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Research Report: Negotiating identity and representation in the mediated Armed Forces.

ESRC reference: RES-000-23-0092

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Background

This research, on the cultural politics of military representation, was initiated following a previous ESRC project ('Gendered bodies', ESRC ref: R000223562) which had argued for a set of close relationships between military representations of the woman soldier circulating in Army policy discourse and representations of this figure circulating more widely within popular culture (Woodward and Winter, 2007). We set out therefore to investigate how the British soldier (both male and female) is represented within contemporary British print media (objective 1), and to consider these representations alongside those which British soldiers produce of themselves through their narratives around their personal photographs of their military lives (objective 2). This research was framed conceptually around the idea that civil-military relations could be re-conceptualised through a more nuanced understanding of culture than that with which traditional military sociology has worked, and that to do so would both reinvigorate such debates and provide a commentary of interest within the defence community on issues of representation (objective 3).

In this report, we discuss first the methodology for data collection and analysis and include a comment on ethics in the research. We then consider our original objectives with reference to the research results. We outline our activities to date, outputs and research impacts, and suggest two future research priorities.

Methods

Objectives 1 and 2 used different methods for the construction of our datasets. Objective 1, an exploration of print media representations of the figure of the soldier, required the collection of print media stories. Given that our second objective focused so directly on photographic images, we decided to collect stories that included visual representations of British soldiers and British military activities. We excluded representations of all other national military and paramilitary organisations. Having considered the archive sources available (on-line, paper and digitized on CD-

ROM), the question of time-frame (how far back to go?) and the high levels of coverage of military-related news in print media during the research period (because of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan), we constructed a dataset of print media reports as follows. We conducted:

- Weekly searches of websites of daily national newspapers (Guardian, Independent, Times, Daily Telegraph, Scotsman, Mirror, Sun, Daily Mail, Daily Express) and Sunday sister papers (Independent on Sunday, Sunday Telegraph, Observer, News of the World, Sunday Mirror, Sunday Times) for the period 1st February to 31st August 2006.

- Key-word searches of the above newspaper archives, where these existed, for the period prior to the start of the research back to March 2004. This was a less fruitful source than originally anticipated because of the removal of photographic images from many digital archives.

- Collections of all print and on-line newspapers from the above list, for specific days following specific events – Veteran's Day in June 2006, for example.

- Daily searches of the BBC news website. Although not a print media format, this source of on-line news was valuable because it frequently led to other media sources.

Each item of data (photograph embedded in its print context) was captured and stored in digital format, with over 950 stories collected. These were coded. Given our focus in objective 2 on photographic images, we coded according to visual content in the photograph accompanying each story. In this way, the variation and contrasts in the use of similar types of photographs was made visible; it was clear after a couple of months data-gathering that within each story, photograph, caption, headline, sub-heading and main text could all communicate starkly different meanings, and we wanted to focus on the work that photographic images did in these contexts. Our coding scheme assigned each story to one or more of the following categories and sub-categories:

- Soldiers (embarkation/disembarkation; armed contact; patrolling; parade; personal celebration; headshots; disabled soldier; dead soldier; abuse; bad soldier; hearts and minds; with politician; royalty; recognised hero; prisoner; special forces)

- Material objects (military symbols; places; equipment including vehicles; aircraft; ships; wreckage; explosions; maps; newspapers)

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- Other general military (animals; battle landscapes; civilian clothing in military context).

Some sub-categories were also broken down, so that, for example, 'military symbols' included photographs of regimental plaques, flags, medals, cap badges, uniforms, musical instruments, wreathes and monuments. The sub-categories were then analysed through a close reading of the discursive content of text and picture and our conclusions are discussed below in 'Objectives and Research Results'.

Our second objective was to examine how soldiers represent themselves, which we did by talking to serving and former soldiers about their military lives, using photographs from their personal collections to structure the conversation. Following two pilot interviews, we decided to ask interviewees to bring ten photographs to interview for discussion; we had become aware that soldiers can have great quantities of photographs, and by asking our interviewees to choose ten we were also asking interviewees to focus on those aspects of their military lives that were most meaningful to them. With help from Newcastle University's Press Office, a story was placed in local daily and weekly newspapers (Evening Chronicle, Journal, Sunderland Echo, plus local free-sheets) in September 2006, describing the research and asking potential interviewees to contact us. Interviewees had to have served in the Armed Forces within the last 20 years (a deliberate strategy, to include Falklands veterans in the sample), either in the Army (regular or territorial) or the Royal Marines (bearing in mind the stipulation put on the original award by ESRC). The initial response was excellent, with around 25 people making contact. Of these, 16 were suitable for interview, most of which were conducted in the north-east, although some involved wider travel. All the interviews were audio-recorded, and the chosen photographs copied by scanner after the interview. The 16 interviews provided 23 hours of recorded interview material and 150 photographs (the interviews varied between 42 minutes and over two hours, and some interviewees chose fewer than ten photographs), and the transcripts (all were transcribed in full) combined total over 190,000 words. The interviews followed a common schedule; each interviewee gave a brief autobiography of their military career, and then each photograph was examined in turn in conversation with the interviewer (Neil Jenkings). This method of photo-elicitation and emergent analysis (see Jenkings et al, 2007) exceeded our expectations in terms of the amount of commentary and insight it produced around soldiers' reflections on their military lives and their military selves, and we decided to focus on analysis of the rich data that we already had, rather than pursue a further

round of interviews to hit a notional target number stated in the original funding application.

Our 16 interviewees ranged in rank from Private to Captain, although the majority were or had been enlisted soldiers rather than officers. Two were women, 14 were men. Military occupations included infantry, engineers, signals, musician, artillery and commando. There was a skew in the sample towards former Royal Marine Commandos (six of the total), reflecting both a tradition of recruitment to the Marines from the North-East, and a communications effect from the project being discussed on a Marines internet forum. The majority of interviewees had resigned from the Armed Forces at the time of the interview, with a time period since leaving ranging from 5 months to 19 years. Two of these talked of re-enlisting.

Two ethical issues had to be considered and dealt with. One concerned the protection of the anonymity of respondents whilst also copying for potential future public circulation photographs in which individuals were clearly visible and identifiable. Accordingly, where photos are likely to be published (see Woodward et al, 2008) we have sought confirmation from their owners that this is acceptable, even though they had already signed consent forms allowing our use of the transcripts and copied photos. We have also (and will continue to) refrained from reproducing in publications some of the pictures in the collection as a precautionary measure – one of an individual with Iraqi civilians, for example, could have wider consequences for those civilians. Our second ethical issue concerned the vulnerability of this social group. We took the self-selection of interviewees as indicative of their capacity to deal emotionally with the recall and explanation of a past which might have included traumatic and harrowing events. Indeed, some interviewees talked very frankly about their efforts to deal with what one interviewee termed the 'baggage' that followed an army life. A few potential interviewees were not pursued beyond their initial contact once it became clear that they were disturbed by their past in some way (apparent either because they said so, or because they seemed less than stable during an initial telephone conversation), a decision on ethical grounds to protect both the interviewer and the putative interviewee. (Note, though, the function of photographs in the containment of memory, and its therapeutic aspects; see Woodward et al, 2007.)

The data generated for the second objective of the research, therefore, consisted of a series of interview transcripts into which the scanned photographs had been

embedded. Viewing the data in this way made starkly clear the arguments proposed by many writers on photography, that photographs are quotations, momentary ideas which have to be understood not only in terms of what they show in the image, but in terms of their context. That context, in our case provided by the accompanying narrative, is what gave the photographs their meaning. Accordingly, the photographs were categorised for what they were explained to be showing, in the interview narrative, rather than just by what they appeared to show on first observation. So, for example, four different pictures of Marines doing jungle training were coded in different ways because of what these photographs were about to their owners. Many photographs could be given more than one code. These codes stood alongside another set of attributes of the photographs in terms of what they did for their owner as memory objects, and in terms of their social lives as material objects, an idea which included their original capture and subsequent use, display and storage.

Although we had intended to use Atlas.ti to assist with the coding of the print media stories, personal photographs and interview texts, we discovered during initial training that this software could not be networked to enable shared coding of the same piece of data, so was not suitable for this type of collective research.

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Objectives and Research Results

Our research results are presented in the context of the original research objectives.

Objective 1 To describe and explain how the figure of the British soldier is represented in British print news media, with reference to the discursive figures used in these representations.

We should preface our discussion by emphasising that the research did not set out to examine production issues behind the reporting of military stories and the representations of British personnel. They need acknowledging, though, because they shape what images may be feasible, physically and technically, and desirable, within the context of mass-circulation national newspapers on the grounds of conventions around taste. We conducted an interview with a sub-editor of a key regional newspaper to ensure that we were briefed about the practicalities of print media image production before we started, including the role of press agencies and freelance photographers. Ultimately, we are dealing with a media-derived dataset that is itself highly mediated prior to its production. We limit our analysis to what is visible as an end-product, mindful that we do not include consideration of the process by which that product, the figure of the soldier, is formed.

We use the concept of the 'discursive figure' of the soldier to allude to the clusters of ideas or discourses which circulate around the representation of the soldier in print media. Discourses are, of course, contingent on time and space. The discursive figures of the soldier in our dataset emanate from a time of deepening military engagement in both Iraq and Afghanistan, from a time following public revelation of incidents of abuse perpetrated by British soldiers, and from a period when the welfare of British personnel and their positioning with respect to the military covenant prompted a high level of print media interest in individual case histories and life stories. During this period, some high-profile military awards were given, and a first Veteran's Day event held in central London. This is the context in which our data collection took place, and our dataset reflects that.

Put simply, our dataset shows a number of reflections on the discursive figure of the soldier as hero. This is an obvious conclusion, of course; surely soldiers are almost ways represented as heroic? Why spend time and money just to say that?

Our point – our key observation here – is how this heroic figure is mediated through a set of very contemporary anxieties about legitimate, legitimized and illegitimate violence. The soldier hero, in this time and place, is an uneasy figure. Most frequently, he or she is anonymous; a key distinction in our dataset of newspaper photographs of soldiers turns on whether they are named or not. The anonymous figure of the soldier, often unidentifiable because of the masking effects of uniform and helmet, is invariably a figure in motion, and invariably a figure armed in some fashion or other with the hardware of warfare. Trawling on a daily basis around websites and newspapers, this figure pops up everywhere. We would often ask ourselves whether we hadn't already seen a particular photograph in a previous context. The anonymous soldier is of course a generic picture; the incident photographed that is identifiable in time and place belongs to another category. That which succeeds as generic is that which is useable in the widest variety of contexts. A common anonymous photograph, of a soldier on a tank, depicts the universal soldier, and such photographs are useable in a great range of contexts. These generic photographs anonymise the soldier; he or she is merely there, armed, in a foreign (read hostile) landscape, and the fact of being armed and at war places a specific story easily and readily into an established narrative of war, in which bodies of troops engage in dangerous acts in hostile territory. The legitimacy or otherwise of those dangerous acts, that legitimized violence, is squeezed from the frame of reference by this universalised figure of the anonymous private soldier, gone to fight in a foreign war that is not of his or her making.

Soldiers are frequently killed in armed conflicts. His or her next of kin are informed, and he or she is named to the press. The dead soldier is represented in two ways. He or she is either shown in life, standing stony-faced to attention in a formal photograph, or shown smiling in an informal snapshot. The cropped images – we've collected a number of montages that use these – show us a face but rarely a context. Alternatively, we see a coffin, flag-draped and borne by regimental colleagues with the ceremony that military protocol demands, usually at a military airfield in the moments between disembarkation from a Hercules and departure in a waiting hearse. These soldiers are named, their deaths reported and pictures reproduced in short pieces where grieving friends and family record the loss of this hero. These photographs are about absence, and about heroism attained in death. In our contemporary wars, how else can the loss of individuals be reported? The hero position is the only one possible for these dead. As a victim of violence, the legitimacy or otherwise of that violence comes into question.

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What becomes of the soldier hero when he or she is wounded? Photographs of the disabled or disfigured soldier, where those losses are visible, are rarely shown, and all the more striking for this. Vulnerability, part of the subject-position of the hero, is evident in the portrayals of these heroes who are shown bearing the physical marks of their heroism as victims of violence. Their heroism is assured, through the public presentation of military awards for their deeds, and their efforts to adjust to a life of lessened mobility. The absence of the emotionally damaged hero is striking; there is unease about the picturing of the soldier who has ceased to endure.

The hero may fall, and the bad soldier, the soldier gone bad, is always named. Transgressors of codes of military conduct are publicly identified. There is unease around this figure. Two types of stories standout here, which reflect on the same point, of anxieties about the legitimate and illegitimate use of violence. In one, the soldier as abuser is named, publicly shamed, categorised as errant, and the wider anxieties about militarised violence and its brutalising effects on those trained to deploy armed force are left hanging, reflected back on the errant individual rather than out onto a wider military body. In the other, the soldier as victim of illegitimate military violence is represented through image; the families of four young soldiers who died at Deepcut barracks have recognised this – their strategy has been to appear in public with enlarged photographic close-ups of their lost sons and daughters.

In this objective we asked a second question about the uniformity or otherwise of these discursive figures between media outlets. Although there is a greater tendency to almost automatically ascribe the hero position to the dead soldier within mass-market tabloids, this is a question of degree rather than differential emphasis. There is a regularity to print media representations of the figure of the soldier across outlets which is striking.

We asked a third question about how these discursive figures related to specific markers of identity, but consider this with hindsight to be a flawed question. Sure, ideas about class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality flow around these figures, but they don't define the soldier hero. Our fourth question, about the wider political function of these representational strategies, has been answered implicitly in our discussion above; the discursive figures of the soldier hero – anonymous footsoldier, dead

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soldier, injured soldier, errant soldier – speak about anxieties about violence and its legitimacy.

Objective 2 To describe and explain how British military personnel represent themselves as soldiers, and as individuals, through personal photograph collections; and to explain how these representations are constructed with reference to specific markers of identity.

Our first research question was: what sort of photographs do soldiers take? Although amongst our dataset there was immense variety, a first conclusion is that soldiers' photos can be understood as a specific genre; they share an intentionality, a cluster of themes and concerns in common, and although these shift over time there is a coherence to them. They are not, in other words, fragments of other genres (the tourist photograph, the group confirmation, the family photograph) although of course they share attributes with these other genres. These shared themes and concerns that define the genre include the celebration of professional expertise, the celebration of kinship (both established and fictive); and the marking of personal participation in global events; the rite of passage. The genre is also marked by its performativity, the visible display of soldiering for observation by others.

Although not flagged up as an initial research question, our interviewees were encouraged to discuss the social life of these photographs, including their origins in the ubiquitous photographic practices of soldiers ('I'd always take a camera with me…'), and those of unit photographers in training, at specific events in the training cycle, at ceremonial events, on active operations, and for general publicity purposes. Some had been taken by press photographers, for print media reproduction, and we consider these under objective 3 below. Practices of storage and display were also noted. We were not shown any 'porn star' or 'dance of the flaming arse' photographs (although one interviewee did talk about these initiation and carnivalesque practices) and neither we were shown any that depicted violence or abuse; our interviewees selected carefully. What did become apparent were the practices of containment around these photographs, as a means by which these material objects could be used to contain memory in the senses both of holding and limiting the practices of remembrance (see Woodward et al, 2007).

Our second research question asked about 'the kinds of military and social identities that are produced and circulated through these processes of representation'. This, in retrospect, was a imprecisely-worded research question; what we meant, and asked, was what kinds of military and social identities are depicted and described through the practices of both taking and subsequent viewing of personal photographs. The change of research question reflects our conclusions about the necessity of viewing photographic images within their context, which in this case was provided by the explanatory narratives from the interviews. We conclude that military identities, as expressed through photographs and their accompanying narratives, revolve around three core ideas: professional expertise, kinship, and participation in the military event. These core features of military identity overlap within some photographs and are consistent as arguments across the interviews conducted.

The centrality of a sense of professional skill, competence and expertise as a trained military operative – whatever the military occupation of that individual – was striking in the interviews. Individuals would remark, time and again, about how actions depicted in photographs (or recalled through the memories provoked by the photographs) were read as indicators of professional military skill. Examples include a snapshot of a group of Royal Marines on the mess deck of a ship, chosen to emphasise a point about how personnel had to learn to live in very crowded and often uncomfortable accommodation, for months at a time; and a press photograph of a military band marching in rehearsal for the Queen Mother's funeral, where our interviewee talked about vomiting whilst marching without breaking step. Other examples emphasising this competence are given in Woodward et al, 2008. Military identity is not just about the competent performance of visibly military acts – patrolling in correct formation, handling a weapon efficiently – but also about doing this with acceptance and stoicism in extremes of physical discomfort, and being seen to be doing this by peers and commanding officers. There is a strong performative dimension to the sense of professional skill; skill is corporeal, embodied, physical, displayed and watched (Winter et al, 2007).

Military identities are collective, shared. The idea of kinship, particularly fictive kinship, was highly significant within these interviews. Photographs were often chosen because of the individuals shown, and to emphasise the point that the bonds of fictive kinship, camaraderie or mateship (Woodward, 2007) inculcated through army life were of a qualitatively different nature to those formed with blood kin and with friends in civilian life. Examples include a series of four photographs (of an

individual's ten) depicting a sequence of reunions held by a specific group who had worked together in a signals regiment in the mid-1980s; and a photograph that its owner kept prominently on display in his house of five individuals in uniform wearing abseiling harnesses. This observation about close bonds of fictive kinship within military units is as old as organised warfare itself. What this research confirms it the salience of bonds beyond the period of military life, and their centrality to sense of identity. And again, fictive kinship is performative (Winter et al, 2007).

Military identities are also about performance in military events. This, of course, is obvious: being a soldier means doing what soldiers do, which is to engage in military events. What the photographs and their accompanying narratives confirm is not just the act of taking and keeping a photograph as a 'certificate of presence' (Barthes' term) but also as a means of inscribing personal meaning around public (often global) events. Examples are expanded upon in Woodward et al, 2008.

Our third research question asked about the explanations and narratives that soldiers used around the images that they produced, and was aimed at teasing out the functions of these narratives and of photographic practices. Our conclusion confirms the contingency of senses of self to time and place. The interviews were memory work conducted in the present, in which past identities were confirmed, re-established, sometimes questioned, sometimes rejected. We intend to expand on these ideas in future publications, drawing on our interviewees' reflections on their purposes in taking photographs then as tools for celebration and assertion of self-hood and experience, and the functions of those photographs as memory objects now and into the future.

Our fourth research question, about how the ideas about identity related to those circulating in wider popular cultural forms about military life, produced results that confirmed statements made to us prior to the research, about the distance between military representations and those in public popular cultural forms. Although some references were made to iconic soldier figures (one photograph of jungle training was a bit 'Rambo', and others echoed through posture and positioning of individuals and weapons cultural memories of other wars and other soldiers), primarily it was the distance between external (civilian) expectations and the lived experiences of personnel that was emphasised. Indeed, the taking of photographs was in part a strategy to show those outside the unit what military life was really like. Examples include photographs of the insider of a sanger in Northern Ireland, a filthy toilet in a

disgusting barracks and men repairing a vehicle in blizzard conditions. Photographs were also a means of affirming a different narrative about a military engagement to that dominating public discourse (see Woodward et al, 2008). Although the gulf between lived experience and civilian expectation was emphasised, we would speculate, though, that specific templates or narrative forms circulating in popular culture were drawn upon to facilitate explanation of the specificities of military life. The idea of 'lost voices' and 'forgotten stories', resonant in contemporary popular histories of 20th century warfare, appears to provide a ready vehicle for the communication of explanation.

Objective 3 To consider how civilian-military relations might be reconceptualised in cultural terms, and to root this theoretical analysis in negotiations over military representations and military identities emanating from both civilian and military cultures.

When writing the original grant application, we hypothesised on the basis of our previous research that there would be a clear exchange between military and civilian cultures in terms of the representations of the figure of the soldier, whilst mindful of the assertions made to us by serving personnel of the gap between lived military experience and anticipated civilian expectations. Yet, for a project that was premised on the search for connections, linkages and articulations between media representations of soldiers and soldiers' own representations of themselves, it was often striking how different and separate these two representational activities and outcomes appeared.

We have already noted the communicative intention of soldiers' photographs, and the idea of popular cultural templates and narrative forms as vehicle for expressions of lived experiences otherwise forgotten or unreported. There was a further connection between these two representational activities. Seven interviewees included in their ten photographs images taken from newspapers (there were eight cuttings in total). Five of these came from local newspapers and pictured an individual by name. These were not anonymous generic soldier heroes, nor were they dead, disabled or fallen heroes. Rather, they were local heroes, a category absent from the data constructed under Objective 1. Their owners were proud (why else bring them to show us?) but there was a sense of a critical distance ('yeah, one for my mum, 'here's me looking dead butch in the woods…'). The three from national newspapers were valued for the memory work they enabled their owners to perform when they viewed them, essentially private memory objects despite appearing in the public

domain. Essentially, the eight cuttings suggested to us that although there were connections between popular civilian culture and military representations of the soldier, they were tenuous rather than 'close and complex' as we had originally hypothesised.

Instead, what we have are two distinct visual economies in which visual images are used to very different ends. At certain points they intersect[1], but essentially they speak to distinct networks of materials, technologies, institutions, markets, social spaces, affects, cultural histories and contexts. Print media representations construct the figure of the soldier as hero and in doing so anxieties around the legitimacy and illegitimacy of armed violence are expressed. Print media representations establish ideas of military identity around externally-defined attributes (what they are seen as). Soldiers establish their ideas about their identities around the performative (what they do).

This leaves us in an interesting position with regard to objective 3. We anticipated having something to say, on the basis of empirical materials, to existing conceptual debates within military sociology about civil-military relations, specifically about how cultural practices provide a discursive link between what are usually conceptualised as distinct and utterly separate worlds.   (Military sociology recognises 'culture' as a variable, but rarely interrogates how cultural practices operate.) We made assumptions about soldiers' constructions of identity as in some ways echoing Army policy discourses, following a dominant sociological paradigm (to which we have ourselves contributed), that this would rest on arguments around markers such gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity and nationhood, markers flagged up so frequently in press coverage of soldiers. Our interviewees did not speak in those terms. Furthermore, our own interest in debates around visual methodologies, visuality and military engagement, and memory has grown as a direct consequence of our empirical work (see 'future research priorities' below). We find ourselves unable to contribute in the way that we originally anticipated to a conceptual debate that had prompted this research. Instead, we have become more and more interested in not just the visual representation of soldiers and military activities, but also the observant practices around military performance. Our proposed book drawing on the work undertaken for this project will explore this.

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[1] A good example would be the publication of personal photographs on websites, a practice and a medium beyond the scope of this research but worth investigation in its own right.

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Activities to 30th September 2007

- Conference paper presentation, 'Representing the British Soldier: an approach to the study of culture and identity in the mediated Armed Forces', paper presented at session on 'Theoretical and Empirical Challenges to the Post-modern Military' at the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago USA, 21-23 October 2005.

- Seminar presentation, 'Media representations of the British soldier', Civil-Military Relations Research Group, Department of Politics, University of Bristol, 3 May 2006.

- Seminar presentation, 'Print media representations of the British soldier', Territory Culture Politics session, Geography seminar series, Newcastle University, 22 November 2006.

- Seminar presentation, 'Print media representations of the British soldier', Staff-student seminar series, Geography Division, School of Applied Sciences, Northumbria University, 25 April 2007.

- Seminar presentation, 'The personal is geopolitical: looking at soldiers' photographs', Politics-State-Space research cluster seminar, Geography Department, Durham University, 26 April 2007.

- Seminar presentation, ''Here's me looking dead butch out in the woods': Soldier photos and the performance of identity', seminar on 'Camouflage: Militarised Representations', Department of Politics, University of Bristol, 2 May 2007.

- Conference paper presentation, 'Representations of British soldierly identity in print media, and soldiers' own photographic accounts', session on 'That's Entertainment: War in Pictures' at the Interdisciplinary-Net conference on War, Virtual War and Human Security: The Challenges to Communities, Budapest, 2-5 May 2007.

- Conference paper presentation, 'Remembering and accounting for conflicts: the experience of UK ex-service personnel', session on 'Frontline memories' at the Modern European Ideologies, Conflict and Memory (MEICAM) conference on

Constructions of Conflict: Transmitting Memories of the Past in European Historiography, Literature and Media, Swansea University, 10-12 September 2007.

- Workshop paper presentation, 'The emergent production of analysis in photo elicitation', at EUROQUAL: European Science Foundation Workshop on Qualitative Visual Data Analysis, European Academy at Berlin, 17-21 September 2007.

- A dedicated project website went live in August 2006 to assist with the recruitment of interviewees for the project. See: http://photoarmy.ncl.ac.uk/.

Outputs

See Activities (above), Section 2 (Dissemination) and Section 3 (Nominated Outputs).

Impacts

The outputs of this research, targeted exclusively at academic end-users, have yet to be published, so it would therefore be premature to judge this research's impacts. The nine presentations (see Activities above) have generated considerable audience interest.

Future Research Priorities

We have two ideas for further research. The first concerns an exploration the possibility and limitations of methodologies for examining the construction of memories, using both photo-elicitation and the emergent analysis approach in interview. The second concerns the communication of military memory through autobiographical narrative texts (several of our interviewees had produced these, one of which had been published), and would focus on the production and reception of these books.

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Winter, T., Jenkings, K.N. and Woodward, R. (2007) ''Here's me looking dead butch out in the woods': Soldier photos and the performance of identity', paperb for seminar on 'Camouflage: Militarised Representations', Department of Politics, University of Bristol, 2 May 2007. A revised version of this paper will be submitted to *Journal of Visual Culture*, winter 2007.

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Woodward, R., Winter, T. and Jenkings K.N., (forthcoming 2008) ''I used to keep a camera in my top left-hand pocket': British soldiers, their photographs and the performance of geopolitical power', in *Observant States: Geopolitics and Visuality* edited by Klaus Dodds, Rachel Hughes and Fraser MacDonald, London: IB Tauris. (Nominated output)