.0	74.8
afraid	2	.0	.0	74.8
aged	2	.0	.0	74.8
agency	2	.0	.0	74.9
agressive	2	.0	.0	74.9
application	2	.0	.0	75.0
Armed Forces	2	.0	.0	75.0
bad	2	.0	.0	75.1
begin	2	.0	.0	75.1
big	2	.0	.0	75.1
bird	2	.0	.0	75.2
blameless	2	.0	.0	75.2
bossy	2	.0	.0	75.3
boy	2	.0	.0	75.3
brace	2	.0	.0	75.3

britain	2	.0	.0	75.4
brotherhood	2	.0	.0	75.4
brutality	2	.0	.0	75.5
cadet	2	.0	.0	75.5
camo	2	.0	.0	75.5
capable	2	.0	.0	75.6
caring	2	.0	.0	75.6
changed	2	.0	.0	75.7
civilian	2	.0	.0	75.7
comradeship	2	.0	.0	75.7
contracted	2	.0	.0	75.8
dad	2	.0	.0	75.8
dead	2	.0	.0	75.9
defend	2	.0	.0	75.9
depression	2	.0	.0	76.0
determination	2	.0	.0	76.0
devotion	2	.0	.0	76.0
difficulties	2	.0	.0	76.1
disability	2	.0	.0	76.1
distressed	2	.0	.0	76.2
dog	2	.0	.0	76.2
done	2	.0	.0	76.2
dont know	2	.0	.0	76.3
dumb	2	.0	.0	76.3
dust	2	.0	.0	76.4
dusty	2	.0	.0	76.4
eager	2	.0	.0	76.4
eldery	2	.0	.0	76.5
endurance	2	.0	.0	76.5
enroll	2	.0	.0	76.6
evil	2	.0	.0	76.6
exercise	2	.0	.0	76.7
experenced	2	.0	.0	76.7
expert	2	.0	.0	76.7
explosion	2	.0	.0	76.8
families	2	.0	.0	76.8
fast	2	.0	.0	76.9
fierce	2	.0	.0	76.9
find	2	.0	.0	76.9

fire	2	.0	.0	77.0
foreign	2	.0	.0	77.0
formal	2	.0	.0	77.1
freedom	2	.0	.0	77.1
friends	2	.0	.0	77.1
frustration	2	.0	.0	77.2
gain	2	.0	.0	77.2
generation	2	.0	.0	77.3
government	2	.0	.0	77.3
grandfather	2	.0	.0	77.3
grateful	2	.0	.0	77.4
grey	2	.0	.0	77.4
group	2	.0	.0	77.5
guidance	2	.0	.0	77.5
h4h	2	.0	.0	77.6
harmed	2	.0	.0	77.6
hate it	2	.0	.0	77.6
helmand	2	.0	.0	77.7
helpful	2	.0	.0	77.7
helpfull	2	.0	.0	77.8
humanity	2	.0	.0	77.8
hurted	2	.0	.0	77.8
i don't know	2	.0	.0	77.9
idealistic	2	.0	.0	77.9
immature	2	.0	.0	78.0
impressive	2	.0	.0	78.0
in danger	2	.0	.0	78.0
inspiring	2	.0	.0	78.1
insury	2	.0	.0	78.1
intelligence	2	.0	.0	78.2
intelligent	2	.0	.0	78.2
isis	2	.0	.0	78.2
issues	2	.0	.0	78.3
khaki	2	.0	.0	78.3
knowledgable	2	.0	.0	78.4
knowledge	2	.0	.0	78.4
learn	2	.0	.0	78.5
left	2	.0	.0	78.5
lives	2	.0	.0	78.5

lonley	2	.0	.0	78.6
loss	2	.0	.0	78.6
lucky	2	.0	.0	78.7
maimed	2	.0	.0	78.7
make love not war	2	.0	.0	78.7
mankind	2	.0	.0	78.8
marines	2	.0	.0	78.8
media	2	.0	.0	78.9
memories	2	.0	.0	78.9
mentally strong	2	.0	.0	78.9
middle east	2	.0	.0	79.0
militant	2	.0	.0	79.0
misguided	2	.0	.0	79.1
missing	2	.0	.0	79.1
mistreated	2	.0	.0	79.2
national	2	.0	.0	79.2
nationalist	2	.0	.0	79.2
necessary	2	.0	.0	79.3
need	2	.0	.0	79.3
newbie	2	.0	.0	79.4
not working	2	.0	.0	79.4
nuclear	2	.0	.0	79.4
office	2	.0	.0	79.5
patriotism	2	.0	.0	79.5
pawns	2	.0	.0	79.6
people who have protected us	2	.0	.0	79.6
post traumatic stress	2	.0	.0	79.6
powerful	2	.0	.0	79.7
prepared	2	.0	.0	79.7
propaganda	2	.0	.0	79.8
protectors	2	.0	.0	79.8
recruitment	2	.0	.0	79.8
responsible	2	.0	.0	79.9
risk	2	.0	.0	79.9
saddam	2	.0	.0	80.0
safety	2	.0	.0	80.0
sand	2	.0	.0	80.1
saviour	2	.0	.0	80.1

savvier	2	.0	.0	80.1
scars	2	.0	.0	80.2
secret	2	.0	.0	80.2
selection	2	.0	.0	80.3
server	2	.0	.0	80.3
shellshock	2	.0	.0	80.3
shocked	2	.0	.0	80.4
shooting	2	.0	.0	80.4
sign up	2	.0	.0	80.5
small	2	.0	.0	80.5
souldiers	2	.0	.0	80.5
stories	2	.0	.0	80.6
stronge	2	.0	.0	80.6
survival	2	.0	.0	80.7
sympathy	2	.0	.0	80.7
take	2	.0	.0	80.8
tall	2	.0	.0	80.8
tank	2	.0	.0	80.8
tanks	2	.0	.0	80.9
teenager	2	.0	.0	80.9
terroism	2	.0	.0	81.0
thank you for your service	2	.0	.0	81.0
tragic	2	.0	.0	81.0
trainee	2	.0	.0	81.1
troop	2	.0	.0	81.1
unappreciated	2	.0	.0	81.2
unemployment	2	.0	.0	81.2
unexperienced	2	.0	.0	81.2
unhappy	2	.0	.0	81.3
unit	2	.0	.0	81.3
unlucky	2	.0	.0	81.4
untrained	2	.0	.0	81.4
us	2	.0	.0	81.4
useless	2	.0	.0	81.5
vet	2	.0	.0	81.5
veterans	2	.0	.0	81.6
vets	2	.0	.0	81.6
voluntary	2	.0	.0	81.7
wanted	2	.0	.0	81.7

weak	2	.0	.0	81.7
weapons	2	.0	.0	81.8
wisdom	2	.0	.0	81.8
woman	2	.0	.0	81.9
worker	2	.0	.0	81.9
working class	2	.0	.0	81.9
worn	2	.0	.0	82.0
ww2	2	.0	.0	82.0
"pongo"	1	.0	.0	82.0
1990s	1	.0	.0	82.1
2006	1	.0	.0	82.1
9-11	1	.0	.0	82.1
a lot of killed	1	.0	.0	82.1
able	1	.0	.0	82.1
abused	1	.0	.0	82.2
accurate	1	.0	.0	82.2
action	1	.0	.0	82.2
actuality	1	.0	.0	82.2
adaptation	1	.0	.0	82.2
adapting	1	.0	.0	82.3
addiction	1	.0	.0	82.3
admeration	1	.0	.0	82.3
advanced	1	.0	.0	82.3
advertise	1	.0	.0	82.3
advertised	1	.0	.0	82.4
advertisement	1	.0	.0	82.4
again	1	.0	.0	82.4
age	1	.0	.0	82.4
aiding	1	.0	.0	82.5
aimful	1	.0	.0	82.5
alliance with us	1	.0	.0	82.5
american	1	.0	.0	82.5
angst	1	.0	.0	82.5
another war	1	.0	.0	82.6
ant	1	.0	.0	82.6
anti hero	1	.0	.0	82.6
anxious	1	.0	.0	82.6
apply	1	.0	.0	82.6
arm	1	.0	.0	82.7

arms	1	.0	.0	82.7
army and military Personnel	1	.0	.0	82.7
army man in the iraq war	1	.0	.0	82.7
army officer	1	.0	.0	82.7
asbo	1	.0	.0	82.8
aspiring	1	.0	.0	82.8
assault course	1	.0	.0	82.8
assessment	1	.0	.0	82.8
assistance	1	.0	.0	82.8
authoritative	1	.0	.0	82.9
authority	1	.0	.0	82.9
auxiliar	1	.0	.0	82.9
away	1	.0	.0	82.9
away from home	1	.0	.0	82.9
awful	1	.0	.0	83.0
back home	1	.0	.0	83.0
bad paid	1	.0	.0	83.0
badges	1	.0	.0	83.0
ball	1	.0	.0	83.0
banner-carrying	1	.0	.0	83.1
barrack	1	.0	.0	83.1
barracks	1	.0	.0	83.1
basic	1	.0	.0	83.1
battalion	1	.0	.0	83.1
battle hardened	1	.0	.0	83.2
battle-hardened	1	.0	.0	83.2
battle-worn	1	.0	.0	83.2
beard	1	.0	.0	83.2
bearhat	1	.0	.0	83.3
beneficial	1	.0	.0	83.3
benefit	1	.0	.0	83.3
best	1	.0	.0	83.3
big man	1	.0	.0	83.3
bigger range	1	.0	.0	83.4
blind	1	.0	.0	83.4
blind follower	1	.0	.0	83.4
blocked	1	.0	.0	83.4
bobms	1	.0	.0	83.4
bodyguard	1	.0	.0	83.5

boisterous	1	.0	.0	83.5
bombed	1	.0	.0	83.5
boms	1	.0	.0	83.5
bone	1	.0	.0	83.5
boot	1	.0	.0	83.6
bootcamp	1	.0	.0	83.6
boots	1	.0	.0	83.6
boring	1	.0	.0	83.6
bouncer	1	.0	.0	83.6
brain washed	1	.0	.0	83.7
brave choice	1	.0	.0	83.7
brave men and women	1	.0	.0	83.7
braveness	1	.0	.0	83.7
brother	1	.0	.0	83.7
brutal	1	.0	.0	83.8
building	1	.0	.0	83.8
bullets	1	.0	.0	83.8
bully	1	.0	.0	83.8
bunker	1	.0	.0	83.8
business	1	.0	.0	83.9
busy	1	.0	.0	83.9
buy	1	.0	.0	83.9
call	1	.0	.0	83.9
called	1	.0	.0	83.9
calm	1	.0	.0	84.0
can't go home frequently	1	.0	.0	84.0
candidate	1	.0	.0	84.0
car	1	.0	.0	84.0
care	1	.0	.0	84.1
careful	1	.0	.0	84.1
casuality	1	.0	.0	84.1
ccf	1	.0	.0	84.1
celebrated	1	.0	.0	84.1
chilcot	1	.0	.0	84.2
church	1	.0	.0	84.2
citize	1	.0	.0	84.2
citizen	1	.0	.0	84.2
civil life	1	.0	.0	84.2
clean	1	.0	.0	84.3

closed doors	1	.0	.0	84.3
collect	1	.0	.0	84.3
combat-prooven	1	.0	.0	84.3
commited	1	.0	.0	84.3
compassionate	1	.0	.0	84.4
competition	1	.0	.0	84.4
complete	1	.0	.0	84.4
computers	1	.0	.0	84.4
comrade	1	.0	.0	84.4
concerned	1	.0	.0	84.5
conforming	1	.0	.0	84.5
construction	1	.0	.0	84.5
consulting	1	.0	.0	84.5
contemplative	1	.0	.0	84.5
contracts	1	.0	.0	84.6
contribution	1	.0	.0	84.6
controlled	1	.0	.0	84.6
cool	1	.0	.0	84.6
coragous	1	.0	.0	84.6
counrty	1	.0	.0	84.7
counties	1	.0	.0	84.7
countryman	1	.0	.0	84.7
coward	1	.0	.0	84.7
crazy	1	.0	.0	84.7
crime	1	.0	.0	84.8
criminal	1	.0	.0	84.8
criminals	1	.0	.0	84.8
crippled	1	.0	.0	84.8
crisis	1	.0	.0	84.9
cruel	1	.0	.0	84.9
cult	1	.0	.0	84.9
custumer	1	.0	.0	84.9
cv	1	.0	.0	84.9
damager	1	.0	.0	85.0
dated	1	.0	.0	85.0
deaths	1	.0	.0	85.0
deceived	1	.0	.0	85.0
dedication	1	.0	.0	85.0
delusions of grandeur	1	.0	.0	85.1

departed	1	.0	.0	85.1
depressed	1	.0	.0	85.1
descruction	1	.0	.0	85.1
deserts	1	.0	.0	85.1
deserving	1	.0	.0	85.2
deserving of respect	1	.0	.0	85.2
desk job	1	.0	.0	85.2
dessert	1	.0	.0	85.2
destroyed	1	.0	.0	85.2
devastating	1	.0	.0	85.3
die	1	.0	.0	85.3
different	1	.0	.0	85.3
difficult in my country	1	.0	.0	85.3
dip in your egg	1	.0	.0	85.3
diplomat	1	.0	.0	85.4
disadvantage	1	.0	.0	85.4
disagreements	1	.0	.0	85.4
disallusioned	1	.0	.0	85.4
disaplined	1	.0	.0	85.4
disaster	1	.0	.0	85.5
discarded	1	.0	.0	85.5
dishonoured	1	.0	.0	85.5
dislocation	1	.0	.0	85.5
disposable	1	.0	.0	85.5
dispute	1	.0	.0	85.6
disqualified	1	.0	.0	85.6
dodgy	1	.0	.0	85.6
dogs	1	.0	.0	85.6
don't know	1	.0	.0	85.6
done some stuff	1	.0	.0	85.7
done with servic3	1	.0	.0	85.7
doomed	1	.0	.0	85.7
doomed man	1	.0	.0	85.7
dreams	1	.0	.0	85.8
drill sergeant	1	.0	.0	85.8
drills	1	.0	.0	85.8
drop-out	1	.0	.0	85.8
duration	1	.0	.0	85.8
dutiful	1	.0	.0	85.9

educated	1	.0	.0	85.9
education	1	.0	.0	85.9
effect	1	.0	.0	85.9
effective	1	.0	.0	85.9
efficient	1	.0	.0	86.0
eligibility	1	.0	.0	86.0
employe	1	.0	.0	86.0
professional	1	.0	.0	86.0
professionals	1	.0	.0	86.0
employers	1	.0	.0	86.1
end	1	.0	.0	86.1
enemy of a sovereign state	1	.0	.0	86.1
energy	1	.0	.0	86.1
enforce	1	.0	.0	86.1
engage	1	.0	.0	86.2
england	1	.0	.0	86.2
english	1	.0	.0	86.2
enmployer	1	.0	.0	86.2
escort service	1	.0	.0	86.2
ethusiastic	1	.0	.0	86.3
europe	1	.0	.0	86.3
ex	1	.0	.0	86.3
ex Armed Forces	1	.0	.0	86.3
ex army	1	.0	.0	86.3
ex boyfriend	1	.0	.0	86.4
ex forces	1	.0	.0	86.4
ex member	1	.0	.0	86.4
ex soldier	1	.0	.0	86.4
ex worker	1	.0	.0	86.4
ex-military	1	.0	.0	86.5
ex-soldier	1	.0	.0	86.5
examination	1	.0	.0	86.5
example	1	.0	.0	86.5
exciting	1	.0	.0	86.6
exeprienced	1	.0	.0	86.6
expectation	1	.0	.0	86.6
expendable	1	.0	.0	86.6
experient	1	.0	.0	86.6
fabulous	1	.0	.0	86.7

failed	1	.0	.0	86.7
failure	1	.0	.0	86.7
false	1	.0	.0	86.7
far	1	.0	.0	86.7
far away	1	.0	.0	86.8
fascist	1	.0	.0	86.8
fbi	1	.0	.0	86.8
fighter jet	1	.0	.0	86.8
finance	1	.0	.0	86.8
finish	1	.0	.0	86.9
finished service	1	.0	.0	86.9
firearm	1	.0	.0	86.9
firearms	1	.0	.0	86.9
fired	1	.0	.0	86.9
fitness	1	.0	.0	87.0
fix	1	.0	.0	87.0
flag	1	.0	.0	87.0
flags	1	.0	.0	87.0
following orders	1	.0	.0	87.0
follows orders	1	.0	.0	87.1
for me - horses that are 15 or older	1	.0	.0	87.1
foreign aid	1	.0	.0	87.1
forest gump	1	.0	.0	87.1
forgetted	1	.0	.0	87.1
form	1	.0	.0	87.2
formerly	1	.0	.0	87.2
forms	1	.0	.0	87.2
forties	1	.0	.0	87.2
fortunate	1	.0	.0	87.2
forward thinking	1	.0	.0	87.3
forward-thinking	1	.0	.0	87.3
fought	1	.0	.0	87.3
fprgotten	1	.0	.0	87.3
freedom fighter	1	.0	.0	87.4
fresher	1	.0	.0	87.4
freshman	1	.0	.0	87.4
friction	1	.0	.0	87.4
from a different era	1	.0	.0	87.4

frontline	1	.0	.0	87.5
frustrated	1	.0	.0	87.5
fun	1	.0	.0	87.5
funeral	1	.0	.0	87.5
futile	1	.0	.0	87.5
gaming	1	.0	.0	87.6
gather	1	.0	.0	87.6
getting people in	1	.0	.0	87.6
go get them	1	.0	.0	87.6
goal	1	.0	.0	87.6
good caring people who want to care for countries	1	.0	.0	87.7
good decison	1	.0	.0	87.7
good harted people	1	.0	.0	87.7
good luck	1	.0	.0	87.7
good people	1	.0	.0	87.7
got interesting anecdotes	1	.0	.0	87.8
grandparents	1	.0	.0	87.8
granma	1	.0	.0	87.8
granparent	1	.0	.0	87.8
gratitude	1	.0	.0	87.8
grave	1	.0	.0	87.9
great	1	.0	.0	87.9
green clothes	1	.0	.0	87.9
grit	1	.0	.0	87.9
grumpy	1	.0	.0	87.9
gtandsd	1	.0	.0	88.0
guard	1	.0	.0	88.0
guardian	1	.0	.0	88.0
guardsman	1	.0	.0	88.0
gulf war	1	.0	.0	88.0
gunman	1	.0	.0	88.1
handicap	1	.0	.0	88.1
handicapped	1	.0	.0	88.1
handsome	1	.0	.0	88.1
hard job	1	.0	.0	88.2
hard life	1	.0	.0	88.2
hard worker	1	.0	.0	88.2
hard-working	1	.0	.0	88.2

hardcore	1	.0	.0	88.2
hardship	1	.0	.0	88.3
hardworker	1	.0	.0	88.3
hardy	1	.0	.0	88.3
harm	1	.0	.0	88.3
harrowing	1	.0	.0	88.3
harsh	1	.0	.0	88.4
harsh conditions	1	.0	.0	88.4
hat	1	.0	.0	88.4
healthy	1	.0	.0	88.4
heart	1	.0	.0	88.4
hell	1	.0	.0	88.5
help needed	1	.0	.0	88.5
help people	1	.0	.0	88.5
heores	1	.0	.0	88.5
hero's	1	.0	.0	88.5
heroe	1	.0	.0	88.6
heroes	1	.0	.0	88.6
hidden	1	.0	.0	88.6
hierarchy	1	.0	.0	88.6
hire smb	1	.0	.0	88.6
hired servant	1	.0	.0	88.7
hiring	1	.0	.0	88.7
home safe	1	.0	.0	88.7
homeland	1	.0	.0	88.7
homelessness	1	.0	.0	88.7
homelss	1	.0	.0	88.8
honest	1	.0	.0	88.8
honourable to being a solider-it's a life not a job	1	.0	.0	88.8
honoured	1	.0	.0	88.8
hope you make it	1	.0	.0	88.8
horrific	1	.0	.0	88.9
horror	1	.0	.0	88.9
hot	1	.0	.0	88.9
how did you find your training?	1	.0	.0	88.9
hr	1	.0	.0	89.0
human resources	1	.0	.0	89.0

idol	1	.0	.0	89.0
ignored	1	.0	.0	89.0
ignornet	1	.0	.0	89.0
ill	1	.0	.0	89.1
illness	1	.0	.0	89.1
impossible	1	.0	.0	89.1
in need of support	1	.0	.0	89.1
in training	1	.0	.0	89.1
indebted	1	.0	.0	89.2
indifferent	1	.0	.0	89.2
individual	1	.0	.0	89.2
induct	1	.0	.0	89.2
inequality	1	.0	.0	89.2
inexperenced	1	.0	.0	89.3
inexperianced	1	.0	.0	89.3
influenced	1	.0	.0	89.3
influential	1	.0	.0	89.3
information	1	.0	.0	89.3
initiation	1	.0	.0	89.4
injust	1	.0	.0	89.4
injustice	1	.0	.0	89.4
innocents	1	.0	.0	89.4
insisting	1	.0	.0	89.4
insuries	1	.0	.0	89.5
inteligent	1	.0	.0	89.5
intelligence adviser	1	.0	.0	89.5
interested	1	.0	.0	89.5
interesting	1	.0	.0	89.5
intern	1	.0	.0	89.6
international	1	.0	.0	89.6
invader	1	.0	.0	89.6
invalid	1	.0	.0	89.6
involved	1	.0	.0	89.6
ireland	1	.0	.0	89.7
iron	1	.0	.0	89.7
iron willed	1	.0	.0	89.7
islamic state	1	.0	.0	89.7
jamesbond	1	.0	.0	89.7
jets	1	.0	.0	89.8

job seeking	1	.0	.0	89.8
jobless	1	.0	.0	89.8
jobs	1	.0	.0	89.8
joining	1	.0	.0	89.9
junior	1	.0	.0	89.9
just getting into the military	1	.0	.0	89.9
kajaki	1	.0	.0	89.9
kakis	1	.0	.0	89.9
keen	1	.0	.0	90.0
khaki colour	1	.0	.0	90.0
kids in afghanistan	1	.0	.0	90.0
kill	1	.0	.0	90.0
killed mandem	1	.0	.0	90.0
knowlege	1	.0	.0	90.1
kurds	1	.0	.0	90.1
labout	1	.0	.0	90.1
lack	1	.0	.0	90.1
laddish	1	.0	.0	90.1
laddy	1	.0	.0	90.2
landmines	1	.0	.0	90.2
language	1	.0	.0	90.2
lead	1	.0	.0	90.2
leading	1	.0	.0	90.2
learned	1	.0	.0	90.3
leave	1	.0	.0	90.3
legendary	1	.0	.0	90.3
legends	1	.0	.0	90.3
legends to be	1	.0	.0	90.3
legion	1	.0	.0	90.4
liberated	1	.0	.0	90.4
lie	1	.0	.0	90.4
like his country	1	.0	.0	90.4
little	1	.0	.0	90.4
loialty	1	.0	.0	90.5
london	1	.0	.0	90.5
loneliness	1	.0	.0	90.5
lonliness	1	.0	.0	90.5
look	1	.0	.0	90.5
look after	1	.0	.0	90.6

looks better then the true is	1	.0	.0	90.6
loss of limbs	1	.0	.0	90.6
losses	1	.0	.0	90.6
lowest rank	1	.0	.0	90.7
lying	1	.0	.0	90.7
machine gun	1	.0	.0	90.7
mad	1	.0	.0	90.7
made it	1	.0	.0	90.7
manipulation	1	.0	.0	90.8
many	1	.0	.0	90.8
march	1	.0	.0	90.8
marchs	1	.0	.0	90.8
marked	1	.0	.0	90.8
market	1	.0	.0	90.9
marks	1	.0	.0	90.9
masculine	1	.0	.0	90.9
mature	1	.0	.0	90.9
may be suffering ptsd	1	.0	.0	90.9
meaning	1	.0	.0	91.0
meat	1	.0	.0	91.0
melancholia	1	.0	.0	91.0
membership	1	.0	.0	91.0
mendal	1	.0	.0	91.0
mental	1	.0	.0	91.1
mental problems	1	.0	.0	91.1
mentality tough	1	.0	.0	91.1
mentally chocked	1	.0	.0	91.1
mentally tough	1	.0	.0	91.1
mentally unstable	1	.0	.0	91.2
meticulous	1	.0	.0	91.2
mi6	1	.0	.0	91.2
middle-age	1	.0	.0	91.2
middle-east	1	.0	.0	91.2
milatary	1	.0	.0	91.3
miltary	1	.0	.0	91.3
mind	1	.0	.0	91.3
mines	1	.0	.0	91.3
misjudged	1	.0	.0	91.3
misleading	1	.0	.0	91.4

misleasing	1	.0	.0	91.4
misses family	1	.0	.0	91.4
misunderstanding	1	.0	.0	91.4
misunderstood	1	.0	.0	91.5
mod jobs	1	.0	.0	91.5
modern	1	.0	.0	91.5
morbid	1	.0	.0	91.5
motivated	1	.0	.0	91.5
mountains	1	.0	.0	91.6
mud	1	.0	.0	91.6
muddy	1	.0	.0	91.6
multi nationality	1	.0	.0	91.6
murder	1	.0	.0	91.6
murderers	1	.0	.0	91.7
muslims	1	.0	.0	91.7
my dad	1	.0	.0	91.7
myself	1	.0	.0	91.7
national army	1	.0	.0	91.7
nato	1	.0	.0	91.8
nee	1	.0	.0	91.8
need of soldiers	1	.0	.0	91.8
need to help them	1	.0	.0	91.8
needed	1	.0	.0	91.8
negativitity	1	.0	.0	91.9
neglected	1	.0	.0	91.9
network	1	.0	.0	91.9
neutral	1	.0	.0	91.9
new meat	1	.0	.0	91.9
new staff	1	.0	.0	92.0
new starter	1	.0	.0	92.0
nigel fourage	1	.0	.0	92.0
nightmare	1	.0	.0	92.0
nightmares	1	.0	.0	92.0
no idea	1	.0	.0	92.1
no longer working	1	.0	.0	92.1
noise	1	.0	.0	92.1
non violent	1	.0	.0	92.1
non-experience	1	.0	.0	92.1
non-soldier	1	.0	.0	92.2

nostalgic	1	.0	.0	92.2
not home	1	.0	.0	92.2
not integrated	1	.0	.0	92.2
not respected	1	.0	.0	92.3
not shown	1	.0	.0	92.3
nuclear weapons	1	.0	.0	92.3
nuke	1	.0	.0	92.3
number	1	.0	.0	92.3
nurse	1	.0	.0	92.4
obama	1	.0	.0	92.4
obay	1	.0	.0	92.4
obedience	1	.0	.0	92.4
obey	1	.0	.0	92.4
objective	1	.0	.0	92.5
obligation	1	.0	.0	92.5
occupation	1	.0	.0	92.5
official	1	.0	.0	92.5
officiant	1	.0	.0	92.5
ofice	1	.0	.0	92.6
oil opportunist	1	.0	.0	92.6
old but good people who have saved our country	1	.0	.0	92.6
old or wounded	1	.0	.0	92.6
older military	1	.0	.0	92.6
one of ours	1	.0	.0	92.7
oportunity	1	.0	.0	92.7
oppurtunity	1	.0	.0	92.7
optimistic	1	.0	.0	92.7
optismistic	1	.0	.0	92.7
order	1	.0	.0	92.8
organisation	1	.0	.0	92.8
osama	1	.0	.0	92.8
our	1	.0	.0	92.8
over 50	1	.0	.0	92.8
overseas	1	.0	.0	92.9
owed	1	.0	.0	92.9
paper	1	.0	.0	92.9
parachute regiment	1	.0	.0	92.9
parent	1	.0	.0	92.9

participants	1	.0	.0	93.0
passionate	1	.0	.0	93.0
patroitic	1	.0	.0	93.0
peace keeper	1	.0	.0	93.0
peace one day	1	.0	.0	93.1
pensioner	1	.0	.0	93.1
people away from home	1	.0	.0	93.1
people have fought in a war	1	.0	.0	93.1
people need help	1	.0	.0	93.1
people who are moving countries but with the same job	1	.0	.0	93.2
people who are moving to different departments	1	.0	.0	93.2
people who are retiring	1	.0	.0	93.2
people who care for our country by protecting us	1	.0	.0	93.2
people who fight other countries	1	.0	.0	93.2
people who have endangered their lives for us	1	.0	.0	93.3
people who have fought for our country before	1	.0	.0	93.3
people who have served for our country in the old years	1	.0	.0	93.3
people who have served in service before	1	.0	.0	93.3
persons	1	.0	.0	93.3
phone calls	1	.0	.0	93.4
phycology	1	.0	.0	93.4
physcology	1	.0	.0	93.4
physical	1	.0	.0	93.4
physically broken	1	.0	.0	93.4
physically fit	1	.0	.0	93.5
platoon	1	.0	.0	93.5
politics	1	.0	.0	93.5
poor country	1	.0	.0	93.5
poppy	1	.0	.0	93.5
population	1	.0	.0	93.6
positive	1	.0	.0	93.6

possibility	1	.0	.0	93.6
post traumtic stress	1	.0	.0	93.6
post war soldiers	1	.0	.0	93.6
postwar	1	.0	.0	93.7
postwar illness	1	.0	.0	93.7
practical	1	.0	.0	93.7
practice	1	.0	.0	93.7
practise	1	.0	.0	93.7
preparation	1	.0	.0	93.8
press ups	1	.0	.0	93.8
pressure	1	.0	.0	93.8
prision	1	.0	.0	93.8
prison	1	.0	.0	93.8
private army	1	.0	.0	93.9
pro	1	.0	.0	93.9
probably needs help	1	.0	.0	93.9
procedural	1	.0	.0	93.9
process	1	.0	.0	94.0
profession	1	.0	.0	94.0
progressive	1	.0	.0	94.0
propoganda	1	.0	.0	94.0
prosperous	1	.0	.0	94.0
protected	1	.0	.0	94.1
protecter	1	.0	.0	94.1
protective	1	.0	.0	94.1
proud to have served	1	.0	.0	94.1
psychological	1	.0	.0	94.1
psychology	1	.0	.0	94.2
psychotherapy	1	.0	.0	94.2
pts	1	.0	.0	94.2
public servant	1	.0	.0	94.2
puppy	1	.0	.0	94.2
purpose	1	.0	.0	94.3
put together	1	.0	.0	94.3
quality	1	.0	.0	94.3
questions	1	.0	.0	94.3
quick thinking	1	.0	.0	94.3
quiet	1	.0	.0	94.4
racist	1	.0	.0	94.4

raleigh	1	.0	.0	94.4
rape	1	.0	.0	94.4
rare	1	.0	.0	94.4
raw	1	.0	.0	94.5
re-train	1	.0	.0	94.5
ready	1	.0	.0	94.5
reality	1	.0	.0	94.5
recruit	1	.0	.0	94.5
refugee	1	.0	.0	94.6
refugees	1	.0	.0	94.6
regime	1	.0	.0	94.6
rehab	1	.0	.0	94.6
rejected	1	.0	.0	94.6
relief	1	.0	.0	94.7
remaindered	1	.0	.0	94.7
repatriation	1	.0	.0	94.7
requirements	1	.0	.0	94.7
research	1	.0	.0	94.8
reservist	1	.0	.0	94.8
responsability	1	.0	.0	94.8
responsibilities	1	.0	.0	94.8
resrves	1	.0	.0	94.8
rest	1	.0	.0	94.9
retire	1	.0	.0	94.9
retired soldier	1	.0	.0	94.9
retreat	1	.0	.0	94.9
rich	1	.0	.0	94.9
right wing	1	.0	.0	95.0
risk-taker	1	.0	.0	95.0
risking life	1	.0	.0	95.0
rogue	1	.0	.0	95.0
roman	1	.0	.0	95.0
rookie	1	.0	.0	95.1
rooky	1	.0	.0	95.1
rootless	1	.0	.0	95.1
rounded	1	.0	.0	95.1
routine	1	.0	.0	95.1
royal marines	1	.0	.0	95.2
rsearch	1	.0	.0	95.2

rugby	1	.0	.0	95.2
rules	1	.0	.0	95.2
rusty	1	.0	.0	95.2
ryan	1	.0	.0	95.3
sacary	1	.0	.0	95.3
sadam	1	.0	.0	95.3
saddam hussain	1	.0	.0	95.3
safe guard	1	.0	.0	95.3
salary	1	.0	.0	95.4
scapegoated	1	.0	.0	95.4
seasoned	1	.0	.0	95.4
sect	1	.0	.0	95.4
secular	1	.0	.0	95.4
seek	1	.0	.0	95.5
seen horrible things	1	.0	.0	95.5
selfish	1	.0	.0	95.5
seniour	1	.0	.0	95.5
sergeant	1	.0	.0	95.6
served the country	1	.0	.0	95.6
served their country	1	.0	.0	95.6
served well	1	.0	.0	95.6
served with purpose	1	.0	.0	95.6
server not recognized	1	.0	.0	95.7
serviced	1	.0	.0	95.7
severe	1	.0	.0	95.7
shaver	1	.0	.0	95.7
sheep	1	.0	.0	95.7
shell-shock	1	.0	.0	95.8
ship	1	.0	.0	95.8
shock	1	.0	.0	95.8
shooter	1	.0	.0	95.8
shop	1	.0	.0	95.8
shot	1	.0	.0	95.9
sickness	1	.0	.0	95.9
signing up	1	.0	.0	95.9
skinhead	1	.0	.0	95.9
slave	1	.0	.0	95.9
slow	1	.0	.0	96.0
smile	1	.0	.0	96.0

smile less	1	.0	.0	96.0
snipers	1	.0	.0	96.0
society	1	.0	.0	96.0
sodier	1	.0	.0	96.1
solder	1	.0	.0	96.1
solders	1	.0	.0	96.1
soldier to be	1	.0	.0	96.1
soldior	1	.0	.0	96.1
soliders	1	.0	.0	96.2
solidier	1	.0	.0	96.2
some homeless	1	.0	.0	96.2
some people who have worked in national service	1	.0	.0	96.2
someone who fought for afghanistan	1	.0	.0	96.2
someone who has served	1	.0	.0	96.3
sorry	1	.0	.0	96.3
special	1	.0	.0	96.3
specialist	1	.0	.0	96.3
sports	1	.0	.0	96.4
squad	1	.0	.0	96.4
squaddie	1	.0	.0	96.4
squaddy	1	.0	.0	96.4
squandered efforts	1	.0	.0	96.4
stable	1	.0	.0	96.5
staff	1	.0	.0	96.5
stand for a longtime	1	.0	.0	96.5
start	1	.0	.0	96.5
state	1	.0	.0	96.5
stay along	1	.0	.0	96.6
stealth	1	.0	.0	96.6
stigma	1	.0	.0	96.6
still devoted	1	.0	.0	96.6
still working	1	.0	.0	96.6
straight edge	1	.0	.0	96.7
stren	1	.0	.0	96.7
stressful	1	.0	.0	96.7
stressfull	1	.0	.0	96.7
stricted	1	.0	.0	96.7

strive	1	.0	.0	96.8
strong minddd	1	.0	.0	96.8
struggling	1	.0	.0	96.8
sttong	1	.0	.0	96.8
study	1	.0	.0	96.8
stupid	1	.0	.0	96.9
subservient	1	.0	.0	96.9
success	1	.0	.0	96.9
suddam	1	.0	.0	96.9
suicide	1	.0	.0	96.9
suntan	1	.0	.0	97.0
supporter	1	.0	.0	97.0
suppressed	1	.0	.0	97.0
survivors	1	.0	.0	97.0
sweat	1	.0	.0	97.0
system	1	.0	.0	97.1
tactics	1	.0	.0	97.1
taken for granted	1	.0	.0	97.1
talent	1	.0	.0	97.1
task	1	.0	.0	97.2
tattoo	1	.0	.0	97.2
teamwork	1	.0	.0	97.2
tears	1	.0	.0	97.2
teats	1	.0	.0	97.2
tense	1	.0	.0	97.3
terrible	1	.0	.0	97.3
terrorist	1	.0	.0	97.3
test	1	.0	.0	97.3
tested	1	.0	.0	97.3
thank you	1	.0	.0	97.4
thank you for picking up the shield and sword	1	.0	.0	97.4
thank you for your servive	1	.0	.0	97.4
thank-you	1	.0	.0	97.4
thankful	1	.0	.0	97.4
thankfull	1	.0	.0	97.5
the ideal soldier	1	.0	.0	97.5
the people suffering	1	.0	.0	97.5
their family	1	.0	.0	97.5

ties	1	.0	.0	97.5
time	1	.0	.0	97.6
tin	1	.0	.0	97.6
title	1	.0	.0	97.6
tofu	1	.0	.0	97.6
togetherness	1	.0	.0	97.6
tool	1	.0	.0	97.7
torture	1	.0	.0	97.7
tour	1	.0	.0	97.7
tours	1	.0	.0	97.7
town centre	1	.0	.0	97.7
traditional	1	.0	.0	97.8
traning	1	.0	.0	97.8
traumata	1	.0	.0	97.8
travelled	1	.0	.0	97.8
trenches	1	.0	.0	97.8
trial	1	.0	.0	97.9
trick	1	.0	.0	97.9
trieste	1	.0	.0	97.9
trobled	1	.0	.0	97.9
trooping the colour	1	.0	.0	97.9
trouble	1	.0	.0	98.0
troubled (later in life)	1	.0	.0	98.0
true	1	.0	.0	98.0
true britain	1	.0	.0	98.0
trumatized	1	.0	.0	98.1
trust	1	.0	.0	98.1
trustowrthy	1	.0	.0	98.1
trustworthy	1	.0	.0	98.1
trying	1	.0	.0	98.1
turnover	1	.0	.0	98.2
tv	1	.0	.0	98.2
typewriter	1	.0	.0	98.2
unaware	1	.0	.0	98.2
under appreciated	1	.0	.0	98.2
under valued	1	.0	.0	98.3
underappreciated	1	.0	.0	98.3
underpreciated	1	.0	.0	98.3
understanding	1	.0	.0	98.3

understated	1	.0	.0	98.3
undervalued	1	.0	.0	98.4
undisciplined	1	.0	.0	98.4
uneccesary	1	.0	.0	98.4
unecessary	1	.0	.0	98.4
unexsperienced	1	.0	.0	98.4
unforgiven	1	.0	.0	98.5
unfortunate	1	.0	.0	98.5
uniformed	1	.0	.0	98.5
unlawful	1	.0	.0	98.5
unnecassary	1	.0	.0	98.5
unnecassay	1	.0	.0	98.6
unnecessary war	1	.0	.0	98.6
unpopular	1	.0	.0	98.6
unprepared	1	.0	.0	98.6
unsafe	1	.0	.0	98.6
unshapen	1	.0	.0	98.7
unskilled	1	.0	.0	98.7
unstable	1	.0	.0	98.7
untidy	1	.0	.0	98.7
untutored	1	.0	.0	98.7
unutilised	1	.0	.0	98.8
unwanted	1	.0	.0	98.8
used	1	.0	.0	98.8
used to be	1	.0	.0	98.8
vacancy	1	.0	.0	98.9
values their nationality	1	.0	.0	98.9
varied	1	.0	.0	98.9
vegetarian	1	.0	.0	98.9
venerable	1	.0	.0	98.9
veteren	1	.0	.0	99.0
veternary	1	.0	.0	99.0
victory	1	.0	.0	99.0
vital	1	.0	.0	99.0
voilence	1	.0	.0	99.0
volutary	1	.0	.0	99.1
wae	1	.0	.0	99.1
waiter	1	.0	.0	99.1
want	1	.0	.0	99.1

war imprisonment	1	.0	.0	99.1
war on terror	1	.0	.0	99.2
warrier	1	.0	.0	99.2
wason	1	.0	.0	99.2
waste of life	1	.0	.0	99.2
waste of time	1	.0	.0	99.2
wasted	1	.0	.0	99.3
wasten	1	.0	.0	99.3
water	1	.0	.0	99.3
weaponry	1	.0	.0	99.3
weedy	1	.0	.0	99.3
weird	1	.0	.0	99.4
well built	1	.0	.0	99.4
well bulit	1	.0	.0	99.4
well trained	1	.0	.0	99.4
western desire for oil	1	.0	.0	99.4
what country did you serve	1	.0	.0	99.5
what is this iob	1	.0	.0	99.5
what part of the Armed Forces did u serve?	1	.0	.0	99.5
wheelchair	1	.0	.0	99.5
when?	1	.0	.0	99.5
white	1	.0	.0	99.6
why did you decide to serve	1	.0	.0	99.6
withdrawn	1	.0	.0	99.6
witness	1	.0	.0	99.6
wmds	1	.0	.0	99.7
work force	1	.0	.0	99.7
worked hard	1	.0	.0	99.7
workers	1	.0	.0	99.7
workforce	1	.0	.0	99.7
working hours	1	.0	.0	99.8
world war	1	.0	.0	99.8
world war 1 & 2 soldiers	1	.0	.0	99.8
world war one	1	.0	.0	99.8
world war two	1	.0	.0	99.8
world-weary	1	.0	.0	99.9
worthy	1	.0	.0	99.9
wound	1	.0	.0	99.9

wrong	1	.0	.0	99.9
young men	1	.0	.0	99.9
younge	1	.0	.0	100.0
younger	1	.0	.0	100.0
youngster	1	.0	.0	100.0
Total	4878	100.0	100.0	

Appendix 3.

Word Coding - Category Memberships

Category Codings:

1 = Heroism

2 = Experience and Age

3 = War

4 = Positive Characterisation

5 = National Belonging

6 = Victimisation

7 = Negative Characterisation

8 = Job / Occupation

9 = Political Motives / Politicians / Other Nations

10 = Other

11 = References to Scenes of Deployment

12 = Physical Descriptions

13 = Superordinate Group

14 = Peace

('pongo'=10)

('?'=10)

(''=10)

('-'=10)

('09-nov'=10)

('1990s'=10)

('2006'=10)

('a lot of killed'=6)

('abandoned'=6)

('able'=4)

('abroad'=11)

('accomplished'=2)

('accurate'=4)

('action'=3)

('actuality'=10)

('adaptation'=6)

('adapting'=6)

('addiction'=6)

('admeration'=1)

('admin'=10)

('admirable'=1)

('admiration'=1)

('admired'=1)

('advanced'=1)

('advertised'=8)

('advertisement'=8)

('affected'=6)

('afghanistan'=11)

('afraid'=7)

('again'=3)

('aged'=2)

('agency'=6)

('agressive'=7)

('aid'=4)

('aiding'=1)

('aimful'=4)

('alliance with us'=5)

('alone'=6)

('amazing'=1)

('ambitious'=4)

('america'=9)

('american'=9)

('amputee'=6)

('angry'=7)

('another war'=3)

('ant'=10)

('anti hero'=6)

('anxiety'=6)

('anxious'=6)

('application'=8)

('apply'=8)

('arm'=13)

('Armed Forces'=13)

('armed'=3)

('arms'=3)

('army and military Personnel'=13)

('army man in the iraq war'=13)

('army officer'=13)

('army'=13)

('asbo'=8)

('aspiring'=4)

('assault course'=3)

('assessment'=10)

('assistance'=4)

('attack'=3)

('authoritative'=7)

('authority'=7)

('auxiliar'=4)

('away from home'=11)

('away'=11)

('awful'=7)

('back home'=5)

('bad paid'=6)

('bad'=7)

('badges'=1)

('ball'=10)

('banner-carrying'=10)

('basic'=10)

('battalion'=13)

('battle hardened'=4)

('battle'=3)

('battle-hardened'=4)

('battle-worn'=6)

('beard'=12)

('bearhat'=10)

('begin'=2)

('beginner'=2)

('beneficial'=4)

('benefit'=4)

('best'=4)

('betrayed'=6)

('big man'=4)

('big'=4)

('bigger range'=10)

('bird'=10)

('bitter'=6)

('blair'=9)

('blameless'=4)

('blind follower'=6)

('blind'=6)

('blocked'=6)

('blood'=3)

('bobms'=3)

('bodyguard'=8)

('boisterous'=7)

('bomb'=3)

('bombed'=3)

('bombing'=3)

('bombs'=3)

('boms'=3)

('bone'=10)

('boot'=12)

('bootcamp'=10)

('boots'=12)

('boring'=7)

('bossy'=7)

('bouncer'=10)

('boy'=2)

('brace'=7)

('brain washed'=6)

('brave choice'=1)

('brave men and women'=1)

('brave'=1)

('braveness'=1)

('bravery'=1)

('britain'=5)

('british'=5)

('broken'=6)

('brother'=5)

('brotherhood'=5)

('brutal'=3)

('brutality'=3)

('building'=10)

('bullets'=3)

('bully'=7)

('bunker'=10)

('bush'=9)

('business'=8)

('busy'=8)

('buy'=10)

('cadet'=13)

('call'=10)

('called'=1)

('calm'=4)

('camo'=12)

('camouflage'=12)

('can\t go home frequently'=6)

('candidate'=2)

('capable'=4)

('care'=4)

('career'=4)

('careful'=4)

('caring'=4)

('casuality'=6)

('ccf'=10)

('celebrated'=1)

('challenge'=1)

('challenging'=6)

('changed'=6)

('charity'=6)

('chilcot'=9)

('child'=2)

('choice'=8)

('church'=10)

('citize'=5)

('citizen'=5)

('civil life'=5)

('civilian'=13)

('clean'=10)

('clever'=4)

('closed doors'=10)

('collect'=10)

('combat'=3)

('combat-prooven'=4)

('commited'=4)

('commitment'=4)

('committed'=4)

('compassionate'=4)

('competition'=4)

('complete'=2)

('computers'=10)

('concerned'=6)

('confident'=4)

('conflict'=3)

('conforming'=7)

('confused'=6)

('conservative'=9)

('construction'=10)

('consulting'=10)

('contemplative'=6)

('contracted'=8)

('contracts'=8)

('contribution'=1)

('controlled'=7)

('cool'=4)

('coragous'=1)

('counrty'=9)

('counties'=9)

('country'=9)

('countryman'=5)

('courage'=1)

('courageous'=1)

('coward'=7)

('crazy'=7)

('crime'=3)

('criminal'=7)

('criminals'=7)

('crippled'=6)

('crisis'=3)

('cruel'=3)

('cult'=7)

('custumer'=10)

('cv'=8)

('dad'=5)

('damaged'=6)

('danger'=3)

('dangerous'=7)

('dated'=2)

('dead'=3)

('death'=3)

('deaths'=3)

('deceived'=6)

('dedicated'=4)

('dedication'=4)

('defence'=1)

('defend'=1)

('defender'=1)

('delusions of grandeur'=6)

('departed'=8)

('depressed'=6)

('depression'=6)

('descruction'=3)

('desert'=11)

('deserts'=11)

('deserving of respect'=1)

('deserving'=1)

('desk job'=8)

('destroyed'=6)

('destruction'=3)

('determination'=4)

('determined'=4)

('devastating'=7)

('devoted'=4)

('devotion'=4)

('die'=3)

('different'=6)

('difficult in my country'=10)

('difficult'=7)

('difficulties'=6)

('dip in your egg'=10)

('diplomat'=10)

('disability'=6)

('disabled'=6)

('disadvantage'=6)

('disagreements'=3)

('disaplined'=6)

('disaster'=3)

('discarded'=3)

('discharged'=2)

('discipline'=4)

('disciplined'=4)

('dishonoured'=7)

('dislocation'=11)

('disposable'=7)

('dispute'=3)

('distinguished'=4)

('distressed'=6)

('dodgy'=7)

('dog'=10)

('dogs'=10)

('done some stuff'=2)

('done with servic3'=2)

('done'=2)

('dont know'=10)

('doomed man'=6)

('doomed'=6)

('dreams'=10)

('drill sergeant'=12)

('drills'=10)

('drop-out'=3)

('dumb'=7)

('duration'=2)

('dust'=11)

('dusty'=11)

('duty'=8)

('eager'=4)

('educated'=4)

('education'=4)

('effect'=10)

('effective'=4)

('efficient'=4)

('elderly'=2)

('eldery'=2)

('eligibility'=8)

('emotional'=10)

('employ'=8)

('employe'=8)

('professional'=8)

('professionals'=8)

('employers'=8)

('employment'=8)

('end'=2)

('endurance'=4)

('enemy of a sovereign state'=7)

('energy'=4)

('engage'=4)

('england'=5)

('english'=5)

('enlist'=8)

('enmployer'=8)

('enroll'=8)

('enthusiastic'=4)

('escort service'=10)

('ethusiastic'=4)

('europe'=9)

('evil'=7)

('ex Armed Forces'=13)

('ex army'=13)

('ex boyfriend'=10)

('ex forces'=13)

('ex member'=13)

('ex soldier'=13)

('ex worker'=13)

('ex'=10)

('examination'=10)

('example'=1)

('exciting'=2)

('exeprienced'=2)

('exercise'=10)

('ex-military'=13)

('expectation'=10)

('expendable'=7)

('experenced'=2)

('experience'=2)

('experienced'=2)

('experient'=2)

('expert'=4)

('explosion'=3)

('ex-soldier'=13)

('fabulous'=1)

('failure'=7)

('false'=3)

('families'=5)

('family'=5)

('far away'=11)

('far'=11)

('fascist'=7)

('fast'=10)

('fbi'=10)

('fear'=3)

('fearless'=1)

('fierce'=7)

('fight'=3)

('fighter jet'=3)

('fighter'=3)

('fighting'=3)

('finance'=10)

('find'=10)

('finish'=2)

('finished service'=2)

('finished'=2)

('fire'=3)

('firearm'=3)

('firearms'=3)

('fired'=2)

('fit'=4)

('fitness'=4)

('fix'=10)

('flag'=10)

('flags'=10)

('following orders'=7)

('follows orders'=7)

('food'=10)

('for me - horses that are 15 or older'=10)

('force'=3)

('forced'=3)

('forces'=13)

('foreign'=11)

('forest gump'=10)

('forgetted'=6)

('forgotten'=6)

('form'=2)

('formal'=10)

('former'=2)

('formerly'=2)

('forms'=10)

('forties'=2)

('fortunate'=6)

('forward thinking'=4)

('forward-thinking'=4)

('fought'=3)

('fprgotten'=6)

('free'=1)

('freedom fighter'=1)

('freedom'=14)

('fresh'=2)

('fresher'=2)

('freshman'=2)

('friction'=3)

('friends'=5)

('from a different era'=2)

('frontline'=3)

('frustrated'=6)

('fun'=4)

('funeral'=3)

('futile'=3)

('future'=10)

('gain'=4)

('gaming'=10)

('gather'=5)

('generation'=2)

('getting people in'=8)

('go get them'=10)

('goal'=10)

('good caring people who want to care for countries'=1)

('good decison'=1)

('good harted people'=1)

('good luck'=10)

('good people'=1)

('good'=1)

('got interesting anecdotes'=10)

('government'=9)

('grandfather'=2)

('grandparents'=2)

('granma'=2)

('granparent'=2)

('grateful'=1)

('gratitude'=1)

('grave'=3)

('great'=1)

('green clothes'=12)

('green'=12)

('grey'=12)

('grit'=1)

('group'=5)

('grumpy'=7)

('gtandsd'=2)

('guard'=13)

('guardian'=13)

('guardsman'=13)

('guidance'=10)

('gun'=3)

('gunman'=3)

('guns'=3)

('h4h'=3)

('handicap'=6)

('handicapped'=6)

('handsome'=4)

('happy'=4)

('hard job'=6)

('hard life'=6)

('hard work'=4)

('hard working'=4)

('hard'=4)

('hardcore'=1)

('hardened'=6)

('hardship'=6)

('hardworker'=4)

('hardworking'=4)

('hard-working'=4)

('hardy'=4)

('harm'=3)

('harmed'=6)

('harrowing'=3)

('harsh conditions'=3)

('harsh'=3)

('hat'=12)

('hate it'=3)

('hate'=3)

('health'=4)

('healthy'=4)

('heart'=10)

('heat'=3)

('helmand'=10)

('helmet'=12)

('help needed'=6)

('help people'=1)

('help'=1)

('helper'=1)

('helpful'=1)

('helpfull'=1)

('helping'=1)

('heores'=1)

('hero'=1)

('heroe'=1)

('heroes'=1)

('heroic'=1)

('heros'=1)

('hidden'=10)

('hierarchy'=10)

('hire smb'=8)

('hire'=8)

('hired servant'=6)

('hiring'=8)

('history'=2)

('home safe'=5)

('home'=5)

('homeland'=5)

('homeless'=6)

('homelessness'=6)

('homelss'=6)

('honest'=1)

('honor'=1)

('honorable'=1)

('honored'=1)

('honour'=1)

('honourable'=1)

('honoured'=1)

('hope you make it'=6)

('hope'=1)

('hopeful'=1)

('horrific'=3)

('horror'=3)

('hot'=12)

('how did you find your training?'=10)

('hr'=8)

('human resources'=8)

('humanity'=14)

('hurt'=6)

('hurted'=6)

('idealistic'=4)

('idol'=1)

('ied'=3)

('ignored'=6)

('ignornet'=6)

('ill'=6)

('illness'=6)

('immature'=2)

('important'=1)

('impressionable'=1)

('impressive'=1)

('in danger'=6)

('in need of support'=6)

('in training'=2)

('indebted'=6)

('indifferent'=7)

('individual'=12)

('induct'=2)

('inequality'=6)

('inexperenced'=2)

('inexperianced'=2)

('inexperienced'=2)

('infantry'=13)

('influenced'=6)

('influential'=6)

('information'=10)

('initiation'=2)

('injured'=6)

('injuries'=6)

('injury'=6)

('injust'=6)

('innocent'=2)

('innocents'=2)

('insisting'=7)

('inspiring'=1)

('insuries'=6)

('insury'=6)

('inteligent'=4)

('intelligence adviser'=13)

('intelligence'=4)

('intelligent'=4)

('interested'=4)

('interesting'=4)

('intern'=10)

('international'=9)

('interview'=8)

('invader'=3)

('invalid'=6)

('invasion'=3)

('involved'=10)

('iraq war'=11)

('iraq'=9)

('iron willed'=4)

('iron'=4)

('isis'=3)

('islamic state'=3)

('issues'=6)

('jamesbond'=1)

('jets'=3)

('job seeking'=6)

('job'=8)

('jobless'=6)

('jobs'=8)

('join'=5)

('joining'=2)

('junior'=2)

('just getting into the military'=2)

('kajaki'=10)

('kakis'=12)

('keen'=4)

('khaki colour'=12)

('khaki'=12)

('kids in afghanistan'=10)

('kill'=3)

('killed mandem'=3)

('killer'=3)

('killing'=3)

('kind'=4)

('knowledgable'=4)

('knowledge'=4)

('knowledgeable'=4)

('knowlege'=4)

('kurds'=9)

('labout'=9)

('lack'=10)

('laddish'=5)

('laddy'=5)

('landmines'=3)

('language'=10)

('lead'=10)

('leader'=8)

('leading'=4)

('learn'=2)

('learned'=2)

('learning'=2)

('leave'=2)

('left'=9)

('legend'=1)

('legendary'=1)

('legends to be'=1)

('legends'=1)

('liberated'=1)

('lie'=4)

('life'=10)

('like his country'=5)

('little'=2)

('lives'=10)

('loialty'=4)

('london'=5)

('loneliness'=6)

('lonely'=6)

('lonley'=6)

('lonliness'=6)

('look after'=1)

('look'=10)

('looks better then the true is'=6)

('loss of limbs'=6)

('loss'=6)

('losses'=6)

('lost'=6)

('love'=1)

('lowest rank'=2)

('loyal'=1)

('loyalty'=1)

('lucky'=10)

('lying'=7)

('machine gun'=3)

('mad'=6)

('made it'=2)

('maimed'=6)

('make love not war'=10)

('male'=10)

('malleable'=3)

('man'=12)

('manipulated'=6)

('manipulation'=6)

('mankind'=13)

('many'=10)

('march'=5)

('marchs'=5)

('marines'=13)

('marked'=6)

('market'=6)

('marks'=6)

('masculine'=12)

('mature'=2)

('may be suffering ptsd'=6)

('meaning'=10)

('meat'=10)

('medal'=1)

('medals'=1)

('media'=10)

('melancholia'=6)

('member'=5)

('memories'=2)

('men'=12)

('mendal'=6)

('mental health'=6)

('mental problems'=7)

('mental'=6)

('mentality tough'=4)

('mentally chocked'=7)

('mentally strong'=4)

('mentally tough'=4)

('mentally unstable'=7)

('meticulous'=4)

('mi6'=5)

('middle east'=11)

('middle-age'=2)

('middle-east'=11)

('milatary'=13)

('militant'=7)

('military'=13)

('miltary'=13)

('mind'=10)

('mines'=3)

('misguided'=6)

('misjudged'=6)

('misleasing'=6)

('misses family'=6)

('missing'=6)

('mistreated'=6)

('misunderstanding'=6)

('misunderstood'=6)

('misused'=6)

('mod jobs'=8)

('modern'=12)

('money'=8)

('morbid'=7)

('motivated'=4)

('mountains'=10)

('mud'=11)

('muddy'=11)

('multi nationality'=9)

('murder'=7)

('murderer'=7)

('murderers'=7)

('muslim'=10)

('muslims'=10)

('my dad'=5)

('myself'=5)

('naive'=2)

('national army'=5)

('national'=5)

('nationalism'=5)

('nationalist'=5)

('nato'=9)

('navy'=13)

('necessary'=4)

('nee'=10)

('need of soldiers'=4)

('need to help them'=6)

('need'=6)

('needed'=4)

('negativitity'=7)

('neglected'=6)

('nervous'=6)

('network'=5)

('neutral'=10)

('new meat'=2)

('new'=2)

('newbie'=2)

('nigel fourage'=9)

('nightmare'=3)

('nightmares'=3)

('no idea'=10)

('no longer working'=2)

('noble'=1)

('noise'=3)

('non violent'=4)

('non-experience'=2)

('non-soldier'=13)

('nostalgic'=2)

('not home'=11)

('not integrated'=7)

('not shown'=10)

('not working'=2)

('nothing'=10)

('novice'=2)

('nuclear weapons'=3)

('nuclear'=3)

('nuke'=3)

('number'=10)

('nurse'=8)

('obama'=9)

('obay'=7)

('obedience'=7)

('obedient'=7)

('obey'=7)

('objective'=10)

('obligation'=7)

('occupation'=8)

('office'=10)

('officer'=13)

('official'=10)

('officiant'=13)

('ofice'=10)

('oil opportunist'=9)

('oil'=9)

('old but good people who have saved our country'=1)

('old man'=2)

('old or wounded'=6)

('old'=2)

('older'=2)

('one of ours'=5)

('oportunity'=4)

('opportunity'=8)

('oppurtunity'=4)

('optimistic'=4)

('optismistic'=4)

('order'=10)

('organisation'=13)

('organised'=4)

('osama'=9)

('our'=5)

('over 50'=2)

('overseas'=11)

('owed'=1)

('pain'=6)

('paper'=10)

('parachute regiment'=13)

('parent'=5)

('participants'=10)

('passionate'=4)

('past'=2)

('patriot'=5)

('patriotic'=5)

('patriotism'=5)

('patroitic'=5)

('pawn'=6)

('pawns'=6)

('peace keeper'=14)

('peace one day'=14)

('peace'=14)

('pension'=2)

('pensioner'=2)

('people away from home'=11)

('people have fought in a war'=3)

('people need help'=6)

('people who are moving countries but with the same job'=11)

('people who are moving to different departments'=10)

('people who are retiring'=2)

('people who care for our country by protecting us'=1)

('people who fight other countries'=1)

('people who have endangered their lives for us'=1)

('people who have fought for our country before'=1)

('people who have protected us'=1)

('people who have served for our country in the old years'=2)

('people who have served in service before'=2)

('people'=12)

('person'=12)

('persons'=12)

('phone calls'=10)

('phycology'=10)

('physcology'=10)

('physical'=10)

('physically broken'=6)

('physically fit'=4)

('pointless'=6)

('police'=13)

('poor country'=3)

('poor'=6)

('poppy'=1)

('population'=12)

('positive'=1)

('possibility'=8)

('post traumatic stress'=6)

('post war soldiers'=2)

('postwar illness'=6)

('postwar'=2)

('potential'=4)

('power'=4)

('powerful'=4)

('practical'=10)

('practice'=2)

('practise'=2)

('preparation'=2)

('prepared'=2)

('press ups'=10)

('pressure'=6)

('pride'=1)

('prision'=3)

('prison'=3)

('private army'=13)

('private'=10)

('pro'=4)

('probably needs help'=6)

('procedural'=10)

('process'=10)

('profession'=8)

('professional'=4)

('progressive'=4)

('propaganda'=3)

('propoganda'=3)

('prosperous'=4)

('protect'=1)

('protected'=1)

('protecter'=1)

('protection'=1)

('protective'=1)

('protector'=1)

('protectors'=1)

('proud'=1)

('pstd'=6)

('psychological'=10)

('psychology'=10)

('psychotherapy'=6)

('pts'=6)

('ptsd'=6)

('public servant'=13)

('puppet'=6)

('puppy'=6)

('purpose'=4)

('put together'=6)

('quality'=10)

('queen'=5)

('questions'=10)

('quick thinking'=4)

('quiet'=6)

('racist'=7)

('raf'=13)

('rank'=13)

('rape'=3)

('rare'=10)

('ready'=10)

('reality'=10)

('recent'=2)

('recruitment'=8)

('refugee'=3)

('refugees'=3)

('regime'=9)

('rehab'=6)

('reliable'=4)

('remaindered'=6)

('repatriation'=6)

('requirements'=10)

('research'=10)

('reservist'=13)

('resilient'=4)

('resourceful'=4)

('respect'=1)

('respectable'=1)

('respected'=1)

('respectful'=1)

('responsability'=4)

('responsibilities'=4)

('responsible'=10)

('rest'=2)

('retire'=2)

('retired soldier'=2)

('retired'=2)

('retirement'=2)

('re-train'=2)

('retreat'=10)

('rich'=10)

('rifle'=3)

('right wing'=9)

('risk'=3)

('risking life'=1)

('risk-taker'=1)

('rogue'=3)

('rookie'=2)

('rooky'=2)

('rootless'=6)

('rounded'=4)

('routine'=2)

('royal marines'=13)

('rsearch'=10)

('rugby'=10)

('rules'=10)

('rusty'=2)

('ryan'=10)

('sacary'=3)

('sacrifice'=1)

('sad'=3)

('sadam'=9)

('saddam'=9)

('sadness'=3)

('safe guard'=13)

('safe'=1)

('safety'=1)

('sailor'=13)

('salary'=8)

('same as afganistan'=3)

('sand'=11)

('saviour'=1)

('savvier'=1)

('scapegoated'=6)

('scared'=6)

('scarred'=6)

('scars'=6)

('scary'=3)

('seasoned'=10)

('secret'=10)

('sect'=10)

('secular'=10)

('security'=4)

('seek'=10)

('seen horrible things'=6)

('selection'=10)

('selfish'=7)

('selfless'=1)

('senior'=2)

('seniour'=2)

('sergeant'=13)

('serious'=7)

('serve not recognized'=6)

('serve'=8)

('served the country'=5)

('served their country'=5)

('served well'=1)

('served with purpose'=1)

('served'=8)

('server'=8)

('service'=8)

('serviced'=8)

('severe'=7)

('shaver'=10)

('sheep'=6)

('shellshock'=6)

('shell-shock'=6)

('ship'=3)

('shock'=6)

('shocked'=6)

('shoot'=3)

('shooter'=3)

('shooting'=3)

('shop'=3)

('shot'=3)

('sickness'=6)

('sign up'=8)

('signing up'=2)

('skill'=4)

('skilled'=4)

('skills'=4)

('skinhead'=7)

('slave'=6)

('slow'=7)

('small'=7)

('smart'=4)

('smile less'=6)

('smile'=4)

('snipers'=13)

('society'=5)

('sodier'=13)

('solder'=13)

('solders'=13)

('soldier to be'=13)

('soldier'=13)

('soldiers'=13)

('soldior'=13)

('solider'=13)

('soliders'=13)

('solidier'=13)

('some homeless'=6)

('some people who have worked in national service'=13)

('someone who fought for afghanistan'=1)

('someone who has served'=2)

('sorry'=6)

('souldiers'=13)

('specialist'=4)

('sports'=10)

('squad'=5)

('squaddie'=5)

('squaddy'=5)

('squandered efforts'=3)

('stable'=4)

('staff'=8)

('stand for a longtime'=4)

('state'=9)

('stay along'=10)

('stealth'=10)

('stern'=7)

('stigma'=6)

('still devoted'=4)

('still working'=8)

('stong'=4)

('stories'=10)

('straight edge'=4)

('stren'=7)

('strength'=4)

('stress'=6)

('stressed'=6)

('stressful'=6)

('stressfull'=6)

('strict'=7)

('stricted'=10)

('strive'=10)

('strong minddd'=4)

('strong minded'=4)

('strong'=3)

('stronge'=4)

('struggling'=6)

('study'=2)

('stupid'=7)

('subservient'=13)

('success'=4)

('suddam'=9)

('suffering'=6)

('suicide'=6)

('suntan'=10)

('support'=6)

('supporter'=1)

('suppressed'=6)

('survival'=6)

('survived'=3)

('survivor'=1)

('survivors'=1)

('sweat'=4)

('sympathy'=6)

('system'=10)

('tactics'=10)

('take'=10)

('taken for granted'=6)

('talent'=4)

('taliban'=3)

('tall'=4)

('tank'=3)

('tanks'=3)

('task'=3)

('tattoo'=12)

('team'=5)

('teamwork'=5)

('tears'=3)

('teats'=3)

('teenager'=2)

('tense'=3)

('terrible'=3)

('terroism'=3)

('terror'=3)

('terrorism'=3)

('terrorist'=3)

('test'=10)

('tested'=6)

('thank you for picking up the shield and sword'=1)

('thank you for your service'=1)

('thank you for your servive'=1)

('thank you'=1)

('thankful'=1)

('thankfull'=1)

('thank-you'=1)

('the ideal soldier'=1)

('the people suffering'=6)

('their family'=5)

('ties'=5)

('time'=10)

('tired'=6)

('title'=8)

('tofu'=10)

('togetherness'=5)

('tolerance'=4)

('tony blair'=9)

('tool'=6)

('torture'=3)

('tough'=4)

('tour'=11)

('tours'=11)

('town centre'=11)

('traditional'=10)

('tragic'=6)

('train'=2)

('trained'=2)

('trainee'=2)

('training'=2)

('traning'=2)

('trauma'=6)

('traumata'=6)

('traumatic'=6)

('traumatised'=6)

('travelled'=11)

('trenches'=3)

('trial'=3)

('tribute'=1)

('trick'=10)

('trieste'=3)

('trobled'=6)

('troop'=5)

('trooping the colour'=5)

('trouble'=6)

('troubled (later in life)'=6)

('troubled'=6)

('true britain'=5)

('true'=10)

('trumatized'=6)

('trust'=4)

('trustowrthy'=4)

('trustworthy'=4)

('trying'=4)

('turnover'=6)

('tv'=10)

('typewriter'=10)

('unappreciated'=6)

('unaware'=6)

('under appreciated'=6)

('under valued'=6)

('underappreciated'=6)

('underpaid'=6)

('underpreciated'=6)

('understanding'=4)

('understated'=6)

('undervalued'=6)

('undisciplined'=7)

('uneccesary'=3)

('unecessary'=3)

('uneducated'=7)

('unemployed'=6)

('unemployment'=6)

('unexperienced'=2)

('unexsperienced'=2)

('unfair'=3)

('unforgiven'=3)

('unfortunate'=6)

('unhappy'=6)

('uniform'=12)

('uniformed'=12)

('unit'=5)

('unjust'=3)

('unknown'=10)

('unlawful'=7)

('unlucky'=6)

('unnecassary'=3)

('unnecassay'=3)

('unnecessary war'=3)

('unnecessary'=6)

('unpopular'=6)

('unprepared'=6)

('unsafe'=3)

('unshapen'=2)

('unskilled'=7)

('unstable'=7)

('untidy'=7)

('untrained'=2)

('untutored'=2)

('unutilised'=2)

('us'=5)

('usa'=9)

('used to be'=2)

('used'=6)

('useful'=4)

('useless'=7)

('vacancy'=8)

('valued'=1)

('values their nationality'=5)

('varied'=10)

('vegetarian'=10)

('vet'=13)

('veteran'=13)

('veterans'=13)

('veteren'=13)

('veternary'=13)

('vetran'=13)

('vets'=13)

('victim'=6)

('victory'=1)

('vietnam'=9)

('violence'=3)

('vital'=4)

('voilence'=3)

('voluntary'=10)

('volunteer'=10)

('volutary'=8)

('vulnerable'=6)

('wae'=3)

('waiter'=8)

('want'=10)

('wanted'=4)

('war imprisonment'=3)

('war on terror'=3)

('war'=3)

('warrier'=3)

('warrior'=3)

('wason'=10)

('waste of life'=6)

('waste of time'=6)

('waste'=6)

('wasted'=6)

('wasten'=6)

('water'=10)

('weak'=7)

('weapon'=3)

('weaponry'=3)

('weapons'=3)

('weedy'=10)

('weird'=7)

('well built'=4)

('well bulit'=4)

('well trained'=4)

('western desire for oil'=9)

('what country did you serve'=10)

('what is this iob'=10)

('what part of the Armed Forces did u serve?'=10)

('wheelchair'=6)

('when?'=10)

('white'=13)

('why did you decide to serve'=10)

('why?'=10)

('why'=10)

('willing'=10)

('wisdom'=4)

('wise'=4)

('withdrawn'=2)

('witness'=10)

('wmds'=9)

('woman'=12)

('work force'=8)

('work'=8)

('worked hard'=2)

('worker'=8)

('workers'=8)

('workforce'=8)

('working class'=8)

('working hours'=8)

('world war 1 & 2 soldiers'=2)

('world war one'=2)

('world war two'=2)

('world war'=2)

('world-weary'=6)

('worn'=6)

('worthy'=1)

('wound'=6)

('wounded'=6)

('wounds'=3)

('wrong'=3)

('ww2'=2)

('young men'=2)

('young'=2)

('younge'=2)

('younger'=2)

('youngster'=2)

("honourable to being a solider- it's a life not a job"=1)

("i don't know"=10)

("don't know"=10)

("hero's"=1)

('war'=3)

('09/-Nov'=10)

('barracks'=10)

("can't go home frequently"=6)

('damager'=3)

('dessert'=3)

('dutiful'=1)

('enforce'=7)

('ireland'=11)

('legion'=5)

('membership'=5)

('roman'=10)

('age'=2)

('recruit'=13)

('start'=2)

('begin'=2)

('tin'=10)

('orderly'=4)

('sttong '=4)

('comradeship'=5)

('orderly'=4)

('adjustment'=6)

('frustration'=6)

('lifestyle'=10)

('frustration'=6)

('adjustment'=6)

('lifestyle'=10)

('adjustment'=6)

('orderly'=4)

('lifestyle'=10)

('relief'=10)

('lifestyle'=10)

('comradeship'=5)

('new staff'=2)

('foreign aid'=1)

('special'=1)

('advertise'=10)

('angst'=3)

('hard worker'=4)

('new starter'=2)

('ex military'=13)

('ex military'=13)

('proud to have served'=1)

('gulf war'=3)

('ex military'=13)

('comrade'=5)

('resrves'=13)

('rejected'=6)

('unwanted'=6)

('abused'=6)

('not respected'=6)

('failed'=6)

('older military'=2)

('platoon'=5)

('barrack'=10)

('Raleigh'=9)

('disqualified'=6)

('politics'=9)

('teenager'=2)

('disillusioned'=6)

('post traumtic stress'=6)

('hell'=3)

('impossible'=10)

('server not recognized'=6)

('venerable'=1)

("honourable to being a solider- it's a life not a job"=1)

("i don't know"=10)

("don't know"=10)

("hero's"=1)

('raw'=2)

('car'=10)

('misleading'=6)

('raleigh'=10)

('disallusioned'=6)

('injustice'=3)

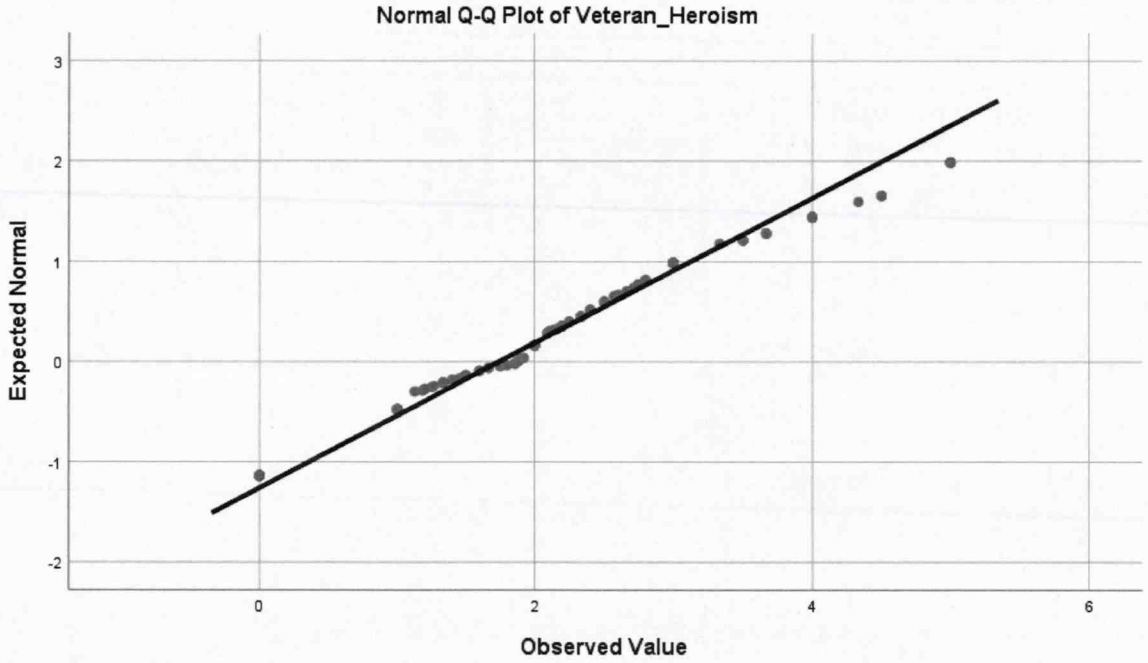
('saddam hussain'=9)

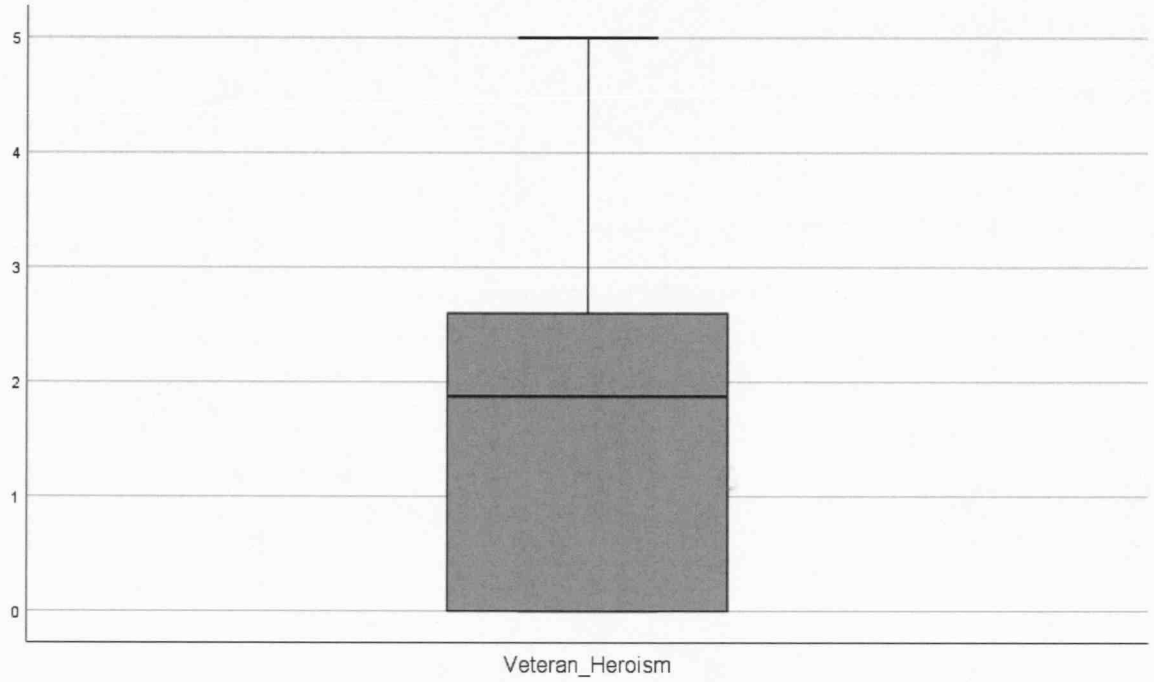
Appendix 4.

Boxplots and Normal Q-Q Plots for the DVs

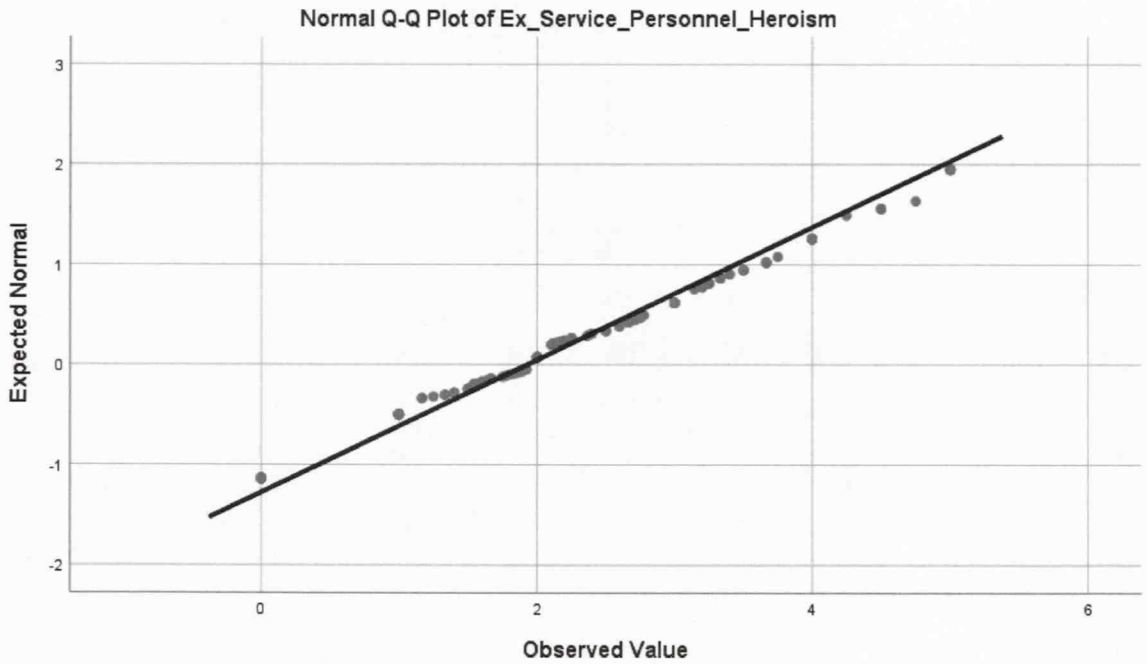
Heroism

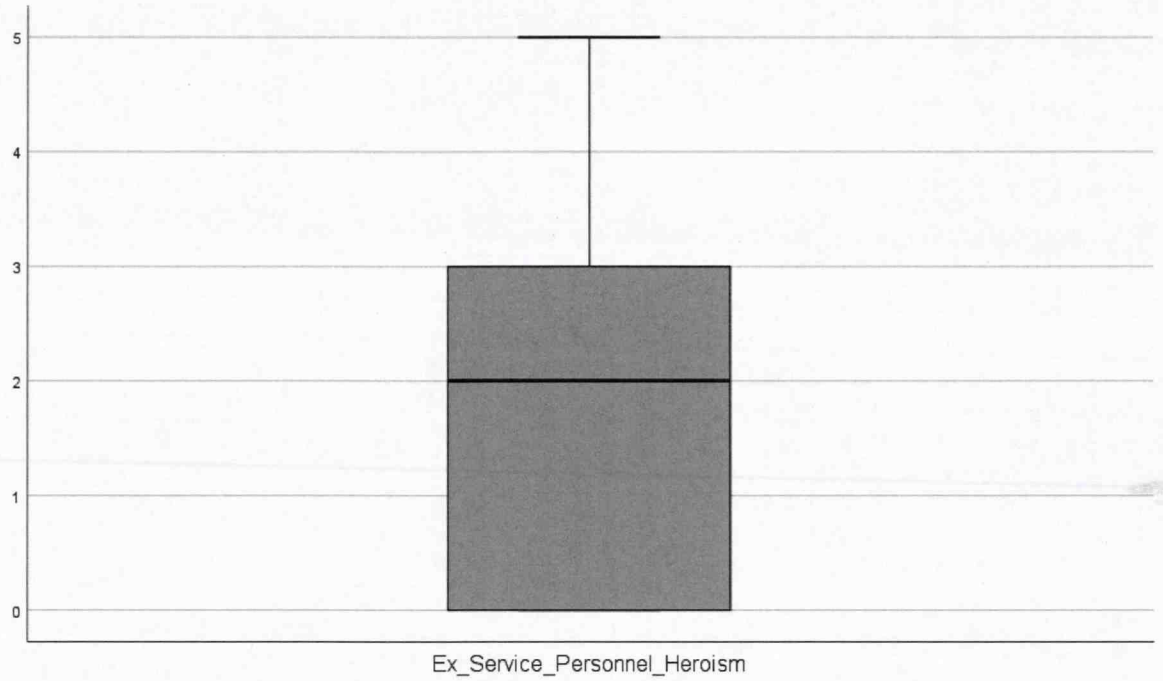
DV 'Heroism' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'



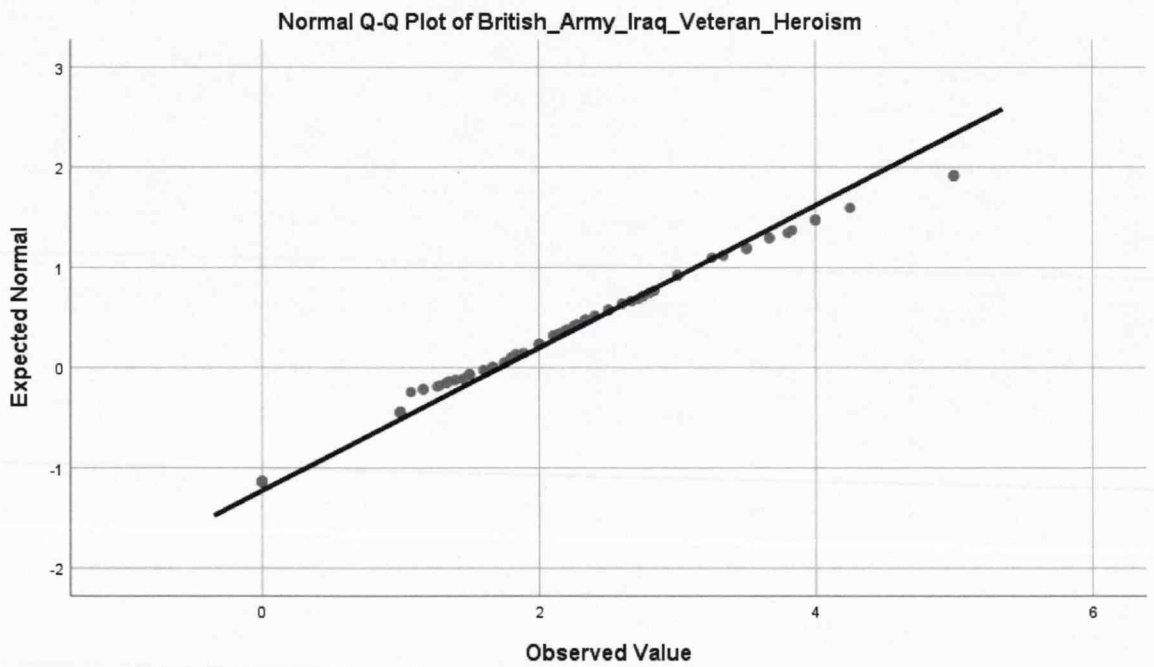


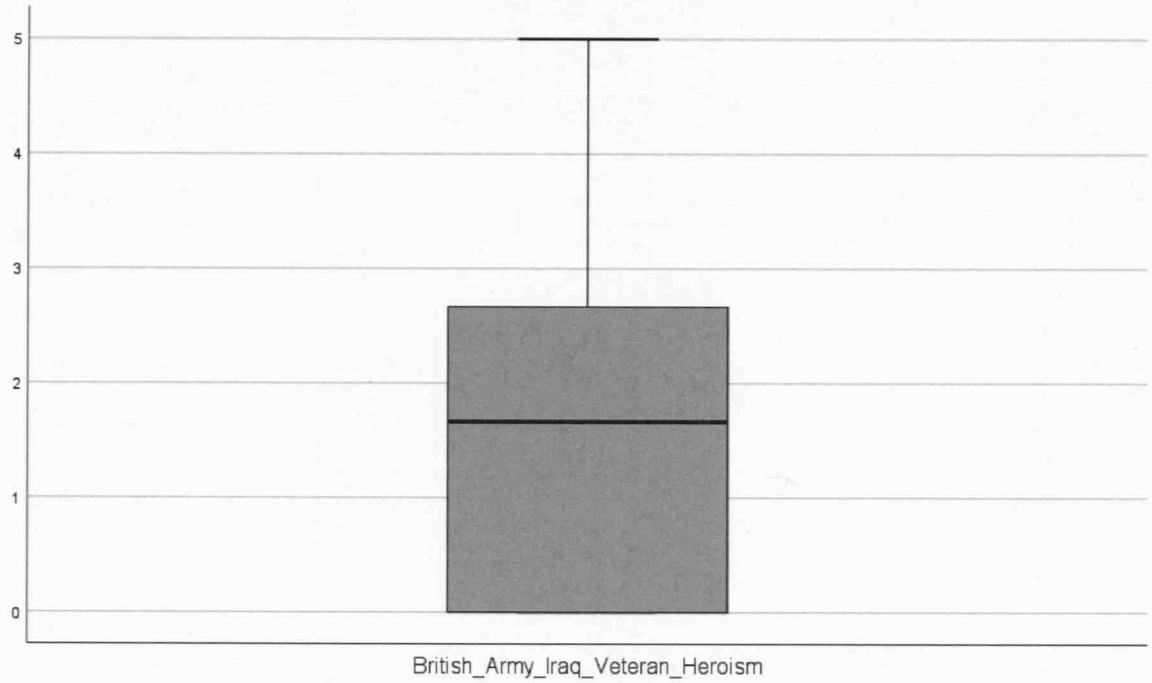
DV ‘Heroism’ for the stimulus word ‘Ex-Service Personnel’



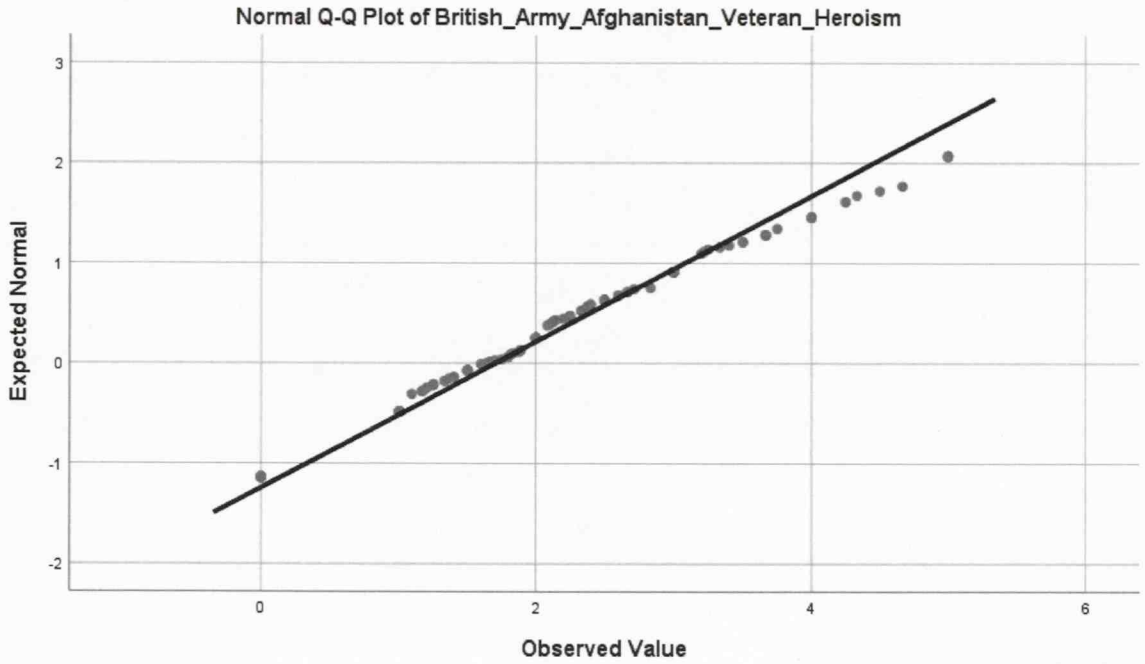


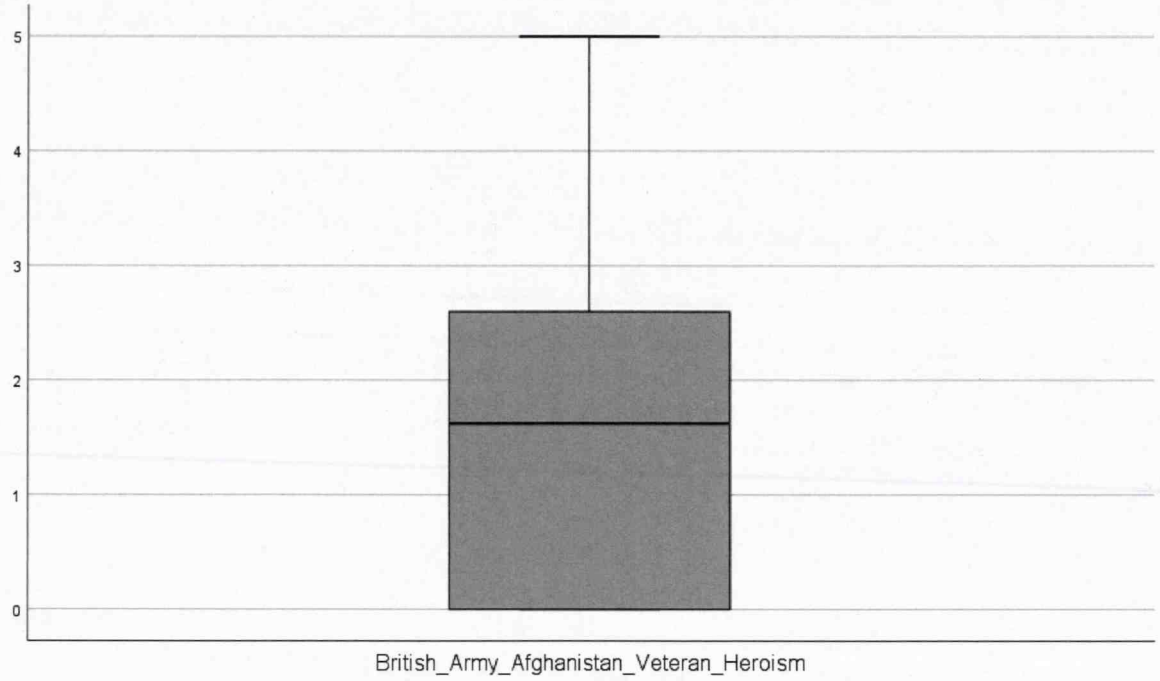
DV ‘Heroism’ for the stimulus word ‘British Army Iraq Veteran’



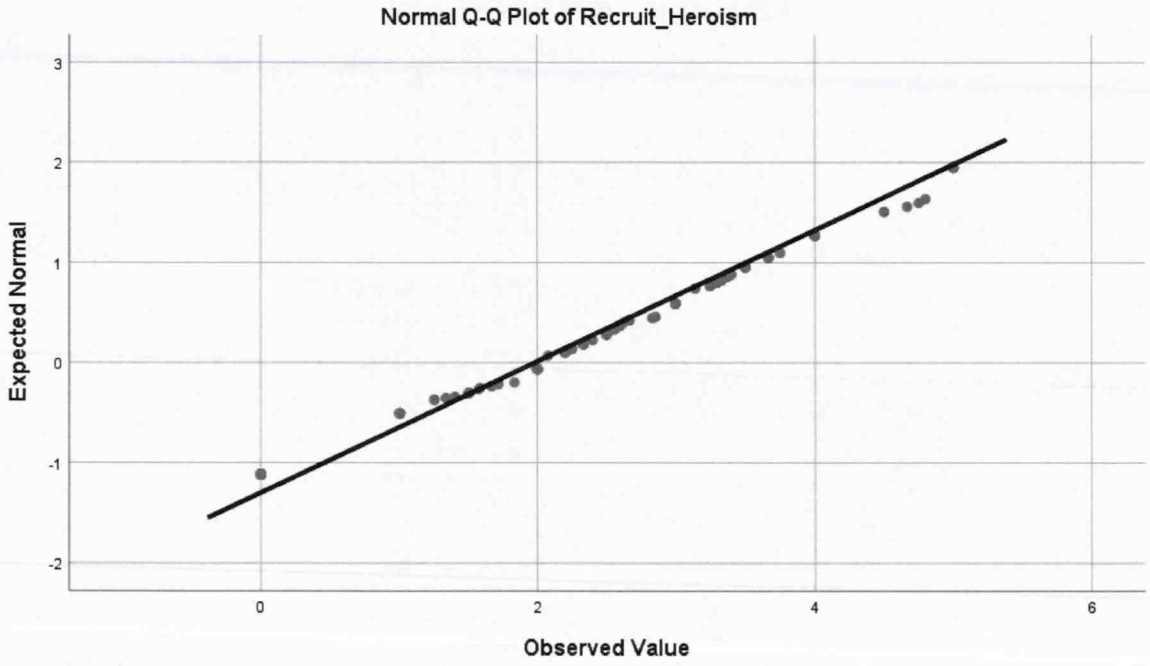


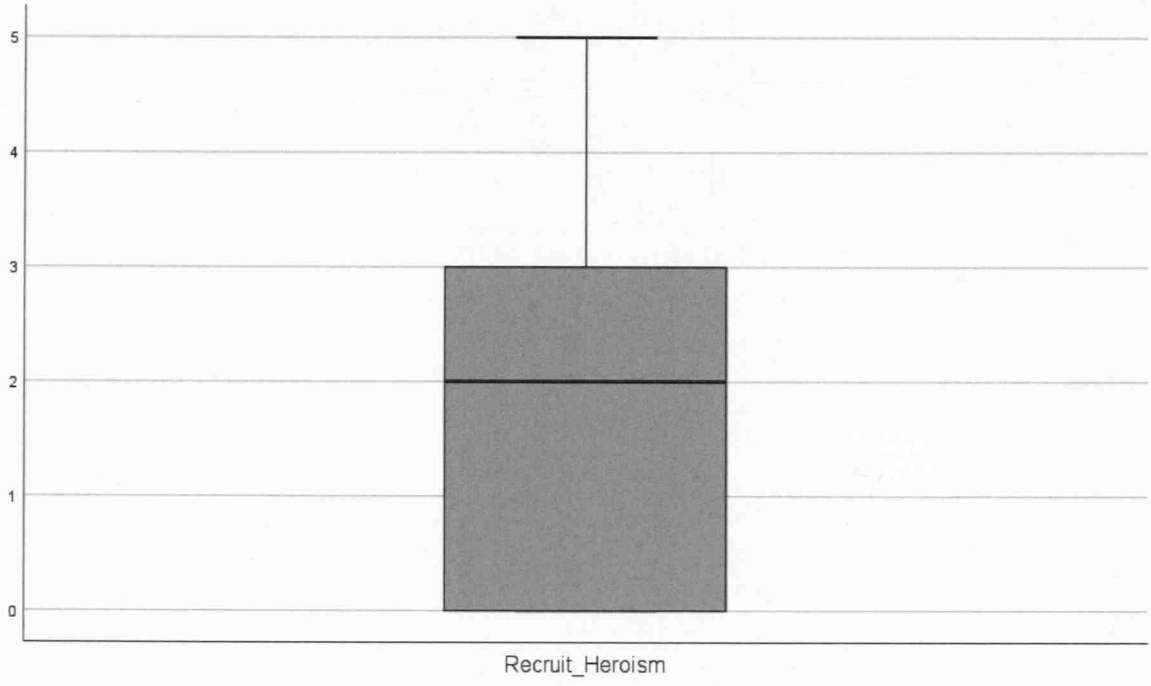
DV 'Heroism' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan'



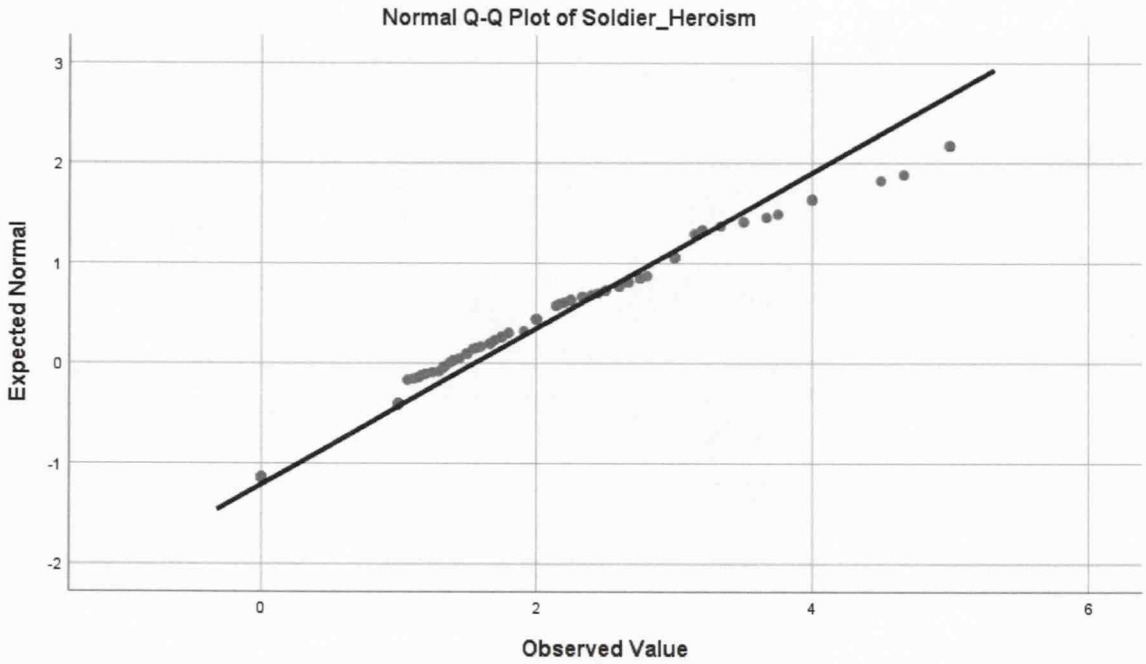


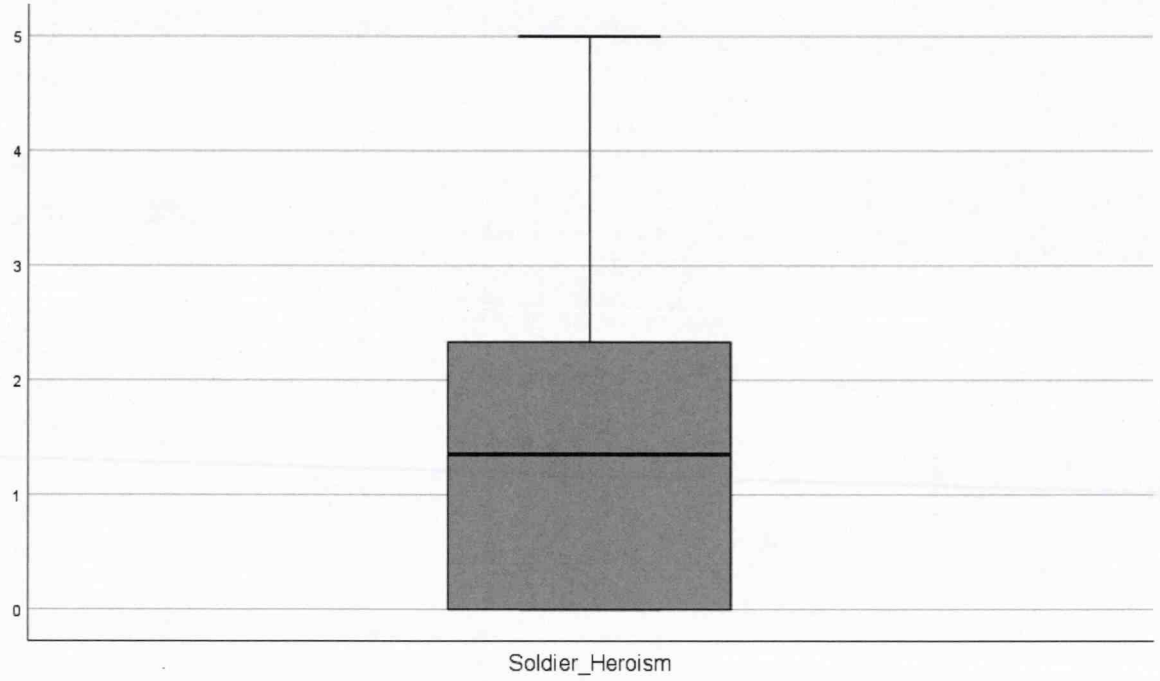
DV 'Heroism' for the stimulus word 'Recruit'





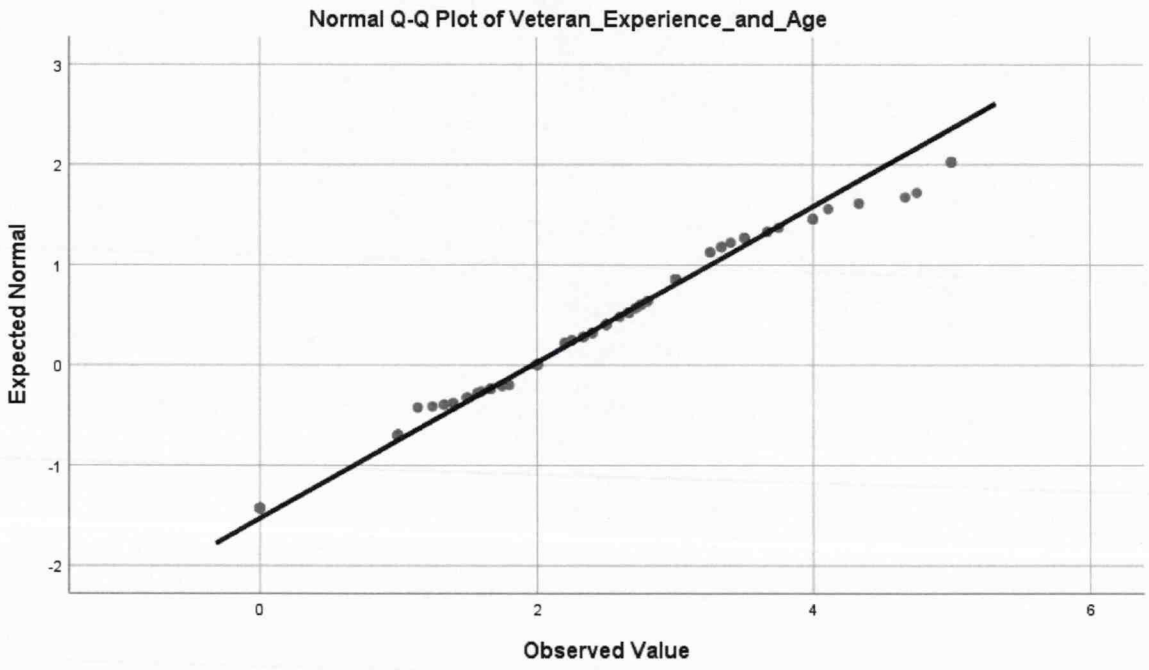
DV ‘Heroism’ for the stimulus word ‘Soldier’

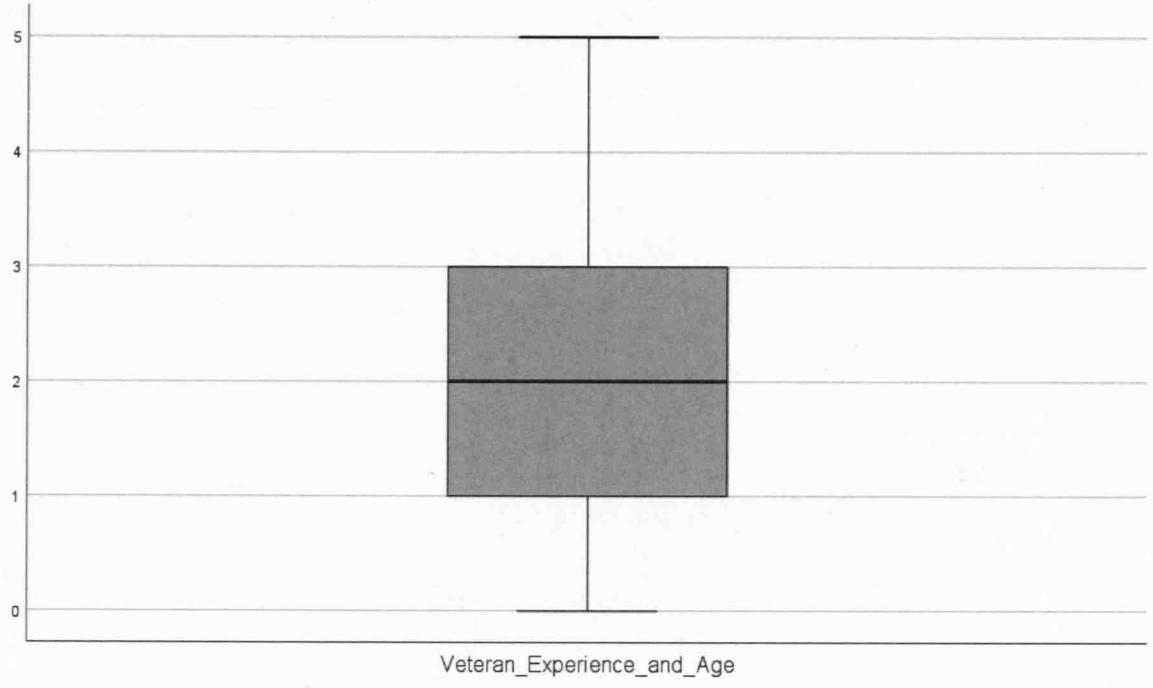




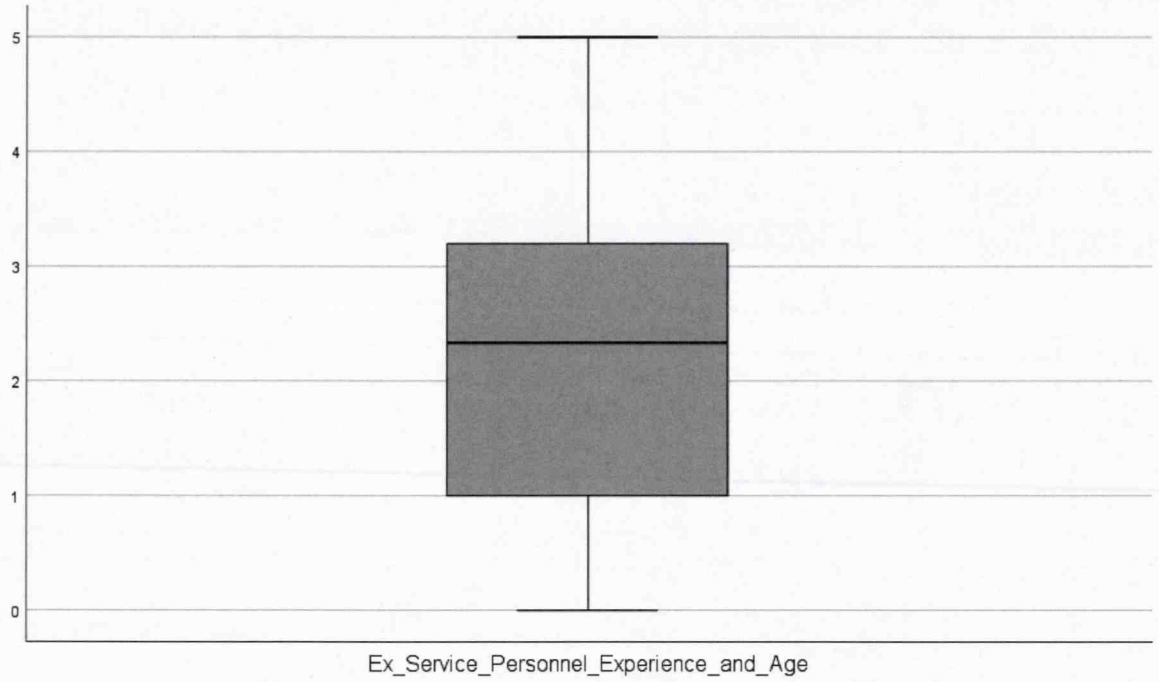
Experience and Age

DV 'Experience and Age' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'

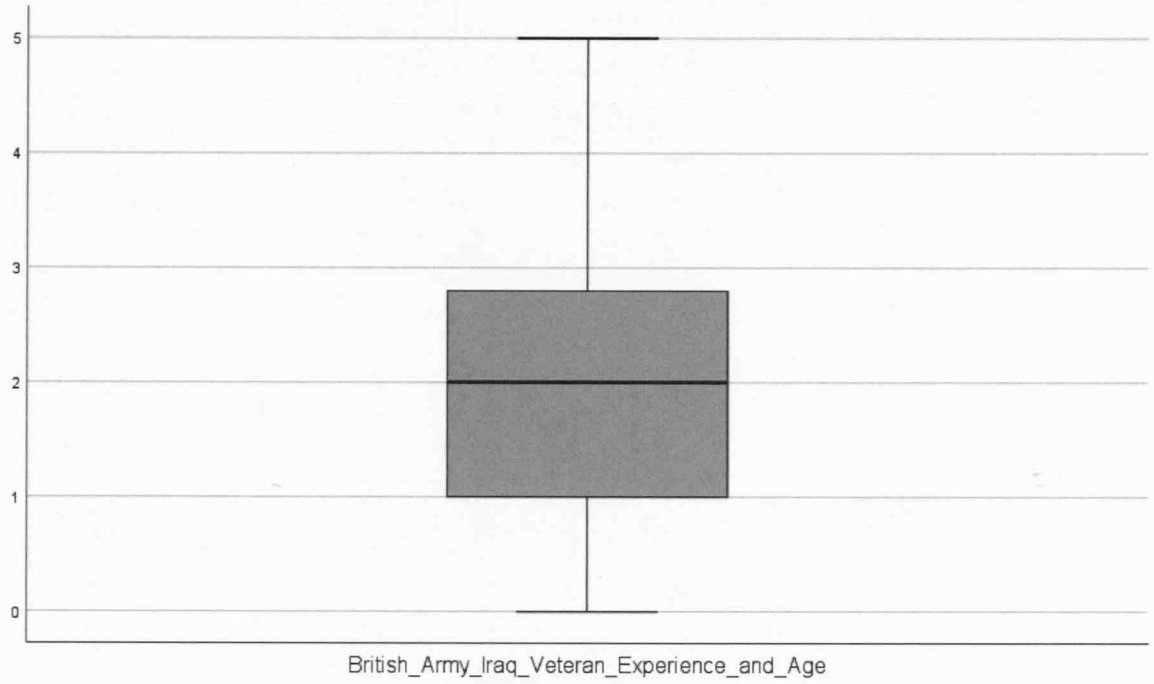




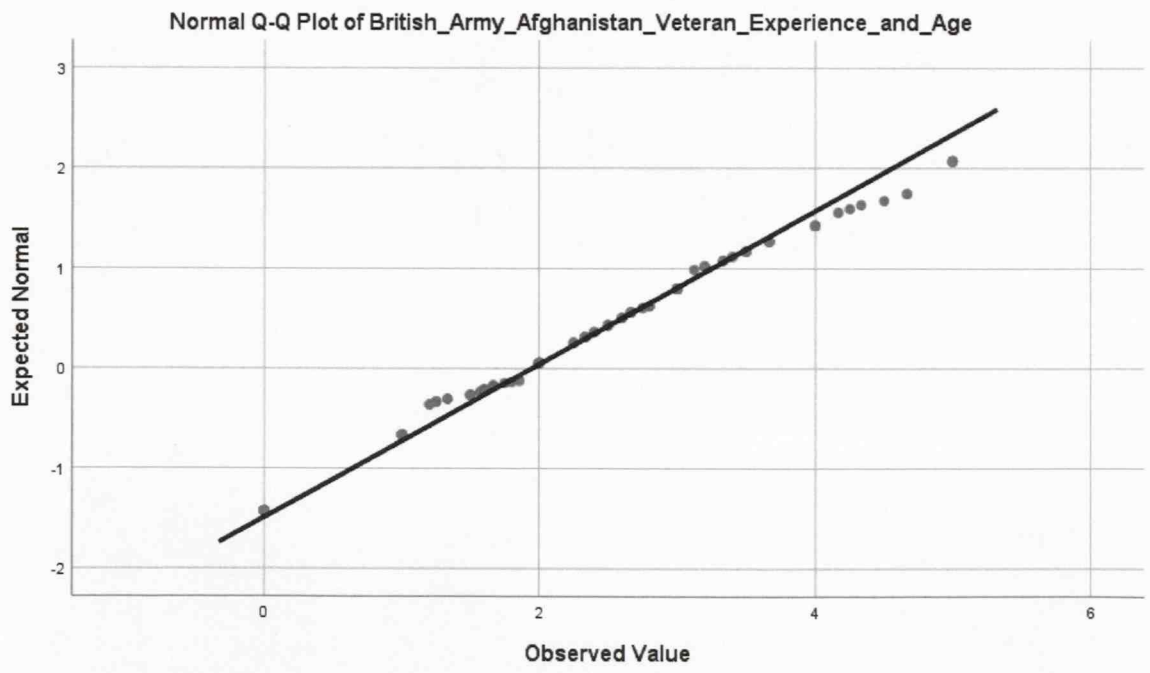
DV 'Experience and Age' for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel'

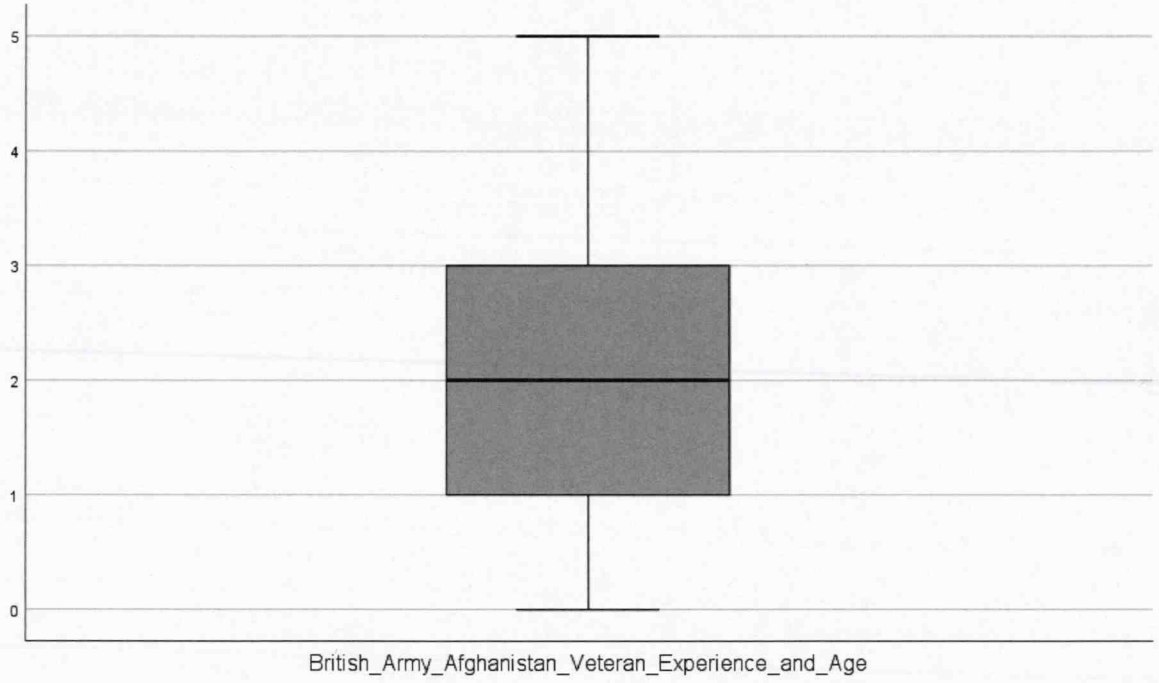


DV 'Experience and Age' for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran'

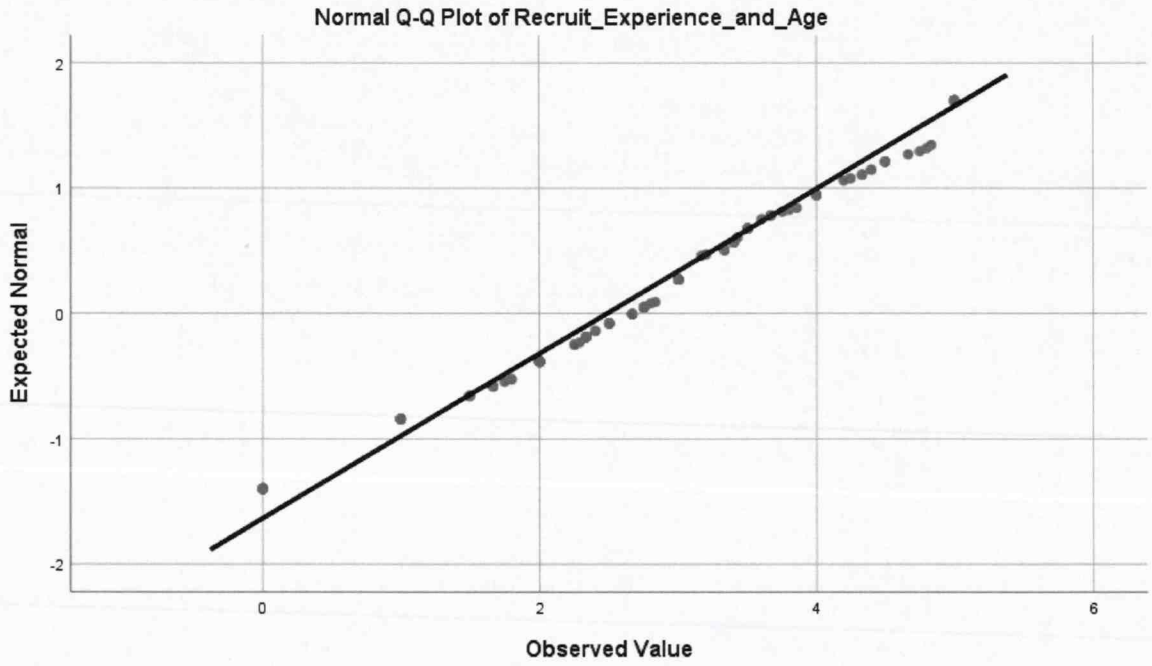


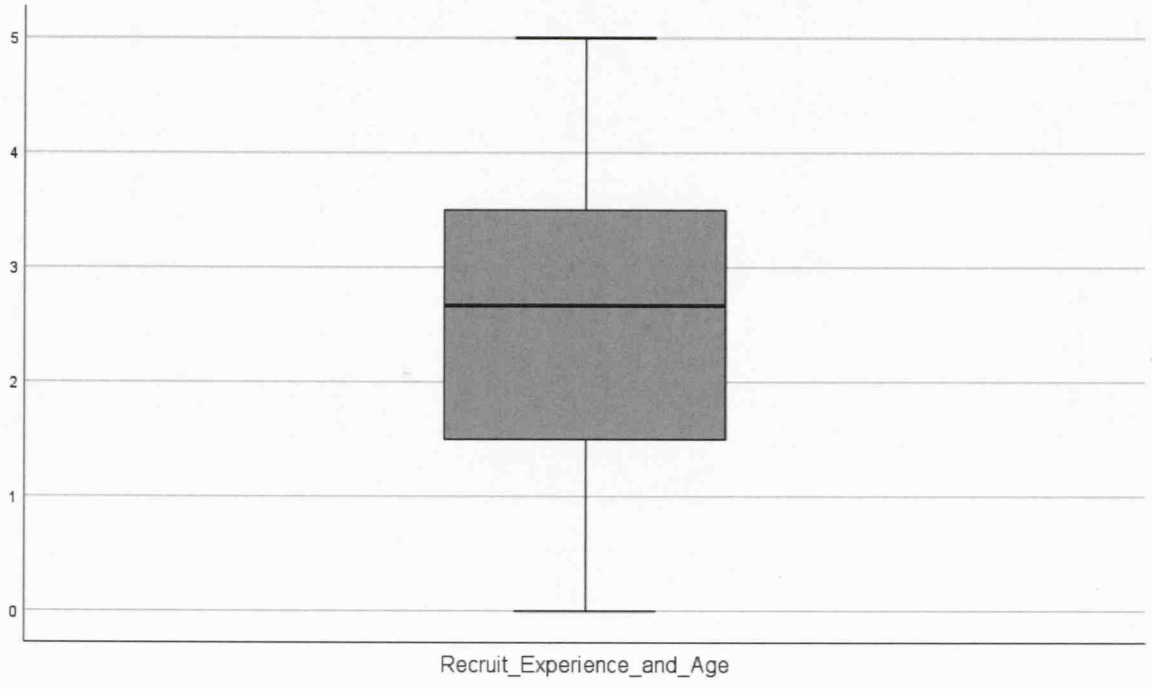
DV 'Experience and Age' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'



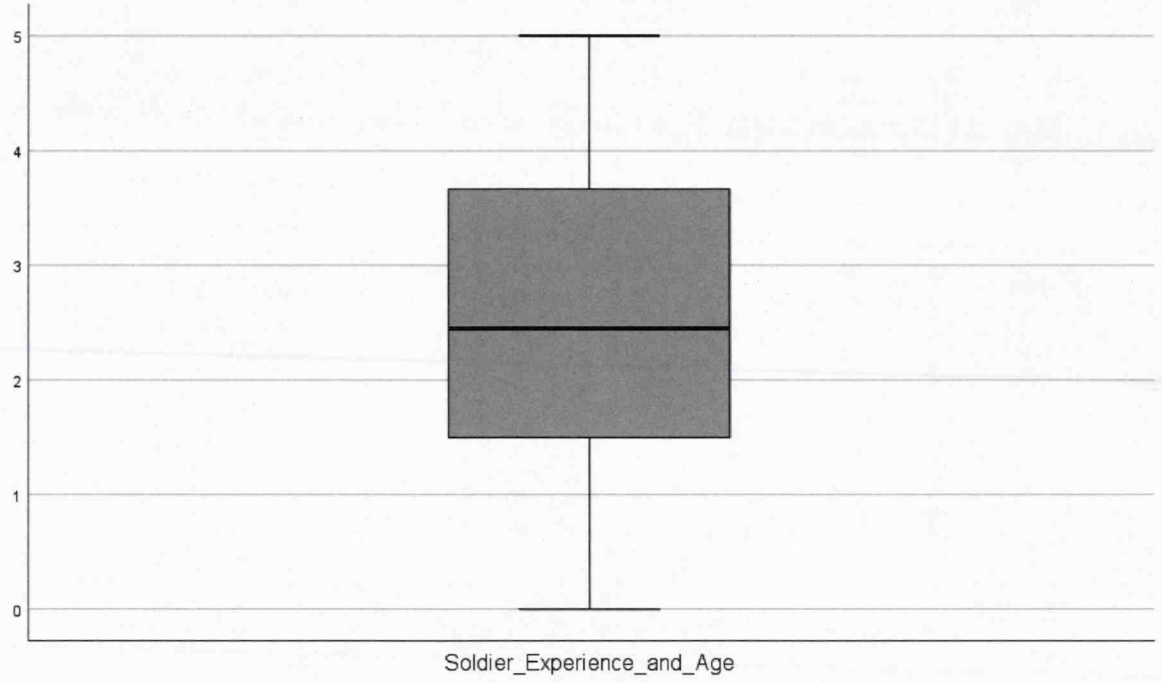


DV 'Experience and Age' for the stimulus word 'Recruit'



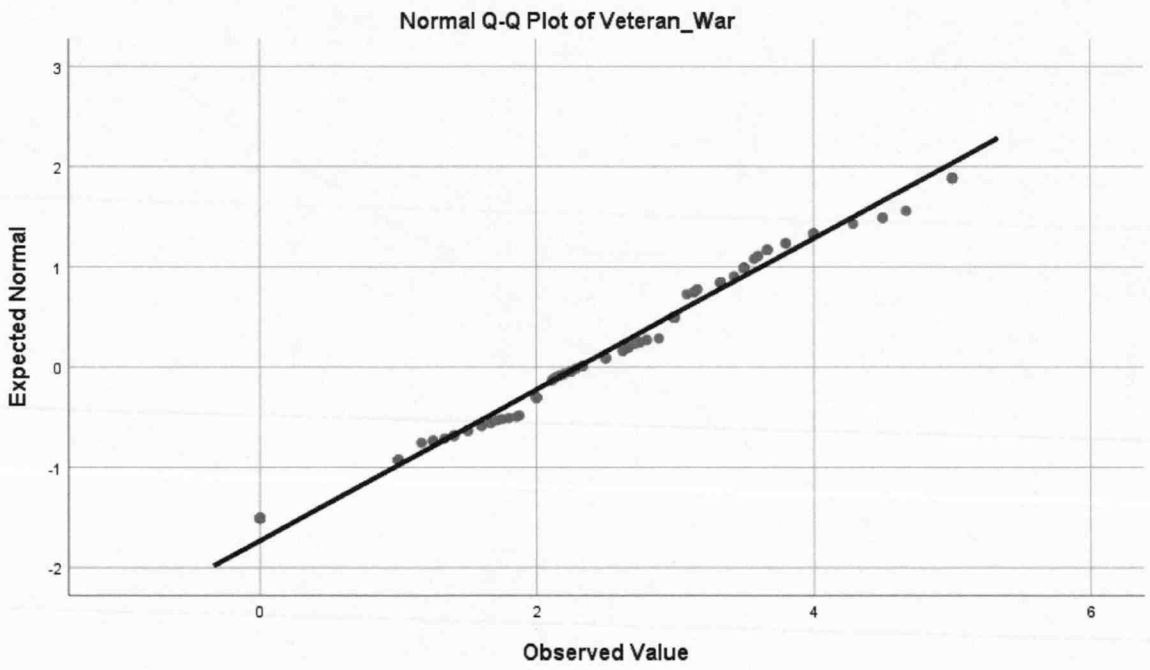


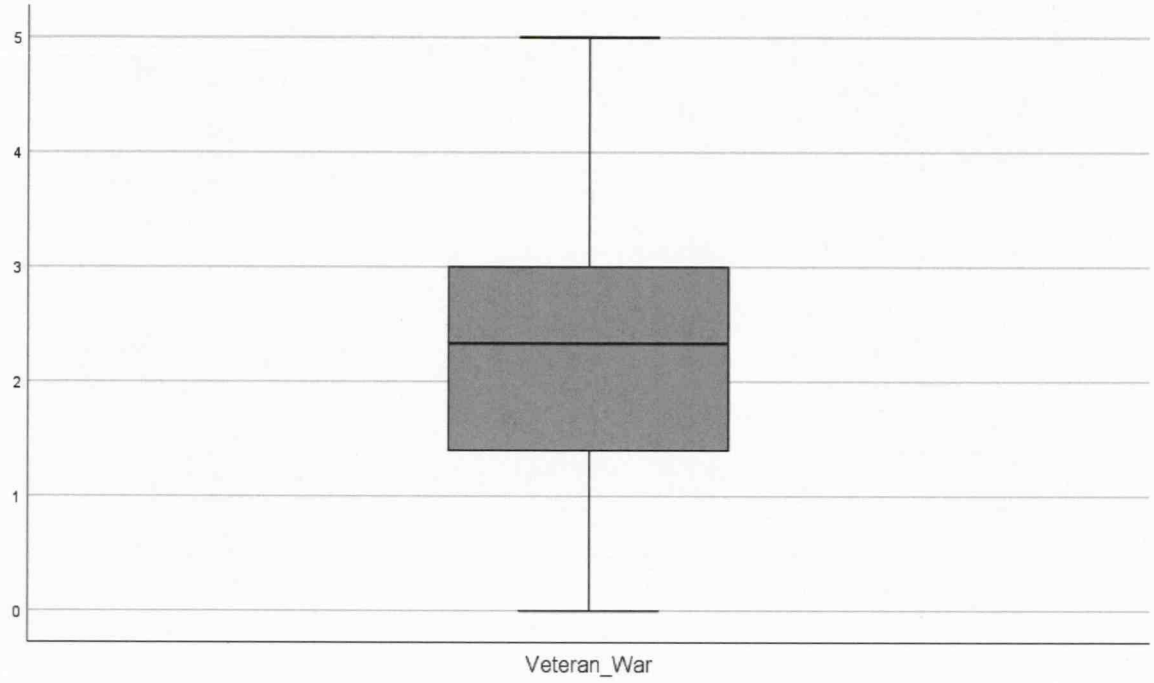
DV 'Experience and Age' for the stimulus word 'Soldier'



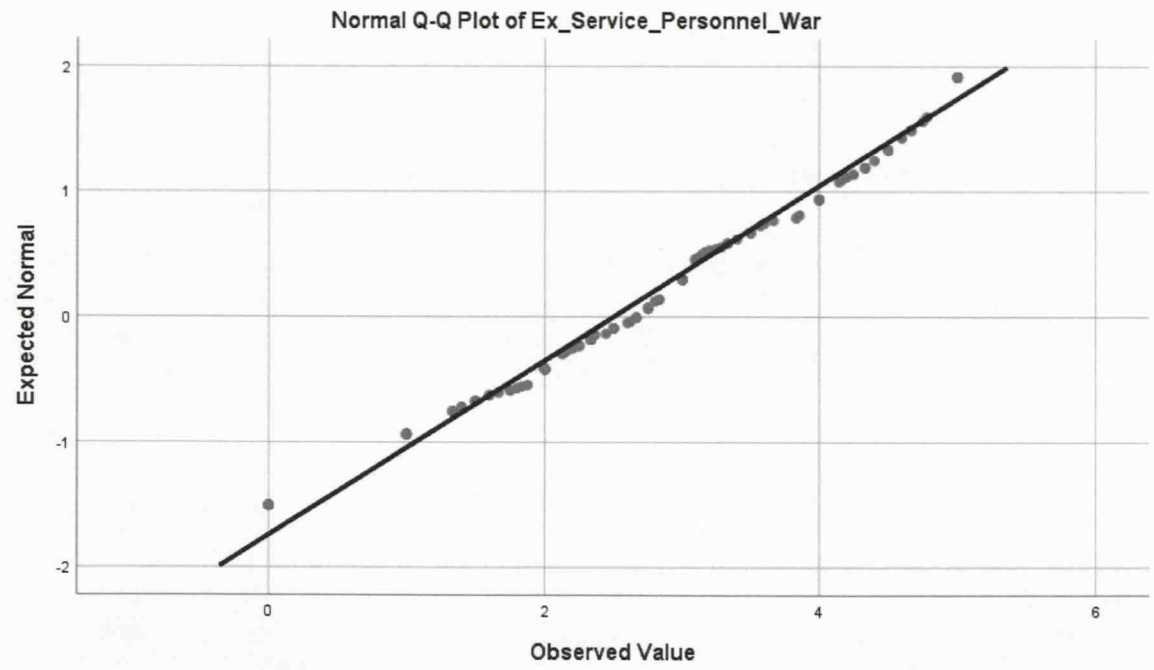
War

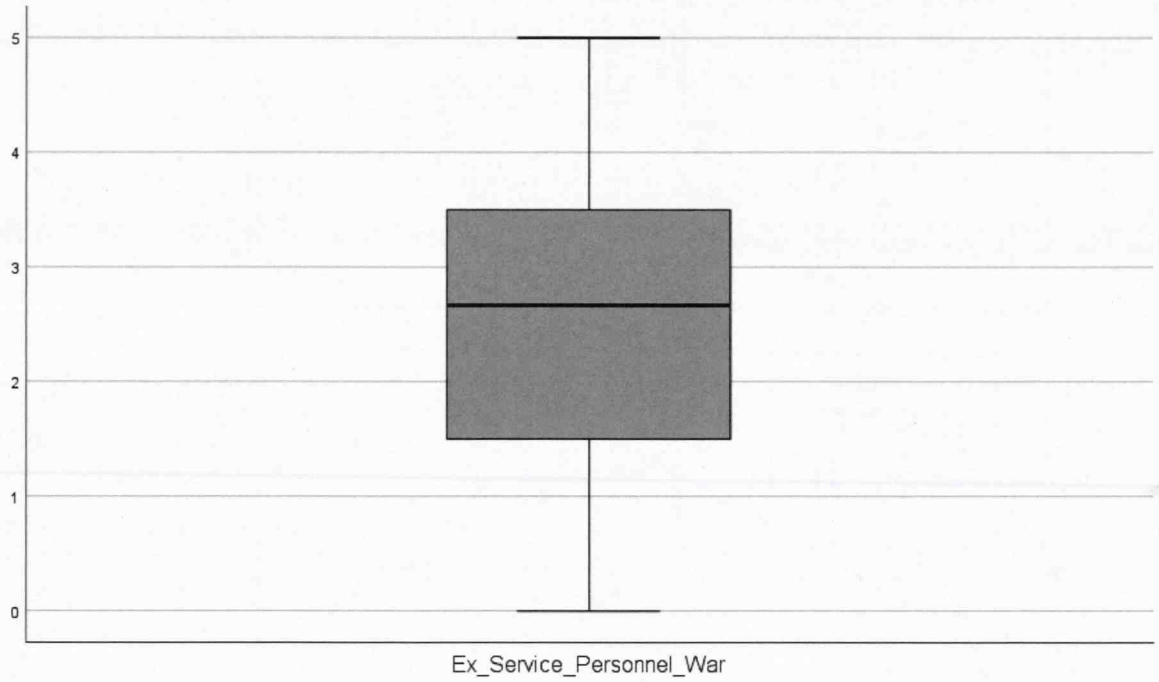
DV 'War' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'



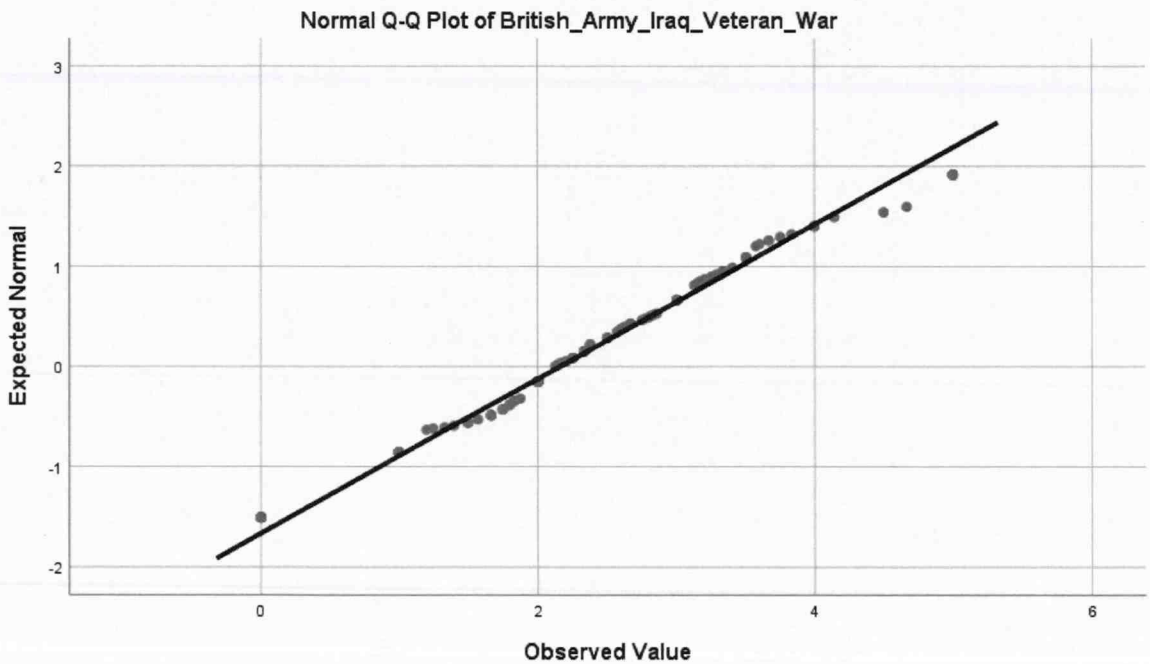


DV 'War' for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel'

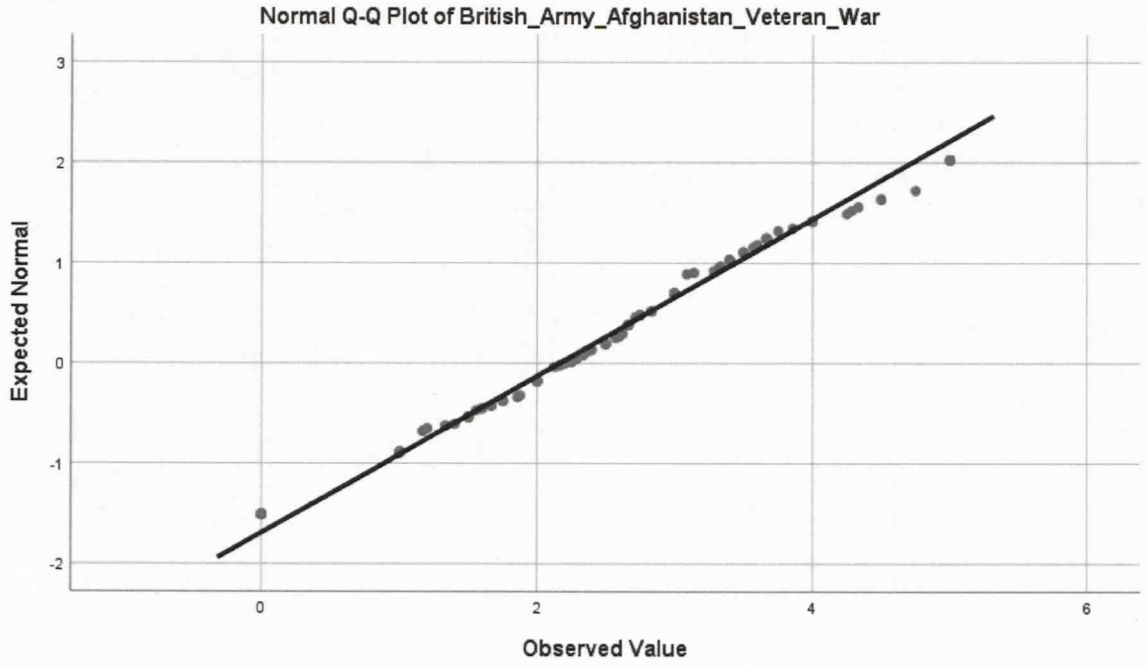




DV 'War' for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran'



DV 'War' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'


Normal Q-Q Plot of British_Army_Afghanistan_Veteran_War
Expected Normal
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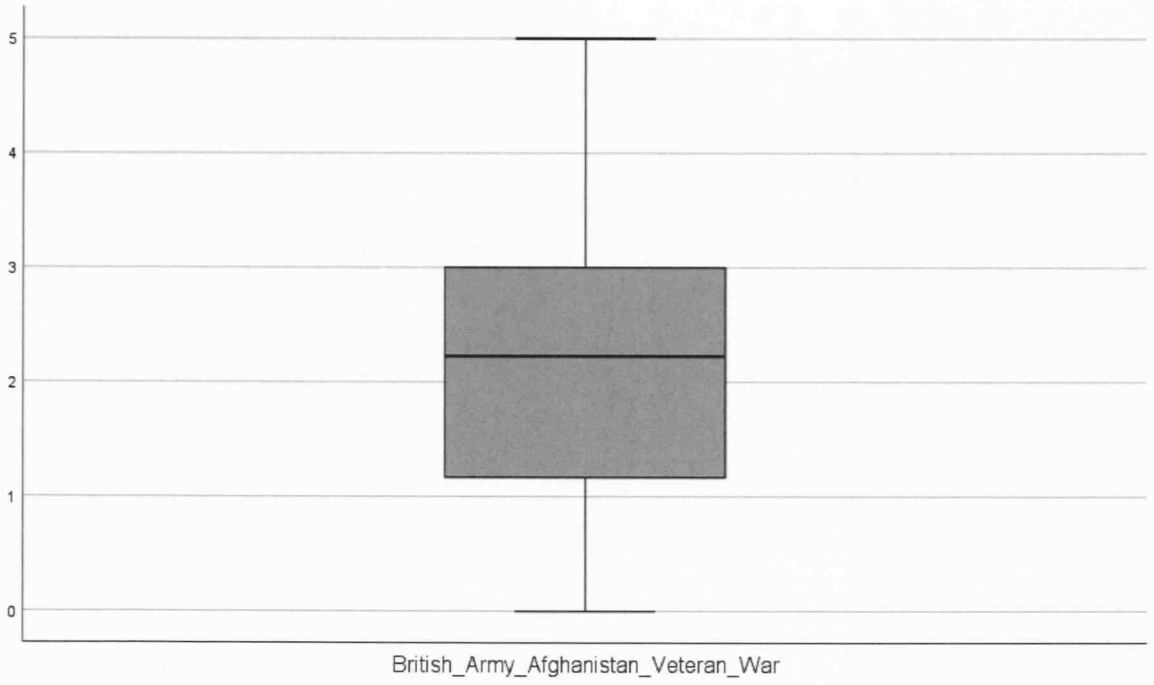
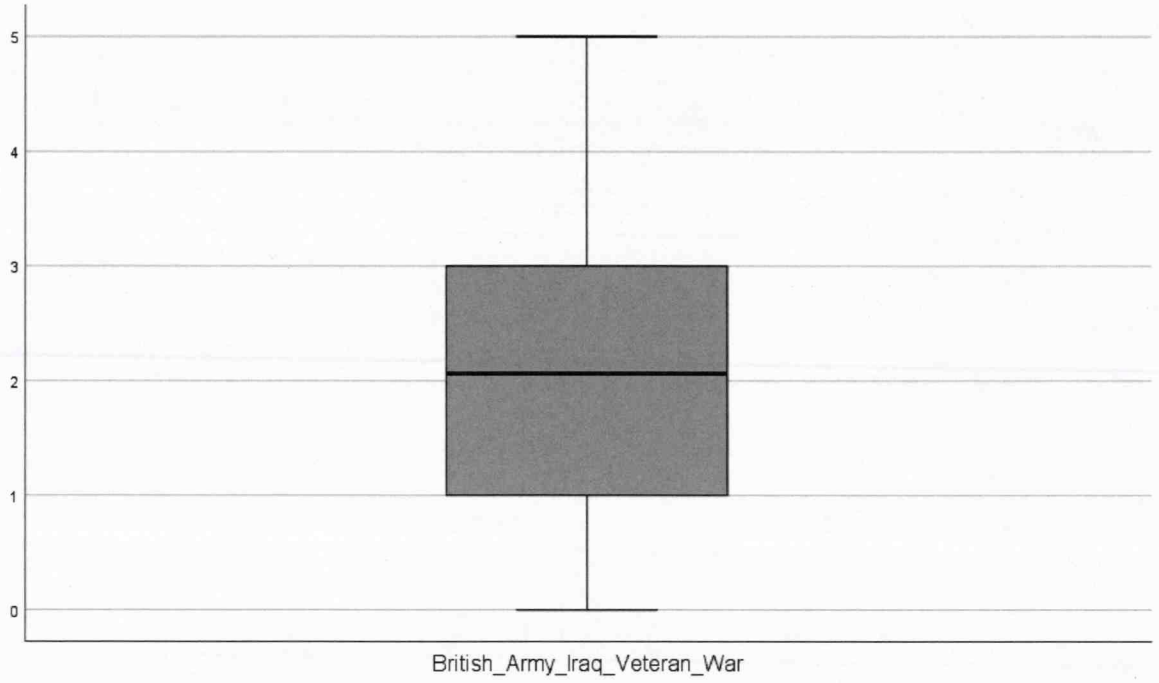
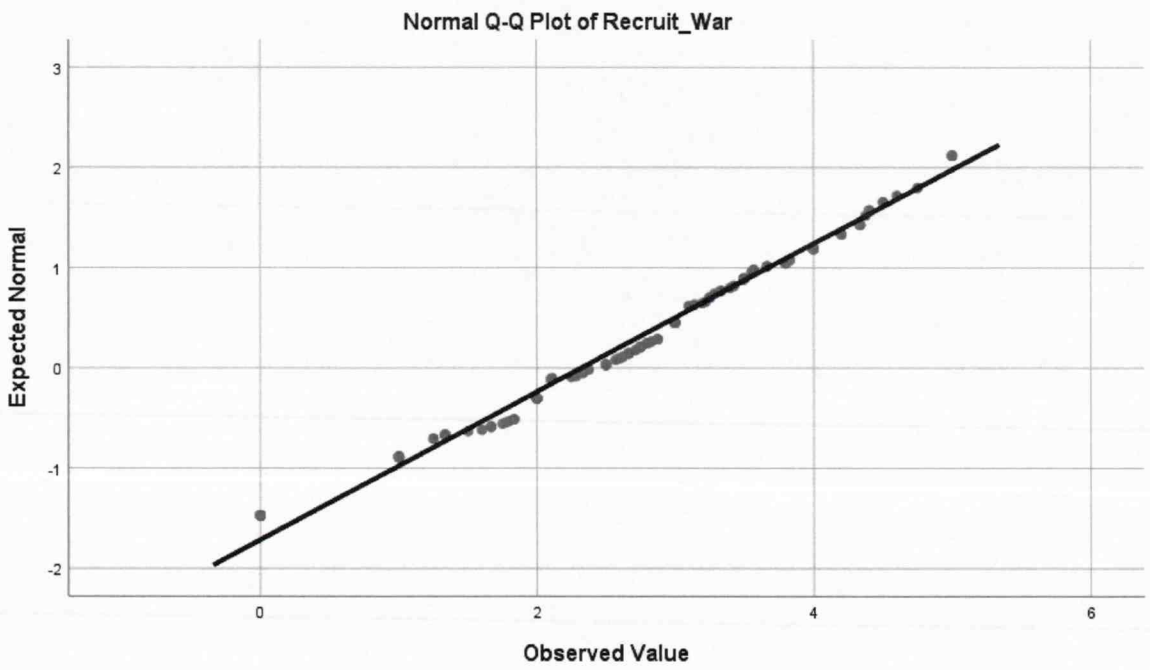
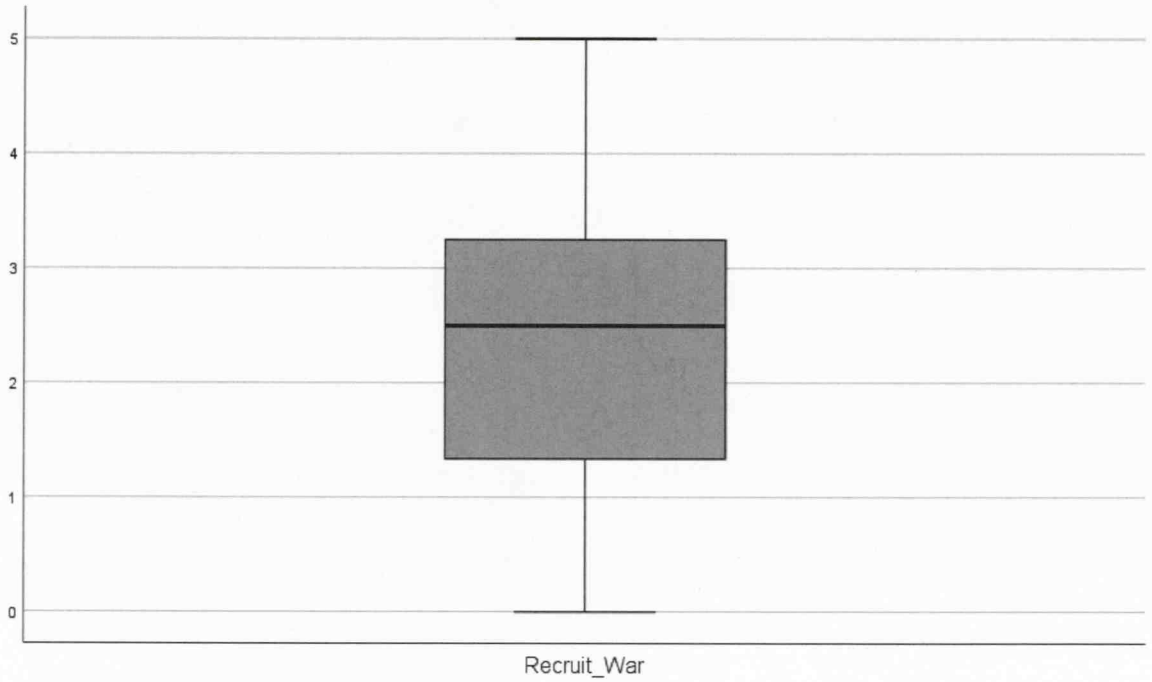
2
1
0
-1
-2
0
2
4
6
Observed Value


5
4
3
2
1
0
British_Army_Afghanistan_Veteran_War

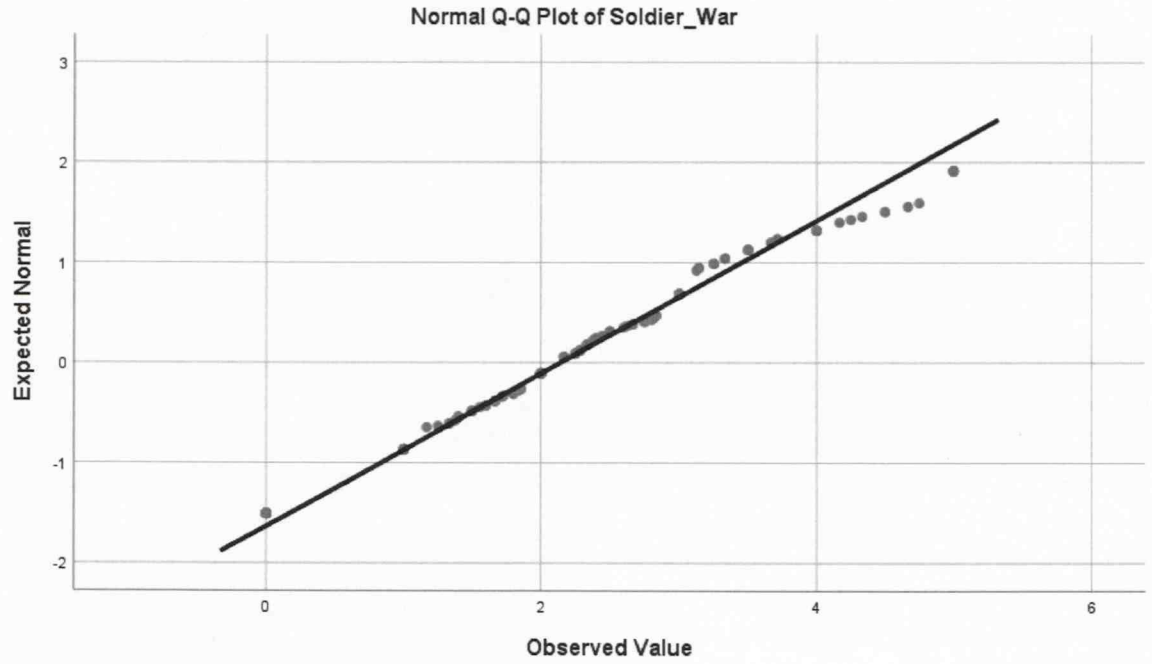


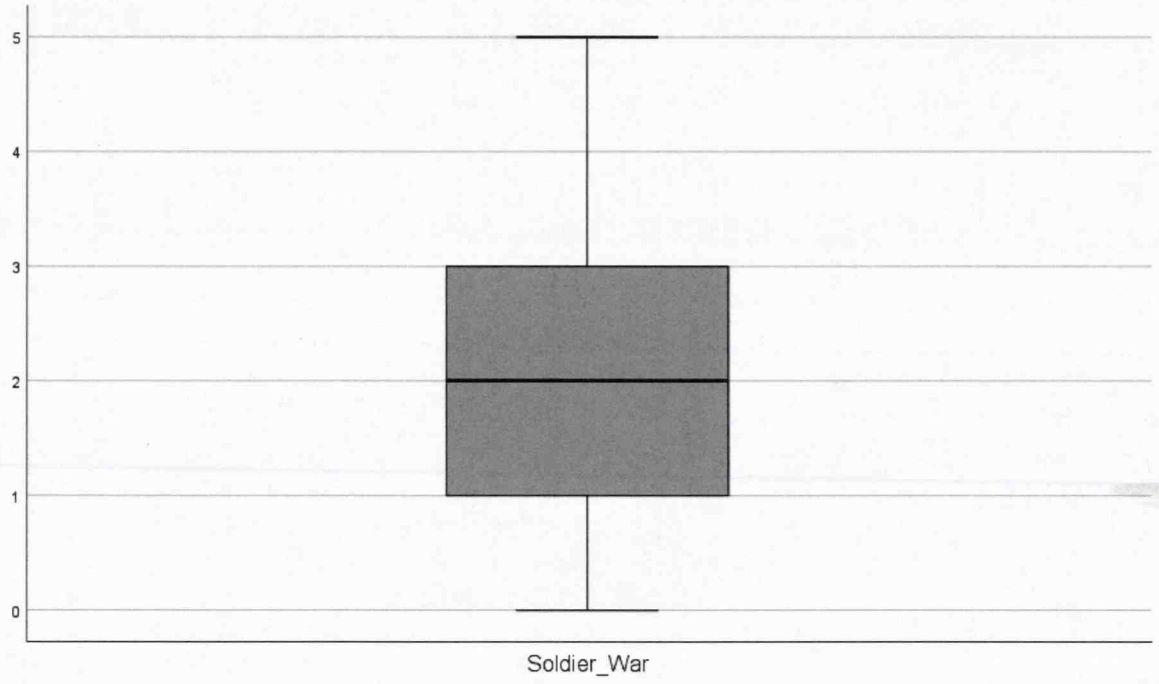
DV ‘War’ for the stimulus word ‘Recruit’





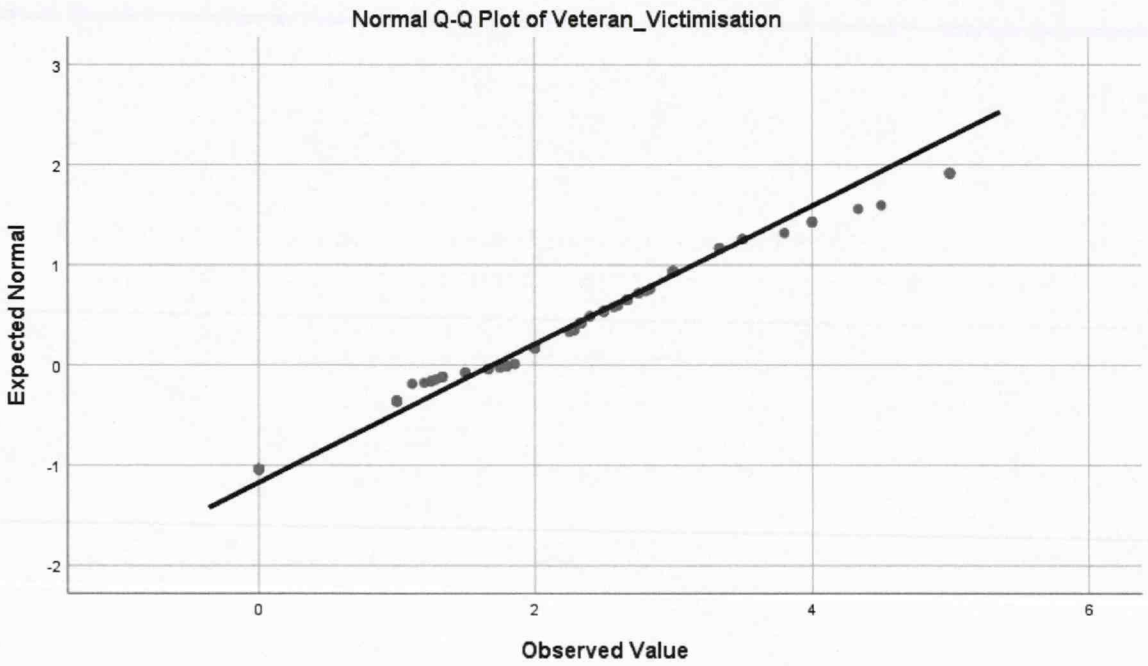
DV ‘War’ for the stimulus word ‘Soldier’

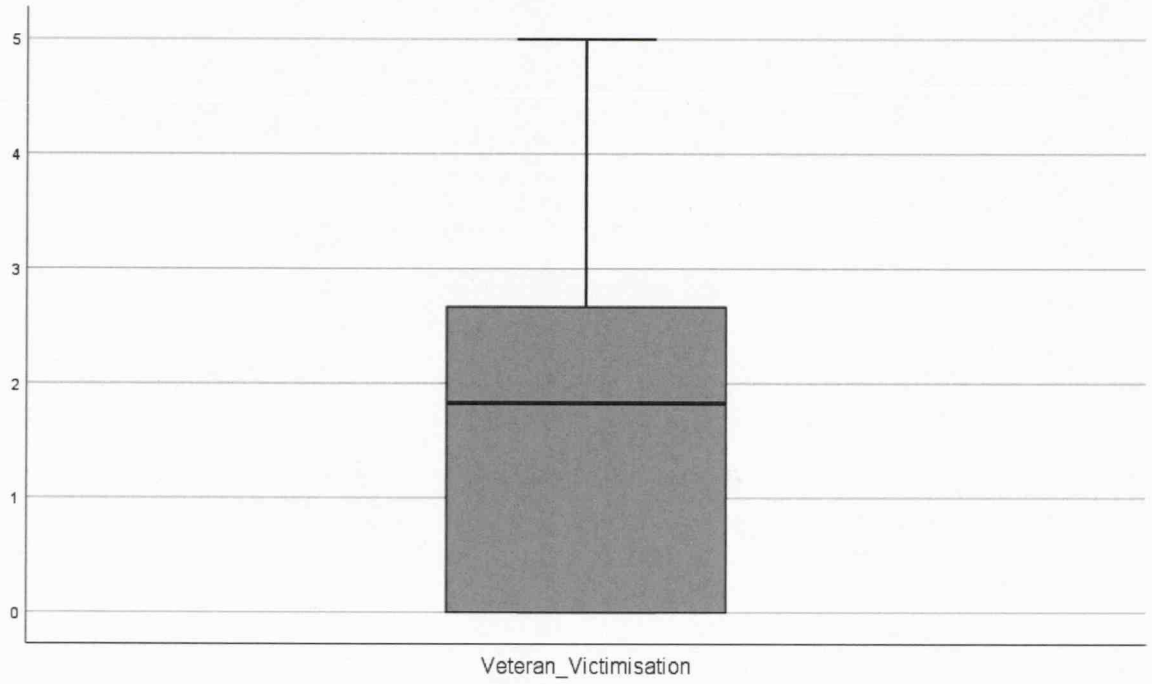




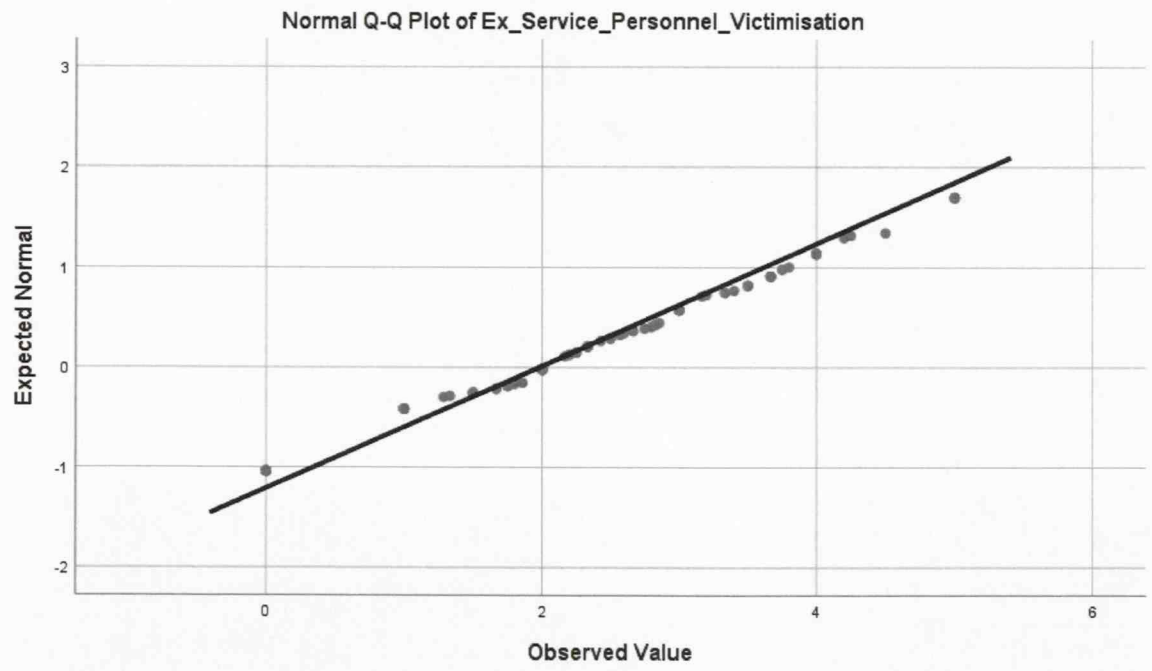
Victimisation

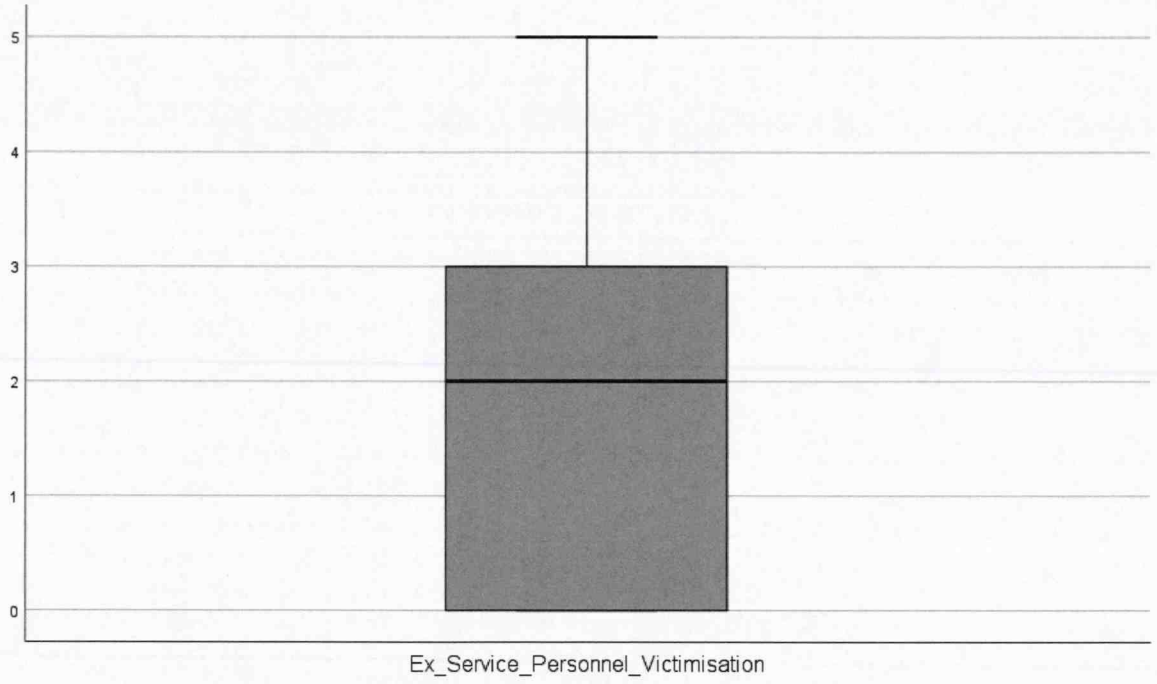
DV 'Victimisation' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'



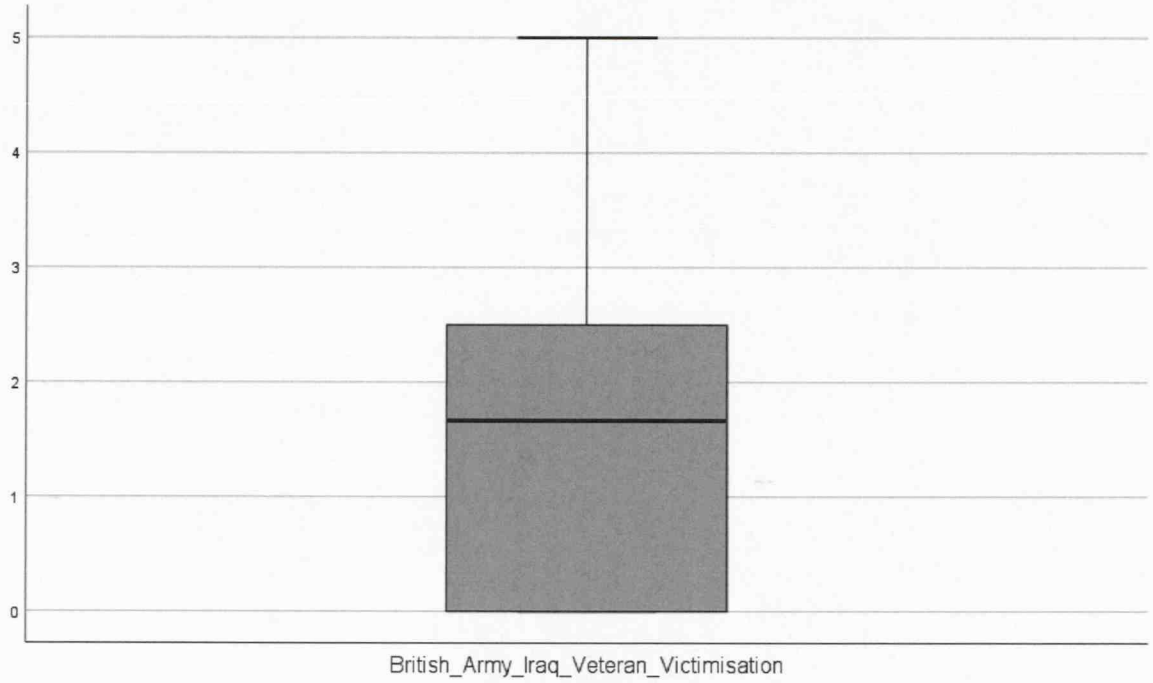


DV 'Victimisation' for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel'

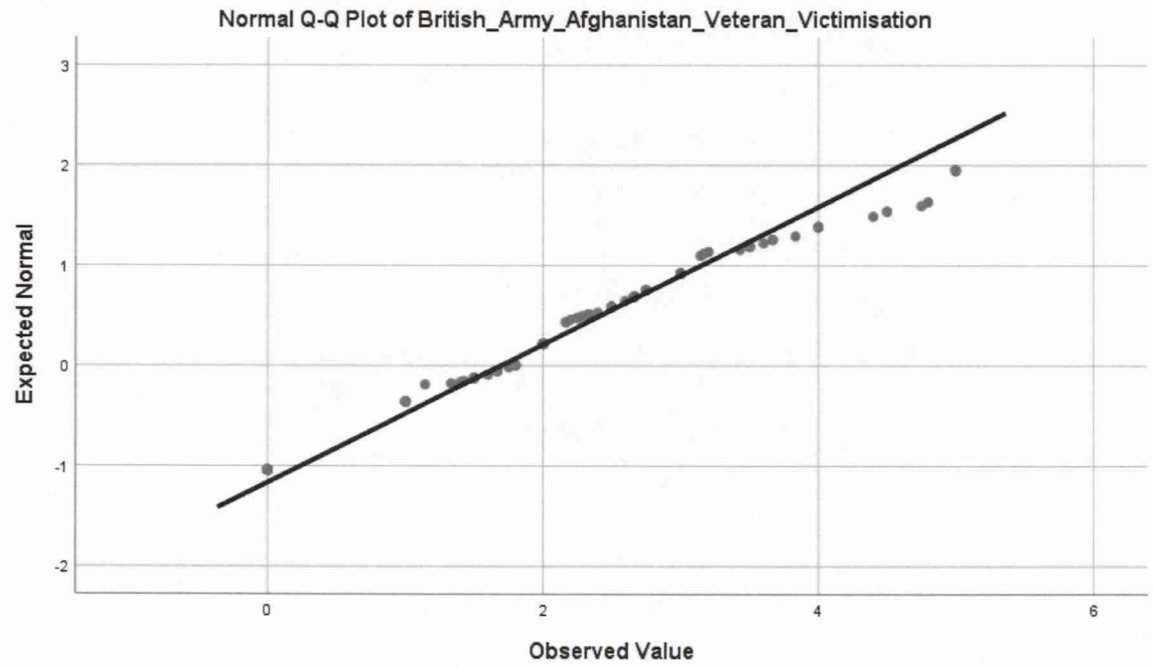


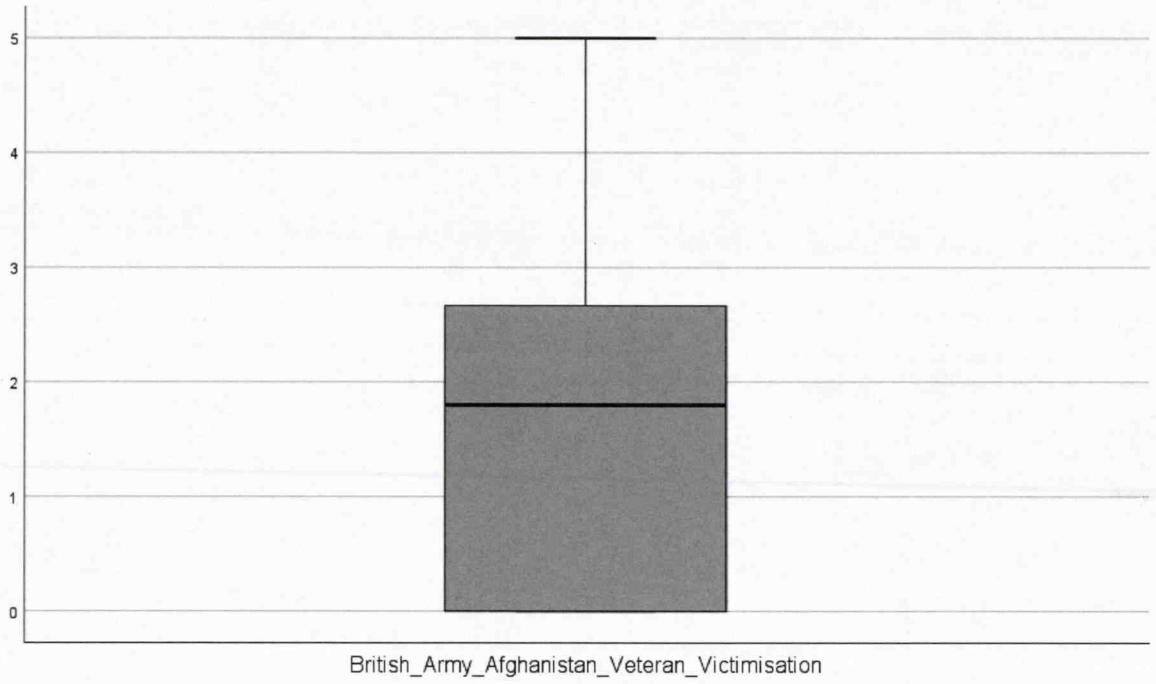


DV 'Victimisation' for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran'

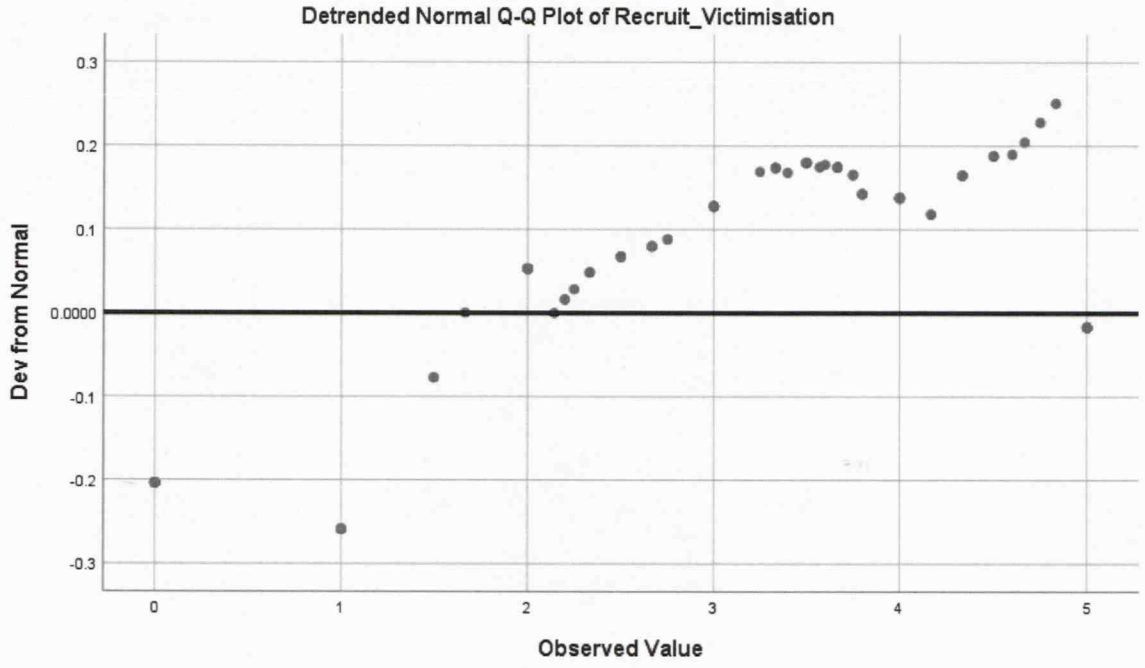


DV 'Victimisation' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'

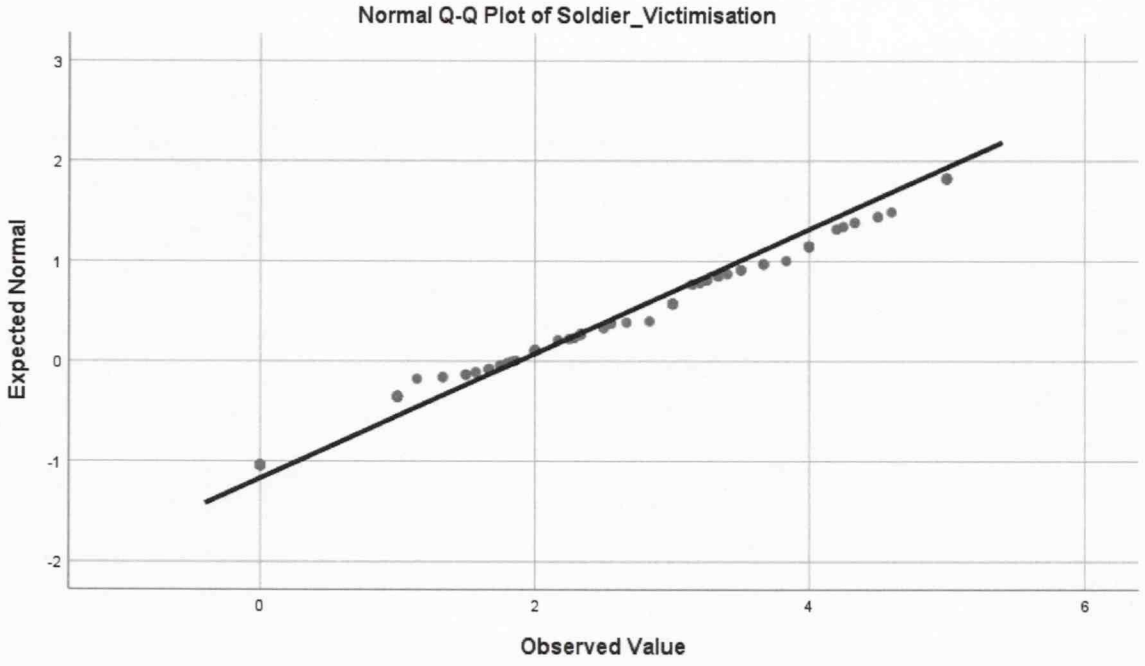


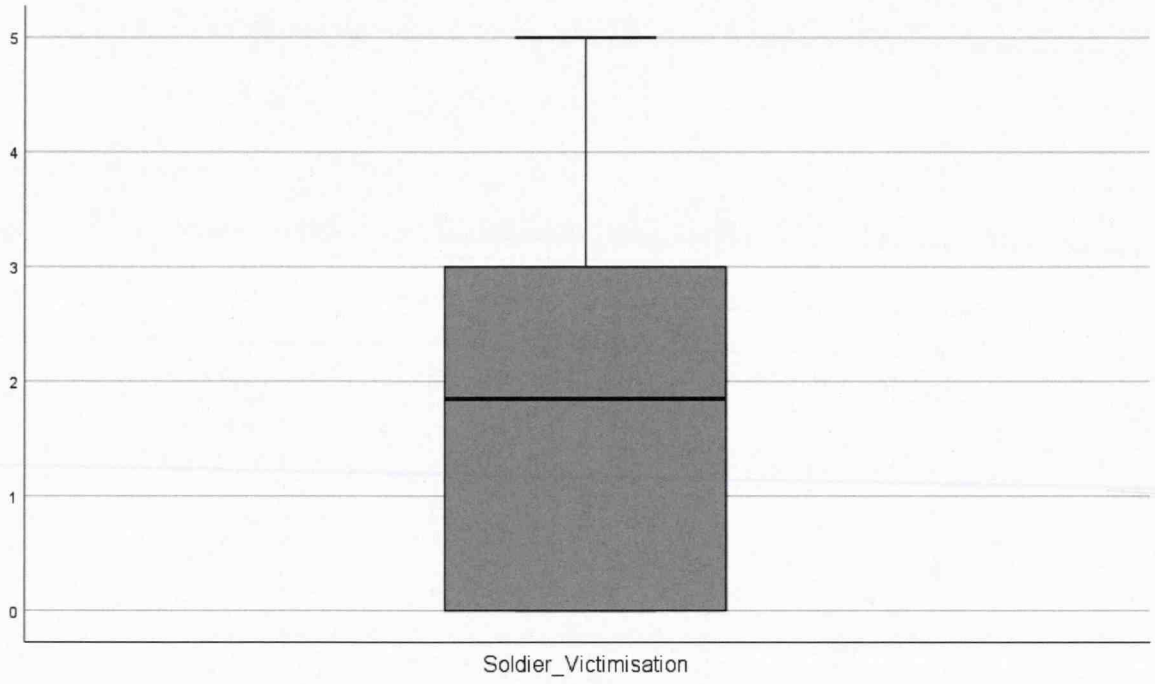


DV 'Victimisation' for the stimulus word 'Recruit'



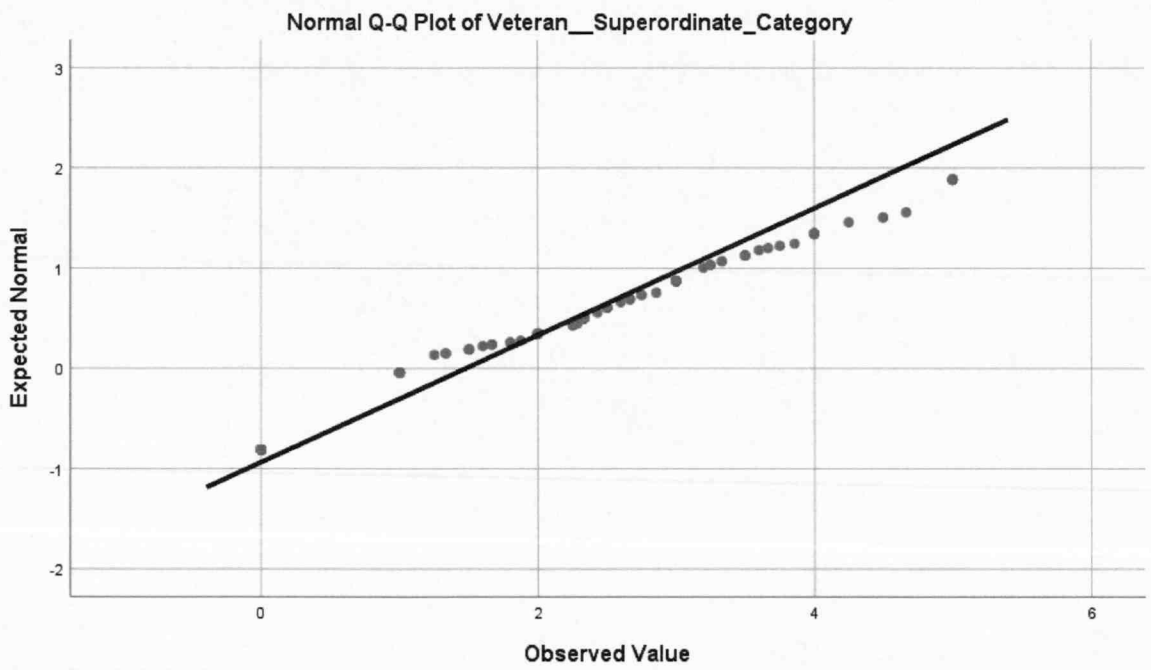
DV 'Victimisation' for the stimulus word 'Soldier'

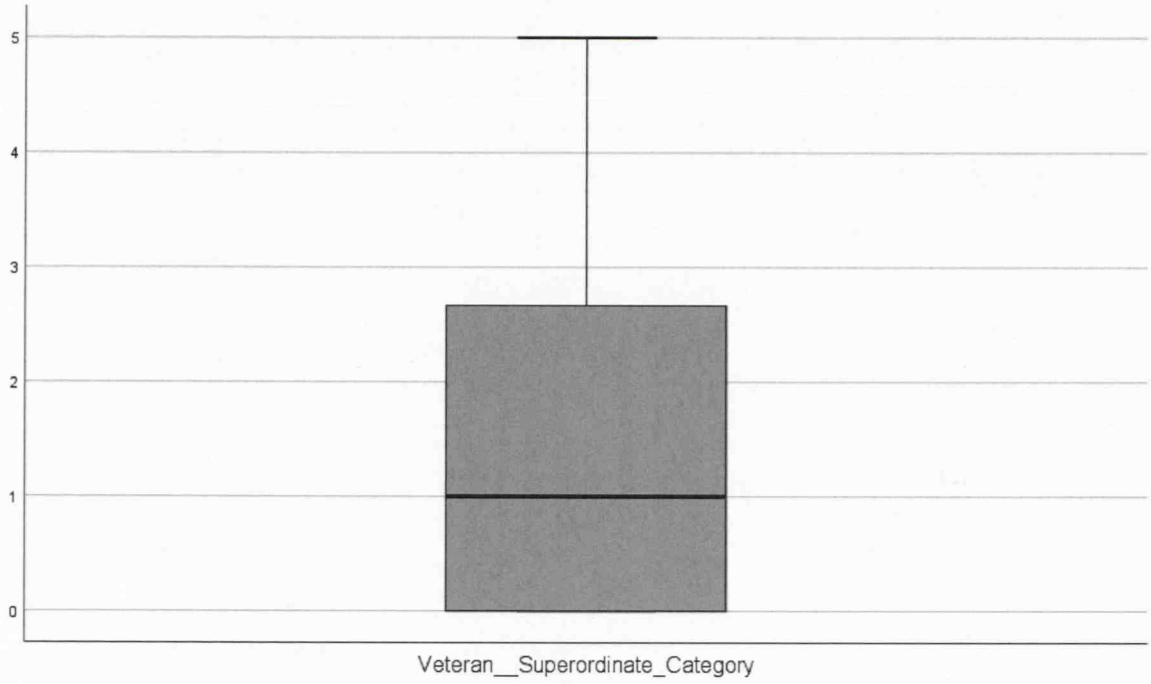




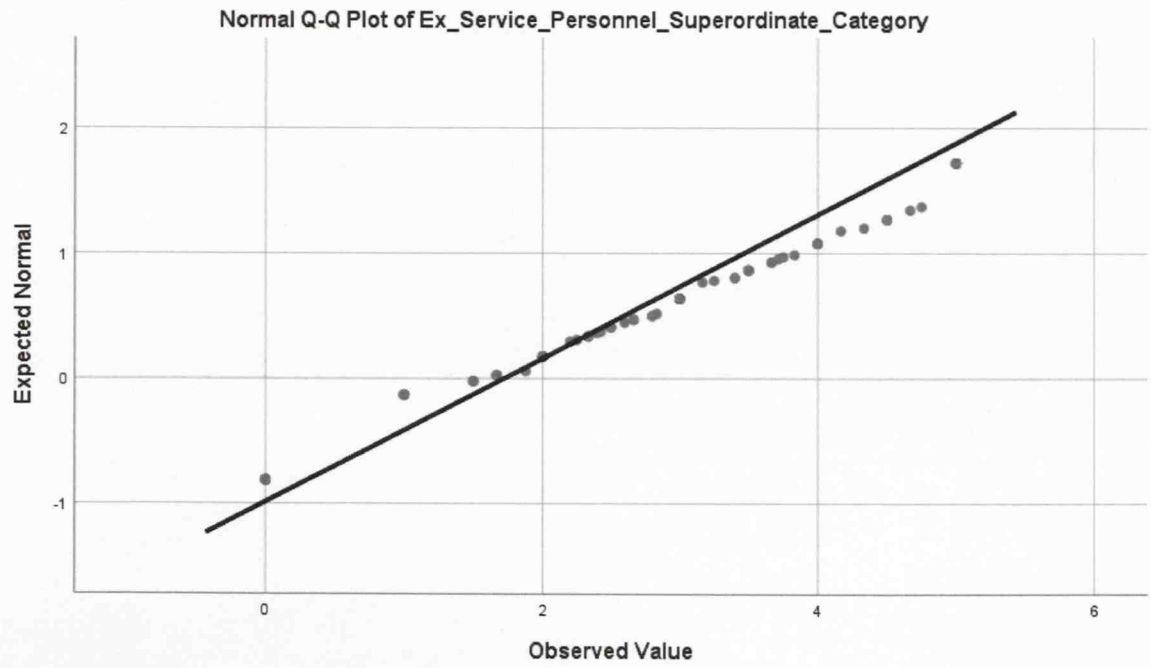
Superordinate Group

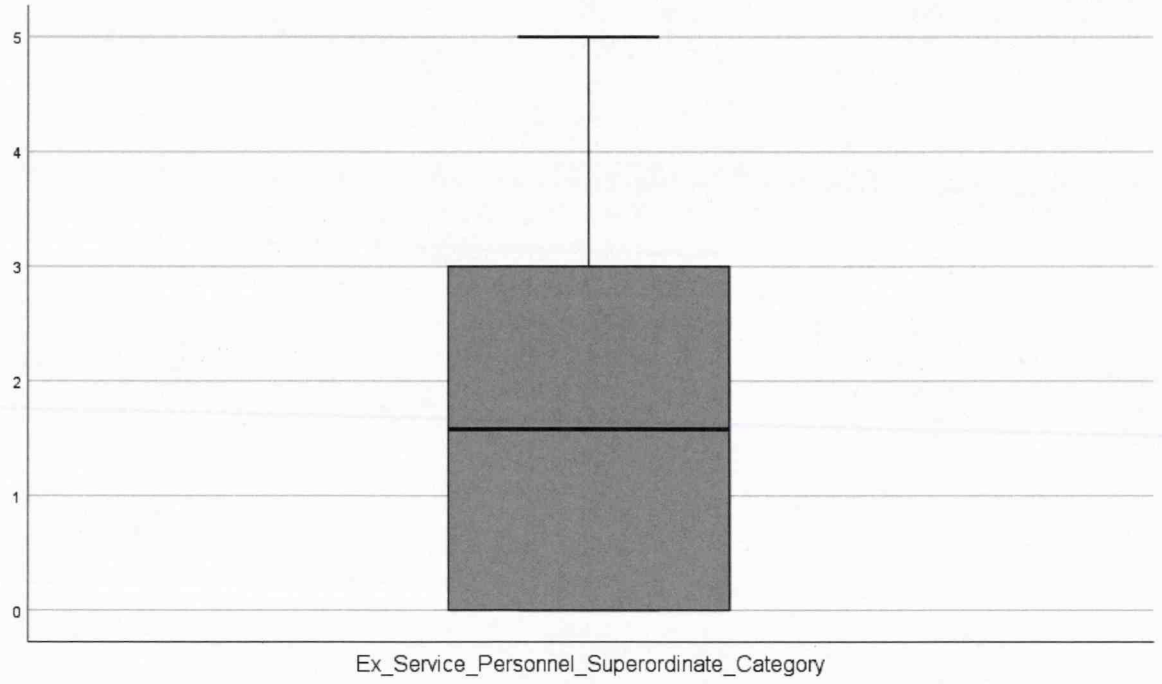
DV 'Superordinate Group' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'



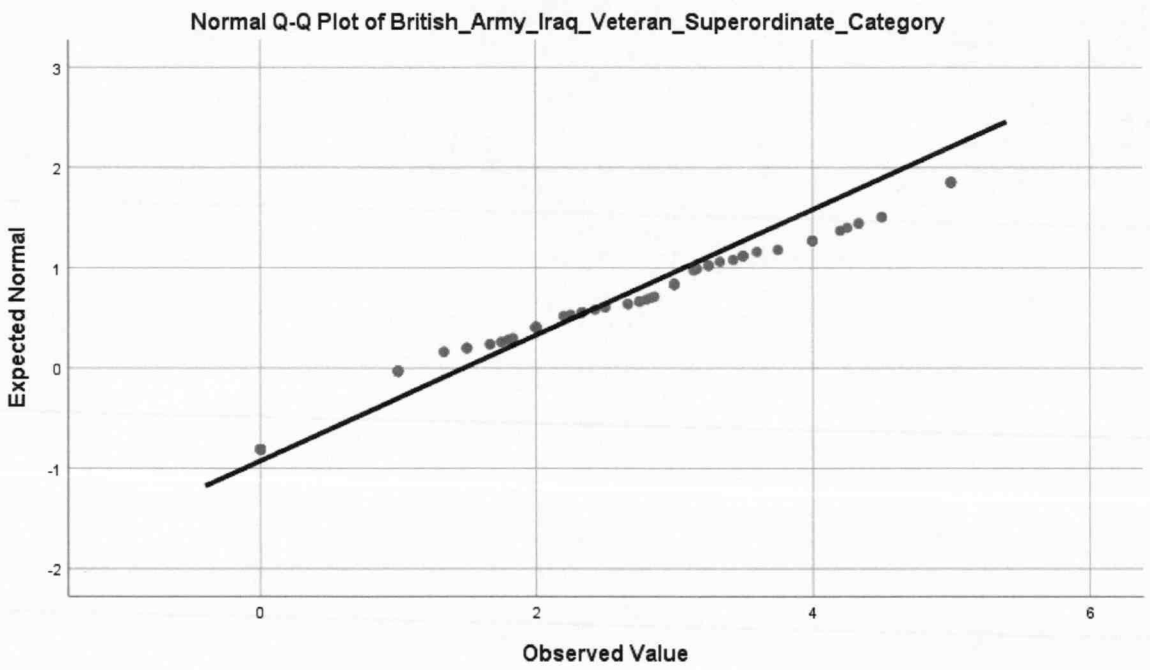


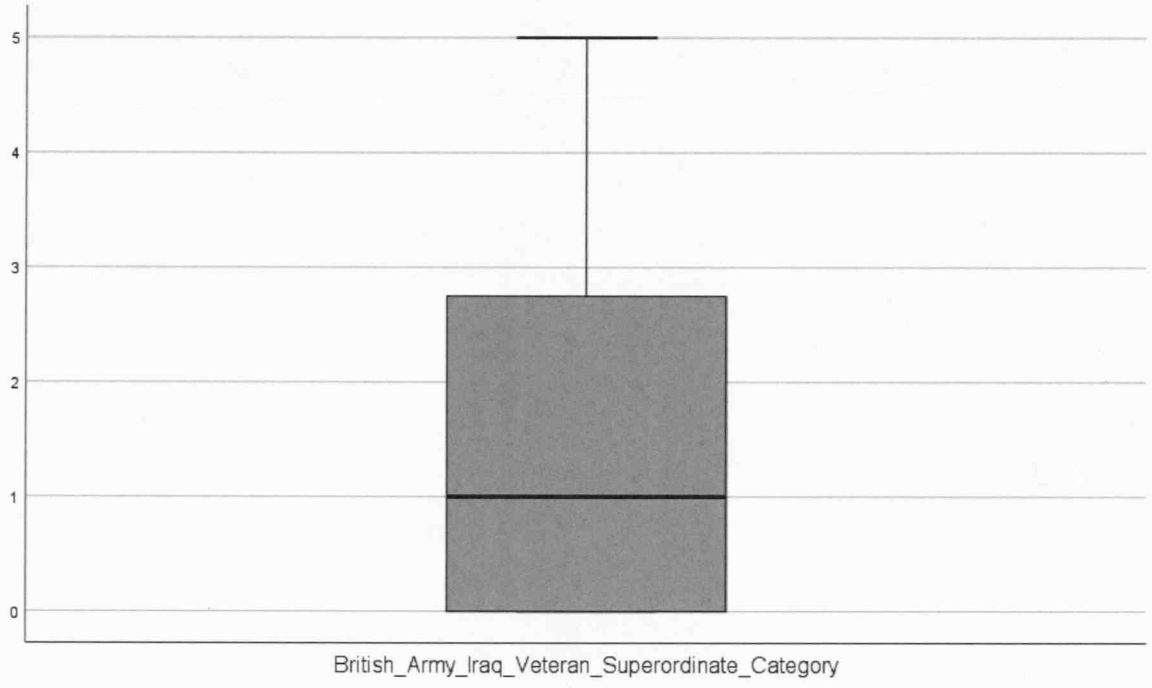
DV 'Superordinate Group' for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel'



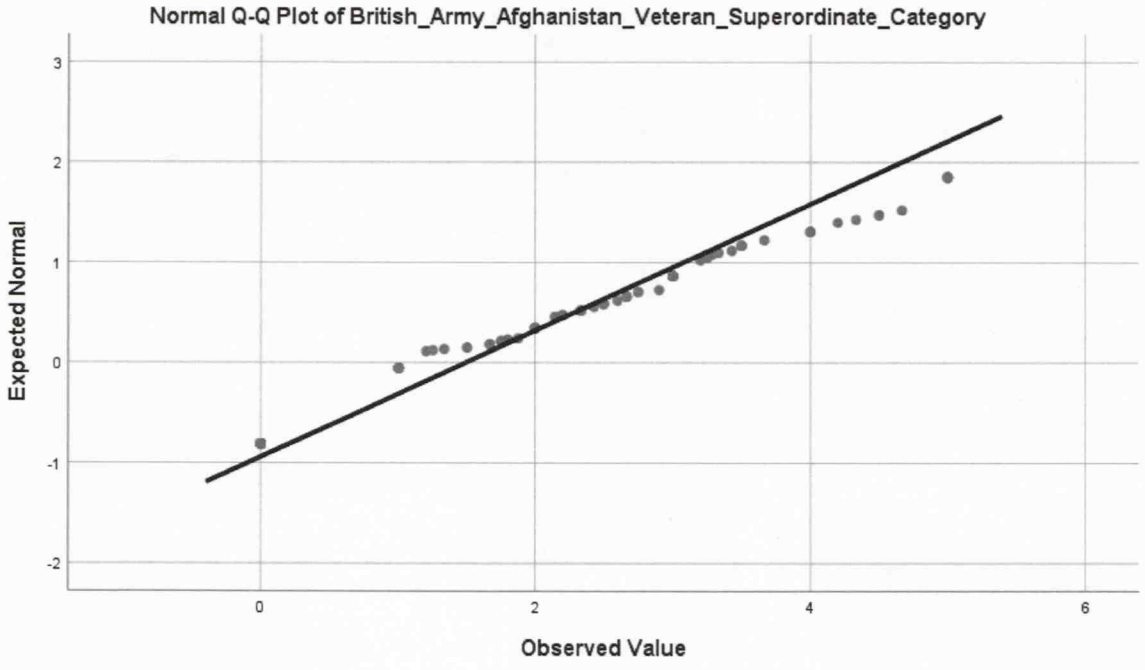


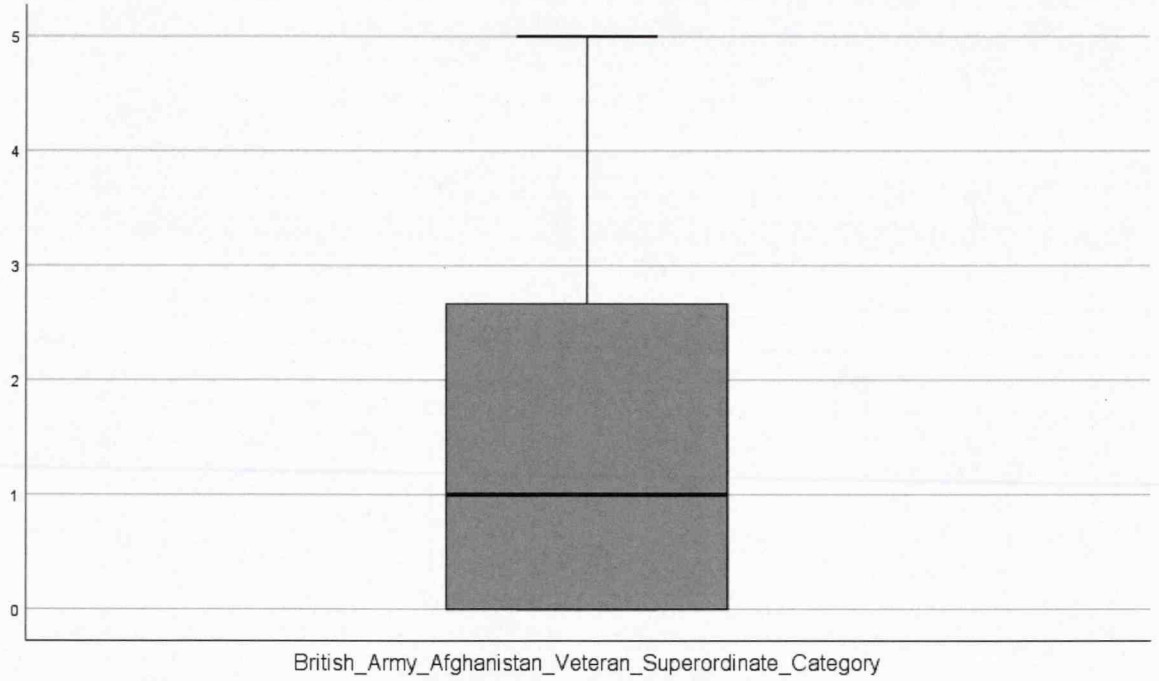
DV 'Superordinate Group' for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran'



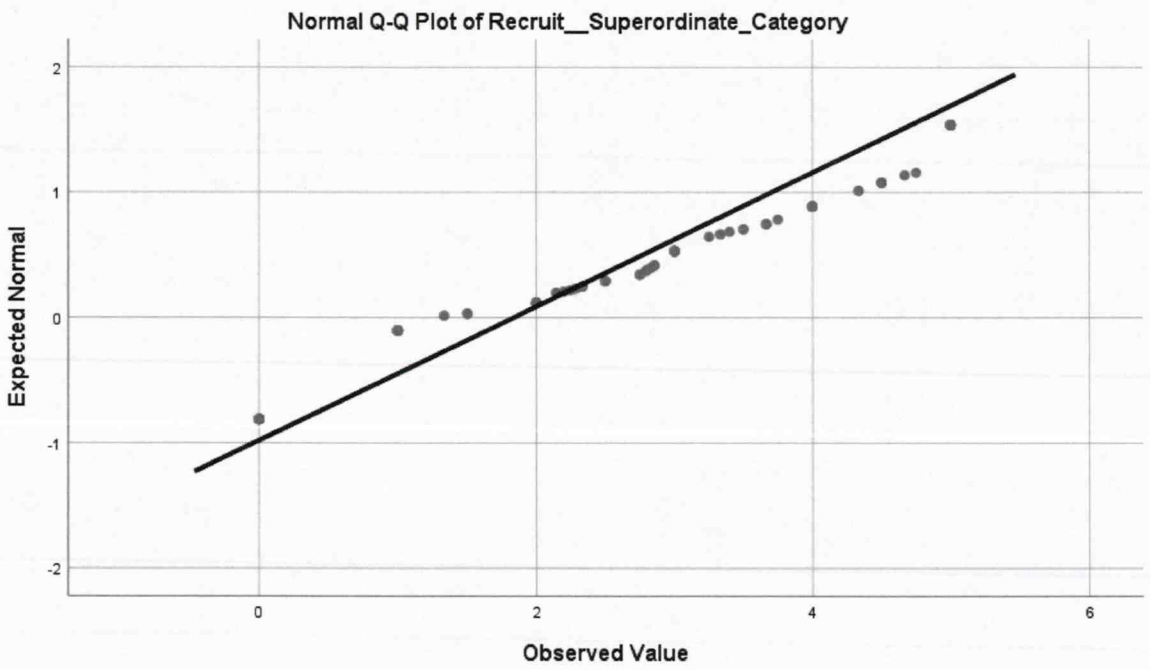


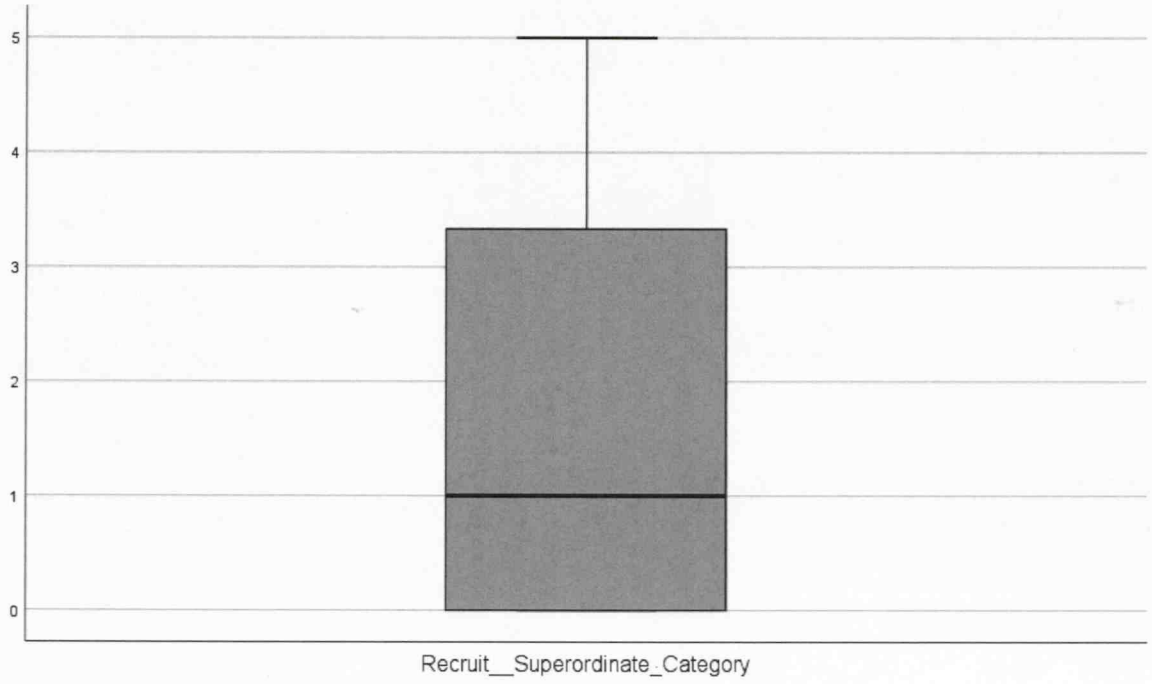
DV 'Superordinate Group' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'



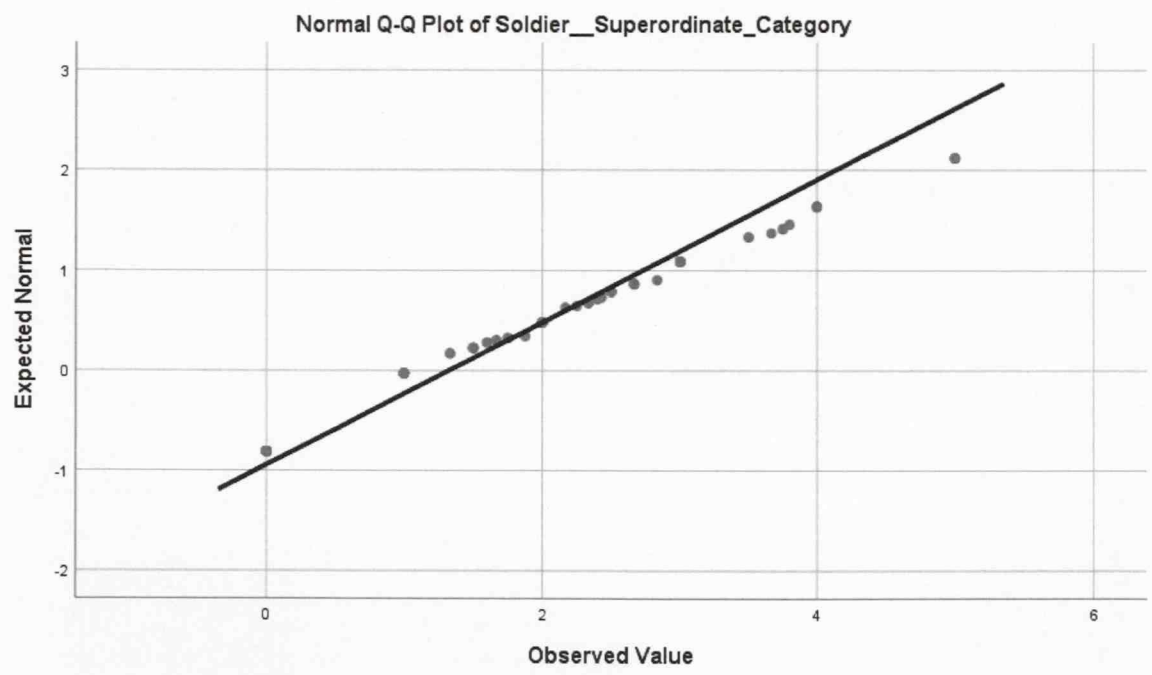


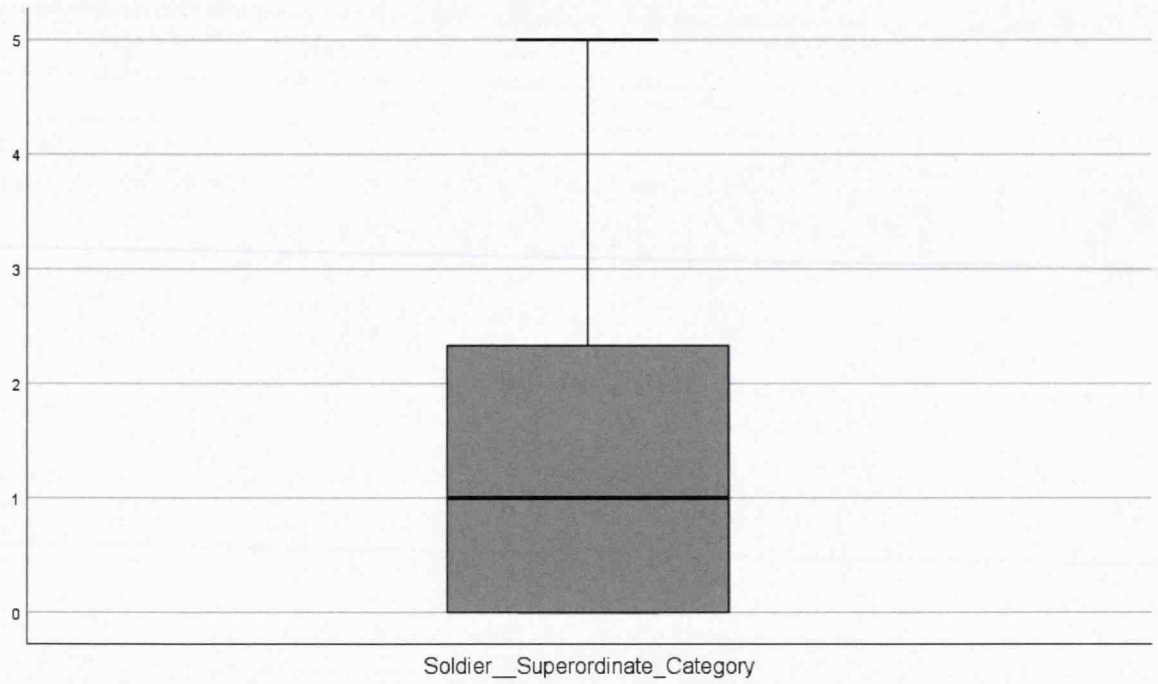
DV ‘Superordinate Group’ for the stimulus word ‘Recruit’





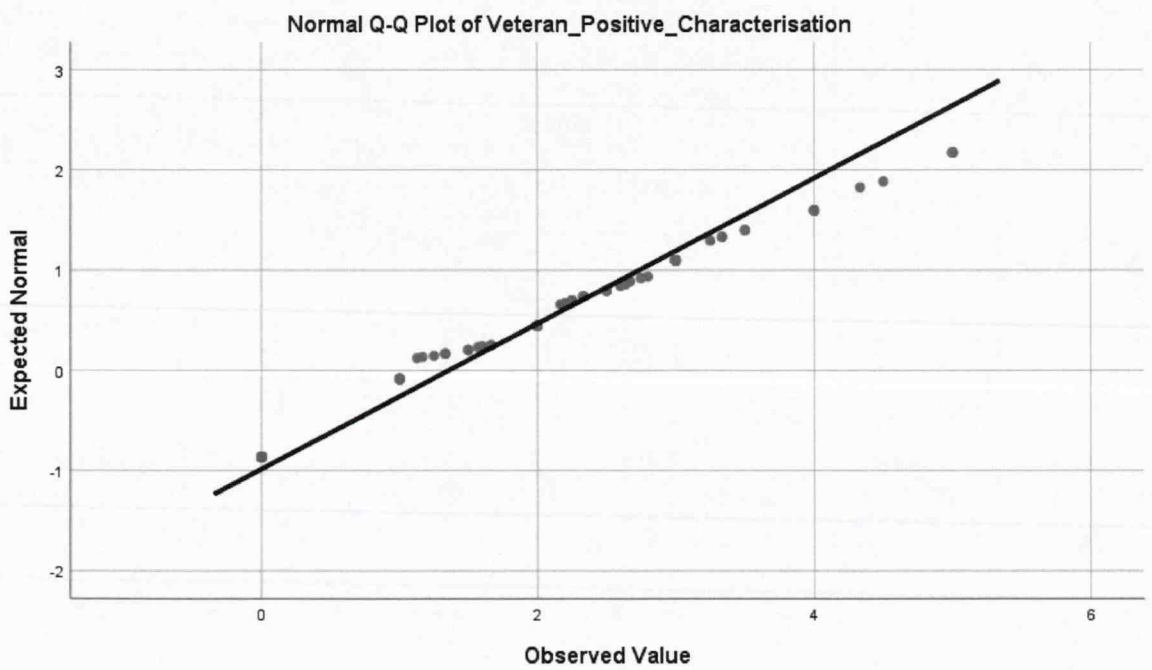
DV ‘Superordinate Group’ for the stimulus word ‘Soldier’

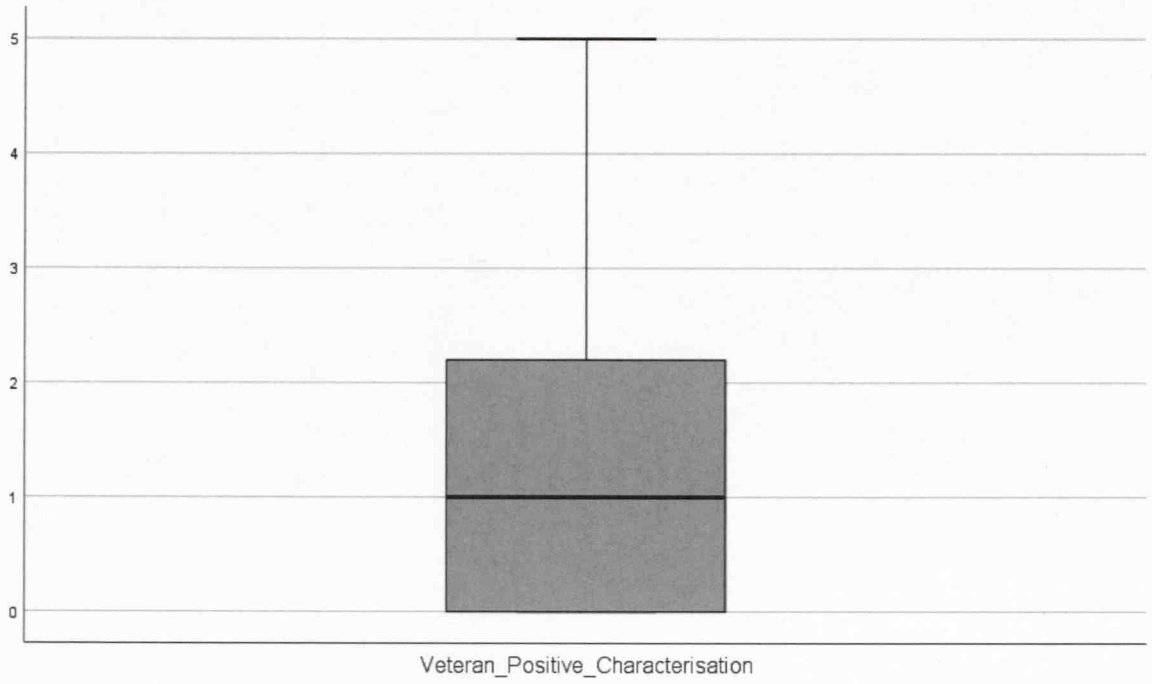




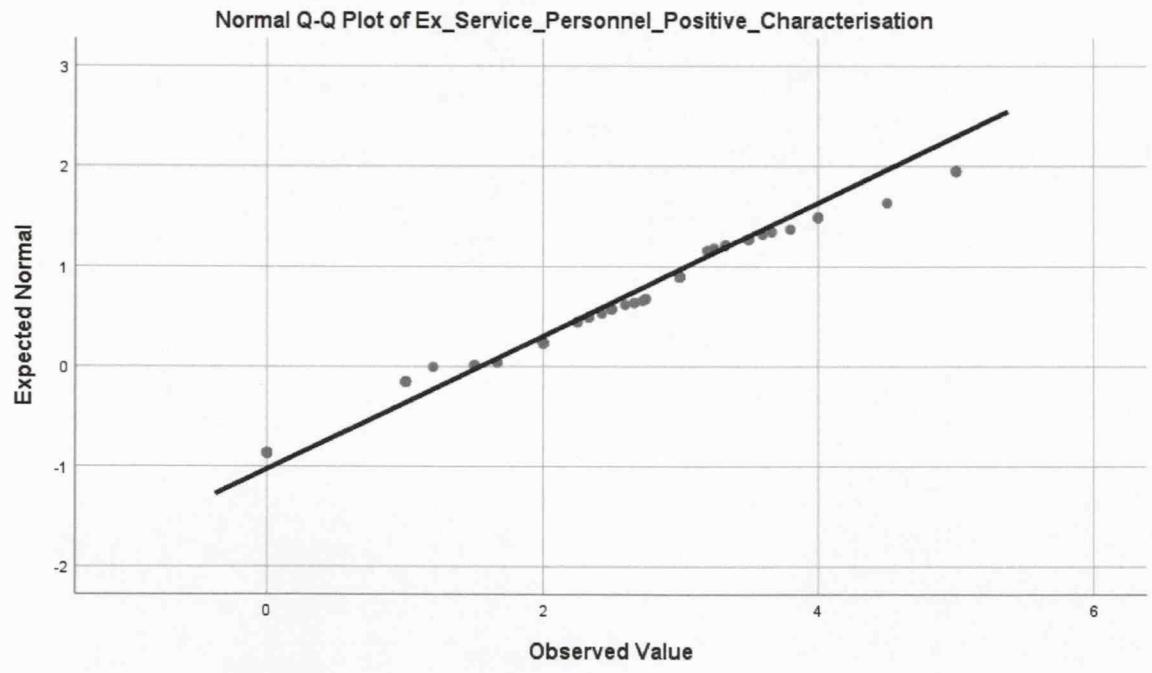
Positive Characterisation

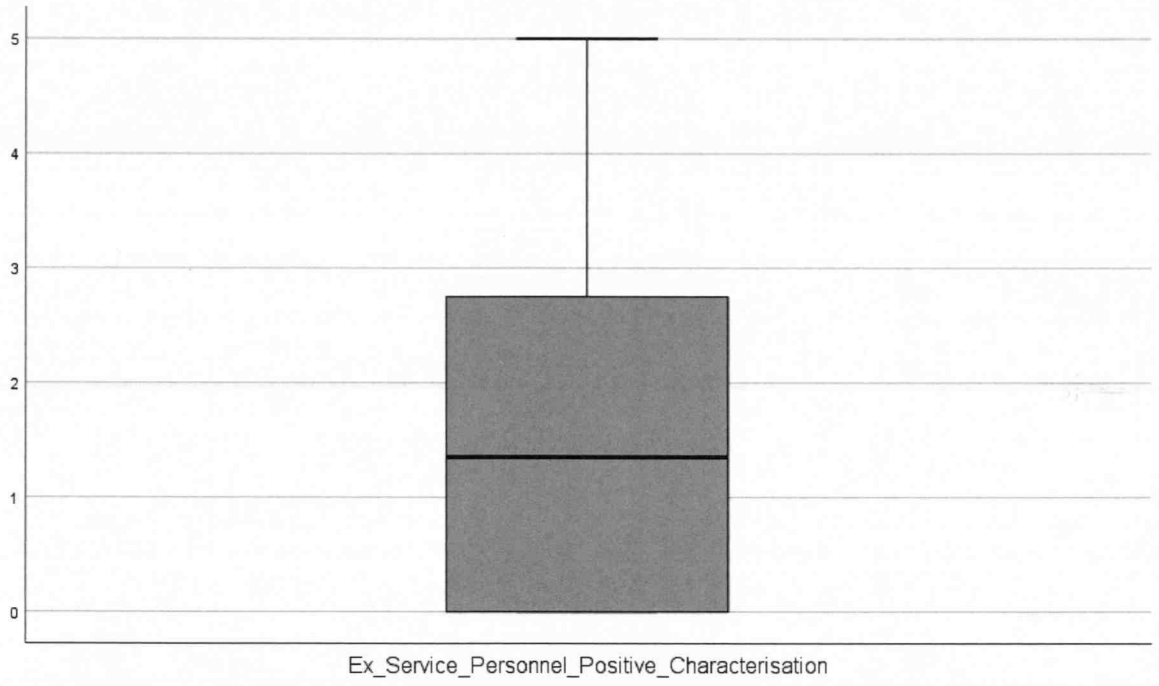
DV 'Positive Characterisation' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'



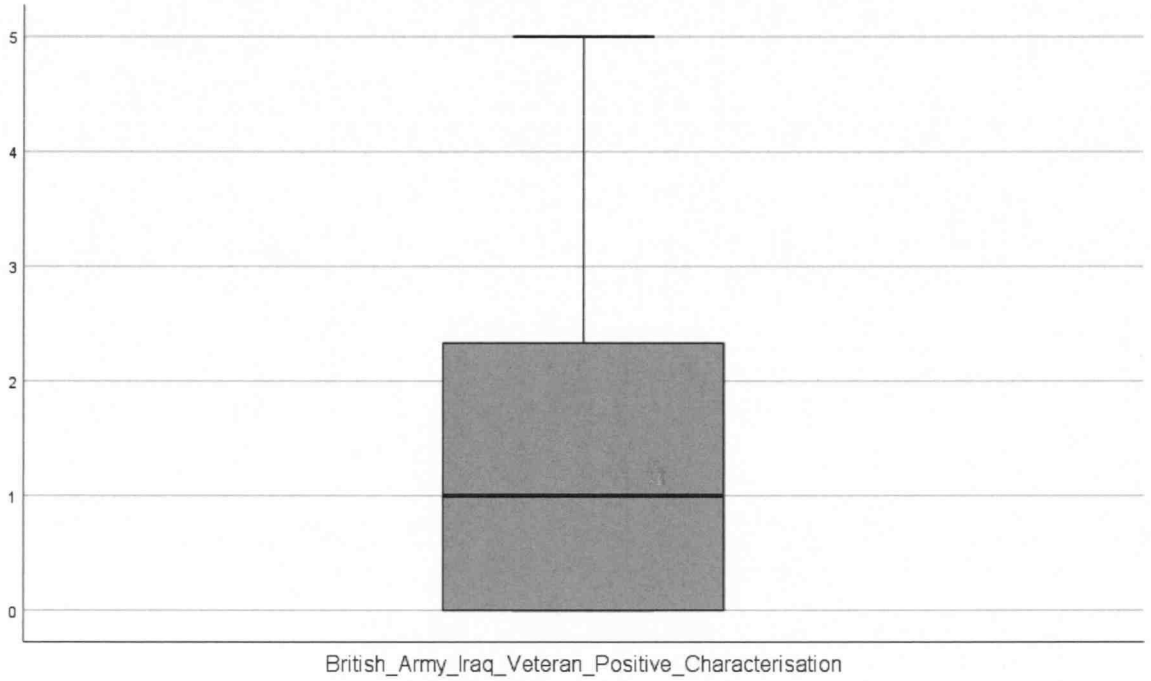


DV 'Positive Characterisation' for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel'

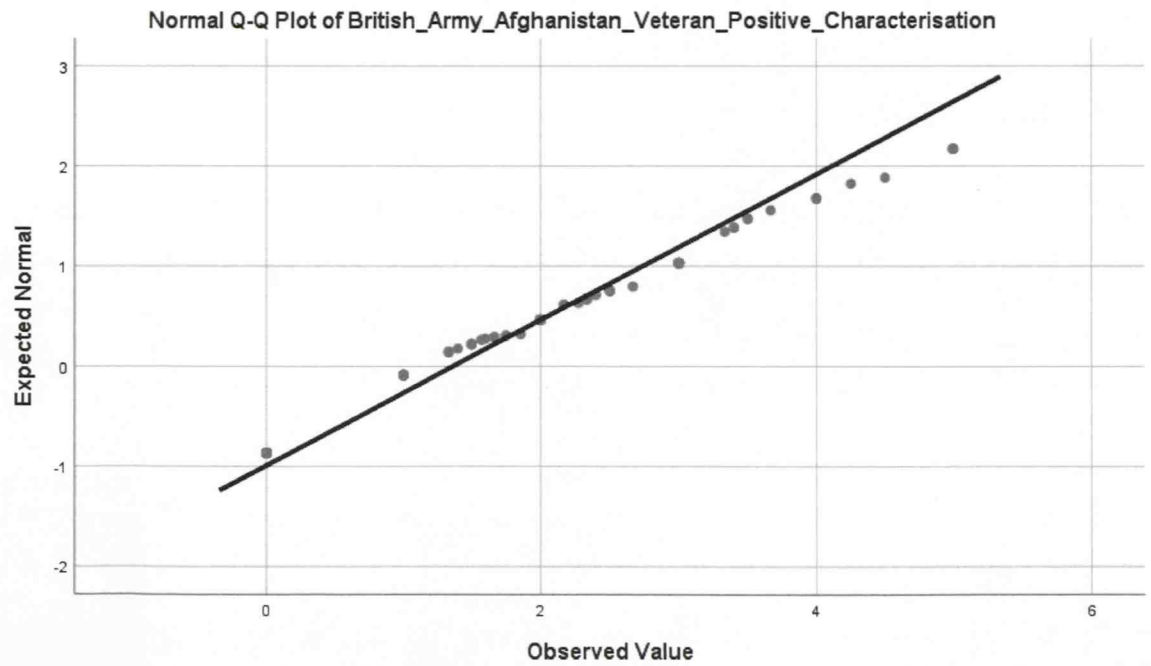


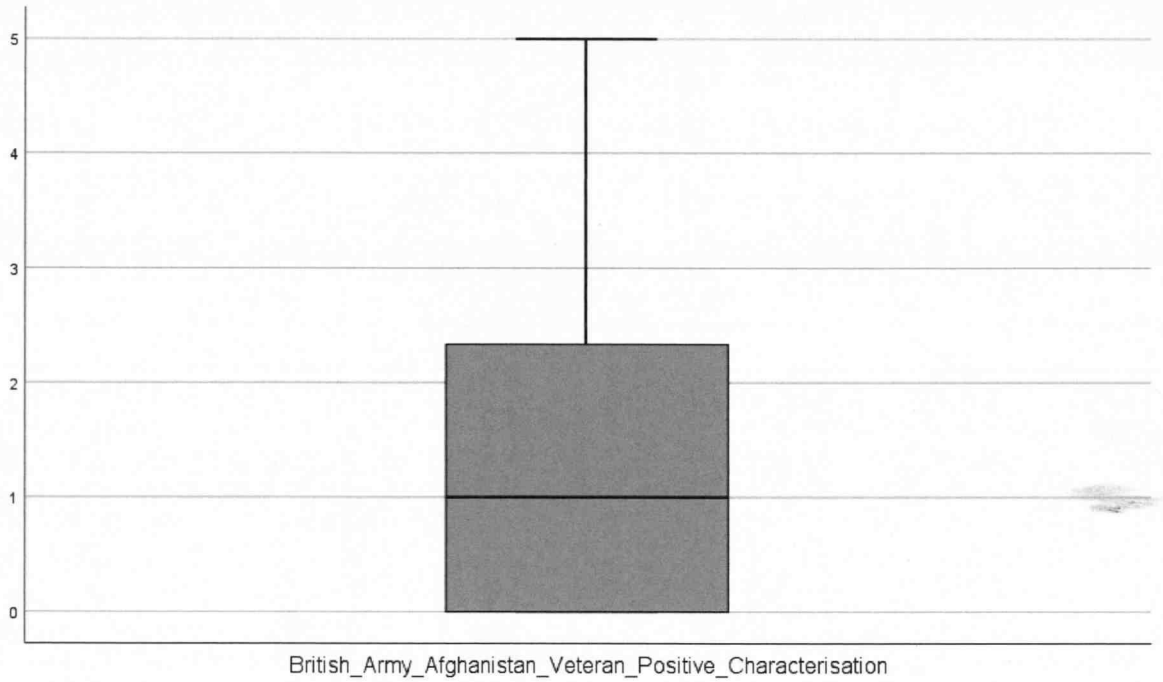


DV 'Positive Characterisation' for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran'

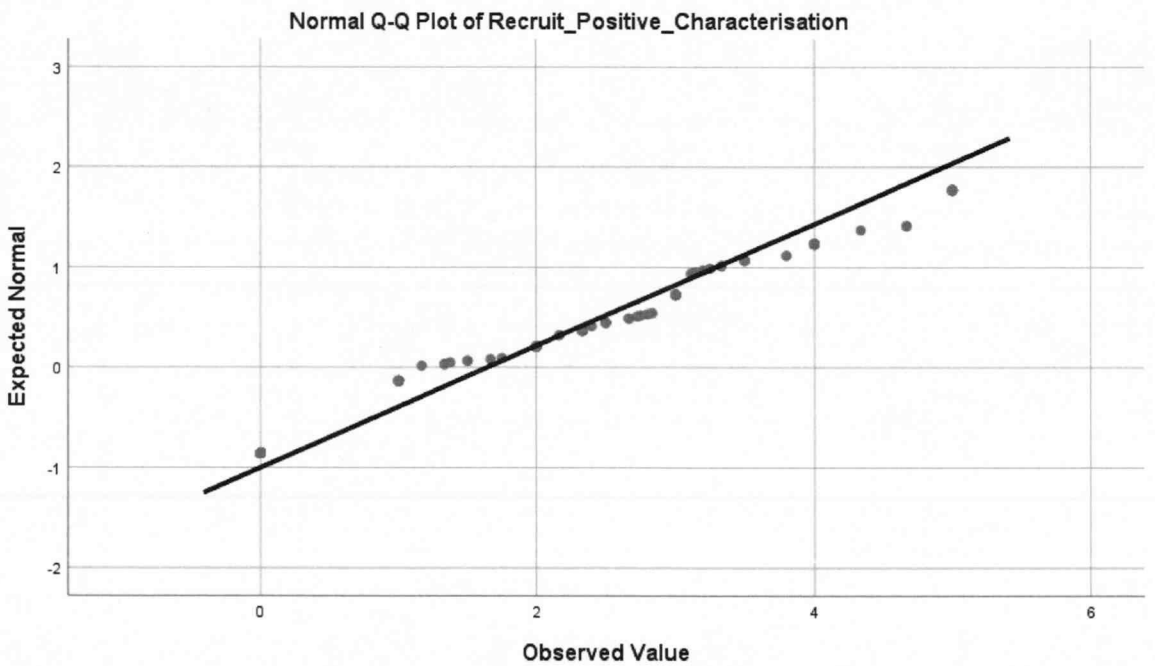


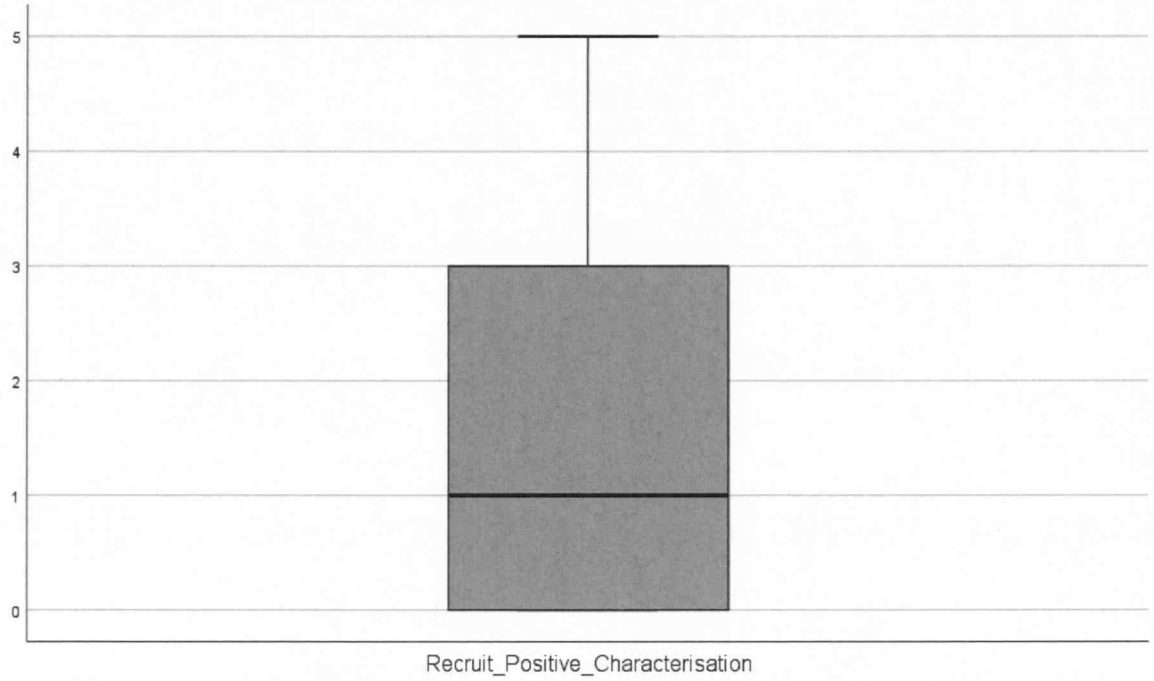
DV 'Positive Characterisation' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'



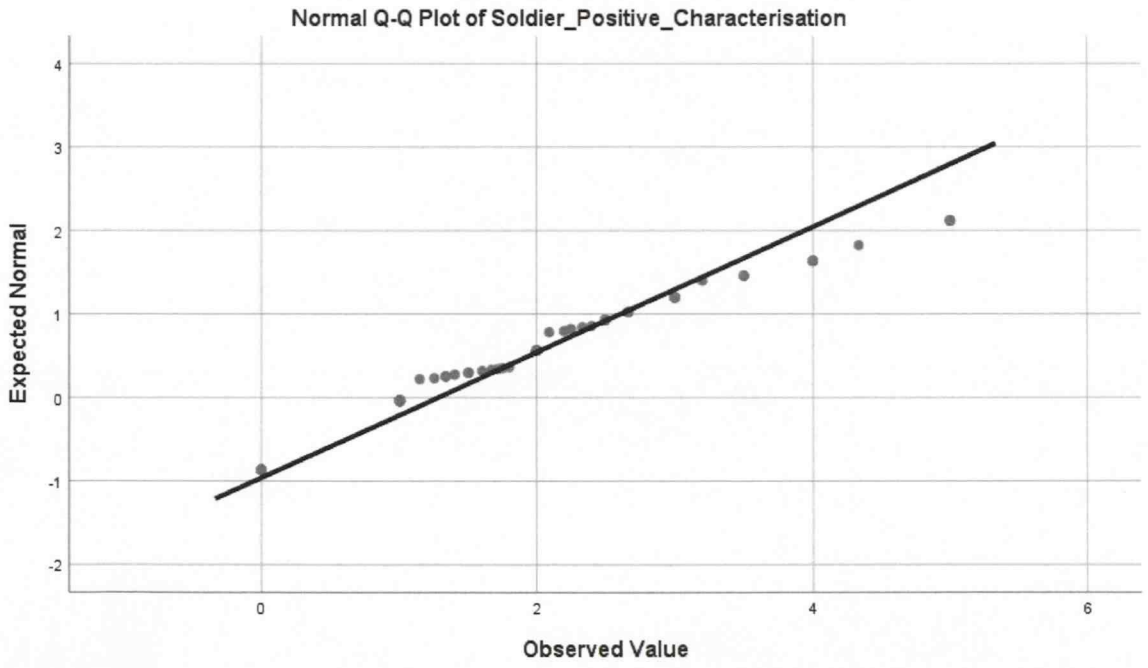


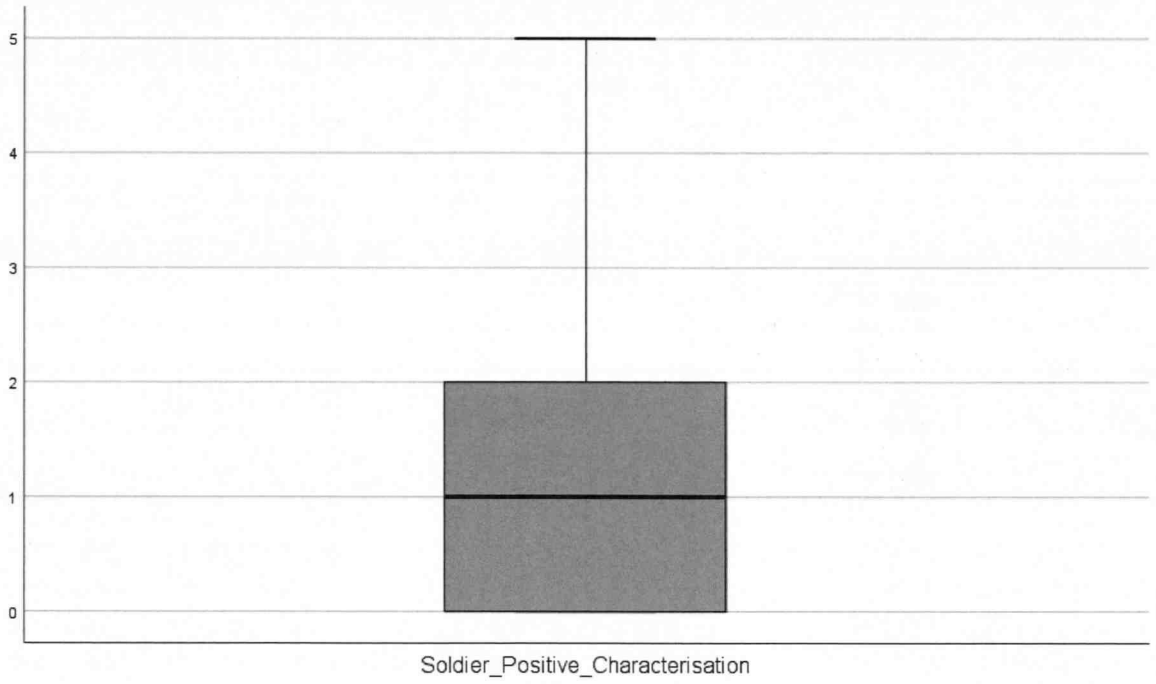
DV 'Positive Characterisation' for the stimulus word 'Recruit'





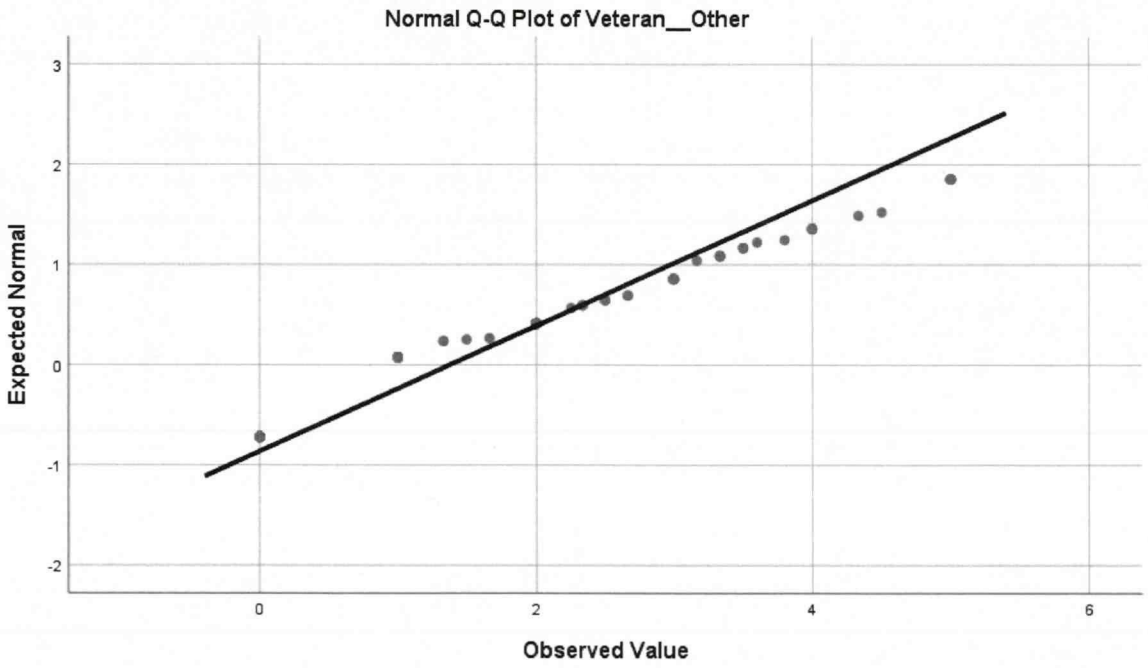
DV ‘Positive Characterisation’ for the stimulus word ‘Soldier’

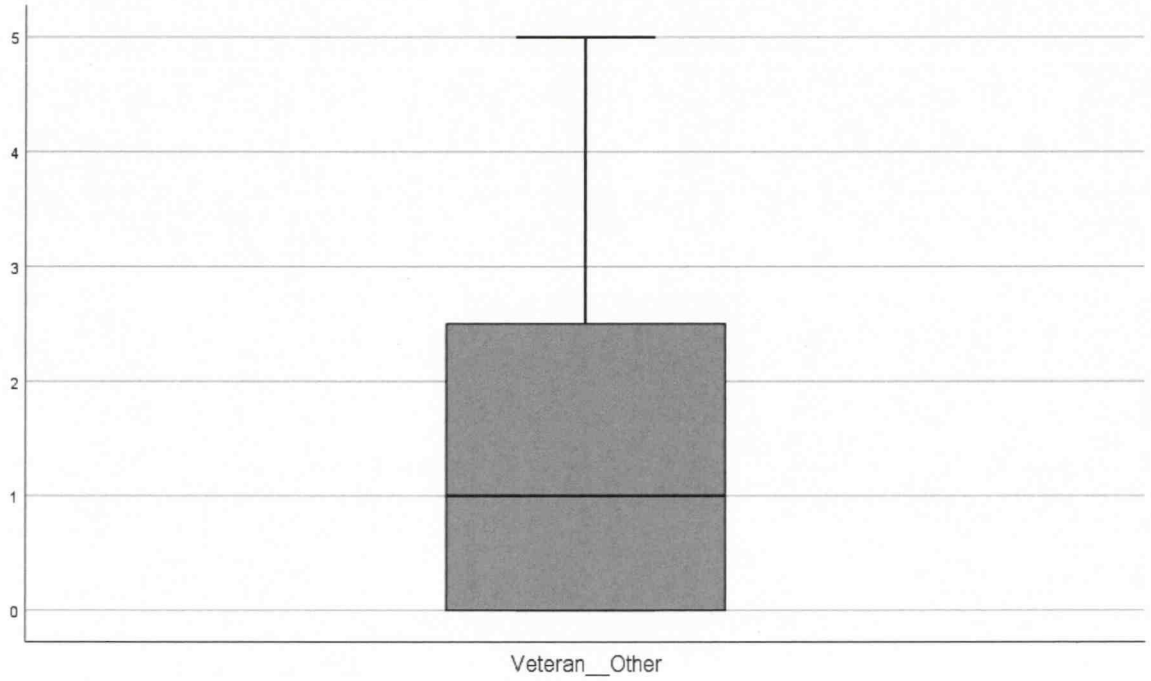




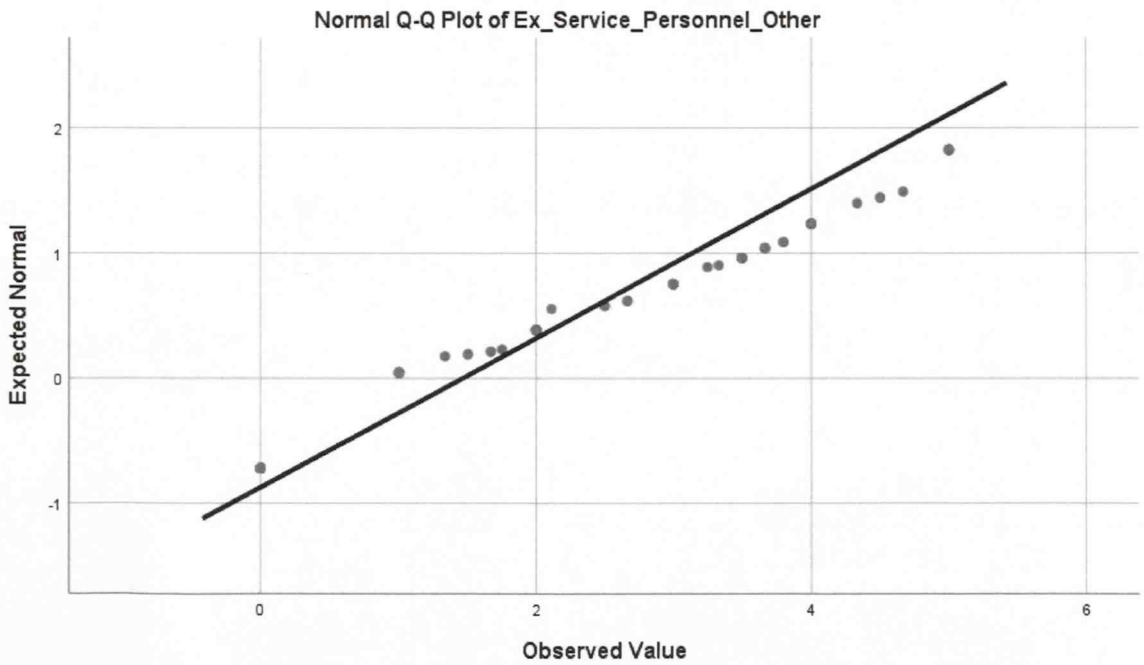
Other

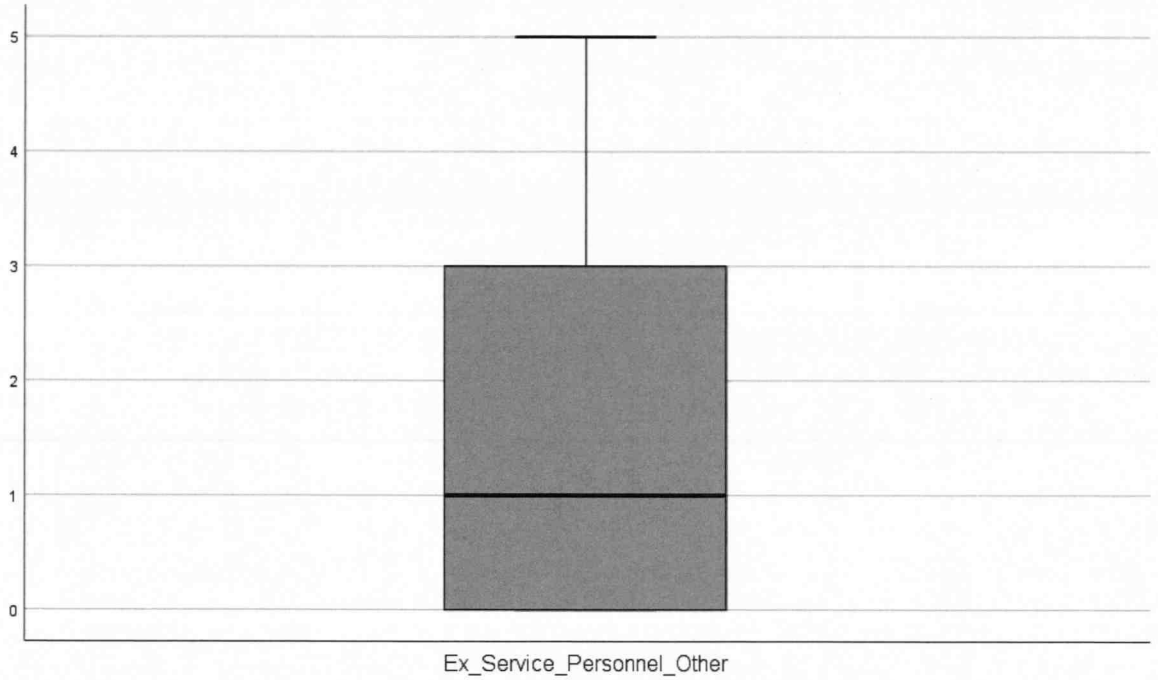
DV 'Other' for the stimulus word 'Veteran'



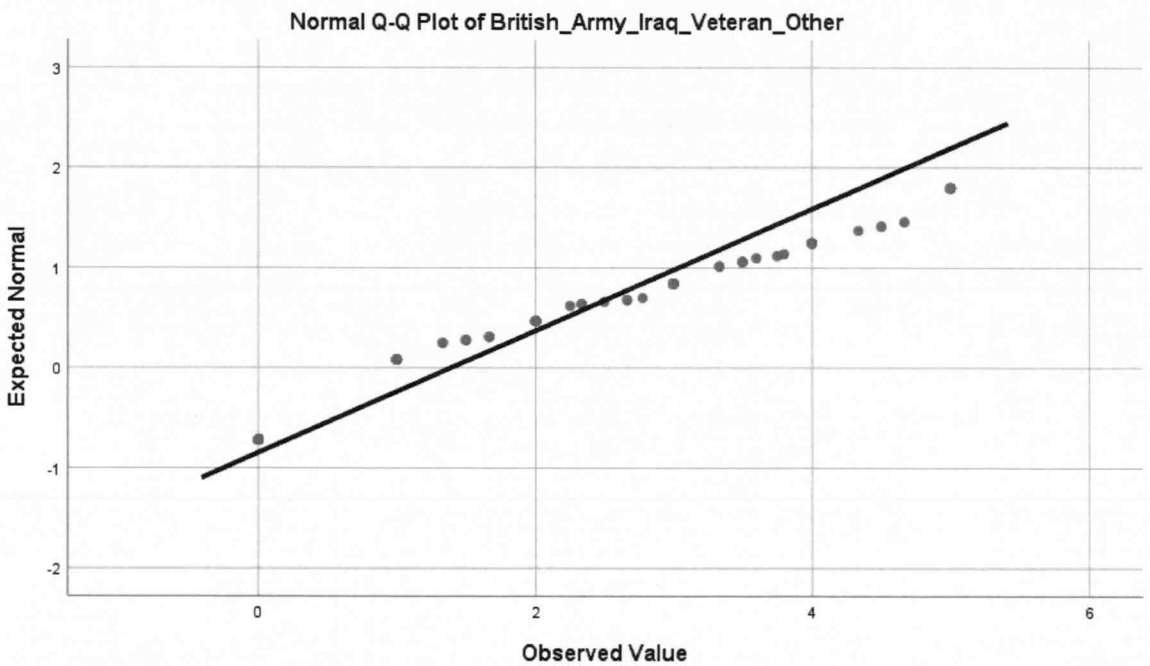


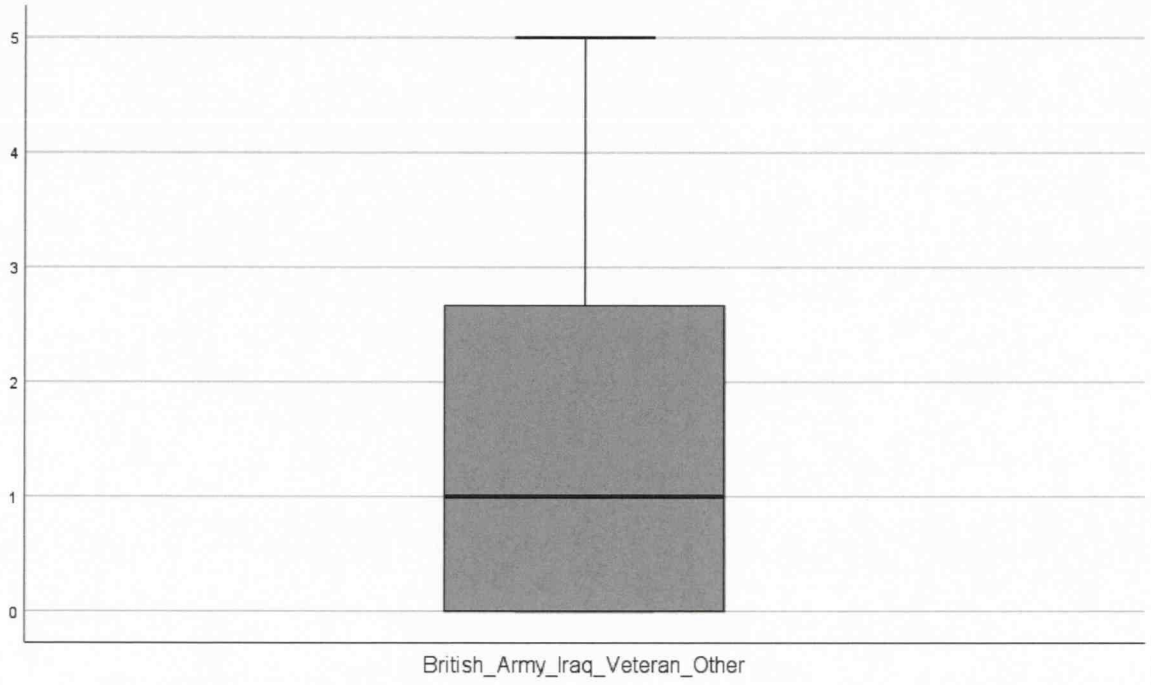
DV 'Other' for the stimulus word 'Ex-Service Personnel'



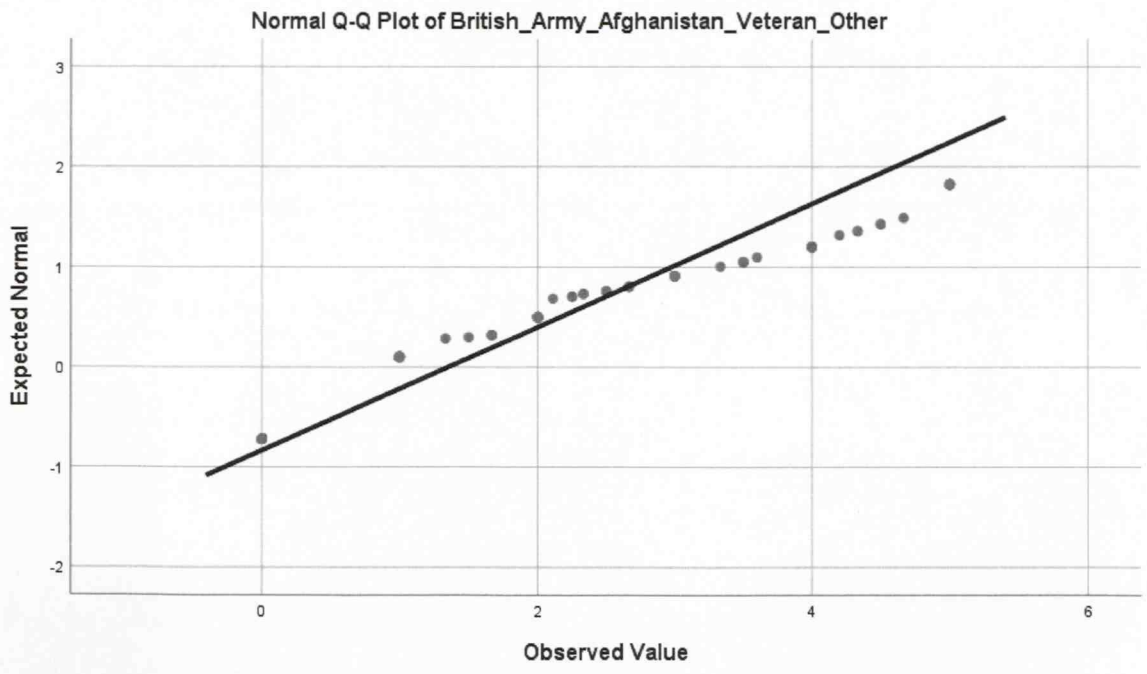


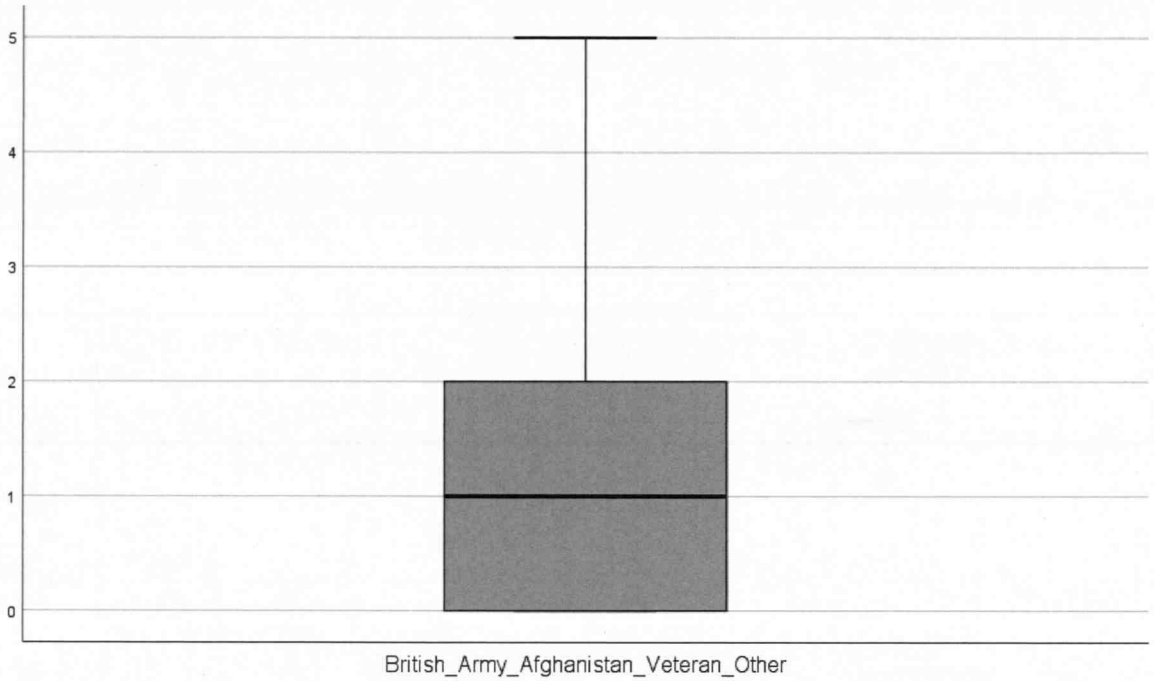
DV 'Other' for the stimulus word 'British Army Iraq Veteran'





DV 'Other' for the stimulus word 'British Army Afghanistan Veteran'





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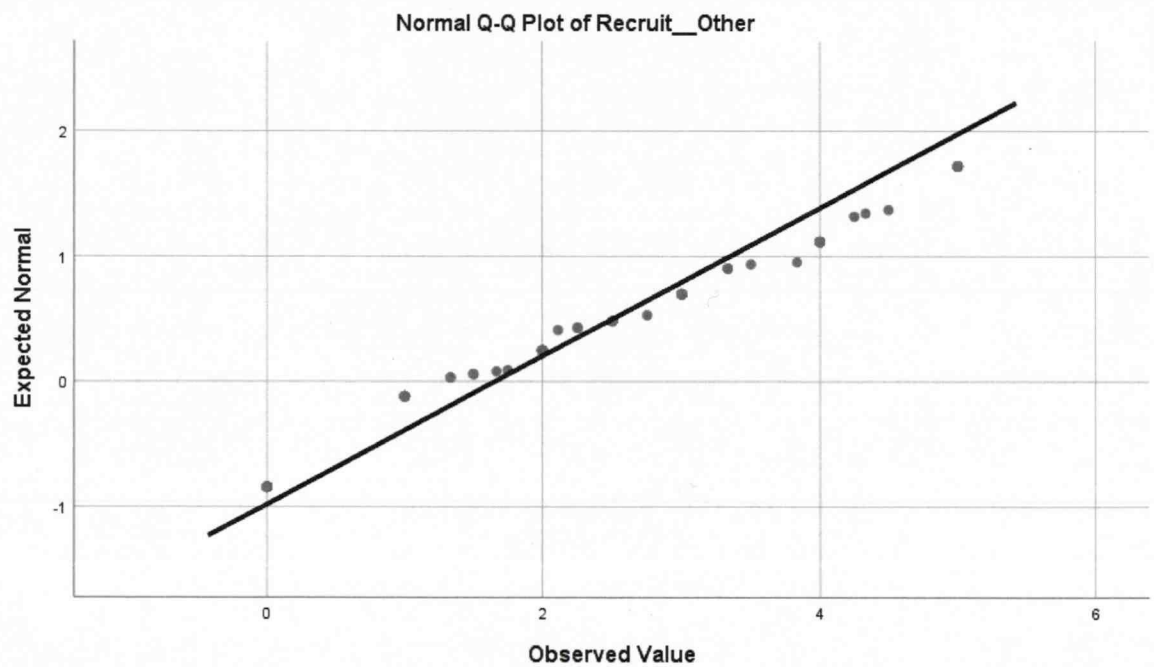

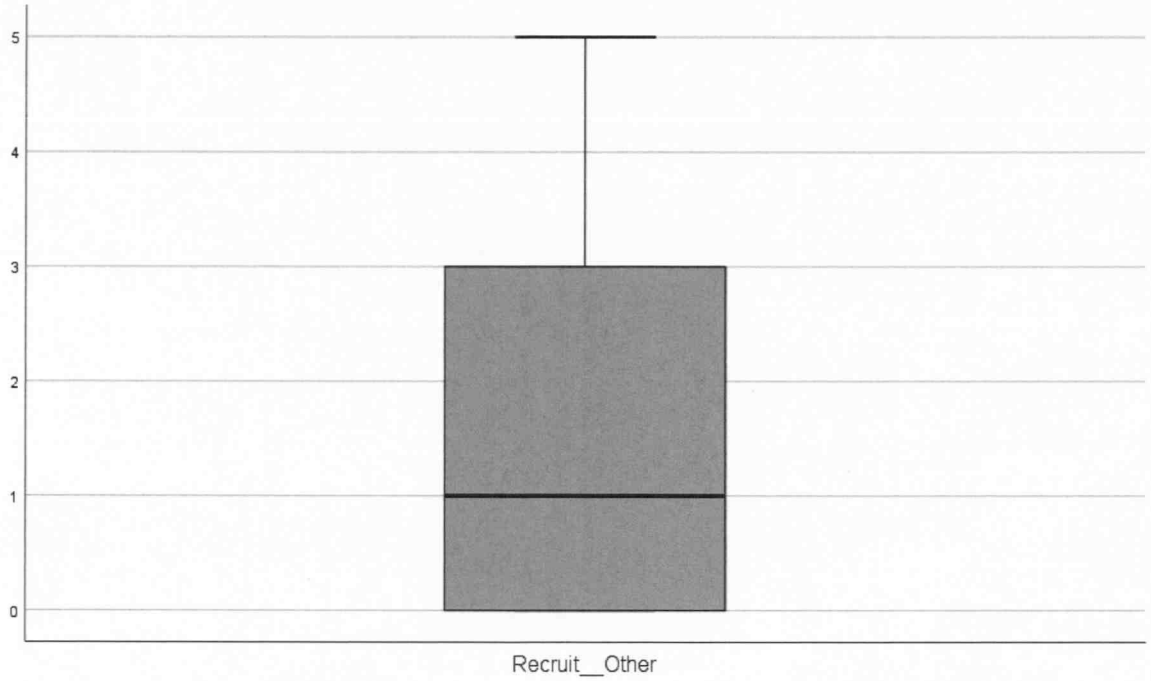

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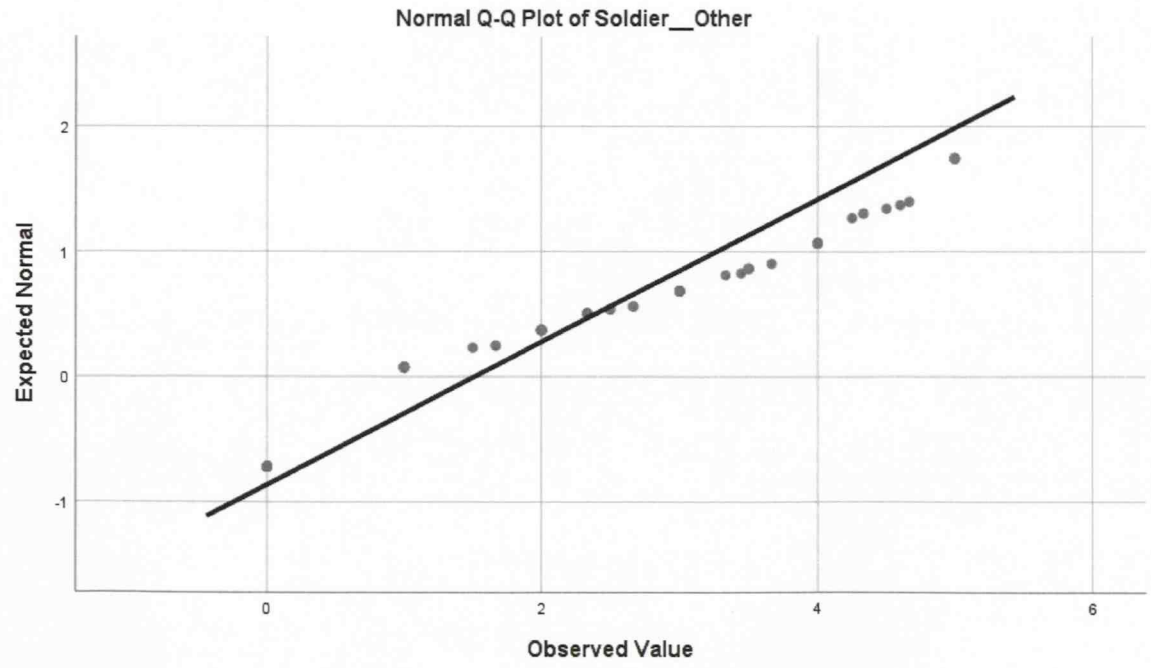
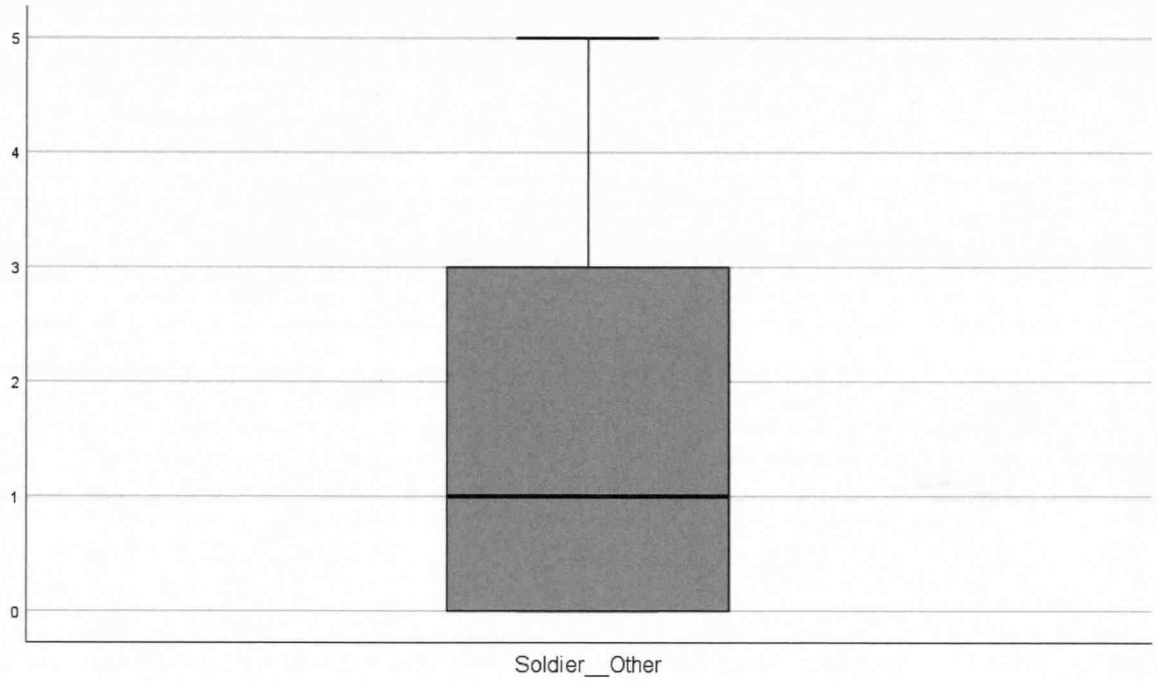
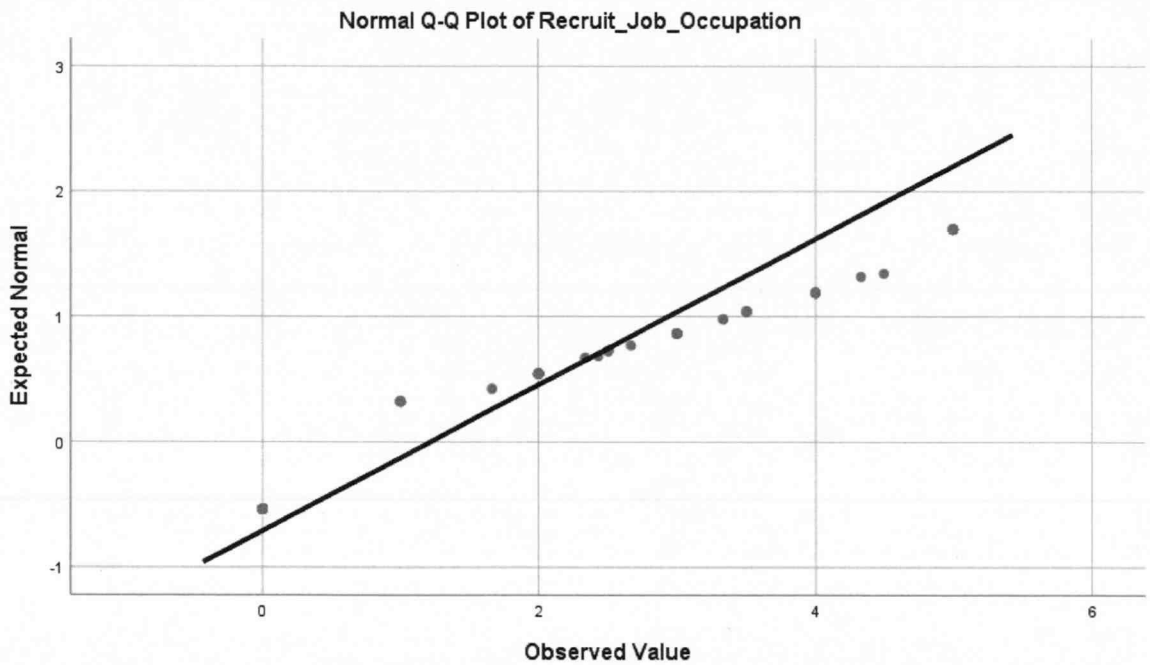
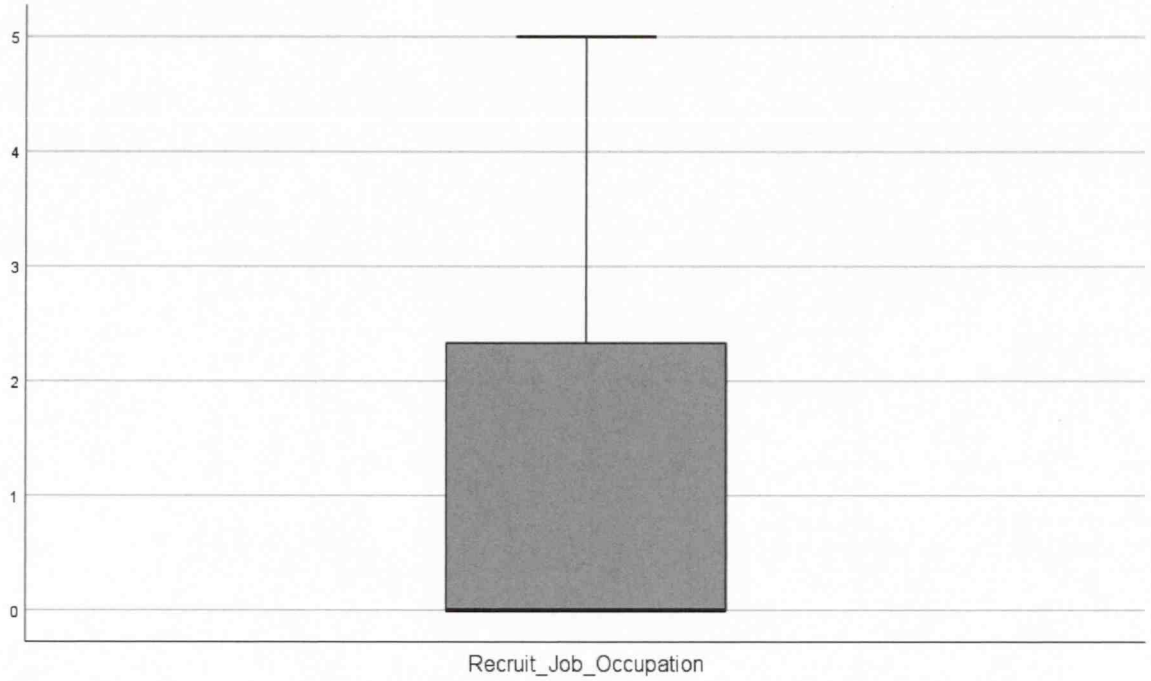




Job/ Occupation

DV 'Job/Occupation' for the stimulus word 'Recruit'

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Appendix 5.

Development of the Interview Schedule

Part I: Developing questions from Theory and previous Literature

Theory	Question derived from Theory	Question for Interview Schedule	Evidence from literature
1.) Social Representation (cf. Moscovici, 1988) is created and constantly re-created 1. As a product, it describes an intuitive, initial mental model of realities in the world, which people have to	→What do people in UK society understand of the social representation of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? **Descriptive account**	**Initial narrative question** *Thank you for your participation. As you know, I am interested in finding out what people think of UK Iraq and Afghanistan Army veterans. The first question is very open; there are no right or wrong answers, so please feel free to share all your thoughts with me. I will give you a few seconds to imagine what you understand of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran. Please tell me about your thoughts, how would you describe this person?*	**Opinion Polls and surveys (i.e. Ipsos Mori, 2011-2015, British Nat Cen, 2013; Ashcroft, 2012):** **(The following is only a short summary, for full account see appendix)** -valuable contribution for society, as highly experienced and skilled, worthy of support and honour -homeless, mentally or physically disabled, having suicidal tendencies, unemployed - not (!) more likely to be homeless or unemployed than civilians

Theory	**Questions derived from Theory**	**Figure 1.**	
2.) 2. As a process it describes communication, exchange and argumentation (dialogue with one's own and different social circles and evaluation of different perspectives) This is dependent on -objectification (attaching abstract thoughts to concrete pictures) -and anchoring (connecting a new reality with pre-existing thoughts)	**→ How did one's understanding of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran evolve?** ↓ anchoring and objectification ↓ **How did anchoring and objectification regarding an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran take place?** ↓ Through attaching beliefs to a new reality and connecting it with pre-existing knowledge ↓ **How was the construction of the representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran influenced by and connected with the already known? →**		

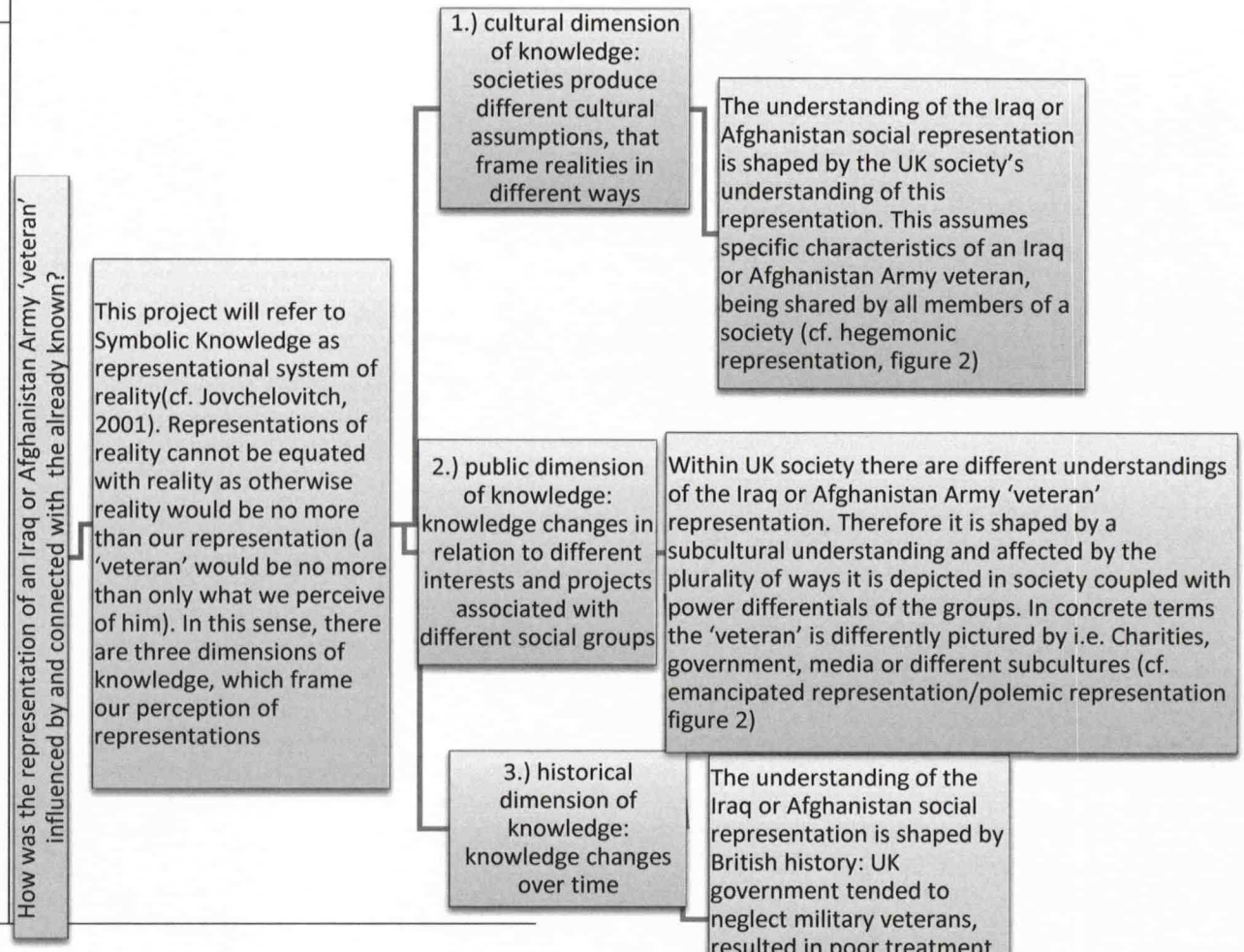
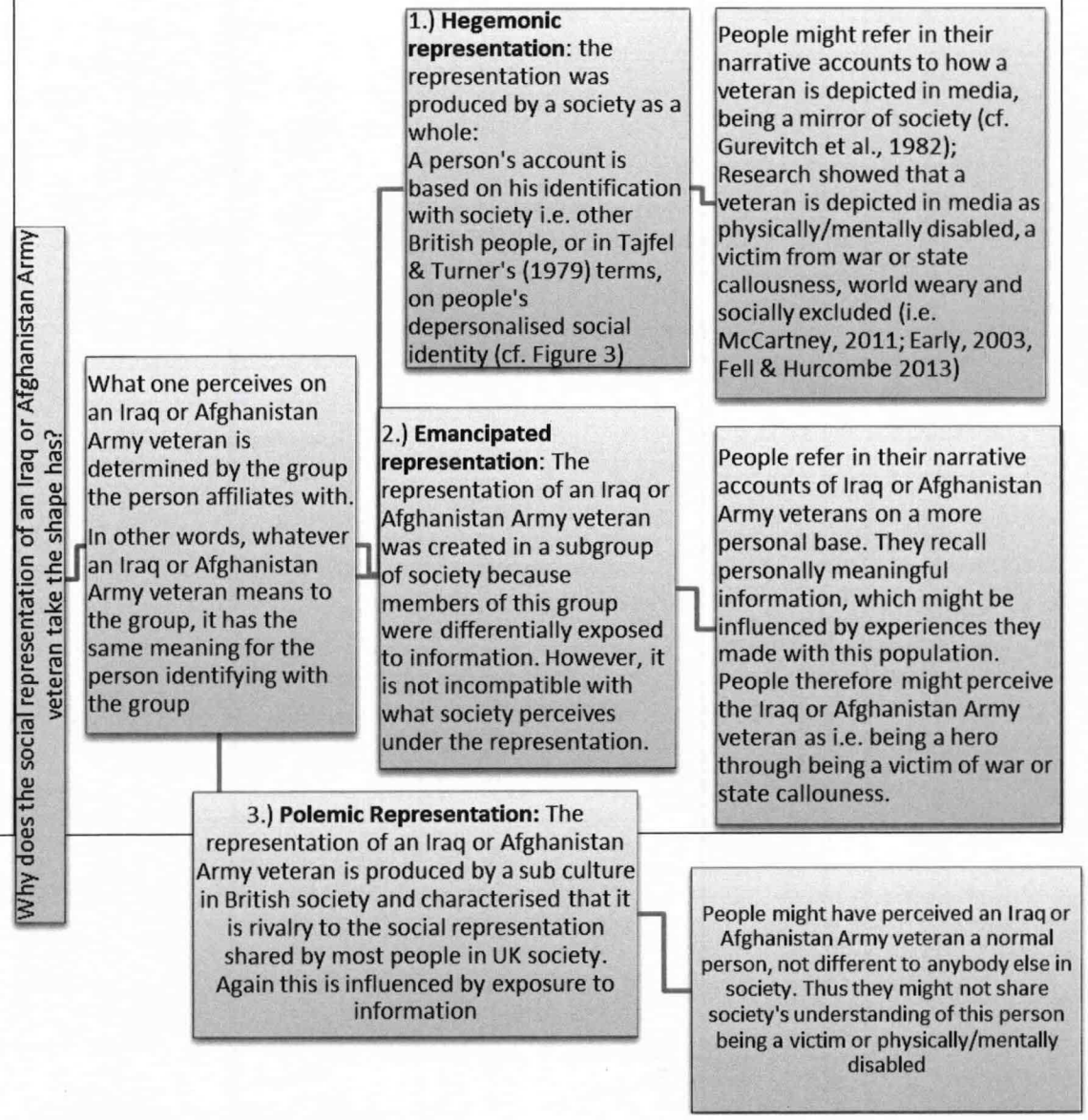
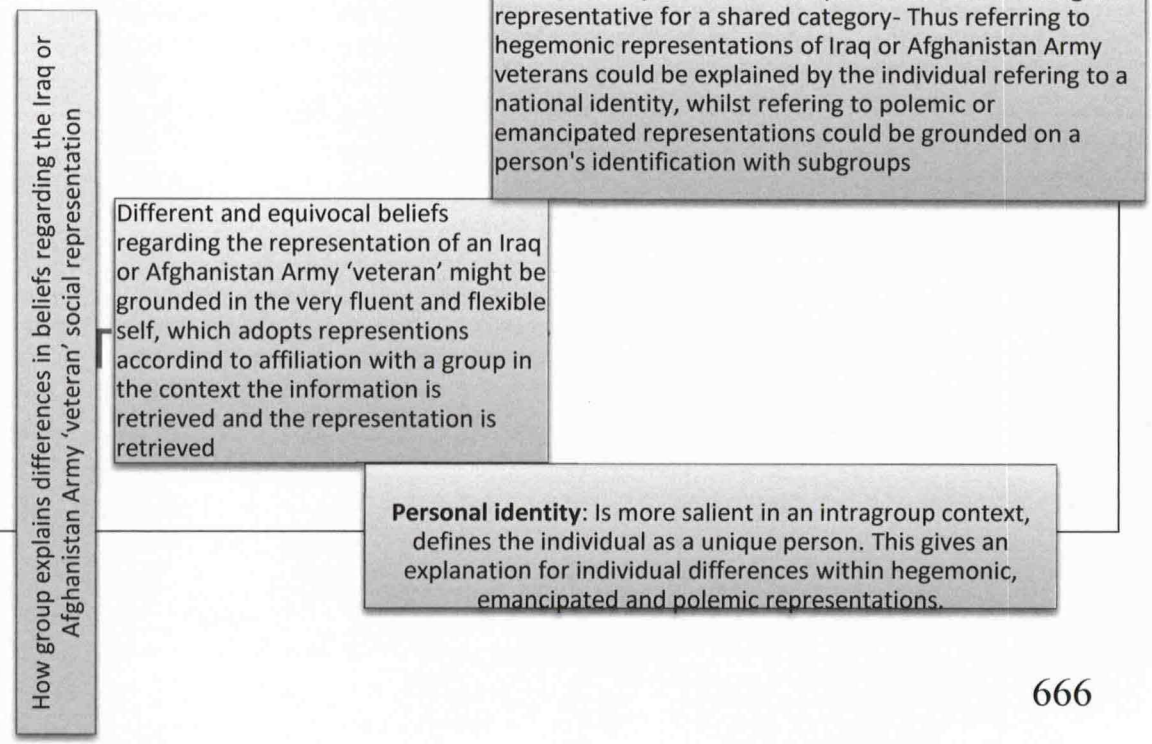


	Figure 1	
Conclusion of Figure 1		
3.) The dimensions of knowledge show that what the understanding of social representations as systems of symbolic knowledge is shaped by external sources of influences: culture, sub-culture (public sphere) and history. In this way Jovchelovitch (2001) highlights that people's knowledge is always limited, always incomplete. However, although explaining how knowledge and thus social representations as reflection of a representational system evolves, it only gives a descriptive account.	**→ Why did the individual connect the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran with specific pre-existing knowledge and thus make the representation to take the shape it has?** ↓ The individual adopts social representations of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans, which are purposively constructed by a subgroup to achieve particular objectives. Although people who use the representation might not be aware of the purpose they will refer to these shared representations. ↓	**Figure 2** 

It fails not answer why individuals accept or reject specific social representations among competing ones. Social representation theory assumes that subcultures (and social categories or groups) shape the social representation which an individual adopts according to their self-interests. There are three ways for groups to use social representations: **-hegemonic representation:** signify social identity; uniform and coercive, they are shared by all members of a highly structured group without being produced by it **-emancipated representation:** reflect differences between personal identity and broad identity group; outgrowth of the	**Which objective does a group have in characterising the representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in the way it does? → Figure 2** ↓ Needs to be answered more concretely in the interviews-might also not being possible to answer (cf. Breakwell, 2001- lack of significance and thus awareness results in not being able to explain beliefs cf. Figure 4) (Follow up probes)→ ↓ **How does affiliation with a group impact on what one perceives of the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army? (cf. Social Categorisation Theory)**	**A. Questions for the Interview schedule** A1.) You have explained that you understand of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran a person who is [xxx]. A2.) What do you mean by [xxx], could you elaborate that further? A3.) What makes you believe that this person is [xxx]? Why would you characterise an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran as being [xxx]? - Do you think that this characterisation is very common in the UK? Why do you [don't you] think so? A4.) How would people from UK society typically characterise an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? A5.) Why would people from UK society have this understanding? How do you think characterising an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in this way makes these people feel? A6.) Which other characterisations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans are prevalent in society? A7.) Which social group could use these characterisations? Why would they do so? How do you feel towards this group? A8.) What's the difference between you and people of this group?

circulation of knowledge, they belong to subgroups - **polemical representation**: formed in the course of a dispute or social conflict; mutually exclusive, not shared by society		A9.) How do you think the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran is characterised by the UK government? Why do you think they would characterise a veteran like that? What do you think about these characterisations? Are they appropriate? A10.) How do you think the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran is characterised in TV films and in newspapers? Is there a difference between how films characterise an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran and how newspapers do it? Why do you think that there is [no] difference? What are the reasons for TV films and newspapers characterising the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in this particular way? What do you think about these characterisations? Are they appropriate? A11.) How do you think [other] Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans would characterise themselves? Why would they do so? A12.) Are there any other ways how people in the UK get informed about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? A13.) Who would share your understanding of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? A14.) In which social context do you know people who have a similar understanding of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? How do you feel towards these people? Are these people, who have a similar understanding, important to you? Why [not]? A15.) What makes you think, that these people might share your understanding of these veterans? A16.) Which differences would you expect when these people speak about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans and when you speak about this population? Why do you think there are these differences?

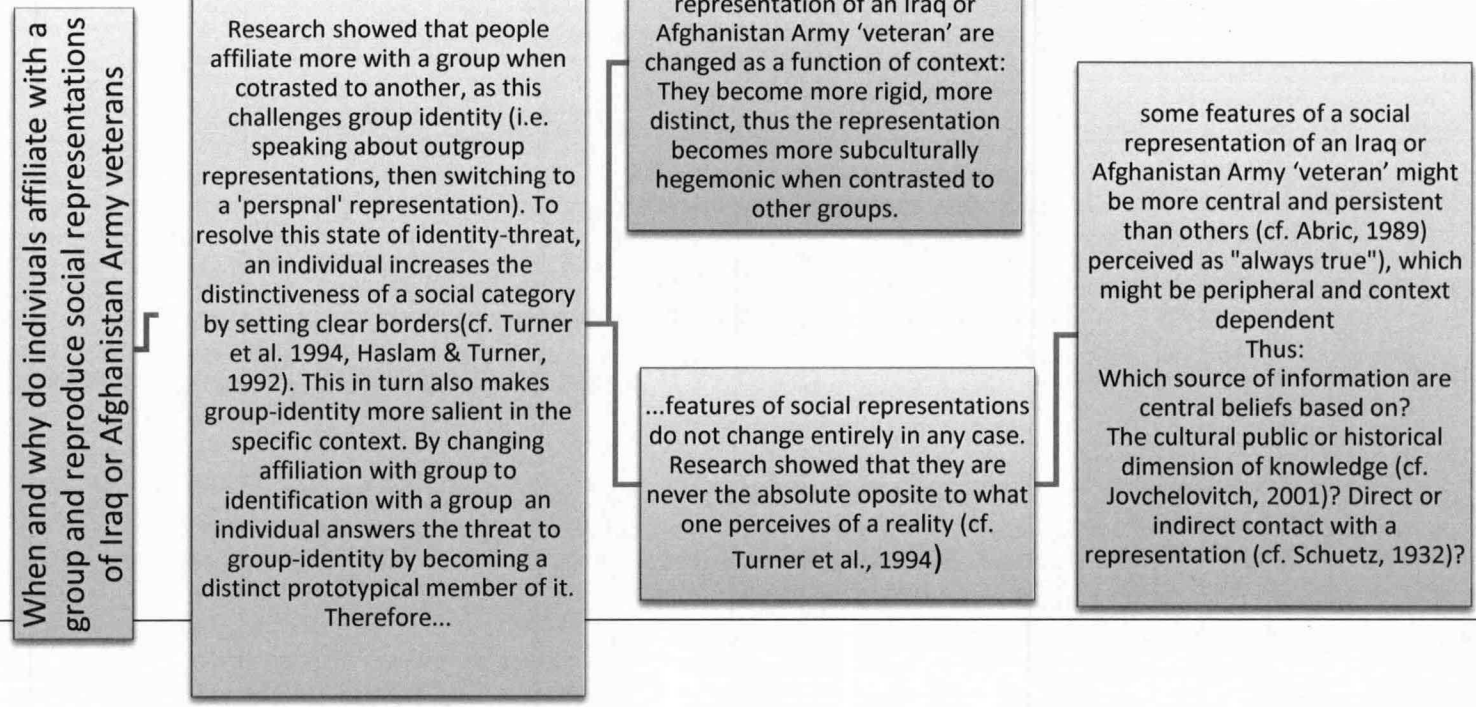
Conclusions of Figure 2		
Theory	**Questions deriving from theory**	**Figure 3**
4.) If groups construct social representations according to a specific purpose, then it has to be assumed that affiliation with a group impacts on what one perceives of a representation. This impact has been observed and well described in previous literature based on Social Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987). The self is a comparative, inherently variable, fluid and context dependent process of social judgement. Answering the arbitrary	**→ Which social groups does the individual feel close to when speaking about the social representations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans?** ↓ **Which other social representations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans is the individual aware of and why does it perceive these representations being outgroup representations?** ↓ **What does the individual perceive under these outgroup representations and why does it refer to a**	

need of the self, having a positive self-esteem and to be positively differentiated from other people, individual identification processes are orientated towards achieving a positive social identity by seeking positive group distinctiveness. Therefore, one's self creates self-categories, groupings of stimuli which are identical to some and different to other classes. These self-categories can either define the individual as a unique person (personal identity, individual differences to other ingroup-persons-'I' vs. 'you'), or by its shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other categories (social identity, a shared social categorical self: 'we' vs 'them'). Both identities - personal and social identity - are an ordinary

specific representation whilst rejecting others?
→ Figure 3

How does it feel towards people who use those representations, which the individual showed to reject?

→ Figure 4



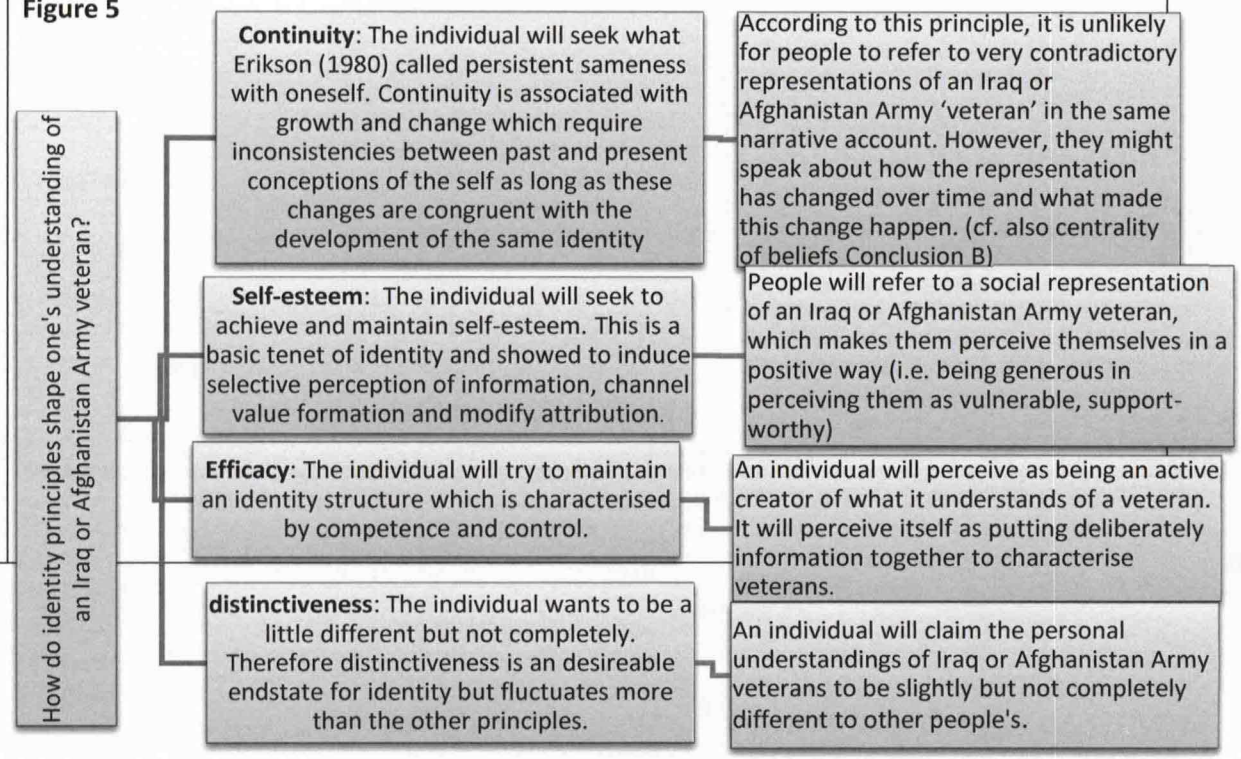
form of self-experience in which the self is either defined subjectively (different within a social class) or collectively (similar to a social class but different to another). Therefore, differences in beliefs regarding the same reality might be explained by the individual's perceived affiliation with a group. → Figure 3		**B. Questions for the Interview schedule** B1.) In your past-have you ever thought differently about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? How would you have described this person 5-7 years ago? B2.) At that time who would have had a similar understanding of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? How did you feel about these/this person/s? To which group would they have belonged to? B3.) Why did you [not] change your understanding of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? B4.) How do you feel about people, who characterise veterans like [x mentioned above x] now? At any point in time did you feel differently towards these people. B5.) Thinking about your feelings towards Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? How do you feel about this population? Why do you think they make you feel in this way? Do you think your feelings towards Iraq and Afghanistan Army veterans contribute in any way to what you understand of this population being [x participant's account x]?
Conclusions Figure 3 and 4		
5.) **Conclusion A** In Social Categorisation Theory identity is thus treated like a black box: Its properties are given. One's self-concept derives from group memberships with value attached to these memberships. However, the predictive validity of this theory in determining the shape a representation will take was found to be low (cf. Breakwell, 2001). This was		**6.)** **Conclusion B** Figure 3 and 4 highlight that the representation of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans might consist of peripheral elements, which allow to relate rapidly to the surrounding world and central beliefs, more stable and consistent, whose absence would end up in destroying or giving a radically different meaning to the representation overall (cf. Flament & Moliner; 1989; Abric, 1989). Therefore, supports the individual might have some beliefs regarding the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran, which determine the

assumed to be based upon the fact that Social Categorisation Theory only deals with one source of influence on identity upon group membership (the individual's need for a positive social identity). Therefore, criticisms lead to the development of Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 1993, 2001). This Theory assumes that identity is a dynamic product of the interaction between the capacities for memory, consciousness and organised understandings, and the physical and social structures which create the social context. Identity is thus structured by two types of processes: → *assimilation-accommodation* (absorbs new personal elements like values or attitudes and social elements as group memberships or interpersonal networks) and adjusts existing structures to locate them. → *evaluation* (allocation of value to identity elements). These processes are guides by identity principles (self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness, and efficacy) which dictate the endstate of a desirable structure of identity. ***→ Now jump to Conclusion A***	representation and some which are perceived as being less important and thus may contradict each other. This makes it necessary to observe: → Why are some elements made central whilst others are only peripheral? – cf. Social Categorisation Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 198) and Identity Process Theory (Breakwell 1993, 2001) → How do people perceive their beliefs representative in UK society as a whole and/or in subcultures in society? And. How exclusive the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran is in comparison to other military roles (and which factors influence its exclusiveness-i.e. direct/indirect experiences cf. Schuetz, 1932; dimensions of knowledge, Jovchelovic, 2001) → How they perceived their representation to develop (which beliefs remained the same and which ones changed- why?) ***→ Now jump to Conclusion B***

Conclusion A from figure 3 and 4

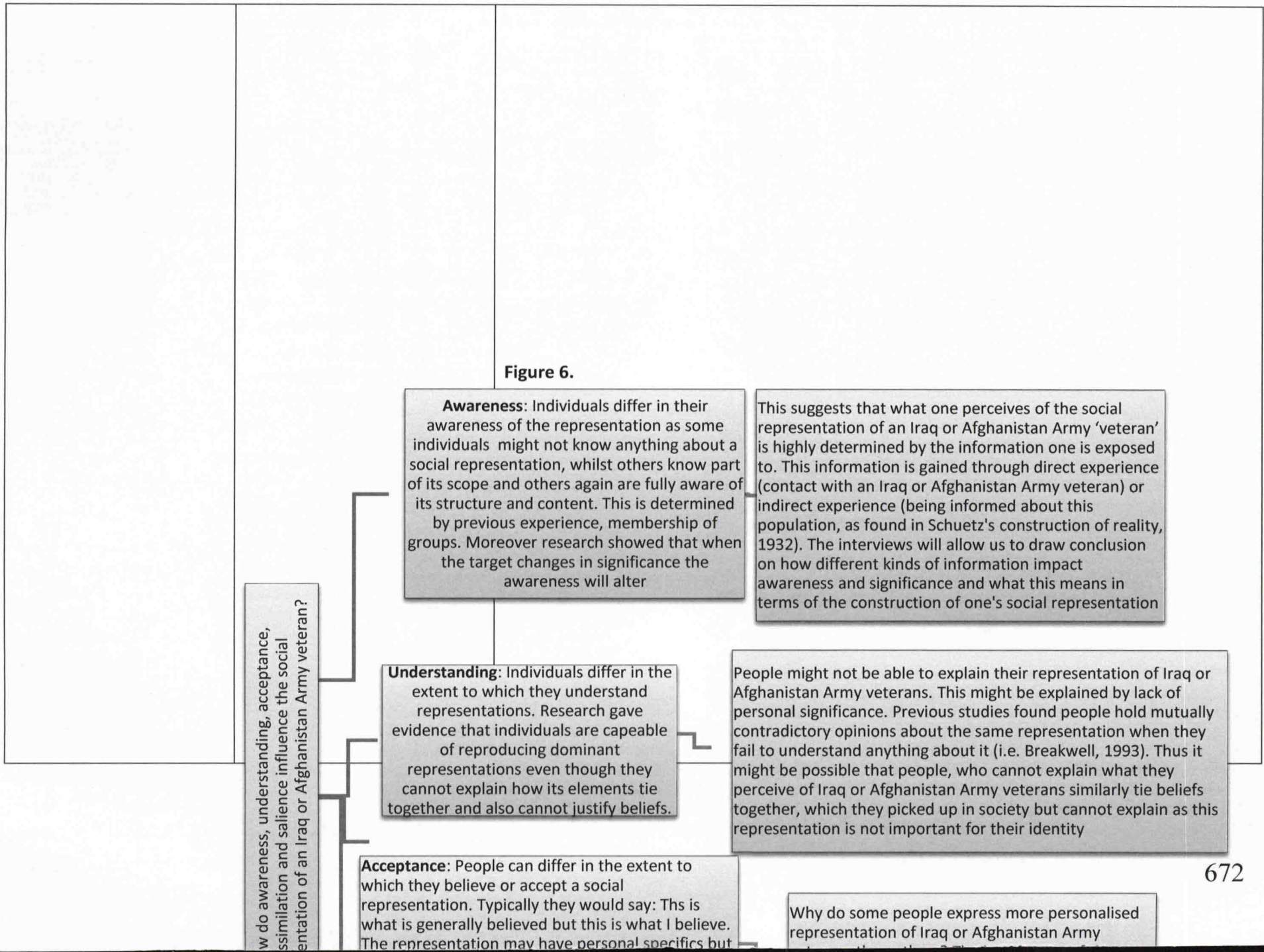
Theory	Question derived from Theory
7.) **Identity Process Theory** suggests that identity principles are the underlying processes which ultimately determine the form a representation takes. It does so by determining the extent to which any communication and information about a social representation will be received and incorporated into the existing	**→ How are identity principles involved in what one understands of a veteran?** ↓ **How is significance in relation to identity-threat involved in what one understands of the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran?**

Figure 5



representation. This was found to happen according to how an identity is affected by it and thus the representation's significance. Significance for identity thus predicts which representation an individual adopts amongst alternatively competing ones by impacting on identity principles.	**How are identity principles involved in accepting and rejecting predetermined group representations?** **→ Figure 5** ↓ Identity principles determine the shape of a representation by influencing awareness, understanding, assimilation, salience and acceptance. These are assumed to be important characteristics in identity structure as found to be in previous studies (i.e. Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 1996; Hassan, 1986; Twigger-Ross & Breakwell, 1999) ↓ **How do awareness, understanding, assimilation, salience and acceptance shape the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran?** **→ Figure 6**	

Figure 6.


w do awareness, understanding, acceptance,
ssimilation and salience influence the social
entation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran?
Awareness: Individuals differ in their awareness of the representation as some individuals might not know anything about a social representation, whilst others know part of its scope and others again are fully aware of its structure and content. This is determined by previous experience, membership of groups. Moreover research showed that when the target changes in significance the awareness will alter
This suggests that what one perceives of the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army 'veteran' is highly determined by the information one is exposed to. This information is gained through direct experience (contact with an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran) or indirect experience (being informed about this population, as found in Schuetz's construction of reality, 1932). The interviews will allow us to draw conclusion on how different kinds of information impact awareness and significance and what this means in terms of the construction of one's social representation
Understanding: Individuals differ in the extent to which they understand representations. Research gave evidence that individuals are capeable of reproducing dominant representations even though they cannot explain how its elements tie together and also cannot justify beliefs.
People might not be able to explain their representation of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans. This might be explained by lack of personal significance. Previous studies found people hold mutually contradictory opinions about the same representation when they fail to understand anything about it (i.e. Breakwell, 1993). Thus it might be possible that people, who cannot explain what they perceive of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans similarly tie beliefs together, which they picked up in society but cannot explain as this representation is not important for their identity
Acceptance: People can differ in the extent to which they believe or accept a social representation. Typically they would say: Ths is what is generally believed but this is what I believe. The representation may have personal specifics but
Why do some people express more personalised representation of Iraq or Afghanistan Army

		C.) Questions for the Interview schedule C1.) When you imagined the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran, could you tell me about which surroundings/environment you associated with him? Or which surroundings/environment you would associate an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran with? Why do you think you associate these surroundings/this environments with an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? C2.) I would like to ask you to imagine an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran at work. Which occupation did you think of? Why do you think that an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran doing this job? Which abilities do you think that the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran has, which would help him doing this job? Why do you think Iraq or Afghanistan Army

		veterans have got these abilities? And what would it make it more difficult for him to do the job? Why do you think so? I would like to present you a recent headline of a British newspaper: 'Are you a killer?' The quiet discrimination shutting military veterans out of the workplace What do you think about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans being affected by discrimination at workplace? Have you ever worked with an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? How did he do [How would you expect him to work]? Did he [would he] work differently than you or your other colleagues? Why? C2.) May I ask you if you ever have met an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in person? [If yes] Would you say that this person is a very typical member of this population? Why/not? [If person does not know a veteran] You seem to be well informed about this population-how did you make up your mind about these people? C3.) Can you recall if there was any difference in what you understood of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran before you [knew this person] [xx mention how person made up the mind i.e. news xx] [became a veteran] and now? **[CF Questions B1-5]** C4.) How do you think that people, who characterise Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans like that, have been informed about this population? Could you try to describe a person, who would think that? What do you personally think about this characterisation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? And about someone who characterises an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran like that? At any point in your life, would you have characterised a veteran like that? Why did you change your opinion? C5.) In which social context do you know Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Is it an everyday life situation?

		[In which social context do you think you would most likely meet an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran?] [In which social context do you meet other Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Is it an everyday life situation?] [Do you think this would be] [Are these] important situations for you personally? Why/not? C6.) How important is it to you to think of [the person you know as] [someone who is an] [yourself as] an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? Do you think of [the person you know as] [someone who is] [yourself as] an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran on an everyday base? Or frequently? Why? C7.) I would like to ask you some questions on your thoughts of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans and other military roles, like veterans, soldiers, Ex-Service Personnel and recruits. Which of the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran characterisations [xx name characterisations xx] are unique for this population? ...and which of them would also describe other military roles like veterans, Ex-Service Personnel or soldiers and recruits? Why do you feel that these characterisations fit the Iraq and Afghanistan Army veteran and also the role you have previously mentioned?

<u>Conclusion B</u> from figure 3 and 4

Theory	**Question derived from Theory**	**D.) Questions for the Interview schedule**
8.) Flament & Moliner (1989) and Abric (1989) argue that social representations consist of peripheral elements (or nuclei/cognemes), which allow to relate rapidly to the surrounding world and central	**→ How exclusive is the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran - to which extent do participants perceive the representation to be**	**<u>Centrality of Beliefs/ Social Representation of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans as structured or unstructured recollection of beliefs</u>** D1.) You described characterisations of a person who you would think of having a similar understanding of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans. Which of these characterisations do you think, this person would perceive as being the most

elements (or nuclei/cognemes), more stable and consistent beliefs, whose absence would end up in destroying or giving a radically different meaning to the representation overall. In other words, whilst central elements organize the entire representation and thus are impervious to context effects, peripherals are assumed to be easily changeable and situation-dependant. This was highlighted in previous research by showing that, when a central element is taken away, the entire representation collapses (i.e. Moliner, 1988; Guimelli, 1995). Similarly to anchoring processes, the structural perspective of social representation Theory explains the shape of a newly evolving representation through grouping and interrelating existing cognemes. Thus a new representation is created by reforming the already known. Interestingly previous research showed that in spontaneous answers words or expressions that include negative views about social representations are often not expressed. These elements appear rather when participants are	**distinct from other military roles (and which factors influence its exclusiveness-i.e. direct/indirect experiences cf. Schuetz, 1932; dimensions of knowledge, Jovchelovchic, 2001)** **→ How do participants perceive their representation of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans to develop (which elements remained the same, which ones changed-why?)** **→ Are there central and peripheral elements in one's understanding of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans?** ↓ This question can be partially answered in qualitative interviews: It will give an overview about how individuals	important characterisations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans. Why do you think that these are the most important characterisations for this person? D2.) And for you? Which are the most important characterisations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans for you? Why do you think these characterisations are most important in describing an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? D3.) Which role do you think [knowing about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans through xx The Daily Mail xx] [knowing a person who is an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran] [being an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran] plays in what you think of most important characterisations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Do you think you would characterise Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans differently if you [would not be informed by xx The Daily Mail xx], [know an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran], [be an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran]? How? Why? D4.) You mentioned that you perceive [cf. question A6: Which other characterisations of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans are prevalent in society?] to characterise veterans as [xxx]. Thinking of the image, that these [xx sources of information xx] create, what are the most important elements in their message regarding Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? How does thinking about which picture regarding Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans [xx source of information xx] makes you feel? Did you feel any differently about the picture [xx source of information xx] wants to create of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran at any point in your life? **Connection to other representations** ***cf. C8.)*** **Perceived development and change of the social representation:** **cf. Questions *B1-B7.)***

Thus it seems that how a representation is placed within a social context and within the field of other representations plays a major role in what one perceives of it (cf. Guimelli & Deschamps, 2000). Wachelke & Lins (2008) Abric & Verges, 1996 Miland, 2002). However, it is not yet clear how these factors work together to explain why a social representation is perceived in the way it is and why specific elements are central whilst others become peripheral.	**'significance'? Breakwell, 2001).** **Which role does identity, group belonging and exposure to information play in this context? (Identity Process Theory? Social Categorisation Theory? Social Construction of Reality?)** **How does the connection of the social representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran to other representation influence one's understandings?**	

General conclusion

All theories, which could possibly explain why a social representation takes the shape it shows to have emphasised the impact of the following factors:
- **identity processes**, which determine understanding, acceptance, assimilation and salience
- these affect (and) are affected by **group affiliation** (causality depends on which theory one follows)
- **previous knowledge** surrounding the social representation affect the shape but also is also affected by identity processes (as it is assumed to be shaped according to maintain a favourable view of identity)

- knowledge has different dimensions: is it derived from **direct/indirect experiences**, what is the **historical aspect of knowledge**, which **social knowledge** is produced, which **sub-cultural knowledge** is available,
Therefore the interviews will focus on the interplay between identity processes and the impact different sources of information have on what one perceives of a social representation.

asked to answer as someone from their group would, or when taken away from their regular normative context (Guimelli & Deschamps, 2000). This is currently called a masking effect in social representations (Flament, Guimelli & Abric, 2006). However, the question why specific elements are expressed and found to be central whilst others are peripheral remains unresolved. Wachelke & Lins (2008) tried to associate group affiliation and the structural approach of social representations to determine the effect of identity on central and peripheral elements. They were unable to find any consistent central beliefs, between within subject conditions, which made them conclude that the the lack of differentiation between elements was a sign regarding the participants' relationship with the social object (not too much related to identity). They assumed that the representation was rather unstructured. Flament (2002) observed this pattern previously and found that when no central elements	consciously place value upon different characterisations. However, it is likely that interviewees are going to value very positive characterisations (as: cf. social desirability and self-esteem principle-putting oneself in a good light in front of the interviewer using positive descriptions; also cf. the masking effect in social representations; Flament, Guimelli & Abric, 2006). Therefore before the interviewee is going to be asked to classify characterisations according to the most important ones they will be asked how somebody, who has a similar understanding to them would do so.	

can be found, it is as if no matter what was considered central by participants. Moreover previous research has highlighted that what one understands of a social representation is influenced by its connections to other representations. People can describe representations by referring directly to others (i.e. 'the ideal group' is described by 'equality', which is itself a representation; Lahlou & Abric, 2011), or by using similar words for two representations, which thus might be related (i.e. 'work' and 'money'; Abric & Verges, 1996; or antimonies like 'security' and 'insecurity', Guimelli & Roquette, 2004). Therefore representations can be in hierarchical order, meaning a superordinate category can have a peripheral element that labels the inferior objects (i.e. 'money' (superior), 'bank' (middle) and 'profit' (inferior); Abric & Verges, 1996), they can have an antinomy or opposition relation, having the same theme in their cores (i.e. 'work' and 'unemployed'; Miland, 2002), or have a reciprocity relation, by two representations being present as verbal signs in their central cores.	However, this will only provide limited and non-generalizable information. In order to understand if there are central beliefs and, if so, which beliefs are central in UK society and in subcultures, a quantitative study (study 2) has to be conducted. ↓ **Is the social representation of an Iraq veteran structured or unstructured** ↓ **Why are some beliefs more central than others?** **What contributes to a representation being unstructured? (i.e.**	

Appendix 6.

Pilot Questionnaire

SS1	Thank you for your participation. As you know, I am interested in finding out what people think of UK Iraq and Afghanistan Army veterans. The first question is very open; there are no right or wrong answers, so please feel free to share all your thoughts with me. I will give you now a few seconds to think about an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran. What is a typical Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran for you? Please describe an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in as much detail as possible.
SS2	i.e. 1.) You have explained that you understand of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran a person who is [xxx]. What do you mean by [xxx], could you elaborate that further? 2.) How necessary are [xxx] to be an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans-are they shared by all members of this group? Why do you think that? 4.) Which feelings do you have, when you use [xxx] to describe an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? 3.) Is there any other group in society, which you would describe with [xxx]? Why would you do so? …
SS3	**a.) Relationship between the participant's identity and the representation of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran** 1a.) Thank you for your explanations. What do Iraq or Afghanistan veterans mean to you personally? How do you feel connected to Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans?2a.)You have described an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran as [xxx]. Would you use any of these descriptions to also describe yourself? Why [not]? You also mentioned [xxx]. Why would you not use, for example, [x x x] to describe yourself? 3a.) Which important situation can you recall in which you have spoken or heard about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans (for example TV, the news, in TV discussions)? Tell me about these situations and how you felt towards Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans at that time. Was there once a situation where you spoke about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans with family, friends or

	colleagues at work or maybe with Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans themselves? How did you feel about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans in this situation? 4a.) Is there an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran particularly relevant to you? [Yes:] Is this person very typical for an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? Why? In which contexts do you think of this person as being an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? [No:] In which context would you think you would meet these people? How would you feel about being in these contexts….and meeting these people? Why? [For veterans:] How often do you meet other Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? In which context does this happen? Are these important situations and people for you personally? Why? **B.) Examining the social context of an individual's Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran representation** 1b.) When you told me about what you imagined of an Iraq or Afghanistan in question 1, you said [xxx] Who of the people you know would have given a similar answer? Where do you know this person/these people from? Why do you think this person/these people would have answered similarly? Do you think that this person/these people would disagree with anything Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans being [x participant's account x]? How would you describe your relationship with [x person/group x]? Where do you meet this person? Would other people there have similar opinions regarding Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? 2b.) Are there any people or groups in UK society, who would think differently about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Who? How would these people think of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Why do you think they would do so? What do you think about this understanding? …and about people from these groups? 3b) Do you think there are any differences between how political parties in the UK think of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans?

	Why do parties think in these ways of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? What do you personally think about how parties think of these veterans? How do you think this influences what people in UK society think? And how does it affect how you think about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? 4b) How do British TV channels, programs and news present Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Why do they present Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans in this particular way? How important are news and TV in helping you to understand what Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans are? How important do you think British TV and news are in helping most people in UK society to understand what Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans are? 5b.) How do you think Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans feel about the way people in UK society think about them? Why would they do so? 6b) And how do you think [other] Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans would characterise themselves? Why would they do so? **C.) Development of the representation and self-growth** 1c.) Was there any time in your life, where Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans have been more or less important to you or to a part of you? [If 'yes': Why did it change? How would that also you personally changed at that time? How would you have described an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran back then? …and why ?] [If 'no': In your past-have you ever thought differently about Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? Why? How?] 2c.) Who would have had a similar understanding of Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans at that time? How did you feel about these/this person/s? How do you feel about these/this person/s now?...and about your that understanding? D.) Perceptions of stereotypes in relation to identity principles and personal significance 1d.) When you told me about what you understand of an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran in question 1, you said that this person was [xxx]. Did you think of a particular gender? Why do you think you associated this particular gender?

	In this context, how do you think female Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans feel? Which problems do you think female UK Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans would have to face in everyday life? Are any of these issues, problems which you have too experienced in your life at one point? Which significance have these problems had in your life?... or still have in your life? **E.) Influences on the structure of social representations through other social representations** 1.e) What do you makes Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans distinct from other veterans or Ex-Service Personnel? When speaking about 'other-veterans' or 'Ex-Service Personnel', may I ask you what you understand of these terms? i.e. Where did they serve? What did they do? What do you think these people, you just mentioned, and Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans have in common? 2.e) What do you think is the difference between those, who are still in the UK Forces and those who are Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? May I ask you to describe those who are in the Forces? What do you think Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans have in common with these people? **F.) Concluding questions** Civilians with social contact Iraq or Afghanistan Army Veterans May I ask you how you are related to the Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran you know? What would you say does it mean for the person you know to be an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran? May I ask you a few questions about your time in the Forces? How often have you been deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan? How did you feel about being deployed? And what does it mean that this person is an Iraq or Afghanistan Army veteran to you? Which role in which regiment have you had whilst being deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan?

	How would you say that knowing this person had an impact on how you perceive Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans in general? How did everyday life look like? What did you do during your deployment Did you know this person already before deployment? How would you say deployment had an impact on their self? And the Forces in general? How did deployment change you? Why?

Appendix 7.

Revised Interview Schedule

General Questions

Veterans	**Non Veterans + Contact**
Age? What do you currently do? Education? How often deployed? Which role? Do you think of yourself as I/A veteran? And what do you think about the UK missions in I/A?	Age? What do you currently do? Education? In which context do you know I/A vet? [How often was xy deployed?] And what do you think about the UK missions in I/A?

SS1:

Thank you for your participation. As you know I am interested in finding out what people think of British Army veterans, who served in Iraq or Afghanistan. I would like to ask you to think about those who have been part of the British Army and deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan. What do you think of a person who is a British Army *veteran*, who was deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan?

SS2:

Examples

Meanings of characteristics in the context of the veteran	
You described a British Army veteran as xxxx. Could you tell me more about that? [especially for characterisations, not mentioned above or dichotomous characterisations]	Meaning of belief in connection with the veteran
Why do you think a British Army veteran would be xxx?	Origin of belief – influences on formation of belief
How prevalent do you think [xxx] is among British Iraq or Afghanistan Army veterans? (Importance → Centrality of xxx)	Importance – Centrality of element belief for representation
Do you think xxx shared by all British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans? Why do you think that?	Perceived generalizability – Validity of belief
Perceived personal significance of characteristic	
What does xxx mean to you personally? Is xxx anything which has or had some sort of personal relevance for you? Would you relate xxx to yourself? [Has there been a time where you perceived yourself to be xxx?]	Significance of belief – connection to personal life
Could you relate your experience with xxx anyhow to what xxx means in being a veteran?	Exploring how personal significance of an element contributes to belief in context of the veteran

Repeat questions with belief yyy, zzz	
Presenting Dichotomy	
- You described that you see British Army veterans as xxx but also as yyy. Tell me more about that. *[These seem to be different things but the veteran has both of them]* -What about xxxx and zzz?	Exploring identity negotiation and justifying rationales
Examining participant's perceptions of social understandings of British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veteran in UK society	
- So, in summary, when you think of a British Army veteran you perceive this person to be xxx, yyy and zzz. How widespread, do you think this belief is in UK society? Who would share your view?	Examining perceptions of reproduction/uniqueness in understandings,
- Would there be other types of people or other groups who would think differently about veterans than you? Who would that be? How would they think of a veteran? Why would they have this understanding?	Examining Group differences

SS3

The last set has very specific questions – you might feel that you have already explained some of them. I would still ask you to give me as much information as possible, as I want to make sure that all areas are covered in detail!	
'Social-informers' and 'Social Perceptions'	
What do you think influences British people in what they understand of British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans [for example TV, media, Charities, politicians]?	Examining the perceived impact of external influences
How does xxx present the veteran?	
Why would xxx present the veteran in this way?	
How do you think most people in the UK understand/think of British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans? Why would they do so?	Understanding perceptions of specific group member's beliefs
And when looking at the labour market. How do you think potential employers perceive someone who was deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan as part of the British Army? Why would they do so?	
What is your view of the different ways that British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans are presented?	

Civilians: How do you think British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans would characterise themselves? Why would they do so? What do British Army Iraq/Afghanistan Army veterans mean to you, personally?	*Veterans:* Do you see yourself as a British Army Iraq/Afghanistan veteran? Why? How important is it for you to be a veteran of these conflicts? Do you think people would see you as being a typical example for a British Army Iraq/Afghanistan veteran? Why?	
Significance of the veteran and associations with the veteran in the own life		
Before you mentioned xxx/yyy/zzz to describe a veteran. Would you use any of these also to describe yourself? Why? So what is it in xxx/yyy/zzz that you feel you share with the veteran?		Relevance of the theme in participant's life – elaborating on further understandings of the meaning
Have you always thought that the British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veteran is xxx/yyy/zzz – or have you changed your view? What were the reasons for your understanding back then? Why did you change your understanding?		Observing potential changes in significance of concepts in the participants' lives
Have you also been in a situation where people have been speaking differently about British Army Iraq or Afghanistan veterans? What accounted for that difference? Which position did you take in this situation? Why did you do so?		Examining persistency of representations/ understandings and reasons for persistency
Overlapping understandings – common associations with the veteran which contributed to perceptions and evaluations		
May I ask you what you think of the UK as a nation? And what does Britain mean to you personally? Why? *(What means home to you?)* And how would you associate the veteran with your thoughts?		Exploring the potential connection between perceptions of veteran-Britain-home (?)

What would you associate with the UK Forces? How do you understand the veteran to be related to your thoughts about the UK Forces?	Exploring the potential veteran-UK Forces connection (is veteran part of the UK-Forces representation?)
What do you think about people, who actively serve the UK Armed Forces – for example British soldiers? How would you characterise them? How would you relate the veteran to what you have just said?	Exploring the potential veteran-soldier connection (Exploring how representation may share aspects/fuzzy borders?)
What do you think about people who want to join the Forces, or who have recently joined the UK-Forces like recruits? Which personal characteristics and attitudes would you associate with these people? How would you relate the veteran to what you have just said?	Exploring the potential veteran-recruit connection (Exploring how representation may share aspects/fuzzy borders?)

Appendix 8.

Initial Code Book for Newspaper Analysis (Victim-Hero-Perpetrator-Other)

Category	Definition	Example
Victim	General Message: Veterans need help and empathy, veterans are worthy of pity Veterans suffer from : -physical, psychological disabilities, -social discrimination, -governmental callousness -institutional neglection -lack of care	Lusher, A. (2016, August, 21). Payouts to UK veterans with mental health disorders reach record levels. *Independent*, URL http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ptsd-iraq-afghanistan-british-army-mental-health-depression-wars-Combat-stress-veterans-uk-armed-a7199461.html
Hero	General Message: Veterans are worthy of honour and respect. Veterans are to be honoured for: -heroic deeds in the past (i.e. protection of UK population) -heroic deeds in the present (i.e. collecting money, offering help for other veterans with disabilities) -heroically overcoming psychological and/or physical disorders (i.e. climbing the Mount Everest with prosthetic limbs)	Blackstone, G, (2016, September, 4). Top French honour for two Scottish WWII heroes, *Sunday Post*, URL https://www.sundaypost.com/news/top-french-honour-two-scottish-wwii-heroes/
Perpetrator	General Message: Veterans are brutal, evil perpetrators who do harm to a peace loving society Veterans are to be disliked for: - Doing harm to civilians - Having anti-social attitudes and behaviours	Bodman, M. (2017, November 14). Ex-navy officer Charles Howeson 'groped men on ship', *BBC*, URL http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-41969221

Other	Any other theme i.e. Veterans vote against Brexit	Mortimer, C. (2016, May 9). EU referendum: Second World War veterans come out against Brexit. *Independent.* URL: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-second-world-war-veterans-come-out-against-brexit-a7019646.html

Appendix 9.

Refined Code Book for Newspaper Analysis

	Theme	Definition	Example
Veteran –Victim	a.) Veterans suffer from the cost of war (i.e. physical, psychological disabilities)	The veteran becomes associated with the victim-state by representing the 'cost of war' through demonstrating physical or psychological damage.	Lusher, A. (2016, August, 21). Payouts to UK veterans with mental health disorders reach record levels. *Independent*, URL: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ptsd-iraq-afghanistan-british-army-mental-health-depression-wars-Combat-stress-veterans-uk-armed-a7199461.html
	b.) Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness	The veteran becomes associated to the victim state as suffering from i.e. social discrimination to a lack of understanding, or not receiving the services the veteran should be entitled to.	b.) Veterans suffer from institutional injustices and social callousness
	c.) Charitable organisations need to help the victim-veteran	The veteran is suffering from the cost of war and/or institutional injustices and social callousness. However, the veteran's neediness is/will be addressed by charitable campaigns that administer to the victim-veteran's needs.	c) BBC (2012, June 14). Combat Stress Helps 300 Falkland Veterans. URL: *https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-surrey-18447672#share-tools*
Veteran - Hero	a.) Veterans represent heroism justified by their actions in the past	The time in service induces the present perception: Special efforts during service serves in some occasions	Blackstone, G, (2016, September 4). Top French honour for two Scottish WWII heroes, *Sunday Post*, Retrieved from

		as justification for heroism. In other instances, heroism is justified by partaking in a deployment and serving the country in times of need.	https://www.sundaypost.com/news/top-french-honour-two-scottish-wwii-heroes/
	b.) Veterans represent heroism, justified by actions in the present	The veteran has an 'honourable carer', the heroic image based on special communal deeds as veteran and – most often – for veterans (contribution to social life, selling poppies, offering a place in which the need for belonging is answered…)	Kelsey, C. (2015, September 15). Ex-soldiers set up company to help veterans make transition from military to civilian life, *Wales Online,* Retrieved from http://www.walesonline.co.uk/business/business-news/ex-soldiers-set-up-company-10054034
	c.) Veterans represent heroism, justified by growth from victim-state	Veterans are active agents in successfully adapting to the 'cost of war' (the disadvantage). They accomplish extraordinary deeds and are represented as highly respectable and capable individuals, able to overcome even the most difficult life-situation	Gadd, M. (2016, September 11). Jon-Allan Butterworth becomes first British veteran injured in Iraq or Afghanistan to win Paralympics gold, *The Mirror,* Retrieved from http://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/other-sports/jon-allan-butterworth-becomes-first-8814812
Veteran - Perpetrator	The Perpetrator	Veterans as brutal, evil perpetrator, doing harm to individuals in general public and social systems more generally	Bodman, M. (2017, November 14). Ex-navy officer Charles Howeson 'groped men on ship', *BBC,* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-41969221

Other	Other	Any other theme i.e. Veterans vote against Brexit	Mortimer, C. (2016, May 9). EU referendum: Second World War veterans come out against Brexit. *Independent.* URL: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-second-world-war-veterans-come-out-against-brexit-a7019646.html