British Military Veterans and the Criminal Justice System in the United Kingdom: Situating the Self in Veteran Research

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Richard Mottershead

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Declaration by Candidate

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and that it is has not been submitted elsewhere for any award. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

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This PhD acknowledges the veteran practitioners who continue to work tirelessly to raise awareness and understanding of this 'camouflaged' sub-group within the British criminal justice system.

Abstract

The 21st Century has seen the continuation of armed conflict, exposing military personnel to the rigours of warfare and the challenges of transition back to a civilian identity. There has been a renewed realisation that there exists a sub-group within the criminal justice system (CJS) of veterans and whilst the exact figures are debated, their presence is not. This thesis seeks to capture the perspectives and experiences of veterans who are identified as ex-offenders and those having been employed in the CJS as practitioners. The super-structuralist concept of the CJS collectively represent services of a 'total institution' that have shared similarities and differences to life within the 'total institution' of the Armed Forces. The life stories of the participants indicated that whilst one veteran life story trajectory (veteran practitioner) appeared to be able to adapt during the transition to a civilian identity successfully, there was evidence that the other veteran life story trajectory (veteran ex-offender) found themselves segregated and isolated from a familiar veteran identity with few resources to survive the experience unscathed. This exploratory qualitative study provides emancipatory evidence that the process of entering the CJS as offenders often fails to address the origins of their criminal behaviour or from the wider social context that creates a cyclical response. The veteran practitioners appear to hold a crucial insight into the issues and seek to progress the CJS's need to expand its knowledge base on the identification, diversion and management of veteran offenders.

The study was theoretically informed through the use of reflexivity to articulate the internal and external dialogue of what is known and how it is known in understanding the lived experiences of 17 participants. Life stories were collected from in-depth interviews across the United Kingdom. The life stories were analysed thematically, providing insight and understanding through the elicitation of narratives derived from the contours of meaning from the participants' (veterans) experiences and enunciating the two separate life story trajectories into the CJS.

The findings of this study indicate the participants need to belong and explores how their veteran identity instilled in them both a source of strength and a feeling of anguish, as their new lives could not offer the same security and sense of belonging. The negative consequences of being identified as an offender often resulted in the emergence of stigma and associated shame upon themselves and their families. The life stories demonstrated disparities between the attempted empowering philosophies of the veteran practitioners and the practices imposed generally by the CJS. There were numerous examples of how the veterans' prior exposure to the institution of the Armed Forces had shaped their experiences and engagement with the institutions of the CJS. Both sub-groups of veterans constructed positive ownership of their veteran identity which at times served to counterbalance their negative experiences of transition from military to a civilian identity. These constructions of their experiences highlight the vulnerability of this sub-group within the CJS and the failure of the system and wider society to address the consequences of military service on some veterans. This research raises the issue of the 'fallout' from the recruitment of youth from communities where established socio-economic deprivation has created fertile recruitment grounds for the Armed Forces. The analysis identifies a pragmatic need to address the gaps within the research literature as well as multi-agency working, in order to expand veteran peer support schemes.

The voice of the veteran has been overlooked within the positivist research approach, this study seeks to capture the viewpoint of the veterans through reflexive exploratory research undertaken by a veteran researcher to understand the phenomena. Researching the experiences of veterans' experiences of the CJS presented ethical and methodological challenges. The study has provided new knowledge and understanding that can be disseminated and used to improve current practices and policies.

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List of Abbreviations/Terms

AWOL - Absent without Leave

BTAC - Basic Tactics Course

Civvies - non-military or ex-military personnel

Civvy Street - Civilian life: life outside the military

CJS - Criminal Justice System

CRB - Criminal Records Bureau

DASA - Defence Analytical Services and Advice

DBS - Disclosure Barring Service

ESL - Early Service Leavers

ESOWG - Ex-Service Offenders Working Group

FNG - (expletive) New Guys

HMP - Her Majesty's Prison

IED - Improvised Explosive Device

IRA - Irish Republican Army

Junior Leaders - The name given to training Regiments of the British Army that took entrants from the age of 15 who would eventually move on to join adult units at the age of 17 and a half. Their aim was to produce and train the future Non-commissioned officers for their Regiment or Corps.

LAC - Leading Aircraftman

Lance Jack - Lance Corporal

MFC - Mortar Fire Controller

MO - Modus Operandi

MoD - Ministry of Defence

MoJ - Ministry of Justice

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NOMS - National Offender Management Service

Napo - National Association of Probation Officers

NCO - Non-Commissioned Officer

NHS - National Health Service

PTSD - Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

RAF - Royal Air Force

RBL - Royal British Legion

RLC - Royal Logistics Corp

SPVA - Service Personnel and Veterans Agency

Squaddie - slang for soldier

TAB - Tactical Advance to Battle

UK - United Kingdom

VICS - Veterans in custody service

UoC - University of Chester

USA - United States of America

VTC - Veteran Treatment Courts

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Within this research study, 17 veterans participated and gave their consent to allow their life stories to form the basis of this thesis. The participants were identified as military veterans. Eight of these veterans had, since leaving the Armed Forces, acquired roles and employment as practitioners within the Criminal Justice System (CJS). The remaining nine had either, through a series of unfortunate events, or of their own volition, become involved within the CJS and had been identified as offenders. This study defines the two sub-groups as follows:

1. Veteran Practitioner, an individual who has performed military service for at least one day and drawn a day's pay is identified as a veteran (Royal College of Defence Studies, 2009). They had been an employee within one of the recognised institutions of the CJS.
2. Veteran ex-offender, an individual who has performed military service for at least one day and drawn a day's pay is identified as a veteran (Royal College of Defence Studies, 2009). In relation to the label of ex-offender, the same individual had been charged with a crime, managed by the CJS and all sentences were spent.

The study notes that the label 'offender' was used by the ex-offender sub-group when identifying themselves within their own life story interviews.

1.2 Overview

The two distinct life story trajectories (outlined within *Chapter 5*) provide deep insight and understanding into the lived experiences through life stories by these seventeen individual veterans before, during and after military enlistment. The life stories and the reasons for their exploration demonstrate the importance of the lived experience of these veterans exposed to the CJS, and how their understanding and intuition can provide insight into how society engages with and manages these individuals. Researchers such as McGarry and Walklate (2011) and the Howard League Report (2011) introduced the need to include the veteran voice into criminological research. This need to enhance rigour was continued by Murray (2016) who highlights the short-

fall of criminologists and indeed the veterans themselves, in lending their voices to the epistemologies of veterans involved in the CJS.

To date, this is the only known study that seeks to represent both trajectories of veterans' perception of their lived experience through life story research conducted by a veteran. This thesis seeks to overcome the barriers of an established professional privilege of mean making (Crotty, 1998) and adopt emancipatory research practices. To this end, pertinent and relevant research of Erving Goffman is adopted as a contributing theoretical framework to set as a barometer for the participants' resocialisation from military service and transition to civilian life. When necessary the thesis will include different theoretical traditions but acknowledge the different contextual backdrop in order to discuss, elaborate and evidence new knowledge beyond just a single 'lens' on this comparatively recent phenomena as identified as veterans in the CJS.

The study adopts reflexivity as an essential approach to augment the trustworthiness, integrity, and credibility of the studies professional use of self to explore the participants' understanding and interpretations of their experiences. The use of reflexivity seeks to elicit a greater depth in responses from participants aided by the researcher's own veteran identity that informs by thoughtful use of prior theory and researcher expertise as advocated by Higate and Cameron (2006). Moustakas (1994), advocates that interpretations would be understood to be a collaboration between the researcher and the participant in order to bring out underlying conditions and hidden objectives of the phenomenon. Atkinson (2004) and Plummer (2001) argue that academic communities are dominated by the voice of the dominant group, whilst the knowledge of 'others' outside of the group can go unheard or unnoticed. The study seeks to include the voice of the veteran researcher. To not only address the balance of distributive justice of those researching in this field but importantly, via a shared cultural identity with participants and a conventional academic background, to establish new knowledge through a dual perspective (Cortazzi & Jin, 2006). Therefore, this study provides a valuable contribution to the field of inclusive and emancipatory criminology and penological research.

Polkinghorne (2007) supports the logic for this inclusive approach, as the new meaning can develop by creating a formulation for the story-teller's sense of identity,

and in doing so, progress past the identity they perceive they are currently defined by. As a result, a greater understanding is created for the reader of the participants' own unique life experiences. Notable research within this specific area undertaken by the Defence Analytical Services and Advice (DASA, 2010) and the National Association of Probation Officers (Napo, 2010) has been of a quantitative and positivist approach. As highlighted within the life story research of Atkinson (1998) and Reissman (2008), this can be due to the complex challenges associated with gaining consent and establishing trust and rapport with hard to reach and marginalised groups. The researcher is a veteran, this feature established an awareness of a need for reflexivity throughout the study so that; as Plummer (2001) advocates, the formation of trust can be established for those with similar lived and shared experiences but with a need to adhere to impartiality. The thesis will conclude on the cyclical dilemma of the veterans' presence within the CJS. Life stories can be challenging and emotive as participants describe and discuss their personal views and experiences.

Significant contributions to knowledge regarding the veterans' experiences of involvement with the CJS have been made in this thesis. It can be argued that there has been no exploration of the lived experiences of veterans who are both practitioners and offenders within the CJS in the UK. The thesis draws on reflexivity to undertake an on-going critique and self-appraisal by a veteran researcher positioned within multiple camps encompassing academia, clinical practice and social policy development. Therefore, this research seeks to address this gap in the literature utilising life story research which allows the researcher to explore a person's micro-historical (individual) experiences within a macro-historical (history of the time) framework. This approach will establish new knowledge in understanding the lived experiences and perceptions of military veterans and how they may have been influenced by initial decisions made at another time and in another place. To adequately address the aim of this thesis as stated previously (to explore the veteran's life experiences of their involvement with the CJS) it is important to consider the underpinning literature and research surrounding these areas from a critical stance.

There has been some interest highlighted within the literature towards the veteran offender issue by the Howard League of Penal Reform (2011), which sought to establish an understanding of the emerging issue with the benefit of hindsight from an

exploration of the issues previously raised in the USA. Within the UK, there has been a Government Review by QC Phillips (2014). However, there has been no adequate theory developed that explains the intersection of these two experiences of being a veteran ex-offender and veteran practitioner. This study explores the dual identities of British veterans as offenders and those who have successfully retrained as practitioners to address specific knowledge and participants' individualised subjective experiences. Notions of how this is understood by the veterans is left to these individuals to articulate through the use of life story research. The analysis and understanding of the life stories aim to adhere to the approach of Berger and Luckmann (1966) in that the reality explored is the veterans' reality, as well as how this reality is impacted by social contexts, interactions with others, and perceptions of the world. Theories to date have traditionally been used to explain the experiences of the general population of offenders within the CJS, the researcher is not aware of any specific application to veterans' involvement in the CJS. The study will look to explore the application and review of these dominant theoretical frames to this particular sub-group within the CJS.

The thesis provides contributions to new knowledge by indicating that the participants needed to belong, and provides evidence of how their veteran identity instilled in them both a source of strength and a feeling of anguish, as their new lives could not always offer the same security and sense of belonging. The negative consequences of being identified as an offender often resulted in the emergence of stigma and associated shame upon themselves and their families. The life stories demonstrated disparities between the attempted empowering philosophies of the veteran practitioners and the practices imposed generally by the CJS. There were numerous examples of how the veterans' prior exposure to the institution of the Armed Forces had shaped their experiences and engagement with the institutions of the CJS. Both sub-groups of veterans constructed positive ownership of their veteran identity which at times served to counterbalance their negative experiences of transition from military to a civilian identity. These constructions of their experiences highlight the vulnerability of this sub-group within the CJS and the failure of the system and wider society to address the consequences of military service on some veterans. This research raises the issue of the 'fallout' from the recruitment of youth from communities where established socio-economic deprivation has created fertile recruitment grounds for the Armed

Forces. The analysis identifies a pragmatic need to address the gaps within the research literature as well as multi-agency working, in order to expand veteran peer support schemes.

Theoretically, the thesis draws on salutogenesis and particularly 'sense of coherence' in exploring the participants' experiences of reconstructing identity was facilitated. This reconstruction was dependent upon the availability of both internal and external resources which could be brought to bear on the endeavour to carve out a legitimate place within a challenging cultural climate of transition from the military to a civilian identity.

New knowledge is created in acknowledging the voice of the veteran which has been overlooked within the positivist research approach. This study captures the viewpoint of the veterans through qualitative exploratory research establishing new meaning and insight. To achieve this, the thesis transitions from more traditional research methodologies to an exploration of self through the use of reflexivity. Therefore, the thesis seeks to know the reality of veterans' involvement in the CJS. The researcher's identity as a veteran and as a practitioner provided an awareness of the validity of concern raised by veteran practitioners and that there was a need to know epistemologically and to add to 'reality' in order to prove their (veteran practitioners) view point, expressed as concern which this thesis now contributes towards the reality of veteran's in the CJS. This critique and self-appraisal approach was achieved through the studies exploration and adoption of reflexivity to develop a methodology of immersed reflexive research on the life stories of two veteran sub groups; veteran practitioner and veteran offender by a veteran researcher. The study will provide new knowledge and understanding that can be disseminated and used to improve current practices and policies as it achieves its research questions which are as follows.

1.3 Research Questions

The primary research questions of the thesis are as follows:

> 1. *Describe and interpret the experiences of military veterans through a shared veteran identity in order to understand their experiences of having been involved in the CJS as veteran practitioners and veteran ex-offenders.*

2. How do military identity and culture impact the life stories of the veteran practitioners and veteran ex-offenders as understood by a veteran researcher?

1.4 Purpose Statement and Positioning the Veteran Researcher

The 21st Century has seen the continuation of armed conflict exposing military personnel to the rigours of warfare and the challenges of transition back to a civilian identity. There has been a renewed realisation that there exists a sub-group within the CJS of veterans and whilst the exact figures are debated their presence is not. This thesis in adopting a reflexive focus to provide a chronical of the ethical considerations encountered when engaging in life story research with military veterans with lived experiences of the CJS. This study was conducted within England and Wales the researcher explores some of the challenges that emerged with a focus on principle-based ethics. Issues applicable to the ethical concepts of beneficence, justice, integrity and respect are explored to identify the extent to which they can direct the actions of the life story researcher. Examples encountered through the course of the study are provided and how the researcher reacted to the challenges that arose and the need for an adaptable ethically-based approach. The researcher's own identity as a veteran and practitioner within services of the CJS requires a demonstration of an understanding and application of reflexive practice to distinguish the importance of 'self'. This study therefore, engages with an under-indulged aspect of the research process – specifically to this subject topic, how veteran identities are studied with inclusion of the veteran researcher.

In positioning the researcher, he has through the course of his own life been exposed to environments of risk and hardship in relation to formative years as a recruit in a Middle Eastern Police Force, his role within an Infantry Regiment first as a soldier and then rising through the ranks to a Commissioned Officer after graduating from the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. Specialising in Mountain Warfare, Unit Expedition Leader as well as an Infantry Platoon Commander he has commanded rifle and machine gun (Support Fire) platoons with extensive experience with a mortar platoon as a Mortar Fire Controller (MFC). Proficient in long-distance unsupported patrols representing regiment and Britain in North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) exercises. Skilled with close-target reconnaissance and hostage extraction via helicopter insertion via land or sea. Within his civilian role, he has worked within Psychiatric Intensive Care Units, High Secure Forensic Mental Health in the UK and actively sought out the most challenging and deprived regions for health and humanitarian aid work abroad. He has been called upon to work within areas of social deprivation within Wales to support military veterans via psychological therapies.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into six main chapters and a supporting reflexive postscript. Chapter 1 is the introduction to the thesis and provides an in-depth coverage of the literature pertinent to the research question. The chapter begins with the veterans' involvement with the CJS, the thesis structure and finishes with an overview of the following chapter in this thesis.

Chapter 2 undertakes a systematic review of the literature and seeks to establish parallels between the 'total institutions' of the military and the CJS by referring to and expanding on the seminal works of Goffman (1961). This comparative exploration is continued with a sociological insight into the two dominant theoretical frameworks; namely deprivation and importation theory (Gaes & Camp, 2009). A conceptual framework emerging from the literature review locates the veterans within the theory, practice and policy of the CJS.

Chapter 3 of the thesis discusses issues of methodology, study design and methods used in conducting data collection and data analysis, focusing on each stage of the research process. The chapter opens with the study research questions. This is followed by an introduction to the methodological positioning of the study and, relating to this, issues of ontology and epistemology. It then turns to the theoretical paradigms which are most influential in guiding the study, focusing specifically upon the inclusion of a life story methodology (Atkinson, 2004, 2007; Miller, 2000; Plummer, 2001) and adhering to a reflexive approach. This theoretical lens is then explored vis-à-vis approaches to the study based on the enhanced need for consideration of reflexivity and researcher positionality. This necessity is enhanced by the inclusion of a reflexive postscript located after Chapter 6.

Following this, the chapter describes how the research design is located within the broader post-positivist research paradigm which informs the study methods. The appropriateness of a qualitative method and key principles underpinning qualitative research (including reflexivity, power relationships and co-construction of data) are explored.

The remainder of the chapter outlines the different (and broadly chronological) stages of the research process. This includes sub-sections on the sampling of participants (using purposive sampling, convenience sampling and snowballing strategies), respondent recruitment (covering issues such as gatekeepers and opt-in recruitment). The next sub-section discusses the use of qualitative semi-structured interviews and the role of the researcher in this process. The discussion then turns to the processes of collecting and analysing interview data including, the audio recording and transcription of interview data and thematic analysis. The chapter concludes with an overview of the chapter.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the data and introduction to the participants and the development of the themes pertinent to this thesis. The first section begins with an introduction before focusing on the nine veteran ex-offenders' subgroup. Three main themes are developed comprising Identity and Culture; Power, Control and Compliance; and Needs and Support. Each of these main themes is supported by sub-themes. The second section introduces the eight veteran practitioners and the produced main themes of Identity and Culture; Power, Control and Empowerment; and Consequences, Causation and Impact with sub-themes relating to each main theme. Additionally, given the interrelatedness of the data obtained from the two veteran sub-groups, the themes are presented and illustrated as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006).

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the life stories of the veteran ex-offenders and practitioners. Main themes and sub-themes that emerged from the interview transcripts are introduced with themes supported by relevant quotes from the life story interviews.

Chapter 6 is the discussion and conclusion section. It begins with an introduction before critically discussing the findings in light of existing literature highlighted in Chapter 2. This section explores the study findings through the theoretical lens of

'Salutogenesis' and the usefulness of this approach for understanding the role of resilience resources in the optimisation of wellbeing within the two life story trajectories. The concluding section highlights the limitations of this thesis then, referring to the importance of this thesis to academic and social interventions by identifying the main contributions to new knowledge. Several recommendations for future research are highlighted for further investigation based upon the findings.

A postscript is provided that outlines the reflection, reflexivity, reconceptionalisation of undertaking this life story inquiry into veterans' experiences of the CJS. The ethical challenges encountered and documented within the thesis's reflective journal outline the positioning of the researcher and his awareness of the complexity of a shared identity, which when realised, can lead to a deeper conceptionalised understanding of the collected life stories.

1.6 Search Strategy

As this is a relatively under-researched area, every care has been taken to find all relevant literature in a comprehensive literature search. Rigourous inclusion / exclusion criteria were set; however there will be an element of subjectivity in the choice of the literature cited in this thesis. Cullum (1994) argues that there are numerous issues with the validity of any writings in that the reviewer may not be critical enough of the work, or there is not enough in-depth analysis of the content.

It is important here to explain how the literature cited in this thesis was included or excluded as there is a renewed interest in this particular topic area which has meant that there has been a wide-ranging source of research and literature that has attempted to capture the numbers and investigate why veterans are encountered within the CJS. This has meant that a broad focus and flexible hierarchy of evidence was adopted when sourcing for relevant studies. Long, Godfrey, Randall, Brettle, and Grant (2002) advocate that an inclusive approach should be adopted by ensuring that qualitative and quantitative studies (inclusive of randomised control trials) are reviewed within the literature review. However, it became clear that concerning the topic of veterans' involvement in the CJS, there was a tendency towards quantitative research and a positivist paradigm, justifying the need to offer a different perspective, a qualitative approach, such as life story research.

This literature review extrapolated the evidence from published literature and identified the profile and key themes relating to this research topic. Themes were analysed and identified in conjunction with the total population targeted within the review, alongside information gained from randomised controls trials and analysis found in both quantitative and qualitative studies.

Key databases searched were: CINAHL, MEDLINE, PsycINFO, MENTAL HEALTH ABSTRACTS, ASSIA, National Criminal Justice Reference Service Abstracts, and Criminal Justice Policy Review. The database search was also supplemented by hand searches of British publications/policy documents that were considered key to underpinning this study, although they had not been comprehensively covered by databases as such. No time restriction was set initially, as the researcher wanted to seek relevant literature. However, for specific studies relating to veterans and the CJS, a literature search was undertaken from the time periods 2003 to 2015 to capture the most current research. A wide range of studies were sought that focused on policy objectives and initiatives influenced by Government agenda, through to independent and statutory studies exploring veterans' services and charitable organisations. Also the cited journal articles of the main article found were explored.

A wide variety of search terms were used independently or in different combinations which were directly pertinent to the research questions or were slightly tangential to the research questions in order to fully explore any areas that may be linked to them and evolved as new material was found. For example, keywords such as veteran(s) were used and then areas associated with these key words were explored, (veteran + crime, veteran + offence, veteran + criminal justice system etc.). In addition, the main search terms included possible UK/US spelling variations e.g. offence/offense, institutionalisation/institutionalization, militarise/militarize, stigmatisation/ stigmatisation, criminalise/criminalize. Databases employ a limited number of search terms and are not consistent across these databases; therefore, hard copy journals were also scrutinised to negate this problem.

Within the literature review, relevant data was extracted and recorded on a data extraction sheet and then critically analysed and evaluated for identified themes. The literature review also highlighted the research gaps within the existing published research and knowledge base. It was clear that there was a positivist paradigm

dominating the current literature. According to Hammersley (1989), those residing within the positivist paradigm within this area of research subscribe to ontological realism, in that they advocate the existence of one true measurable reality for which evidence can be generated. In relation to this study, this realist dominance over the research has implications for epistemological understanding within this research area. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) highlight that there is evidence concerning those working within the positivist paradigm, to manifest epistemological assumptions about the nature of evidence. The process of undertaking the literature review allowed for the development of this study's methodological stance as well as justification to undertake this study. This data was then used to generate a new understanding of a 'scheme of manoeuvre' and the need to explore and understand the lived experiences of two different life story trajectories of veterans exposed to the CJS.

1.7 Analytical Critique of the Literature

The analytical framework to critically investigate the literature was based on a thematic analysis approach, also understood as thematic synthesis (Campbell et al., 2003, and Thorne, Jensen, Kearney, Noblit, Sandelowski, 2004). Evidence is presented by Benner (1985); Leininger (1985); Taylor and Bogdan (1984) that supports when undertaking a review of the literature, thematic analysis can be combined as an appropriate framework in which to guide the researcher in their endeavour to explore a social phenomenon. Brannen (2005) also supports this approach in that it can be an effective means to juxtapose both findings from qualitative and quantitative results. These studies were scrutinised utilising a thematic analysis and its associated principles of enquiry which informed the topic inclusion and exclusion criteria (i.e. what were well documented and reported for the inclusion of themes, and miscellaneous aspects which were excluded). Thorne et al. (2004) encourage researchers to select themes that become established through the thematic analysis of the prominent features represented within the relevant literature.

In this chapter, the overview and structure of the thesis was outlined and the statement of purpose to create new knowledge through the exploration of two veteran sub-groups' perceptions and understanding of their lived experiences of involvement within the CJS. The chapter ended with a description of the literature search strategy. Chapter 2 focuses upon the literature pertinent to this thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 introduced the reader to the overview and structure of the thesis. The chapter ended with an in-depth explanation of the literature search strategy. Chapter 2 will undertake a review of the literature on the issues concerning veterans in the CJS. This study has been influenced by the collective works of the oral interviewers, Tony Parker and Studs Terkel. This influence has been acknowledged through the creation of a mode of social enquiry in the form of research questions, selection of data collection, and analysis as this was prominent within what was identified as the Chicago Tradition (Creswell, 2007). Drawing on this tradition, the thesis begins by exploring and comparing the military and CJSs 'total institutions' through the works of Goffman (1963). Research undertaken within the field of military sociology will be explored to determine the effects of military veterans being exposed to the CJS.

Furthermore, given the study's interest in research embedded within reflexivity and the professional use of self and there was a necessity to embed reflexivity throughout. The literature review demonstrates an awareness of the margins of the current research and incorporates a need to establish new knowledge as justified and understood through the researchers' identity as a health professional and his informed appreciation of being a veteran. Justified in that there was a need by the researcher to determine the extent of research previously conducted but also identify any grey literature, theory or perspectives that may have relevance to the understanding of the selected topic and to contribute to criminology and penology research.

Continuing this approach, the chapter seeks to establish parallels between the 'total institutions' of the military and the CJS (Goffman 1961). This comparative exploration is continued with a sociological insight into the two dominant theoretical frameworks; namely deprivation and importation theory (Gaes & Camp, 2009). These theories on criminology and penology research are used to explore the experiences of incarceration within the CJS and subsequent re-entry back into society. Informed by the biopsychosocial model (Engel, 1977) the chapter introduces the theoretical lens of 'Salutogenesis' and the usefulness of this approach for understanding the role of resilience resources in the optimisation of wellbeing within the two life story

trajectories. A conceptual framework emerging from the literature review locates the veterans within the theory, practice and policy of the CJS.

2.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity, which has been defined as “thoughtful conscious self-awareness,” on the part of the researcher (Finlay, 2002: p 532), is crucial when necessitated by a study that is influenced by a researchers biographic and emotive self (Wakeman, 2010). According to Van Maanen (2006), he advises against a fixed set of rules when applying what can be considered a reflexive methodology and method. He explains that a standard uniformity applied methodology could inhibit the inquisitive. Whilst Van Maanen (2006) is discussing his application of ethnomethodology, this study assimilates the sentiment for this reflexive exploration into veterans in the CJS. Guba & Lincoln (2005) explain that this is because researchers within this tradition understand and appreciate the effect of the researcher upon the research data. Here, it is argued crucially that the researcher maintains his/her appreciation of their effect on participant behaviour, creation of data and the research process as a whole (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Reflexivity involves the researcher’s:

“continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself. It involves a shift in our understanding of data collection from something objective that is accompanied through detached scrutiny of “what I know and how I know it,” to recognise how we actively construct our knowledge.” (Finlay, 2002:532).

Because the researcher effects must be addressed practically within the research process, it is imperative that qualitative researchers maintain self-awareness throughout data collection and to understand their effect on the direction of the study and the data produced (Miller & Brewer, 2003). Qualitative research literature regularly highlights the criticality of being reflexive, although relatively few qualitative researchers have addressed the challenge of how reflexivity is implemented from a personal, subjective perspective (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).

While some propose that researchers should refrain from doing a literature review prior to collection of data in order to reduce the effect of bias (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007) others argue that a literature review before collecting data increases researcher

knowledge and understanding of the area and helps to balance any preconceived ideas held by the researcher. It is also probably unrealistic to expect the researcher to dismiss his/her prior knowledge or preconceived ideas and theories about research (Swanson-Kauffman & Schonwold, 1988).

Cognisance of the effects of research relationships and environments reduces the likelihood that researchers will gravitate towards their own expectations from, and interpretations of the research data, rather than those of the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). To reiterate, the qualitative researcher is required to utilise the utmost integrity in data collection and preparation in order to convince the world of its authenticity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Therefore it is critical for the researcher to reflect on the primary objectives of the research process including methods of data collection. While such reflection helps to maximise the authenticity of the qualitative data production (Davies 1998), over-engagement with reflexivity may arguably be detrimental to the data collection process (Connolly, 2003).

While it has been suggested that reflexivity can be achieved through the use of field notes and discussion of findings with other researchers (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007), this can be a challenging (Stake, 1995; Frank, 1997; Finlay, 2000, 2002). This is particularly the case where the researcher has prior knowledge and expertise about the subject of study. Hence, reflexivity might be very challenging for a researcher who sets out to study an aspect of experience in which s/he has had a professional role (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). The researcher needed to be mindful as their own practitioner role as it could be argued that it in itself was not impartial, but is biased towards, for example, providing education, psychological therapies and/or health interventions as also noted within the earlier research of Chenitz and Swanson (1986). Within this thesis, the researcher adopted reflexivity due to bias inherent in their veteran practitioner role must be acknowledged for its potential effect on participant responses. In addition to acknowledging the investigator role as problematic, the researcher must be aware that his /her professional interest and expertise may have affected the path of the research through, for example, the choice of a particular research topic, the questions asked, and data analysis (Finlay, 2002). It is inevitable that, regardless of attempts to maintain reflexivity, an imbalance of power in favour of the interviewer will be maintained in the research encounter

(Smith & Wincup, 2000). While it is acknowledged that the power balance in any research encounter favours the researcher rather than the researched, it is particularly apparent where the former has a professional role in relation to the research problem. Notwithstanding this, it is argued that reflexivity should be practised as far as possible by the researcher, in order for the information yielded to be a reflexive product of both the researcher, researched and relevant networks (Rhodes, 1997).

It is also important for the researcher to be reflexive in the data interpretation phase of research. The researcher will need to be both sensitive towards, and sceptical of, their own interpretations of the data. Hence they must strive to identify unfounded assumptions that may have been made about what respondents tell them (Stake, 1995). For example, Frank (1997), in conversation with health researchers, found that a particular researcher was overly focused on participant attempts to normalise their situation or play down the difficulties they faced with an illness condition. This led him to overlook participant descriptions about their struggles. Frank (1997) argued that this oversight had arisen because socialisation of the health professional had influenced the researcher to focus on patient achievements rather than difficulties. The process of reflexivity allowed the researcher to address the bias in the way that s/he was interpreting participant accounts of their condition. However, Seale (1999) has argued that it may not be realistic to expect researchers to develop an understanding of all possible perspectives, theories and ideas about the research situation. Therefore, Seale (1999) suggested that the researcher practices reflexivity as far as possible by writing up their findings as clearly as possible so that the reader is their research critic. Alternatively, Stake (1995) argued the importance of reviewing data with peer researchers in order to identify as many perspectives on a research situation as possible. However, Chenitz and Swanson (1986) argued that reflexive attention to the meaning of data should ideally take place at the end of data collection; otherwise it may alter the course of the data collection encounter by prompting respondents away from their original responses.

Researcher reflexivity is thus argued to be achievable by a number of means, including revisiting the data with peer researchers either during or after data collection (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). While revisiting data with the respondents themselves may also be a way of assisting reflexivity, this can be problematic where

the researcher has a professional role akin to the subject of study, which may cause conflict with his/her interpretation. Also, it is important that the researcher remains ‘investigative’ in their role and does not provide help or guidance to the participant. Again, for researchers who have a professional role in respect of the participants, there is a problem in that they may experience role conflict. Chesney (2001), for example, argued that by not providing guidance to the participant as they relate narratives of distress or misinformation, this would lead the researcher to feel unprofessional and/or dishonest.

Here, Colbourne and Sque (2004) have emphasised the need for researchers to understand that they must temporarily relinquish their professional role. A point, espoused by Higate and Cameron (2006) who highlight the risk of the possible presence of preconceived notions for former military researchers studying a former military population. It became a necessity within the study in order to allow the participants to tell their story uninterrupted. While Wilde (1992) generally encouraged self-disclosure and honesty from researcher to participant, particularly before the research interview begins, he acknowledged how some elements of the researcher role may need to remain hidden from the participant in order that the research process is not affected (Wilde, 1992). Colbourne and Sque (2004) argue that researchers may struggle with lack of disclosure about their role to the participant. In part this may be related to a fear of causing harm by not intervening when the participant demonstrates distress or needs help within the research process. In response, Colbourne and Sque (2004) suggested creating the identity of a professional friend role for the researcher which allows them to maintain a purely investigative role during the interview with the participant then to initiate any care required afterwards. Through a reflexive review of the current available literature and a desire to expand new knowledge, incorporating the use of self, the researcher sought an analytical framework for the systematic review of the literature which incorporated and expanded relevant material from outside of main-stream current criminological discourse.

2.3 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework chosen was thematic analysis, also understood as thematic synthesis (Campbell et al., 2003, and Thorne, Jensen, Kearney, Noblit, Sandelowski, 2004). Evidence is presented by Benner (1985); Leininger (1985); Taylor and Bogdan (1984) that supports when undertaking a literature review, thematic analysis can be combined as an appropriate framework in which to guide the researcher in their endeavour to explore lived experience. Brannen (2005) also supports this approach in that it can be an effective means to compare both findings from qualitative and quantitative results. These studies were scrutinised utilising a thematic analysis and its associated principles of enquiry which informed the topic inclusion and exclusion criteria (i.e. what were well documented and reported for the inclusion of themes, and miscellaneous aspects which were excluded).

The themes identified within the thematic analysis of the literature were categorised by the researcher into relevant sub-themes. An approach advocated by Thorne et al., (2004) who encourages researchers to select themes that become established through the thematic analysis of the prominent features represented within the relevant literature. These identified sub-themes were then homogenised into the proceeding sections located within this chapter and illustrated within Figure I (p.30). This approach aims to provide a thematic journey for the reader with the various 'junctions' in the road' and the convergent issues within this literature review.

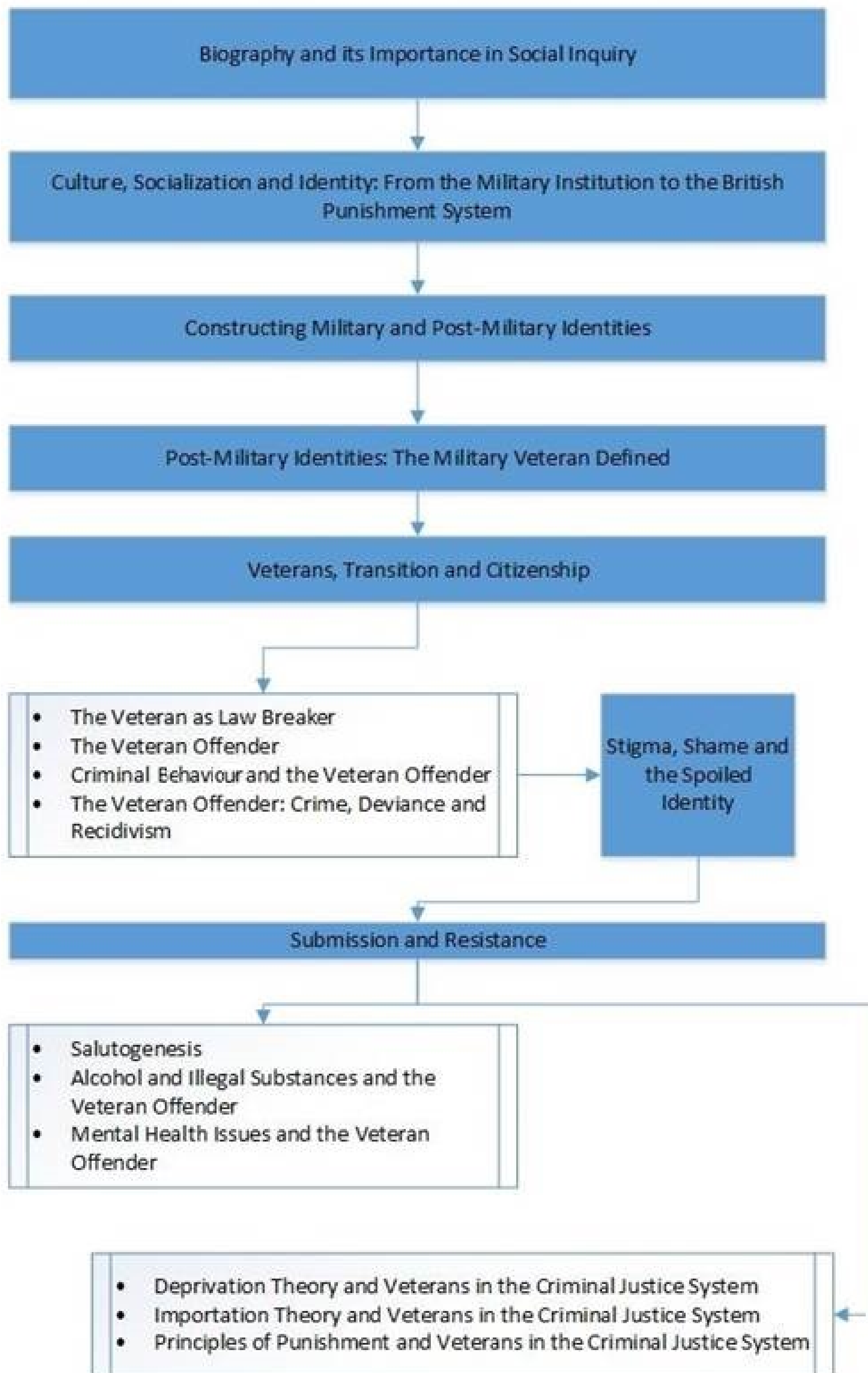


Figure 1: Thematic Framework

2.4 Biography and its Importance in Social Inquiry

A key strategy used in biographies and life stories is narrative research (Cortazzi, 2001). The study in recognising and adhering to reflexivity acknowledges a need to focus on the researchers' biographic and professional identity. In so doing so the study adds to significantly enhance the criminology methodological repertoire (Wakeman, 2014) which is currently focused on veterans' involvement in the CJS. The researcher acknowledges that he has been influenced by these modes of inquiry and subsequently discovered that there are influences in the formulation of the research questions and the system of data collection and analysis. These influences were prominent within the Chicago Tradition (Creswell, 2007), but has since been improved through greater inclusion and awareness of varying perspectives post review by examiners.

Narratives provide both a practical and holistic approach to collect information about another individual's life which aids others to glimpse inside their perceived reality and widen our understanding of human existence. In selecting a narrative methodology, the research study sought to allow the veterans to tell their life stories and increase knowledge of their lived experiences. According to Bochner (2015) in allowing individuals to tell their life stories enables them to make sense of their lives by placing meaning to their experiences in a tangible form. Atkinson (1998) concurs when explaining that narratives allow for the generation of rich subjective meaning that allows individuals to present their life events as they wish them to be presented. Plummer (2001) explains that the narrative researcher can enable the participant to create the frame of reference for the telling of the life story and the method highlights the interactions that exist between the individual and their social world. The study incorporates narrative methodology in order address the need to explore "grounded multiple studies of lives in all their rich flux and change" (Plummer, 2001, p.13) and recognises the 'unfinalisability' of the lives involved within the story (Frank, 2005). Narratives through the telling of life stories are unique insights into the complex nuances of the human condition. However, this study addresses the need for a more expansive exploration through the incorporation of the researchers' social self into the study.

Within narrative methodology, Atkinson (2007, p.8) identifies 'life story' as a narrative approach that explores retrospective information about an individual's life

or specific parts of that life as narrated by that individual. Walmsley and Johnson (2003) separate life story from life or oral history methods in that there is no inclusion of supporting documented evidence. Atkinson (2007, p.228) remonstrates that the necessity behind this approach is to have the life story 'charged' with the power of lived experience. The life story is, therefore, to be regarded not as fiction, but a creative and personal insight into the participants' life and in entrusting them as reliable respondents within the research.

The study attempts to build knowledge and understanding of a topic that has a recognised lack of evidence-based contemporary research as emphasised by The Royal British Legion (2011) and The Howard League of Penal Reform (2011). It is possible that this study could challenge personal and professional conventions. Blundo (2001) argues that by shifting from the world of traditional practice and it challenges our understanding of meaning, our cultural and professional traditions that assume that truth is discovered only by looking at underlying and often hidden meanings that only professional understanding and expertise can decipher and amend. In selecting a narrative methodology, the telling of these life stories can be a beneficial process for the veterans, increasing their development and providing them with a therapeutic experience. This positive outcome reported by individuals telling their stories has been identified within the works of Atkinson (1998; 1999).

Criminology has long aligned itself with narrative approaches, with some notable seminal examples of life story methods being demonstrated by Clifford Shaw's The Jack-Roller (1930) and the exemplary autobiography work of Parker (Soothill, 1999) and his American counterpart Terkel (Parker, 1997). These researcher's efforts have attested to the richness of life story research in criminology. In terms of studying the veterans' criminal pathway into the CJS, life stories go beyond legal discourse, where a question-and-answer style is used to gather information on the crime (O'Connor and Coleman, 1995). Gadd and Farrall (2004) emphasise that life stories also have a substance that is not associated with statistical risk-based studies on criminal behaviour. Compared with this study, this method of data collection enables a veteran who engaged in criminal behaviour to position themselves to the identified behaviour. Goodey (2000) advocates the use of narrative methods as a way of exploring the how and why that led the individual to commit the crime or in relation to this study, how

the individual has adapted to social structural forces that provide constraints or opportunities in the veterans' life. Goodey (2000) explains that this approach is beneficial in that it supports the participant to identify the relevant life choices that are significant in their story.

This approach is invaluable when comprehending the veterans' perspective on why they have come into the CJS either as a practitioner or as an offender. Once the veteran enters the prison environment, external community involvement becomes minimal and it is left to those who work inside this closed system to manage the daily life of the veterans. According to McKendy (2006), the CJS exerts considerable powers of enforcement not only through confinement of a physical manner but also through discursive confinement, which in turn restricts the access to the veterans' stories by those in need of ascertaining their meaning. When looking at the work of Maruna (2001), there is clear evidence that using life story methods with those previously in custody provides an opportunity for participants to reclaim their voice and develop a deeper understanding and awareness of themselves and their relationship with others. McKendy (2006) supports the approach of the researcher, who ensures that this method is adopted so the veteran can structure and lead the interaction with the interviewer and speak at length about their experiences. Leichtentritt and Arad (2005) explain that by using life stories, there will be the potential to explore the social, emotional, interpersonal, health, accommodation, educational, and employment factors that have affected the life choices of the veterans. In exploring the human element in the veterans' account, the life story may prove invaluable in limiting the "us versus them" dichotomy between veterans as criminals as opposed to them being positive contributors and protectors of our national interests (Williams, 2006). This thesis will strive to create a greater understanding of the issue at the centre of this research question, by highlighting the human experiences of the veteran ex-offenders who have been marginalised by society as well as exploring the common life stories with the practitioner veterans.

Life story research constitutes a practical way of gathering information about the veterans' life, which enables others to step inside the personal world of the storyteller and experience 'other' aspects of human experience (Josselson & Lieblich, 1999; Ochberg, 1994). This is supported by Bochner (2015) and directed the researcher to

the conclusion that the inclusion of life story research within the study's methodology was a good choice, because stories can be a primary means for individuals to make sense of their lives by placing their experience in a tangible form, which could then be transcribed and analysed for meaning. Atkinson (1998) attests to the credibility of this approach as it can create in-depth subjective meanings and enables the storyteller to impart life events in a way that they choose and want others to comprehend.

Plummer (2001) stresses the point that although the researcher provides guidance, it is the participants' voice that determines the frame of reference for the story and the method captures the interactions between the individual and social world. According to Plummer (2001), this may include moments of indecisions, turning points, confusions and ambiguities which are common to everyday experience. A narrative or life story is closely linked with social constructionist thought as it addresses the need for grounded, multiple studies of lives in all their elaborate flux and change (Plummer, 2001). This ability to create meaning from dynamic life stories was an important consideration within this study. The veterans' life story trajectories would illuminate an almost constant adjustment to a cyclical transition of identity from civilian, military personnel, veteran and subsequent arrival at a practitioner or ex-offender within the CJS. As previously highlighted by Frank (2005, p.5) life story approaches recognise the 'unfinalisability' of the lives involved within the story. This was an important feature in designing the methodological approach of this study, as it was self-evident to the researcher that the veteran sub-groups did not exist within a social vacuum and a dynamic approach was needed to understand this hybrid sub-group, which had rapidly become a feature within the political world (DASA, 2010; Napo, 2009; Phillips, 2014). This has important implications for veteran identity from the perspective of the individual veteran and society.

At the commencement of this study, it was anticipated that there would be a wide variety and degree of complexity within the life stories of the veterans. A comprehensive and adaptable methodological approach was required, as advocated by Pinnegar and Daynes (2007), who stipulate that the life story is located in a context or setting that influences the very nature of what is told, and therefore findings from one setting cannot be effectively decontextualised and replicated to another setting. In addressing Goffman's (1967), work this was deemed to be a creditable feature as the

two life story trajectories accounting for the 17 biographies both passed through total institutions and provided new knowledge through social inquiry.

2.5 Culture, Socialisation and Identity: From the Military Institution to the British Punishment System

This section will explore the similarities between the Armed Forces and services within the CJS that the participants experienced through an exploration of Goffman's (1961) definition of the total institution. The metaphor of Goffman's (1961) 'total institution' remains an influential and engaging framework, as emphasised by Quirk, Lelliott, and Seale (2006), who encourage its use as a barometer against which organisations can be examined and compared. It can be theorised that this process could be further extended to veterans who may feel a loss of identity from being removed from the physical and metaphysical realms of military life and as members of respected alumni. Whilst the Government Review (Phillips, 2014) alludes to the need for further research on the issue of stigma and shame, the life stories of this study explored conflict around identity, this will be discussed within the proceeding chapters.

The study acknowledges that the CJS is a complex arrangement of services which includes and or excludes a portmanteau description of an institution. Whilst, no doubt variation exists between these services that collectively form the super-structionalist concept designated as the CJS. Similarities worthy of investigation for the creation of new contribution to knowledge can be observed once Goffman's (1961) explanation of a 'total institution' is applied. He states that a total institution is a place of work and residence where a great number of similarly situated people, cut off from the wider community for a considerable time, together lead an enclosed, formally and administered round of life (Goffman, 1961). The services that collectively form the CJS could be identified as 'total institutions' yet this concept is applied more widely to the participants individual lived experiences of their exposure to service or services that conjointly form the CJS. Whilst it could be argued that the two institutions of the Armed Forces and collectively the CJS, share few comparisons in terms of their overall purpose and commitment to their roles, this section will highlight the stark similarities, which could provide insight into the unlikely relationships of which the veterans within this study exist. Indeed, a review of the literature over the last decade

illustrates that the term ‘veteran’ and ‘CJS’ have become intertwined and synonymous with an emergent research and literature agenda. Therefore, this study is timely and necessitates a need for the adoption of Goffman’s theory as a framework given his contributions to societal interaction viewed through symbolic interaction perspective. Given the relatively recent emergence of the phenomena of the ‘veteran offender’ (Murray, 2013) and subsequent wider implications of their presence within the CJS. This study’s researcher argues an imperative to adopt Goffman’s seminal perspective to explore the behaviour and interactions from the dramaturgy understanding as played out and understood to help explain our society. Through honouring Goffman’s interactionism views of society as a framework of people living in a world full of meaningful objects this study will contribute to new knowledge. In addition, exploration and comparison of the two environments have yet to be undertaken to give a greater understanding of this phenomena. This study is undertaken by a researcher with lived experiences of total institutions of the military and services within the CJS.

The social theorist Michel Foucault (1977) believed that a hierarchical system establishes a chain of command to ensure that all those within that system, irrespective of rank or grade, accept that they are an integral part of their disciplined organisation. Within these two institutions, the individual is required to cast aside an untainted individualistic perception of the world, and with the assistance of a uniform, job title and code of conduct to adhere to, they are assimilated into the mortification process (Goffman, 1970). This method is described by Goffman (1970) as a means by which the Armed Forces can be identified as a total institution and consequently this means it is able to consume the individual. This consumption allows for the removal of the individual and asserts control over them within the confines of the Armed Forces which exists not only within the confines of the barracks but intrinsically through the formation of a sub-group. A comparison can be made with Goffman’s (1961) description of total institutions as described as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable amount of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered life.

Emsley (2013) argues that the Armed Forces have a Legal Code used by senior ranks to govern those subordinates under their command. Emsley (2013) continues by highlighting that any infringement of these Regulations leads to clear consequences,

purposely instilling a sense of obedience for orders given. Comparatively, there is a rank structure within the various services within the CJS. Goffman (1961) highlighted the point that within total institutions, all aspects of life is undertaken in the same place with the same group of people treated alike and intentionally segregated from the outside world forcing them to eat, work and sleep together in mass-living arrangements. Goffman (1961) provides insight into this process by illuminating the need for a single unitary authority to dictate and manage all aspects of daily life through a system of explicit formal rulings. Goffman (1961) also provides a rationale that all of these enforced activities combined from a single rational plan are directed towards fulfilling the institution's official aims.

Crewe (2009) provides insight from research undertaken within the prison environment of the CJS. Prisoners have limited lived experiences, due to compartmentalised cells and wings, which are located behind barbed-wired perimeters. These restrictions are furthered when having to share their living space with other prisoners whom they eat, socialise and work with. This fact of life bears a remarkable resemblance to life within the Armed Forces, whereby service personnel live within a barracks in a barbed wire secure environment, also separated from the outside world, and forced to share their living space with numerous other people. This observation is supported by Hockey (1986), who makes the point that when on exercise or in a theatre of operations service personnel continue to live, eat and sleep together 'in the field', cooking together and sharing shelter.

The various services within the CJS run according to formal rules and regulations which govern life within them under the central institutional authority of that particular service. Sparks, Bottoms, and Hay (1996) explain that disciplinary action is used to sanction non-compliance and induce obedience and conformity, to ultimately fulfil the official institutional aims of maintaining control and order. When comparing to the work of Emsley (2013), a similarity can be alluded to in that the Armed Forces operate in much the same way with strict rules, regulations and laws imposed from above. These take shape in the form of specific military law and an extensive set of Queens Regulations for each of the existing branch of the Armed Forces: Army, Navy, and Royal Air Force (RAF). Emsley (2013) stipulates that these Regulations were devised by the institutional authorities to govern the lives of service personnel, enforce

discipline and impose sanction on those that fail to comply, aimed ultimately at achieving the official institutional aims of maintaining a constant state of readiness for warfare.

The hierarchical structure of authority is a main feature within the total institution. Goffman (1961) divides those living and working within institutions into two distinct classes: staff and inmates that can be compared and contrasted to veteran practitioners and offenders. Within the CJS this division is fixed and clearly defined with all services within a designated job title and role, which depending on the service is to arrest, incarcerate, manage and assert power and authority over the inmates (offenders) who are to be disempowered. In the Armed Forces institution, Goffman (1961) makes a parallel comparison to the same division, with officers defined as staff and the enlisted ranks as inmates (offenders). However, Goffman (1961) fails to fully account for the greater flexibility within the hierarchical structure of the Armed Forces as compared to the transfixed staff-offender separation that exists within the CJS. Similarities exist within the Armed Forces Commissioned Officers and the senior staff within the CJS, which is also seen when comparing Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO's) and the lower ranks of the junior staff of the CJS.

Within the Armed Forces there is an opportunity for promotion between staff ranks, with lower ranks regularly and consistently being promoted into staff positions and sometimes reaching Commissioned Officer status. Crewe (2009) argues that such official upward movement in rank, whereby an offender is recruited directly into a staff role, is a feature absent from the CJS. This point represents a clear demarcation between the two institutions. However, when reviewing the literature by Finfgeld (2004) and Jackson and Stevenson (1998), it is apparent that empowering peer-support around the veteran identity can become a powerful therapeutic agent, as it can cross-institutional divide.

Goffman (1970) believed that the long-term effects of exposure to institutions was psychologically damaging and dehumanising. This view allows for a cross-comparability to be established between the detrimental effects of the human psyche from institutions identified within the CJS and the Armed Forces. Seligman (1972) described this effect as 'learned helplessness' and identifies the process as the

individual no longer having the ability to tend to the most basic of human functions i.e., self-care and social care skills.

In reviewing Seligman's theory on a 'locus of control' (1972) Kobasa, Maddi and Kahn (1982) focussed on individual 'hardiness' as an aspect of personality type, suggesting that individuals respond to stressful life events, and exhibit varying degrees of commitment, control and challenge. In exploring Seligman's research (1972) they identified that individuals displaying enhanced hardiness have a tendency to involve themselves more readily in specific encounters and attempt to influence their outcome favourably rather than being helpless (Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982). Goffman (1970) stated within his research that the psychological effects of the total institution resulted in a lack of personal identity and loss of control.

Goffman (1961) adds that in addition to these main features of total institutions, there is a process of disculturation whereby individuals undergo the breaking down of their outside civil culture and building of a new culture, conducive to life within the institution. Goffman (1961) describes the process of the inmates being intentionally disconnected from the outside world and subjected to a series of humiliations, abasements and profanations aimed at severing links with their previous lives, as a process of 'self-mortification'. This process is visible in military training and as Bradford (2006) explores, more evident in initial basic training, which in an exaggerated form can produce recruits who are not ruled by their own social and political order, becoming self-focused and institutionally blind to the Government or political leader in command. This indoctrination into a military regime appears to establish the same 'self-mortification' process witnessed within Goffman's research (1961) and seeks to create a new mind-set to establish a new military identity (Bradford, 2006). Veterans appear to establish a new identity of either practitioner or offender, which appears to instigate some radical shifts in their 'moral career', altering their beliefs concerning themselves, others and the world around them (Goffman, 1961, p.134). Indeed, it would appear that military veterans display a deep belonging to their military identity and life and the separation through the transition to civilian life can be viewed as a sense of loss to a 'belonging' as illustrated by the research of Parkes and Prigerson (2010). They describe this associated grief as an emotion that gravitates the individual towards something of significance that is missing. Parkes and

Prigerson (2010) continue by explaining that this loss or grief can occur not just due to bereavement but through the loss of an ability. Parkes (1971) describes a process of psychosocial transition in relation to this loss and this was later categorised by Rahe (1979). In extrapolating this knowledge, the study will seek to relate this transition to the life stories of the veterans. Parkes (1971) warned within his research of the dangers of institutionalisation and the removal of an individual if they find comfort within that institution. Parkes and Prigerson (2010) discuss that within such transitions, that which is familiar within the world can suddenly appear to have become unfamiliar and previously established habits of thought and behaviour no longer apply to the new external world, and thus confidence is lost within the individual's own internal world.

A further testament for a need to explore this can be found in King and McDermott (1995) and Crewe's research (2011). They expose how this is true in relation to the prison environments within the CJS, where offenders are disconnected from the outside world and introduced to the new institutional social world, complete with its own customs, practices, procedures, language and culture.

Sociological theory relating to the military is provided by Stevenson (2010), who believes the same is true within the Armed Forces from the initial emergence of the individual into basic training, to the remodelling of the identity and adoption of a new culture, language and traditions which can have variation even between the different services. In relation to this study, the service personnel's transgression from Armed Forces institution to the divergence of two separate life story trajectories into the CJS gives an opportunity to create a rich source of data for the continued exploration of Goffman's work.

Goffman (1961) emphasised that within the total institution the new identity must adapt to the social world characterised by that institution, namely regimes of pervasive boredom, routine, intrusive inspections, intentionally restricted information, practices of informal violence, hierarchies and codes. Therefore, this study through life story research seeks to explore the lived experiences and understand their perceptions of entering a total institution (CJS), as a fully-fledged indoctrinated veteran, as defined by the Royal College of Defence Studies (2009). Goffman's (1961) examination of the total institution is crucial in highlighting the similarities that exist within the Armed

Forces and the CJS, however there is a need to illustrate how veterans, well versed with the practices, culture and customs of the Armed Forces, may find the institutional regime of the CJS to be familiar, which may affect how the two veteran sub-groups engage on their separate institutional paths within their new roles in a new institution. There is clearly a need for further analysis on the sociology of imprisonment within the CJS. Whilst this study's focus is more expansive than that of the prison environment, the challenge is the limited research on the involvement of veterans within the CJS. Therefore, a need arises to explore two dominant theoretical frameworks that explore the effect of imprisonment on the general population – that is, deprivation and importation theory. These two theoretical frameworks will be defined and related towards veterans' exposed to the CJS.

2.6 Constructing Military and Post-Military Identities

This study has been influenced by invaluable modes of inquiry that consider the importance of researcher positionality to add to emergent knowledge within this field. This reflexive approach has influence in the formation of the research questions and systems of data collection and analysis (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Goffman (1963) provides symbolic interactionist influences throughout in understanding how the participants present their identity in their life stories. Goffman's seminal (1961, p.26) work provides insight into this section's title as he identified the process as 'programming; or 'trimming', in that an individual is made ready for by 'squared way, shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into the administrative machinery of the establishment'. Goffman's observations lead to a review of the literature on Social Identity Theory. This concept provides insight into the potential impact of identity when exploring the construction of military and post-military identities. It is of some importance to note that there are varying theoretical perspectives on identity, the importance of Social Identity Theory in the context of this research is to explore the specific nature of the veteran's social location and the inferences resulting in the two sub-groups' navigation of contrasting and competing identities.

With this focus, Tajfel and Turner (1986) argued that Social Learning Theory encompasses an individual's self-concept of their personal and social identity. Furthermore, Ashforth and Mael (1989) advocate that this definition lends itself to a cooperative blending of identity which establishes meaning and sense-making within

an individual's life as they relate their life to the world around them. Ashforth and Mael (1989) explain that this process enables an individual to define and locate their place within the wider context of the social environment. In relation to this study Abrams and Hogg (1990), would argue that the individual (veteran) should be able to locate and define themselves through a self-evaluation of the social characteristics of the group from which they derive their identity. Although they stipulate that this process relies on first defining other groups within their environment and how their identity merges into that perceived reality (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). This can pose a challenge to the military veteran when viewed through the seminal work of Erikson (1968) if their self-understanding as formed through self-perception of norms, attitudes beliefs, feelings and behaviours centred within 'ego' is in conflict with their subjectively defined place within civilian society. A place defined by Brubaker and Cooper (2000) as a 'social location'. As identified within the Transitional Review by Lord Ashcroft (2014) the process of re-entry into a civilian identity can be challenging for some. The research of Ashforth and Mael (1989) on Social Learning Theory stipulates that an individual may have multiple roles and belong to numerous groups, therefore creating equally diverse social and personal identities. Relevant to this thesis is that Ashforth and Mael's (1989) study postulates that identities generally function in harmony with each other; although, when one set of values, norms, behaviours and beliefs are non-compatible then conflict between the opposing identities is the result. This can create significant insight when exploring veterans' involvement in the CJS as the veteran ex-offender and practitioner by very definition are an amalgam of identities. In returning to the previous point of the Transitional Review by Lord Ashcroft (2014) this tension created as a result from military personnel's re-entry into civilian life and a new identity may not be an unexpected outcome. This thesis believes that this is a rallying point from which this research topic finds traction in establishing a further understanding of veterans' involvement in the CJS.

Hockey's (1986, 2003) research would support this justification of a focus on identity through Social Learning Theory in that military personnel across all services are at their core, trained to be combat-ready through a process of physical and mental training that will enable them to respond with aggression and violence to eliminate a threat as identified as an enemy. There is a notable deficit within the literature of policy or practice to dismantle the military identity in order, to allow for the dramatic shift to

civilian attitudes, norms and feelings. The literature would indicate that the military identity holds resilient character traits forming a well-developed social identity.

This highlights the timeliness of this study to examine both sub-groups of veterans regarding entrenchment to their military identity and whether when they find themselves as civilians, they still perceive themselves to be distant from their current peers. Returning to Erikson (1968), he argued that the ego is comprised of a number of subjective experiences which result in a perception of social identity. The subjective experiences of the veterans may include a perception of themselves as different due to their military identity. This study will highlight this feature with the practitioners, who it could be argued appear to eventually adapt to working with their non-veteran counterparts. For the veteran ex-offenders however, the dichotomy of this very label of being a veteran but also an offender will through this study be examined comprehensively and crucially, against the control of the veteran practitioners to identify any signs of confusion, internal conflict and associated stigma and shame.

In relation to any stigma and associated shame that may be identified from within the life stories, there appears to be an insight derived from the concepts of Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1957) and the later Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which highlighted the boundaries between 'normals' and 'others'. Abrams and Hogg (1990) provide insight into this observation from the life stories and explains that these theories describe a psycho-social process by which individuals categorise themselves and others into groups in order to place comparative values on themselves, thus ranking their relative position in the social hierarchy. Such ranking enables self-monitoring and potentially facilitates self-esteem. Issues around social identity are evident from the veteran life stores in relation to stigma as individuals may strive to protect their 'non-deviant' identities (Devine, Plant, & Harrison, 1999), even if this means not mixing with other offenders and indeed families withdrawing from a veteran now identified as an offender. Here, language is important in enabling the division of individuals into categories such as offender and practitioner. According to Devine et al. (1999) the distinction can be made to 'in' groups and 'out' groups, which effectively categorises 'us' and 'them' who are divided by impenetrable boundaries.

This need to belong is also a feature found within Social Learning Theory as attested by Tajfel and Turner (1986). They explain that social identity consists of "those

aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986 p.16). This inherent need to belong for military veterans could be seen to be indicative of the findings of Steger and Lopez (2011) who observed a continuing process to establish meaning through belonging. Indeed, Barron, Davies and Wiggins (2008) identify comradeship and associated societal support to be crucial in promoting a sense of belonging for military veterans. This is supported by Burnell et al. (2006) who cite the importance of comradeship in service personnel returning home and transitioning back to post-military identities as civilians. Indeed, the literature may infer that the absence of this feature may allude to the possible engagement with crime, deviance and recidivism. This would indicate that the military institution and the reformed identity hold a culture uniquely developed through this socialisation process. Through the use of Social Identity Theory, this could lead to further understanding of Goffman's (1961) mortification of self and perhaps desire to return to a pre-existing identity of veteran over other less favourable or less influential identities. It therefore, follows, that there is a need to explore post-military identities.

2.7 Post-Military Identities: The Military Veteran Defined

A review of the literature highlights a lack of research relating to veterans as a recognised sub-group within the CJS. Within the UK a veteran is defined as any individual who has performed military service for at least one day and drawn a day's pay (DASA, 2010; Royal College of Defence Studies, 2009). However, researchers from Kings College London (Burdett et al., 2012) explored the meaning of the term veteran. These researchers interviewed ex-service personnel to identify whether they saw themselves as a 'veteran'. The reason for this exploration was that prior to the advent of the new definition, many perceived this definition of a veteran as being attached solely to individuals who had served in either World War (Burdett et al., 2012). Interestingly the study found that 49% (n = 202) of the veterans interviewed did not class themselves as a veteran, even though they clearly met the definition. There has been an acknowledged lack of research into veterans' involvement in the CJS and a call for further exploration of the issue (Howard League of Penal Reform, 2011; Phillips, 2014). Indeed, there has been concern raised by Treadwell (2010) regarding the validity of a number of the reports undertaken within the CJS. The data

regarding the exact number of veterans within the CJS is not known, but a figure of 3.5% (n = 84,038) extrapolated by DASA (2010) provides a benchmark from which to explore accurate data further. There is evidence that indicates that 3.5% (DASA, 2010) of the prison population in England and Wales are veterans and evidence from other reports citing 16.75% in HMP Dartmoor (Prison In-Reach Project) populations (Napo, 2009). More recently, research by No Offence (unpublished, 2012) indicates that the figure is three times the official figure of 3.5% with one in ten prisoners being veterans of the Armed Forces.

None of the studies to date is wholly accurate and whilst all are useful and informative, they expose the need for further research; otherwise the exact figure will remain an approximate estimation. Indeed, no data exists on the numbers of veteran practitioners within the CJS which is somewhat disconcerting, given their obvious presence. Whilst challenges may exist around Data Protection issues, this information could be obtained through Human Resources departments within the CJS.

According to Bean (2008), society appears to still have very real misconceptions regarding the general population who offend, let alone veterans. Research undertaken by The Kings Centre for Military Health Res earch (KCMHR, 2012) indicates that more than 75% (n = 3,301) of the public thought current members of the Armed Forces were more likely to be respected by wider society than civilians, but this dropped to 58% (n = 3,301) for former members identified as veterans. Bean (2008) argues that the media can have a negative impact on the perception of marginalised groups, but according to KCMHR (2012), there appears to be a desire to view serving personnel and veterans in a favourable light. The decrease noted within the figures could be explained by Bean (2008), as being influenced by the emergence of a more risk-conscious culture, claiming that even this particular sub-group are human and therefore susceptible to entering a life of crime. Boucai (2005) explains that this may not be as prominent as in the past when historically, we sought out these offenders to enlist as recruits in the Armed Forces. A lack of understanding of the relationship between the CJS and veterans creates a process described by Underlid (2005) as a social devaluation of the forgotten, discredited, marginalised groups and the subsequent withdrawal of opportunities accessible to them.

The previously mentioned research by KCMHR (2012) appears to indicate a social devaluation from the serving personnel to veteran identity within the public perception by the British general public, which could be exasperated when veterans are confronted with suspicion, due to their involvement in the CJS. This feature could be further compounded by social devaluation when the challenges of transition from Armed Forces to civilian life, as highlighted by Lord Ashcroft (2014), are compounded by society though it is the misunderstandings of veterans relationship with the CJS which leads to a heightened erosion of prospects for the individual veteran.

2.8 Veterans, Transition and Citizenship

According to McMurran, Khalifa, and Gibbon (2009), in England and Wales, the criminal justice process is delivered by a number of agencies that work collectively under the umbrella of the CJS. These include the Police, the Crown Prosecution Service, Her Majesty's Court Service, the Youth Justice Board, Probation Service and the Prison Service. McMurran et al. (2009, p.2) further state that the 'overall aims of the CJS is to detect and prevent crime, to rehabilitate and punish offenders and to support victims and witnesses of crime'.

A systematic review conducted by the Royal British Legion (2011) highlights that there has been a realisation and acknowledgement that veterans represent a notable sub-group within institutions of the CJS, although the exact number has been a contested issue with figures ranging from 3.5% (n = 84,038) to 16.75% within the prison population of HMP Dartmoor although the sample size was not provided. A widely publicised government-endorsed report by the sub-division of the Ministry of Defence (DASA, 2010) estimated the lower figure of 3.5%. However, Napo (2010) reported this figure failed to include reservists, which accounted for 18% (n = 142,000) of the total British military personnel and also those under 18 years of age. These preliminary estimations (n = 2,207) outlined that 99.6% of veteran offenders were male, that 51% were over forty-five and that 10% were aged twenty-six and under (DASA, 2010). The vast majority were ex-Army personnel (77%), ex-Naval personnel (15%) and RAF (8%), although it should be noted that this data was only conducted within the prison service and the other institutions of the CJS were not investigated. Despite these initial findings, this sub-group has attracted little academic scrutiny.

Indeed, in relation to the veteran practitioners, there is no available data on the figure of veterans employed within the CJS.

Russell (2010) and the Virginia Department of Corrections (2012) have produced intriguing research from the USA into innovative and empowering methods of management and diversion of veteran offenders, which will be explored within subsequent chapters within this thesis. In addition, research previously undertaken by Blue-Howells, Clark, van den Berk-Clark, and McGuire (2013), again within the United States of America (USA), highlights characteristics which set this sub-group apart from the generic offender population. However, as with the United Kingdom (UK) the focus has been on the quantitative and positivist approaches with no focus on the lived experiences through life story research.

The data explored within this literature review alludes to a historically generic approach towards dealing with the issue of veterans' involvement in the CJS, but with an emerging realisation by some organisations such as NACRO (2010) that there must be a need for specialist provision. It is unclear to what extent veterans (offenders) are involved or recognised in the planning stage of establishing how services and its practitioners engage with the wider veteran (offenders) community. NACRO (2010) stipulates that there appears to be evidence that our veterans continue to find it difficult to access the services because they have not been considered as a criminal sub-group during its development. The literature previously undertaken by Napo (2009), DASA (2010) and NACRO (2010) provides an indication that this has been most prominent within the prison environment of the CJS. According to Burdett et al. (2012) the UK's expansive definition of the title of 'veteran' has increased the difficulty in effectively establishing exact numbers of these individuals; however it has been estimated that there are approximately 4.8 million within the UK. When reviewing the literature, there is a consensus that the majority of veterans cope well with the transition from military to civilian life, with notable examples including those of Ommerod (2009) and Lord Ashcroft (2014). This area of research continues to develop, notably by Murray (2013) who terms the phrase "veteranality" (p.20) as a means of understanding the ways in which the criminal justice system interacts with veterans who commit a crime. This attempt to conceptualise and establish a consciousness for this emerging field within criminology highlights a contemporary need fuelled by renewed coverage

within the literature and media. However, veteranality as a concept is a renewed vision of an aged dilemma:

"The veterans of the battles of the Middle Ages are the best of soldiers while the war lasted....(but) a most dangerous and unruly race in times of truce or peace"

(Oman, 1953).

Nevertheless, the continued conflict of the 21st century extends the focus and need to undertake an expansive review of theory and practice encompassing knowledge and evidence from a range of fields, inclusive of sociology, psychology and criminology. This was of particular interest for this research as previous studies appear to have become entrenched within the statistical approximation of the presence of veterans in the CJS. Instead, this study is concerned with pertinent theory and practice which can create new knowledge on the issue of veterans' involvement in the CJS.

2.9 The Veteran as Law Breaker

2.9.1 The Veteran Offender

DASA (2010) published a report which gave some insight into the profile of British veterans in prison. The veterans were wholly from the ranks with only 1% (n = 2820) being identified as Officers. However, 7% (n = 2820) were identified as unknown and once again may be an underestimation due to the possibility that some did not wish to disclose due to stigma and associated shame in combination with the possibility of data collection errors. Stigma has been highlighted by the Government Review (Phillips, 2014) which suggests further research on the issue of stigma is required.

Within the DASA (2010) report, veterans were identified as perpetrators of violence to the person (33%), sexual offences (25%) and drug offences (11%). When this is compared to the data taken from the generic prison population, it should be noted that there was a lower offending rate in comparison to the veteran (Regular) population in all but one sub-section - sexual offences. DASA (2010) found in this case that veterans (Regular) had a 13% higher rate of imprisonment. The study by the Kent Police (2010) indicated a partiality for veterans to be involved primarily in violent crime and then to a lesser extent drunkenness, criminal damage, sexual offences, burglary and drugs,

each accounting for 6% to 8% of arrests (n = 7,200). Comparative data was not included.

An informative study was undertaken by KCMHR (2010) which highlighted possible risk-taking behaviour in relation to serious driving offences, but again no comparative data was included. The lack of a comparative control is a factor when exploring the data by Napo (2009), who was able to compile 90 case studies representing a purposive sample. Again, violent offences featured in 39 of the case studies with 11% of offences against a child which were of a sexual nature in most cases. NOMS (2009) indicated that the factors were the misuse of alcohol or drugs. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or depression was a major factor within the lives of our ex-servicemen currently involved with the CJS, but the principal offence was one of violence, particularly in a domestic setting.

2.9.2 Criminal Behaviour and the Veteran Offender

The emerging yet limited literature on veterans in the CJS indicate a need for deliberation on why veterans appear to be drawn into the CJS, either as the practitioner or offender. There is, therefore, a need to explore the causes of criminal behaviour and relate these to the literature on veteran offending. Within the available literature, the causes of criminal behaviour are systematically divided into biological, psychological, cognitive, socio-economic and political explanations. In addition to these fields, this researcher believes that there is a need to integrate the criminogenic factors into a holistic overview when considering veterans.

Conklin (1995) proposes that offenders differ from non-offenders in a physiological and anatomical level, and therefore, attributes crime to individual traits and factors. There are numerous early theories, e.g. Lombroso’s theory of atavism (1911) and Conklin’s (1995) theory of somatotypes that believed criminals were of a substandard breed, far removed from law-abiding members of the public because of hereditary or genetic defective composition.

There has been some progression from these early theories and an inclination to not just categorise individuals as inherently substandard, but instead to look for intra-individual causes of criminal behaviour. Barlow and Durand (2005) reviewed

research on family, twins and adoption studies and suggested there was a genetic influence on criminal behaviour. However, the combination of gene-environmental interactions seemed a more plausible reason, as genetic factors only influenced crime causation in the presence of specific pre-disposing influences. Barlow and Durand (2005) theorised that abnormally low levels (under-arousal hypothesis) of cortical arousal might cause individuals to engage in stimulation-seeking behaviours such as violation of the law, in order to reduce the boredom and negative affect often associated with chronically ill arousal levels. Bird (2007) explains that many veterans who engage in inappropriate behaviour often appear to have a natural inclination towards risk-taking, which results in them coming into contact with the CJS. Barlow and Durand (2005) propose the fearlessness hypothesis, where individuals diagnosed with personality disorders often have difficulty in associating certain cues or signs with impending punishment or danger, therefore preventing them from developing an adequate capacity for impulse control.

Conklin (1995) highlights the fact that, within the research, offenders appear to have lower levels of monoamine oxidase, which in turn has been linked to extreme impulsivity, sensation seeking, childhood hyperactivity, poor academic performance and high rates of alcohol and drug misuse. Whilst there has been no research to date that examines monoamine oxidase levels within the veteran population, there is, however, a body of evidence that lists risk-taking behaviour, low academic achievement and the presence of alcohol and substance misuse with veterans in the CJS (DASA, 2010; Howard League of Penal Reform, 2011; Kent Police, 2010). Drake, Muncie and Westmarland (2010) highlight the point that psychological explanations have to some extent replaced biological explanations of crime during and after the 20th century. These researchers have suggested that the current overview of offenders as psychologically unbalanced has brought about the present philosophical shift of rehabilitating offenders through the use of talking therapies. Brookman et al. (2010) suggest that this progression towards psychological explanations may be linked to the emergence of the psychoanalytical perspective, that is to say, that individuals are regarded as antisocial by nature and therefore in need of socialisation to avoid entering the CJS. Through the labelling theory movement, Becker (1963) believed that deviance and unlawful behaviour were to be viewed as a result of faulty or inadequate

socialisation, which could be solved through psychological treatment, rather than direct involvement from a case worker. He argued that the caseworker could be viewed as an agent of social control (Becker, 1963).

A historical perspective of psychological causes of criminal behaviour was believed to be located intra-individually in the form of defective development, low intelligence and psychopathology, and was therefore seen as unrelated to the individual's environment. Researchers such as Hudson (1996) and Steinberg (2001) noted that the psychological effects of interindividual factors such as unemployment, poverty, one-parent families, sexual abuse, childhood abuse and neglect, childhood violence, and dysfunctional family relations were becoming increasingly well documented and were possible causes of criminogenic factors. Hernstein and Murray (1994) put forward their opinion that this change in the view of the possible reasons for psychological causes of crime has led to the development of the mental deficiency theory.

The mental deficiency theory, whilst biological in focus, has a substantial impact on the individual's cognitive functioning and ability to reason. According to Conklin (1995) this theory identifies offenders as having a generally lower intelligent quotient and that as a result, they are unable to appreciate the reasons for the existence of the law and the consequences of their actions, or are unable or unwilling to control their actions. However, this theory has drawn criticism by Cullen (1994), who found that the effects of intelligence on crime was insignificant and further criticised the mental deficiency theory for ignoring white-collar crime completely. Hirschi's Control theory (Hirschi, 2002) supports the belief that psychological factors cannot be viewed in isolation from interpersonal factors. Hirschi's Control theory proposes that individuals who commit crimes lack the intimate attachments, aspirations and moral beliefs that bind law-abiding individuals to a conventional way of life.

Specifically relevant to this research is the suggestion by Conklin (1995) that involvement in the CJS can create a social stigma which weakens social bonds. This degradation phenomena appears to represent an added challenge for veterans who are also making the transition from the Armed Forces to civilian life (Lord Ashcroft, 2014). In addition to this point, Hirschi's Control Theory (Hirschi, 2002) maintains that maladaptive peer relationships in childhood have been linked to later criminal

behaviour. This will be explored further within subsequent chapters. In order to explore this link further there is a necessity to provide an introduction to attachment theory and then look at attachment research in relation to childhood adversity and adolescence, including the establishment of relationships. Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969) creates an impasse between individual psychological and wider sociological explanations of behaviour yet creates a focus on the importance of the development of 'self' in relation to significant others, in crafting an individual's social behaviour and emotional well-being. This is of importance in relation to understanding the participants' early childhood adversities and challenges as these may have had as yet, obscured consequences on the veterans' involvement in the CJS.

Howe (2005) explains that attachment is a behavioural system that is concerned with ensuring survival biologically, which also has the effect of controlling anxiety, associated with threats to survival. Attachment is as explained by Howe (2005) a dyadic regulation of intense negative emotion, between babies and young children threatened by danger and a favoured carer who may be viewed as older and wiser, with whom the child necessitates the formation of a relationship. In relation to the veterans it is possible that fear and distress from perceived threats in the environment or from physical pain could lead the adolescent to display attachment behaviour by seeking out the preferred carer (Armed Forces) and drawing attention to themselves (recruitment process), with the expectation that they will be soothed, relieved of pain, and protected, leading to the restoration of emotional equilibrium through comradeship. Indeed, Tannock, Burgess and Moles (2013) highlight the symbiotic relationship that exists between geographical areas plagued by economic instability and the recruitment of potential recruits by the Armed Forces within schools. To explore and to gain further insight this phenomena, this research study attempts to look at the overlap between attachment theory and the relational ontology between the Armed Forces and the veteran sub-groups. This will be explored within the discussion chapter.

Researchers have as yet, not been able to demonstrate conclusive evidence linking personality characteristics to criminal behaviour, despite several studies initially showing tenuous links to various traits (Conklin, 1995). Tittle (1985) maintains that there are various conditions, such as coming from a single-parent family,

having a diagnosis of a personality disorder and being susceptible to peer pressure, which may result in interpersonal insecurity, and therefore may predispose an individual to criminal activity. Conklin (1995) explains that there has long been an identified link between criminal behaviour and traits such as a low frustration threshold, high levels of aggression, and an inability to delay gratification.

Research undertaken by Barlow and Durand (2005) demonstrate that impulsivity, defiance, resentment, absence of feelings of remorse or guilt, indifference to the concerns of others, inability to establish and maintain close interpersonal relationships, and inability to learn from experience, are the typical traits of the psychopathic personality disorder. Furthermore, Barlow and Durand (2005) claim that many individuals with a personality disorder are at disproportionally elevated levels of risk, creating a predisposition towards criminal behaviours.

These researchers suggest intelligence is the difference between individuals diagnosed with personality disorder who become criminals compared to those who do not. Carson, Butcher and Coleman (1988) highlight differences in the quality of socialisation in non-offenders, first offenders, and repeat offenders, finding the repeat offenders are the most poorly socialised. Related to this issue is Rubington and Weinberg's (2005) proposition that the development of a deviant personality is influenced by the response of other people to the alleged deviant act. It could be theorised that depending on the identity of the persons responding, approving and disapproving of the act may either facilitate or inhibit the development of the deviant personality, as a function of exclusion from or indeed, inclusion into a certain social group.

In relation to this point Finnegan, Finnegan, McGee, Ashford and Simpson (2011, p.1256) highlight that the military provides a protective "family", with a community based on shared values, experiences, and socialising. This is remonstrated by Finnegan et al. (2011) who explains that once a soldier has enlisted, military lifestyle impacts on all aspects of a soldiers' existence, and incentives provide significant measurable benefits such as guaranteed employment, good regular income, the potential to obtain a good pension and ample annual leave. Features that would seek to strengthen a 'family social bond'

and demonstrates parity with Goffman's former research on total institutions (1962).

In the 1970's, research by Yochelson and Samenow (1976) identified criminal thought patterns that were supposedly responsible for criminal behaviour, which drew on the work previously undertaken by Walters and White (1968), claiming that faulty and irrational thinking characterises lifestyle criminals. Barlow and Durand (2005) believed that individuals with a personality disorder process reward and punishment differently to individuals without this diagnosis, as they are less likely to be deterred from a goal by the lack of reward or the likelihood of punishment. These researchers believed that by utilising Gray's model of brain functioning, it was possible to stipulate that individuals with a personality disorder could have genetically inherited weak behaviour inhibition systems and overactive reward systems (Barlow & Durand, 2005).

This links with the earlier research by Cornish and Clarke (1986) who focused on the rewards and risks of criminal behaviour and emphasised the individual's strategic thinking, decision making, processing of information and finally the evaluation of opportunities and alternatives. The rational choice perspective identifies a number of possible rewards for criminal behaviour: financial gain, the establishment of personal power and control, freedom from taxation, satisfaction, alleviation of boredom, vengeance, being one's own boss and high levels of leisure time. Cornish and Clarke (1986) explain that the list does not end there, but it is important to note that the following rewards have specific dual relevance to the veteran community: a sense of achievement, solidarity, prestige, defence of honour, defence of self-esteem, lack of job prospects, effects of drug addiction, and free board and lodging in prison. Alternatively, the risks associated with criminal behaviour (Cornish and Clarke, 1986) may have a decreased effect on the veteran as loss of freedom, physical and psychological harm, estranged from family and friends, loss of job prospects, exposure to hardened criminals and social stigma could be endured. These issues will be explored further within the findings and discussion chapters.

In exploring social structures as a cause of criminal behaviour the researcher Merton (1968), who derived from the functionalist tradition within sociological

theory, subsequently created his theory of anomie. Merton (1968) suggested that normlessness occurs when social structures prevent individuals from reaching culturally approved goals through institutionalised means and consequently the individual has to resort to violations of the law to reach the goals that society considers to be desirable. From this assumption, Merton's theory of adaptation (1968) to the social structure emerged, which proposed that five modes of adaptation exist. Within this theory, the most common mode of adaptation is conformity, in which both the cultural goals and the institutionalised means to reach those goals are accepted.

The innovation mode dictates that the goal is accepted but the means by which the goals are achieved are regarded by society as unacceptable. In this mode, motivation for a crime can be viewed as egoistic and individual. The ritualism mode is not significant for this study of veterans, as the socially approved means are accepted, but cultural goals are abandoned, leading to indifference and lack of achievement. The retreatism mode not only abandons the cultural goals, but also the institutional means, often found in drug addicts. The final mode of adaptation is rebellion, in which the goals are rejected and replaced with new goals and it is feasible to surmise that the veteran could become involved in crime due to being motivated by communal altruism.

Merton's (1968) anomie theory was challenged by Agnew who, believed that the focus on access to social goals was too limited. Agnew (1995) developed a general strain theory, which holds that there are various sources of strain that cause crime. Agnew proposed that this was the actual or anticipated failure to achieve positively valued goals, actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli and actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli. Therefore, this may be seen as three measures of strain that may cause criminal behaviour, depending on the magnitude, frequency, duration and clustering of stressful events. Agnew (1995) believed that the impact of strain is influenced by individual adaptability as well as factors such as temperament, intelligence, interpersonal skills, self-efficacy, association with delinquent peers, and conventional social support.

Agnew's (1995) theory is of specific value to the veteran offending community as it provides an opportunity to explore the factors underlying veteran perpetrator

crime. It is hypothesised by Cornish and Dorman (2015 p.360) that the strains of 'actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli' (e.g. rank, housing, social standing) and 'actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli' (e.g. returning to communities with no or low employment prospects) are being experienced by many veterans due to societal changes following the recent Strategic Defence and Security Plan which has earmarked mass redundancies within the Armed Forces.

Carson et al. (1998) state that periods of extensive unemployment are typically accompanied by an increase in crime. Conklin (1995) believed that there was a complex connection between unemployment and crime as some crimes could only occur as a result of opportunities found whilst in employment, whereas other crime occurs as a consequence of being unemployed. Conklin (1995) states that steady employment tends to give people a stake in society, which they do not wish to jeopardise by committing crime. This feature could hold relevance with the transitioning service personnel who may be more susceptible to criminal activity if not entering seamlessly into civilian employment. According to Cornish and Dorman (2015), the current situation of an expected 20,000 Armed Forces personnel being made redundant per year could cause veterans to feel unappreciated and rejected by the society they had fought to protect. It is feasible that if the veteran were to feel disenfranchised, they may resort to crime, as they may struggle to compete for employment in a market that does not always understand or have the ability to appreciate the crucial transferable skills that they possess.

Conklin's (1995) research into criminality provides a valuable insight into the possible causation of crime within the veteran community. Conklin (1995) states that competition, a pursuit of profits, and the threat of bankruptcy may account for the deception inherent in many work based crimes. Furthermore, that in many large corporations, the bureaucratic structure of a company may mean a fragmentation of responsibility, lack of control over decisions, poor information flow, and disloyalty to the company (Conklin, 1995). It is interesting to note that this can be in stark contrast to a career in the Armed Forces and associated ideology that looks to encourage and reward loyalty as discussed by Finnegan et al. (2010). Early

research by Zeittin (1971) suggests that because many jobs are monotonous, unchallenging, or lacking in prestige, workers may resort to criminal behaviour to make the job more challenging or to increase their sense of worth. Conklin (1995) theorised that if the offender believed that there was a low risk of arrest and conviction, it may seem rational for workers to commit fraud if there are beneficial gains to be achieved.

Relative deprivation appears to be a prerequisite feature within the causation of crime. As Conklin (1995) states, resentment of poverty is more common among the poor in a wealthy nation than among people in a poor nation. It is, therefore, the perception of an unfair distribution of wealth rather than the person's actual level of poverty that causes violation of the law. It is possible that if the veteran believed they were disadvantaged in competing with their civilian counterparts, due to their military background, they could experience a sense of increased relative deprivation as a result of the growth in their expectations and entitlement. It could be further suggested that if the veteran believed some people may be in receipt of more than they deserve in regards to their efforts, a sense of inequality may be produced. Finally, if the veterans were unable to obtain meaningful employment and rationalised this to be a result of their military service within the Armed Forces, they may experience a sense of relative deprivation or entitlement, producing frustration that may lead to criminal activities.

Sutherland's (1974) Differential Association Theory claims that criminal behaviour occurs as a result of the individual having learned an excess of definitions of the law that encourage criminal behaviour. Glaser (1956) provides the closely related Differential Identification Theory, which argues that criminal behaviour is pursued to the extent that an individual identifies with real or imagined persons from the perspective that the criminal behaviour seems acceptable. This early work by Glaser (1956) explained how an individual may initially violate the law by chance or out of ignorance, and the social labelling, devaluing and stigmatisation of the individual may cause the deviant aspects of the individual's behaviour to be overemphasised.

Research by Holdaway (1988) explored racial inequality which he believed may cause Black and Ethnic minorities to choose a criminal career as an expression of

contempt for the system that ‘puts them down’ and even if they endeavour to conform to societal norms, it is likely that they will experience rejection on racial grounds when they seek employment. There is currently no research undertaken on the criminal figures of Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority veterans entering the CJS. It can only be theorised that if this sub-group did encounter additional challenges to accessing participation in social institutions, then this could feasibly lead to providing some with justification for criminal behaviour.

Jankowski (1991) claimed that individuals might join a criminal gang or subculture because it provides them with a protective group identity, a sense of belonging and a solution to the shared problem of blocked opportunities. Research undertaken by Werdnolder (1997) showed that Moroccan youths in the Netherlands develop from loose-knit groups into delinquent gangs as a reaction to disapproval and rejection by the outside world, and to obtain a sense of mutual support. Relating to the work of Werdnolder (1997), it is possible to ascertain that for those veterans who feel rejected this could cause them to have fewer ties to conventional institutions and that this marginalisation could lead to increasingly inadequate socialisation. Stark’s (1987) theory on the ecology of crime contends that the density, poverty, transience, and dilapidation of urban neighbourhoods reduces social control and increases moral cynicism, opportunities for crime and deviance, and consequently the motivation to deviate. Napo (2009) highlights the fact that many veterans return to impoverished communities. This issue means that whilst these communities can be an excellent recruitment area for the Armed Forces; it also means that once their military career ends, they may return to this bleak and deprived community, struggling to access civilian employment and no longer a desirable commodity to the Armed Forces due to a lack of youth.

Lynch and Groves (1993) argue that a general theory of crime is impossible, as there is too much variation in both human behaviour and the environment to expect one theory to be applicable in all instances. In contrast, Tittle (1985) contends that it is indeed possible to construct a general theory on the causation of crime, as different phenomena relating to crime may be included within a theoretical commonality so that what appear to be different causes, may be expressions of a common causal dimension. Both of these arguments are of value to this study, as

it is assumed that whilst the causes of criminal behaviour within the veteran community should not be simplified into mere causal dimensions, the development of a conceptual framework for rehabilitation of veteran offenders should nevertheless be based on some form of formulated theory of crime, as the veterans and societal needs underlying criminal behaviour must be understood fully, in order to ensure that they are met in rehabilitation and ultimately prevention.

If the veteran offenders are respected as competent agents of their own lives when afforded adequate access to information and resources, it becomes possible to provide a framework in which the veteran offender can consider their personal and social reasons for acting unlawfully and be assisted in finding ways to contribute positively to society.

There needs to be further research into the offending rates of sexual offences towards children by veteran offenders (Napo, 2009). There is limited evidence (Howard League of Penal Reform (2011) from the identified research as to why these rates 24% (n = 2,207) are higher than the general prison population of 10.9% (n = 81,831) and the causes remain disconcertingly unknown.

The routes into the CJS for practitioners and offenders remain unclear. The development of veteran courts or veteran therapy courts (VTC), as outlined by the Howard League of Penal Reform (2011), appears to be a necessity that cannot be overlooked. There is a clear need to access the veterans (regular and reservists) within the prison population in order to ascertain a more accurate figure. James and Woods (2010) suggest that this must be achieved through collaboration with the public and private sector that governs these establishments as well as utilising peer/mentor schemes, so it is the veterans (offenders) themselves that are recruiting and identifying. Evidence from the literature provided by James and Woods (2010) would indicate that there has already been some success within the North West of England through the Veteran in Custody Support Officer Scheme.

2.9.3 Veteran Offender: Crime, Deviance and Recidivism

Within the works by the sociologist Tappan (1947, p.14), crime is defined as "an intentional act in violation of the criminal law committed without defence or excuse, and penalized by the state." As Tappan recognises, there is difficulty in defining crime

within a society characterised by laws subject to constant revision as the changeable laws can result in an individual becoming a perpetrator of a criminal act, when prior there may not have been any culpability. Tappan (1947) therefore insisted that a crime be designated as an act in violation of a criminal law for which a punishment is prescribed; the person committing it must have intended to do so and must have done so without legally acceptable defence or justification. This definition appears to provide some insight into crime or deviance being constructed according to context, i.e. civilian life or military life. Reber (1995) and Thompson (1997) explain that 'deviance' relates to a pattern of behaviour that is markedly different from the accepted moral or ethical standards within society.

Thompson (1997) defines the term 'crime' as an offence against another person or animal, property, or the state, which is punishable by law. An 'offender' is, therefore, a person who has been convicted of committing a crime (Thompson, 1997). For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'offender' is taken to denote a veteran who has committed one or more unlawful acts that have resulted in a criminal conviction and imprisonment within the CJS. According to Reber (1995), the term 'recidivism' derives from the Latin word for relapse, and within this thesis will denote a veteran's return to delinquency or crime.

Whilst these definitions serve to prepare and create an understanding of the CJS, participants and concepts relevant to this study. Further exploration is required of the literature to seek similarities between the two institutions; namely the Armed Forces and the CJS. Durkheim (1965) sought to create an awareness through the framework of structural functionalism, which seeks to build theory through the actualisation that society is a complex system. Durkheim (1965) was concerned with the concept of how certain societies maintain internal stability and survive over time. His proposition that societies tend to be segmented, with equivalent parts held together by shared values, common symbols or systems of exchanges is of interest to this study as this study seeks to understand the veterans' perceptions and experiences within two structured institutions. Durkheim (1965) and Goffman (1961) sought to investigate this solidarity through social bonds, based on common sentiments and shared moral values that were recognised to be strong among those exposed to 'total institutions'. Durkheim (1965) argued that complex societies are held together by organic solidarity, i.e. social bonds,

based on specialisation and interdependence which appear to belong within the two institutions. There are significant differences between the theorists Durkheim and Goffman, however; they are united by a focus on interactions based on personal interactions. This study articulates a necessity to explore the participants' and the researcher's capacity for self-reflection, thought and consciousness in establishing a role in understanding their own reality.

DASA (2010) published a report which gave some insight into the profile of British veterans in prison. The veterans were wholly from the ranks with only 1% (n = 2820) being identified as Officers. However, 7% (n = 2820) were identified as unknown and once again may be an underestimation due to the possibility that some did not wish to disclose due to stigma and associated shame in combination with the possibility of data collection errors. Stigma has been highlighted by the Government Review (Phillips, 2014) which, suggests further research on the issue of stigma is required.

Within the DASA (2010) report, veterans were identified as perpetrators of violence to the person (33%), sexual offences (25%) and drug offences (11%). When this is compared to the data taken from the generic prison population, it should be noted that there was a lower offending rate in comparison to the veteran (Regular) population in all but one sub-section - sexual offences. DASA (2010) found in this case that veterans (Regular) had a 13% higher rate of imprisonment. The study by the Kent Police (2010) indicated a partiality for veterans to be involved primarily in violent crime and then to a lesser extent drunkenness, criminal damage, sexual offences, burglary and drugs, each accounting for 6% to 8% of arrests (n = 7,200). Comparative data was not included.

A study undertaken by KCMHR (2010) highlighted possible risk-taking behaviour in relation to serious driving offences, but again no comparative data was included. The lack of a comparative control is a factor when exploring the data by Napo (2009), who was able to compile 90 case studies representing a purposive sample. Again, violent offences featured in 39 of the case studies with 11% of offences against a child which were of a sexual nature in most cases. NOMS (2009) indicated that the factors were the misuse of alcohol or drugs. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or depression was a major factor within the lives of our ex-servicemen currently involved with the CJS, but the principal offence was one of violence, particularly in a domestic setting.

The previous sections have explored the demographics and data relating to crime and associated offences identified to veteran offenders. However, there is a need to explore an expansive consciousness to illustrate that this study is not separate from the world but does contribute new knowledge. Therefore, reflexivity as suggested by Gilgun (2008), provides an introspective and instructional guide to this researcher and the intended audience invested within the issue of veterans' involvement in the CJS. In addressing the thesis topic from an epistemological and ontological stance on real-life insights from participants to the researcher, there is a need to understand the human existence of the participants in order to know their world, but in so doing so we learn more about the way we are (Polkinghorne, 2005). The societal impact will be explored now through stigma and shame.

2.10 Stigma, Shame and the Spoiled Identity

This theme can be found in Goffman's (1963) work on stigma and spoiled identity. The sociologist Erving Goffman first formally identified the potentially harmful consequence of stigma in the early 1960s and asserted that to be stigmatised leads to disqualification from full social acceptance (Goffman, 1963). However, the term 'stigma' was first used by the Greeks to refer to signs on the body which revealed something unfavourable about the moral status of the bearer (Goffman, 1963). Today, 'stigma', which is usually applied to the unfavourable status itself rather than the signs of its existence, is often associated with those who are perceived as threatening, immoral or weak, and (most importantly) who are different from others (Goffman, 1963). According to Goffman (1963), stigma refers to an attribute that is deeply discrediting in certain social or cultural contexts. Thus, stigma reflects the relationship between an attribute and a stereotype that is dependent upon the context of that attribute.

Within this, Goffman's work holds relevance to this study in that the veterans' identity is key in establishing a given in terms of the moral and social codes expected through military services, as there is a defined set of rules and codes that dictate how these are to be interacted with. Their transition into civilian life and the impact of stigma and shame on the two divergent life story trajectories is of interest given peripheral research results on this phenomena. Various authors describe stigma trajectories associated with specific circumstances, Taylor (2001) discussing the implications of

stigma on people with HIV. This is significant in that a contentious point within the literature on military veterans (offenders) is their exact numbers, which continues to fluctuate and to be debated. Goffman's (1963) work highlights a feature noted within the generic offender population that in order to protect their identities when they depart from approved standards of behaviour or appearance, they will manage impressions of themselves through concealment. Goffman's early seminal work on stigma, therefore, becomes a crucial concept in providing insight and understanding into this contemporary study. Likewise, Thornicroft (2006) suggested that the term stigma was originally intended to refer to an enduring mark on the skin, often used to indicate that a person was of lower moral standing. However, he also asserts that stigma now typically refers to any person or group of people that display traits which are different from the normal (Thornicroft, 2006). In this case the 'veteran offender' label is a paradox with long-reaching impact on individual identity and self-image.

In parallel, it could be assumed that the veteran practitioners have benefited through their military service and that this has had a positive outcome for their employability. Whilst there is a lack of research on veteran practitioners is appears evident that there is an ability to adopt a favourable new civilian identity free from stigma and relying on military identity to seek comfort through familiarity with another 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961). Research undertaken by Hines et al (2014) at the King's Centre for Military Health Research indicates that there is evidence that suggests that the general public's regard for the UK Armed Forces is high despite low levels of support for the Iraq and Afghanistan missions. This research indicates a positive identity for those possessing the label and a wish to maintain that entrenched positive status. This feature would appear to support the research of Johnson (1988) who highlighted the concept of ethical egoism, whereby the individual has a moral obligation to create and maintain a good life. A challenge that veteran offenders appear to be failing within their initial encounters with the CJS (Murray, 2014; Napo, 2009).

It becomes apparent that despite different conceptualisations, stigma is also, considered by some authors to be the outward sign of shame (Vuokila-Oikkonen et al, 2002). Shame is a universal, adaptive and common emotional response to an exposure of easily-hurt aspects of the self, although some people are more vulnerable to it than others (Wiklander et al, 2003). This stigmatisation of the 'veteran identity' could be

explained as a function of a social division between ‘normal’ and ‘other’ individuals or groups as first outlined within the work of Goffman (1963). Hence, stigma and discrimination operate in relation to what differs from these social, political and cultural norms (Parker & Aggleton, 2003). The labelling of individuals in this manner has been highlighted by Deacon (2006) who has suggested that the definition of stigma by the reference to ‘normal’ and ‘other’ is too limited. She argued that stigma should be distinguished from discrimination as it is only one of the effects of stigma. In relation to this research topic, the fallout is as yet an under-researched phenomena.

As a health professional having worked within the CJS the researcher is aware of insight from the work of Johnson (1988). He identified the concept of ethical egoism, whereby the individual has a moral obligation to create good life circumstances which outweigh bad. Where bad circumstances prevail, blame is commonly attributed particularly in the case of HIV (Kopelman, 2002; Petros et al, 2006). Here, Kopelman (2002) has drawn on ‘Punishment Theory’ to explain that where illness is ascribed to moral conduct, those with ill health are blamed for behaviour, which caused their condition. Ill health can be said within this study to be behaviour related issues associated with military culture and exposure to armed conflict (DASA, 2010; SSAFA, 2009). Gilbert (2003) suggested that shame can bring about social non-acceptance and as a consequence, strong discord in social relationships. Punishment theory and its relevance to this study will be revisited later within this chapter. Gilbert (2003) consequently linked to social threat systems and aspects are related to the need to hold an image of oneself in another’s mind as attractive. This research can be linked back to Goffman (1961, p.119) who describes the process by which the family and close associates may acquire what he calls “courtesy stigma” or stigma by association. This is of interest in creating a deeper, more holistic understanding of the structures of experience and consciousness surrounding stigma and shame and the wider implications of this study’s findings.

This realisation is of concern not only for the participants’ of this study but further afield as research by Finnegan et al. (2014) highlights the disproportionately high rates of depression experienced by serving Armed Forces personnel in comparison to other professions. In addition to research by DASA (2010); and the Howard League of Penal Reform (2011) who raise concerns relating to the higher trends of violence and sexual

offences (including towards the child) committed by veterans in comparison to the non-veteran population within the criminal justice system. The associated stigma and shame of these criminal offences could be borne by their families.

Here the relevance of Goffman's (1963) research builds into a crescendo as he theorised that the process of stigmatising is in itself a means in which social meaning is attached to behaviours and individuals. Goffman (1963) described varying forms of stigma which have relevance in understanding the process of societal ostracising. The first is because of character blemishes, which may include traits such as weak will, dishonesty, addiction or mental illness. The second type of stigma being tribal because of race or religion. Goffman (1963) research on tribal Stigma can demonstrate that it can be passed on through association and so all members of a family or group can being equally stigmatised. The literature to date could argue that society, the CJS and the government could be caught in the same stigmatising quagmire towards the spoiled identity of the veteran offender and yet the mode of being human (Heidegger, 1962) and understanding their fate is possible when viewed in parallel with the veteran practitioners.

In concluding this section, the researcher as, a health professional is aware of the needs of integrated models, which identify both objective and subjective modes of health care (Wade, 2001). In extrapolating the ethos of the biopsychosocial model (Engel, 1977) in exploring the phenomena of military veterans' involvement in the CJS, a holistic understanding becomes feasible. In contrast to the medical model, the Bio-Psychosocial Model of health care (Engel, 1977) focuses holistically on patients as individuals with rights to make choices about their health and as 'experts' of their own conditions and in the management of their lifestyles (Carel, 2008). Following the diagnosis of chronic illness, individuals are supported through the experience of changing their expectations for the present and future as well as managing life with chronic illness (Charmaz, 2003; Carel, 2008).

The objective element consists of medical treatment and body organs, whilst the subjective element considers the contribution of free will and personal context within health and illness. As Wade (2001) has argued, this bio-psychosocial model of health care has a greater application and focus which are missing from the medical model of health care. For example, where abnormalities and problems occur without

pathology (thus without a specific diagnosis) support and resources should focus more upon altering individual contextual factors. Most importantly, individual choice, which lies at the centre of the bio-psychosocial model, is central to an integrated approach and holds interest in exploring submission and resistance through the concept of salutogenesis.

2.11 Submission and Resistance

2.11.1 Salutogenesis

The researcher is a health professional and is aware that in relation to the two separate life story trajectories, health cannot be understood in its narrowest sense. Health underpins ways of understanding how it may be achieved and maintained, even in adverse circumstances of military transition. Such understandings include the concept of Salutogenesis, developed by Antonovsky (1979; 1987), to explain how some individuals utilise resources available to them in order to survive in adverse social conditions, and the associated construction 'Sense of Coherence' (Antonovsky, 1979; 1987, Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2005), which informs 'Asset based' approaches to health and wellbeing (Morgan & Ziglio, 2007). These constructions are discussed in-depth, and in relation to the study findings, in the discussion chapter of the thesis.

Suffice to acknowledge here that around the time of the introduction of the National Health Service in the UK, health was highlighted by the United Nations as a subjective state of wellbeing within a psychosocial context as well as an absence of illness (UN Dept. of Public Info., 1948). The idea of a subjective health experience, linked holistically to the physical, psychological, spiritual and social wellbeing of individuals and populations, has gathered momentum since that time (Mahler 1987; Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2006). This concept with be revisited within the discussion chapter to explore issues contributing to submission and resistance. However, a review of the literature and exploration of dominant theoretical frameworks on the impact of exposure to one of the more prominent services within the CJS will now follow.

2.11.2 Alcohol and Illegal Substances and the Veteran Offender

DASA (2010) explored the issue of substance misuse and found that within England and Wales, male veterans were less than 50% likely to be imprisoned for drug-related offences than that of the general population but no explanation or sample size was provided. However, Bird (2007) reported that there has been a four-fold increase in the number of veterans who are being discharged due to random sampling tests. According to Gillan (2007), the Ministry of Defence (MoD) explained that these results were significantly lower than the 7% of civilian workforce statistics, although it is unclear how they arrived at this conclusion as the source of the civilian statistics was unclear.

A crucial factor to consider is that once military service personnel are discharged, there appears to be no communication to relevant health and social services to allow for rehabilitation and treatment for the offending behaviour. Indeed, no information was given to be able to ascertain how many of the reported 7% were veterans. Johnsen, Jones, and Rugg (2008) found that for those participants identified as homeless, these participants believed that there was a link between their current alcohol abuse and the drinking culture that they had been exposed to within the Armed Forces. In support of this argument, Fear et al. (2007) state that the prevalence of heavy drinking is higher with serving personnel than with their civilian counterparts.

Again, the Kent Police study (2010) provides data into the problem but an inability to compare and contrast the findings makes it impossible to extrapolate whether veterans are more likely to enter the CJS through the use of alcohol and substance misuse.

2.11.3 Mental Health Issues and the Veteran Offender

There has been increased focus by the government to increase the availability of appropriate mental health services for Armed Forces veterans, which could be due to the British military action in Iraq and Afghanistan. This identified need has initiated an awareness that there was a need for a national strategy to improve the support available for veterans with mental health needs. Concern has been raised by Finnegan et al. (2010), who explain that on leaving the Army, soldiers may face financial and employability issues for which they may be inadequately skilled to

address. It is feasible when considering the research of Finfgeld (2004), that this will inadvertently have negative repercussions on the veterans' mental well-being.

Fear et al. (2010) identifies Early Service Leavers (ESLs) as experiencing an elevated risk of suicide and heavy alcohol consumption over that of longer serving veterans. Within Wales, the Health Inspectorate of Wales (HIW, 2012) has expressed concerns that some ESLs had been discharged back into civilian life as the result of disciplinary issues, including substance misuse without adequate liaison with statutory services and support from the MoD. There is a consensus that this group represents the most vulnerable and ineffectual at circumnavigating their transition back into civilian life.

They were not always receptive to counselling and signposting towards the relevant services that would assist with their substance misuse and the later effects of mental health issues following operational tours (HIW, 2012). Within this Welsh study, there was a concern raised through the observations made by both Unit Welfare Officers and the Army Welfare Service who highlighted that mental health issues amongst service families appeared to be on the increase, including an increase in alcohol misuse (HIW, 2012). These issues cannot be seen in isolation and could point to a precursor for emerging issues when the service personnel eventually becomes a veteran post-discharge from the Armed Forces.

The researcher is a health professional and is aware that in relation to the two separate life story trajectories, health cannot be understood in its narrowest sense. Health underpins ways of understanding how it may be achieved and maintained, even in adverse circumstances of military transition. Such understandings include the concept of Salutogenesis, developed by Antonovsky (1979; 1987), to explain how some individuals utilise resources available to them in order to survive in adverse social conditions, and the associated construction 'Sense of Coherence' (Antonovsky, 1979; 1987, Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2005), which informs 'Asset based' approaches to health and wellbeing (Morgan & Ziglio, 2007). These constructions are discussed in-depth, and in relation to the study findings, in the discussion chapter of the thesis.

As previously stated it was around the time of the introduction of the National Health Service in the UK, health was highlighted by the United Nations as a subjective state of wellbeing within a psychosocial context as well as an absence of illness (UN Dept. of Public Info., 1948). The idea of a subjective health experience, linked holistically to physical, psychological, spiritual and social wellbeing of individuals and populations, has gathered momentum since that time (Mahler, 1987; Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2006). Whilst there is still limited research on experiences of veterans within the CJS, there are two dominant theoretical frameworks that explore the effect of imprisonment on the general population – that is, deprivation and importation theory. These two theoretical frameworks will be defined and applied to the phenomena of veterans involved in the CJS.

2.11.4 Deprivation Theory and Veterans in the Criminal Justice System

According to Gaes and Camp (2009) and earlier work by Innes (1997), deprivation or indigenous theory explains that the experience of prison life and its associated hardships encouraged criminal orientation amongst prisoners. Clemmer (1958) described a process he called 'prisonization' and explained that through this induction (basic training) prisoners would adopt customs, folkways and become assimilated into a prison subculture. Stohr and Hemmens (2004) theorised that the alienation of prison life assisted in the development of anti-social and criminal behaviours and that prisoners were likely to adopt an antithetical values system to the prison rules and regulations in order to survive. Whilst this work can be viewed and related to the veteran ex-offender sub-group, it can also be transferred to the veteran practitioner sub-group, who would go through a similar process upon entering the same environment. Whilst there is limited research of this process within all the services that collectively, make up the CJS. Comparative exploration can begin through the seminal work of Goffman (1961) who widened the understanding of deprivation approaches by describing the progression of imprisonment as a series of 'degradations' and a process of 'mortification', in which an individual's identity and personal characteristics are eroded over time by the encompassing impact of the punitive institution. Goffman's (1961) work entitled *Asylums* was concerned with the ceremonial depersonalisation found within institutions such as prisons and the Armed Forces, where those who enter the environment are denied outside roles and

possessions, assigned uniforms, a serial number, and lead highly regimented and ordered lives. In reviewing his work, Paterline and Petersen (1999) reported that it was reasonable to assume that pre-prison roles no longer held any relevance in such environments and that prisoners often needed to take new roles in order to survive.

Deprivation approaches are still considered relevant in modern research focussing on the CJS specifically. In particular, there are concerns that imprisonment makes individuals more inclined to engage in criminality upon their release, highly influenced by high risk peers with whom they are confined (Elliott 2007; Gaes & Camp, 2009). Within the UK, there have been some alarming statistics of veterans engaging in crime (Napo, 2009; Howard League of Penal Reform, 2011), often with a risk taking element and identified as Early Service Leavers (ESL), who could be of a younger and more impressionable age.

Syke's (1958) concept of 'pains of imprisonment' has been extended to include the isolation prisoners experience from modern communication technologies by Jewkes and Johnson (2009). Gover, Perez and Jennings (2008) criticise the deprivation perspective on adjustment to prison life because it ignores the personal characteristics and attributes unique to individual offenders. Paterline and Petersen (1999) highlight an increasing trend for modern prison populations to include individuals with a range of ages, coming from diverse backgrounds, varying in culture, linguistics and social economics.

2.11.5 Importation Theory and Veterans in the Criminal Justice System

Developed in response to deprivation theory, Parisi (1982) explains that this theoretical explanation argues that the social system within a prison environment is best explained by an individual prior to institutionalisation. Irwin and Cressey (1962) remonstrate within this argument as they believe that prisoner sub-groups mirror deviant sub-groups within the outside community. Levitt and Loper (2009) advocate the importance of building a *modus operandi* of pre-prison characteristics in individuals, such as family background, previous offences, substance misuse, gender, education and age. This necessity is supported by Gaes and Camp (2009), who believe that these past characteristics can be seen as reliable indicators of future behaviour. There is a strong argument presented by researchers Dhami, Ayton, and Loewenstein

(2007) and Keller and Wang (2005) that the way a person may respond to life in the outside world is imported into the prison environment and largely determines their ability to adapt in that environment.

In exploring this importation theory with both veteran sub-groups (practitioners and offenders), clear parallels can be made as to how service in the Armed Forces may assist an individual surviving within an environment which is governed by rules, regulations and both a formal and informal hierarchal structure. Finnegan, Finnegan, McGee, Srinivasan, and Simpson (2010) explain that military service provides a protective "family", with a community based on shared values, experiences, and socialising. Once service personnel have enlisted, military lifestyle impacts on all aspects of their existence, and incentives provide significant measurable benefits. There is guaranteed employment, good regular income, the potential to obtain a good pension and ample annual leave**.** Reasonable housing is available, and when the individual is promoted, the accommodation improves. They are well fed, clothed, have access to tremendous adventure, educational training and physical fitness opportunities. Finnegan et al. (2010) highlights the Army's role in providing status and structure, which could be responsible for those who enlist or commission, as they seek for a way to hold their life together. Finnegan et al. (2010) explores the fear of losing these benefits for veterans who may then have to move into an increasingly fragile economy with uncertain workforce opportunities.

In tandem to the evidence on why many veterans struggle to readjust to civilian life, are notable predictors of difficulties experienced by individuals entering the prison population. Issues such as criminal history (Camp, Gaes, Langan, & Saylor 2003; Huebner, 2003), level of education attainment (Cao, Zhao, & VanDine 1997), marital status (Wright, 1991), age (Kuanliang, Sorensen & Cunningham 2008) and race (Wolff & Shi, 2009) have been examined. However, according to Sarchiapone, Carli, Giannantonio and Roy (2009), there are a limited number of studies on the adjustment of prisoners with mental health problems and these tend to focus predominantly on serious mental illness. It would be prudent to consider that adjustment to life within the CJS can be challenging to predicate with pre-cursors not being completely set. Innes (1997) believes that criticism has been raised as to Importation Theory's failure

to address the ways in which the system can exert more control and regimentation over individuals.

It could be argued that neither deprivation nor importation theories adequately explain the adjustment process of passing through the CJS. Gover, MacKenzie and Armstrong's (2000) research explored the prisoners and the prison population, but through the same process of amalgamating both theories. However, it may assist in identifying key factors both internal to both veteran sub-groups and externally in the wider CJS. Again, research by Steiner and Woolredge (2008) and Dhami et al. (2007) has parallels with this study if by merging both theories, their compatibility is apparent in that life before entering the CJS can help to shape how the veterans experience and respond to deprivations within the correctional environment and that in turn, environmental characteristics influence the veteran.

Hochstetler and DeLisis (2005) identify that the interaction of the individual and the environmental factors within the prison experience is a complex one that criminologists have often tried to measure. Concerning veterans' involvement in the CJS, there is a noticeable void in the literature on the subjective accounts of life for the veteran within the CJS that offer a subtler nuanced view of the interactions. Within the review of literature, there appears to be no research that connects these combined theories to the experiences of veterans within the CJS. An integrated approach to the sociology of involvement within this system would be a pivotal approach in understanding how both veteran sub-groups adjust to their new roles within the CJS. Previous life experience, as well as ontological realities of military service, appear to interact with the response of involvement in the CJS, to create opposing outcomes for the two veteran sub-groups. These theoretical frameworks will be revisited within the final discussion and conclusions of the thesis to provide an amalgamated body of evidence with a focus on the research topic of veterans' involvement in the CJS.

There are clearly opposing opinions (DASA, 2010; Napo, 2009) on the actual numbers of UK veterans currently involved with the CJS, with suggestions from RBL (2012) that data indicating high numbers of veterans was flawed and inaccurate due to use of small scale sampling or geographical bias leading to higher than excepted ratios. The particular topic started to be explored in earnest seven years ago when the National

Association of Probation Officers (Napo, 2009) published a report that stated 12,000 veterans were on probation or parole and a further 8,500 were in custody (n = 81,000). This represents 8.5% of the prison population and 6% of those on probation and parole (Napo, 2009). There is also data from the Home Office in 2003 (n = 2000) and 2004 (n = 2000) that 4% and 6% respectively were identified as veterans within the population leaving the prison (Finney, 2004). It must be noted, however, that at the time these surveys were conducted, not all of these prisons had an identified VICS scheme (veterans in custody support scheme).

The research carried out by Napo (2009) suggests that the number currently in jail, on parole or on probation supervision may be between 7% and 9%. Whichever figure is correct, the numbers are significant. All the studies suggest that 74% (n = 2,820) of the population of the men and women (veteran offenders) had an Army background with the overwhelming majority having served in infantry regiments (DASA, 2010).

This is of interest in understanding to what extent systems of discipline, punishment and privileges and rights impact on the service personnel within the various units within the Armed Forces. Given the variation in training and recruitment strategies between the tri-services, insight could be obtained as to whether this bears any relevance to demographics of the identified veteran offenders within the statistics. Emsley (2013) describes the reality of life within the confines of a ship or submarine within the Royal Navy. This researcher points to the restrictions of being confined on a vessel, away from home which withdraws freedoms of actions, movements and associations in a similar manner to prison. In addition, strict discipline is routinely enforced to ensure the continued efficiency of the vessel, which therefore creates a deeper experience with a significant impact upon the service personnel. At the shallower end of the restrictive experience is that of the RAF whose personnel can live outside of camp and working a civilian daytime shift pattern (Higate, 2003). An individual's experience of military life could be dramatically different depending on the unit that the individual had served in. This is supported by Hockey (1986) who believed that the Army Infantryman is the most exposed to personal danger due to prolonged exercises or operations whilst also enduring a harsher discipline regime with restricted provisions and privileges. However, these individuals would have had to demonstrate conformity to a regime. Crewe (2009) explains that failure to follow

the rules set down by institutional authorities can result in movements being restricted and freedom to return home prevented. It appears that causality may be more complex and multifaceted as investigated by Back (Kent Police, 2010).

In 2010, Kent police undertook a pilot monitoring project which aimed to ascertain the numbers of veterans being processed through the custody suites (Kent Police, 2010). The results indicated a 3.2% (n = 7,200) sample from the total population during a seven-week period. However, the data was collected through a self-reporting basis and as there were possible issues relating to stigma and shame, as alluded to in the report by the Howard League of Penal Reform (2011) and the Government Review (Phillips, 2014), there is a possibility that the reported figures were an under-representation of identified veteran offenders at that time.

In 2009 and 2010 two studies were undertaken in partnership by DASA and the Ministry of Justice (MoJ). The results for the first study indicated that there was a 2.7% identified veteran population within UK prisons (n = 81,000). The second report included more detailed information including all veterans, all those who left military service prior to 1972 (Army), RAF (1968) and 1979 (Navy), as this data was not included within the first study. This increased the estimated number of veterans within the UK prison population to 3.5%. Whilst there are groups that identify these studies are comprehensive (RBL, 2012), it must be noted that reservists have not been included within these figures.

The research from DASA (2010) suggested that Regular veterans were 30% less likely to be in prison than non-veterans. This figure was extrapolated as the number of male non-veterans in prison was thought to be 496.3 per 1000,000 compared to 298.4 for Regular veterans and then the data was adjusted for age ratio. Whilst the credibility and expertise of the organisations involved in the study are not in question, the issue is the truly accurate identification of sample size. In addition, Joyce (2006) highlights that prison is one of a number of services that is within the CJS and therefore the results presented by DASA (2009, 2010) cannot be seen as an accurate reflection of the entire population represented within the CJS. There is still no overriding consensus within the literature that provides accurate figures across the CJS, despite calls for further research (Phillips, 2014 and Royal British Legion, 2011). Indeed, research by

No Offence (unpublished, 2012) indicates that the figure is three times the official figure of 3.4% with one in ten prisoners being veterans of the Armed Forces. At the time of the submission of this thesis, the figures are still being debated and contested.

2.11.6 Principles of Punishment and Veterans in the Criminal Justice System

The researcher was aware that there was a need to critically analyse the principles of punishment to establish their relevance in regards to military veterans' involvement in the CJS. The principles of social justice and equity as understood by Lewis, Ratts, Paladino and Toporek (2011) allowed the researcher to reflect on a practical framework to evaluate the nation's current philosophical stance and system thinking approach. Hanser (2013) defines the philosophical principles that govern punishment to be retribution, deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation. This chapter has already made the point that various services involved within the CJS adopt varying principles in contrast to those associated with the penal system. There is value in considering the principles that underpin the current operation of the CJS as this is utilised to manage the veterans. This study argues that these principles have become transfixed due to political debate and decision making relating to crime and punishment and have become what Weber, Husserl and later Bourdieu (1990) identified as 'Habitus'. It is argued by Professor Loader at the Centre for Criminology, University of Oxford (Loader, 2007) that these principles have become attached to the general public's sensibilities towards punishment. Reflection on this point would suggest that society needs to necessitate a public debate to review the purpose and limits of the current system which appears to be struggling to manage generic offenders, let alone the veterans. The study argues that attention should be focused on the implications and consequences of when the current system delivers punishment. Careful consideration is required in relation to the choices that we as a society are directly or indirectly making when we punish or disempower those that have served our country. Within Chapter 6 the study will return to this literature and question what our adherence to current philosophical principles of punishment actioned by the CJS for social regulation indicates about our society as evidenced by the life stories.

There is a growing consensus that there is a lack of reliable research within the UK focusing on veterans who experience difficulties in their transition back to civilian life; which consequently leads them into the CJS (Howard League of Penal Reform,

2011; Phillips, 2014; RBL, 2012). Research undertaken by Cronin, Ryan and Coughlan (2008) advocates the need to bring together all relevant literature to be systematically reviewed so the results from relevant sources could be viewed together. This systematic approach enabled the researcher to identify and analyse emerging themes within the literature review which are now presented within the following chapters.

2.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided definitions and has highlighted reliability issues within the literature concerning crime and deviance. An exploration into the Goffman's (1961) total institutions has formed contention between the two institutions of the military and the CJS, which will allow for further exploration through the analysis of the life stories. This approach was continued into an exploration into two dominant theoretical frameworks of deprivation and importation theory and relating the findings to the context of veterans in the CJS with an overview of an integrated approach. The thematic analysis of the literature review demonstrated themes for which the literature pertinent to the study's participants could be identified. This chapter reviewed the literature on the possible contributing causes of criminal behaviour and related this to the literature on veterans in the CJS.

There is a clear gap within the current research which this study seeks to address through the use of life story research and exploration of the veterans' lived experiences. Whilst positivist paradigms have focused on statistical relevance of the presence of veteran offenders there has been little consideration into the insights of the veteran practitioners tasked with managing the services within the CJS. This study in including veteran ex-offenders allows for insight into a longitudinal self-reflexive overview of a life story removed from the environmental influences of the services that collectively comprise the CJS.

Finally, whilst the chapter has taken a comprehensive review of relevant literature and theory, it is apparent that there has been positivist dominance in relation to the research completed thus far. The following chapter will identify the methodological framework adopted to initiate this shift towards emancipatory life story research.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction: Methodology

Chapter 2 put this thesis in context with the pertinent literature surrounding the research question. This section within Chapter 3 will now present the methodological approach. It commences by providing an outline of, and an explanation of how the study is theoretically informed. This will demonstrate the thesis's ontological position and the significant epistemological consequences in capturing the lived realities of military veterans exposed to the CJS. The chapter emphasises the need for an interpretivist approach to gathering the various perspectives of veterans in order to develop an understanding of their life experiences prior to, during military service, and subsequently post-sentence and employment with the CJS. The thesis provides a methodological focus which would assist in an understanding of the veterans' (participants') lives as interpreted by these individuals whilst acknowledging reflexivity due to shared military identities between participant and researcher. Finally, the chapter demonstrates how life story research and its analysis through thematic approaches can provide insight, whilst also acknowledging and conceptualising some of the challenges that can be overcome through the study's selected methodology.

3.2 Research Methodology

This qualitative PhD study is informed by a post-positive methodology. Methodology, which underpins research approaches, comprises the theoretical justification of any research method used (Gray, 2004). Different methodological approaches are often termed paradigms, which have been defined as a "basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p.183).

Although researchers may experience some paradigmatic shifts during the course of their study, a necessity exists to acknowledge the methodological paradigm within which their research is located (Clark, 1998). It is also important for the researcher to have some degree of overall understanding regarding methodologies in order to reinforce or justify the reasons for adopting a preferred research approach. Different methodological paradigms are sometimes understood as a spectrum or range of

research perspectives, and they can also be understood as methodological tool kits which researchers use to carry out their studies (Hammersley, 1989).

Different methodological paradigms range from those advocating positivist approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) which support the existence of a rue and measurable reality, to post-positivist approaches, which comprise a range of traditions (including for example constructivist/interpretivist, and critical realist methodologies) which differ in their understandings about the nature of truth and reality and the implications this has for the research endeavour (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In order to clarify the methodological position underpinning the study presented here, it is necessary to consider some key aspects of positivistic and post-positivistic methodologies. It is important to note that post-positivism is used both generally to mean the range of methodologies which came after positivism, but more specifically to refer to the paradigm which initially challenged positivistic or scientific approaches to the study of the social world. This account uses broader understanding of post-positivism (as an umbrella concept accommodating a range of methodological positions or paradigms).

Two key concepts underpinning paradigmatic thought, and which inform methodology, are ontology and epistemology. Ontology refers to understandings about reality, while epistemology refers to how people know what they know about reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Those residing within the positivist paradigm, subscribe to ontological realism that is they advocate the existence of one true measurable reality for which evidence can be generated (Hammersley, 1989). This realist position has implications for epistemology. Hence, those working within the positivist paradigm make epistemological assumptions about the nature of evidence, which implies that findings can be objectively achieved (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Conversely, those working within the post-positivist paradigm differ on their understandings about reality and the nature of existence, depending upon their methodological position. While they may not agree on the status of reality, postpositivists may broadly be described as ‘relativists’, in that they reject the positivist epistemology which has implications for their understandings knowledge and knowledge construction. This is of relevance in determining this study’s necessity to adhere to reflexivity and to reassure and validate rigour when there are

shared identities between participants and researcher. Malterud (2001), justifies the reflexive approach, in explaining that a researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions. In addition, the qualitative researcher is challenged to convince others of the rigour and validity of their methods and data more frequently than the quantitative researcher, despite the claims that qualitative research is naturalistic, meaning it is collected in real world settings (Patton, 2005). Tuckett (2005) argues that the ability to produce a valid qualitative study lies with the researcher skill set. In qualitative research, researchers use their abilities to effectively relate to the participants as an integral component of the study in which researcher and participant together create the data (Sandelowski, 1986; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Therefore it could be argued that the criticisms from positivists of a lack of scientific rigour and reproducibility do not apply to qualitative research, which actually aims to achieve a radically different research outcome to quantitative research (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

This thesis is theoretically informed primarily by post-positivist thought and particularly by recognising the importance of this reflexive research for shaping, adapting and as has been the case during this study, responding to the research process as the study unfolds (Underwood, Satterthwait & Bartlett, 2010). It is to a discussion of reflexivity and the use self that the chapter now turns.

3.3 Reflexive Process and Challenges

There was a need to adopt of methodology that established a consciousness around the inevitability of applying personal epistemological expectations, assumptions and lived experiential knowledge due to influencing the interpretation of the life stories due to a shared military identity (Stivers, 2009).

It has been argued that giving voice to marginalised groups may contribute to liberation from discrimination and oppression (Stevens & Hall, 1992). In exploring participant experiences, the researcher needs to identify how dominant oppression effects participant beliefs and experiences (Smith, 1983). Therefore, the researcher needed to create an awareness of the intersection of theoretical knowledge of ethics and its practical application in the reality of incidences that may prove challenging

during the course of the study. Due to this sensitive nature and need to occupy the void in the qualitative life story knowledge of this topic, there was a significant responsibility on the researcher to safeguard the veterans (participants) rights, methodological demands, and dissemination of findings were at the forefront of the studies outcomes (Keen, 2007). This section explores the suggested ethical framework that can be applied through a reflexive process to mediate against the challenges of undertaking a study when there is a consideration of the self (Ribeiro et al., 2015).

3.3.1 Reflexive Practice: Establishing Security and Ensuring Safety - Beneficence and Non-Maleficence

The principle of beneficence will be discussed and its alignment as a concept to the auxiliary commitment to non-maleficence. This section will focus on non-maleficence and areas of risk considered when undertaking a study of this nature to evidence that no capitulation occurred. A continual reflexive review would ensure that standards were maintained as the research was involved in morally obligated beneficence towards direct actions that sought to benefit others (Savulescu, 2007). This concept is argued against by some who insist that research and actions of beneficence can be attributed to alternative reasons with no obligation to perform supererogatory actions based on a moral imperative (Saunders, 2015). The researcher would adhere to the rules as set by the University of Chester Ethics Committee and the study has adopted non-maleficence as the researcher has a responsibility to ensure that no actions inflict harm or could be said to be evil in nature (Crotty, 1998). The study will need to explore this concept with the focus not only on the participant needs but also to acknowledge the responsibility to the researchers safety.

There is a need for researchers engaging in social field research to not only consider the safety of their participants but also their own, as topics and questions may be of a sensitive nature and evoke strong feelings amongst those people participating (Ethrington, 2010). It is surprising to note that although qualitative research a long history in working in environments that could be considered dangerous, there is limited literature on the potential risks to field researchers (Howell, 1990; Adams, 2006; Belousov et al,, 2006) The latter researcher argues that there is evidence from

within the industry that researchers have been exposed to physical harm but that appears to be a lack of discussion on the exposure (Belousov et al., 2006).

Within this thesis, it is possible to segregate the issue of risk into ambient and situational danger by utilising the framework set by Lee (1993) within his publication 'In Dangerous Fieldwork'. This work stipulates that ambient danger relates to researching in environments that could be considered dangerous due to the high probability of conflict from the setting.

Sampson and Thomas (2013) urge caution from their research experience that there is a possibility of the researcher finding themselves in a hostile or threatening environment. This can be due to interviewing participants who have a previous history of dangerous offending behaviour within a chaotic lifestyle. There is the added possibility of known associates engaging in risk-taking behaviour and in environments that the researcher has little experiential knowledge of (Sampson & Thomas, 2013).

3.3.2 Life Story Research: An Edgework Approach

In positioning the researcher, he has through the course of his own life been exposed to environments of risk and hardship in relation to formative years within the Armed Forces and latterly as a practitioner within health services. There is, therefore, a need to consider and mediate against complacency to risk and to engage in immersive reflexive exploration. Treeweek and Linkogle (2000) discuss the dangers of a complacency of researchers who do not competently assess the environments they expose themselves to. Within the environments that this researcher has identified within their life, there would be a requirement that a proactive approach to risk was adopted at all times not only for safety but to ensure successful progression. It is a reality as highlighted by Becker (1963) and later Monaghan's insightful ethnographic life research study into security work by door-staff within the leisure industry (2002), that those studies involved with crime can and do pose an element of risk to the researcher. Monaghan (2002) identified an ability to be able accurately to predict challenging situations when conducting life story research due to the extended length of time that would be spent in the company of participants which

inadvertently would lead to a better understanding of the lives that the participants occupy.

In relation to the data collection phase and potential risk of non-maleficence towards the researcher, the study will need to adopt the seminal approach created by Hamm (2005) and Lyng (2005) entitled edgework. This approach has its roots within cultural criminology which in turn owes it's very substance to the bold work of the Chicago School of Sociology (Ferrell, 1995) – an institution that many subsequent researchers, including this researcher, owe their informative methodological approach and theoretical necessity to expand epistemological awareness. Paterson (2000) argues that if researchers wish to engage with participants within their own reality then this means that an appropriate approach was required so that the mistakes of the past would not be repeated;

"There is also the physical damage that comes from disease. For instance, I controlled Hepatitis A and was laid out for six weeks during my research, and during my research, and during a (fieldwork teaching) course in Nicaragua most of my students spent time in a private clinic at one stage or another. One even lapsed into a coma state, and at one point we had difficulties finding a pulse"

Paterson (2000, p.184).

This example from Patterson (2000) is indicative of the concerns of why a researcher may become overtly blasé in relation to the harm towards their safety as the pursuit of fieldwork data becomes the main objective. As discussed by Hamm (2005) and Lyng (2005) developed a methodological framework for edgework research studies. The edgework approach was designed for populations identified as 'marginal' where activities are at the periphery of what can be said to be acceptable by society by classification of criminal, irresponsible or dangerous behaviour. There was a need to set a framework to assist and guide this researcher when working within these challenging environments posed by this study. This need would be met by the introduction of the Edgework Method (Lyng, 1990) which stipulates that there are three important characteristics which identify them as being edgework in nature. The researcher was aware of the need to embed reflexivity as an attitude of constantly acknowledging systematically the context of knowledge construction given their

identity and multiple traversing roles. The researcher wished to establish a higher-vigilance especially, to the effect of the researcher, at every stage of the research process in order to remove or at the least be able to acknowledge biased thought.

Lyng's (1990) work was reviewed in an attempt to create an 'aid memoire' that these activities involve a clear observable threat to the researchers own physical or mental well-being or the researchers own sense of ordered existence. Lyng (1990) emphasises that researchers are required to utilise specialised skills that allow the edgeworker to test their limits and that they are challenged in their ability to control a situation that many individuals would regard as entirely uncontrollable. Vail (2001: 719) states that '*Edgework is, in short, activity that tests the physical, emotional and intellectual limits of the edgeworker'.* This can be said to be true to this researcher within this exploration of veterans within the CJS as a requirement for PhD study. Wisker (2007) explains that PhD study should allow for the development and growth of the researcher. This endeavour of the PhD study is embedded this study but there will be a requirement to engage, plan and adopt a proactive approach to risk which would not hinder the researchers' ability to develop and maintain a relationship that would allow for a rich data stream to form the life stories. This researcher will implement a plan of action in order to limit risk and to prevent poor performance within the data collection stage of the study. The researcher will gather information on the locality of the interview if it was a location that he had little knowledge of and it was likely that he may be entering an unstable living environment such as a private residence or a hostel. Patel, et al. (2003) suggests that there needs to be an interaction between the researcher and participant prior to the interview in order to optimise success and prevent risk. The researcher will contact the participants via a telephone call prior to the interview so that an additional assessment of the environment and situation could be undertaken and the interview either cancelled or postponed. The researcher will inform the University of Chester, Ethics Committee link person of his whereabouts whilst interviewing and liaise with referring supporting organisations if there were any safety issues that he needs to be aware of prior to the interview.

3.3.3 Veracity of the Story and Preventing Epistemological Biased Assumptions within the Research

Beauchamp and Childress (2001) develop and advocate the principles that lie at the core of reflexivity within bio-ethics and explain the need for veracity as concerned with the degree of honesty within a person's story. Harnett et al. (2009) explain that veracity is closely related to respect within research as there is a need for the researcher to adopt a reflexive approach in order to prevent the individuals' story being misinterpreted. Plummer (2001) cautions researchers into acknowledging that bias can occur due to particular personality traits, life experiences and attitudes which could be prejudicial if applied to the research. As will be discussed within Chapter 4, the researcher needed to adopt reflectivity into the study due to having a military background that could have created a biased view if a process of interpreting the findings of the data was not pursued (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Higate & Cameron, 2006). This study has sought to commit to an obligation to ensure that the researcher should ensure that truth is established and pass on the information in a comprehensive and objective manner (LoBiondo-Wood, 2002). Whilst the researcher shared a military identity there was a concern not to assume and to ensure knowledge was not misinterpreted.

Within Goffman's (1963) work on 'spoiled identity,' he warned that individuals may be persuaded to present themselves in a favourable light to others and that this may depend upon the first interactional encounter between the interviewer (researcher) and the participant. This, in turn, could have an impact on veracity within the research and the research sought to reassure the participants through a participant information sheet and an initial discussion prior to the interview so that both the researcher and participant could become accustomed to each other, therefore hopefully improving veracity within the life story presented. The interviews will provide an opportunity for the participants to not only share their stories but views and opinions on particular nuances within their life and pertinently what or who had empowered or prevented them from their own individual path into the CJS. Sinsing (2011) urges caution when analysing the data as the researcher may be encountering a rehearsed script. Sinsing (2011) explains that a 'rehearsed response' may have been repeated many times before in order to explain a particular life event and this in itself may even soon become a reality to that individual.

3.3.4 Reflexive Practice and Positioning the Researcher within this Life Story Research

This section has looked to emphasise that whilst this study will adopt and adhere to the ethical principles set out by the University of Chester Ethics Committee and leading national organisations such as the UUK (2012). There has been a realisation that these can only provide a guide from which to approach a life story study such as this. Life story research with veterans with lived experiences of the CJS will prove to be a more complex process than simply assimilating principles with scripted rules to a particular set of participants. There will be a need during the course of the data collection phase for the researcher to be aware that there is a need to critically analyse. Therefore the study will implement the application and evaluation of a bioethical approach towards the methodological stance adopted by the study. This need for an ever-expansive methodology has become apparent with the realisation of a need for an immersive reflexive review of processes and practices to provide the sufficient depth required to allow for the inclusion of relevant perspectives of cultural and familial identity that have structured the personal and professional identity of the researcher. The evolvement of the methodology was seen as crucial by the researcher as it would provide a great degree of reflection on epistemology. Establishing evidence about how the researcher could develop an objective stance in the research process, through the use of 'self' of their own experiences, knowledge and beliefs was deemed pragmatic to consider and required an ability to adopt reflexivity, in order to compartmentalise experience, given the researcher's own identity as a veteran and practitioner.

The researcher's intended adoption of a reflective practice framework will incorporate a practical philosophy and system thinking approach via bio-ethics aided exploration of those directly involved in the research setting and the potentially unavoidable power differential between researcher and those researched. The researcher will seek to enhance their competence through critical reflexivity to mediate against researcher interpretations. The researcher is aware that the collection of the life stories could not be achieved solely through a theoretical process, that there will be a need to create a robust interview process that could collect the data which would provide new knowledge. To this end, reflective practice cannot be secured by a theoretical means only but needs the inclusion questions and

augmentation tools that can have an impact on the study's findings. This section demonstrates the lengths to include a system thinking evidenced approach into the research as all problem definitions, solution proposals, evaluation of outcomes depend on initial holistic judgments about the whole system to be explored. This section has identified these underpinning ethical judgements as boundary judgements, as they encapsulate the boundaries of the reference system that is constitutive of the meaning of a proposition for which it is valid. Through the utilisation of this framework, the researcher will be able to approach these complicated ethical challenges with improved reflexivity, as many assumptions of both the researcher and society can be challenged. The researcher is aware that a successful dynamic between the story-teller and the researcher in other research studies may not translate when interviewing the participants. Lee (1993) highlights the point that researchers who are likely to encounter sensitive topics can have to manage methodological and technical issues relating to a conceptualisation of the topic, defining and accessing the sample population. This researcher continues by extrapolating the risk of encountering mistrust, concealment and dissimulation between the researcher and participant and finally, the safety of both researcher and participant (Lee, 1993). Through the use of a reflexive framework it is envisioned that the researcher will be able to create an awareness of the power dynamics in the relationship with the participants within each sub-group and to create opportunities for the veterans to comment; and continually negotiate on the nature of that relationship. Silverman (2011) articulates the need for the researcher to be aware of their role within the research process in order to safeguard against the potential abuse and exploitation of participants.

The study's researcher believes that there is a need to envisage the ethical principles as socially constructed concepts when applying them to the ethical challenges encountered within this life story research on veterans exposed to the CJS. The study's adopted methodology will mean that it advocates that there is no objective reality that exists independently of the participant (Crotty, 1998). There is a realisation that an adaptable yet versatile strategy must be adopted with the bioethical principles as it could be argued that the research committee is created and take form from the society that created them (Banks, 2006). This adaptability was ensured by incorporating an edgeworker identity. Lyng (1990) encourages

researchers to acquire and utilise specialised skills that will allow the edgeworker to test their limits and that they are challenged in their ability to control a situation that many individuals would regard as entirely uncontrollable. This adaptable approach would assist in ensuring that integrity was maintained and that no vested interests either on the part of the participants or researcher could distract the research process. Through the system reviews, the researcher will be able to critically reflect on whether the principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, distributive justice, and respect have been addressed and realise that the participants (both sub-groups) may not always be afforded this luxury by society. The utilisation of the edgeworker approach will mean that flexibility can be afforded within the interviews with the veterans to allow influence to emanate from their decision to be involved.

Finally, this section highlights the intention to use reflexivity towards ethics encountered within this life story research. There is an awareness that direction from guiding institutions whilst representing a signpost can only act in an innate fashion. Soothill (1999) explains that the eminent oral interviewer Tony Parker was able to create an understanding of a person's life through their struggles and triumphs. The researcher believes that if allowed to occur freely then by engaging with these informative lives the ethics is directed and gains form and substance through the participants' presence and not from a regimented research doctrine. This section has outlined the researcher's reflexive preparations for the suspected reality of engaging in life story research in order to ensure that the veteran's voices are paraded and acknowledged through this PhD thesis.

3.4 Confidentiality, Self Determination and the issue of Incriminating Disclosure

Research should be undertaken in accordance with commonly agreed standards of good practice, such as those laid down in the Declaration of Helsinki for the conduct of clinical research (WMA, 2013). Within these fundamental and widely accepted principles, confidentiality and the participants' rights to anonymity are held to be of paramount importance to the integrity of the research (UoC, Research Governance Handbook, 2014).

Confidentiality is an important issue not only as an ethical principle but as a requirement to protect the identity of those who feel shame at their new damaged

identity. This principle is key to the participants' choice around autonomy. It was a feature of this study that that the researcher would be interviewing individuals with a criminal history and therefore may disclose criminal activity that has not been subject to prosecution. Evidence from the UK Research Integrity Office (UKRIO, 2009) and Jones (2012) suggest that most criminal offences require the undertaking of some criminal act before culpability and liability can be imposed upon the guilty party. The UoC (2014) indicates that there is no legal liability for an omission or failure to act. It is therefore unlikely that researchers or academic staff will find themselves in a position that they are required to be legally obligated to report a crime to the proper authorities. However, the UoC: Code of Practice for Research (2014) stipulates that within some special cases where notable exceptions to the rule on confidentiality can be broken; namely, treason, safeguarding vulnerable groups, and terrorist activity. The risk of this occurring in life story research with veterans who have been prosecuted as offenders was a concern to the researcher as it was likely that the issue of criminal and or deviant behaviour prior to entry into the Armed Forces, during Military Service and following discharge would be present within the life stories. As explained the researcher made clear his obligations relating to confidentiality and any incriminating statements recorded within the interviews. The researcher became aware that if incriminating statements had been given then the researcher may have been legally and ethically bound to report this to the proper authorities (UUK, 2012). However, if the researcher were to report such offences then the result could be the emergence of other ethical issues such as non-maleficence and the undermining of trust between the participant and researcher. Practical examples and reflexive processes will be discussed within the thesis postscript.

3.5 Research Approaches

To briefly reiterate, the natural sciences are located traditionally within the positivist paradigm. Hence positivism has usually been associated with empirical measurement in natural and earth sciences such as chemistry and engineering, and in medicine (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). Similar to natural science, some social scientists have argued the existence of laws of human behaviour, which has implications for objective measurement of behaviour patterns (Hammersley, 1989). These researchers have

applied positivist research methods to the study of the social world and human behaviour and social issues (Pope & Mays, 2006).

The positivist paradigm is associated with the application of quantitative research methods which utilise hypothesis testing, experimentation and which generalise findings to multiple populations (Flick, 2002). As discussed, positivist approaches appear to have dominated the research on veterans in the CJS (DASA, 2010; Napo, 2009; Woodhead et al., 2011). These approaches have focused on the physical and temporal level of reality, seeking knowledge of the veterans from an offending stance and reactionary responses to offending behaviour in measurable reductionist terms. As previously discussed the presence of the veteran offenders has been a focus but with little or no consideration of the veteran practitioners. This study does not deny the importance of such positivist inquiries that relates to this research topic but rather seeks to provide an important counterbalance to the positivist approaches in this area of criminology and penology research. This study adopted a theoretical perspective, which sought to comprehend the reality of the veterans' lived experiences instead of the observable laws that would generalise the veterans' perceptions.

The use of positivist approaches to investigate veterans in the CJS continues the ongoing debate about the usefulness of the positivist approaches to the investigation of human behaviour (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Some social scientists have challenged the appropriateness of positivist methods to study the social world and as a result, post-positivism emerged. Post-positivist approaches (in the broadest sense of the term) are usually associated with qualitative methods which value researcher input through an interpretation of data from interviews or focus groups (Hammersley, 1989). Researchers who use qualitative research methods acknowledge and celebrate the role of the researcher in the co-construction of data and take a reflexive approach to the involvement of their own experiences in the research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

As addressed by Murray (2016) there is a short-fall of criminologists and indeed the veterans themselves, in lending their voices to the epistemologies of veterans involved in the CJS. The thesis's comprehensive inclusion of multiple veteran sub-groups including the researcher demonstrates what Phillips and Earle (2010, p. 362) identity as a route out of an 'epistemological cul-de-sac' through promoting reflexive

understanding. It has been argued that self-aware and informed qualitative researchers are well placed to provide authentic data with a responsibility to convince others of the credibility, moral and ethical positioning of their work (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

3.6 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research involves the exploration of social interactions between individuals in specific situations and identifying meaning from these interactions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative researchers aim to understand the world from the perspective of the research participants, and they do this using various research methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). These include structured or semi-structured interviews, focus groups and case studies which collect narrative data from participants and/or observing their behaviour in specific social settings (Polit et al., 2001). Proponents of qualitative methods argue that they can yield rich, detailed accounts of participant experience (Keenan, van Teijlingen & Pitchforth, 2005). Unlike quantitative research, which focuses on objective measurement, qualitative research focuses on meaning-making for participants. Whereas quantitative inquiry might ask 'how much' and 'how often', a qualitative researcher might ask 'how' and under 'what circumstances' does an event occur. In qualitative research, the researcher and participant work together to foster a trusting relationship through building rapport, and data tends to emerge from and is affected by, the development of this relationship (Smith & Wincup, 2000). This is quite different to quantitative research, which sets out to collect objective data which has not been 'tainted' by researcher activity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Quantitative research is often used to test the relationship between experimental variables in order to accept or reject a specific researcher driven hypothesis. Also, qualitative research is used in circumstances where the researcher may have limited knowledge about the area of investigation, before the study (Coolican, 2009). Qualitative approaches allow initial ideas to emerge from the research situation and working hypotheses to be identified for later testing out on subsequent data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Due to the author's previous experiential and professional identities, qualitative research was also a necessity due to a key feature of this research approach is reflexivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

3.7 Narrative Methodology

Narratives provide both a practical and holistic approach to collect information about another individual's life which aids others to glimpse inside their perceived reality and widen our understanding of human existence. In selecting a narrative methodology, the research study sought to allow the veterans to tell their life stories and increase knowledge of their lived experiences. According to Bochner (2015), allowing individuals to tell their life stories enables them to make sense of their lives by placing meaning to their experiences in a tangible form. Atkinson (1998) concurs when explaining that narratives allow for the generation of rich subjective meaning that allows individuals to present their life events as they wish them to be presented. Plummer (2001) explains that the narrative researcher can enable the participant to create the frame of reference for the telling of the life story and the method highlights the interactions that exist between the individual and their social world. The study incorporates narrative methodology in order to address the need to explore "grounded multiple studies of lives in all their rich flux and change" (Plummer, 2001, p.13) and recognises the 'unfinalisability' of the lives involved within the story (Frank, 2005). Narratives through the telling of life stories are unique insights into the complex nuances of the human condition.

Within narrative methodology, Atkinson (2007, p.8) identifies 'life story' as a narrative approach that explores retrospective information about an individual's life or specific parts of that life as narrated by that individual. Walmsley (1995) separates life story from life or oral history methods in that there is no inclusion of supporting documented evidence. Atkinson (2007, p.228) remonstrates that the necessity behind this approach is to have the life story 'charged' with the power of lived experience. The life story is, therefore, to be regarded not as fiction, but a creative and personal insight into the participant's life and in entrusting them as reliable respondents within the research.

The study attempts to build knowledge and understanding of a topic that has a disconcerting lack of evidence-based contemporary research as emphasised by The Royal British Legion (2011) and The Howard League of Penal Reform (2011). It is possible that this study could challenge personal and professional conventions. Blundo (2001) argues that by shifting from the world of traditional practice and it challenges

our understanding of meaning, our cultural and professional traditions that assume that truth is discovered only by looking at underlying and often hidden meanings that only professional understanding and expertise can decipher and amend.

In selecting a narrative methodology, the telling of these life stories can be a beneficial process for the veterans, increasing their development and providing them with a therapeutic experience. This positive outcome reported by individuals telling their stories has been identified within the works of Atkinson (1998; 1999).

3.8 Life Story Research

Criminology has long aligned itself with narrative approaches, with some notable seminal examples of life story methods being demonstrated by Clifford Shaw's The Jack-Roller (1930) and the exemplary autobiography work of Parker (Soothill, 1999) and his American counterpart Terkel (Parker, 1997). These researchers' efforts have attested to the richness of life story research in criminology. In terms of studying the veterans' criminal pathway into the CJS, life stories go beyond legal discourse, where a question-and-answer style is used to gather information on the crime (O'Connor & Coleman, 1995). Gadd and Farrall (2004) emphasise that life stories also have a substance that is not associated with statistical risk-based studies on criminal behaviour. Within this study, this method of data collection enables a veteran who engaged in criminal behaviour to position themselves in relation to the behaviour. Goodey (2000) advocates the use of narrative methods as a way of exploring the how and why that led the individual to commit the crime or in relation to this study, how the individual has adapted to social structural forces that provide constraints or opportunities in the veterans' life. Goodey (2000) explains that this approach is beneficial in that it supports the participant to identify the relevant life choices that are significant in their story.

This approach is invaluable when comprehending the veterans' perspective on why they have come into the CJS either as a practitioner or as an offender. Once the veteran enters the prison environment, external community involvement becomes minimal and it is left to those who work inside this closed system to manage the daily life of the veterans. According to McKendy (2006), the CJS exerts considerable powers of enforcement not only through a confinement of a physical manner but also through

discursive confinement, which in turn restricts the access to the veterans' stories by those in need of ascertaining their meaning. When looking at the work of Maruna (2001), there is clear evidence that using life story methods with those previously in custody provides an opportunity for participants to reclaim their voice and develop a deeper understanding and awareness of themselves and their relationship with others. McKendy (2006) supports the approach of the researcher, who ensures that this method is adopted so the veteran can structure and lead the interaction with the interviewer and speak at length about their experiences. Leichtentritt and Arad (2005) explain that by using life stories, there will be the potential to explore the social, emotional, interpersonal, health, accommodation, educational, and employment factors that have affected the life choices of the veterans. In exploring the human element in the veterans' accounts, the life story may prove invaluable in limiting the "us versus them" dichotomy between veterans as criminals as opposed to them being positive contributors and protectors of our national interests (Williams, 2006). This thesis will strive to create a greater understanding of the issue at the centre of this research question, by highlighting the human experiences of the veteran ex-offenders who have been marginalised by society as well as exploring the common life stories with the practitioner veterans.

Life story research constitutes a practical way of gathering information about the veteran's life, which enables others to step inside the personal world of the storyteller and experience 'other' aspects of human experience (Josselson & Lieblich, 1999; Ochberg, 1994). This is supported by Bochner (2015) and directed the researcher to the conclusion that the inclusion of life story research within the study's methodology was a good choice, because stories can be a primary means for individuals to make sense of their lives by placing their experience in a tangible form, which could then be transcribed and analysed for meaning. Atkinson (1998) attests to the credibility of this approach as it can create in-depth subjective meanings and enables the storyteller to impart life events in a way that they choose and want others to comprehend.

Plummer (2001) stresses the point that although the researcher provides guidance, it is the participant's voice that determines the frame of reference for the story and the method captures the interactions between the individual and social world. According to Plummer (2001), this may include moments of indecisions, turning points,

confusions and ambiguities which are common to everyday experience. A narrative or life story methodology addresses the need for grounded, multiple studies of lives in all their elaborate flux and change (Plummer, 2001). This was an important consideration within this study as the veterans' life story trajectories would illuminate an almost constant adjustment to a cyclical transition of identity from civilian, military personnel, veteran and subsequent arrival at a practitioner or offender within the CJS. As previously highlighted by Frank (2005, p.5) life story approaches recognise the 'unfinalisability' of the lives involved within the story. This was a crucial feature in designing the methodological approach of this study, as it was self-evident to the researcher that the veteran sub-groups did not exist within a social vacuum, and a dynamic approach was needed to understand this hybrid sub-group which had rapidly become a feature within the political world (DASA, 2010; Napo, 2009; Phillips, 2014). This has important implications for veteran identity from the perspective of the individual veteran and society.

At the commencement of this study, it was anticipated that there would be a wide variety and degree of complexity within the life stories of the veterans. A comprehensive and adaptable methodological approach was required, as advocated by Pinnegar and Daynes (2007), who stipulate that the life story is located in a context or setting that influences the very nature of what is told, and therefore findings from one setting cannot be effectively decontextualised and replicated to another setting. In addressing Goffman's (1967) work this was deemed to be a creditable feature as the two life story trajectories both passed through total institutions.

3.9 Life Story Research with Veterans

Etherington (2008) views life stories as a narrative approach that seeks retrospective information about life or a segment of a life that is fashioned by the individual and does not include corroborative documentary evidence as found in life history or oral history methods. Atkinson (1998) advocates the use of this approach, as the intent is to have the story charged with the power of lived experience and for the story to be identified not as fiction or a lie, but as a product of the creative and personal insights of the participant who tells their story. By utilising this approach within this thesis, it reflects a commitment to taking the veterans' words seriously and regarding them as credible participants in the research process (Walmsley, 1995). The study confronts a

tendency which Goodey (2000) warns stereotypes people (veterans) and instead allows for diversity and uniqueness in the human experience, because of its attention to the local and specific needs of marginalised groups.

The aim of adopting a life story approach to this research study was to create what Bruner (1986) refers to as a 'narrative knowing', derived from the life stories as opposed to a 'paradigmatic mode of thought' that can become transfixed on empirical observation that seeks to use logical proof to ascertain cause and effect. Bruner (1986) explains that this later approach seeks to predict and control reality by establishing an unambiguous objective truth that can be demonstrated. Ethrington (2008) remonstrates that the identified failings of this approach expose the strengths of life story research, in that these methods do not aid in the understanding of ambiguity and the complexity that is attached to the human condition which is of paramount importance to this study.

There were various ethical implications involved in gathering together veterans who had committed crimes. The dilemma of stigmatisation needed to be considered, as being labelled as an offender and having been a veteran was speculated by the researcher at the commencement of the study as possibly causing shame of stigma due to the dichotomy of the conflicting identities. For the veterans (ex-offenders) in this study, their negative involvement in the CJS and the consequences were matters that they may not wish to share with a group of veteran comrades, even if there were shared experiences that could be relayed to each other. This was a concern shared by the advisory groups when the methodology of the study considered adopting focus groups as an alternative to life story interviews as a means of data collection.

If the participants had been able to have full autonomy on the research design, topic and method of data collection, then this may not have addressed the needs of society and the dilemma faced by society by Armed Forces veterans in the CJS. The Royal British Legion (2011) wrote a systematic review of the literature on this topic and a criticism raised within its findings was that research that had been undertaken in recent times had been undertaken by unskilled practitioners attempting to engage in research alluding to the work produced by Napo (2008) and Kent Police (2009). As the veteran (offender) group included individuals who had committed Grievous Bodily Harm and numerous counts of Rape, there could be an argument that the victims of the crimes needed to be protected from offence being caused. Thompson and Brown (2006) urged

caution within their study on men who sexually abuse, as there is a risk of causing offence and further suffering to the victims.

The adoption of life story research meant that there was a requirement involved in the construction of stories that would be coherent and form a beginning, middle and end, albeit that the end would be the point of the termination of the interview with perhaps a discussion on hopes for the future. This thesis adopted an extended engagement in life story work with veterans, which gave the veterans (participants) the time and confidence to have their voices heard. Life story was also seen to be relevant by the researcher as it provided an opportunity to gain an insight into the relationship between veterans and the CJS.

The researcher is a military veteran, health practitioner, through the course of this study has been directly involved in national policy debates and supported the formation of new veteran support services in Wales. These identities have created an informed backdrop to this doctoral thesis, but this feature also established an awareness of a need for reflexivity throughout the study so that; as Plummer (2001) advocates, the formation of trust can be established for those with similar lived and shared experiences but with a need to adhere to impartiality.

The study adopts a reflexive approach within its mythological framework given the shared identity of the researcher and participants, forming an insider epistemology. This approach was crucial in creating a deeper understanding as advocated within the military focused research of Higate and Cameron (2006). As suggested by Asselin (2003) it is best for the insider researcher to gather data with her or his eyes open but assuming that she or he knows nothing about the phenomenon being studied. As advocated by Asselin (2003) the researcher acknowledged that they were had been exposed to military culture, but in utilsing bracketing assumptions, the researcher was able to gain a greater understanding of the military sub-culture of veterans exposed to the CJS. This section will explore the study's use of reflexivity in order to create a deeper meaning and understanding of 'self' as Rose (1985) cautions that "There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing" (p. 77).

3.10 Thematic Analysis

The experiences of veterans within the CJS are given through the use of life stories. Morse (1994) explains that the benefit of this approach is that it centres on the particular experience of each individual. There was a need to identify common structures of these experiences within the sample as a whole so that a greater understanding could be created from the perspective realities as understood by the veterans. It became apparent at the early stages of the research proposal that whilst inspiration had been taken from the collective works of the oral historians Tony Parker and Studs Terkel, there was a challenge in relation to reliability checks and other scholarly requirements that would have made it problematic to ascertain a robust theoretical framework and meet the requirements for a doctoral thesis. As advised by Holloway and Todres (2003), this framework would need to be relevant to the research question of this study and it was necessary to create an efficient method of analysing the individual veterans' life stories.

The life story interviews were analysed using thematic analysis as utilised by Boyatzis (1998) as well as Braun and Clarke (2006). This process of analysing the life stories was selected due to its flexible and straightforward technique that created an evidenced theoretical framework, which could provide insight into the lived experiences of the veterans in the CJS. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) and Savin-Baden and Major (2013) this is a crucial procedure in identifying, analysing and producing patterns or themes found within the data. Thematic analysis was adopted due to its merits as an analytical device in constructing order and developing the main arguments of the thesis (Guest et al., 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006) state that one of the main benefits of the thematic analysis is its flexibility and, it is this feature which was attractive when trying to identify themes within two participant sub-groups.

Braun and Clark (2006) recommend a thematic analysis be adopted as part of multiple qualitative methods as utilised within the methodology of this study. These researchers describe thematic analysis as a process of visualising and encoding qualitative research material through the formation of codes and themes. Boyatzis (1998) describes a theme as a pattern located within the data that either partially describes and gives order to a feasible observation, or in its entirety, is able to interpret and therefore give meaning of a phenomenon. To this end, Crotty (1998) explains that

themes can be created inductively from the raw information or deductively from retrospective research and appropriate theory. Rather than themes emerging from the life stories as Braun and Clarke (2006) dismiss as a misnomer, the researcher adopted reflexivity throughout, in order to provide a sustained evaluation in order, to produce the themes. Thematic analysis was also selected as Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that it can be a method that gives the required flexibility to allow an analysis of the data which can produce themes without the data being encapsulated within pre-determined codes and subsequent themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) urge caution that the researcher can influence thematic analysis through their pre-existing epistemological and theoretical allegiances.

To counteract this possibility, the researcher sought to engage in a prolonged and focused reflexive approach which will be outlined within section 4.6. Within this study, the researcher explored and revisited the data within the life story transcripts in order to produce relevant codes, then cross-referenced the whole data again to analyse coded extracts. Braun and Clarke (2006) stipulate that this constant moving back and forth is a necessity to establish the themes that create meaning within the research. The study utilises constructionist thematic analysis rather than discourse analysis as its recommended analytic procedure in identifying codes and themes as encouraged by Taylor and Ussher (2001).

An anonymised transcript was provided to one of the researcher's supervisors. This was to ensure that the identification of crucial codes could be cross-referenced with the researcher's own coding process. This validation process was useful in ensuring that relevant material was being identified and created a confidence that there was an effective focus on the relevant subject matter as advocated by Plummer (2001). The adoption of this approach is also supported within the literature of Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), who highlight the rigour in relation to multiple individuals identifying the same specific codes with themes being reaffirmed through discussion and the participants themselves. This later feature was also adopted by this study and will be discussed within the practical application of the research and methodology within the proceeding chapter. This process incorporated into the thematic analysis of the life stories forced the researcher to review the stories from different vantage points,

which allowed for a deeper understanding, exploration and meaning to be derived through a robust investigative process.

Simons, Lathlean and Squire (2008) highlight the risk of combining different research approaches that do not easily align and if there is a conflict between the approaches ontological and epistemological assumptions. However, the researcher believes that thematic analysis in this study does not subscribe to different theoretical assumptions. According to Bochner (2015), neither method strives to find an enduring truth, nor an objective reality, both seek detail, meanings and values, although their approach varies from an interpretivist perspective that acknowledges both the bias and complexity of the social world.

Mitroff and Kilmann (1978) explain that stories on their own have a capacity to touch people's hearts, minds and souls and consequently in doing so creates new insights for the reader about the human condition. Goodley, Lawthom, Clough and Moore (2004) caution against the risk of reducing stories to sets of categories and concepts, as the researcher attempts to describe patterns in the participants' behaviour and responses. This researcher suggests that the aims of storytelling; to bring the disappearing individual back into the realm of social theory could be jeopardised by attempts to analyse the story (Goodley et al., 2004). It was evident to the researcher that early supporters of this methodology, such as Frank (1979) as well as Langness and Koegel (1986), were reluctant to divert from the purity of the story and remonstrated that the story should be unaltered and free from systematically critiquing.

Throughout this thesis, the participants' stories are presented in an unaltered format, although superfluous use of dialogue, pauses and repetition have been removed to aid comprehension and understanding. It is envisaged that when the life stories are explored through the use of thematic analysis, particular attention will be given to ensure that the veterans' experiences and realities will not be altered. The decision to utilise thematic analysis was also taken, as Holloway and Todras (2003) support its use within life stories in order to explore and to investigate the veterans' involvement in the CJS.

Goodley et al. (2004) believe that life stories can create an insightful account from which this study establishes a coalface investigation of the veterans' interaction with

the CJS, which in turn creates clarity through the lived experiences imparted from these individual life stories. Cresswell (2007) argues that through the adoption of thematic analysis into the methodology, a potentially complex picture can be segmented and part meanings of each veteran story accumulates to form a whole, therefore allowing an understanding of the overall meaning of the offender and practitioner veterans' experiences through the production of themes.

3.11 Alternative Qualitative Methodologies

In reviewing alternative methodologies it became apparent that qualitative analytical frameworks could be divided into two categories. Within the first, Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA, Smith, et al., 2013) sits due to being tied to a particular theoretical epistemological position which equates to a limited variability on how the approach can be applied. Similarly, Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and Discourse Analysis (Kaplan & Grabe, 2002) are aligned with pre-existing detailed theoretical frameworks which can mean an absolute adherence whereas thematic analysis can be a more accessible form of analysis. Grounded Theory was not a practical consideration as Glaser and Strauss (1967) advocate not to engage with the relevant literature prior to beginning data analysis. Their reasoning, is that there is a need to avoid the analysis being shaped by preconceptions from existing research, rather than being truly grounded in the data. However, it was only through the analysis of the data that it was evident that there was a need to establish knowledge of the lived experiences of veterans exposed to the CJS as explored by a veteran researcher. Appendix A outlines the comparison of key qualitative analysis frameworks in relation to this study.

This section within Chapter 3 has presented the rationale for a specific methodology that encapsulates the complexity of lived experience with two groups of veterans within the same CJS. The chapter will continue with an overview and justification of methods adopted within this exploratory study into military veterans' experiences of the CJS.

3.12 Introduction: Methods

This section within Chapter 3 explains the choice of methods chosen for this thesis and the methodological underpinnings. Qualitative research requires a rigourous and

transparent process, including identification of participants, their recruitment to the study, data collection methods and data generation and data analysis (Pope & Mays, 2006). The following sections of this chapter discuss the different phases of the research process, and describe the research methods and strategy deployed in order to achieve the identified research questions of this study as identified and reiterated as:

1. *Describe and interpret the experiences of military veterans through a shared veteran identity in order to understand their experiences of having been involved in the CJS as veteran practitioners and veteran ex-offenders.*

2. *How do military identity and culture impact the life stories of the veteran practitioners and veteran ex-offenders as understood by a veteran researcher?*

3.13 Participants

Participants were selected on the basis that they had been identified and confirmed as veterans, either by the supporting organisation (veteran ex-offender) or the employing organisation (veteran practitioners). The veteran ex-offenders were selected on the basis that punishments were spent and they were no longer under supervision. Veteran practitioners were selected on the basis that they were no longer employed by the CJS. It became apparent within the early stages of the data collection phase that recruitment of participants via NOMS was protracted with significant delays. The introduction letter and participant information sheet (see Appendix B) indicates a current involvement in the CJS, however it became apparent that there were advantages in establishing distance between the participants' involvement in the CJS and aiding reflexivity and participant validation as supported by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) and outlined and justified further within Section 4.7.

As recommended by Silverman (2011), the recruitment of participants was based on snowball sampling. This study was supported by the Westminster Parliamentary Group on veterans in the CJS and the All Wales cross-party group on veterans and cadets. These links were used as a starting point for identifying potential participants and other contacts emerged from initial contact with these organisations. Where necessary, access to participants was granted via internal organisational approval.

The various statutory and voluntary service providers who engaged with the researcher and study made initial contact with potential participants; this led to a number of practitioners within these services agreeing to be interviewed, or they knew of colleagues with a veteran background who could meet the inclusion criteria who could be approached.

Appendices H and I provide a *Participant Profile* that will introduce to the reader the veteran ex-offenders and practitioners, respectively through an ethnographic profile that supports the participant life story snapshots located in Chapter 4.

Suresh and Chandrashekara (2012) explain that determining the optimal sample size for a study guarantees an adequate ability to detect a degree of significance and is therefore, a critical step in the design of a planned research proposal. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) argue that determining a sample size typically relies on the concept of saturation, meaning the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data. Malterud, Siersma and Guassora (2016) suggest that there are different sample sizes depending upon the research. For a PhD piece of research Mason (2010) suggest that smaller sample sizes can be useful where a detailed exploration of the phenomenon from several different perspectives can be highly beneficial. Malterud, Siersma and Guassora (2016), however, suggests that there is no exact number and it depends on the individual study and when data saturation has been achieved.

A snowballing sampling method was chosen as a recruitment strategy. This samples technique provided a purposive approach to overcoming the problems associated with sampling of this population. Lee (1993) explains that the snowballing technique is particularly useful when attempting to access participants who may be reluctant to share their life stories. Vogt (1999) highlights that a snowballing approach is an appropriate technique when attempting to access hard to reach populations, such as those deprived and socially stigmatised. The researcher relied upon the assumption that a bond or link exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, which allowed for a series of referrals to be made to the researcher from within a circle of acquaintances as advocated by Berg (1988).

According to Thomson (1997), it can be helpful to engage with a number of stakeholders in order to source participants. This personal contact and established

connections were advantageous as the snowballing approach allowed for the introduction of participants from their peers to the researcher, which, as Seidman (1998) explains, facilitates a reduction in the power differential between the researcher and the participants. Standing (1998) highlights that the researcher has an opportunity to build rapport with participants who have been introduced by other participants, who have already explained the objectives of the study and the way in which it deals with consent and confidentiality.

The setting for interviews is an important factor in conducting life story research and a flexible approach was required which included negotiating home visits and the use of appropriate facilities within various organisations. The interviews were undertaken in a variety of settings, e.g. veterans home, police station, university campus, job centre, veteran's place of work. As some of the veterans (offenders) had a history of assault, a lone worker protocol was established with both a supervisor and a member of the research office present. It was the researcher's role to enable the best environment possible to elicit stories and to assist the participants to feel comfortable with the interviewing task. This preparatory supportive approach is in parallel with the research of Etherington (1995) in the study on adult male survivors of childhood sexual abuse where it is argued that interviewing can be challenging but that selecting an appropriate setting can be key to a successful life story interview.

3.14 Inclusion Criteria for Participants

For the veteran ex-offender group, they needed to have been in the Armed Forces and then spent time in prison, with the inclusion of detention on remand, a full custodial sentence, police custody and having been in court due to an offence.

For the veteran practitioners, they needed first-hand experience of working within the CJS, e.g. prison officers, probation staff, police officers and organisations from the third sector who have become an important feature in supporting offenders within the CJS.

For both groups, there was no time limit set to the length of service served in the Armed Forces or time spent in the CJS.

3.15 Ethical Considerations

This research study was submitted to the University of Chester's Faculty of Health and Social Care Research Ethics Committee and was judged to be ethically robust and permission was granted to commence the data collection phase (see Appendix C). Organisations were then approached for access to relevant participants and internal ethics approval was sought and obtained as evidenced within Appendix D. There was a requirement to create a lone worker plan to address the need to review and maintain the personal safety of the researcher. The researcher had previous military experience, has been involved in social policy and holds different professional identities pertinent to informing the formation of this study. Jones (2012) explains that research that involves people can create a potential for negative consequences including any harm that can be avoided through the use of ethical principles. It was deemed necessary to ensure that the concept of reflexivity is addressed in order to reduce research bias. Therefore, a comprehensive reflexive postscript was included which explores the ethical praxis of undertaking this research.

3.16 Informed Consent

In accordance with recommendations from Stanley and Melton (1996), potential participants were provided with information, focusing on either a practitioner or offender remit. Consideration of how this information was given and recognising the impact of the environmental setting in which this information was conveyed were important factors.

Participants and organisations were fully informed of the purpose, goals and intended methods of the study prior to their participation through a written participation information sheet of the proposed study as well as face-to-face meetings and discussions as recommended by Tony Parker (Soothill, 1999) (see Appendix B). The researcher explained that they were not obliged to participate in the study, could choose not to answer the questions, and could withdraw from the study at any time. In accordance with Noaks and Wincup (2004), an opportunity was given before and after interviews for participants to ask questions. Consent was recorded in writing and signed by each participant as advised by Bryman, (2012) and presented in Appendix E.

3.17 Data Protection, Confidentiality and the issue of Incriminating Disclosure

In accordance with Bryman (2012), the names of the veterans were anonymised both within the produced transcripts and within the thesis. Data identification of a veteran was coded as either 'Practitioner' or 'Ex-Offender' as this would assist the reader in the individual and collective analysis of emerging themes from the veteran sub-groups. The researcher was the only individual with full access to the recorded life story interviews and produced transcripts throughout the length of the research study. Each audio recording was password-protected, was never duplicated and once the full transcription of the life story interview was completed the audio recordings were destroyed. The life story transcripts were kept electronically on a memory stick that was password protected in accordance with the professional codes of ethics from within the Data Protection Act 1998 and guidelines of the University of Chester, Research Ethics Panel (UoC, 2013).

Hardcopies of the transcripts were stored in the researcher's office and locked in a secure drawer. The supervisors would analyse extracts to ensure that findings were supported by the data and therefore a true representation to aid accurate and promote rigour. It was necessary to omit quotes and de-identify information pertaining to specific military units in order to guarantee anonymity. The data will be retained for a period of ten years from the date of final submission in order to allow for further analysis as stipulated by the University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014).

It was a feature of this study that the researcher would be interviewing individuals with a criminal history and therefore may disclose criminal activity that has not been subject to prosecution. Evidence from the UK Research Integrity Office (UKRIO, 2009) and Jones (2012) suggest that most criminal offences require the undertaking of some criminal act before culpability and liability can be imposed upon the guilty party. The UoC (2014) indicates that there is no legal liability for omission or failure to act. It is therefore unlikely that researchers or academic staff will find themselves in a position that they are required to be legally obligated to report a crime to the proper authorities. However, the UoC: Code of Practice for Research (2014) stipulates that within some special cases where notable exceptions to the rule on confidentiality can be broken; namely, treason, safeguarding vulnerable groups, and terrorist activity. The

risk of this occurring in life story research with veterans who have been prosecuted as offenders was a concern to the researcher as it was likely that the issue of criminal and or deviant behaviour prior to entry into the Armed Forces, during Military Service and following discharge would be present within the life stories. The likelihood of the presence of deviant and criminal behaviour meant that the researcher needed to inform the participants over issues of confidentiality and incriminating disclosure. If incriminating statements had been given then the researcher may have been legally and ethically bound to report this to the proper authorities (UUK, 2012). However, if the researcher were to have reported such offences then the result could be the emergence of other ethical issues such as non-maleficence and the undermining of trust between the participant and researcher. The study was a reflexive expedition for the researcher and necessitated the need for a reflexive journal to explore introspective analysis and intersubjective reflections on internal reactions to engaging with fellow veterans and reactions to the emotional labour of working on a study so close to the researchers own biography (Etherington, 2004). The postscript demonstrates this reflexive process in relation to ethical challenges encountered and noted within the researcher's reflexive journal.

3.18 Distributive Justice

By engaging in the principle of distributive justice, the researcher wished to ensure that both sub-groups of participants, offender and practitioner, are involved within the research question and that there is no discrimination in terms of a distribution of knowledge from both sub-groups. Mclean, Pasupathi, and Pals (2007) explain that whilst positive life stories can commonly serve to entertain and educate, the telling of negative life stories is deemed a more powerful catalyst for creating positive perceptions of self, as the individual reflects on the detail of a disruptive life event which allows for a reshaping of self-image. This process could also pave the way for the concept of resilience to occur through the retelling of the life stories and this, in turn, would allow the research to create an opportunity of beneficence as part of this studies methodological framework. Resilience is a concept that is understood to be an innate ability of people and communities to overcome adversities, recover and move on with life (Garmezy, 1974; Miller & Plant, 2003). This concept could be seen to be a positive application of the use of life stories if the veterans demonstrated a

willingness to turn negative emotions or perceptions of disruptive life events into something empowering and a source of strength. Denzin (1997) suggests that interpretive researchers seek out the stories people tell one another as they attempt to make sense of the epiphanies or existential turning points in their lives.

3.19 Data Collection

Both groups were interviewed through the use of semi-structured interviews, but given the difference in their contact with the CJS, there was a need to create two separate sets of questions within an interview schedule (see Appendix F).

The process of collecting the stories from across the country took five months to complete. Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured format incorporating an interview schedule devised to incorporate themes identified from the literature review. Bachman and Schutt (2013) recommend this approach as it ensures that all dominant themes and main areas of interest are covered, guaranteeing consistency between interviews, whilst also maintaining sufficient flexibility to allow for unanticipated themes to be identified and discussed.

This approach was adopted due to the evidence provided by Bryman (2012), who stated that this strategy encouraged interviewees to fully communicate their experiences through open, free-flowing accounts that could then be explored with prompts and open questions. As suggested by Bryman (2012), this avoids inadvertently leading or influencing participants in their responses and allowed the study to gain a nuanced understanding of the issues under investigation. As recommended by Bryman (2012), a digital recorder was used to record interviews, assisting greatly in the interview process and allowing both the participant and researcher to relax and converse more freely without the need for extensive note-taking, which can cause distraction and inhibit communication flow.

3.20 Interview Techniques

When conducting the interviews, the participants were encouraged to provide free-flowing accounts through the use of prompts. The answers to the questions were probed with carefully phrased questions, which were direct but open, thereby limiting vagueness and ambiguity and encouraging elaborated responses. As suggested by Robson (2002), some closed questions were then used to clarify responses and collect

the specific required information. In undertaking the interviews, the researcher aimed to replicate the approach of the 20th Century life story interviewer Tony Parker (Soothill, 1999). This was attempted after lengthy discussions with former colleagues and associates of Tony Parker, in addition to the description and evaluation of Tony Parker's interviewing techniques by Keith Soothill (1999).

Crewe (2009) recommends that a very open, casual and friendly demeanour and patience, tact and discretion be utilised. Soothill (1999) states that these traits were characteristics of Tony Parker's approach and appears to be valuable research tools as they encourage sincerity and respect. As the interviews progressed, this researcher became increasingly comfortable with the interviewing process and more familiar with the content and structure of the interview schedule, developing interviews into a more conversational approach. Commenting on Tony Parker's approach, Soothill (1999) recommends that the interviewer should retain their semi-structured format to maintain focus and ensure that all relevant issues were covered, as this accommodated digression onto other issues of interest and importance within the life stories.

Bachman and Schutt (2013), suggest these points of interest could be pursued by exploring and questioning and, if relevant, incorporated into subsequent interviews. Soothill (1999) comments that Tony Parker found this approach useful as it often created a deeper and richer life story narrative. This approach proved useful in asking the participants to comment on the other veteran sub-group. As suggested by Soothill (1999), and Bachman and Schutt (2013) when participants did converse freely, interviews were frequently permitted to overrun their intended durations, as it was the intention to gather as much data as possible to enable participants to experience the interview process as a two-way personalised interaction. In accordance with Bachman and Schutt (2013), this interview method was appropriate for this thesis.

The researcher is a veteran and was hesitant about disclosing this point to the offender sub-group as there was a concern that this may appear unmindful of their current situation. However, it was apparent that discussion of military service proceeded a generally opening up of the participants, disarming any reserved demeanour of the participants. As Strauss (1987) explains, this highlights the importance and merits of personal experiences as a source of both insight and ability to build rapport, in order to facilitate effective communication and thus collect high-quality data. According to

Soothill (1999), Tony Parker advocated the building up of a cordial relationship prior to commencing the main interview, even conducting an initial pre-interview. The point of disclosing past military experience was framed in terms of explaining the researcher's interest in the subject matter.

Wojnar and Swanson (2007) explain that the researcher can facilitate the establishment of clarity and empathy for the participant situation by sharing similar life experiences. As suggested by Jorgensen (1989), this process facilitated communication by creating a level conversational dynamic of two individuals with shared experiences, rather than an academic researcher interviewing a participant, reducing the social distance between the participant and the researcher. Acronyms, abbreviations and jargon were used throughout the interviews without the need for explanation. As espoused by Higate and Cameron (2006), this feature enables a researcher to build a rapport with participants, discuss sensitive issues and explore certain attitudes that otherwise might be off-limits to non-former military researchers. However, due to this feature within the interviewing process, the researcher determined through reflexivity that a pilot interview would allow this possibility to be explored as well as other variables prior to the commencement of the actual life story interviews.

3.21 Pilot Interview

A pilot interview before formal data collection took place where one veteran was interviewed using the life story method (Practitioner 00). Mason (2010) advises that a pilot study or interview should be included within a study's research design, as this will create a crucial opportunity to analyse and review initial findings and to make forward decisions about whether there is a need to reassess the research question. This was not the case following the pilot interview, but undertaking the process allowed the researcher to familiarise himself with the selected interview technique. Kvale (2007) supports this approach and advises that a pilot interview will assist the researcher in determining if there are flaws, limitations, or other weaknesses within the interview design and will allow the researcher to make necessary revisions prior to the implementation of the study.

The decision was taken not to include the pilot interview within the overall sample as Teijlingen, Hundley and Graham (2001) argue that the pilot interview should not be included in the overall sample, as an essential feature of a pilot interview is that the data is not used to test a theory or included with data from the actual study when the results are reported. The pilot interview allowed the researcher to prepare for this eventuality and as stipulated by Mason (2010), enabled the researcher to gain practical experience for research interviewing. Due to the earlier pilot interview, the researcher was prepared and reassured that the study adhered to the principle of confidentiality as stipulated with the University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014), which was taken along to the proceeding life story interviews for reference.

As suggested by Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001), the pilot stage also enabled the researcher to give the anonymised transcript to another party (one of the researcher's supervisors who specialised in criminology) to code so that a comparison could be made with the researcher's coding. This validation process was valuable as it identified that irrelevant material was not discussed within the interviewing stage and that there was a determined focus on the subject matter as advised by Plummer (2001).

3.22 Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 described the methodology and methods contained in this thesis. The methodology section has presented the rationale for a specific methodology that encapsulates the complexity of lived experience with two groups of veterans within the same system but on very different paths. This approach considers a new source of knowledge stemming from the veterans' perceptions that capture both individual and social meanings for exploring their life experiences. The study is an attempt to create an understanding through the voices of those that have failed and those who have succeeded within the CJS. The study complements the linear research undertaken through a reflexive review of the framework adopted with analysis of the data being undertaken through thematic analysis. The adoption of this method was undertaken the study is predominantly interested in the meaning and understanding of the military veterans' exposed to the CJS of their life stories. Higate and Cameron (2006) state that reflexivity provides a methodological approach that aims to provide a deeper understanding when research military veterans. The selected analytical tool was utilised as there was a need to explore and revisit the data within the life story

transcripts in order to produce pertinent codes, which could then be cross-referenced through the life stories. Thematic analysis allowed for the flexibility to facilitate the analysis of the life stories to produce codes and subsequent themes.

The methods section has outlined how the veterans (participants) were identified and recruited into this research study. The reader has been introduced to a review of the research methods and strategy that have allowed for a systematic justification for the inclusion of the selected data collection, data generation and data analysis methods. The success in locating participants within both veteran sub-groups was possible through engaging with various stakeholders before the data collection stage commenced. This success of locating the participants was the result of the genuine enthusiasm displayed by the persistent and dynamic practitioners tasked with supporting veterans before (diversion), during and after contact with the CJS. The researcher's identity as a veteran created trust and camaraderie with both sub-groups as a non-judgmental approach was adopted throughout the life story interview process.

The research process required the researcher to allocate sufficient time and effort to achieve informed consent with the two veteran sub-groups, to establish and maintain communications with not only the participants but also with the supporting agency for the veteran ex-offenders. Considerable effort was taken in order to ensure that the interpretation of the life stories stayed true to the original meanings and experiences, as conveyed and experienced by the veterans. This approach allowed the researcher to achieve the research questions. The proceeding chapter will introduce the data that was collected as a result of the methods utilised within this chapter.

Chapter 4: Overview of Data

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 discussed the methodology and methods chosen for this thesis and Chapter 4 presents the findings from this research. A brief introduction and background details will be provided about all the participants so that some deeper insights into their personal life circumstances can be understood and then put into context with emerging themes from the narrative life stories. The chapter will commence with an introduction to the in-depth analysis of the data. The validity of the process of analysing the data along with the ethical considerations is highlighted. The chapter finishes with a personal reflection section.

The sections within this chapter discuss the themes that emerged from the interviews with the participants. These themes were very consistent between participants of the two sub-groups, so while the themes will be discussed separately, there will inevitably be areas where there is a certain amount of commonality. Certain quotes may be duplicated in different sections, and although they are the same quote they will be analysed in relation to the section they appear.

Within each of the main themes several sub-themes, became apparent and these will be discussed in-depth as a means to support the main themes. At some point the decision was made to stop the analysis of certain transcripts as it was so in depth and expansive, these cases will be used as a basis for future research.

4.2 Participant Overview: Veteran Ex-offender

The final sample consisted of 9 veteran ex-offenders (all male), with a variety of offences and consequential judicial sentences from the CJS. The participants' ages ranged from 24 to74 years and were from a geographical spread from across England and Wales, with nationalities consisting of English, Welsh and Scottish. An individualised life story snapshot is provided as well as Table VII *Participant Profile – Veteran Ex-offender* (Appendix G) which creates an overview of the participant's ethnographic information.

"Ex-Offender 01" His anger and hurt were evident throughout the course of the interview as he had been dishonourably discharged due to what had been perceived as

a racially motivated verbal assault by calling an Asian taxi driver a 'rag head'. The police officer who attended the scene took what Ex-Offender 01 described as a harsh view of his behaviour, due to the police officer stating that 'he himself had many Muslim friends' and that 'he was going to make an example of him'. Ex-Offender 01 was a 28 year old from a socially deprived area within (northern region) of England and had completed 3 Operational Tours in (Country x 2). He related stories of being the target of violence not only from insurgents but also the general public within (country) and recalled what he implied was a passive inertia from the (nationality) police/Army to counteract the violence directed towards British Troops.

On the evening in question, he was on home leave and had consumed too much alcohol. The taxi driver in question was of Indian origin and was in fact Hindu. However, the police officer progressed the charge which the Army then parleyed with a dishonourable discharge for Ex-Offender 01. This left the veteran with a lack of resources and other organisational safety boundaries of which he had been accustomed and instead he was encountering (at the time of interview) a fragmented unsupportive environment, in which there was a limited ability to develop prospects and therefore prosper.

"Ex-Offender 02" was a quietly spoken and affable 25 year old. His career in the Army had been prematurely ended after 3 years when he was dishonourably discharged due to being found guilty of Grievous Bodily Harm whilst on home leave from Afghanistan. He had joined the Army at the age of 16 after experiencing a taste of military life through the Army cadets which he had relished in comparison to school which had proved a battleground for school fights and resulting detentions. His parents were separated and neither played a substantial role with his life, he saw this decision to join the military as an escape from the poverty and adolescent misadventures which had already claimed the life of his cousin. He reported that his military training did not prepare him for the horrors of war and this psychological impact appears to have resulted in a violent act whilst intoxicated. Whilst accompanying his girlfriend home from a night out he had felt intimidated by an unknown pedestrian who entered his personal space. His clearly heightened sense of hypervigilance had led to him using a glass bottle to attack the victim who sustained injuries resulting in hospital admission. Ex-Offender 02 was sentenced to a 2 year custodial sentence, during which time he

was reunited with members of his family who were also in prison. Once discharged his employment options were scarce and the stigma and shame weighed heavy on him with carrying a record on his DBS. His fall from grace from being a success story to working as a waste collector was a burden that he was clearly struggling to carry.

"Ex-Offender 03" was a 46 year old who had served for 9 years in the Army (Infantry) before leaving due to committing GBH whilst on leave. Although he contemplated a career in the prison service, he opted to undertake training to become a (educational establishment) teacher. Whilst there he appeared to excel but was in conflict with staff despite his reports that he was achieving an excellent reputation as a teacher.

He developed a relationship with a married student who was in a relationship and who decided to take her own life whilst she was pregnant. The story was picked up the media and a key focus of the story was that he was a veteran. His licensed shot-guns were removed and he described a less than positive approach towards him by the authorities who he believes focused on his role as a veteran instead of a teacher.

"Ex-Offender 04" was a 47 year old with a total of 16 years in the military as a Royal Marine and later as a Paratrooper within the Army Reserves while employed as a qualified social worker. These accomplishments provided a façade to a turbulent and chaotic life marked with an impoverished escape from the North West of England to London which established a life of crime within his formative years. Physical prowess and a prevalence for deviance eventually led him into organised crime and in being taken before a magistrate who provided a choice, the military or prison. His time in the Royal Marines was spent in tours of Northern Ireland which led to the lawful killing of an IRA gunman and exposure to the aftermath of a roadside explosion. This signalled the commencement of alcohol dependency and a deterioration of mental health which led to the apparent pilfering of personal property from the bodies of deceased soldiers. Medically discharged he struggled to adapt to civilian life and whilst gaining employment as a Social Worker he returned to the military through reserve serve. However, organised crime became a far more prominent feature with violence, armed robbery, hostage-taking and both prison sentences and psychiatric admissions becoming part of the landscape within his life story. Private security work within Iraq followed and the noted and proud announcement of killing insurgents was followed by involvements with veteran charities within the North West of England.

"Ex-Offender 05" was a 48 year old man from an upper middle class family who had been a cadet within the police force before joining the Royal Marines and serving for 24 years. He reached the rank of a senior NCO (non-commissioned officer) before leaving to pursue a career in private security. This job entailed working as a security escort to protect maritime shipping lanes against the threat posed by Somalian pirates. He had assaulted his girlfriend while staying at a luxury hotel in the city of Bath but maintained that he had no recollection.

He was bailed but broke the conditions as he and his girlfriend met on several occasions. During one of these meetings, an argument occurred while both were intoxicated (a feature of the turbulent relationship) and a concerned neighbour called the police and Ex-Offender 05 was remanded for two months to HMP Swansea. He describes the process of being dealt with by the magistrate's court.

"Ex-Offender 06" is a 51 year old veteran from the RAF but who had later transferred into the Army. He was originally from a small village outside of the city of (name). His father was a firm disciplinarian who had been a veteran and had served with the RAF. Ex-Offender 06 had been arrested and placed on remand in prison as he had attempted to take his own life by cutting the gas line within his property and he had been charged with endangering the lives of his neighbours. His reason behind his attempted suicide was physical and psychological trauma brought about by domestic violence from his current partner.

He had had no previous contact with the CJS. His family were aghast at his transition into prison as an offender and had always held him in high esteem due in part to him following into a family tradition of joining the Armed Forces. His son had joined (23 years old) but found the fact that his father had been taken to prison difficult to comprehend and deal with and consequently went AWOL due to the associated shame.

"Ex-Offender 07" was a heavily built man of 46, who obviously maintained a strict and active physical regime. He was from a coastal town in Wales, had one child and was separated from his daughter's mother due to issues regarding his behaviour when he had left the Army.

With little prospects within his local town and growing gravitation towards the criminal fraternity, he joined the Infantry within the Army and developed through the

ranks to Corporal. He was socially active and enjoyed a conflict free experience within his 8 years. He made the decision to leave which he deeply regretted when he returned to the same impoverished conditions on a housing estate. He explained he left because his girlfriend was keen for him to settle down and raise a family without the constraints of Military life. Whilst he had, held, appropriate military credentials, he possessed no recognised civilian qualifications. With the country in a recession this caused tension in the relationship which ultimately ended in tandem with the birth of his daughter. Ex-Offender 07's previous embryotic relationship and identity began to reinstate itself and he progressed into a life of crime. He enjoyed the 'camaraderie' and 'risk taking' behaviour that his new life offered and the reputation for being a 'hard man' that he began to establish. He was tasked as an enforcer and a supplier of varying classes of illegal substances. He used fear and intimidation to achieve the goals of those that he now served. He was now progressing up within the Criminal Fraternity as 'Trust' and 'Loyalty' were being earned. However, his rising status was drawing the attention of the police who soon ushered him into the CJS with a charge and conviction with intent to supply class A drugs.

Ex-Offender 07 spent one year within prison and commented on the remarkable similarities between the prison environment and Army. He was identified as a veteran through word of mouth and apparent observations made by the prison staff. This relationship with the veteran practitioners who he described as wise and helpful was to cause an epiphany for Ex-Offender 07 who gradually edged towards a legally productive life post-release. This was in-line with a wish to establish relations with his daughter and create a better image as he had found the time in prison to be a sobering experience and had clearly articulated his shame for himself and his family (mother).

This eventually led to his current role as a veteran peer support worker who was working closely with the same police force who had previously arrested him and was engrained in the struggle to prevent or divert other veterans from the CJS. He had won an award for his services and after the collection of the life story interview, the researcher had seen Ex-Offender 07 speak on his role at a regional conference on this topic area.

"Ex-Offender 08" was a 68 year old man. Small and lean in stature, residing in an immaculately clean and organised flat in which every item appeared to have a

designated place and purpose. Photographs taken with celebrities at charitable events were clearly visible and alluded to a clear commitment to his local community. He had published 5 books with topics ranging from recommended country walks and historical guides to prominent British prisons. The former had been written while sentenced to a custodial sentence for his 3rd conviction for rape and the later had been written since his discharge from prison. His formative years had been spent within an almost Victorian-esque children's home with an apparent brutal matron in charge of the establishment. His siblings had according to his accounts died in suspicious circumstances and he had been removed from their care at a young age. The violence he encountered at the hands of his female abuser was re-enacted in later life with his victims with the addition of violent sexual offences. His escape into the Royal Navy at the age of 16 was comparatively short-lived with noted conflict with authority figures. His eventual dishonourable discharge was a reported result of violence and being drunk and disorderly. He has spent 30 years of his life in prison and had resided within 25 prisons across the United Kingdom. His releases into the general public had been short-lived with violence and sexual assault (female) featuring as part of his modus operandi. It was while in prison that he encountered the veterans in custody service which he believed had helped him immensely. He had returned to live the rest of his life within the port city in which he had joined and trained in with the Royal Navy.

"Ex-Offender 09" was a 29 year old originally from (name of English town) but was raised in (name) Colliery. His upbringing was laden with violence from his father and from within the local community. He still regularly fought with his father as part of a drinking culture and his appearance was scarred and weathered beyond his years.

He had served within the Army (Infantry) and had posed a significant challenge to the system with numerous disciplinary issues which had resulted in him serving three periods within the Military Corrective Training Centre (MCTC) in Colchester, Essex. He had been an active member of the Combined Ex-Forces paramilitary group having come to their attention from his involvement with the English Defence League and his activities as a bare-knuckle fighter within the unlicensed fighting circuit. He had been sentenced to a term in prison due to attempted damage to a religious building. He had to be moved from his 1st allocated prison for his safety after being identified as a

veteran by Islamic Fundamentalists within the prison. He was currently assisting the police Prevent officers with their investigations into the recruitment of veterans by right wing groups.

4.3 Development of Themes: Veteran Ex-offender

Three main themes were developed from eleven sub-themes that emerged from the qualitative analysis of the life stories (Table I). Although the analysis presents these themes independently, there were interrelated and interwoven into the life stories of the participants and this is shown when discussing the themes.

Overall, the interview data represents the narrative accounts and beliefs of the nine participants' experiences of their life stories which were then analysed and reviewed for pertinent aspects that were collated and developed into three main themes. These were: Identity and Culture; Power, Control and Compliance; Needs and Support.

Table I: Main Themes and Sub-Themes for all Participants in the Veteran Ex-Offender Sample

Main Themes	***Sub-Themes***
Veteran ex-offenders' Identity and Culture: 'Mapping No Man's Land'	Entrenched Military Identity and Culture
	In the Crosshairs: Belonging
	Institutional Fallout: Stigma and Shame
Power, Control and Compliance: 'The Rules of Engagement'	Institutional and Cultural Comparisons
	Relations with Non-Veteran ex-offenders
	Relations with Practitioners within the Criminal Justice System
	Organisational Reaction to Social Deviance: Understanding Compliance
	Recruitment into the Armed Forces "Be the Best'
Identified Needs and Support: Inclusive Provision	Health and Social Care Provision: Veterans and their Families
	The Impact of Involvement in the Criminal Justice System on their Families
	Veteran ex-offender Communities and Specialist Services

The first main theme explored how the participants perceived and interpreted their understanding of their dual identity of being both a veteran and an offender. The identity of being a veteran was often embedded within childhood as the individual held a positive association towards military life and associated culture. In contrast, the identity of being an offender created a negative impact on every aspect of the individual's life.

The second main theme discussed the participants' understanding and perceptions of the impact of being managed by the CJS. There appeared to be complexities associated with the exposure to military culture and training which inadvertently seemed to have an influence on some of the participants' index offence.

The third main theme focused on what the participants identified as their particular needs which included greater support with the transition to civilian life and stronger links with veteran charities and organisations that could support their own individual needs as well as their families. There was a recognition that the shared veteran identity held an ability for specialised services to interact under the supervision of veteran practitioners.

4.4 Participant Overview: Veteran Practitioner

This sample consisted of 8 veteran practitioners (all male), with a depth and breadth of experience of working within the CJS. Participants' ages ranged from 38 to 55 years and were from a geographical spread across England and Wales, with nationalities consisting of English, Welsh and Scottish. An individualised life story snapshot is provided in addition Table VIII (Appendix H) that illustrates an overview of the ethnographic information of the participants.

'Practitioner 01' had been a sergeant within the Army and had served within the Royal Armoured Corp, a wish that he had had since childhood and his earliest memories were of his father driving past the barracks home and waving proudly to his son. He had rushed to the Army careers centre just prior to his 16th birthday to join and had distinguished himself within Junior Leaders and quickly rose through the rank system. His tendency for risk taking behaviour and high spirits in the company of other likeminded colleagues had led to offences within the Army but these had allowed for initial discrepancy on the part of his Commanding Officer (Queens Regulations, 1996)

but a final offence committed while intoxicated and under the command of young recruits had led to a forced resignation and discharge from the Army. He quickly established himself as a respected probation officer who having noticed a high rate of veteran ex-offenders coming through the system looked to establish systems to identify them within the police custody suites. This led to a national award and subsequent success in leading a prototype third sector service committed to supporting veteran ex-offenders.

'Practitioner 02' was a large in stature and larger than life individual who had served 22 years within the Royal Navy, having followed 4 generations before him and completing a proud 400 year legacy of being a sailor. His route at 21 years of age had been as a result of committing the criminal offence of automotive theft. A period of personal reflection had highlighted his misdirection within his life and a decision was taken to remove temptation and peer-pressure and go to sea. Despite having no qualifications from school, he rose to Petty Officer and was content with the position and his role. At the end of his service he trained as a probation officer and became a respected 'rock' within an impoverished inner-city locality. At the time of his interview he was looking forward to retirement but enjoying the twilight of his 2nd career and spoke thoughtfully over his life experiences.

'Practitioner 03' had joined the Royal Military Police after having a successful completion of high-school and obtainment of two A-Levels. He was from a middle-class farming family which had provided the stability required for successful work experience with the Special Constabulary and subsequent entry into the Army. His distinguished 10 years as a corporal had led him to manage cases ranging from drunk and disorderly to attempted murder. Family commitments had led to his reluctant need to enter into the transitional process which eventually led him into an almost seamless transfer to the civilian police force. He had established himself as a lead for the Prevent Initiative tasked with the role of preventing radicalisation and right-wing actives. His previous military identity and this current role frequently brought him into contact with veterans in the CJS.

'Practitioner 04' was raised in Kuwait and the 1991 Gulf providing an introduction to the impact of armed conflict. He returned to the UK into the boarding school system and after obtaining the sufficient amount of O-Levels decided to join the Armed Forces

at the age of 16. His initial choice of the Army and Navy were overruled by his mother who saw the RAF as a more civilised and respectable career choice. He rose to the rank of sergeant within the RAF police and during his 8 years of service dealt with all milieu of offences. His eventual discharge led to an eclectic range of jobs before becoming involved in prison healthcare and an eventual progression into the criminal justice liaison service. The two posts within the CJS had led him to encounter veterans in the CJS possessing the same range of offences that he had encountered while employed within the RAF police.

'Practitioner 05' joined an infantry regiment in the Army out of necessity due to a severe lack of prospects and unemployment that were a hallmark of this impoverished town. Initial misdemeanours were also starting to bring him to the notice of the local constabulary and so a fair wage and set meals were an attractive choice. He served for 10 years with postings both in the UK and abroad. On discharge, he found an institutional familiarity between the Army and prison service which allowed him to establish himself in secure employment. He later progressed on to the youth offending services and had at the time of the interview been selected for admission on a bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice.

'Practitioner 06' had joined the local infantry regiment in the Army with a desire to leave one of Europe's most socially deprived housing estates. His own impoverished childhood was reminiscent of a Victorian novel and the discussed destitution was a parallel characteristic found within the lives of the adolescents that he encountered within the locality that he was raised. He served his full 22 years and was honourably discharged. His departure was marked by a focused and considered transition into civvy street working in Army preparation courses within the same educational establishments which he had been truant for and so keen to escape only decades before. His belief in the institution of the military in creating a stable platform for the expansion of prospects was steadfast.

'Practitioner 07' was a warm and gregarious man who had circumnavigated two successful careers within the Royal Navy as a submariner of 12 years and as a prison officer for 20 years. Within his childhood, he had reached the age of 16 and wished to join the Royal Navy as other members of his family had. As a shy young man he has entered a masculine environment which he initially found overwhelming but eventual

found solitude within the calmer regime of the submersible. A wish for a family life led him to leave the service and after a few 'dead end jobs' he joined the prison service. He was able to recognise comparisons between the two institutions but at times missed the camaraderie which had been so well rationed within his Naval service. During this time he began to recognise the issue of veterans in the CJS, he led a number of successful veterans in custody schemes within the prison service and established trust with the veteran ex-offenders that he supported.

'Practitioner 08' had dreamt of adventure as a child and his free time was spent building model aeroplanes**.** When he reached 16 he sought to join the Royal Navy as the realisation that he would be able to work on life-size versions of the same Phantom and Buccaneer aircraft that he had so painstakingly built as a child was immensely appealing. He had served within the Air Fleet Arm for 16 years and had a distinguished career within the strike force during the Falklands Campaign. When he left the Royal Navy, he found employment as a probation officer and eventually came to be employed by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). He was one of the first to voice his concern when realising that veterans were appearing as a substantial and recognisable anomaly within the CJS. He raised this point within NOMS and nationally through the appropriate dissemination of facts and figures that he began to amass. The result and consequence of his actions was a draconian reaction from the organisation and establishment who subjected him to intolerable working conditions, humiliation and attempts to discredit his findings which could be seen to be the vanguard for a growing auditable voice that a camouflaged sub-group was present within the CJS. Practitioner 08 eventually had to withdraw from this employment but found refuge within Higher Education and academia as a respected member within its ranks.

4.5 Development of Themes: Veteran Practitioner

Overall, the interview data represents the narrative accounts and beliefs of the eight participants' experiences of their life stories and involvement in the CJS. These narratives provided insight into the lived experiences of the veteran practitioners which were then analysed and reviewed for pertinent aspects that were collated and developed into three main themes. These were: Identity and Culture; Power, Control and Empowerment; and Consequences, Causation and Impact. These three main

themes and nine sub-themes emerged from the qualitative analysis of the life stories (Table II). Although the analysis presents these themes independently, there was evidence that themes were interrelated and overlap existed between the life stories of the participants.

Table II: Main Themes and Sub-Themes for all Participants in the Veteran Practitioner Sample

Main Themes	***Sub-Themes***
Veteran Practitioners' Identity and Culture: 'Bridging the Gap'	The Transitional Identity of the Veteran Practitioner
	Belonging: A Spotter to Veteran Resilience
	Relatedness and Need to Belong
	Identifying Longing within the Veterans Life Stories
Power, Control and Empowering Relationships 'New Standing Orders'	Institutional and Cultural Comparisons
	Relations and Perceptions of Veteran ex-offenders 'On Opposite Sides of the Prison Bars'
A Call to Arms: Establishing 'Battle Orders'	Reconnaissance: Impact on the Veteran
	Modus Operandi: A Life Story Cross-Roads
	Improvise, Adapt and Overcome: Positive Deviance

The first main theme explored the understanding and interpretation that the participants have of their military identity and that of being a practitioner employed within the CJS. The participants articulated a clear division within their own perceived identity yet, they had succeeded in their professional lives. They awarded this success to attributes and transferable skills at having served within the Armed Forces. There was confidence in their military identity but also a clear indication that there existed solidarity between this identity and their new role within the CJS.

This second main theme explored the participants' understanding and their perceptions of working within the CJS. The relationship of power and control over the veteran practitioners and the impact on those they have been tasked to manage were reviewed. This main theme allowed for a comparison through Goffman's (1961) description of total institutions as understood and interpreted by those with the lived experience of being employed within both. An analysis of the data allowed for insight and understanding into the empowering relationship between veteran practitioner and veteran ex-offender.

This third main theme explored the insight and understanding made by the veteran practitioners on the effect that the CJS has on the veteran ex-offenders and their families. A reflective comparison was used to gather perceptions and new meaning on the practitioners' views on what had led the veteran ex-offenders' into the CJS and what were the pertinent issues of that involvement. An ethos of innovation, adaptation and a willingness to overcome appeared to represent attempts to establish more efficient systems and to promote change realised through their role as a practitioner within the CJS but incorporating their veteran identity, training and associated culture as a conduit to support the veteran offenders.

4.6 Data Analysis

In utilising a thematic approach in analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) insist there are several phases of data analysis. This multi-stage approach as advocated by Braun and Clarke (2006) lends itself to a constructionist framework as suggested by Burr (2003) who suggests that this approach would allow for an analysis to include; movement from what is unique to a participant to what is shared amongst participants, to a description of the experience which moves to an interpretation of the experience,

commitment to understanding the participant's point of view and lastly, a focus on personal meaning-making within a particular context. The life story interviews post-recording and transcription were analysed within a Braun and Clarke (2006) 6-stage model. Smith et al. (2013) make two important points with regard to transcribing interviews.

Their analysis of qualitative data focuses primarily on interpreting the meaning of a participant's beliefs, and therefore does not require exceptionally detailed reporting regarding pauses, and non-verbal utterances, and secondly that, according to O'Connel and Kowal (1995), it is not worth transcribing information that is irrelevant to the research questions. According to Atkinson (1998), life story research requires a semantic reporting of all words spoken by both researcher and participant in the interviews.

The extracts from participants' life stories will be presented as colour-coded with green indicating veteran ex-offender and blue indicating veteran practitioner. As the sample for this phase of data analysis (17) is relatively small it was decided that manual examination of the data and recurring themes would be appropriate. The use of NVivo was rejected in line with the recommendations from Silverman (2005) who argues that software programmes for qualitative research are not a substitute for researcher data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) outline six steps to analysing the data and this thesis uses these as a framework (see Table III) and utilises these steps, detailed as follows.

Phase one includes a repetitive reading of all the life story transcripts. In this research study the researcher began by reading the interview transcripts several times. This repeated reading allowed the researcher to enter into the veteran's world and '*listen*' to them as they gave voice to their beliefs and experiences. At this point, it was decided that the coding for the participants' interviews would be numerical and a pseudonym would not be used identifying them as either Practitioner or Offender. The rationale for this decision was based on the belief that the researcher could actively listen to the voices and remember the interview with more clarity whilst clearly creating to identifiable sub-groups.

The researcher believed that by using numbers to code the participants' identity there would be a continuity of information from the recordings of the interviews through to the writing up of the transcripts and the notes associated with these interviews. If the coding had been changed to use pseudonyms in the middle of the analysis it is believed that some of the unspoken meaning of the participants' experiences would have been lost by not identifying them as a Practitioner or Ex-Offender. Also, clear identification was required in order to allow for in-depth analysis and data triangulation between the two sub-groups' life stories. By using numerical codes and sub-group (i.e. Practitioner 01) the researcher believes that they can enter into the world of the participants more fully and therefore interpret their experiences. Continual use of reflexivity ensured that this interpretation occurred without any undue prejudices, stereotypes or personal attributions from the researcher's perspective.

These prejudices, stereotypes or personal attributions were believed to arise from using aliases. When initially the notion of coding was considered, fictitious names were assigned and a list of 17 names was constructed. However, each name had a specific meaning or connotation associated with it to the researcher. It was believed that these connotations would be a barrier to the ability of the researcher to be empathic and to immerse themselves into the participant's world. In effect while analysing and interpreting the data the researcher could 'hear' the participant's voice and did not want that voice being 'confused' by the voice of someone else that the researcher associated with that pseudonym. At this step, the intention was to focus directly on the veterans and become accustomed to the content of the life stories, the pace and flow of the interview and the relationship between researcher and veteran (participant).

The second phase focused on note-taking of any information within the data that appeared to be relevant to the research questions and amalgamating the thoughts and beliefs from the veterans. This was a more administrative step than the previous step in that it looked at writing up the life story interviews into transcripts and reviewing the written text in order to affix tenuous links from the data, culminating in beginning the process of clumping the data into codes and subsequent themes (Braun & Clarke 2006). For this part of the process, the researcher printed off copies of the transcripts and on each individual transcript, began a line by line analysis of the content and then made hand written reflexive notes in the margin. These notes focused on any pertinent

information and used specific key words to identify this information with different coloured highlighting for the codes and emerging themes. At this stage the notes were mainly descriptive with meaning to the individual explored superficially and not to any depth. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggests that these initial notes should include a description of the content, selecting key words, focussing on language and being aware of conceptualisation of how the participant makes sense of their experiences. This initial process was repeated several times with new documents printed off, up-dated and re-read, allowing new awareness of the data to be made by the researcher. These exploratory notes were then used to underpin the next stage in the process.

Phase three identified themes that emerged from the interviews and were further analysed in more depth. The exploratory notes made in phase two were used to create new documents in order to develop emergent themes as Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest the focus moves in this phase from the transcript itself to the notes created by the researcher. Again as for phase two, the documents were printed off several times, each time the notes being refined and descriptors changed or modified as required in light of how the researcher began to enter into the world of the veteran in more depth. There was, however, a cyclical process that emerged here for the researcher where the focus moved from notes made to an original text as the depth of interpretation increased. At this step the hand written notes in the margins expanded from specific key words as used in phase one to longer descriptive phrases.

The emphasis in this phase moved slightly away from the veterans-led representation of the data to a more researcher involved enquiry as the data was starting to be analysed. Within this phase a series of corresponding themes started to emerge from the two sub-group life stories and information relating to these themes was colour coded in the transcript documents. By this phase, the data set had become larger with more detailed information to be analysed. Braun and Wilkinson (2003) suggest that in this stage the transcripts are de-constructed for analysis and it is possible to establish a thematic map. During this phase the researcher started to think about the relationship between codes, between themes, and between different levels of themes (e.g., main overarching themes and sub-themes within them).

Phase four signals part of the re-constructing stage and in essence, are explorative in that the aim is to link any connections between themes and a decision made to include

or exclude material. In this step, in some instances, phases one to three were repeated. For Patton (1990) the key focus in this phase is discovering patterns and connections between emergent themes. As advised by Patton (1990) the researcher adopted a dual criteria for reviewing the emerging themes through a process of internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. This is advisable in ascertaining similar themes across the veteran practitioner and offender sub-group. Boyatzis (1998) advises that data within themes should cohere together meaningfully, whilst there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes. At this point on the analysis phase, the use was also made of a large whiteboard to make the hand written notes more 'visible' to the researcher. The use of a whiteboard allowed the researcher at this point to get an overall view of the data and emergent themes (see Appendix I). This specifically allowed the 'movement' of information from one theme to another as it became apparent some quotes aligned more with certain themes than others. If the researcher considered that some of the themes were irrelevant or did not fit in with the research questions, then these were excluded.

At this point in the analysis process, the sub-themes started to develop into main themes. Primarily three main themes became apparent and each of the sub-themes were aligned with one of these three. By utilising a whiteboard, a matrix was constructed with the veteran identification code across the top (one to 17) and the three main themes on the left hand side. The phrases from the transcripts were used in a simplified form to contextualise the sub-themes. This restructuring and reconsidering of the interpretations echo the iterative nature of thematic analysis.

Phase five according to Braun and Clarke (2006) requires the start of the whole process again, however this time looking at the next participant's transcript (in effect for this research study this process was repeated 17 times). However, for this thesis phase five to a certain extent was not utilised in the way Braun and Clarke (2006) advocates. Phase five in this thesis was integrated earlier into the analysis process as each transcript was part of a cyclical process where some interviews were more detailed and contained more vibrant and emotive content, whilst others were shorter with less involved content. Each individual transcript was subjected to the same four previous phases as outlined above and suitable care was taken to ensure that each individual veteran's transcript was considered discretely within this process. Each of the

veteran's experiences were considered primarily as an account of how they contextualise these experiences and explain them in their own terms and expressions, in effect what these experiences mean to them of having a veteran in the CJS.

The final phase, phase six, according to Braun and Clarke (2006) requires detailed examination of all the emergent themes from all the life story transcripts and formatting this in a suitable way. Again this thesis deviated from the guidelines from this step. For this thesis phase six was a re-visitation of all the information gleaned from the life story transcripts. In this stage the emphasis was ostensibly focussed on the interpretation of the data. It was at this point that the sub-themes were investigated in far greater depth. From this in-depth analysis several issues arose. From exploring the transcripts from a deeper interpretive stance it was observed that many of the sub-themes inter-linked and were present within both the veteran practitioner and offender life stories.

In this final phase this inter-linkage of the main themes between the two sub-groups became more prominent. The names of the main themes were changed several times in phase six in order to represent the content of that theme and the shared relevance to both sub-groups. At this point in the analysis it also became apparent that within some of the individual quotes from the veterans' transcripts, there were sub-themes that could be attributed to more than one main theme. The decision was made to include these into the separate sub-themes even if replicated, however they would be interpreted and analysed within the context of that main theme. The emergent themes were then placed in an order that was logical and coherent to be explored within the following results chapters.

Table III: Phases of Thematic Analysis of the Vetran Life Stories Adated from Bruan and Clark (2006)

	Phase	Description of the Process
1.	Familiarisation with the Data	Reading and re-reading the life story transcripts, noting initial observations, thoughts and ideas.
2.	Generating Initial Codes	Coding pertinent features of importance within the data in a systematic approach across the entire data set (17 life story transcripts).
3.	Searching for Themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all relevant data to each potential theme.
4.	Reviewing Themes	Cross referencing themes back against all transcripts (17) and the entire data set, establishing a 'Thematic Map' of the analysis. (This was presented in tabular form)
5.	Refining the Thematic Map	Close inspection of previous stages to ensure that the Thematic Map provided an explanatory framework consistent with the transcribed life story. Further review, clarification and refinement of the Thematic Map. (This was presented in tabular form)
6.	Writing the Analysis	Examples from the data to illustrate the themes

According to Simons, Lathlean and Squire (2008), the adoption of thematic analysis allows the researcher to ascertain links and patterns between responses, relationships, data and other concepts. Etherington (2008) emphasises a need to be systematic when organising life story themes. The researcher, therefore, provides a chronological order of all the veterans' stories within the life story trajectories of life before military service, during military service and the period after discharge, creating an aggregated story of all veterans' stories. Etherington (2008) recommends that the focus on these stages of the life story trajectory allows the researcher to undertake the quality assurance process of numerous cycles of questioning, reflecting, rephrasing, theorising, analysing and verifying the data. This process then allows the researcher to create a thematic map to illustrate emerging sub-themes then main themes as advocated by Braun and Wilkinson (2003).

There was a need to adopt a flexible inductive approach to data analysis due to the exploratory nature in this under-researched subject area. In accordance with Noakes and Wincup (2004), this process allowed the data to be analysed on a continuous basis throughout the data collection process, which the researcher found helped in the identification of relevant recurring and dominant themes from the veteran life stories as they were identified. As suggested by Creswell (2009), these life stories were then continuously reviewed, coded, themed, analysed and were also then explored in subsequent participant interviews. In accordance with Boyatzis (1998), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Riessman (2008) the data analysis was undertaken thematically guided by the themes emerging from the literature review.

The researcher adopted open coding to identify emerging themes that were prominent within all the life story interview transcripts as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006). Connections were then made between codes and categories using axial coding, and then finally, these categories were integrated to build a theoretical framework. This first level of open coding, allowed the researcher to focus primarily on the text in order to define concepts and categories whereas the next stage of axial coding, allowed for the researcher to utilise the concepts and categories whilst relating these to the text within the life story transcripts. This enabled the researcher to confirm that the concepts and categories were accurately representing the veterans' interview responses and to investigate how the concepts and categories were related between the

two veteran sub-groups. The researcher used different coloured highlights to distinguish concepts and categories within the transcripts. This process allowed the researcher to explore causality in order to determine what conditions might influence concepts and categories.

According to Holstein and Gubrium (1999), Josselson and Lieblich (1999), the researcher was aware that by adopting established life story research methodologies, this study would provide an insight across the length of lives whilst focusing on particular aspects of lived experience.

4.7 Narrative Analysis of the Life Stories

Riessman (1993) describes narrative analysis as the point at which the investigation is the story itself, and from this stance, the reader may understand how participants make sense of the events and actions of their lives. Whilst there are numerous variations of narrative analysis (Silverman, 2011), the approach taken in this study was an analysis that focussed primarily on the meaning and content of the story. As the main purpose of the study was to explore actual events and experiences encountered by veterans themselves and recounted within the life stories, the researcher ordered these into a temporal order (Labov, 1982; Singh & Singh, 1995). Elliott (2005) recommends that this has the added benefit of ensuring that the researcher's meaning of the narratives was not being subconsciously imposed.

The forming of the stories and their subsequent analysis followed guidelines suggested by Polkinghorne (2005). He further stipulated that the researcher should endeavour to consider the context in which the stories took place and the nature of the protagonist; identification of key persons in the protagonist's life, exploration of past events and their impact on the participant's present life, structuring the life story to have a beginning, middle, end and finally providing some coherence to the story (Polkinghorne, 2005). The researcher recorded in detail participants' appearance, mannerisms, character and the location of the interview; a process advocated and practised by Tony Parker. Soothill (1999) explains that Parker was able to create a rich image of the interviewee to the point that the reader was able to form a very real view of the life story. As suggested by Silverman (2011), the researcher also created notes

after the telling of the stories in order to compare each participant's story and to highlight what could be learnt from the life stories.

Elliott (2005) explains that amongst those with an interest in the use of narratives in research, there are two different opinions on the relationship between the use of narrative interviews and the internal validity of the information gathered. Researchers such as, Mishler (1995) have advocated for use of narrative interviews because they empower the participant to set the agenda and prevent participant experiences from becoming fragmented. According to Riessman (2008), these two considerations could be said to highlight the importance that interviews protect participants' narratives and would produce a story that is more accurate, truthful or trustworthy than structured interviews that ask each participant a set of standardised questions. As discussed earlier the researcher engaged with stakeholders tasked with supporting veterans in order to recruit participants for both veteran sub-groups. This approach enhanced the validity of the life stories by cross checking military service and veteran identity, as well as providing additional support post-interview if required (Tanggaard, 2008).

The deontological philosopher Ross (1930) argued that the consequences of an action such as lying, may sometimes make lying the right thing to do. Foucault (1970) argued that power relations shape individuals and considers individual identities to be formed through power relations. Furthermore, he stipulated that individuals cannot be determined and comprehended without taking into account the relations of power, which shape them. Foucault (1977) claimed that an individual can be represented as an imaginary particle of the ideological representation of society.

"The individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an "ideological" representation of society; but he is also a reality fabrication by the specific technology of power that I have called discipline (...) In fact, power produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to the production". (Foucault, 1977 p.80)

In relation to Foucault's writings, it was the interplay and presence of power through the conduit of the interview and the relationship between researcher and participant that produced the reality of the life story, the truth held within and the production of knowledge on the lives of veterans exposed to the CJS. In order to mediate the power

relations, the researcher utilised an approach adopted by Parker (Soothhill, 1999), in which time was spent with the participant prior to the actual interview in order to build a relationship and establish trust. This approach used by Parker allowed him to engage with participants ranging from Death Row Inmates, Lighthouse Keepers to a veteran entangled and mismanaged by the CJS (The Unknown Citizen, 1961). Within the introductory phase of the interviews, the researcher undertook discussions on military life with the participants, as this allowed for verification on truth as well as acknowledging a shared identity. In accordance with the evidence produced by Kennedy and Davis (1996), this procedure would formulate an empathetic process between researcher and participant on the basis of shared identity.

Life story research sits within narrative inquiry and this approach assisted to bring the veterans stories to fruition. Elliott (2005) advocates the use of life story research as participants never simply report experiences, but rather they try to make sense of those experiences as best they can through developing an individualised life story. This researcher supports the belief held by Elliott (2005) that a crucial reason to adopt this life story approach is that the focus is on the participants' (both veteran sub-groups) subjective interpretations and the meanings that they make of their lives through lived experience.

4.8 Validity

When the researcher came to review the participant transcripts, confirmation of military service was conducted through the supporting organisation and open-source research using internet search engines to access publicly held information. For example, in one instance, this revealed images of the private security work undertaken in Iraq and public acknowledgement and confirmation of these narratives through testimonies associated through his work with charities. This validation of the life story was undertaken in order to safeguard the integrity of the study and ensured that the full sample size of 17 was maintained. Bruner (1987) suggests that life story research can hear the subjective meanings and sense of self and identity being negotiated as the stories unfold, and it must be kept in mind that stories are reconstructions of the person's experiences, remembered and told at a particular point of their lives, to a particular researcher. Bruner (1987) continues that the telling of the story for a

particular purpose will have a bearing on how the story is told, which stories are told and how they are presented and therefore interpreted.

According to Atkinson (1998) and Frank (1995), within narrative paradigms, there is a debate between those who approach stories as a 'window' onto the knowable reality, which can be interpreted by 'experts' and those who view stories as knowledge constructions in their own right. As a remit of the submission of the PhD thesis, the stories must be utilised to explore a perceived reality and link these to academic rigour with an alignment to the selected methodology. However, to achieve this goal, the researcher had to create a relationship with the 17 participants (veterans). This goal as Ellis (2002) recommends, allows the creation of a platform from which to create a standpoint that the personal is the political and likewise, the political is personal. Given the current political and legislative review on this subject matter, the political context intersects with the individual whether they are aware of this or not. These stories are offered to illustrate what Scott-Hoy (2002, p.276) calls 'a kind of life' and to provide an in-depth, small-scale study that Mair (1989, p.2) states can result in 'intimate knowledge' that will provide an insight following analysis that distant knowledge cannot achieve.

All the information and data collected for this thesis was collated and stored in a separate folder to be audited by an independent person to ensure the validity of the data from both a methodological and interpretative perspective (Smith, 2015). This process ensures the quality overview of the work and ensures an unbiased analysis of the data. The audit process began at the first stages of the thesis and was not added at the end which was beneficial to retain high standards of quality of the work throughout.

4.9 Personal Reflection

According to Tanggaard (2008), within qualitative research, it is recommended that narrative accuracy checks be undertaken to ensure that a high degree of accuracy, credibility, validity and transferability are established and maintained. The researcher cross-checked with participants the transcripts and their stories to ensure that it was a true representation and interpretation of what they had discussed. Cohen and Crabtree (2008) acknowledge this process within their own research and add that this approach

can prevent personal biases from being included within a qualitative study. Higate and Cameron (2006) highlight the risk of the possible presence of pre-conceived notions for former military researchers studying a former military population. Therefore, reflective practice was undertaken with my supervisors who would review the data to ensure that the data was accurate and unbiased.

Finlay (2002, p 532), describes reflexivity as "thoughtful conscious self-awareness," on the part of the researcher. He goes on to state:

"continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself. It involves a shift in our understanding of data collection from something objective that is accompanied through detached scrutiny of "what I know and how I know it," to recognise how we actively construct our knowledge." (Finlay, 2002 p.532).

Reflexivity is of significant importance within interpretive informed research (Carolan, 2003). The researcher in adopting this approach developed an understanding of 'self' upon the research data. Guba and Lincoln (2005) argue that it is crucial that the researcher maintains an appreciation of their effect on participant behaviour, creation of data and the research process as a whole. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) describe a process entitled participant validation which allows for the stories to be reviewed by the individuals that told them and also allowed for the added function by acknowledging participants' lives and allowing them to have ownership of the data collection process. This was a significant decision within the revised inclusion criteria as the study sought to include veteran ex-offenders whose involvement with the CJS had ended. This aided the ability of the participant to engage in clearer reflexivity over their life story and participant validation aided in not being embroiled within the confines and restrictions of the CJS. As identified within Chapter 1, the participants still however, would refer to themselves as offenders.

In order to adhere to a reflexive approach, there was a need to ensure that an alternative arrangement was in place for those participants who were unable to access an electronic device to check their transcript. A process in the cross-checking stage was used in which the researcher would summarise verbally what had been discussed and then amend any misunderstandings or misinterpretations to the main transcript via a

telephone conversation. This need for a conscious self-awareness extended to the previous identity of the researcher.

The researcher is a veteran, having served with the 22nd Cheshire Regiment, first as a soldier (Service Number: 24968409) and later as a Commissioned Officer (Service Number: 555773). Section 7.5 provides a further overview of the researchers' profile. On the point of being a Commissioned Officer, the researcher was hesitant about disclosing this point to the offender sub-group as there was a concern that this may appear unmindful of their current situation. However, it was apparent that discussion of military service proceeded a generally opening up of the participants, disarming any reserved demeanour of the participants. As Strauss (1987) explains, this highlights the importance and merits of personal experiences as a source of both insight and ability to build rapport, in order to facilitate effective communication and thus collect high-quality data. According to Soothill (1999), Tony Parker advocated the building up of a cordial relationship prior to commencing the main interview, even conducting an initial pre-interview. The point of disclosing past military experience was framed in terms of explaining the researcher's interest in the subject matter. Wojnar and Swanson (2007) explain that the researcher can facilitate the establishment of clarity and empathy for the participant situation by sharing similar life experiences. As suggested by Jorgensen (1989), this process facilitated communication by creating a level conversational dynamic of two individuals with shared experiences, rather than an academic researcher interviewing a participant, reducing the social distance between the participant and the researcher. Acronyms, abbreviations and jargon were used throughout the interviews without the need for explanation. As espoused by Higate and Cameron (2006), this feature enables a researcher to build a rapport with participants, discuss sensitive issues and explore certain attitudes that otherwise might be off-limits to non-former military researchers. However, due to this feature within the interviewing process, the researcher determined through reflexivity that a pilot interview would allow this possibility to be explored as well as other variables prior to the commencement of the actual life story interviews.

This chapter has outlined how the participants were identified and recruited into this research study. The reader has been introduced a review of the research methods and Chapter 5 will now introduce the findings collected for this thesis.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, the findings from the data collected from the participants was presented before examining the validity of this thesis and the ethical considerations. Chapter 4 ended by discussing the personal reflexivity associated with completing the process of data collection. Chapter 5 highlights the findings from this thesis. Each main theme is underpinned by several sub-themes which are discussed with supporting quotes from the participants' life story transcripts.

In order to support and direct the reader without military occupational experience, a decision was made to remove military parlance from headings so as to remove sources of potential confusion. This decision was not taken lightly as the life story quotes established an important meaning and context, however, the need to be understood by all readers, regardless of occupational background established this action point. As part of the PhD journey, it became apparent that there was a need to narrow and create an in-depth focus centring on veteran identity of the two sub-groups within this study.

Section 1 focuses on the eleven sub-themes that emerged from the verbatim and these led to the development of three overarching main themes in the veteran ex-offender group;

- Identity and Culture
- Power, Control and Compliance
- Needs and Support

Section 2 explores three of the main themes from the veteran practitioner sub-group;

- Identity and Culture
- Power, Control and Empowerment
- Consequences, Causation and Impact

Section 1: Veteran Ex-offenders

5.2 Main Theme: Identity and Culture

This main theme explores the manner in which the participants perceived and interpreted their understanding of the dichotomy of their identity of being both a veteran and an offender. Neither identity appeared to have an overlaying prominence over the other, yet the identity of being a veteran was associated with a deep respect within the life story of the individual and was spoken about with pride and irreversible permanency. Whilst, in contrast the identity of an offender was seen as temporary, albeit that the impact on the individual's life appeared to have a correlation to the length of time from their initial contact with the CJS.

The analysis of the data demonstrated that under this theme the veteran ex-offenders perceived themselves as belonging to an expansive veteran community that held a shared lived experience and culture that was not viewed as understood by the civilian population. It emerged that veteran identity was seen to be a sub-group within society with distinct characteristics, values and attributes which indoctrinated a sense of brotherhood and family which appeared during the transition from military life into being a veteran ex-offender post involvement with the CJS.

5.2.1 Sub-Theme: Military Identity and Culture

Within the life stories of the participants, there was a common thread of how military service had led to the creation of an altered identity, formed through training, socialisation and military culture. This altered identity appears to facilitate a process through which the individual is able to be assimilated into the total institution of military life. Within the life stories, it was clear that veteran ex-offenders had associated risk-taking behaviour and a predisposition for this activity prior to joining the Armed Forces. There was evidence that veterans from the offending sub-group did appear to have a tendency for risk-taking behaviour. This point is illustrated by Ex-Offender 07.

Ex-Offender 07: They thought that 'cause I was a soldier and had a criminal record I was just some squaddie who could fight, so what the hell, I got

involved with the wrong crowd back in (mentions town's name) but at the time I thought they were...err…like...the right crowd.

This story provides some insight into the reluctance of this participant to explore parts of his life stories within the research context, as there was stigmatisation and a devaluation by society on their former role. Within the interview there appeared to be a wish to have the first identity have priority as it was discussed with pride and gave a substance to their self-image which was indefatigable and permanent, whilst the identity of having been an offender was spoken about in the hope of being transient and keen to have this label assigned to the past. This reaction could also be also argued to be the same for any professional also having an offender status, e.g. doctor, lawyer, or nurse. However, participants spoke about belonging to a larger veteran community, a group within a society whom they perceived as not fully recognised by those outside of the group. The participants alluded to a belief that this was due in part to society not having shared attributes, a common value system, a unique culture and a shared history. As highlighted by Ex-Offender 03 when discussing his transition from the military.

Ex-Offender 03: I couldn't fit in because erm…I sort of like…I think I…I felt like they spoke a different language…the people I'd work with and of course I couldn't settle in jobs, I didn't fit in with people and their…belief system…you know. I remembering thinking it was like I was from a different planet like.

There was a clear awareness amongst the participants that their involvement in the military had in some form meant that they had been through a process, which had become engrained within them and that this had created a positive outcome of having a military identity. However, this focus also appeared to create a void and lack of focus for some as understood by Ex-Offender 01 who likens it to a term used by soldiers to describe the ground between the two opposing trenches.

Ex-Offender 01: It's just not the same…I miss having a real purpose...a...meaningful identity…I feel like I'm in no man's land.

Ex-Offender 01 was in the midst of the fallout of his impact with the CJS after being dishonourably discharged from the Army (Royal Logistics Corp), due to a racially motivated incident whilst being intoxicated. He had managed to secure employment within a logistics role but it was the loss of his military identity which he grieved.

The participant responses appeared to contain evidence of some holding the Armed Forces either partially or directly responsible for their offending and highlighting, in their own words, that the conflict that they had experienced whilst in Iraq and Afghanistan has created within them a disposition which led them to commit the crime. An example of this can be seen within the life story transcript of Ex-Offender 01, who perpetrated a racially motivated crime, due to his stigmatisation and xenophobic behaviour which he directed to his experiences whilst in the military. Ex-Offender 01 had called an Asian taxi driver a rag head and was charged with a racially motivated hate crime.

Ex-Offender 01: If I wouldn't have gone to Afghan…I wouldn't have spoke my mind. When I came back obviously I've got a hatred for them, because of what they've tried to do. Well if it wasn't for what they did to people out there. So I did build a massive hatred for them. Now when I see…when I see an Asian guy that I'm drunk I avoid them at all costs 'cause I don't wanna say something I'll regret the next day. So I do have to watch what I drink now and stay away from them otherwise it just causes trouble for me 'cause I label em all the same. I'll be aggressive towards them, intimidate them, possibly fighting with them.

All the veteran ex-offenders spoke about the transition from military to civilian life and how there was no re-training whereby the individual undertook a process of socialisation back to a civilian identity. There was a perception that on leaving the Armed Forces that the military culture and identity transferred with them into their new lives as civilians and consequently into their experiences with the CJS as described by Ex-Offender 04.

Ex-Offender 04: It doesn't matter what you do, what you've gone through in the military just seems more...real. There's a lot of memories and training

that is probably not that useful now, but it's there anyway and you just can't turn your back on it.

There was a recognition by Ex-Offender 04 that military service had involved the absorption of a culture and reconstruction of identity which he believed had had a bearing on his offending behaviour.

5.2.2 Sub-Theme: Belonging

From the life stories of the veteran ex-offenders' attachment to their military identity and the ability to cope appears to be interlinked with an enveloping sense of belonging which resonates from the stories. This feature appears to hold an unmistakable truth, in that an ability to transgress from a military identity and assimilate into a new environmental role is a necessity in terms of a positive contribution to society for the veterans interviewed. The theme of 'belonging' emerged through the use of thematic analysis of the life stories as there was a recurring awareness as understood and articulated from within all the veteran life stories. Interestingly, it was also noted that the theme appeared to be understood and realised through an innate awareness by the veterans as demonstrated by Ex-Offender 07.

Ex-Offender 07: You don't get that in civvy street…that sense of belonging. You don't get that kind of friendship 'cause you don't go through the same things and hardship that…the good times, you know, you don't go through the same things with your civvy mates. There's always a stronger bond with…squaddie mates and that better past life…

Additional transcripts (e.g. Ex-Offender 02) also held a pronounced connection of belonging established through relationships with fellow members of the Armed Forces. The life story of Ex-Offender 02 appeared to indicate that it was through relationships that he created a sense of belonging by making his life more meaningful and in developing his individual identity as evidenced when asked to describe his time within his Regiment.

Ex-Offender 02: I'm not happy how it ended but when I was in…it was like, I had a proper family that I belonged to…I knew who I was…and if I could I would go back in, no fear.

The veteran ex-offender's life stories held evidence and meaning towards the importance of identity being formed on social interactions associated with their time within the Armed Forces community, which appeared to have been formed through shared beliefs, values and the process of going through a military regime. This consequently instils an embedded sense of belonging to this identity. The veteran identity appeared to be cherished amongst the participants and there was evidence from within the life stories that those encountering the CJS as an offender were reluctant to identify themselves as a veteran due to an apparent sense of shame as can be seen within the narrative of Ex-Offender 06.

Ex-Offender 06: I'd tried to…kill myself and 'cause of the way I tried to do it they put me in there with murderers and criminals, I just didn't belong there and I was just so very ashamed at what…I'd done.

In endangering the general public in his suicide attempt, Ex-Offender 06 had been placed in prison for his own safety, in order to await trial. When discussing his attempted suicide and the judicial response there was a palpable sense of humility, self-disappointment, regret and shame.

The participants explained that it was possible to identify other veterans whom they encountered within the CJS. This was evident with both the veteran practitioners they encountered but also within the offender population. There appeared to be tangible differences between non-veterans and veterans which made them easy to identify as suggested by Ex-Offender 06 when asked by the researcher how he had been identified as a veteran.

Ex-Offender 06: I guess it was the language that I used, how I kept my cell smart and orderly. I'd call the staff Sir, I guess that tipped em off.

The veterans' distinct characteristics, traits and attributes which created their identity created a wish to associate with other veterans as there was a heightened sense of

belonging to that group. The participants discussed a preference at times to associate with other veterans who they found had similar life stories. It was clear within the interviews and in revisiting the life stories that the veterans appeared to hold other veterans in high regard and that the shared identity provided a reference of reliability and a trustworthy character amongst veteran ex-offenders.

Ex-Offender 05: You join a family, so you have something in common and belong to a unit larger than what you were before. You've mostly been through the same experience and that helps with building trust and you know they'll have your back.

This feature as highlighted by Ex-Offender 05 appeared to be a method he used to create an alliance with those that he saw as his own kind who he saw as sharing an inherited sense of belonging through trust.

Within the interviews, the researcher asked the veteran ex-offenders (participants) to describe themselves and all spoke about their relationships with people and places, but also of their military experience, including their length of service, rank, and which particular Service they belonged to (Army, Navy, RAF). It appeared that by associating themselves to their previous identity, there was a conscious decision to convey to the researcher a knowledge base of the beliefs and values that they belonged and therefore the type of person they were by association. It was noted by the researcher that this emphasis was more pronounced within the veteran ex-offenders and this would at times form a foundation which needed to be established before moving on to discuss the criminal element of their life story trajectory. The veterans' identity was key in establishing a given in terms of the moral and social codes expected through military services, as there is a defined set of rules and codes that dictate how these are to be interacted with. It appears that this point requires further exploration in that a number of the veteran ex-offenders believed that these codes and rules of conduct had a clear belonging to their veteran identity as articulated by Ex-Offender 03.

Ex-Offender 03: It's built into you, hot wired into your thinking and how you act, giving you a set of codes and a military identity…that's just with you.

Within the life stories, it was evident that all veteran ex-offenders, including those who were dishonourably discharged, held a positive connection to their formative employment years within the British Armed Forces. The life stories showed how communities with little or no prospects provided the motivation for individuals to join the Armed Forces, creating a sense of belonging as they were able to establish a new home and family unit. This need to belong emanated from the life stories and was reaffirmed, not only by the participants themselves but by practitioners within the CJS who had identified this as a need and necessity within the formative years of the veteran ex-offenders. A point clearly evident when asked why he, Ex-Offender 04 had chosen to join the Royal Marines.

Ex-Offender 04: I think it stopped becoming a choice 'cause I came before the beak, he said you better go in prison or go in the Army or we're gonna lock you up. I don't think they are allowed to do that anymore but this particular magistrate was saying look, have you ever considered the Army? And I hadn't. And I started to really think about it.

This new community offered by the Royal Marines, appeared to offer Ex-Offender 04 a sense of belonging and attachment, independent of his cause for joining the Armed Forces. Whilst Ex-Offender 04's entry into the military was supported and guided, his transition was not. Evidence from veteran ex-offenders' life stories illuminates a reported incongruence between the recruitment process and the discharge and transition process from the Armed Forces as experienced and understood by the veterans (participants). If this disparity encapsulates a negative experience as encountered during this attrition back to civilian life, then the life stories attest to an inability to be able to establish a sense of belonging with their new community.

5.2.3 Sub-Theme: Stigma and Shame

In transcribing the interviews, there was a recurring existence of stigma and shame spanning yet connecting the individual life stories of the veteran ex-offenders. This sub-theme's presence within the life stories held potentially damaging social associations as attributed to the veteran ex-offenders and their families as understood by both sub-groups and experienced by the veteran ex-offenders.

Four of the nine participants from the offender group had been discharged from the military due to offending behaviour, either whilst still serving in the military or whilst on leave. There was, however, an overwhelming wish within all nine of the veteran ex-offenders' life stories to return to active service and to rekindle past glories or to learn from past mistakes. This feature appeared to be pronounced within the participants' life stories as they appeared to be discontented with their new civilian identity. All veterans' life stories held accounts of pride both to the individuals and their families and friends. There was a sense of belonging to a larger family and for some, their time in military service had been the pinnacle of their life where there was now a void as their current life held less substance or meaning and an overarching feeling of guilt and shame, which was prominent feeling within the offender sub-group.

The veterans from this sub-group discussed the negative aspects of being identified as a veteran whilst being dealt with by the judicial system, which in turn created a sense of shame as articulated through the following narrative.

Ex-Offender 05: Well because the…the CPS said well Mr (Name) is a former royal marine, he's trying to injure people and hurt people. What do you think we do? Do you think we run around the streets of Britain hurting people? Making it like, you know, like I'm some kind of John Rambo who's gonna go round causing, you know, lost the plot.

This narrative from Ex-Offender 05's life story appeared to attest to a process of stigmatisation at being identified as a veteran, which created shame not only for his actions but also for his subsequent entry into the CJS. This stigma and associated shame did not appear to affect the participant but appeared to be passed on by association to family members who in turn may seek to disown the veteran ex-offender as highlighted by Ex-Offender 03.

Ex-Offender 03: Well my family is my brother and my sister, er…they've got families of their own and well…erm they don't have anything to do with me anymore really…not after what happened.

This extract from this particular life story relates to stigma by affiliation, meaning that the media portrayed Ex-Offender 03 in a negative light and the story within the media featured stereotypical views of those who had been in the military. Whilst no charges were brought against Ex-Offender 03, he lost his job due to his unprofessional behaviour which meant that his standing as a professional was removed and he had resigned himself to be driving a 'shitty white van' (Ex-Offender 03 Transcript, p.9). He described his life as lonely and there was an air of desperation and lack of hope which emanated from him due to a poor moral decision. As a result, his family and friends had changed their perception of him as a 'veteran' to the one society had shaped for him.

5.3 Main Theme: Power, Control and Compliance

This main theme explores the participants' understanding and perceptions of the impact of being managed by a system whose focus is to arrest, incarcerate and manage. This inadvertently leads to the assertion of power and authority over the veteran ex-offenders whose index offence may be as a result of being exposed to military culture and training. The analysis of the data will identify how the assimilation into the veteran identity could be explained to be a means by which the Armed Forces exerts power, control and compliance through the removal of the individual and asserts control over them within the confines of the Armed Forces. This main theme will allow for a comparison through Goffman's (1961) description of total institutions as understood and interpreted by those with the lived experience of the formal rules and regulations which govern life within them.

5.3.1 Sub-Theme: Institutional and Cultural Comparisons

The participants appeared to demonstrate a self-awareness as they made sense of their experiences of military service and related this to their involvement with the CJS. This process included contemplating their own journey through their life story and how they understood their own part in being identified as an offender. It appeared that participants demonstrated an awareness of the existence of a familiar culture within the CJS, either by drawing on internal or external sources of validation.

Ex-Offender 02: It felt like I was living back in the Army…I'd wake up some times and have a shock 'cause I was in a prison cell, instead of in the billet

with my mates. I guess, living like that must of reminded me of being back in the (regiments name).

Ex-Offender 08: Yeah, there was the same regulations…same…rules of engagement if you like but the buggers wore different uniforms.

Variation in the perception and views were anticipated as the veteran ex-offenders had individual experiences of both military service but also different routes through the CJS. Through further exploratory questioning into these views it became apparent that there were two emergent themes. Whilst there was an acknowledgement of incongruence between the experienced social cultures, there was a definitive familiarity within institutional cultures as understood by the participants as articulated by Ex-Offender 05.

Ex-Offender 05: Rules and Regulations which create and a…degree of discipline which I guess is a major similarity between the two places.

The veteran ex-offenders appeared to be able to perceive comparisons between the institutional cultures and structures that they had been exposed to within their military lives and their experiences within the CJS. These were identified and categorised into four specific areas, namely; physical environment; structure and regime; staff; and mass living arrangements. The following exerts from the life story transcripts illustrate perceived substantial similarities between the two institutions.

Ex-Offender 09: You mean, like in prison…yeah not being able to leave, small living area inside a wall with barbed wire…load of uniforms telling me what to do and think…not a lot of difference really.

Ex-Offender 01: I guess so, when I was being dealt with by the cops, I kept calling em sir, wasn't happy with em but it was just habit, different uniforms but still lots of orders being given.

Ex-Offender 09 highlights similarities in the pains of imprisonment and the restrictions imposed during his life in the military by emphasising that the deprivation of both his autonomy and liberty while he was within the prison environment was identical to how they were constrained while in the military. Similarly, Ex-Offender 01 highlights certain characteristics of the total institution that he identifies and recognises within his exposure to the military and the CJS.

The life stories held references to the physically restrictive environments imposed by the various services of the CJS. The veteran ex-offenders spoke about how being confined within cells, either within the police stations or within prison surrounded by barbed wire was evocative of military life within a barracks environment within the barbed wired confines of a military camp.

Ex-Offender 06: Sometimes if I squinted, I could have imagined that I was back in either the RAF or Army and in a camp.

As can be seen within this narrative, there was a clear recognition by Ex-Offender 06 of the similarities between the environmental confines of the prison environment and that of previously experienced barrack life. However, these similarities extended beyond bricks and mortar into the management of the institutions. The emphasis on the need to apply rules and regulations held parallels between the structured regime of daily life within the services of the CJS and that of the military as understood by Ex-Offender 03.

Ex-Offender 03: Oh yes, especially in the courts with who can speak when and…rules and regulations but under a different heading, its mad really isn't it.

This acknowledgement by Ex-Offender 03 that the CJS relied on the same hierarchical structure that the participants had encountered within the Armed Forces appeared to elicit some recognition of the institutional similarities. However, they were able to articulate the reasoning for the need to facilitate and enforce regimes across the CJS in order to facilitate an effective and efficient system as highlighted within the interview with Ex-Offender 07.

Ex-Offender 07: The same rules of the game apply, basically the rules and regulations are set by those on top and they must be adhered to by those below in order for the system to run…or work.

Rather than berating the institutional regime, the majority of participants displayed conformity and understood the rationale. The veteran ex-offenders who had been to prison highlighted a close similarity with the bunk-bed arrangements and mass living arrangements with that of the military barracks in which individuals, work, sleep and eat in close quarters with other individuals as can be seen within the narrative from Ex-Offender 08.

Ex-Offender 08: Ha, yes, I suppose the living, eating and shitting in the same area together is like the same in that respect, living on top of each other.

Ex-Offender 08 had been imprisoned for 30 years and resided within 25 different prisons. He acknowledged that prison's intended aim was to be organised and to instil discipline and structure. However, he believed that there was evidence of failure within a number of institutions. He utilised his perception of the regimented regime of the military and held this as a barometer from which to judge the prisons within the CJS. He viewed many to have relaxed enforcement of discipline and consequently less rigid regimes. He viewed this as a negative feature of the institution and expressed a desire for conformity to military standards.

Ex-Offender 08: You need the discipline or else it all just goes to pot...and I've seen that happen over the years in the different prisons. You get some new Governor with new ideas and wants us all to be mates like and it don't work…not for long anyway. Like in the Navy, you need that discipline so men know where they stand…

Ex-Offender 08's childhood had been marked by a harsh and violent regime dispensed by the Governess of a children's home. He had come from the military where he had appeared to relish the heavy institutional regime which had enforced strict discipline but with clearer parameters. He expressed frustration at what he identified as a relaxed

discipline within some prisons and linked the success of a prison to what extent it applied a more draconian interpretation of the rules and regulations.

In relation to comparisons between the two institutions when exploring social culture, there appeared to be a consensus amongst the veteran ex-offenders that there was a marked contrast when applied to individuals not identified as former military personnel. Veteran ex-offenders' life stories attested to a perceived fundamental difference between military personnel and individuals encountered within their transition to a civilian identity and subsequent exposure within the CJS. There was an identified difference within the cultures that categorised these relations and interactions. The participants explained that the military fostered the promotion of a culture embedding comradeship into a core component of a family identity. This culture generated cohesion between peers and the establishment of trust. Alternatively, within their civilian life and exposure to the CJS, they noted an absence of trust and comradeship and a need to be hyper-vigilant to exploitation and even physical assault, became a recurring theme once the veteran was within the CJS.

Ex-Offender 02: There's this camaraderie that you have, a friendship but more like a family but more than a family in some ways. When I went inside (prison) and even when I went back into civvy street, I just couldn't relate to people and I certainly didn't trust em with my life, like what I had done with the lads in I (name of regiment).

Ex-Offender 03: You join into something bigger than you and so do the others, with what happened (referring to court case) I could reply on lads I'd know…I was ashamed, so ashamed but if I had told em, I'd know they'd be there…it's not like that after you hand in your kit.

These testimonies from Ex-Offender 02 and Ex-Offender 03 collaborate and identify similar sentiments linked to an absence of comradeship, solidarity and cohesion amongst the general offender population.

5.3.2 Sub-Theme: Relations with Non-Veteran Ex-offenders

There was an overall consensus from the participants that there was an amicable relationship with other offenders. Although, the veteran ex-offenders often identified non-veteran ex-offenders as morally and socially inferior and would extradite themselves from socialising with them as demonstrated within the narrative of Ex-Offender 05.

> **Ex-Offender 05**: Some real dead-heads…just full of hot air and piss…I just tried to stay away from that lot.

This sentiment appeared throughout the participant's life story transcripts and appeared to create a demarcation between themselves and the general offender population. These sentiments ranged from aversion to disgust for, certain sub-groups of offenders, namely, those engaged with substance misuse, sex offences and those attempting to create a 'wannabe hard men' persona as discussed by Ex-Offender 09 and 04.

> **Ex-Offender 09:** Oh lord, you come across some right numpties…wannabe hard men' who would brag about everything they'd supposed to have done, just scum…no time for em. You'd find out that they beaten up some poor granny or something for money to buy shit to put em themselves…scum.

> **Ex-Offender 04**: Nonces, they were the worst of the worst and best keep em clear of me.

These explanations by Ex-Offender 09 and Ex-Offender 04 demonstrated a revulsion and disdain for certain offenders, indicating a social hierarchy. The participants demonstrated a resentment towards sex offenders, indicating that this revulsion was not particularly linked to military culture and identity. Nevertheless, there was a noticeable defamation of character reserved for those who viewed their masculinity to be measured by overinflated 'wannabe hard men' image. This denigration did appear to be linked to a military identity as this sub-group was seen as a contradiction to the apparent developed, professionalism associated with veterans. Similarly, those

associated with substance misuse were vilified as 'being weak' and perceived as morally deficient and in opposition to an apparent elevated military culture. It is perhaps not surprising that exposure to individuals engaging in this illicit behaviour resulted in a wish to distance themselves and resulting shame as indicated by Ex-Offender 01.

Ex-Offender 01: When I used to have to go see my probation officer, you'd see other people there at his office and…I had to attend there once a week but I hated mixing with that type, smack-heads and kiddy fiddlers some of em…I felt so ashamed going home to my mum, I never told her what it was like.

This wish to camouflage their exposure to the criminal fraternity also extended to their veteran identity which could prove somewhat problematic. The veteran ex-offenders considered that their military identity was mainly concealed and that other (non-veteran) offenders were not aware. It appeared that when there was an awareness of their veteran identity this was due to behaviours associated with being in military service or personal effects being seen within the shared housing within a prison wing. This exposure of their military identity appeared to elicit mixed reactions from non-veteran ex-offenders.

Ex-Offender 07: When I went to court, it got picked up that I was a veteran and when I went back down to the cells, I could hear a few of them talking like, oh he's one of them squaddies, thinks he's special.

Ex-Offender 02: I shared a cell with a few blokes in (names prison) and to be honest they were fine, they'd ask questions and said 'fair play I should have done' that or 'I'd wished I'd done that'.

There was evidence from within the life stories that military service had created consequences in relation to risks to personal safety but also sympathy towards reactionary ideological practices. A number of the participants who had encountered the prison environment recounted incidents of intimidation and fears for safety from

what they described as ‘Islamic Fundamentalism’. However, there was evidence that exposure to conflict as a consequence of their military identity had exposed some participants to develop racist tendencies towards Islam as can be seen within the life story of Ex-Offender 09 who recounts his crime, motivated by revenge for the murder of a British soldier on the streets of London.

Ex-Offender 09: Erm…I went back, got changed, decided to go for a few pints and all anybody was talking about was (name repeated x3). Isn't this is terrible, it shouldn't be allowed and blah, blah, blah and obviously I'm drinkin' and I'm drinkin' and it's getting later and later, erm…and then I've gone home, got me…me clobber on like, headed in to (town) to the nightclubs, coppers were at the door, staff not lettin' us in ‘cause I was known as a fighter like, erm…so I've managed to get in one club and the same again, it's all anybody's talkin' about is it shouldn't have happened and (name) and this and I said ah fuck it, I'm gonna do something about it and I ended up down the (building) tryin' to burn it down.

This risk-taking behaviour combined with alcohol consumption and a distorted view of Islam had combined to create a potentially lethal outcome as well as having lasting ramifications within the community that this participant resided within at the time of the incident. This perception of Islam and negative encounters while on operational tours of duty appear to have left a negative impression with a number of the participants as this was not an isolated narrative as can be seen within this narrative from the life story interview with Ex-Offender 01. He was asked what his feelings were towards the local population that he encountered while on tour in Afghanistan.

Ex-Offender 01: Very, very much hatred… they throw rocks at your face and they like try and scav from you and try and rob you…they just really don't care, erm…even the armies, they don't care. Erm…but…in my eyes they are all the same ‘cause if they wanted to they could all kill you. If like they got turned or brainwashed into Taliban. Like they'll just run out in front of you or they'll run behind you and start shooting.

This emotively charged extract from Ex-Offender 01's life story demonstrates a disconcerting area of concern and subsequent area of risk of service personnel transitioning back into communities where there may be a Muslim population who are inadvertently placed at risk. Reassuringly, there was an eventual acknowledgement by Ex-Offender 01 who had been convicted of a crime directed towards the Islamic faith, that this version of Islam was an extremist view and not indicative of this religion.

Ex-Offender 01: I know what I did was wrong, I was just drunk and letting off steam, they are not all like that and most Muslims are humble people.

The total institutional confines as experienced by the veteran ex-offenders allowed for the identification of numerous accounted narratives of conflict within the confined parameters of the prison environment involving Islamic Fundamentalism, ranging from verbal abuse to physical assault as found within the discourse with Ex-Offender 09. He was asked why he thought he had become a target and why his index offence had been directed towards the Islamic faith.

Ex-Offender 09: 'Cause of what I did to the mosque like, they must have found out somehow. I mean it's like I said from the beginning, I…I…I never had a problem with the Muslims but I don't think it would have mattered what the fight was. It could have been Muslims, it could have been something else. I don't think it would have mattered what it was…it was just a fight.

It is perhaps this acknowledgement towards a desire to seek out risk-taking behaviour through direct conflict which is of interest, yet with a focused exploration of this specific point it would be challenging to identify a definitive answer; however there does appear to be a high ratio of violence acts noted within the veteran ex-offender profile. Within the life stories despite the awareness of reprisals from being identified as a veteran, there was an overwhelming consensus that this was not a factor for non-disclosure but rather that the presence of stigma and the associated feeling of shame at being identified as an offender was the overarching impacting factor.

5.3.3 Sub-Theme: Relations with Practitioners within the Criminal Justice System

The life stories held evidence of a variation in how practitioners interacted with the veteran ex-offenders and also which service within the CJS the participant was referred into. The transcripts held evidence of respect being awarded towards the participants from the practitioners due to a perceived level of empathy in connection with a shared veteran identity as highlighted by Ex-Offender 07.

Ex-Offender 07: If they'd been in (military) and found out I was ex-military then I found they seemed to know what I was going through and maybe could see that I needed help. I gave them respect and they gave it back.

The veteran ex-offenders stated that there appeared to be an awareness amongst practitioners within the CJS of who were and were not ex-service personnel. This could either be as a result of a general conversation or a more focused inquiry from services established to support veterans within the CJS. The participants were conscious that they posed mannerisms associated with a military identity and culture which could inform before any disclosures were offered. There was strong evidence within the veteran ex-offender life stories of experiences of bonding with practitioners who were also ex-military personnel (veteran practitioners) as can be seen within the following extract from the interview held with Ex-Offender 06 and Ex-Offender 02.

Ex-Offender 06: I remember when I was taken to the custody desk, I didn't know what was going on as I'd just tried to end it all (attempted suicide). I just stood there in front of the custody sergeant…he asked after a bit whether I was ex-forces…must have been how I was standing or answering his questions. I think they could see I was in a bad way and he took care of me from that point on.

Ex-Offender 02: After the first day… erm a prison officer came to see and asked whether I was ex-military, you know a veteran. Turns out he was

Welsh from (names town) as well and from the same Regiment but from years ago. He made sure I was ok and knew what was expected of me.

The veteran ex-offenders in the main believed that their veteran identity afforded them a greater degree of respect by most practitioners within the CJS and this appeared most prominent if the practitioner was themselves a veteran. The reason resonated with the shared military identity and culture that both sub-groups had been exposed to and was interwoven with mutual trust and understanding. Notably, this shared identity was not seen to cause preferential treatment and indeed this neither appeared to be sought or expected by the participants as articulated by Ex-Offender 04 and 09.

Ex-Offender 04: It's not like you're getting special treatment just because you were in the forces…no but it's respect but again nothing is given freely and you have to earn it but you both know what discipline and respect are and…well that helps when you're in prison I guess.

Ex-Offender 09: It's not like they treat you as different to the others that haven't been in but there is some respect…maybe over what they have to deal with usually. You've both worn the uniform and that seems to build some respect.

During the interviews with the veteran ex-offenders what initially appeared to be possible evidence of preferential treatment by practitioners towards the veteran ex-offenders, was after further exploration, a result of having built up a level of trust, reliability and compliance through an effective rapport. A fundamental key in establishing this reputation was felt to be military service, which had embedded principles associated with discipline, compliance of rules and self-control. It was unclear whether non-veteran ex-offenders could also build similar rapport and reputation but what was evident from listening to the participants, such as Ex-Offender 02, was that the military identity and culture appeared to lend itself to establishing mutual coherence, and compliance to the rules through a shared veteran identity.

Ex-Offender 02: You both know where the goal posts are what is expected. This doesn't happen so much with the staff that haven't been in the forces, they might have been working in Burger King last month flipping burgers and now there in here. If they've been in the Forces then they know the score and you know that what they say will count.

This variation in apparent competency between the two staff groups led on to discussions relating to perceived poor conduct by non-veteran staff. There was evidence of a number of incidences of unfavourable treatment towards some of the participants which invariably involved non-veteran practitioners who appeared to view their veteran identity negatively as indicated by the following narrative explaining why Ex-Offender 01 thought that he had been arrested after verbally abusing a man that he had identified as a Muslim.

Ex-Offender 01: I feel like he was just…most police forces do it. They see a squaddie and they think oh here we go, he thinks he's better than anybody else, 'cause that's what you get taught in training, you're better than civvies and that's the way I think police see us or see soldiers. So they just look for an excuse to arrest them. Say look, I've got more power than you. I'm better than you. Like I don't think that…I think that contributes towards it, definitely. It definitely does.

In reviewing the life stories transcripts, incidences similar to this appear to be relatively uncommon. Ex-Offender 04 recounts an instance when he felt he was dealt with harshly by practitioners due to being identified as a veteran and having served as a Royal Marine he explains what he thinks the implications were at being identified as a veteran.

Ex-Offender 04: It doesn't always work in your favour…you might get a few staff that give you a hard time because they think you're a loose cannon or will react well…will only respond to being shouted at…numpties.

Whilst these exerts seem to be notable exceptions, the participants expressed generally positive opinions on the practitioners encountered within the CJS. However, these

negative encounters did not appear to have an overall effect on the perceptions of practitioners within the CJS and there was no apparent evidence of any inherent malice or grievance towards these individuals. Indeed, the veteran ex-offenders expressed reverence towards practitioners who they saw to be 'earning a crust'.

Ex-Offender 07: They're doing a job aren't they and at the end of the day, the vast majority do their best. And just want to get back to their families.

Ex-Offender 03: It was stressful with what I was going through but I didn't take it out on any of the staff dealing with me, it wasn't their fault and they were just earning a crust.

All of the veteran ex-offenders commented that they were aware of practitioners within the CJS that had previous military experience. This was regarded positively and indeed the participants noted that their attributes of friendliness, professionalism, confidence, and an approachable demeanour were noticeably enhanced over their non-veteran counterparts. This opinion was universally expressed by all the veteran ex-offenders. The promotion of good relations was seen to be necessitated by the attributes of good communication skills and confidence which supported compliance with institutional regimes.

Ex-Offender 08: Over the years you come across a lot of ex-forces personnel as prison staff…they have a sort of restraint but are able to stand up for themselves without throwing it in anyone's face.

Ex-Offender 09: You can spot them a mile off, they are more switched on, and laid back, that's not to say they don't get the job done, they actually do a better job but with less effort

Whilst the general attitude and perceptions towards non-veteran practitioners within the CJS appeared to be positive, there was some disparagement directed to an apparent lack of experience and ability which was inevitably linked to having not served in the

military. This view was evident within the life stories and appeared to be linked to civilian identity and civilian occupations which evidently were not viewed as masculine or holding the same professional gravitas that having been in the military held for the participants.

> **Ex-Offender 05**: There was this one prison officer who has giving me a hard time, I'm not sure why but I asked him what he had done before coming into this line of work…he told me he'd worked in Next…can you believe it, selling clothes and then ordering me about.

> **Ex-Offender 02**: Civvies just don't have a clue, they can live in a bubble and watch the world on their flat screen.

The participants perceived their military and veteran status to hold a higher social status and was a source of pride. This enhanced social status derived from their military service had endured from making their transition back into civilian life and had survived through their involvement with the CJS, albeit bringing with it a shroud of stigma and shame having now been identified as an offender. The recurrence of a dismissive narrative regarding 'civvies' appears to mark a considered implication that civilians hold an inferior status due to a lack of legitimacy. The participants unilaterally preferred veteran practitioners, therefore conceding in all matters to their inherent acceptance that their military background afforded them the right to authority. The participants displayed an attitude of superiority over civilians and this appeared to be linked to their military training and culture as articulated by Ex-Offender 07.

> **Ex-Offender 07**: I found it hard when I came out to have respect for civvies, which is funny when you think that I was when as soon as I'd left. You just have this can do attitude and it's been drilled into you that you're tougher more…superior I guess, that what they started telling us in Basic and it just gets pushed into you until it clicks.

As these narratives attest, civilians were a focal point within the life stories for ridicule and a general lack of respect appeared to be systemic from military training and

acquired culture. These views had been carried forward into the transition into civilian life and appeared to have caused challenges in interfacing with a realisation of their own new civilian identity and need to belong. The veteran ex-offenders held those with veteran status in high regards and worthy of their respect which assisted in collaborative working.

5.3.4 Sub-Theme: Compliance

The veteran ex-offender sub-group struggled to gain employment and housing post-discharge from the military and their life stories attested to the presence of alcoholism, violence and mental health issues, which inevitably would lead them into the CJS as offenders.

Throughout the course of the life story interviews the veteran ex-offenders' conduct prior to military service, during and post-discharge from the military was discussed. There was evidence that for those that had been within the prison environment, their time had been spent obeying rules, and following instruction attempting to blend into the surrounds and to be forgettable 'being the grey man'.

> **Ex-Offender 05:** Whilst I was in, I just kept my nose clean and tried to stay out of the way of any trouble…be the grey man as they used to say.

Although every participant was reportedly compliant at the time of the interview with any regime restriction placed on them by the CJS, it became apparent that a number of the participants had not always been, either within their lives prior to joining the Armed Forces or during their military service. In relation to the veteran ex-offenders' life stories, this can result in a return to deviance. There appeared to be a predisposition towards criminality prior to joining the military by Ex-Offender 04, Ex-Offender 07 and Ex-Offender 09. Whilst this feature was acknowledged by the participants, they did not seek to exonerate their actions but only to justify.

> **Ex-Offender 04**: So erm…I went down to one of the houses one day were these local scum bags were dossing...I thought I'd sort em out...

Ex-Offender 07: Erm…I…I got talked in to criminality really. I started doing a bit of dealing and rough stuff…strong arm. …I got the fights for unlicensed stuff…it was an easy fit really.

Ex-Offender 09: I've got fifty-one convictions erm…fraud, theft erm…which was more to do with money like, online banking 'cause I was good at computers. I just needed to make money, after coming out like, to survive. I've got a lot of assaults. Assaults on policemen, assaults on lads erm…and it's beer, basically what it all is, drunk and disorderlies. God knows how many of them I've had before, in and out of the Army…(laughs).

The last narrative in particular presents a life story which indicates that criminal activity was present both within the participant's life within the military and once discharged from the Armed Forces. Despite these exceptions, the other six participants in the study reported having never been in trouble prior to joining the Armed Forces and during their military career. Whilst this could not be said to be true within their subsequent discharge, there was now an apparent compliance with the rules and regulations imposed by the various services of the CJS. The participants spoke favourably of now being better able to cope as their previous experiences of being in a disciplined and hierarchical regime helped them manage their current or previous involvement with the CJS. The participants spoke about the experience of having lived within one institution of the military, supported the transitional adjustment to a new one within the CJS as highlighted by Ex-Offender 06 and Ex-Offender 09.

Ex-Offender 06: I'm not worried about being told what to do by others, I'm used to this sort of environment and sticking to rules and regulations.

Ex-Offender 09: I've always had the same sort of line of thought. You can't put a man in jail if you can't take anything away from him. If he's got nothing to take away from him he won't learn. And every time I've gone to jail it's…it's never bothered us 'cause I've not…I'm not losing anything, you know, I never see me family anyway even before the Army…a girlfriend, it doesn't

matter if I've got a girlfriend, you know, it's…I would finish the relationship anyway if I went to jail.

Whilst the life story interviews held evidence of periods of distress and anxiety brought about by their contact with the CJS, all participants spoke about being able to cope with the physical and mental strains of this encounter with the CJS and subsequent fall-out within their own lives. The following narratives are indicative of the participants' apparent ability to cope that appears to have emerged as a direct consequence of having been instilled with a mindset via their military training to excel, to complete a set task and a dedication to a purpose in the face of adversity.

Ex-Offender 03: I'm quite organised and like to get things done…it has helped with everything I've gone through…I've applied a lot military skills to get me through those tough times.

Ex-Offender 02: That can do…do anything sort of mind-set. I suppose getting on with other people as your living with a lot of other people…all types of people.

This positive ethos was evidenced by the veteran ex-offenders who demonstrated an ability to maintain personal control and self-restraint through compliance of the new regime of the CJS. These attributes were identified by the participants as valuable life skills and characteristics that had been gained through being in the military and in creating the required resilience to cope with the pressures of being a veteran ex-offender. This point was illustrated when Ex-Offender 06 was asked whether their previous experience in the RAF and Army had helped them prepare for going to prison.

Ex-Offender 06: Well, it doesn't help with the shame of it all…but as hard as it was going in…it helped as you pick up and use old tools…characteristics around you know rules and how you speak with the

prison staff. That helps you earn their respect and gets you through the day easier…which helps.

This mind-set was seen as a support in surviving within the participants' exposure to the CJS. There were accounts such as Ex-Offender 02's when the use of this mind-set provides apparent support in the face of adversity with familiar institutional regimes by being able to employ discipline, restraint and self-control in order to maintain compliance.

Ex-Offender 02: You just have to keep your nose clean, there were times when if someone didn't like the look of you, they'd let you know…in your head just thing…fuck off like, what's your problem you fuckwit…but I just kept thinking, I got my parole coming up. I just used that discipline for restraint that they teach you in the Army.

Within this narrative Ex-Offender 02 demonstrates an awareness of the negative implications that could result from him displaying his true thoughts and feelings to practitioners within the prison. Ex-Offender 02 displays his ability to cope with the restriction of imprisonment.

The participants were subject to either none or some sort of disciplinary action while in the military. The majority had enviably been sanctioned for offences which could be viewed to have been as a consequence of the military's low threshold for legal and disciplinary action. Some of the participants reported more severe offences of being imprisoned for being Absent Without Leave (AWOL) to reports of fights fuelled by over-indulgence of alcohol. Within these discussions involving fighting there appeared to the researcher to be an acceptance that this was part of an accepted culture. In addition, there was evidence that convictions relating to fighting would not prevent an individual from joining the military as highlighted when asked what Ex-Offender 09's incentive was to join the Army?

Ex-Offender 09: Boredom and I wanted to travel but couldn't afford it. I had a few convictions at that point…few assaults…they said it was fine as long as it was nothing serious.

These findings display an engrained awareness within the life stories that this was part of being identified as a soldier within a masculine profession. This feature was not alone in identifying veteran ex-offenders' identity towards the compliance of a desired behaviour.

Part of the behavioural cues which the participants reported made them easily identifiable as veterans was a preoccupation with cleanliness, personal hygiene and order. This was a feature noted by the researcher when the interviews were in participants' living quarters which were also orderly, clean and well presented with every item having a designated place.

Ex-Offender 08: No, No…I like the order, it's been like that from the Navy and was like that in my cell with everything neat and almost ready for inspection, it's been instilled in me but I like it.

The veteran ex-offenders within this study all demonstrated a willingness throughout their life stories to make constructive use of their time. This was demonstrated in their initial aspirations to join the Armed Forces or within their continual professional development throughout their military service. Indeed, for those who had been incarcerated within the prison environment, there was evidence that they had made constructive use of their time by engaging in full-time work and educational courses which might assist them when they again made the transition back into civilian life. Whilst it is difficult to make comparisons to the general offender population, all participants expressed a desire and fulfilment for work and a wish to achieve. All appeared to be engaged in work or education and this continuous attainment was considered important in assisting them to manage with life after encountering the CJS.

Ex-Offender 01: I'm on an educational course now, at (names college) it's carrying on from some of the training that I started in prison, I'm hoping that gets me a full-time job rather than just bits and pieces. It's important, I'm not lazy, never have been and I want more than this…the courses will get me there.

Ex-Offender 07: I'm doing a course in Access to Higher Education now and loving it. I'm an ex-squaddie except you're never really an ex-squaddie…I just can't sit on my arse and do nothing. I've got to push and work.

The need and desire to engage in work and education was found within the entire sample of participants. The life stories of the veteran ex-offenders demonstrated a desire within most to join the Armed Forces in order to leave social deprivation and to increase their own individual prospects. Within communities with limited employment prospects and recurrent recessions creating long-term instability, the military was seen by most as an exciting and viable option to escape poverty and projected destitution. In addition to a new family unit offering comradeship and a collective purpose.

5.3.5 Sub-Theme: Recruitment

This sub-theme explores the motivational factors which caused the participants to be recruited into military employment and provides insight and understanding into the participants' lived experience of voluntary entry into military life.

Within the life stories, it was evident that all veteran ex-offenders, including those who were dishonourably discharged, held a positive connection to their formative employment years within the British Armed Forces. The life stories showed how communities with little or no prospects provided the motivation for individuals to join the Armed Forces, creating a sense of belonging as they were able to establish a new home and family. This feature can be seen within the narrative of Ex-Offender 08 who accounts for his reasons for wanting to join the Royal Navy.

Ex-Offender 08: Well I was brought up in a children's home…my mother and father just couldn't look after us and they had a…an order from the courts not to keep in touch with us younger children. There was twelve at that time when I went in to the home but there was fifteen siblings all told. Er…three of' em died. I don't know how but I put it under dubious circumstances. The matron would beat me with a dog's lead. When I got older I decided I needed to get to the Navy, it offered a new start, friends and something to belong to was it for me.

This exert from the life story of Ex-Offender 08 demonstrates how for many the wish to escape social deprivation and abuse can be a striving factor in joining the Armed Forces. However, for Ex-Offender 08 this violence and abuse would become a distinctive feature within his offending profile as he became a violent and reoffending rapist which would see elements of his early abuse reenacted on his victims.

This new community, sense of belonging and attachment appeared within the life stories of all the veterans independent of the cause for joining the Armed Forces. However, upon analysis those undertaking a disempowered transition into civilian life and returning to the deprived communities that they had attempted to leave, then they would begin to prioritise survival. As could be seen within the life stories of the veteran ex-offender sub-group, if there had been a predisposition and belonging to criminality before joining the military, then this appeared to be a returning feature within the veterans' life story as discussed by Ex-Offender 04.

Ex-Offender 04: It was just second nature when I got out…easy and I was back in that area so those old connections were still there, I kept that quiet though when I eventually applied for my social work training…well you would wouldn't you.

The life stories demonstrated that this withdrawal linked to an inability to extract themselves from their sense of belonging to their military identity. Consequently, malcontentment and depression appeared as prominent features within these life stories. The process of veterans returning to communities which they feel they no longer belong to requires some exploration, as there appeared to be some resentment and disillusionment (as evidenced by Ex-Offender 02) within the life stories.

Ex-Offender 02: I was back at my mums…still there now. Back in (name town) it's horrible there, no jobs, just a load of dead beats doing nothing…I joined to get away from that life and now I'm bloody back and can't get out.

Ex-Offender 02 was 25 years old, who had struggled in school and had joined the Army to improve his prospects as he resided in a deprived housing estate within Wales.

His father had left his mother when he discovered that she was pregnant with him. He was softly spoken and appeared demure and initially somewhat reserved which the researcher needed to address by adopting disarming, non-threatening dialogue, as advocated by Tony Parker (Soothhill, 1999). He spent 3 years in the Army and initially joined the Royal Logistics Corp but he felt he had been pressed to go into the Infantry due to low recruitment at that time. His life story indicated that perhaps the Infantry was a poor choice and one that he attempted to rectify without success. He was sent on a tour of Afghanistan and struggled immediately with the rigours and the requirements for regimented robustness which would ensure his and the platoon's survival. Given these perhaps expectant struggles, he felt that he had been set up to fail and it is apparent that he started to exhibit symptoms relating to PTSD. He was quickly discharged within one week without little support and as he explained, he felt that he had been 'left out in the cold'. He spent 6 months in prison and family members who were at that time also residing within the same prison noted their surprise at him being there as they believed he had been the one that had 'done so well'. He was asked how he believed, he had handled the transition from military service and how the Army had managed that transition.

Ex-Offender 02: Erm…I've…I've struggled. I'm still struggling now. It's such a massive difference and I think from my experience, I don't believe you should be able to…sign off while you're in Afghanistan or at least six months after coming back 'cause it's destroying me…it's ruined me. It's the hardest thing I've ever had to do in my life. Mum's glad I'm home…they just see, oh he's home, he'll be alright, he did so well joining the Army…erm…and that's all a lot of people see I think. It's not the case and…I'm struggling to live it's really difficult now. Terrible…fucking awful…They tell you you're important when you join…be the best (laughs) that you mean something, that you're one of them and you're like a family but family don't supposed to treat you like that. They were opposite of what they were like when I joined and it was all jolly and welcoming but then I had problems it was like I got thrown of the scrap heap.

Evidence from the life stories as highlighted by Ex-Offender 02, illuminates a reported incongruence between the recruitment process and the discharge and transition process

from the Armed Forces as experienced and understood by the veterans (participants). If the disparity encapsulates a negative experience as encountered during this attrition back to civilian life, then the life stories attest to long-standing consequences for a number of the veterans at being recruited within their adolescence.

To this end, it can be seen that the veterans were provided with prospects that would have been non-existent due to their young age or social and economic deprivation. They then become part of a constructed reality which whilst creating opportunities for travel and comradeship, also adds their *belonging* to the militaristic undertone of the government and arms manufacturers. A number of the veterans were proud of their early service and spoke about their involvement with a sense of unmistakable pride. It was clear that they recognised that their prior function was to serve Queen and Country, but some alluded to not fully understanding the full meaning of this responsibility despite showing appreciation of employment. There was clear evidence of an expansive presence of military culture within the life stories as evidenced so prominently by Ex-Offender 02's transcript which plots his life story trajectory from motivated and enthused recruit to despondent, dishonourably discharged veteran.

It was clear to the researcher that Ex-Offender 02 had self-awareness at the time of the interview and that there was a realisation that his early involvement and recruitment had been a far cry from the realities of war that he later felt he had been so ill-prepared for. It was his belief that this had repercussions upon his life which led to a prison sentence and eventual employment as a waste collector for the council.

5.4 Main Theme: Needs and Support

This main theme explores the narratives on particular needs which the participants viewed as pertinent to their involvement in the CJS. These included greater support with the transition to civilian life, through recognised transferable qualifications from their military life and consolidating links with veteran charities and organisations. Throughout the life stories, there were four recommendations which appeared as an emergent and prominent theme. These were: health and social care provision for veteran ex-offenders and their families; veteran peer support; veteran prison-wings; and veteran courts. There was a realisation by the participants that whilst there were

identifiable means to further support veterans, the consequence could be animosity from other sub-groups within the CJS as evidenced within the following narrative.

Ex-Offender 06: I know I got a few looks and comments from other prisoners, oh you're one of them are you…not in the Army now you know…like that.

5.4.1 Sub-Theme: Health and Social Care Provision

The veteran ex-offenders cited a major issue that they faced was health and social care provision both for themselves and their families. The participants had served in operational tours of Northern Ireland, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo with many having been involved in active combat with some reporting having taken a life in the line of duty. All participants; life stories held evidence of psychological trauma whether as a consequence of operational military service or within the transition to civilian life and subsequent involvement in the CJS as is evident within the life story of Ex-Offender 04 and Ex-Offender 01.

Ex-Offender 04: …I just wanted to be on the railway lines and er…I wanted to kill myself. I went in to several different psychiatric units. I basically jumped on a train had my para smock on and I…the conductor said have you got a ticket? Told him to fuck off like. Train came and I jumped on it but all the police were waiting for me and I knew I was gonna have a competition so I had a load of coffee sachets to make me hyper so I could fight them all.

Ex-Offender 01: I just couldn't cope back at mum's, I was just totally chin strapped after what had happened…didn't come out my old room for weeks…could have ended it…you know.

These narratives from within the life stories provided an insight into a resulting reliance on substance misuse which appeared as a key feature within the modus operandi of their criminal offence. All participants in the study reported having

misused alcohol during their military service and as a coping mechanism when dealing with apparent psychological trauma.

> **Ex-Offender 04**: So I used to just get hammered and that was my same MO every time. Get in my room, I didn't wanna be disturbed, I didn't want to eat, I wanted to stay in my bed a few days. And that was the norm for me.

> **Ex-Offender 05**: I don't think there's anyone alive that has drinks and their personality isn't gonna to change…you know devil's urine…doesn't help when you're down and things on your mind when it not going well in civvy street.

The challenges of dealing with trauma without health and social care provision featured heavily within the life stories of the veteran ex-offenders. Predominantly alcohol was present within all the life stories and to a lesser extent, illegal drugs were reportedly used. The use of substance misuse appeared within the life stories alongside psychological trauma either as a result of military operational tours or another contributing factor such as unemployment, family breakdown and depression as outlined within the interview with Ex-Offender 03.

> **Ex-Offender 03:** I just started hitting the bottle pretty hard, Jack Daniels and Whiskey, a lot more expensive than the Mess days…except it wasn't as much fun on my own but I didn't know how else to cope…to get on.

The presence of alcohol consumption was a noted feature within all of the participants' life stories and was present within the majority of the criminal activities relating to violence. Given the apparent prevalence of alcohol consumption within the military as a recreational activity and cultural nuance, there appears to be a continuing feature through the life story of the participants. Consequently, the accompanying health and social care provision to support the participants at the point of crisis within their lives that the acts of crime occurred, did not appear to be present when discussed within the interviews. The veteran ex-offenders spoke about the apparent disparity in the

provision of services allocated for physical health as opposed to the mental health of veterans. They were concerned with the gaps in the assessment and lack of treatment of mental health issues, including PTSD.

Ex-Offender 08: I seen a lot over the years with problems after they been in the military and if there isn't anyone around who knows what they been through…'cause they're basically reliving it inside… then they slip through the cracks…if they had a physical injury, like from one of those IED things then it would get picked up and dealt with.

All of the nine participants reported having experienced some form of psychological trauma or distress as a result of previous military service or post-discharge from the Armed Forces. Within the life stories it appeared that many of the participants' experiences of trauma were relatively transitory and not officially diagnosed by medical professionals. There was evidence of participants presenting with persistent symptoms of mental illness but not receiving adequate treatment either within the military or post-discharge as highlighted by Ex-Offender 02.

Ex-Offender 02: Nothing er…basically a lad that I was in with er…he said to me oh have you not tried to get a pension? I said do you not get that when you're injured? He said yeah but he said haven't you been diagnosed with PTSD? I said no, they said something about that before I was discharged but then they kicked me out. So before I went and got sentenced my solicitor went and got in touch with a therapist). And er…he basically come and he diagnosed me with PTSD for the case. He said this should have happened ages ago. Later I found out that it was in my Army medical notes but they discharged me and didn't do anything to help me.

Ex-Offender 05 was apparently suffering from psychological trauma as a result of his operational experience and then exasperated by undertaking private security contracts in Somalia and had been suffering flashbacks from being unable to acquire the necessary treatment and support from mental health services. The lack of support and dependency on alcohol resulted in an incident of domestic violence which resulted in him being remanded to prison and his wife being hospitalised as a result of her injuries.

The participant was resolute in that if he had received the support that he had requested then this incident would not have occurred. His life after leaving the military whilst successful in obtaining employment was periodically unstable and chaotic involving relationships which finally led to his incarceration in prison due to domestic violence.

Ex-Offender 05: We went back to the…the hotel, used the spa, really nice erm…we'd had a couple of drinks, sat down, watching…we were gonna watch a bit of TV. Now she says that something came on about the Armed Forces and from nowhere, next thing I know I was sitting on top of her and I'd wrestled her to the ground…I'd hit her a couple of times. Amnesia…I don't know. I just attacked her. She ended up with her eardrums perforated…I knew I had been struggling with things from my past but this, I just didn't expect this, I mean Jesus.

Ex-Offender 05 was clearly distraught during this stage in the interview but whilst there was obvious shame and disbelief attached to his violent actions he believed that he had been struggling with underlying issues which his recent private security work near Somalia had exasperated.

The veteran ex-offenders complained that within their experiences, mental health issues were not taken seriously within the military and seen as a sign of weakness. Often issues around substance misuse which were linked to an individual's deteriorating mental state could be seen as indicative of the military drinking culture and seen as a sign for concern as discussed with Ex-Offender 04 when recounting his alcohol and substance misuse while in active service.

Ex-Offender 04: I was drinking heavy...I was doing the odd cocaine which I kept quiet but the drinking you could do in the open as it went under the radar as everyone did it as part of the culture.

Participants reported that on entering 'civvy street' it appeared that services were ill-equipped to deal with veteran issues as health, and social care provision appeared to be predominantly centred around the general non-veteran population. Participants explained that often it appeared to be veteran practitioners who appeared to bring specialist knowledge and experience from a former military identity into their current

role within the CJS. The Veterans in Custody (VICS) service appeared to be prevalent within the life stories as being beneficial to veterans within the prison service as they were able to identify psychological trauma and its impact on the individuals and their family as understood by Ex-Offender 08.

Ex-Offender 08: Governor (name) decided that they should have a group for veterans erm…there was veterans sitting on there that had been shot, you know, they'd been out in Afghan and stuff like that, you know er…Iraq. Er…some young lads as well as old boys that had been sergeants er…in the forces and come out and went wrong. The staff were ex-forces…they would look after the lads as they knew what they were going through…even offer to speak to their families to explain.…you were mixing with people that were akin to you because of the…the forces. They could relate and get on with each other better and I noticed that when you were in the veterans group and you finished you still sat speaking to these people…the staff as well…as you were going round the yard or going from A to B or at work.

Within this narrative it is possible to see the benefit of the veteran peer support system which relies on the shared identity and culture. In the case of Ex-Offender 08 the veteran practitioner was able to identify the offender as a veteran and ensure that appropriate support was offered via the VICS scheme. Whilst there was no funded support available at that time, the VICS service was established to support fellow veterans whose transition to civilian life had not been as seamless as their own.

5.4.2 Sub-Theme: Family Implications

It became clear in analysing the life stories that the profile of the veteran ex-offenders' families remains fragmented and obscured. Within the interviews, it became apparent that the family must contend with loss of income, loss of a home, anti-social behaviour, loss of status within their own community and the subsequent shame and distress. This negative encounter with the CJS created a feeling of stigma and shame for the offender's family, who had to disclose this information to the extended family and the community. The reduction of income and strains on the quality of care for the children resulted in a number of relationships breaking down as evidenced within the life stories

of: Ex-Offender 01, Ex-Offender 02, Ex-Offender 05, Ex-Offender 07, and Ex-Offender 09. The life stories attested that the veteran ex-offenders now saw themselves as occupying the lowest level within society as an offender with consequences upon their future employment and adverse effects upon their family. This appeared to create stigma and shame by association and was a feature within the life story of Ex-Offender 06 in relation to his son's reaction to discovering that his father had made an attempt on his life and had been sent to prison.

Ex-Offender 06: …The fact that I'd attempted suicide…he just basically bought a one-way ticket to (foreign country) just to go and get away from it all but when he comes back he'll be arrested and put in (military prison) for going AWOL. I blame myself…you get so depressed that you go in to a different world and it's a horrible world. Er…and you just wanna curl up and die, you don't wanna exist, you don't…'cause of the shame you've caused…but then my family and friends ended up feeling like that 'cause of me.

Within the life story of Ex-Offender 06, we see that the son risks possible imprisonment in order to escape the shame and stigma of having a father who is identified as an offender. This impact had further repercussions as number of the participants spoke about how their families had suffered from a decreased income. They expressed their concern that their families were becoming dependent on benefits, which they explained would not provide sufficient income. It is likely that this course would continue to pull the families into further entrenched poverty and burden them with debt. Ex-Offender 07 described how his family had been marked as targets for unlicensed loan sharks due to their financial plight while he was imprisoned.

Ex-Offender 07: Oh yeah, the bastards were straight round offering money, when they found out she was struggling and I was in clink.

This narrative was indicative on the vulnerability of the veteran ex-offenders' families but also the great anxiety and subsequent heightened feelings of shame and loathsomeness they felt. This section would suggest that the impact of being a veteran

ex-offender has implications not only on the life of the individual but also upon the participants' families.

5.4.3 Sub-Theme: Communities and Specialist Services

All participants shared a desire for a greater association with other veterans. This was evident within the life stories as they described their military service as a process of development in which their training created exposure to a military culture. It appeared that this culture subsequently led to the construction of a new military identity. This new emergent and pervasive identity was suited to life within the total institution of the military but appeared comfortable once within the institution of the CJS, albeit that relationships were sought with those sharing a veteran identity. Within the life stories of the participants, the emergence of this mind-set established the characteristics of confidence, courage, heightened organisational skills and the suppression of fear. These attributes appeared to be recognisable between veterans and strength was sought in establishing a connection with the veteran practitioners via peer support as evidenced within the interview with Ex-Offender 07.

Ex-Offender 07: It's strange, I saw it when I was going through the courts and now with doing my job for (names veteran peer support service) veterans are pre-programmed with a certain respect, standards…veterans naturally reach out to other veterans, it doesn't matter what side of the law they're on.

Veteran, peer support conceptions, varied between the participants depending on which service within the CJS they had been exposed to. The attributed benefits associated with peer support appeared to be linked to being able to socialise and talk about issues pertinent to veterans as articulated by Ex-Offender 08 and Ex-Offender 01.

Ex-Offender 08: like I said, those prison officers who were ex-military had a language and culture that they younger ones understood and established good comms.

Ex-Offender 01: See that copper, he just had it in for me for being a squaddie, he didn't have a clue what I'd been through…didn't care.

Whilst all participants spoke highly of veteran peer support it must be noted that the study incorporated purposive snow-ball sampling and all veteran ex-offenders were or had been identified by various veteran peer support services. However, whilst there was a general consensus of the positive attributes associated with peer support, it was acknowledged that there could be a feeling of resentment by those who viewed veterans to be receiving preferential treatment.

Ex-Offender 08: I suppose there might have been some that might have seen us as being looked after but, they had their groups…I mean for what was pertinent in their lives or with what they'd done.

There was also concern expressed by participants as a general loathing at being labelled as a veteran ex-offender in order to establish a recognisable sub-group. This process re-enforced the reality of being an offender and exasperated the stigma and associated shame of possessing the dual identity of a military veteran and an offender. A suggestion of how this dichotomy of identity and subsequent stigma and shame could be managed was through the establishment of veteran prison wings as discussed by Ex-Offender 06.

Ex-Offender 06: I've read about prisons for veterans or something like that recently…in the press. Yes, I think it would be a good idea. All ex-service personnel in one wing, together…I'm sure that would help with the shame of it and support those of us that need some help with what we've been through…over there.

This initiative appeared to resonate with other participants who believed that a veteran prison wing would be beneficial in promoting the positive attributes of camaraderie and peer support based on a shared veteran identity. There was a belief by some that even self-regulation might be possible as a military ethos, characterised by discipline, order and compliance with regimes, that could make for a mostly self-managed prison as advocated by Ex-Offender 08.

Ex-Offender 08: I think the ideal place that they should have had a veteran's prison was (Name) Prison in (Name of City). There was loads of ex-servicemen that were prison officers, quite a lot of ex-service as prisoners as well as staff and the rules were understood. I think if the environment was right then veterans could self-manage themselves.

Whilst these narratives were empowering in their promotion of innovative new systems of management of veterans in the CJS, they were perhaps not inclusive of all who were encapsulated within this particular sub-group. There appeared to be a resistance to including veterans whose criminal conviction was of a nature as to create disdain from the general veteran ex-offender sub-group, namely sex offenders which was clearly and emotively outlined by Ex-Offender 09.

Ex-Offender 09: I'd make it clear…keep em away from me…I didn't care if they were an ex-squaddie or not…keep em at bay or else.

The discussions with the participants created identifiable benefits to the wider veteran ex-offender community with suggestions including enhanced opportunities for work, education and training. It was felt that these initiatives could be better focused towards veterans and their transferable skills and existing military qualifications. In addition, the health and social care provision for veterans and their families should be seen as a major need and focus of any wider policy reform as highlighted within the following narrative of Ex-Offender 06

Ex-Offender 06: I was told about courses that I could do whilst I was in prison and that was great but some were like, bricklaying and really, look what the construction industry now and besides not everyone wants to do that. I mean, I've done a lot of courses in the RAF and Army but no one looked at my CV did they.

Ex-Offender 06 believed that there needed to be a closer examination of the transferrable skills that veterans possessed which may aid in the transitional process into civilian life and employment. Those participants who had been through the court system were able to provide some insight on their views and opinions on specialist

courts which offer tailored support for veterans who have committed non-violent offences in order to get their lives back on track as discussed by Ex-Offender 07.

> **Ex-Offender 07**: Crucially, ex-service mentors could guide each veteran through the court process and make sure their housing, mental health, employment and substance misuse issues are dealt with through a proper dedicated scheme. The…it's the yanks…they have got it haven't they…but not here.

Participants appeared to agree that retrospectively a veteran-focused court may have been of benefit in assessing them prior to entry into the CJS. There was a unilateral belief that the veteran ex-offender communities and specialist services were crucial in identifying the specific needs and support for an inclusive provision.

5.5 Summary of Findings: Veteran Ex-offenders

In summary, the three main themes are constructed from the unique experiences of participants. The veteran ex-offenders within this study were found to have an entrenched veteran identity imported directly into civilian life and identifiable within their involvement in the CJS. This veteran identity aided in the transition to another institution and created the rules of engagement on how they perceived the total institution of the CJS, its practitioners, other offenders and themselves. There were recognisable parallels between the two institutions as understood and perceived by the participants. The pains of imprisonment and restrictions created a familiarity between the environment of the CJS and previous military service. This subsequently aided veterans to adapt and cope with the institutional demands. However, this resilience was not transferable to supporting the psychological distress of the stigma and associated shame that the individual and their families inevitably encountered.

There was a realisation that there was a high proportion of participants within the sample who had come from socially deprived communities and sought refuge by joining the Armed Forces as a means of escape and creation of prospects through the formation of joining a new family unit that offered needed stability and employment. There were some notable variations when comparing the social environments of the CJS and military service as perceived by the participants. Evidence emerged that a

military identity could attract animosity and associated risk from Islamic Fundamentalists. The veteran ex-offenders described positive relationships with practitioners within the CJS and compliance with the regime appeared to be as a consequence of military service. An enhanced work ethic attached to education and training and the benefits of continuous professional development was identified within all the life stories. There was a perceived deficiency in health and social care provision for this particular sub-group with an acute lack of support for the assessment and treatment of psychological trauma. This trauma was reportedly associated to either direct exposure to military operational tours or the challenges of a transition to a civilian life. The need for the expansion of veteran peer support was seen as crucial due to the perceived benefits of a shared veteran identity and ethos which created a mutual understanding between veteran ex-offender and veteran practitioner. There was a desire for further exploration of the veteran prison-wings and veteran treatment courts as there appeared to be practical benefits aided by the aforementioned entrenched military identity and culture.

Section 2: Veteran Practitioners

5.6 Introduction

The participants demonstrated an empowered transition from their military life to their new civilian occupation whilst maintaining an identity clearly linked to their military service and subsequent culture. This empowerment within the veteran identity ensured engagement and an ability to assimilate into a new institutional environment and develop what Mundell (2009) identified as a new professional identity.

The CJS as an employer and as a working environment held a familiarity with the participants which assisted them in adjusting to a new professional identity. This ability appeared to create a resilience within the life stories towards the new institutional culture through an enveloping sense of belonging within the CJS. As previously highlighted within Lord Ashcroft's Report (2014), the majority of individuals (86%) leaving the Armed Forces enter into civilian life without difficulty and obtain employment which consequently allows for a positive contribution to society. The life stories of these participants provide an illuminating insight into the veteran's adaptability and subsequent successful transition between the two

institutions. This adaptability is featured within the identification and expansion of innovative approaches to support veteran ex-offenders within the CJS. The emergent themes for the veteran practitioners were established through the use of a 6 stage thematic analysis framework by Braun and Clarke (2006) and supported through the adoption of Smith's (2015. P.72) 'Central Organising Concept'. As highlighted within Section 1 of this chapter there was a desire to prevent confusion and identified themes were presented without military parlance. The three main themes that emerged from this process are: Identity and Culture; Power, Control and Empowerment; and Consequences, Causation and Impact. Each theme is discussed with supporting quotes from the participants' life story transcripts.

5.7 Main Theme: Identity and Culture

This main theme explores the understanding and interpretation that the participants have of their military identity and that of being a practitioner employed within the CJS. The participants described a clear division within their own perceived identity. The veteran practitioners voiced positive narratives of having overcome transitional challenges and having succeeded and achieved in their professional lives. This success and achievement they had experienced within various guises were attributed as having been exposed to military culture and training and having served within the Armed Forces. There was a permanence to the military identity but also a clear indication that there existed solidarity between this identity and their new role within the CJS. There was a shared belief within this group of participants that as they had belonged to a larger community with a clear focus and purpose had created a lasting positive transferable skill set, which had a positive influence as evidenced within the life stories.

5.7.1 Sub-Theme: Military Identity and Culture

There is substantial evidence from the participants' life stories to indicate that they had benefited greatly through their military service and that this had created positive outcomes for their employability. The veteran practitioners demonstrated a strong desire to adopt a favourable new civilian identity, but appeared to rely upon their previous military identity and sought comfort through familiarity with another total institution. This can be seen within the narrative extract from Practitioner 03's life

story as he discusses any noticeable parallels within his apparently seamless transition from the military police to civilian police.

> **Practitioner 03:** Er…a lot. It literally felt like, when I was going through my basic training here, that I'd just come out of a green uniform and put a blue uniform on with a…with little tweaks of…the police and criminal evidence act. All the main stay legislation, theft and…public order and criminal damage, we were all driven by that in the military police anyway. Same er…rank structure, sergeants, slightly different rank structure but rank structure all the same. Discipline, codes of conduct, er…sorry I had…I had no problems with that, you know, parade times, no issues, never turned up late, er…felt very comfortable making the change.

Practitioner 03 indicates that having been exposed to military culture creates positive employment attributes which were evident when he discussed how having served in the military 'bridged a gap' between working within the two institutions. In addition, it appeared that there was a perceived elevated status from having served in the military emanating from his life story. The life stories of the veteran practitioners indicated a perceived positive identity associated with being identified as a veteran and a wish to maintain that embedded positive status which was a feature noted within the narrative of Practitioner 05.

> **Practitioner 05:** It's created a bedrock…you know, a foundation for everything else that I've done in my life…

Practitioner 05 and in a similar way Practitioner 03 highlighted a belief that was also present within other life stories, a clear awareness amongst the participants that their involvement in the military had in some form meant that they had been through a process, which had become engrained within them and that this had created a positive outcome for the veteran practitioners. However, there was an acknowledgement that being identified as a veteran by non-veteran colleagues could lead to stereotyping through stigmatisation as outlined by Practitioner 05 and Practitioner 02.

Practitioner 05: I just laugh it off now…I used to find that other prison officers would say things like being in the Army was like it ain't half hot mum. I don't know where they got their ideas from really (laughs).

Practitioner 02: I remember this one colleague who said, he has that PTSD…you'll know all about that won't you…as if I must have had it…or at least that's the way it came across.

Practitioner 02's life story demonstrated that there was an apparent negative association linked to a general perception of being ex-service personnel by non-veteran colleagues within the CJS. In the main, all the participants highlighted the positives of having served in the military in how they were perceived by future employers, but there was also a concern that they could be stigmatised under a 'regimented thinking' label in addition to being extensively linked to the diagnosis of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) due to current coverage within the media as discussed by Practitioner 04.

Practitioner 04: I think the worry is that we are perceived to be non-thinkers, takes orders and that's just about it,. Nothing could be further from the truth but you worry how you'll be seen…by employers 'cause the media are always banging on about PTSD…don't get me wrong, I've known lads that have suffered but it's like it's being applied to everyone and anyone that ever wore combats.

Practitioner 04 highlight a concern shared within the life stories in that that where bad circumstances prevail, blame is commonly attributed towards or rather against, the military identity and culture. Overall, this group saw their involvement within the military as equipping them with a good work ethic, which had and was benefitting them even though with a number of the veterans their military service was many years behind them.

The veteran practitioners all presented a discourse within their life stories of a need to harmonise or sync into the new institution of the CJS. This successful career transition

provided a positive evidence base for those unable to make this migration into being a successful and law abiding-citizen. Within the life stories of the veteran practitioners, there was a strong sense of the veterans becoming transplanted (choice being the operant factor) into a new institutional environment, where a withdrawal into the new life within the CJS increased the dependence of the institutional regime, environment and associated dogma as highlighted by Practitioner 07.

> **Practitioner 07:** I won't lie but after working in dead end jobs…like at the garage…it felt reassuring when I started to work in the prison service…it was different but familiar and comfortable at the same time. New rules and regulations but that was easy enough…like putting on an old jacket.

Within the life stories this process resulted in the replacement of a previous identity with one conducive to a working life within the new institution, creating a need for the veteran to become 'institutionalised' to their new environment within the CJS.

5.7.2 Sub-Theme: Belonging and Resilience

The life stories of the veteran practitioners held evidence of their attachment to their military identity and the ability to cope appears to be interlinked with an enveloping sense of belonging which resonated from the interviews. This feature holds at its core an unmistakable truth, in that an ability to transgress from a military identity and assimilate into a new environmental role is a necessity in terms of a positive contribution to society for the veterans interviewed. The theme of 'belonging' emerged through the use of a thematic analysis of the life stories. There was a recurring awareness as understood and articulated from within the English, Scottish and Welsh veteran life stories which merit further research in the future. However, it was noted that the theme appeared to be understood and realised through an innate awareness by the participants. As stated by Practitioner 06, Practitioner 02 and Practitioner 01.

> **Practitioner 06**: You join a service and a unit…for me it was the (Regiments Name) and you belong to it and the lads you meet, become more than friends…you join something bigger and better than what you did before.

Practitioner 06 shared his belief that in joining the Army he belonged to something that extended beyond a uniform and an employment status. From a holistic interpretation of the life stories there appeared to be an understanding of how the veterans were giving meaning to their lives and that this sense of belonging was intertwined with the veterans' success at engaging in a new civilian life as seen with the following passages.

Practitioner 02: After I left the Navy I drifted…pardon the pun…between shift jobs…just never took to them. There wasn't the same banter that I had before and I was used to being on a ship and knowing…really knowing the people I worked with.

Practitioner 01: I wouldn't have said I was one of those people who felt like they needed to belong to something, you know…but after I left the Army I really…well, I look back now and I can see that I was just searching for somewhere to belong to again.

These narratives highlight a fundamental need to establish relationships in order to instil a sense of belonging. All of the participants appeared to have evidence of social relationships within their personal and working life from which they seemed to fulfil a meaningful life. Collectively, the veteran practitioners' relationships with others appeared to create a sense of belonging by making life more meaningful and by developing the individual's identity. This point is clearly articulated by Practitioner 03 who explains.

Practitioner 03: Right from the word go…from basic training you start to feel part of something…you get issued your kit, uniform which makes to feel like you belong…you think yeah this is real, I have a purpose, I know why I'm up at the crack of dawn. The people around you feel and think the same way…each person has a role, from the grunt to the general…

This view expressed by Practitioner 03 held evidence and a meaning towards the importance of identity being formed on social interactions associated with their time

within the Armed Forces community, which appeared to have been formed through shared beliefs, values and the process of going through a military regime that they clearly felt a belonging. A point also noted within the interview with Practitioner 08.

Practitioner 08: First things first, you get issued with a service number, a rank, this replaces your name, in fact quite often you pick up a nick name which can be with you for life. You all go through this process and training together…the tough times bring you together and that doesn't go away…even after you get discharged and…revert back to your Christian name.

This acknowledgement that the participants had in some form been affected by their exposure to military training and culture was a feature recognisable by their civilian counterparts. It became evident that some of the participants would conceal their veteran identity if they believed that it would lead to negative stereotyping through stigmatisation from non-veteran practitioners, a concern expressed by Practitioner 07 when asked by the researcher whether he would freely inform people that he had been in the Armed Forces.

Practitioner 07: No and I still don't. It can have pluses but it can have negatives as well, especially if people associate you with square bashing or…oh he must have shot someone. I suppose it depends on the crowd but generally no.

It is interesting to note that Practitioner 07 sought to protect his veteran identity from non-veterans through concealment as he did not wish to have an inaccurate judgement made against him. Whilst the veteran practitioners did not participate in actions and behaviours which may appear uncharacteristic or immoral, their wish to conceal their veteran identity was as an apparent goal to fit in and therefore belong within their new place of employment. A practice advocated by Practitioner 06 who implies that it is better to go unnoticed.

Practitioner 06: There's that phrase, you must of heard of it…better to be the grey man.

Whilst this attempt to stealth the veteran identity was noted, collectively the veteran practitioners appeared to define themselves in part through their military networks and the community they had belonged to. Within the interview, the researcher asked the participants to describe themselves and all spoke about their relationships with people and places, but also of their military experience, including their length of service, rank, and which particular Service they belonged to (Army, Navy, RAF). It appeared that by associating themselves to their previous identity, there was a conscious decision to convey to the researcher a knowledge base of the beliefs and values that they belonged and therefore the type of person they were by association as articulated by Practitioner 01 when regaling his family's historic ties to naval life.

Practitioner 02: Absolutely, four hundred years of sailors and it was all I thought about from age of about twelve, was my whole life was I'm gonna go to sea. 22 years, I was in and it was the making of me, like my father and his father before him…and so on.

An understanding of Practitioner 02's narrative can be located within a desire to belong to a collective. He appeared to believe in a need to create and maintain social relationships associated with naval life and a need to belong to this group in order to prosper as his ancestors had done before him. However, as the life stories attest, this desire to belong can also be seen within the working lives of the veteran practitioners in their desire to belong to a new institution as seen in the following passage.

Practitioner 01: I tried a few jobs after I left the Army…settled on working in the probation service…straight away it felt different, bit daunting at first don't get me wrong but there was a familiarity…a fair few ex-military lads working there but across the board, there was that feel of working in a big organisation with a set purpose again…you know.

It is clear from a holistic interpretation of this interview that the veteran identity forms a strong presence and it appears to support a transition to a new career in another institution. Practitioner 01 appeared to insinuate a comfortability with once again being involved in an institution with shared beliefs, values and activities. There was further evidence from the life stories of the establishment of positive relationships,

which seemed to satisfy a generic need to belong, but did not always establish the feeling of being accepted. Practitioner 04 articulated this point in that after his time within the RAF he had numerous jobs around the UK, but felt that he did not belong and would move on, despite his engagement with different groups.

Practitioner 04: Don't get me wrong, I met some lovely people when I left the RAF and spend some good times…especially up in the Highlands as a Game Keeper for an estate up there but…it was like I was looking for something I guess. I saw a job advertised in a prison in healthcare and I'd had some experience in the RAF police as part of the training. It just started from there, I fitted in straight away, lots of the usual banter with the lads…inmates themselves even but professional…always professional.

Collectively, the veteran practitioners conceptualised a sense of belonging as having a relationship with a group of people that elicited a feeling of comradeship, sense of worth and security. It was clear that this process was linked to their experiences of military life with veterans, producing pictures and memorabilia for the researcher to view and peruse. This process allowed for the development of trust and sharing the researcher's own experiences (prior to interview), which in hindsight created the researchers belonging to the research topic, again aiding the discussion and establishing a relationship with the participant.

Practitioner 03: I mean they send the lads to (name of camp) in (country) for decompression after (country)…can you imagine?...drink and fight and then they go home in a worst state…black eyes and all to meet their families. I've heard it's changed now but still what do they expect when it's an open bar?

This creation of trust encouraged the participants to share moments from their lives that they found uncomfortable in admitting that they too had found the transition from the military daunting and even intimidating. Though initially hesitant to divulge Practitioner 07 and Practitioner 03 discussed their initial turbulence and strife on leaving the military but they appeared to have resilience throughout these difficult times, maintaining a sense of purpose and meaning within their lives.

Practitioner 07: You know it's funny now looking back…but you kind of rev yourself up waiting to leave and that it's going to be an easy transition and jobs and the likes will all be waiting for you. That isn't the case but the funny thing is that I see the prisoners doing the same (laughs)…they have this idea when their sentence is complete that they'll leave…high expectations…bit of a fantasy. You see em leave on their day of release and the gate slams shut behind them…bang…and there's no one there waiting for em…they're on their own. It can be that way when making the move to civvy street if you're not careful.

Practitioner 03: I had taken every course imaginable…every opportunity that I could find, I think I was as prepared as you could be but it was still tough. For me it was a case of knuckling down and keep thinking of the wife and kids…divorced now of course…join the Force and get a divorce (laughs) that's what they say…

Practitioner 07 likens leaving the Armed Forces to observations made during his career as a prison officer in watching prisoners on their day of release. A noted realisation that a reliance and a sense of belonging had been established with the institution was comparable with military veterans' transition to civilian life. Practitioner 03 had sought to prepare for every eventuality of the transition but had not been able to ensure the continuation of his marriage. He appeared to insinuate that the transition in proving challenging had taken its toll and resulted in dissolvent of his marriage. There was evidence within the life stories that some participants had initially taken some time to readjust and struggled to find meaning in life post-discharge from the Armed Forces. These individuals initially appeared to wander aimlessly and without the purpose which their role within a cohesive unit in the Armed Forces had previously provided. Practitioner 07 was asked to reflect on his transition and provided the following response.

Practitioner 07: Erm…well, to try and put things in to perspective a little bit, going back to the resettlement course there was the opportunity to apply for

> the prison service. Now someone said to me (Name), there's three guys here, you know, from the prison service, you know, get yourself on the list, get interviewed, do the test. He says another iron in the fire. so I…I did that. I was then told that you're never gonna have an immediate answer. You could be accepted this year, it could be next year or even the year after. So between then and when I finally heard, looking back I just drifted from one job to another really and couldn't settle so when I finally heard back it was great news, not just for a job but for also being part of something again, a challenge.

For the participants this listlessness was a temporary and transient feature within some of the life stories and often a precursor to the individual taking a determined stance to progress and seek for meaning within their life as highlighted by Practitioner 07. This self-reflective process appeared to support the development of a sense of belonging to a new civilian identity and routes into what many considered rewarding employment within the CJS.

> **Practitioner 06:** I just sat down one day and instead of expecting things to come to me…opportunities I mean…I knew I had to adapt…I thought about it like an exercise that needed to be completed. A mate suggested this job and after a while I stopped looking back and started looking forward…my wife says she noticed a change in me and that I was looking forward to coming to work and talking about these kids and their lives.

This apparent rejuvenation of spirit was noted within other life stories as the participants accounted for their narratives of identifying a new purpose within their new role within the CJS as highlighted by Practitioner 05.

> **Practitioner 05:** Before I knew it, I had that stride back in my step…best foot forward and all that (laughs).

This need to belong within these life stories contributes to the understanding of the behaviours, emotion and cognitive processes that belie the simple existence of veteran practitioners within the CJS. All 8 of the life stories held some reference to an

explanation of the individual veteran's behaviours towards the CJS in connection with the need to belong. The emergence of contentment through a sense of belonging subsequently leads to the life stories articulating positive emotions of joy, happiness, and positive self-regard. Alternatively, the deficit and initial struggle to establish belonging appeared to create a subsequent lack of contentment which appeared to breed the negative emotions of heightened stress, loneliness and anxiety. This last point became evident within the interviews when the veteran practitioners were invited to comment on their counterparts, namely, the veteran ex-offenders. This created the clear emergence of a need to belong and to be understood and connected by individuals and the wider society.

5.7.3 Sub-Theme: Need to Belong

In identifying and exploring the theme of belonging within the life stories, it appeared that the participants needed to be understood, or to feel that others were relating authentically to them. This desire seemed linked to a wish to be involved and to belong to a new world that they encountered post-discharge from the Armed Forces. This is a particular challenge in the veterans' life stories, as whilst there are successful, almost seamless transitions for some of the veteran practitioners, there is nevertheless a feeling of not being understood. Some of these success stories described being stereotyped as a 'squaddie' (Practitioner 05) or having 'regimented thinking' (Practitioner 02) by the civilian workforce that they entered into post-discharge.

Practitioner 02: Every now and again, someone come out with some nugget…like regimented thinking…like it was some sort of barrier to being able to do a job in a certain way. I'd just nod and end up doing the job…and better than them in most cases.

Practitioner 05: You got the odd comment of being a squaddie…you know oh you all need to be told what to do or…oh I couldn't do that job as I don't like being told what to do….I'd think, you work in a prison you idiot.

All of the participants appeared to have high motivation levels as evidenced within an apparently successful transition and career progression. Their motivation to succeed

appeared to be connected to a need to belong with an internal and external need for relatedness to a new social group outside of their former military life. Within the life stories, it became clear that in the main the group appeared well-liked by the majority of their colleagues, respected and had assimilated into a new professional and social identity. This was evident to the researcher not only as a self-reported means from the interviews but as some of the interviews occurred within the working environment, colleagues' interaction before or after the interview indicated sincere respect. Practitioner 02 comments on how he believes he is viewed by his work colleagues.

Practitioner 02: I'm told by colleagues that I'm well-liked and respected as a probation officer in (Names City). I'm fair with my clients, I'm consistent…I think that's important and I'm there for my colleagues, even if it's just a chat or a shoulder to lean on.

This desire to belong and to be understood within their social world appeared to be a challenge for the veteran ex-offenders as perceived by the veteran practitioners. Through the course of the interviews, it was apparent that significant observations existed when the participants were asked to comment on the veteran ex-offenders that they had encountered. Specifically, how they may differ from themselves, a moment's pause would illuminate insightful observations as highlighted by Practitioner 06.

Practitioner 06: It…it maybe that they…didn't have…that support mechanism round'em. That perhaps that support mechanism was the Army and there was no…nothing outside of the Army…that they could go back to. I…I always had a home to go back to. I always had a town to go back to. I always had somewhere to go when I was on leave, you know? So erm…other lads perhaps didn't have that…

Evidence of this process appeared to be a recognised reality and theme within offenders' lives as understood and contextualised by the practitioners. This extract and others created an engaging insight into the life of the veteran ex-offenders as alluded to by Practitioner 06 in relation to the challenges faced by the other sub-groups in establishing a sense of belong. Practitioner 06 explained that the offenders' lives appeared to show a yearning to connect socially, marked through struggles through

their formative years up to their entry into the military. Practitioner 05 highlights within their life story the presence of an offender known to him within the military and then re-encountered within the CJS. He was asked how he was perceived to be different to Practitioner 05 and what was the index offence which led him to be identified as an offender.

Practitioner 05: He ended up a sex offender, you know, playing with kids…I knew him in the Army. Now I didn't twig at the time. I was told to see him but where I was he's on…he's on the ground floor of A Wing at er…(Names Prison). What the hell's he doing there, you know? So I've gone back and they've said, well he's a sex offender, fiddling with kids. This was a shock to me as no evidence of this when he was in the regiment…no, squeaky they called him, he had a…squeaky voice. Not many people bothered with him…couldn't relate to him…don't think he had any mates…I don't know whether there was any reason for that. But er…never seen him in the pubs. You don't think like that and then you realise after when you see him there, so many years later, bloody hell, sex offender, you know?

Within his life story, Practitioner 05 was able to map a trajectory which led a previous comrade into the CJS and provides insight and new understanding. Practitioner 05 describes the offender as a loner with an inability to belong to the greater collective within the military. Practitioner 05 was concerned as to whether the offender belonged to a deviant and predatory lifestyle while residing within the military.

However, within all of the veteran practitioner interviews, there was evidence of a belief that this apparent struggle to belong and to relate appeared to dissipate once the other sub-group entered into the military institution. Although, on returning to civilian life, post-discharge they believed that a common feature appeared to be a re-lapse into a dissociative state after the loss of their military identity, which the new civilian identity and culture could not hope to compete against.

Practitioner 02: Yeah the lads I come across that struggle are the ones that have lost more than just a job in leaving the Army. It was a family but they

might not have realised that at the time and then they leave and sort of spiral into trouble…no anchor…no mates to keep em out of trouble.

The comments of Practitioner 05 appeared to indicate that difficulties within school were often a precursor to challenges in creating a sense of belonging, being a recurring issue post-discharge from the military. In relation to observations made on the veteran ex-offenders' school years, truancy, detentions and expulsions could be a consequence when belonging has not been established. This is evidenced from their life story trajectory and by the veteran practitioners managing them professionally as discussed by Practitioner 05 who worked in Youth Offending services.

Practitioner 05: You see a lot of the kids going to school in hand me down clothes and then you…you obviously see…a big family you they get free school meals so people watching there…you know, peer pressure comes in to play as well there. So you see a lot of kids just try to get on with it and as soon as…they don't have to go to school they say I'm not going to school again, I've finished. I see these often being the ones that come back after being in the Army, they come back here and well…there's not much for them really, they sort of just flounder around…not part of the same group…gang they used to hand around with…still drinking like they were in the military and then before you know it…I've been called to act as a character reference…if I've been involved, you know before…their mum's come in and asked…there isn't usually a dad on scene…

This bleak oversight provided by Practitioner 05 illustrates an identified need for discharged ex-service personnel to reconnect to the same impoverished community they had previously tried to leave. There was indeed evidence to indicate the presence of loneliness, alienation and social isolation within the life stories of the veteran practitioners. However, these features appeared transient and to dissipate in the presence and the eventual emergence of a sense of belonging to a new role and purpose as identified by Practitioner 01.

Practitioner 01: I was a bit down and blue with leaving the Army as I did…just a misunderstanding…high jinx but there we go. It took me a little

while to get my head around the idea that there was no going back and I was going to have to sort myself out and crack on. Going to work in the Probation Service…definitely…best move I made really…there were bad days but you had people around you…mucking in and working through whatever was thrown at you…literally (laughs).

The participants' life stories indicated a desire for positive and genuine social contacts with people that have a meaning to the individual and are not strangers. This was apparent when the participants spoke about their long-term working relationships with veteran ex-offenders which appeared to enthuse a sense of relatedness between the two veteran sub-groups as reported by Practitioner 04 when asked to comment on his perceptions of veteran ex-offenders.

Practitioner 04: mmm…they're maybe not as people think…you know…they aren't always the most inspiring bunch, may not really have done all that well in their time in the military…yeah can be quite uninspiring and with…a bit of baggage...divorced…alcohol is always a feature…gambling debts quite often...fighting but usually in drink…just been a slippery road for em after they left. You feel for them, ok some of em are complete fuckwits but you can't help but feel for em and relate in some way.

Whilst disparaging in nature this narrative did emanate with a certain sense of empathy directed towards those seen as less fortunate. This ability to relate was evident when articulated by Practitioner 08 who demonstrated an ability to relate and a concern for a need for a continuation of support towards the veteran ex-offenders. A point furthered within a passage provided by Practitioner 08 who describes how the veteran ex-offenders related to prison life and displayed a surprise at the conformity and sense of belonging to this custodial environment.

Practitioner 08: They seemed to…to be able to click into the prison regime…eight o'clock at that, ten o'clock at this, twelve o'clock at that. I'm told to go to the doctors or I'm told to do this, I'm told to get up, here's my clothes, I know what to wear, this is what…I got to know a lot of them really well as offenders…only not as…obviously not as friends but on a

professional relationship erm…I knew them particularly well I did used to use couple of lads as just like peer mentors and peer supporters. I'd sometimes walk up to the…to the cell and say (shouts) stand by your beds and they used to stand by their beds but we'd laugh about it. I could walk in the cells and I might as well of just in a barrack room. the beds were generally made tidily, things put away, things on hangers erm…for the vast majority, I'm not saying everybody but in the vast majority and they used to look towards me…you know for help and support and I'd make sure I'd do what I could.

Similarly, all of the veteran practitioners' life stories held some reference to an explanation of the individual veteran's behaviours towards the CJS in connection with the need to belong and how their offender counterparts may struggle to establish a sense of belonging. Practitioner 08 displayed contentment through a sense of belonging with his new role within the CJS and this was obvious not only in the transcripts but through the positive emotions of joy, happiness, and positive self-regard he showed within his interview. According to the participants, it would appear that a criminal tendency as observed with the veteran ex-offenders could be explained by a lack of a sense of belonging.

5.7.4 Sub-Theme: Identifying Longing

Narratives of loss and a melancholy longing for a former military identity and culture were recognised by the veteran practitioners. This was as a transient feature in their lives on leaving the Armed Forces but was a recognisable part of the landscape when scrutinising the lives of those veterans less resilient to combating the effects of a loss of a military identity. A feature that Practitioner 01 relates to a very real and tangible loss within their own life as he was discharged due to being drunk and disorderly while in charge of recruits.

Practitioner 01: I remember feeling like I'd been robbed…my world caved in and what could I do about it…

Practitioner 01 spoke about a very real sense of loss and associated anxiety due to longing for his former life in the Armed Forces. This sense of longing was identified

and then commented upon within all the life story interviews by the practitioners who having recognised longing within their own life stories identify the concept to be a prominent disabling feature for their counterparts within the CJS. Within the interview with Practitioner 01 he was asked to recall whether he had met veteran ex-offenders while working within the probation service that he had previously served with.

Practitioner 01: Yeah I've seen lads at reunions or some other event, or in passing and others through the work that I do now to support them that are going through problems like. I saw (name removed) and for him it was like he was still in the Regiment…really sad as he hadn't moved on and still wanted to be there but, err, couldn't. He spoke to me like we'd never been apart and I don't think he had had much in the way of a good time since leaving. You could tell he was still there really…you see that a lot with ex-military who have become offenders…looking back to better days…I get it.

Within the life stories of the veteran ex-offenders, the practitioners identified this longing as a constant preoccupation with the past in almost a state of grieving for what had been. This sense of loss was identified within the life stories of the veteran practitioners as they acknowledged the challenges faced within their own lives as they had made the transition into their civilian life. Within the following narrative, a comparison between the fortunes of the two veterans was evident and is explained within a Welsh cultural understanding of longing.

Practitioner 06: I see him in the…the February/March for the rugby and I'll see him in the reunion but it's like we've never been apart. We both left the Army at the same time, and I had the job working with the schools…you know…it had taken some effort to set up but really helped with a gradual discharge into civvy street. He wasn't so lucky and had left but…it's difficult to explain…he'd done the same time as me but it was like he hadn't left and things just weren't going his way…he was drinking…drink driving, gambling…wife left him…there's a word in Welsh that describes that, doesn't translate very well in English er…Hiraeth…er…it's erm…a place of, you know, a feeling of longing to something.

Practitioner 06's awareness of longing and the ache for what was perceived as a core experience for his friend was evident. For Practitioner 06 this feeling had diminished, demonstrating how he had become better empowered to manage the transition to his civilian identity. A feature which appeared to elude or create a struggle for traction within the lives of the veteran ex-offenders, was an ability to let go and a desire to regain what they had themselves been before as understood by the veteran practitioners. This point was highlighted by Practitioner 07 when asked by the researcher what the difference was between himself and the veteran ex-offenders that me came across in prison?

Practitioner 07: I think…it can be different for different folk but erm…it's like when you go into the cell…you could be in a barrack room and they tend to stick out in prison. You have to ask yourself why…why do they fall back into that squaddie mentality. Probably they don't it's always there since they left and they haven't moved on…it might have been the best part of their life or life hasn't gone well for them. Some are messed up from what they've seen…you know Afghanistan…especially these young lads and then they're in clink and it really does a number on em…their families as well.

Collectively, the veteran ex-offenders clearly held the view that a comparison between the two sub-groups indicated that the veteran ex-offenders appear to maintain a longing to their previous military identity and that this inadvertently coincides with stigma and associated shame of being labelled as an offender.

Practitioner 02: It really is a vicious cycle…they get into trouble and just spiral into more problems, end up in prison or with us in probation services and with a criminal conviction showing on their CRB erm…now DBS. For a lot that shame is hard to swallow and getting their head around… the way people…family might think of them…tough…a real head spinner.

Practitioner 02 believed that this resulted in the veteran ex-offenders struggling to maintain a sense of belonging and a positive self-image. Within the life stories of the participants, there was evidence that this sense of loss led some veteran ex-offenders

into belonging to organised crime. Practitioner 08 believed that this was as a need to belong which could be met by the criminal fraternity.

Practitioner 08: There has been a pattern usually, some pre-disposition towards this lifestyle before entering the military…this isn't all that uncommon given the geographical areas that some of these lads come from you know…in the North West (X2 names cities) and North East of England…the usual places…few prospects and lots of distractions, the criminal type…running with the wrong crowd. It's difficult when they come out of the military, usually Army, usually Infantry and they end up running with the wrong crowd again...it's difficult to say if they did this in the military…as offences…minor even if there are a fair few might not be recorded or accessible but the likes of us for when they are discharged. This is an issue…but sometimes the military becomes their family and then when it isn't there anymore they're lost again in that world...outside.

Practitioner 08 identifies an area of concern in that criminal acts and misdemeanours committed within military service are not automatically made available to the CJS during the transitional period. Participants spoke about the challenges involved in requesting a full-complete case history of their clients. Practitioner 08 described a return to the criminal fraternity as a need to belong to a group and the absence of the military created a need to return to old habits in order to fill the void post-discharge. Practitioner 08 clearly believed that it could, therefore, be argued that the loss and the associated grief could be encapsulated within the loss of this positive perception of identity as experienced by the veteran ex-offenders.

Practitioner 08: You see for most of these lads (researcher's name) they have come from nothing…poverty…no fathers…no hope, school forget about it and then they join maybe to get out of their town but then for whatever reason they land back in them eventually, a place like em or return to common behaviours in the absence of a guiding hand, an NCO, senior private…even an Officer (laughs). They were something and then poof…they're the same joe blogs again.

These narratives provide insight into the lived experiences of those at the coalface of managing veteran offenders within the CJS. They expressed concern and noted observations on the consequences of institutionalisation and the sense of loss felt by the veteran offenders when the sense of comfort they had within that military institution is removed. In relation to the veteran practitioners they clearly raise their concerns that for veteran ex-offenders, this can result in a return to a predisposition for criminality.

5.8 Main Theme: Power, Control and Empowerment

This main theme explores the participants' understanding and their perceptions of working within the CJS. The relationship of power and control over the veteran practitioners and the impact on those they have been tasked to manage will be reviewed. This main theme will allow for a comparison through Goffman's (1961) description of total institutions as understood and interpreted by those with the lived experience of the formal rules and regulations which govern life within them. An analysis of the data will identify evidence of the veterans' relationships and perceptions of those they are tasked to manage, namely, veteran ex-offenders. This empowering relationship realised through shared experiences of military service appears to create a lasting bond and one that can be used to identify, assess and divert veterans from the CJS.

5.8.1 Sub-Theme: Institutional and Cultural Comparisons

All of the participants spoke about a specific military identity which they possessed and which had been a transient feature through the landscape of their life stories, from their military service to their subsequent careers within the CJS. Whilst complex there were six identified features acknowledged within the veteran practitioners' own identity as well as the veteran ex-offenders they worked with. These features were perpetual order and organisation; strict discipline and compliance with authority; commitment to the achievement of an objective; dominant masculinity; particular language; and practices and customs enveloped within a shared comradeship between veterans. The veteran practitioners demonstrated a self-awareness of the similarities between the two institutions that they were employed within and the influences this exerted over themselves and the veteran offenders which they were charged to manage and support within their various roles within the CJS. Narratives from Practitioner 01

and Practitioner 02 attest to the habitual familiarity that was present between the two total institutions.

Practitioner 01: You put the uniform on…ok it isn't green but…that puts you in the same mind-set…you might still wear military boots…that gives you away I suppose. I felt that… I…quickly fitted in with the systems, knew how to get on with the job at hand…a set of new standing orders.

Practitioner 02: I fitted back into being an NCO again, they'd come to me and sort of looked for help…guidance and they became part of your section again…professionally though…

Collectively, all of the participants' life stories were laden with evidence of transferable skills from their life in the Armed Forces to the CJS. The life stories attested to narratives that demonstrated a harmony between the dual identity of having served within the military and now having been a practitioner within the CJS. There was little evidence of any detrimental effect on the participants and it was apparent that prior experience of a 'total institution' had prepared them well for their transition to working within another regime with recognizable rules and regulations as discussed by Practitioner 02.

Practitioner 02: I knew what I wanted when it came time to leave and so I made sure my resettlement package set me up with the skills I needed. This isn't hard as your training pre-programmes you…prepares you if you're ready and have time to prepare…I started contacting the prison service when I was already in the Navy.

The thesis allowed for a comparison between the two sub-groups of veterans and indeed, the veteran practitioners discussed the impact of imprisonment and deprivation experienced by the participants within his study. This understanding was evident within the life stories of the veteran practitioners either through direct experience or by demonstrating an awareness of the impact on the veteran ex-offenders within the CJS as highlighted by Practitioner 04.

Practitioner 04: It's obviously a job for me and one I enjoy…there are bad days and ah…you still go in but for the lads I come across it's the last place they want to be…the last place.

Practitioner 04 highlights a very real division on the impact of involvement in the CJS on the two sub-groups. Further evidence highlighted the effects of being exposed to another institution and that for the veteran practitioners there was little detrimental impact identified within the participants' life stories as explained within the following narratives of Practitioner 07 and Practitioner 05.

Practitioner 07: In coming to work in the prison, yes I'm enclosed…locked up for 12 hours but I'd get to go home…this of course isn't the case for the lads that you may have just left in a VICS meeting and you know they're going through…working through stuff…PTSD… maybe?

Practitioner 05: I suppose you have to wonder why after maybe…10 years of being in situations like confined to camp, rules regulations that you'd do a job were you basically still working in another kind of institution…you know…no skin of my nose but makes you wonder why I'd fall back into this line of work.

This feature was also noted by Practitioner 06 who had served in an infantry regiment and was familiar with mass-cohabiting and residing within a barracks environment. Participants within this study spoke of a parallel experience within 'basic training' when their liberty was removed, as they undertook their induction into a new regime, quite foreign from the society they had left behind.

Practitioner 06: It's like being a crow again (laughs) you know…like you're back in basic training and you're not too sure what to expect…but hey that's what you signed up for and it was your choice to volunteer.

Practitioner 06 emphasises an important truth in that joining the Armed Forces within the UK is voluntary with individuals choosing to surrender their liberty. It can

therefore be argued that whilst both offenders within the CJS and personnel within the Armed Forces experience the deprivation of liberty, the experience of this is likely to be different within the two 'total institutions'. A point articulated by the following narrative from veteran Practitioner 02 when he was commenting on having to visit clients soon to be discharged from prison as part of his role as a probation officer.

> **Practitioner 02:** Ok…I know what a lot of people say…that lad, it's just like he's back in the Army, says Sir…his room is immaculate…that sort of thing but no, just no…the lad it locked up under Her Majesty's pleasure and it's you that see these behaviours associated with being a squaddie…

A consideration from this narrative is whether faced with isolation and an unfamiliar environment, whether the veteran ex-offenders adopt habits that they feel indoctrinated or comfortable performing. In discussing the veteran ex-offenders, the veteran practitioners noted a sense of loss of an emotional relationship and a desire to establish a more positive feature of comradeship. However, this reaching out to establish a relationship would not occur if the trust was not established. This was a key feature as understood by the veteran practitioners in establishing a relationship with the veteran ex-offenders as discussed by Practitioner 07, when asked to consider moments when veteran ex-offenders had attempted to hide their veteran status.

> **Practitioner 07**: There are yes, we did…we did have a couple of chaps that didn't want to be identified as veterans erm…and one that I can recall was really down to trust. It was a case that, you know, he needed to trust people around him and it took an awful lot er…to try and gain that trust erm…somebody else said to me you know, it's not healthy being identified as ex-Armed Forces because you could then be targeted you know, by non-forces guys that were in the prison…some of it'd be down to jealousy. Some of it would be down to er…a Muslim capacity within jails…fear that they would be targeted through that channel so you had to build trust and let them know that you had their back which often helped build that comradeship.

Within the veteran practitioner sub-group, all participants presented with some form of positive narrative around re-engaging with a new form of comradeship within the

various services of the CJS. These various services have an overarching 'mission statement', creating again a set of collective goals and a new destiny which many of the participants struggled to identify within other civilian work environments they had encountered prior to gaining employment within the CJS.

Practitioner 06: I was…respected by my family and friends, I loved my job, the reason I actually left the forces was that I'd completed my 22 years…it wasn't the same like…although I had some involvement with the military with my work in the schools, I was in civvy street…people weren't the same and there wasn't the same…err…link…like connection I suppose with people you worked with.

Participants were asked to make comparisons between their time in the military and the CJS. Following a considered period of reflection Practitioner 05 commenced to answer the question with a reflective comment on himself but abruptly stopped and instead focused on the impact on the veteran ex-offenders he was responsible for within his role as a veteran custody officer.

Practitioner 05: I suppose that there are restrictions on even us as employees during our 12 hour shifts but the impact is of course very real for the lads serving time. They have to eat what is given, wear what they are given although there can be some flexibility with that if they earn credits…I suppose that's like obtaining rank within the military.

Practitioner 05 makes this observation on the parallel between the two institutions and the limitations of goods and services. Noticeable within the following narratives was that privileges relating to individuality are limited within a CJS environment, this occurs when a practitioner achieves the required privilege level assigned to a specific rank and in the Armed Forces, this occurs again with the attainment of rank but only at specific times for those who have completed a level of basic training by those already indoctrinated into the system.

Practitioner 07: Often the staff that were really militant, ex-forces themselves. I was totally gutted I think comes to mind at the…there was one

particular officer…very prim and proper. His uniform was crisp, his shoes…his boots were sort of highly polished. He was ex-Royal Navy so I said to him I said, you know, my name's (name), I'm you know, just starting and I'm coming to learn how you operate the wing. And he says you'll do it how I done it. You'll have to find out, that's what you're gonna do. I said well can you show me. He goes no. I think it was a case of sink or swim but also that I was new and there was a sort of initiation…moving past being a recruit.

This extract demonstrates an institutional and cultural comparison in relation to hierarchy and a rank system not only linked to a designation but a perceived level of lived experience. This life story progressed with Practitioner 07 with further insight relating to the use of alcohol. He explained that provisions can be purchased from approved outlets although alcohol is denied to veteran ex-offenders, it is readily available to those within the Armed Forces and at a reduced cost. The practitioners within the interviews highlighted the point that offenders can only access the goods and services on day release, home leave or employed outside as observed within the following narrative by Practitioner 07.

Practitioner 07: Of course the lads...those that have a restrictions imposed on them as part of their parole...yes, they can access local shops in their area and purchasing a range of goods but there are limitations, most notably the purchasing of alcohol. You find that their index offence…alcohol was a key feature…

There was no evidence from the life stories that the drinking of alcohol was never acceptable within working hours whilst employed within the CJS. However, many relayed narratives of consuming alcohol during working hours within their military careers. These freedoms are supposed to only be accessed intermittently by service personnel when not confined to camp or engaged in duties such as operational tours or on exercise. This omission by the veteran practitioners highlights the presence of an apparent drinking culture within the military which had consequences for Practitioner 01. Indeed, from within the life stories of this study it would indicate that alcohol was a contributing factor within the index offences of the veteran ex-offenders

as observed by the participants. Further comparisons identified other loses of freedoms associated with relationships and the impact of stigma and shame as noted by Practitioner 04 and Practitioner 02.

Practitioner 04: I did find that there was a lot of stigma attached to being er…given a prison sentence, bringing shame upon the family was…was mentioned on many occasions erm…felt very shameful themselves erm…some of them were ashamed of receiving help because they thought it was being seen as…as begging. This led to a lot of relationships breaking down getting a 'Dear John letter' only helped in enhanced their isolation.

Practitioner 02: I see young men coming out of prison…they've been in the military and that was a great chat up line…now, well it's not the best resume is it…a prison record. They've been in a restrictive all male environment, probably boasting about what they're going to do (laughs) when they hit the streets…and a lot of women may not want to know…you know cause of the stigma attached to em now.

This insight into relationships made by Practitioner 02 and Practitioner 04 when comparing the two sub-groups identifies a loss of intimate, sexual relationships. This form of deprivation is weighted towards that of the veteran ex-offender as there was evidence from the life stories of the veteran practitioners engaging in meaningful relationships. Evident within the life stories of the veteran practitioners was an awareness of the impact of the control and confinement that existed within both institutions. The participants were able to identify control and an ability to cope and to maintain this quality in the face of adversity. Within the veterans' life stories, control appeared to have been a key feature during the transitional phase from the Armed Forces to civilian life as discussed by Practitioner 01.

Practitioner 01: These lads that I meet through my role appear to have lost something…once they've left the Forces…a…degree or…locus of control that some had had created for them by the Forces and which they stuck to

> whilst serving. If they didn't have this…especially during transition well God bless em.

Practitioner 01 believed that there was evidence that if there was a lack of control then those veterans within his caseload had shown signs of a negative involvement in the CJS as an offender. There was a further suggestion by Practitioner 01 that if the veteran ex-offenders did not feel empowered during this transitional phase that this would result in a negative outcome. In engaging in a holistic interpretation of the life stories then it appeared that the negative outcomes ranged from unexpected employment challenges, strife, loss of identity as perceived by the participants when reflecting on the veteran ex-offenders' involvement with crime and incarceration.

However, control did appear to also have a negative impact in relation to the confines of incarceration. Practitioners 01, 02, 04, 05, 07 and 08 spoke about how a feature of the prison service can be close confinement with others who may be violent or may bully, exploit or steal from them, and that the veteran ex-offenders may also face potential violence. This deprivation had a perceived decreased impact on the veteran practitioners but was a point of concern when discussing the veteran ex-offenders as highlighted by Practitioner 07 when commenting on some notable deficiencies between the parallels of the two institutions.

> **Practitioner 07**: I think naively, I thought there would be more similarities. Er…being a uniform job in the Royal Navy, yes sir, no sir, three bags full sir and the rest of it, the structure to which an operation like that has to operate and was there, but the discipline, I thought there would be the parallels. It was totally different. Erm…the first establishment that I was assigned to er…(names prison) erm…what a very militant group of staff. If anything the most militant within the prison service, nationally. There were days I'd be worried for the lads, bunch of cowboys…you'd end up dealing and trying to sort out their shit that they'd usually started in the first place.

Practitioner 07 held concern over a lack of professionalism noted by his non-veteran colleagues and the authoritarian impact on those he was tasked to manage. Practitioner 07 noted that the offenders are subject to authoritarian systems of rules and discipline,

in which orders and instructions must be complied with. His concern was evident as was the reduced autonomy that the veteran ex-offenders would encounter within the presented passage. A need for clarity and consistency was a point made by the veteran practitioners themselves as employees within the CJS as articulated by Practitioner 06 who saw his work within the Youth Offending Service to be less austere than other services within the CJS.

Practitioner 06: You know where the line is and if you cross it there are consequences even for us working in this sort of environment you need to have established boundaries, guidelines, if you can't follow them well they'll find someone who can.

Noticeable was the apparent ability of the participants to maintain control in the face of institutional frustrations and to cope with resilience. The participants noted that for those veteran ex-offenders who believed that they had lost control or it had been taken away then they appeared to develop apathy and inability to take decisive action in their life. Within the life story interviews there was a very real sense of linkage emanating from the veteran practitioners in how the two institutions had close parallels in how they adopted an authoritarian approach in managing military personnel and the offenders. Indeed, many participants felt that the military was, in fact, a good preparation for the veteran ex-offenders learning the rules and regulations and subsequently this is why veterans were seen as 'no problem' (Practitioner 01) in comparison to the generic offender population. This interaction between the two sub-groups established an emergent theme that will now be discussed.

5.8.2 Sub-Theme: Relations and Perceptions of Veteran Ex-offenders

The life stories provided an insight into the participants' perceptions of their own reality as well as their understanding of the veteran ex-offenders' lived experience within the CJS. There appeared to be an awareness that if empowered to be part of systems that could identify the veteran ex-offenders, that this would create positive outcomes in terms of the veteran practitioners supporting the offenders through their shared veteran identity and culture. The Ministry of Justice (2014) released an announcement stating that from January 2015, every prisoner coming into custody will be asked if they have been a member of the Armed Forces and that prisons will be

given new guidance about supporting this sub-group during the length of their sentence (Phillips, 2014). The life stories held a belief that the veteran practitioners were able to identify offenders that had previously served within the Armed Forces through characteristics associated with an exposure to military training and culture as discussed by Practitioner 04 who used vivid imagery within his narrative reminiscent of his exposure to military training.

Practitioner 04: For me it's like a shamooli flare being fired off…you know. It can be their stance, how they present themselves, the language they use which you'll hear some military jargon or phrase that will make you think…he's ex-military too but only on opposite sides of the prison bars.

The acknowledgement within Governmental policy (Phillips, 2014) towards veteran ex-offenders is of course encouraging and this policy means that it is imperative that veterans be allowed and empowered to support those veterans on the other side of the 'prison bars' (Practitioner 04).

The shared veteran identity based on shared lived experiences was not without its challenges. Practitioner 05 whilst able to assist numerous veteran ex-offenders throughout his career commented that it could prove challenging when encountering individuals from his home town. He had come from a socially deprived community himself and was concerned about others knowing his own troubled youth as shown within the next narrative.

Practitioner 05:…there's bad eggs everywhere. I've opened a cell door and on opposite side of the prison bars it's a lad I served with in Germany. He says hello corporal (Name) how are you? I said ah bloody Joskin, a fella from…from North Wales er…from (town). I said ah…I'll come back. So I've gone to the office, seen my er…my senior officer in the prison. I said I've just been compromised. A young lad down there…I said he served with me in the Welsh, I said he knows too much about me background, you know, there was too many…where I'm from that went in the Army. I said I don't want him revealing that because they could use that, you know, the prisoners. So er…the senior officer says don't worry about that, just pop

over and pick up er…a record from the records office. Come back from the records office, the lad…he's gone, ousted, ended up in (name) prison.

This insight provided by Practitioner 05 clearly identifies a perceived challenge of transgressing a professional working relationship between the two institutions. However, due to a reactionary response it is unclear whether this would have been resolved. The participants provided no indication that they were impartial towards offenders with a military background but that having served within the military appeared to create camaraderie between the two groups which was advantageous and promoted good relations, respect and trust. These findings suggest that the veteran practitioners appear to adopt or develop the ability to role "toggle" which can make processes such as formal identification of the veteran ex-offenders and their management an empowering practice. The veteran practitioners' involvement and success within peer support highlighted the strength of an empowering relationship based on trust and a shared military identity.

Collectively, the participants believed that by empowering the veteran identity it can become a powerful therapeutic agent to enable the veteran to take more control over their current situation. Through thematic analysis of the life stories, codes were produced that identified the veteran practitioner/offender relationship as a powerful cohesive bond and had clear supporting benefits if the veteran practitioners felt that they were empowered to support their offender counterparts. Interestingly, it appears to be the particular CJS environment that acts as a catalyst for this relationship to develop as is evident within the views expressed by Practitioner 06.

Practitioner 06: You can certainly have a laugh and I suppose there is an air of trust…once established mind you. But on the whole as you've both worn the uniform there is a…sort of respect between you both…

The participants universally reported that this transition of the professional identity between the veteran practitioner and veteran ex-offender was never an issue. The previous narrative from Practitioner 06 believed that a practitioner can be a friend and professional, with the ability to interchange and balance these two roles. The participants stressed that positive outcomes can be achieved if time is spent to talk,

listen and discuss with the veteran ex-offender their specific needs, a skill which Practitioner 01 believed that the shared veteran identity facilitates.

Practitioner 01: Well for starters it's time. You see my colleagues...a mix bag but great on the whole but they may not have the background to relate and er know what the lads going through cause I've been there and gone through some of the shit he may be going through well then…stands to reason to have a veteran looking after a veteran.

Practitioner 03: There was this young lad…an Early Service Leaver...and you could tell he was going through something after coming back from Afghan and well he'd gone into trouble and was kicking off in the cells. He was due to see his solicitor but the custody sergeant wasn't having any of it so…he ended up staying in overnight but he could have done with someone to talk things through really.

This extract from the transcript indicates a belief amongst some participants who felt that the veteran ex-offenders required additional support due to psychological issues as a direct consequence of military combat. Attempts had been made in some cases to support these individuals and offer suggestions but they believed that there can often be limited resource to appeal and information on how the decisions were made can be obscured. The practitioners voiced their frustrations of not being able to effect a change of working with a system that they believed they could improve. This frustration created a moment's pause for the participants to reminisce over similar challenges while serving within the military.

Practitioner 04: It's like when you get some young subaltern…sorry (laughs). Well, they come up with some plan of attack and you think, what tree did this guy fall out of...a right muppet but you have to fallow orders and go through the motions even though you know there is a better way of doing it…in my experience it can be the same with the prison service if you have poor leadership without a battle tested plan in place.

This lack of direction and poor leadership appeared to lead to disempowered practices and an inability to influence change. Within the life stories, there was evidence of this occurring during the veterans' time within the Armed Forces, however; it appeared that most saw this as a rite of passage and something to be endured in order to become part of the accepting collective. The life stories identified a trend of post-discharge from the Armed Forces creating a lack of security during the transitional phase, but there was strong evidence that those who felt empowered during the process appeared to succeed and gain rewarding employment within the CJS. However, Practitioner 02 had experience of the complication of veterans entering the courts and felt that many offenders became embroiled in crime as their deviant behaviour, now assessed and managed by a civilian judicial system, created a judicial outcome and consequence that they were unaccustomed to. This became evident when asked what led many veterans to be identified as a criminal within the courts.

Practitioner 02: Well that's an interesting point you see as…well many of them were engaging in activities which if they were still in the military would perhaps be seen as common practice…typical squaddie mentality of fight it, fuck it and drink it. What happens is they come out of the military and well it's like they forget they're not in anymore, especially when in drink and low and behold they aren't being marched into the camp commander's room on Monday morning are they…no they have a civilian magistrate who takes a dim view of their behaviour…uses the same yard stick and bang their in clink or have a record but thing is they are just doing want they almost been trained to do.

This insight provided by Practitioner 02 appears to suggest that by engaging in behaviour typically associated with a masculine culture associated within the military, the veterans are consequently judged to be engaging in deviant behaviour. This therefore, creates a paradox in that a military training and culture appears to indoctrinate and encourage certain character traits and yet the judicial system punishes for identifying this behaviour.

The majority of the veteran practitioner group reported appropriate interactions with the veteran ex-offenders they encountered within the CJS and even positive

relationships based on a shared military background. However, Practitioner 04 and Practitioner 05 expressed their concern that there was evidence from within the prison environment of veterans either feeling intimidated by the generic offender population for those positioning for an enhanced reputation, or from groups identifying themselves as Islamic Fundamentalist groups.

Practitioner 04: Yeah they could become a target…like well we couldn't get you over there but we can get you in here, sort of thing…some prisons are worse than others though I think...depends of the local demographics of the county or city.

Practitioner 05: You might get some type who thought the veterans were getting preferential treatment or jealous maybe that they'd done something with their life…different reasons but it would…could boil down to the lads getting a hard time in the wrong place.

Whilst these narratives indicate challenges for the veteran ex-offender group, in the main the practitioners reported limited negative impact or enhanced danger at being identified as a military veteran. The veteran practitioners may be less affected and resilient to these stresses. Within the life stories it was clear that the participants had been exposed to the rigours of military training as well as armed conflict. This exposure to risk within their military careers appears to have had positive outcomes within the transition to a civilian identity as discussed by Practitioner 03.

Practitioner 03: Having been in the Army in my formative years was a great preparation course in joining the police…every day is different, you need to have your wits about you and yes, there are times when you have to be able to look after yourself but you do have others watching your back just like back in the military police.

The majority of practitioners demonstrated a clear awareness of the impact of working within challenging environments within the CJS but felt confident in dealing with their respective role and its occupational challenges. The participants raised their concern

for the need for better peer-support services and the negative impact on the veteran ex-offenders in being involved with the CJS on the 'other side of the bars' when alternatives could be explored.

5.9 Main Theme: Consequences, Causation and Impact

This main theme explores the observations and concerns made by the veteran practitioners on the effect that the CJS has on those engaging with this institution and their families. A reflective comparison allowed for a mean making process of how the practitioners viewed the causation variables that led the veteran ex-offenders to be on opposite sides of the CJS. It was conveyed as a call to arms, with the participants describing an awareness of what they perceived as the pertinent issues relating to veterans presence in the CJS. Frustrations were voiced and there was a clear desire for actions to implement change. Their attempts represented an opportunity to deliver services based on the specific needs of an overlooked and controversial offender sub-group within the CJS. Their initiatives appeared to represent attempts to bring order to disorder, both in the sense of progressing forward from a chaotic service provision which refuted the population of the veteran ex-offenders, as well as introducing some form of order and structure to the complex nature of a judicial system with the primary aim of public protection and punishment. In response, participants constructed or engaged in service delivery which incorporated an ability to seek out a solution-based approach within challenging environments holding at its core similarities with their own previous military training. In doing so, they evidenced their worth and ability to support veterans involved in the CJS and identified as offenders.

5.9.1 Sub-Theme: Impact on the Veteran Ex-offender

The life stories held evidence of another relationship between the two sub-groups, that of a "helping" relationship where the practitioner (veteran) intends to share knowledge as a way of empowering the person (offender) by allowing the veteran (offender or pre-offence) to take control of their situation and to minimise the negative impact on their life. The practitioner appeared to find that when managing the two identities, they must adopt a punitive role which may take less precedence over the needs of the veteran ex-offender. This may cause conflict for the practitioner when trying to balance the needs of the veteran ex-offender and the needs of the CJS. Practitioner 06

discusses his experiences of veteran ex-offenders and the loss of control and challenges encountered.

Practitioners 06: Most of the lads that I see just lost…they've come out of well…usually the Army and end up getting into some sort of scrape or altercation. They may have been sofa surfing with no mixed abode or in hotel mum and dad. Sooner or later they end with the police and that then that spirals and the impact on their lives can be immense. Mum and dad…or the missus can only take so much…

The severity of the impact of being negatively involved in the CJS was clearly understood and conveyed by the participants. Within this study the participants spoke about how all the veteran ex-offenders they had encountered had appeared to have all experienced life-altering consequences, if not through loss of employment, then from the psychological impact which evidently still plagued their perceived self-image and feelings of shame. These participants explained that due to the veteran ex-offender's contact with the CJS, they had become separated from their families if not by a custodial sentence then by their wish not to associate as articulated by Practitioner 01 and Practitioner 02.

Practitioner 01: The girlfriend or even in some cases the wife might be there at the start of it all but especially if it's a custodial sentence…it becomes too much and they may not want the kids seeing daddy that way…not really as glamourous as before…

Practitioner 02: Ok, well they may well live in areas...you know like (names city) and it's not really an issue…having a record but for that family, well their little Jonny and achieved something…they might have gone to his passing out parade and the family have been proud of that…now what do they say when their asked in Tesco's how Jonny is these day?

From an interpretation of these interviews an understanding is formed on the impact of an alien and oppressive environment on significant others who can be reluctant to

engage with the veteran ex-offender. This insight displayed by the veteran practitioners indicates that the shared veteran identity forms an empowering bond between the two sub-groups which transgresses the military environment and inserts itself in the CJS. Therefore, as the participants have indicated, there is a potential empowering process within the relationship that both sub-groups have towards each other. However, it appears that to date most of the professional development around veterans in the CJS has been focused upon managing risk and the working environment.

The participants spoke about the stress and suffering which they felt that many of the veteran ex-offenders appeared to bear alone during the transition from the military life into their civilian identity. They recognised these challenges but had overcome them with an apparent resilience that the other sub-group did not possess as understood by the veteran practitioners and highlighted by Practitioner 06.

Practitioner 06: It can be a scary time...some of these Early Service Leavers may only have done 4 years' service but when you think of their age…they may have gone in at 16…17 and that's a significant portion of their life. They may not have had anyone to guide them through it…my father-in-law was there for me…ex (names regiment). He kept an eye on me now looking back and made sure I stayed focused on making a new life.

The veteran practitioners all presented a discourse within their life stories of a need to harmonise into the new civilian lives, whether within everyday changes or within their new institution of the CJS. This successful career transition provided a positive evidence base for those unable make the migration into being a successful and law-abiding citizen. However, within the life stories there was a strong sense of the veterans becoming transplanted into a new institutional environment, where a withdrawal into the new life within the CJS increases the dependence of the institutional regime, environment and dogma. This process resulted in the replacement of a previous identity with one conducive to life within the new institution, creating a need for the veteran practitioner to become 'institutionalised' to their new environment as seen within the following narrative provided by Practitioner 03.

Practitioner 03: I remember at the start a few of my new colleagues in the police could spot that I was ex-forces. As time went by this happened less and less…you know with new staff who didn't know who you were. I suppose you start using a whole new set of acronyms and phrases...instead of putting your boots on and thinking mmm going for a TAB you think I'm walking the beat.

As this process resulted in employment and a transferable skill set adapted to surviving within another institution there appeared to be few negative ramifications for the veteran practitioners. This creates some insight into whether the exposure to a 'total institution' increases the dependence to seek out another 'total institution' for employment for the participants.

The participants within this sub-groups interacted with the CJS as employees but displayed insight into the lived experiences of the veteran ex-offenders through the shared veteran identity. Evidence from the life stories indicated that any contact with the CJS can have a detrimental impact on the veteran if the punishment is found to be severe and the veteran believes there is a lack of rights and appropriate privileges. An example of this can be seen with Practitioner 04 who explains.

Practitioner 04: You do feel for em…they may be dealing with very real issues. I've had a few lads that have had terrible tours...IED's…the lot, they've come back but…their mates haven't but…and you look at them as well…you know they're really still over there…and so what do we do…we don't help the problem we lock them up so that the public feels safe but if the public…civvies knew what they'd gone through then maybe they could be dealt with differently…it's not that the general public don't care you understand, it's just that they're not aware…the lads need some sort of psychological assessment instead of a prison cell.

This passage of Practitioner 04 implies that there are ex-service personnel entering the CJS as offenders whose mental state has not been adequately assessed and a treatment plan provided. The life stories appear to argue that there were a lack of health facilities

and professionals to identify and assess this disorder. In the absence of these health facilities, the participants relied on their shared veteran identity. The veteran practitioners believed that those veteran ex-offenders who had experienced an absence of good quality staff-offender relations, were unable to communicate their concerns due to a lack of an ability to relate and that this could lead to conflict as highlighted within the following narrative.

Practitioner 03: We had this young lad who was in the cells over the weekend, he'd come home from leave had hit the drink pretty hard…ended up fighting with half the pub. Anyway he was in the cell and screaming on about his 'oppo'…you know opposite number, mate…the staff that were on shift didn't understand and well, when I spoke to him it turned out his unit had come under fire…ambush I think it was and well some hadn't made it back…no one had asked him if he was a veteran let alone a serving member of the Armed Forces.

The noted absence of a veteran in custody service (VICS) within this narrative appeared to have created an inability to identify an individual in need of specific care and attention. Instead, a heavy regime with oppressive rules, strict controls and poor staff–offender relations resulted in the offender being a victim due to being vulnerable. The participants felt that conflict with non-veteran practitioners may have resulted as a lack of awareness of veterans' issues. This is perhaps indicative of a need to explore schemes which have an ability to meet the needs of this particular sub-group. The veteran practitioners spoke about experiences within the CJS that had a profound impact on the veteran ex-offenders and created feelings of frustration, anxiety, fear, isolation and desperation, which affected their psychological well-being and their ability to survive post-release from the CJS as discussed by Practitioner 04.

Practitioner 04: Well, it stands to reason…the stigma of coming out of a prison er…is why we need the support to try and help get them back on the straight and narrow again. Otherwise, they'll end up back in or worse…

Within the life stories, the participants raised concerns that they had observed that veteran ex-offenders would attempt to be self-reliant and were reluctant to seek aid,

which means that it became difficult to employ any complex strategies to cope with their distress. As articulated by Practitioner 07, who believed that if left unchecked, this could lead to the development of dangerous maladaptations or mental breakdown.

Practitioner 07: So it took a lot of hard work on my behalf to try and convince them well actually you're not begging at all, you know, you're not…you're not accepting handouts, you know, it's not a case of, you know, you're a guy off the street oh let's give him a cup of tea or something. The problem is it can be engrained in them, to be self-reliant, you know. If they don't let anyone help them and there's issues well it can be like a car crash…not just for them but their family.

This emotive view expressed by Practitioner 07 raises concerns over the dichotomy between the presence of resilience and the need for this sub-group to access support. Within the life stories of the veteran practitioners they explained that the consequences of these breakdowns and maladaptations often manifested as aggression or depression. The veteran practitioners highlighted their concern that if support was not provided then the result was often rebellious outbursts of anger and violence or alternatively, withdrawal and apathy as articulated by Practitioner 05.

Practitioner 05: It's all too common a story…you'll have the one that kicks off because he feels like he's not being heard, this can have repercussions on the wing and then their sentence…then there are knows who go inside themselves…you know disappear into themselves…this is why you need to get to know those in your custody straight away.

This outcome was stressed by Practitioner 05 as a possible outcome if the staff-offender relationship was strained or non-existent. The life stories of the veteran practitioners bared testament to narratives of drug addiction, mental health problems and even suicide. The veteran practitioners believed if they were unable to identify the offenders as veterans they would have difficulty in meeting their particular set of needs. This point was discussed by Practitioner 08 within his role in NOMS. He used his considerable skill-set to systematically work through a network of services in order to quantify the scale of the rates of veterans entering the CJS as offenders.

Practitioner 08: I started asking the question to some people, do you have a military background and it came more and more that individuals were coming forward saying oh yeah, I spent two, three years in or six years, ten years…and I started sort of thinking to myself well where do we actually ask and we didn't…and as I moved through different teams, I saw again that we just didn't ask and they were slipping through the net 'cause…if we didn't identify anybody we weren't signposting, pointing them in the right direction, which, for me, again this is my military training, my role was to use all…resources that I can put my hands on to give them a better chance of…resettlement. Again, taking my military training to the max…that wasn't happening so when I moved teams again to offender management…again…I checked all the IT systems, checked all the assessment systems, nowhere did we identify anybody. So for me it was…only about closing that gap and asking people.

Practitioner 08 commenced a process which would start to redefine how the statutory and third sector services would need to adapt to identify veteran ex-offenders within the total institution of the CJS.

In parallel to the CJS, the total institution of the Armed Forces creates varying levels of interaction across the various military services. By utilising the depth analogy, it is possible to compare how the service personnel (later to become a veteran) is embedded into the various divisions of the Armed Forces and to what extent systems of discipline, punishment, and privileges and rights impact on the service personnel within the units in the Armed Forces. The veteran practitioners noted that an individual's experience of military life could be dramatically different depending on the unit that the individual had served in. When asked which particular service of the Armed Forces did the personnel belong, the answer unilaterally was the same throughout the life stories as evidenced by Practitioner 01.

Practitioner 01: Army, without a doubt and within that the Infantry but when you think about where these lads are recruited from and the role of the job, then well maybe not surprising. It's rare…to come across say a RAF pilot

but that due to the structure that is in place to support them and again where they might call home.

In reviewing this narrative, meaning and understanding can be extrapolated from the life stories as there was a clear belief shared by the veteran practitioners that the Army Infantryman had the greatest probability of entering the CJS as an offender as discussed by Practitioner 02 when asked why he believed the ratio of offenders was proportionately higher for the Army.

Practitioner 02: I think because the Army particularly are…they have to be the aggressive ones, they have to be. Erm…the Navy alright yeah, we're kind of aggressive but we're…we're fighting out battle from a long…a longer away distance so there's not that personal aggression you have to engender ditto RAF.

This explanation explores the impact of warfare on the individual in relation to exposure to an immediate threat. It would appear that the higher the threat level the higher the likelihood of entering the CJS as an offender, although this would require further investigation. A number of the veteran practitioners noted how the variation of experiences encountered through military service made it difficult to predict which individuals may be at risk of entering the CJS as an offender and how they may cope with the impact of possibly being imprisoned. Practitioner 07 believes that it would prove difficult to predict how to prevent entry into the CJS. However, what may be easier was to foresee how they may deal with the environmental similarities as discussed by Practitioner 04 and Practitioner 07.

Practitioner 04: I think pretty much all of them that I've come across sort of coped very well erm…we've all been through barracks, you know, the basic training er…but prisons are not too dissimilar to that. I think the hardest part of being in prison is one that you can't erm…you can't move until the door's open for you. You can't have your meals until it's ready. Er…but you would probably go in to a…a defensive mode, a self-preservation type mode but when they go from a closed prison such as that to a semi or an open prison to which I was in erm…the thing, without a

problem at all is someone who thinks about it just like being at a barracks…otherwise they may struggle.

Practitioner 07: Well that's just you see, I…I…I don't think anyone's ever gonna know that. You know, it's…as I said I think a lot of it is…erm…the set of circumstances they find themselves…the…the particular path they're on that…at that moment in time. Perhaps the sun was in the wrong position, I don't know.

These narratives appear to provide evidence and insight in that there appeared to be an overarching belief that those service personnel, who had endured physical and mental hardship within a more restrictive regime in combination of strict discipline, had a greater chance at enduring and adapting to the physical environment, but may still struggle with the psychological impact associated with the stigma and shame of becoming an offender. There was a belief held by the participants that for those veteran ex-offenders who had experienced a less austere military service or was identified as a ESL may face challenges to cope with the impact of the physical environment and psychological fallout, due to the lack of conceptual understanding and experience as located within the narratives of Practitioners 01, 05, and 08.

Practitioner 01: It was after I'd left the probation service and joined (name) that I noticed a higher than…expected referral numbers coming through for Early Service Leavers…this was a lot of my work really.

Practitioner 05: To be honest over the years, what I've noticed is what they are saying is that a lot of the lads are…Early Service Leavers…in and out and they were the ones we dealt with a lot as VICS. I noticed that a fair few have problems from their time in and then…well their just medically discharged…binned.

Practitioner 08: There's issues around the usual…alcohol, drunk and disorderly and fighting, but to be honest a lot of them appear not to have been in for long. They tend to be lads who are Early Service Leavers…made a rash decision and left or were forced out.

The veterans' shared identity between the two sub-groups was key in establishing a given in terms of the moral and social codes expected through military services, as there is a defined set of rules and codes that dictate how these are to be interacted with. It appears that this point requires further exploration in that a number of the veterans believed that these codes and rules of conduct had been broken by the military whom they felt had dealt with some of the veteran ex-offenders harshly or unjustly. This in turn could create a bitterness towards the Armed Forces as an employer. However, there was a clear sense of camaraderie present through the shared veteran identity of the offender and practitioner. The participants were concerned for the welfare of the veteran ex-offenders but had no issues in distinguishing them as offenders who needed to be managed but there was hope for additional support.

5.9.2 Sub-Theme: Modus Operandi: A Life Story Cross-Roads

Whilst the benefits of the two veteran sub-group relationships became clear, there is still an unmistakable dilemma in that whilst the practitioner may be of support to the offender's situation, there is the undeniable truth that the practitioner also holds a punitive relationship in-line with their custodial identity within the CJS created due to the need of the presence of criminality, a feature present within the veteran ex-offenders' lives. This point was raised within the interviews of Practitioner 02 and Practitioner 04.

Practitioner 02: The bottom line is that…even if I might have known em before whilst serving or can relate to their predicament…I have a job to do now and that's that.

Practitioner 04: Despite what some lags might think…I haven't met anyone that seeks special treatment, not that they'd get it but it doesn't happen. If

you acted like that you wouldn't get the…respect you need to do the job and ultimately that's what allows you to…look after your own family. The bottom line is they are…they have broken the law in civvy street, plain and simple…and this is the problem in that they are being judged not by a camp commandant or their platoon commander anymore, no now it's a middle class magistrate who's maybe never been outside of (names affluent area in a county location).

Practitioner 04 indicates that previously sanctioned behaviours while in the military are reviewed and assessed differently by civil judicial services. Through Practitioner 04's comments, it could be argued that the presence of two competing CJS's (military vs civilian) creates a judicial dichotomy in affirming yet confusing society's values, due to the variation in the environment that the deviant behaviour occurred in. A point illustrated graphically by Practitioner 01.

Practitioner 01: Take that lad I was talking about earlier…one minute he's fixing bayonets in Afghanistan, fighting the Taliban who let's not forget want his head on a stick and then what…he's back home on leave, has too many sherbets…does what he was trained to do and then that's that. He's discharged from the military and with a criminal record to boot.

Practitioner 01 clearly presents an argument that the Armed Forces current operating systems require assertive action and aggressive behaviour for British overseas interests to be successful. However, if these same individuals were to adopt this behaviour within the UK then their actions would be classed as deviant. However, it would appear that the assessment and classification of deviant behaviour can be viewed to be a necessity for this society as it reinforces the social cohesiveness of its population by establishing rules to punish those who infringe and abuse these rules. Subsequently, this creates a collective consciousness that connects the society together. Through shared moral obligations and behaviours, the life stories provide insight as experienced and understood by the participants, that veterans who commit crimes are seen as deviant by civilian courts, as opposed to those trialled either through informal or formal military judicial systems. Practitioner 08 spoke about an incident that had occurred while he had served with the Royal Navy. He had been intoxicated and got

involved on a physical altercation, he spoke about what might have been the consequences on his life had the police intervened and charged him with assault.

> **Practitioner 08**: Oh god, yeah. I never really got in to trouble when I was in the military. It was something you…I just didn't do. You didn't do things that…were unlawful, in my opinion. Had I have been caught and charged I…would have felt…I would have let everybody down. (Exhales) I think for me it would have been like pulling the plug out erm…I think it'd have had a serious detrimental effect on me because that reaction was alcohol related. Violent action was totally out of character for me. I've never done it since. It's only one time I've ever done that and yet…yeah, I could have got six month for that and yet that…that is so…it's like, when I reflect on that, you know, I can't remember doing it and…and I've never done anything like that since.

It was clear from the professional achievements of Practitioner 08 that had there been a criminal conviction resulting in a police record that this could have severely altered the course of his life. The participants, when discussing the crimes committed by the veteran ex-offenders were adamant that these crimes should not be excused. Although a belief persisted that an overlap existed between military culture and consequently, how this was then perceived within their later transition into their civilian life. A number of the veteran practitioners noted how the variation of experiences encountered through military service made it difficult to predict which individuals may be at risk of entering the CJS as an offender and how they may cope with the impact of possibly being imprisoned. However, they discussed common traits and behaviours which were common within the 'modus operandi' of the veteran ex-offenders that they encountered. Appendix J outlines typical cases that Practitioner 03 dealt with in the military police and aided the researcher in highlighting emerging themes. Challenges were noted in transitioning away from an entrenched sense of belonging to their military identity to a new civilian identity and associated culture as highlighted within 5.7.3 *Sub-Theme: Need to Belong*. The participants noted the presence of excessive use of alcohol, violence, being identified as an ESL, a disempowered transition and themes associated with recruitment into the Armed Forces appeared as commonalities within the life stories of veteran ex-offenders.

Practitioner 05: Not just myself but I know with my colleagues that most of the ex-service personnel, if they have had involvement in crime prior to joining up, then bingo these tend to be the ones that get drawn back into that world when they get discharged. Nothing else for them to do, I suppose or at least they may see it that way and they want easy money. Risk taking behaviour tends to be a character trait…flaw with a lot of this group.

Practitioner 05's views were shared and voiced by the other veteran practitioners, who commented that there appeared to be varying levels of deviance noted within the modus operandi of the veteran ex-offenders being encountered. Relevant narratives included missing morning parade due to excessive alcohol misuse which could also be accompanied by fighting with fellow military personnel. The participants either directly stated or indirectly alluded to a belief that there were different perceptions of how this offending behaviour was viewed within the military culture and outside by the civilian environment. Practitioner 05 had himself encountered challenges in his transition but had succeeded in locating an employment route and subsequent career. However, the participants all noted that they had observed that this conflict constituted an overwhelming process, which saw the veteran ex-offenders become overwrought and overpowered by the challenge as highlighted by Practitioner 02 and Practitioner 04.

Practitioner 02: Sink or swim…and a lot sink…like a lead shot…

Practitioner 04: I put it down to a lack of life experience, don't get me wrong as they may have been on overseas tours and maybe made it to being a Junior NCO even, but they are still young…you know. They have been totally reliant on a system which has told them what to do, what to think since the day they arrived in basic training.

Whilst these testimonies were told, there was a genuine sense of empathy displayed by Practitioner 02 and 04 regarding those unfortunate to have struggled and consequently failed at a crucial cross-road within their life story. Whilst this may have constituted failure to succeed in life there was some testament and insight into how

the veteran ex-offenders' may prove resilient in facing the challenges of involvement in the CJS.

Practitioner 07 highlights an understanding from the life stories that provided a useful insight in that there appeared to be an overarching belief that those service personnel who had endured physical and mental hardship within a more restrictive regime in combination with strict discipline, had a greater chance at enduring and adapting to the physical environment, but may still struggle with the psychological impact associated with the stigma and shame of becoming an offender as explained and understood by Practitioner 07 when asked how he perceived ex-service personnel coped with the prison environment.

Practitioner 07: You usually find that those who may have been in the infantry…Royal Marines tend not to lose any sleep over say…sharing a living space or sharing ablutions. But, I've seen these same men suffer with the stigma of it…being in prison…that really gets under their skin. You see them…if they have visitors they may well say they're sick or it;' so they can't look them in the face…you know the shame of it.

This extract also provided evidence that there was a belief that those service personnel who had experienced a less regimented service either through a clerical, admin role or as an ESL may struggle to adapt to the physical environment and psychological fallout, due to the lack of conceptual understanding and experience of being managed by an institution (Practitioner 01, Practitioner 04, Practitioner 07).

Practitioner 01: It was after I'd left the probation service and joined (name) that I noticed a higher than…expected referral numbers coming through for Early Service Leavers…this was a lot of my work really.

Practitioner 04: There's issues around the usual…alcohol, drunk and disorderly and fighting, but to be honest a lot of them appear not to have been in for long. They tend to be lads who are Early Service Leavers…

Practitioner 07: To be honest over the years, what I've noticed is what they are saying is that a lot of the lads are…Early Service Leavers…in and out and they were the ones we dealt with a lot.

The veteran practitioners shared their views that it was their belief that it was the clearly identifiable rules and regulations which the offender group recognised and responded to. They expressed concern regarding ESLs whom they believed were more at risk due to their limited years within the military and younger years and impressionable disposition. The participants stated a need to ensure that boundaries and rules were clear in order to prevent any confusion regarding appropriate behaviour and subsequent consequences on the individual's life trajectory. This belief extended from inside the confines of the CJS to the point of transition for the ESLs returning to their civilian lives as expressed by Practitioner 02 and Practitioner 05.

Practitioner 02: Someone really needs to take these young lads to one side and really force the point that any shit that is tolerated in the military…won't be when they land in civvy street…should be part of the transition or discharge process…it sounds harsh but it's like…spare the rod and spoil the child…you got to be straight otherwise you're going to be seeing them in the dock.

Practitioner 05: I've seen lads come into the wing and within a day they know what's expected of them, they understand the rules and regulations. Yet in a lot of cases you see behaviour which has led them into the judicial system which should have been addressed and checked. There should be a diversion system in place to get to grips with these young lads…

Practitioner 02 and Practitioner 05 stressed within their life stories a belief that regimes had become less austere over recent decades due to a more progressive approach, which has created substantial improvements. However, this feature was not entirely seen as enlightened by some veteran practitioners in relation to the veteran ex-

offenders, as they believed that a clearly defined regime was what the veteran ex-offenders would recognise and respond to as seen within the passage with Practitioner 07.

Practitioner 07: You know, it's open, though they've got their own key to their own room. They've got free access. There are a few restrictions and that's predominantly sort of half past eight at night time they've gotta be in the er…in the block. That's fine if for some but if the rules and regulations aren't clear and straightforward then any risk takers…especially if you have a few with you, well they can fall back into old habits.

The participants appeared to share a view that a lack of clear and strict rules could cause confusion or complacency with the offender sub-group. The veteran practitioners spoke about examples of when they believed that these practices could bring unwelcome power games, encapsulated by a conscious passive-aggressive regime.

Practitioner 02: What you don't want is for a lack of clarity…and I always ensure that with the clients on my case-load they know where the line is…this isn't to be a hard ass but it prevents problems later on. If you try and be crafty with em...you know catch em out and trip em up well then the trust goes out the window and you might lose them totally.

Within the interviews the veteran practitioners testified to this regime as narratives were presented of an environment of uncertainty and insecurity. They believed that this culture created an environment in which the veteran ex-offenders felt continuously monitored and conscious that they had to be constantly hyper-vigilant of their actions, behaviour and conversation. The participants felt that the cause was attributed to the stigma and shame of being a veteran with a criminal conviction and involved in the CJS.

Practitioner 03: If they don't know where the goal posts are then this can lead to no small amount of uncertainty, it can leave them feeling uneasy…I

> believe that's why some don't identify themselves as a veteran as they will be stereo-typed and then there's the shame of it all. That keeps a lot of them uneasy, creates all sorts of mental health problems…I see that all the time with this group.

Practitioner 03 offers evidence that these pains of uncertainty appear to combine to produce a psychologically intrusive and restrictive offender experience, characterised by psychological anxiety, tension and insecurity. Practitioner 05 theorised that this culture of uncertainty breeds disharmony as the veteran is unsure what is expected and what is inappropriate and prohibited. The participants appeared to demonstrate that even those with limited years within the military appeared to eventually become accustomed to clearly defined rules and regulations while also being controlled by a hierarchical system. The veteran practitioners who had been employed as prison officers explained that they had observed imprisonment to be disorientating and overwhelming at first for the veteran ex-offenders, as they struggled mentally to adapt to the environment but coped better with a recognisable regime as highlighted by Practitioner 08.

> **Practitioner 08**: The offenders, they were generally smart. They were generally clean shaven. Their…cells were clean, tidy, they were respectful…generally respectful of staff erm…the relationship was different with staff erm…they seemed to fit into the regime, the institutionalised time keeping, their regimented I suppose erm…they know the structure of the days…it…I think ex-military people, unfortunately do fit in to prison regimes quite easily.

Here Practitioner 08 identifies a wider belief from the life stories that veterans have an enhanced ability to survive and excel within institutions. However, there was a realisation from the life stories that there appeared to be a prolonged negative consequence on the lives of the veteran ex-offenders due to the identified theme of stigma and associated shame and ESLs appeared to be most at risk as articulated by Practitioner 01 when asked to provide demographics of his clientele identified as veteran ex-offenders on his case load.

Practitioner 01: Young lads, not done many years military service so that would make them Early Service Leavers and mostly from what you'd call from a deprived area in most cases but not all. It's often listed that there's a present mental health problem but I'm not sure whether this is connected to what they've gone through in the past or erm…where they find themselves now.

In comparison, none of the participants had been classed as ESLs and they appeared to have had an empowered transition into their civilian lives, with thought and consideration being given and opportunities with training being taken while in the Armed Forces as highlighted by Practitioner 07.

Practitioner 07: What helped me was sitting down with my wife and talking our options through. I'd made sure that I'd stayed in touch with lads that had got out before me so I was under no illusion what I was doing or how tough it could be…but we were determined…my wife and I…

An empowered transition appeared to allow for a considered approach and was a common theme with the veteran practitioners. It would appear that the veteran practitioners did not see this to be a feature with the veteran ex-offenders whose transition appeared to be rapid and in some cases forced either by their own volition of the Armed Forces wishing to seek a discharge.

Practitioner 04: I saw a client down in (names town) a few weeks ago…he had been caught in a IED whilst on tour in Iraq and it had affected him badly but he was a sniper and they needed him on the ground so kept sending him out time and again. Anyway the alarms finally go off that something isn't right with this lad…wasn't sleeping, long stares. I managed to get his notes from (named city) eventually and the psych suspected PTSD and guess what…they discharged him on health grounds right there and then but never told him about the PTSD…bloody shockin.

> **Practitioner 06**: Perhaps there should be a cooling down period, maybe as part of the decompression stage over in (Country) and I really don't think some of them think it through…leaving I mean.

5.9.3 Sub-Theme: Attempts to Implement Change

The life stories provide insight as experienced and understood by the participants that veterans who commit crimes are seen as deviant by civilian courts, as opposed to those trialled either through informal or formal military judicial systems. The veteran practitioners hold crucial lived experience and professional insight into the modus operandi of the veteran ex-offender and are able to relate and provide an understanding of the causation of the entry of veterans as offenders into the CJS. This understanding is derived both from their own narratives on the issue and in presenting their own sub-group as a control from which to compare the veteran ex-offenders. Their wish to engage in new systems to identify and support has demonstrated an ability to stretch a norm by creating a morally right action for the veterans and the community concerned.

Within all three approaches and within the methodological stance of this study, there is the acknowledgement that veterans within the CJS experience the categorisation of deviance as a social construction, created by ruling parties who deem what is problematic and imagine that social control offers a viable solution to this research topic. However, these two suggested adaptations to the CJS demonstrate an effort to create and promote systems which have the potential to surpass conventional expectations outside of conventional norms; namely the presence of 'positive deviance'.

This awareness of each other and being to identify fellow veterans appears to be a prime reason for the apparent success and expansion of the veteran peer support programmes such as Veterans in Custody scheme. However, it appears that this success relies on goodwill from the veteran practitioner community as explained by Practitioner 07.

> **Practitioner 07**: Erm…we did have some guys that were ex-forces, staff members erm…that were quite supportive. They…helped me but they

wouldn't take on the role of being a responsible veterans in custody officer, strangely enough as they felt that it was a step too far to take…as we didn't get paid for it so they saw it as the system getting something for nothing.

The participants explored their experiences of implementing and engaging with service delivery for veteran support services and commented on the requirement for further expansion. The veteran-specific initiatives brought into the CJS, structure and stability, which contrasted with the aimless and ineffectual provision which had existed prior to the veteran-led initiatives. The commencement of the slow acknowledgement of the benefits of the veteran-specific services within the UK left many hoping for a commitment that future investment might lead to further support from central government via the CJS. The veteran practitioners engaged with veteran peer support programmes felt positive, expressing feelings of fulfilment and pride.

Practitioner 08: I had this idea of establishing a VIC system I mean it…t all came from working in…a top secure unit, a Cat A, high Cat A special secure unit er…environment to a resettlement prison and having the opportunity to work in different fields and actually getting to know their back stories of the individuals that were coming in to prison. There was just nothing in place to identify veterans but we could tell...from keeping up on military characteristics that they were there but you had to talk to them to build up trust to know their military past. I realised that we were letting people down…from all types of military backgrounds…

It was clear that Practitioner 08 was able to visualise the benefits of the two veteran sub-group relationships. Within his interview, he regaled the challenges of his approach of the unmistakable dilemma in that whilst he had wished to support the veteran ex-offenders' situation, there was the undeniable truth that as a practitioner within the CJS he also held a punitive relationship in-line with his custodial identity within the CJS. As the life stories demonstrated, the veteran ex-offenders must adhere to the custodial orders placed upon them and likewise, the practitioner must adhere to their responsibilities as outlined within their new professional codes of conduct. This appeared to cause marginal frustration with the participants as although they knew their role, they also knew there were more efficient methods to support and achieve

their primary aim. The veteran support schemes allowed the participants to engage in what they saw to be a worthwhile and beneficial service which enhanced their role as explored with Practitioner 06 on the topic of veteran courts.

Practitioner 06: Take for example veteran courts. I'm a big believer in…there being a military part within a civilian court. It gives the reference point to somebody to think I'm comfortable…I recognise this language, I recognise what they're talking about, I recognise that world but that's not the world that that particular offender is gonna be living in. They're live in the civilian world so there has to be a balance between that recognisable point and language and…and comfort zone but that other point this is the bit where we actually live, this is the bit where I actually operate in so we need to…amalgamate the two but again that's about…bloody teamwork.

This participant's views were shared in union by the rest of the sample group, who considered the veteran courts scheme to have merit as well as the existing VICS scheme. They viewed their role within them to be valuable and efficient and displayed an infectious enthusiasm when discussing them. Practitioner 04 vehemently defends the need for these services and identifies the shared military identity and culture to be the unifying factor for success. Indeed, the practitioners' responses to the researcher's questions link in with many of the explanations for why these participants chose to join the military as a career choice.

Practitioner 07: How on earth can we simply do nothing and turn a blind eye to the problem…there is obviously an issue here and as far as I'm concerned the most effective and efficient means for helping this lads is by using ex-service personnel, like myself to engage with these lads. We speak the same language and…well hell some of us have even served in the same Regiments as them. We all joined to be part of something greater and to make a difference…yes get paid and see the world but it's not just that and being involved in VICS has been that for me…being part of something greater.

All of the veteran practitioners' life stories communicated a collective belief that the veteran-led services were effective in identifying and supporting fellow veterans and there was a desire to make the most of this opportunity which emanated a sense of admiration in services which they saw had been created and led by veterans. This belief created feelings of pride and inspiration, which led many to continue to engage even though there was no financial benefit. It appeared that the motivating factor was for a chance to move beyond previous service delivery that had refused to acknowledge the presence of the veteran ex-offenders and a wish to retire this obstructive approach to the past.

The participants believed that the schemes had been born out of a need to improvise, adapt and overcome a presenting challenge that it was felt had not been addressed by the Government. Indeed, this necessity to 'overcome' held within its discourse a concept of a need to work outside of previously held norms and to grasp upon a method to improve quality and safety within a judicial provision.

Practitioner 03: To my mind what has been done with the new systems to identify and support veterans…which has been driven by ex-forces types…it's no different to the adapt and overcome ethos that gets drilled into you in basic. You improvise or you perish and that's what has happened…we haven't waited for the politicians, we've done something about the problem like creating a set of hasty battle orders (laughs)…improvising systems, yeah…whilst under fire.

Participant 03's observation was based on his belief that in within a situation that posed risk, those with military training would create innovative and beneficial practices. Consequently, this would lead to better experiences and outcomes for those with this military training over other groups who may be exposed to the same risks. Within the life stories the veteran practitioners demonstrated an ability to successfully adapt and make the transition to their individual civilian lives but the need to transform practices was evident for most when entering the CJS as demonstrated by Practitioner 01 and Practitioner 05.

Practitioner 01: I just remember joining the probation service and think erm…ok I can see what you're doing but you know what…it can be done better...more effective, more practical.

Practitioner 05: All the gear and no idea…do you remember that phrase, well that was what I remember thinking at the time.

It is interesting to note that these extracts of Practitioner 01 and Practitioner 05 appeared to demonstrate that this scheme of working appeared to have a resonance enshrined within military training which promotes the individual to be able to improvise, adapt and overcome. The life stories attested to early attempts at change which had resulted in a confrontation with entrenched practices within the CJS but perseverance had eventually led to changes and more efficient systems (e.g. Practitioner 08). This ideological shift within sociological perspectives of deviance has existing presence within military culture and appears to be hold presence within the expansion of veteran support schemes as explained by Practitioner 06 within the following narrative.

Practitioner 06: There's that phrase they say…no plan survives the enemy…but all too often you just see the same mistakes continuously being made by people in positions of power who quite frankly should know better…and these are people's lives were talking about here. A need to adapt quickly and efficiently in order to meet your mission statement that's all it really is at the end of the day.

Participant 06 had combat experience and argues that there is a necessity within the military to be able to adapt to environmental changes and to digress from the practice of rigidly adhering to previously defined concepts of operation in order to overcome unforeseen battlefield challenges. As demonstrated by an extract from Practitioner 08's life story, there is a clear ability to engage in creating an innovative solution through the implementation of an improvise, adapt and overcome approach.

Practitioner 08: And it isn't massive. We're not talking about a degree, we're not talking about even a diploma. We're talking about literally a basic CPD study day or study week. It's awareness of this culture and why is it different, where are the friction points…things to take into account so they're…they are less likely to offend, by just being aware of this…cultural military upbringing…veterans have this core belief, these systems, these ways of working and it's just…when you're working with those groups if we're just aware of that, at the end of the day the law's the law, you know…and nine times out of ten…the sentencing will reflect that, but if you can adapt or you can incorporate that cultural understanding and make a difference in their life.

Practitioner 08's life stories held evidence of success within the participant's attempts to elicit change through an empowering practice. There was a belief and frustration that the veteran ex-offender group represented a vulnerable group with a diminished ability to have their voice heard, a voice that the veteran practitioners wished to reverberate within their life story interviews and in their own working lives within the CJS as highlighted by Practitioner 08.

Practitioner 08: And the work…that's ten years of trial and error and fuck ups and…and…and it's just, it's not rocket science, does what it says on the tin. I don't tell anybody how to do their jobs because they're all good at it. That's why they do it. It's a bridge, it's just a bridge from one culture to another and helping people just understand and get what it is that is going on in their world.

This extract provides an important insight that demonstrates that the veterans having previously existed within a total institution had learnt to adapt and overcome as part of their military training. Practitioner 08 clearly identifies that it stands to reason that for this sub-group to become empowered, there is a need for them to learn, to identify resources that should be available to them, and ensure their own development of knowledge and information. All of the veteran practitioners within this study felt their power lay in the relationship they had with those they were responsible for. Many of the participants had volunteered to become responsible for the veteran ex-offenders

citing that they wished to be part of a large movement to establish change as a collective, simply doing what they thought was possible and using the transferable skill sets that they had developed through their military training as discussed by Practitioner 03.

> **Practitioner 03:** I had transferable skills…from the forces to the police er…man management skills, dealing with a male dominated…quite harsh…environment, you know? Basically take no shit type of thing where you had to earn your respect and…typical large scale institution type of environment er…and then I…what I did find was that this…there were ex-services there and there was kind of a bond straight away…and they used to take the mick out of me for being an MP…but they respected me cause I was good at my job.

Indeed, this ability to form relationships based on respect and a transferable skill set is what assisted the veteran practitioners in establishing a connection with the veteran ex-offenders. The life stories held accounts of themes that described the process, which included developing mutually beneficial relationships in which learning took place. The life stories demonstrated that a sense of "connectedness" between practitioner and offender facilitated this to happen, which was also influenced by the practitioners' knowledge of both the Armed Forces and the CJS as highlighted by Practitioner 04 and Practitioner 08.

> **Practitioner 04**: I sort of…have to…I have to recognise that I still operate with two minds even now. I still operate with a military mind, after all this time, and I have to compensate my military mind that was plugged in to me as a sixteen, seventeen year old with a civilian mind and what I do now is I compensate my experience as a civilian and that to my thoughts that were created as a sixteen, seventeen year old. However, it's…it's still not…I'd say it's still a game of compensation. I can't say I'm fully…even now I'm still not fully integrated as a civilian because I still hold dearly those things as a young person that…that…the core values that I was given but they help me operate in the criminal justice arena.

Practitioner 08: We've made a difference and for me it's just a case of let's move away from this damage limitation and pointing fingers thing. Let's just say we can move forward. There's a positive in this. Let's show that the covenant, the community covenant, the corporate covenant, let's show we're serious about it. Let's just do something positive. Why…why cover our…backs let's work together and support the lads…why…why focus on damage limitation or something. Sometimes the best…type, what is it, best type of defence is attack.

This knowledge could not be argued to be pure scientific knowledge, but a personal knowledge of the veteran ex-offender and their immediate needs now they had entered another institution. The practitioners, therefore, appeared to have this knowledge regardless of the environment that they found themselves in and this would appear to be the case as they transferred between the institutions of the military to the CJS. There, was however, evidence of the participants' attempts to innovate, adapt and overcome attracting negative consequences from personnel and systems unwilling or unable to adapt as evidenced within the life story of Practitioner 08.

Practitioner 08: Erm…and when I was let down and I was let down…I put in to that everything I had to the point where I actually collapsed on the back garden one day, I was just exhausted 'cause I truly believed that they believed in me and the fact came out that actually they didn't and there was some backstabbing going on and…their plan always was different to the plan I thought they had or the agenda that they had and I totally lost trust, loyalty, teamwork, selfless commitment, all those core values were totally shattered erm…and the military are so good at giving us fantastic core values and things that we can live our life by but the rest of society doesn't recognise it…

This was disconcerting to Practitioner 08 and he was emotionally charged when discussing this outcome from his civilian employers. Likewise, other veteran practitioners held concern that their ability to engage and communicate with the veteran ex-offenders could be misconstrued and attempts could be made to prevent

engagement under a misconstrued need for misguided consistency. A point made and argued against by Practitioner 07.

> **Practitioner 07**: You have members of staff that aren't ex-forces and they differ in their thought plans in how I interact with the veterans. They seem to think that I'm sort of molly coddling them, that you know, it's a…arm around the shoulder type thing. Hey, you could have something that he can't because he's not ex-forces. Erm…again, because that member of staff didn't have a former military background, lacked the understanding of having that background and then finding themselves in a cell in prison.

Furthermore, Practitioner 07 concluded that this lack of recognition by the social institution may lead to more controlling practice under the guise of professionalism and its dominance over personal relationships as outlined here.

> **Practitioner 07**: The danger is being blocked by senior management or staff who may see your actions as preferential treatment or that a generic, one size fits all is the way forward. I've known situations where because of the relationship you have with the veterans and trust you build that non-ex-forces staff can get jealous even…you know because you're doing a good job…jealousy, can you imagine it…grown men.

This was a common frustration with the veteran practitioners who felt that at times their efforts were not understood by their civilian counterparts and their intention to support the veteran ex-offenders were at times seen by some to be evidence of preferential treatment. This resulted in Practitioner 08 feeling powerless to coercion from the social institution. As identified by Practitioner 08, institutions could exert coercive practices under the guise of needing to take control to make everyone feel safe, set limits and preserve dignity. Similarly, the other veteran practitioners also felt that at times, these actions hampered their own efforts and were a coercive practice acting against their wish to empower through actions seeking to innovate, adapt and overcome the challenges of working with veteran ex-offenders in the CJS.

5.10 Summary of Findings: Veteran Practitioners

In summary, veteran practitioners within this study were found to have a transitional veteran identity which revealed an aptitude for promoting success within the CJS and attaining stability within civilian life. This veteran identity assisted in their employability within another institution and established a new set of standing orders which they used to assimilate into the CJS. The participants were able to recognise similarities between the two institutions and this appeared to allow for a familiarity which again aided in the successful transition to their new practitioner role within the CJS. The life stories demonstrated an awareness of the impact of imprisonment and highlighted deprivation themes as understood and perceived by the participants within his study. Whilst this effect had a marginal influence on the participants who displayed resilience, their narratives displayed an awareness of the negative impact on the veteran ex-offenders and their families. The participants believed that for their fallen comrades, a challenge was present as they struggled to attach a sense of belonging to a new civilian identity. In relation to belonging it was felt that for those unable to establish a new sense of belonging and who displayed an engrained attachment to their military identity and culture, then this could lead to a negative life story trajectory into the CJS.

The veteran practitioners discussed a belief based on lived experience and analysis of their clientele and caseloads that a link existed between belonging and criminality. The study demonstrated that those with a belonging to a predisposition towards crime prior to joining the Armed Forces had a higher chance of engaging in crime on leaving the Armed Forces. The participants displayed a belief for those recruited from socially and economically deprived backgrounds, that this created an opportunity for greater prospects and a sense of purpose but created problems when individuals returned to these communities. In reviewing deviance, it would appear that the participants argued that the presence of two competing CJS's (military vs civilian) creates a judicial dichotomy in affirming yet confusing society's values, due to the variation in the environment that the deviant behaviour occurred in. Evidence from the life stories argues that the Armed Forces current operative systems require deviant behaviour from British overseas interests to be successful. As attested to by the participants, if these same individuals were to adopt this behaviour in the UK as veterans then their

actions would be classed as deviant. However, whilst this observation was made by the participants, there was a unilateral belief that the assessment and classification of deviant behaviours were viewed to be a necessity for this society as it reinforced the social cohesiveness of its population by establishing rules to punish those that infringe and abuse these rules. To this end, the participants did not excuse the veteran ex-offenders' actions but sought to establish systems based on the concept of positive deviance. This process within the life stories demonstrated an ability to stretch a norm by creating a morally right action for the veterans and the community concerned. The shared veteran identity appeared to resonate between the two sub-groups and there was evidence of an ability to create effective veteran peer-support schemes that built on the belonging to this veteran identity. This process appeared to aid in the elevation of frustrations for the participants whilst allowing for the progression of new improvised systems, adapted to overcome outdated practices towards veterans in the CJS.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

"Choose your self-presentations carefully, for what starts out as a mask may become your face" (Goffman, 1959; p.121)

6.1 Introduction

It is the aim of this chapter to present the entirety of the study's findings and crucially to evidence the thesis's ability to meet its research questions. These are to develop an understanding of the essence of the experiences of its participants and how military identity and culture have impacted on their life stories. Goffman theorisations contribute to the theoretical framework adopted within this chapter to evidence this studies resocialisation as experienced by its participants. Different theoretical traditions will be discussed to evidence new knowledge which consequently highlights the positive changes required in order to achieve a more socially just approach when considering veterans involvement in the CJS. The chapter will evidence how the findings from this life story research could contribute to the theoretical and procedural approach towards the controversial and over-representation of incarcerated veterans.

Identified contours of meaning, guide the researcher to 'primacy of perception' (Merleau-Ponty, 1964) of the concerns and pertinent themes raised through discussion with veterans who have lived experiences of involvement within different services of the CJS. Whilst, there is limited depth and narrow scope within the confines of a PhD thesis, it has provided a valuable explorative insight into developing an understanding of an understudied sub-group. The chapter will argue that the veterans' identity was constructed from previous involvement with the Armed Forces, establishing a prominent sense of belonging to a military culture. This identity appeared to create benefits for some veterans but negative consequences for others whose conflict with the CJS appeared to create a temporary remedy to an apparent well-established societal problem of discriminating against those born into socially deprived communities. The study highlighted how veterans are often associated with deviant behaviour, resulting in stigma and associated shame for them and their families. The military identity appeared to provide evidence of resilience within the life stories and created discipline and self-motivation which could be utilised as a protective factor.

The chapter continues in seeking to establish an understanding through a review of the theoretical concept of salutogenesis and continues with the need for a review of the philosophical principles of punishment. The chapter suggests alterations to how the CJS engages with veterans and creates a meaningful discussion on the nation's engagement with militarism and subsequent consequences to this sub-group. The chapter will highlight a necessity for a collective societal responsibility for crime associated with this group and that culpability of actions can be as a result of involvement with the military. Therefore, highlighting achievements and mistakes of institutional elites which need to be addressed. The chapter concludes on suggested areas for future research.

6.2 Discussion

For this thesis, the life stories of British military veterans' exposed to the CJS have been examined in-depth, and it became evident from the beginning that although the topic is an important area to study, there is generally a lack of contemporary research. This thesis is a detailed exploration of the seventeen veteran participants' experience of involvement with the CJS and has created a new level of detailed knowledge, (which will be described later in this chapter) and it is proposed that this knowledge be used to help future veterans who may become involved with the CJS.

Within this thesis, the participants were described as being in one of two groups, (veteran ex-offender or veteran practitioner) and it became clear from the findings there were themes common to both groups. From the findings six clear themes were developed (three for the veteran ex-offender group and three for the veteran practitioner group) with each main theme being supported by sub-themes, it must be noted that there is a commonality in certain main themes and sub-themes for both groups. The main themes presented without military parlance are as follows:

Table IV: Main Themes

Veteran ex-offender Main Themes	*Veteran Practitioner Main Themes*
Identity and Culture	**Identity and Culture**
Power, Control and Compliance	**Power, Control and Empowerment**
Needs and Support	**Consequences, Causation and Impact**

Within this thesis, there are examples of a commonality of ideas and beliefs of the veteran, as well as themes pertinent to one group or another particularly. One of the key common areas is that all the participants have previously existed within a total institution which included the inculcation of habits, mannerisms and language associated with that institution (Goffman, 1961) and learnt to adapt and overcome as part of their military training. Practitioner 04 emphasises the strength of this institutionalisation by stating that he thinks in two ways even after leaving the services, one way with a military mind and the other way with a civilian mind.

Within the life stories of all the participants, there was a common thread of how military service had led to the creation of a reconstituted identity, formed through training, socialisation and contact to military culture. This reconstituted identity lends itself to allowing the individual to be able to be assimilated into the total institution of military life. Goffman (1961) describes this process as 'disculturation', involving the internalisation of military culture with an inculcation of habits, mannerisms and language as well as the breaking down of previously held moral boundaries and the assertion of an 'adapt and overcome' ethos. Goffman (1961) noted that this ethos was evident by the presence of confidence, courage, organisation and the suppression of fear. The life stories indicated that these traits were present within the veterans from both sub-groups, but it was not clear whether these traits were created as a by-product of military service or whether the participants already possessed these traits and were attracted to the Armed Forces as a career choice due to a lack of prospects. Research undertaken by McCulloch (2005); Raffo, Dyson, Gunter, Hall (2011) indicate that many of the recruits entering military service from socially and economically deprived areas struggle to meet basic eligibility requirements, have low academic achievement levels, poor health and fitness, histories of drug use and criminal records. Within the

life stories, it was clear that those veteran ex-offenders associated with organised crime appeared to have had a predisposition to this activity prior to joining the Armed Forces.

This institutionalisation has, therefore, had a major impact on the perceived self-identity of the veterans. A review of the literature on Social Identity Theory provides insight into the potential impact of identity when exploring military veterans' involvement in the CJS, especially as it relates to the two life story trajectories of the veteran ex-offenders and practitioners transition from military service to civilian life. These feelings of identity associated with the military are particularly powerful, for example, Ex-Offender 01 refers to leaving the military as being in no-mans-land and Ex-Offender 03 refers in extreme terms how they felt a sense of detachment from their civilian life. From a veteran practitioner stance this may not always be the same as for a veteran ex-offender, Practitioner 03 refers to working within the CJS as just swapping uniforms the main difference just being the colour of that uniform.

It is clear that the establishment of belonging to a new environment is essential for a positive trajectory. Although, it appears, that the prolonged exposure to a total institution can cause challenges as to the degree of ease at which this can occur for some veterans (Goffman, 1963). Goffman (1961) widened the understanding of deprivation approaches by describing the progression of exposure to the total institution as a series of degradations and a process of mortification, in which an individual's identity and personal characteristics are eroded over time by the encompassing impact of the institution. It could be said that military roles provide transferrable skills, which are only successful if in an establishment that provides a new identity and sense of belonging and loyalty. However, from both the veteran ex-offender and veteran practitioner, there is a common view that as Practitioner 05 points out the military identity is the foundation for their whole life.

Given the veterans' all-encompassing involvement within the Armed Forces, their life stories contest to a strong sense of identity derived from their military experience. The life stories attested to a crucial observation that there was the presence of a deeper-rooted incompleteness verging on anguish with regards to the veterans longing towards their military identity (Ex-Offender 01 refers to the longing of having a meaningful identity, and this results in the lack of feeling of having a real function in life). The degree of severity of this feeling was far more pronounced within the life

stories of the veteran ex-offenders (although appeared in both sub-groups). The veterans appeared to define themselves in part through their military networks and the community they had belonged to. Within the interview, the researcher asked the participants to describe themselves and all spoke about their relationships with people and places, but also of their military experience, including their length of service, rank, and which particular Service they belonged to (Army, Navy, RAF). It appeared that by associating themselves to their previous identity, there was a conscious decision to convey to the researcher a knowledge base of the beliefs and values that they belonged and therefore the type of person they were by association. The researcher noted that this emphasis was more pronounced within the veteran ex-offender sub-group and this would at times form a foundation which needed to be established before moving on to discuss the criminal element of their life story trajectory.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) argued that Social Learning Theory encompasses an individual's self-concept of their personal and social identity. Furthermore, Ashforth and Mael (1989) advocate that this definition lends itself to a cooperative blending of identity which establishes meaning and sense-making within an individual's life as they relate their life to the world around them. Ex-Offender 01 relates how their experiences of being stationed in Afghanistan as having a negative effect on their behaviour when they left the military (avoiding people of Arabian Heritage or of the Islamic faith in order to prevent a confrontation). Here, Goffman's presentation of self (1963) theory can be discussed in terms of veterans and states that self-understanding as formed through self-perception of norms, attitudes beliefs, feelings and behaviours centred within 'self' is in conflict with their subjectively defined place within civilian society. The Transitional Review by Lord Ashcroft (2014) states the process of re-entry into a civilian identity can be challenging for some. There, Goffman (1963) stipulates through his dramaturgical analysis approach that an individual may have multiple roles and belong to numerous groups, therefore creating equally diverse social and personal identities. From the life stories, it can be observed that when the participants return to civilian life, their sense of identity is compromised as civilian values seem to encompass military values in certain circumstances. Practitioner 08 expresses their great disappointment that society does not recognise the significance of military commitment shown by the veterans by recounting 'the military are so good at giving us fantastic core values and things we can live our lives

by but the rest of society doesn't recognise'. There is, therefore, a need for the veterans (and society) to learn about the social policy documents (Military Covenant, 2011). These documents identify resources that should be available to them, and to ensure that their military service has not disadvantaged them. These documents attempt to disseminate a societal understanding, bedded in social policy of the background knowledge of veterans and military culture. Ex-Offender 07 sums up the general feelings of the veterans most succinctly by lamenting that there is no sense of belonging for the veterans outside military life as the bond with those with a shared identity 'other squaddies' is so powerful and ultimately more real to them than what they experience post-military.

Research undertaken by Pieranunzi (1997), in accordance with a hermeneutical method on power and powerlessness, found that practitioners felt their power lay in the relationship they had with those they were responsible for (fellow service people). Pieranunzi (1997) argues that it is impossible to use reductionist methods to identify individual empowering acts, as he describes power as being a dynamic relationship between two people. From the findings, it appears that the veteran practitioners became frustrated when they were unable to engage in two-way communication/relationship which subsequently meant that the veteran practitioners could not influence the social institutions of which they now belonged. Practitioner 07 explains that the general view by management is of 'one size fits all' and veterans are treated in the same way as every person in the CJS. However, this thesis argues in line with the findings of Pieranunzi (1997) that the relationship between the two sub-groups within the CJS is at its most empowering when this dynamic process of power balancing occurs between the veteran ex-offender and the veteran practitioner. Ex-Offender 06 supports an idea of a more tailored individual approach instead of the generic approach by putting all ex-service personnel together in one wing of a prison

The life stories gave testament to the veterans' familiarity of the structure, environment and regime of the total institution as they related to this environment through perceptions derived from their military experience. In agreeance with importation theory, for both veteran sub-groups, clear parallels can be made as to how service in the Armed Forces may assist an individual to survive within an environment which is governed by rules, regulations and both a formal and informal hierarchal

structure. For example, Ex-Offender 02 tells how the training he received in the Army, especially discipline and restraint, helped him to survive many situations while in prison (Ex-Offender 08 also referred to his use of restraint in a similar manner). Finnegan et al. (2011, p. 1256), explain that military service provides a protective "family", with a community based on shared values, experiences, and socialising. Ex-Offender 02 refers to this as a 'proper' family, a family where they felt a strong identity and lament the loss of this family. This loss includes, as Ex-Offender 05 points out the shared experiences which build high levels of trust in the 'family.'

Notwithstanding the veterans' mourning for their loss of military identity, it appeared that in relation to the prison environment, their exposure to military training and culture had equipped them with a resilience, that allowed them to acclimatise to a new regime. The veterans' life stories (both subgroups) demonstrated a willingness to follow orders and defer to authority held by the various services within the CJS. For example, Practitioner 02 tells how he fell back into the role of an NCO and Practitioner 07 explains the similarities of working in the prison service and being in the services with regards to strict rules and regulations. They liken the phenomena to 'putting on an old jacket' and articulate a feeling of comfort and familiarity. There at times was a stark contrast to what had led the veteran ex-offenders to be managed by the CJS. In this thesis, there is voiced frustration of those veterans who felt they could have been managed better by the Armed Forces through a more empowering transition to civilian life. Equal frustration was exhibited by veteran practitioners (Practitioner 05 for example) who felt disempowered in not being able to better support and manage their fallen (offender) comrades.

The expert practitioner, according to Benner (1984), is the individual who has transgressed through the proficient stage in the interpersonal field of acquiring knowledge about particular service users and adjusting their care to suit them. This research has its roots within the thesis's authors identity as a mental health practitioner but its wider sociological enquiry creates clear parallels with veterans in the CJS. Varcoe et al. (2004) describe the need to balance choice and risk as "working the in-betweens" (p316). Similarly, the veteran practitioners articulated through their life stories a constant dilemma between the context in which they were or had worked (prison officer/forensic nurse) and their previous role to act in a morally upstanding

manner. Varcoe et al. (2004) describe this as being "moral agents" (p319). It is feasible that within the life stories this led the veterans (both sub-groups) to see the new identity (practitioner/offender) as a "way of being" and a "process of enactment" (p316), in which any one situation (old identity) would not be the same as another (newly formed identity). This type of reality would require the veterans to become empowered to relinquish parts of their former military identity. The veterans within this study came from a variety of backgrounds and services, which provided a broader picture of the challenges regarding empowerment within the context of interpersonal and procedural demands. The veteran ex-offenders spoke of their frustrations at being what they perceived as let down by the Armed Forces when transitioning to civilian life**,** as illustrated within the life of Ex-Offender 01.

Those veterans who had struggled to find meaning in life post-discharge from the Armed Forces appeared to wander aimlessly and without the purpose which their role within a cohesive unit in the Armed Forces had previously provided. Within their research, Steger and Lopez (2011) ascertained that increasing the meaning of life within an individual demonstrated an effective means of decreasing and preventing depression. Research indicates that there is an apparent challenge associated with some military personnel making the transition from their life within the Armed Forces (Ashcroft, 2014). For the 17 veterans within this study, there were varying gradients of difficulties encountered and polar opposite extremes were discovered in relation to individual expectations and experiences of transition from the military. If the quality of transition was poor and the veteran was ill-prepared to transfer their military skills, they would be given a menial and lowly paid job, as dictated by societal expectations. This inability to recognise transferrable skills, was the case with Practitioner 07 who was subjected to working as a petrol pump attendant as he was informed this was the only job he was qualified for at that time. Similarly, contemporary examples include refuge collection and roles which fall short of expectations following post-discharge from the military.

The life stories testify to a culture shock on returning to civilian life as statements contesting with the reality of now being independent formed a realisation in some of an actual dependence on the military. As outlined within Chapter 3*,* it is explained by Schutz, (1970) reality consists of objects and events (phenomena) as they are

perceived or understood in the human consciousness. Therefore, the researcher argues that by focusing on subjective meaning, of what it means to be a veteran can therefore, be questioned and cast into a different light. Whilst there was indeed evidence of a predisposition to deviance and crime within some of the life stories, it cannot be denied that the transitional phase from military service created important crossroads in determining a particular life story trajectory.

From the findings, it can be argued that loyalty is understood by the veterans (both sub-groups) as a feeling of obligation (Ex-Offender 05 refers to this as a ’family’ and Practitioner 01 talks of reunions for ex-service personnel). Finnegan et al. (2010) previously indicated this point by explaining that the military ideology looks to encourage and reward loyalty. Given the evidence from the life stories of less than empowering transitions from military service, this no doubt creates frustration in relation to the conflicting messages of loyalty and perhaps unrealistic expectations of the degree and nature of support that the veterans would receive within civilian life.

There was evidence within the life stories that if there was a lack of control and the veterans did not feel empowered during this transitional phase that this would result in a negative outcome. This negative outcome ranged from unexpected employment challenges, strife, loss of identity (e.g. veteran practitioners) to crime and incarceration within the ex-offender life stories. Through the thematic analysis of the life stories and reflexivity, it was noted that for those veterans who believed that they had lost control or it had been taken away then they appeared to develop what Lewis and Urmston identify as ‘learned helplessness’. According, to Lewis and Urmston (2000) this concept explains that the process occurs in many situations when the individual has little control over their life as stress and burnout will become major concerns in daily functioning. The study acknowledges, the notable role that self-image has in the development of delinquency and veteran criminality, and advances helplessness as an explanatory concept.

The relationship between the veteran practitioner and their offender counterpart has kinship from other relationships (Pieranunzi, 1997), veteran Practitioner 01 tells of the mutual respect amongst veteran practitioners and veteran ex-offenders. However, it can be argued that the CJS and society clearly separate the veterans and establishes the maintenance of power rather than the sharing of it. In relating to the concepts of

Finfgeld (2004), Jackson and Stevenson (1998), it is apparent that by empowering the veteran identity it can become a therapeutic agent to enable the veteran to take more control over their current situation. The veteran practitioner/offender relationship is a powerful, cohesive bond and had clear supporting benefits if the veteran practitioners felt that they were empowered to support their offender counterparts. Interestingly, it appears to be the particular CJS environment that acts as a catalyst for this relationship to develop (see comments by veteran Practitioners 03, 04 and 07 as examples of these empathic relationships). Hummelvoll and Severinsson (2001) raise concern that unfortunately, as seen within mental health services, this has been shaped more by the organisation than the workforce, resulting in an often alien and oppressive environment. In reviewing the models of Jackson and Stevenson (1998) and Finfgeld (2004), it is possible to theorise that the shared veteran identity forms an empowering bond between the two sub-groups which transgresses the military environment and asserts itself in the CJS. Therefore, the two models have indicated, there is a potential empowering process within the relationship.

It is apparent that there is a developing argument that the relationship between the veteran practitioner and offender is where a crucial point of power and empowerment lies. Foucault (1972, 1977) has suggested that power lies behind knowledge as a method of cultural control. The development of knowledge through the dominant discourses only serves to enforce that power and continues to silence or marginalise other forms of power and knowledge. This is becoming more evident as financial restraints and changes within the CJS are making it increasingly difficult to maintain a stable delivery of services (MoJ, 2012). The Ministry of Justice (2012) has publicly acknowledged and promised a need for reform as well as a swift and sure justice within the CJS. The report (MoJ, 2012) states that the system is in need of modernisation and is burdened with old fashioned and outdated infrastructures and ways of working that suit the system rather than the public it serves. Veteran practitioners sum up this point most powerfully by stating that they are just locking up veteran offenders to help make the general public feel safe without understanding the issues that have led the veteran ex-offenders into this situation. These issues can relate directly to battle environments (Practitioner 04 refers to IED's and Practitioner 03 refers to a veteran offender who was in an ambush and several friends were killed).

These experiences in certain instances have had a detrimental effect on the veterans' mental health, Ex-Offender 02 refers to PTSD a comment echoed by Ex-Offender 03 who tells of how they feel stressed and Ex-Offender 06 discloses that they had attempted suicide. While Mental Health nursing research undertaken by King and Appleton (2007) indicates that a rigid approach to decision making may lead to control being the only outcome, Edgar (2003) argues that a rigid and prescriptive approach can only provide a vague direction to decision making, and it is the analysis of moral philosophy that makes practitioners experts. He suggests that ethical decision making is, by its very nature, contradictory, in that moral problems inherently cannot be resolved to 'everyone's satisfaction' (Edgar, 2003; p167). How this ethical practice might look within the context of veterans' involvement in the CJS may provide some insight into how and where empowerment might be disseminated.

Several veterans highlight the presence of mental health and well-being problems. Practitioners 02 and 04 recounted colleagues with symptoms of PTSD while many of the veteran ex-offender sub-group spoke about the shame and stigma of having been a serving member of the Armed Forces and now being identified as an offender (especially Ex-Offenders 03 and 05). Reluctance was encountered with the stories of those identified as offenders as this was attributed to stigma and shame in their new less palatable identity, which failed to hold the same reverence as 'veteran'. The life stories of the veteran ex-offenders discussed the negative aspects of being identified as a veteran whilst being dealt with by the judicial system, which in turn created a sense of shame e.g. Offender 05. This participant's life story attests to earlier research by Plummer (2001) which emphasises the development of stigma through associated labelling, but as yet this feature has not been articulated within research surrounding the veterans in the CJS.

Similarly, with finds made by Goffman (1963), this feature of the CJS' stigmatisation of the 'veteran identity' could be explained as a function of a social division between 'normal' and 'other' individuals or groups. The veteran identity appeared to be cherished amongst the veterans (participants), and there was evidence from within the life stories that those encountering the CJS as an offender were reluctant to identify themselves as a veteran due to stigma and shame. This theme can be found in Goffman's (1963) work on stigma and spoiled identity. He explains that in order to

protect their identities when they depart from approved standards of behaviour or appearance, they will manage impressions of themselves through concealment (Goffman, 1963). The veterans' identity was key in establishing a given in terms of the moral and social codes expected through military services, as there is a defined set of rules and codes that dictate how these are to be interacted with. It appears that this point requires further exploration in that a number of the veterans believed that these codes and rules of conduct had been broken by the military whom they felt had dealt with them harshly or unjustly. This, in turn, appeared to create an acidic bitterness, yet equally, there was still a clear belonging that existed with their veteran identity.

Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising the challenge of accurately recording veteran numbers within the CJS (DASA, 2010; Howard League of Penal Reform, 2011), if issues around personal safety is a concern for this veteran community, as can be demonstrated by the life story of Offender 09 once placed within the confines of the prison environment. The veterans' distinct characteristics, traits and attributes which created their identity potentially put them at risk from violent reprisals. Both sub-groups discussed a preference at times to associate with other veterans whom they found had similar shared life stories. The veterans from both sub-groups appeared to hold other veterans in high regard and the shared identity provided a reference of reliability and a trustworthy character even within the offender sub-group. This feature within the life stories appears to allude to a preventative measure to alleviate shame in creating an alliance with their own kind and minimalising anger towards their self. This process of seeking belonging and therefore, resilience to a shared identity, appears to be in direct contrast to participants studied by Goffman (1963), who internalised these pains without solace from shared experiences. However, there was evidence within the life stories (both sub-groups) that for those veterans denied or not able to access veteran peer support were unable to access the benefits of shared experiences subsequently. In direct comparison with the work of Goffman (1963), this led many to either develop a constant feeling of isolation from the conventional world or a desire to belong to the stigmatised world of a veteran offender, which led the stigmatised individual to feel like they did not belong anywhere. This isolation has ramifications on the identification of needs of seeks to conceal this vulnerable group even further.

Given the acknowledgement within the research of Finnegan et al. (2014) that depression is significantly high within the Armed Forces, this relates closely to Bowlby's attachment theory (1969) where distress is linked to forced separation, which in turn establishes anxiety followed by depression and apathy (Bowlby, 1973). What is unclear within these two pieces of research is whether the depressive state arises from the service personnel's detachment from their establishing belonging to a previous identity or whether, as can be seen within a number of the life stories that the depression and anxiety occur as a cause of the disempowered transition to civilian life.

One common theme that came to light from the findings was the feelings of stigmatisation and shame. As discussed by Goffman (1963), the term 'stigma' was first used by the Greeks to refer to signs on the body which revealed something unfavourable about the moral status of the bearer. Thornicroft (2006) explains that today, stigma has become an unfavourable status itself, rather than the signs of its existence and is often associated with those who are perceived as threatening, immoral or weak, and (most importantly) who are different from others. According to Goffman (1963), stigma refers to an attribute that is deeply discrediting in certain social or cultural contexts. Thus stigma reflects the relationship between an attribute and a stereotype that is dependent upon the context of that attribute. Here Goffman provides contemporary conceptual insight into the stigma and its impact and relevance derived from the participants' narratives.

These narratives from life story transcripts held evidence that the veteran offenders would distance themselves from the generic offender population and indeed the veteran practitioners would distance themselves from those practitioners (generic) whom they perceived to demonstrate a poor attitude and moral character, but interestingly they did not distance themselves from the veteran offenders. In accordance with Goffman (1963), this demonstrates intragroup stigmatisation which is when individuals with the same attribute demonstrate stigma towards each other, i.e. the veteran sub-groups towards their generic counterparts. The veterans within both sub-groups appeared to view their generic (non-veteran) counterparts as different from themselves in not possessing a veteran identity and subsequent shared and relatable experiences. Goffman (1963) identified several reasons for this phenomenon. That is, a stigmatised individual may view themselves as 'normal' and experience a

degree of ambivalence towards their own identity. This may be because he supports the normal ideals of society and does not accept their own status or association with others like him. This suggests that the veterans remain entrenched to their military identity and even if they find themselves as offenders within the CJS, they still perceive themselves to be distant from their undesirable yet current peers. In reviewing Goffman's (1963) understanding of intragroup stigmatisation, it could be argued that the veteran identity is comprised of a number of subjective experiences which result in the perception of a social identity. The subjective experiences of the veterans within the CJS may include being initially repulsed by the generic offenders/practitioners, while simultaneously perceiving themselves as different due to their veteran identity. With the practitioners, it appeared that they eventually adapted to working with their non-veteran counterparts. However, a continual realisation of being a veteran but also an offender appeared to cause confusion and internal conflict due to the associated stigma and shame.

This process can is illustrated by Ex-Offender 04 who, had described being medically discharged from events he witnessed in service. He described a lack of support but inherited skills to survive which added to his pre-requisite to be a survivor. He returned to organised crime and worked as an enforcer for a crime family within the North West of England. What was evident within the life stories was that two participants (Ex-Offender 04 and Ex-Offender 07) who had had a pre-requisite towards crime prior to their life in the military had subsequently returned to a life of crime post-discharge. Their life stories resonated with structures of consciousness of being affected by stigma and the associated shame to a point where they sought abolition by becoming peer veteran mentors. Their stated aim was to prevent others from entering the CJS as offenders.

From this stigma and associated shame from the life stories, there appears to be an understanding derived from the concepts of Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1957) and the later Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which highlighted the boundaries between 'normals' and 'others'. Abrams and Hogg (1990) provides insight into this observation from the life stories and explains that these theories describe a psycho-social process by which individuals categorise themselves and others into groups in order to place comparative values on themselves, thus ranking

their relative position in the social hierarchy. Such ranking enables self-monitoring and potentially facilitates self-esteem. Issues around social identity are evident from the veteran life stores in relation to stigma as individuals may strive to protect their 'non-deviant' identities (Devine, Plant, & Harrison, 1999), even if this means not mixing with other offenders and indeed families withdrawing from a veteran now identified as an offender. Here, language is important in enabling the division of individuals into categories such as offender and practitioner. According to Devine et al. (1999) the distinction can be made to 'in' groups and 'out' groups, which effectively categorises 'us' and 'them' who are divided by impenetrable boundaries. This can be seen in the language of both veteran ex-offenders and practitioners using military terms (Ex-Offender 07 referring to civvy street, Ex-Offender 02 and 04 referring to civvies and Practitioner 04 referring to the term subaltern). The life stories of the veteran ex-offenders discussed the negative aspects of being identified as a veteran while being dealt with by the judicial system, which in turn created a sense of shame e.g. Ex-Offender 05. This participant's life story attests to earlier research by Plummer (2001) which emphasises the development of stigma through associated labelling, but as yet this feature has not been articulated within research surrounding the veterans in the CJS. Similarly, with finds made by Goffman (1963), this feature of the CJS' stigmatisation of the 'veteran identity' could be explained as a function of a social division between 'normal' and 'other' individuals or groups.

Alluding from Goffman's (1963) work, this division is explained by Wilkowski, Robinson, and Meier (2006) who alarmingly indicate that once indoctrinated into the military regime, individuals often lack the cognitive processes to mediate interpersonal relationships and expect hostile reactions from others. This was a feature found within the life story of Ex-Offender 06 who attempted to commit suicide due to domestic abuse directed towards him by his partner. This feature within his life story inspired the researcher to commence a separate study entitled *IPVA against men – voices of victimisation amongst ex-servicemen* (Appendix L). A research grant was applied for and awarded, and the subsequent paper was accepted for publication in Sage Journal of Illness, Crisis and Loss. Offender 06's was remanded to prison as his family displayed stigma and shame towards him, not even providing him with a bail address as his suicide attempt was viewed to have potentially endangered the general public.

This is a potentially dangerous outcome as this could be an activating agent for the commencement of what Goffman (1963) referred to as a 'deviant career', which can lead to the development of a deeper engagement with their deviant behaviour. If this occurs, then according to Goffman (1963), there is an unwanted acquisition of aggression as a negative label that alters the individual's self-concept and social identity. As explored in Chapter 5, it was apparent from the life stories that the veteran ex-offenders were subjected to stigma and shame, but it is unclear whether they would develop a deviant career. However, what was evident from reviewing the life stories was that those with a predisposition to offending before military service continued to demonstrate deviant behaviour through their military service and returned to this lifestyle post-discharge, e.g. Ex-Offender 04; Ex-Offender 07; Ex-Offender 09. It is possible that for those possessing a 'deviant career', there was a process degradation of identity. This process was identified within the thematic analysis of the transcripts as negative connotations were used into how the participants reported their family and peers viewed them (some peers, such as the criminal family embraced rather than rejected the veteran).

Therefore, the findings from this thesis would indicate that a socially isolated military veteran is at risk due to the negative perception that they have become discredited due to their deviant behaviour. This point is supported by Goffman (1963) who explains that through this method the individual becomes overwhelmed by the stigma, impacting on and corroding their self-identity, which in turn can lead them to deviant behaviour. Within the life stories, there appeared to be varying levels of deviance being encountered, such as missing morning parade due to excessive alcohol misuse which could also be accompanied by fighting with fellow military personnel. Deviance' was present within both veteran sub-groups life stories before, during and to a lesser extent, after military service as noted with the veteran practitioner sub-group. Alarmingly, the findings from this study indicate a self-destructive engagement with deviant behaviour that was evident within the life stories and highlights relevance within the work of Menninger's (1938) *Man against Himself*. Menninger was a prominent psychiatrist who produced a collection of case studies that explored man's impulse towards self-destructiveness and theorised this outcome to be a misdirection of an innate instinct for survival. Menninger (1938) believed that the desire for self-preservation became inverted, and the consequential aggressive behaviour developed

for self-preservation was instead inflicted upon the individual. His works hold a strong resonance within this study as the life stories testified to the self-imposed illness, despair, and even suicide (Ex-Offender 06). The residual fall-out from this conflict had repercussions noted within both veteran life trajectories. Similarly to Menninger's (1938) study, the participants reflected upon their life stories which provided an opportunity for them to objectively analyse and demonstrate self-awareness and understanding into the internal conflict against themselves due to self-preservation. This point can be illustrated within the life story of Ex-Offender 05 who had located an employment route that did not undertake a DBS due to cost-saving measures, but who at the time lived in dread of his employers discovering his deception of not declaring his conviction for Actual Bodily Harm.

As highlighted previously, Deprivation Theory is a suggested process in which the veterans have a polarising draw towards the CJS due to their previous hardships of military service. Deprivation theory alludes to the negative experiences of contact with the CJS. The life stories contest to the presence of deviant behaviour and positive deviance. The latter appearing as attempts to establish new ways of working to support veteran ex-offenders and echoing a military ethos of adapt and overcome. This concept, not explored within military research explains that positive deviance has in recent years gathered some momentum within the field of international public healthcare and has been grasped upon as a method to improve quality and safety within healthcare (Marra, 2010). Positive deviance is defined as:

"Positive deviance is the observation that in most settings a few at risk individuals follow uncommon beneficial practices and consequently experience better outcomes than their neighbours who share similar risk". Marsh, Schroeder, Dearden, Sternin, and Sternin, (2004 p.1177)

This concept was present within both sub-groups but was forcibly projecting, from within the veteran practitioners who appeared to adapt, overcome and improve current processes with the explicit intention of supporting fellow veterans. Research by Adamsky (2010) and Bassingthwaighte (2011) demonstrates that this scheme of working appeared to have a resonance enshrined within military training which promotes the individual to be able to improvise, adapt and overcome. Dodge (1985) emphasised a need to progress past the overly negative conceptualisation of deviance

and instil a realisation that individuals and or their actions can be deemed as superior by virtue of them surpassing conventional expectations. He argued that these positive deviants had surpassed their counterparts in sport, science, and politics due to their operating outside of the perceived normal parameters (Dodge, 1985). This ideological shift within sociological perspectives on the concept of deviance has significance within this study's findings and demonstrating new knowledge when applied to military culture. With relation to the veterans within both sub-groups, there appeared to be evidence of this approach as their actions sought to prevent and reduce harm by striving to negate possible harmful outcomes. Tahus-Dubrow (2009) identifies positive deviants as those that are exemplary in practice, either as individuals or part of a collective group. In contrast to the deprivation model on adjustment to the CJS, there was the realisation that some contacts with this system procured perceived benefits not solely for the practitioners through employment. This unexpected benefit through the forced capitulation with the CJS created the opportunity for some to identify unmet social and health needs and commence rehabilitation and redemption for mistakes made (Ex-Offender 04, Ex-Offender 05, Ex-Offender 06, Ex-Offender 07, Ex-Offender 09). The thematic analysis of the life stories, as explored within Chapters 4 and 5 provided evidence of the mental fall-out through stigmatisation and shame of being an offender. However, whilst the process of progressing through the CJS was traumatic, there was an acknowledgement that this environment could at, times be a reprieve from the chaos that had led them to become offenders.

The social construction of deviance as it impacts the participants are understood by Durkheim's (1965) structural-functional approach. He argued that deviance is a necessary element of social organisation and that deviance should not be viewed as abnormal. This raises an important realisation noted within the veteran life stories in that that the veteran ex-offenders in committing crime due to deviance are in some cases undertaking acts which their previous military service encourages and instils through military training and culture. The veteran practitioners are simply not caught or the society in which they exist at that time (military judicial system) has a different interpretation for deviant behaviour than the civilian judicial system. Therefore both sub-groups labelled behaviour and experiences ensure that the veterans are gravitating towards another total institution (Goffman, 1963) such as the CJS. Goffman (1963) articulates this point in that they define deviance as a recognised violation of cultural

norms and but also highlight the role that stigmatisation has as a defining feature. Within the life stories, it was evident that there was not a simple separation of 'good vs bad' in connection with whether one was identified as part of this study as a practitioner or offender. The similarity between the two groups is their identification of being a veteran and having served within the Armed Forces. The act of violence led a high proportion of the veteran ex-offenders to be classed as criminal by the CJS yet this behaviour had been present within their careers within the Armed Forces but appears to have been managed differently. It has been suggested by the Centre for Social Justice (2013) within the UK that it is the predisposition for criminal activity prior to recruitment into the Armed Forces which is the result for veterans finding themselves within the CJS when they make the transition to their civilian lives. However, this study suggests that this is over-simplified and perhaps irresponsible suggestion to put forward. The life stories indicated that deviance and crime were indeed present before employment in military service (both sub-groups) but that deviance and positive deviance were encouraged as part of military training and culture. The negative fallout of the diminished and stigmatised dichotomy of 'veteran offender' had consequences for the family as well as the individual.

The challenges on the veteran and the family were likely to be aggravated by an ontological reality of the veteran identity and societal responses to this label. Goffman (1963), explained that people could be labelled by association through their affiliation towards others who are stigmatised. The life stories evidenced that stigma appeared to be present in connection with relatives, because of family links with a stigmatised individual (veteran offender). Alternatively, the narratives showed that family members might receive equally negative responses if they refused involvement with their stigmatised family member. Essentially a disqualifying transaction, this is a cannot-win state of affairs, in which individuals are judged negatively, regardless of their conduct. Yet because of emotional circumstances, they are unable to remove themselves from developmentally harmful situations as appears to be a visible feature afflicted upon the families of the veteran ex-offenders within this study. This chapter would suggest that there is a need to establish a new perspective and understanding on the impact of being a veteran offender upon the veteran themselves and their families who are a target for courtesy stigma (Goffman, 1963) and associated shame. This point was strongest with the offender label (as highlighted by Ex-Offender 06); however,

some practitioners discussed a pre-conceived perception towards them from their civilian counterparts. As outlined within the Lord Ashcroft Report on the Transition of Military Personnel (2014), there is a need to ensure that veterans receive systematic instruction and re-training in developing the life skills to make the transition to a civilian life a success. Numerous veterans (offenders) appeared not to have stable social environments prior to their contact with the CJS, which would be advantageous to a successful transition. These environments led some to be involved with organisations which utilised a familiar morality around military culture, but whose ideology was perverted towards their own right-wing xenophobic moral reasoning (Ex-Offender 09). This example can be seen within the life story of Ex-Offender 09 and is also seen in Practitioner 03's life story whose role in the police led him to encounter numerous incidents.

Although this study has alluded to the importance of the relationship in determining empowering practice, there can be a struggle for ethical decisions when interacting with professional or justice ethics. Noddings (1995) suggests this is because neither is adequate in developing an empowering relationship, which depends upon "reciprocity" taking place while acknowledging the unique position of the individual (e.g. Ex-Offender 01) in any given situation. This bond appears to have been present within both sub-groups, there appeared to be evidence of this approach as their actions sought to prevent and reduce harm by striving to negate possible harmful outcomes. This thesis identifies positive deviants as those that are exemplary in practice, either as individuals or part of a collective group. This concept was present within both sub-groups but was most prominent within the veteran practitioners who appeared to adapt, overcome and improve current processes with the explicit intention of supporting fellow veterans.

As highlighted by Practitioner 01 when commenting on the veteran ex-offenders, he believed there was a loss of a 'locus of control'. Seligman's theory of Locus of Control (Seligman, 1972; Solomon & Mikulincer, 1990) provides an insight into a key theme that emerged from the two sub-groups' life stories. The identification of control and their ability to cope appeared to have a direct correlation into which side of the CJS the veterans found themselves residing. Research undertaken by Solomon and Mikulincer (1990) ascertained that those veterans with a lack or limited Locus of

Control were more at risk of developing PTSD. Within the veterans' life stories, control appeared to have been a key feature during the transitional phase from the Armed Forces to civilian life. Seligman's Locus of Control theory (Seligman, 1972) can be said to apply to both veteran sub-groups.

In order to promote new empowering practices, there is a need to establish new ways of working with veterans, both offender and practitioner and this study suggests that this paradigm shift could occur through an evolving schema influenced by life story research. Research undertaken by Rumelhart (1980) and Mandler (1984) demonstrated a new understanding of the use of stories which built upon the earlier work of Bartlett (1932). Through sharing and understanding the life stories of the veterans, this study asserts to expand understanding and create new tacit knowledge around the topic of veterans' involvement the CJS. In adopting reflexivity through the course of the interviews and subsequent thematic analysis of the transcripts, tacit knowledge was derived not only from the researcher's identity as a veteran and mental health practitioner but also as an educator. Within the profession of education, tacit knowledge has also been recognised as the key player which generates new knowledge. Augier and Vendelo (2003) suggest that in order to promote growth within organisations, new forms of knowledge are developed by the codifying of existing knowledge and applying it to new situations.

Research exploring veteran peer support with Canadian veterans Grenier, Darte, Heber and Richardson (2007) noted that the military or an individual's family or loved ones benefit from the participation of the individual veteran in peer support. These benefits include healthier relationships and empowered individuals who are better able to cope with their feelings. Campbell and Leaver (2003) state that peer support between veterans can aid them to be more empowered against the distractions caused by stress or coping with depression or substance abuse.

An emergent and crucial finding of the study demonstrated that this withdrawal was linked to an inability to extract themselves from their sense of belonging to their military identity. Consequently, malcontentment and depression appeared as prominent features. The process of veterans returning to communities which they feel they no longer belong to requires some exploration, as there appeared to be some resentment and disillusionment (as evidenced by Ex-Offender 02) within the life

stories. The veterans' stories reflect a need to have a better co-ordinated approach for the military to take responsibility for engaging the service personnel in the transitional phase, not only to prevent a negative life trajectory but also to streamline the assets of the recruitment of veterans into the CJS as practitioners.

There was evidence of social marginalisation as the veterans attempted to integrate into their new lives and re-establish friendships and relationships with family. In some cases, the veterans discharged from the military created a dependence upon the family which caused some tension and in some cases, those who had no one to lean on were made homeless (Ex-Offender 09). In most cases, the veteran ex-offenders' contact with the CJS impacted negatively on already existing strained relationships with family and friends. As previous highlighted, entry into the CJS for those offenders exposed underlining mental health issues that were not previously identified within their military service. This study has identified variegation and the need for a homogenous approach to meet transitional needs and how both veteran sub-groups are managed or utilised within the CJS. There are similarities noted within the experiences that include a coordinated effort to navigate a social world that has little understanding of veteran identity, compounded by life stories that show social deprivation, loss of identity, and a struggle to establish a new purpose. The accumulation of this thesis' findings in relation to the influence of empowerment and belonging and the impact on the life story trajectory are illustrated through an adapted model (Appendix K *Phases and Features of the Transitional Cycle of Belonging and Longing within the Veteran Life Stories*).

Within the life stories, the veterans identified this longing as a constant preoccupation with the past in almost a state of grieving for what had been. This view is supported by Van Tilburg (1996) who, argues that this loss of attachment can be akin to bereavement but stipulates that it should be and can be reversible. This can be said to be true within the life story of Ex-Offender 07 as he acknowledges the challenges in his civilian life, as well as the longing and ache for what was perceived, which had diminished as he aged, demonstrating how he had become better empowered. According to Parkes and Prigerson (2010), this acceptance, by contrast, may represent an emotional equanimity and a sense of inner peace and tranquillity that comes with the letting go of a struggle to regain what is lost or being taken away.

A comparison between the two sub-groups indicates that the veteran ex-offenders appear to maintain a longing for their previous military identity and that this inadvertently coincides with stigma and associated shame of being an offender. The life stories indicate that this results in the veteran ex-offenders struggling to maintain a positive image and sense of belonging. This sense of loss of 'belonging' as understood by Parkes and Prigerson (2010) and interpreted in this study's findings, appears to indicate that associated grief as an emotion gravitates the individual towards something of significance that is missing. Within the life stories of the veteran ex-offenders, there was evidence that this sense of loss led some into belonging to organised crime as the need to belong could be met by the criminal fraternity. The veteran practitioners gravitated and excelled within employment within another total institution.

Within the life story interviews, the veteran ex-offenders would identify themselves as offenders within a present tense, and this grief was palpable within the interviews. Parkes and Prigerson (2010) explain that this loss or grief can occur, not just due to bereavement but through the loss of an ability. It could, therefore, be argued that the loss and the associated grief can be encapsulated within the loss of this positive perception of identity as experienced by the veteran. Parkes (1971) and Rahe (1979) describe a process of psychosocial transition in relation to this loss. In extrapolating this knowledge, it is possible to translate this transition to the life stories of the veterans. The findings would indicate that firstly, there is a requirement by the veteran to revise their assumptions around transition, civilian life and their identity. Secondly, the transition can be long term, and lastly, it can occur over a relatively short time, allowing for little time to prepare. Chapter 2 warned of the dangers of institutionalisation and the removal of an individual if they find comfort within that institution. The findings would indicate that within such transitions, that which is familiar, can suddenly appear to have become unfamiliar and previously established habits of thought and behaviour associated to military life may no longer apply to the new external world of civilian life, and thus confidence is lost within the individuals own internal world. With reference to the veteran ex-offenders' life stories, this can result in a return to a predisposition of criminality for some (e.g. Ex-Offender 04, Ex-Offender 07 and Ex-Offender 09) and entry into the CJS as offenders for those without the ability to navigate the transition to a civilian identity.

The announcements by Stephen Phillips QC (Phillips, 2014) that direct action will now be taken to identify veterans entering the CJS is a step forward however it is argued that there is still a lack of substance in terms of how this will be achieved through political persuasion. The Government's response was to establish the Ex-Service Offenders Working Group (ESOWG, Centre for Social Justice, 2014), whose aim is to ensure that veteran ex-offenders within the prison and probation services, their families and the resettlement services are made aware of the support available from the Service Personnel and Veterans Agency (SPVA). ESOWG is a non-executive, collaborative group comprising of representatives from various charities, and civil servants who report to the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Justice. It must be noted that it was the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Defence (DASA, 2010, 2011) who jointly attempted to discredit the figures accumulated by the practitioners (Napo, 2009) and have now had to amend their data to bring this in-line with the original figures identified by these practitioners. Therefore, it could be suggested that a lack of awareness in developing empowering relationships by social institutions may result in more oppressive power being used. Therefore, this study would suggest that the process of disempowerment can be seen when keeping this topic intentionally silent and unexplored and would further argue that veteran offenders should be defined as a vulnerable group. This point is supported by Ali and Kelly (2004) who explain that a group can be identified as vulnerable by its association with social disempowerment. By review of Goffman's work (1963) the veteran offenders can be understood to be a vulnerable group on the basis that they are members of a stigmatised group within society. It was, therefore, the researcher's responsibility to ensure that the wellbeing of these individuals was paramount throughout the study and sought to empower their situation, thereafter.

6.3 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The findings do not claim generalisability, having emerged from two small, homogeneous samples about their subjective lived experiences, together with the researcher's own interpretation of them. It should be recognised that different findings could have been discovered and analysed using a different participant group or indeed a different researcher. Undoubtedly, the researcher's subjectivity, lived experiences and research interests may have inevitably influenced the interpretation of these

findings as highlighted by Blaikie (2007). However, precautions were engaged to limit the impact of this where possible by adhering to a clear and robust methodological framework. Therefore, the reader is invited and reminded to engage with these findings and the ensuing discussion via their limited applicability and representativeness, while appreciating the rich, in-depth nature of the life story evidence, for understanding and interpreting of the lived experiences of veterans in the CJS.

The thesis adopted a life story methodological approach (Atkinson, 2004, 2007; Miller, 2000; Plummer, 2001) reflexivity as a key component given the researcher's reflection on their own position within the research (Gregory & Ruby, 2011) which allowed the researcher to progress through the analysis of the participant's life stories; before, during, and after military service with acknowledgement of the researchers identity. This adoption of this concept allowed for the observation from one perspective and this perspective led to an observation on the same life event from different perspectives while keeping its own cohesiveness. Epistemologically this nurtured understanding around veterans' experiences before, during and after military service and in relation to their involvement in the CJS. The study adopted the recommendations of Crotty (1998) in providing a conduit for the veterans' interpretation of life events at an individual and societal level so that an investigation could be undertaken into how society determines its collective generation of meaning on veterans and associated issues. There has been a need to identify the historical and cultural similarities of the two total institutions in order to highlight the complex yet subtle variations of the veteran life experiences. The relationship between the societal influences on the veterans and similarly, their impact upon society has also been evaluated both from the veteran ex-offender and practitioner viewpoint. In reviewing the complexities of each veteran's life experience, the study has needed to consider the impact of societal and judicial categorising and the cultural specificity in exploring the life stories of the veterans (Lincoln, 2005).

The study has had to contend with the need to form a partnership between the researcher and the participants within two similar, yet contrasting sub-groups, with an eclectic array of vulnerability issues in order to establish meaning and understanding of life within the CJS (Pittaway, Bartolomei, & Hugman, 2010). The researcher's

ethical code has been developed through their professional experiences of having served within the military, being a clinical educator and as an active researcher.

The life story approach (Atkinson, 1998; Plummer, 2001) allows the cohesive formulation of the various perspectives from the veterans' life to be articulated and understood. Both for the researcher and the reader it allows for an empathetic focus on lives that have often been the subject of generalisation by the wider society. A particular strength of this thesis has been in collecting the life stories of veterans (both sub-groups) in a social environment, which had struggled to acknowledge their presence, particular needs and attributes due to their military service. Veterans within the CJS still remain on the margins of society as an under-researched sub-group and as the thesis has indicated, this may be a result of the UK's entrenched relationship with militarism which creates some unease within the 'nation's psyche' due to possible consequences of military service. The thesis has provided an insight into the lives of both sub-groups of veterans despite restrictions regarding access to potential participants. While undertaking this thesis, these restrictions appear to have been the result of protective and at times paternalistic attitudes towards veterans, the requirement to maintain security within the CJS, and perhaps an underestimation of the potential of life story methods on practice and policy. A concerted effort has been made within the thesis to focus on the practicalities and ethical implications of engaging in life story research with veterans in the CJS. The thesis has articulated the challenges and the need to establish reflexivity throughout this study and this will be explored in greater depth within the postscript proceeding this chapter. In adhering to this approach, there was evidence of the development of resilience through the telling of one's life story for the participants.

As advocated by Charon (2009), this study sought to encourage the sharing of an individual's life story by using their own words without constraint from the interviewer, in order to allow an empowering reflective process. Through the thematic analysis of the life stories, the concept of empowerment came into existence as a prominent theme as evidenced by the life stories. This theme demonstrates the necessity that the research must be influenced by the veterans in order to pursue their emerging interests and needs (Hammersley, 2007). The thesis in adhering to the concept of empowerment ensured equality between the researcher and the veterans

which in turn allowed for the identification of this important concept, both as an ethical approach and as a crucial theme. There was a concerted effort to adopt the interview principles utilised by Tony Parker (Soothill, 1999), which sought an equal relationship with those being interviewed through a detailed and open process of collaboration with the veterans (participants) in the study. A decision was made to collect the life stories outside of an environment that could be construed as intrusive or punitive in order to promote this equality within the relationship. By extraditing the participant from a distracting environment, this allowed for the creation of a safe environment to discuss any subject, increasing the breadth and depth of the codes, categories and eventual themes found within the life stories through thematic analysis. The researcher adopted a considerate and respectful approach as it was his role to collect the stories and not to judge the veterans for their past actions. There was a requirement to be mindful that some veterans' involvement with the CJS had created shame and stigmatisation, which will be discussed in a later section within this chapter.

The study ensured that an external service supported all veterans as per the requirements established within the ethical approval of this study and as guided by the University of Chester's Code of Ethics (UoC, 2013). Within Chapter 2*,* the presence of veterans (offenders) within the CJS is still a contested issue with the veterans' (practitioners) potential in managing the issue through peer-support initiatives undeveloped, as highlighted and evidenced within 5.8.2 *Sub-Theme: Relations and Perceptions of Veteran Ex-offenders.* There appears to be an inconsistency in the ability to identify veterans which has implications on allowing for empowering practices. Numerous organisations approached by the researcher were unaware of whether veterans were even present within their service. Therefore, the study was confined to exploring the life stories of participants identifiable as veterans by the CJS and its supporting services.

The thesis has provided insight and foresight into the research topic but has also contributed to the researcher's understanding of collaborative engagement with numerous services and individual participants. The processes needed to understand the information within the life stories formed a collaborative approach as highlighted within Chapter 4. This chapter sought to create transparency in order to create a valuable insight into this type of life story research. The reflexivity utilised within the

study has allowed focused contemplation on the context of this distinct research, its collaboration with support services and the ownership of the life stories. This last point was an important consideration as there was a request for access to the life story transcripts by the lead researcher for the Government Review (Phillips, 2014). The veterans within this study represented all three of the Armed Forces services: Army, Navy, and the RAF. They were also geographically disbursed throughout England and Wales and their nationality consisted of English, Welsh, and Scottish (the Northern Irish veteran withdrew). The participatory practices used within this study could be replicated in future research with veterans to assist the veteran offenders/ex-offenders and those tasked with working with them.

In establishing a balanced approach in analysing the life stories, the study recognised within findings and discussion chapters that the identification of deviance within both sub-groups was a contested phenomenon, influenced by wider societal currents which the veterans find themselves awash within. By engaging in the principle of Distributive Justice, the researcher ensured that both sub-groups of participants; offender and practitioner, were involved within the research and that there was no discrimination in terms of the distribution of knowledge from both sub-groups. Through the inclusion of both sub-groups, it was possible to gather contextual information pertinent to the opposing sides of the CJS. The study adhered to the principle of confidentiality. A necessity, in order, to ensure sensitivity and respect for those members of the public who may have been victims of the crimes committed by the veteran ex-offenders.

It is clear that this research topic has emerged into the political arena and has become a contested issue with a responsibility to veterans being outlined within the Military Covenant (2011). Government policy has been advised by the recent Government Review (Phillips, 2014) and as discussed, there has been a focus on the identification of accurate figures which have been sought to warrant a change. This study utilised snowball sampling (Lee, 1993; Vogt, 1999) to identify the 17 veterans (eight veteran ex-offenders and nine practitioners) and although these were not the high numbers sought within the quantitative research (Napo, 2009; DASA, 2010), there were policy implications within the individual life stories. These individual life stories held opportunistic insights through the emergent themes into how regional and national

policies could be improved to identify, divert and manage veteran offenders/ex-offenders and empower veteran practitioners.

As part of the requirements for a PhD thesis, this study sought to explore and understand the meaning and phenomena of being a veteran in the CJS within the UK. This led to the need to address the ontological reality of being a veteran who had served in the military on the two separate life story trajectories and how this had impacted on the study's findings. The decision to utilise a life story approach enabled an exploration of the participants' understanding and perceptions of their involvement in these two institutions, hence "making sense of the noise" as indicated by Murray (2014, p.251). The challenges that the veterans encountered could not always be attributed directly to military service, but rather to the cultural undercurrents associated with military life as well as individual choice. The successes that the veterans encountered were perceived by the veterans to be a result of positive attributes associated with military service and the associated culture.

Concluding Comments

6.4 Veteran Identity: A Bespoke Theme within the Life Stories

This study has contributed to understanding the concepts that the veterans exposed to the CJS have about themselves and their opposing sub-group counterparts. The life stories provided insight into the ethical implications of undertaking research with this group of participants, the effects of stigma and shame on identity, empowerment and attachment to this identity through a sense of belonging and finally the consequences of military identity on the two life story trajectories. Recurring singularities such as belonging arose, which the veterans linked to either themselves or fellow veterans. There was a feeling from both sub-groups that this very specific identity was not understood by those with no experience of military culture. There was an acknowledgement that stigma and shame had a powerful impact on the veterans' willingness to be identified. In most cases, it was the veteran practitioners within the CJS who identified the veteran ex-offenders due to either observable nuances or the desire to ask the question 'have you ever served in the Armed Forces?' There was evidence of frustration and a sense of being let down by the military through the transition to civilian life with varying degrees of reported competence by both sub-

groups. This was consequently reported as an issue in being able to establish a new reshaped adaptable identity within the study's findings. Within this chapter, the veteran identity can be shown to hold positive ramifications within a country that is currently engaged in militarism, while also causing negative consequences from being exposed to certain aspects of military culture. This dichotomy of military life could be especially true if there is credence to this chapter's developing evidence acquired from the life stories that the recruitment of youth could in part create new material, similar to that of Wilfred Owen's 'Anthem for Doomed Youth' (Guest, 1998). This point will be addressed within recommendations for future research within this final chapter.

Those veterans who demonstrated empowerment over their veteran identity within their life stories had a more positive life story trajectory and demonstrated pride rather than shame, which led them to not identify as a veteran within their first contact of the CJS. These findings articulate this study's ability to argue the presence of a constructed perspective on the topic of veterans in the CJS, from which social meanings ascribe to a process which is dependent on the context and positional affixment within the life story trajectory with varying implications. The veterans appeared to be able to traverse to a new identity if the transition from the military services was successful. Furthermore, for those who achieved this successful transitioning, there was no evidence of a prior predisposition to criminality and a decreased disposition towards deviant behaviour. If they had not achieved this, they would be unable to meet the requirements for a new identity. For many, civilian life posed a struggle when searching for belonging and a purpose, which diminished their chances of establishing a new civilian identity free from the label of an offender. These contributing factors meant that there was a need to critically analyse the principles of punishment (Henser, 2013) to establish their relevance in regards to the issues raised within the life stories. This process of review as, Foucault (1975) would suggest, allows for an analysis of the production and practices of power and how this power impacts on veteran ex-offenders and the veteran practitioners within the CJS. In reviewing the principles of punishment, the study acknowledges, yet progresses beyond reductionist approaches of power that the CJS utilises within its various institutions. The study within its conclusion prompts a review in analysing complex and dynamic relations in addressing the influencing power employed by the CJS

towards veteran offenders/ex-offenders and creating further awareness of the insight and understanding possessed by the veteran practitioners.

6.5 Review of the Philosophical Principles of Punishment

The researcher was aware of an imperative to review the success of the philosophical principles of punishment to establish their relevance in regards to the issues raised within the life stories. A review of the life stories and the supporting literature allowed for a critical analysis of the principles of punishment in order to establish their relevance in regards to military veterans in the CJS. The principles of social justice and equity as understood by Lewis, Ratts, Paladino and Toporek (2011) allowed the researcher to reflexively evaluate the nation's current philosophical stance and system thinking approach and recognise how knowledge is actively constructed on veterans' involvement in the CJS (Finlay, 2002). Although not part of this thesis, the researcher was commissioned by the British Government with the task to review the feasibility of adopting the US-style Veteran Treatment Courts in the UK judicial system in 2014. A review of the principles of punishment was submitted as part of that Government Review. Hanser (2013) defines the philosophical principles that govern punishment to be retribution, deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation. This thesis argues that these principles have become embedded within 'Habitus' as defined by Weber, Husserl and Bourdieu (1990). The thesis progresses the concerns of Loader (2007) in that these principles have become attached to the general public's wider sensibilities towards punishment and have now reached an impasse for veterans involved in the CJS. Reflection on this point would suggest that society needs to necessitate a public debate to review the purpose and limits of the current system which appears to be struggling to manage generic offenders, let alone the veteran ex-offenders. The study argues that attention should be focused on the implications and consequences of when the current system delivers punishment. Furthermore, that consideration is required in relation to the choices that society is directly or indirectly making when it punishes or disempowers those that have served the nation.

As defined by Hanser (2013), the philosophical principles that govern punishment are retribution, deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation. Hanser (2013) explains that the purpose of retributive punishment lies within the belief that those subject to imprisonment should be ashamed of committing an offence against another innocent

party. The life stories indicate that the veterans' encountered punishment through the loss of identity and in its place emerged stigma and shame for them and their families. The veteran practitioners acknowledged that the offenders should be held accountable for their respective crimes, but that alterations in the systems could be implemented to divert and prevent future negative encounters with the CJS. Evidence was provided and reviewed through the importation theory that the veterans were able to cope well within the institution of a prison environment. Moore (1996) stipulates that retributive justice requires punishment to be proportionate to the offence and level of culpability. This is a crucial issue as the life stories and research contests that military service can and will lead some to engage in some types of crime. Therefore, to what extent are the veterans culpable and why is their service not systematically taken into account when they are sentenced? The thesis highlights evidence that the veteran identity can influence a sentence, but further exploration is required.

Hanser (2013) identifies deterrence as the wish to punish in order to prevent future crimes by both a convicted offender and those who may commit an offence. The two forms of deterrence are specific and general (Hanser, 2013). The former refers to a punishment that promotes recidivism within the individual offender. The latter encourages the belief that society as a whole, can come to be dissuaded from committing crime through the punishment delivered. Within the life stories, it was clear that recidivism did occur with Ex-Offender 04, Ex-Offender 05, Ex-Offender 08 and Ex-Offender 09, which led to multiple encounters with the CJS. As discussed within Chapter 6, the veteran practitioners recognised that some deviant behaviour tolerated within the Armed Forces would be judged by a different judicial system which would bestow a different punishment. This in itself became a deterrent for some within this sub-group as they appeared to measure potential consequences of deviance. Schelling (1969) argued that deterrence created a logical approach to prevention. However, it was noted within the life stories that some offences undertaken by the offenders were impulsive, influenced by emotional states and possible poor mental health as a result of their exposure to conflict and or military training and culture.

The services within the CJS serve to incapacitate those that are deemed to be offenders and to separate them from society in order to prevent further harm (Bean, 2008). NOMS (MoJ, 2016) indicated that the annual cost for the imprisonment of one

offender is £32,510. Research by Marsh (2009) indicates that the cost is only justifiable if it keeps violent offenders away from members of the local community. This is a worrying issue as the life stories, and research indicates that violent crime is proportionally higher with the veteran ex-offenders than their generic counterparts. Therefore, this study argues that the financial burden in how the system manages the veteran ex-offenders cannot be sustained and is illogical. The veteran practitioners appear to have engaged in positive deviance in creating workable solutions outside of the 'norms' of practice within the current CJS. These solutions relate to identification, diversion and rehabilitation schemes, all of which are recommended for further exploration by this study.

Hanser (2013) explains that rehabilitation is a principle which works on the premise that all individuals can change no matter the age or particular crime. The principles of social justice and equity as understood by Lewis, Ratts, Paladino and Toporek (2011) would argue that through rehabilitation it is possible to create change within a person's life through individualised treatment, drug and alcohol treatment, life coaching and vocational engagement. The study ensured that all veterans (participants) had access to a supporting service in order to provide solace and support after the interviews. This meant that a number of the veterans were engaged with the rehabilitation of some description. However, the veterans indicated within their life stories that there were significant gaps within the CJS as it focused on the management and security of the offender rather than helping them rehabilitate. Again, the veteran practitioners demonstrated a willingness and evidence base of the effectiveness of peer support which had at its core the principle of rehabilitation as discussed and advocated within Sections 5.8.2 *Sub-Theme: Relations and Perceptions of Veteran Ex-offenders* and 5.9.3 *Sub-Theme: Attempts to Implement Change.* The adopted methodological framework established a need to reflect and review the success of the philosophical principles of punishment as encountered by the veterans. These four principles create an abrasion in relation to their competing goals for many of the services which are collectively identified as the CJS. This study suggests that veteran ex-offenders are a cyclical response to actively recruiting adolescents and from communities where social and economic deprivation is embedded, and a military identity and culture can have negative life story trajectories. Philosophical deliberation then pursues the following questions:

Why do we punish the veterans?

- How much should we hold them accountable for?
- To what purpose are these approaches effective?

Through philosophical reflection, it is possible to find feasible solutions which could be readily used within the existing system instead of the inferior evidence base for current policies and practices. For example, given that the military has a strong male-dominated culture of masculinity, which fosters aggression and dominance which are sought after and are therefore encouraged and justified. This study has demonstrated, that this aspect of military culture can have a long-lasting irreparable effect on many of this nation's veterans whom inevitability enter the CJS due to a violent index offence. Therefore, there is an identified causality and culpability which demands further review on actus reus (guilty act) and mens rea (guilty mind) of veteran offenders. Whilst this creates an engaging debate relating to these principles, it must be acknowledged that there is a challenge in gaining purchase over current cultures, policies and practice when searching for a new way of guiding their mission statement. New approaches lead this researcher to view the subject through an integrated approach around a comprehensive adoption and understanding of health and explore submission and resistance from the life stories through the concept of salutogenesis.

6.6 Salutogenesis

Salutogenesis, originally developed by Antonovsky to explain how some individuals utilise resources available to them in order to survive and thrive effectively in adverse social conditions (Antonovsky, 1979; 1987). This concept also challenged the traditional understanding of health and illness, as represented by the medical model. The research which initially informed the concept of salutogenesis focused on how Israeli women maintained a good quality of health during incarceration in concentration camps of the Second World War (Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2006). To reiterate, the 'medical model', which emerged as a key concept for medical sociologists (Conrad & Schneider 1980; van Teijlingen, 2005) has been challenged within contemporary medicine where a more holistic understanding has made inroads into the way in which we respond to some illness conditions. Engel (1977) argued that whilst the medical model constituted a sound framework within which to understand

and treat disease, it is not an appropriate framework within which to understand behavioural and psychological problems as is clearly being exhibited with the presence of veteran offenders within the British judicial system. The acknowledgement that illness has psychological and social dimensions presents a challenge to Cartesian dualism which underpins the model. Merleau-Ponty (1964), for example, argued that because human consciousness cannot be separated from the physical body, illness cannot be understood as a solely biological phenomenon. Instead, he stressed the importance of the holistic human being, in which mind and body cannot be divorced. In privileging the centrality of the body, in which the subject resides, he argued that the body has a dialogue with the world or, in other words, a reflective, absorbed engagement with the environment. When the body is ill, he argued, individuals must rethink its ability to engage with the world, and rethink its ability to provide movement, freedom and creativity. Whereas the healthy body may be understood as transparent and taken for granted when it is ill, the harmony between biological and lived body is disrupted and the difference between the two becomes apparent. Here, Carel (2008) has argued that health and illness can co-exist in the same body but that individuals do not always appreciate health until a body part ceases working, and then the focus of human consciousness becomes a lack of functionality on that part of the body. These may seem far removed from this thesis's focus yet reflexive review supports justification and linkage to causes of feelings of anger, frustration and irrationality observed within veteran offender routes into the CJS. For those making the transition between new identities, adaptation to an alternative construction of well-being must occur within the context of functionality. This construction of health in its broadest sense, moreover, is situated within a wider social context which itself places constraints upon adaptation for veterans exposed to the CJS.

The study findings demonstrate how social and psychological aspects of the causality of the presence of military veterans' in the CJS, mean it cannot easily be reduced to a few 'bad eggs' phenomena alone. This approach acknowledges how social and personal phenomena of a condition cannot be easily reduced to overarching dominant theory (criminology and penological research) and thus is apt to use as a framework within which to respond. In this PhD study, an inclusive and holistic review of health in understanding emergent themes from the life stories offered insight into structures

of experience and consciousness of the participant's physical, psychological and social/practical support post-discharge from the military. This resonates with Engel's (1977) recommendation that an alternative model should take into account not only the individual but also the social contexts within which they live. He argued that a new biopsychosocial model which took into account all the factors which contribute to illness and patient-hood, (rather than giving primacy to biological factors alone) would make it possible to understand the individual's 'experience' of disrupted well-being (Carrió et al., 2004). This understanding whilst not previously applied to the research undertaken on veteran's and the CJS would be necessarily situated within the context of an individual, their family, community, culture and possibly their religious beliefs (Gawinski et al., 2002). A positive transition from a military identity could be viewed as achieving health and that arguably is not about having perfect physical health as much as coping and living well within current physical capabilities (Wade, 2001). Research findings would indicate that veteran offenders/ex-offenders appear to have had health issues linked to maladaptive behaviour, psychological trauma and alcohol abuse which has led to a deterioration in health and well-being resulting in their involvement with the CJS (Howard League of Penal Reform, 2011; Napo, 2009). The findings from the PhD study presented here clearly highlight the importance of non-biological factors to participant wellbeing leading the two varying life story trajectories. Indeed, much more interview discussion highlighted issues around managing the transition in a social climate unsupportive of previous military employment than focused upon a wish never to have served in the Armed Forces. When raised within the interviews there appeared a desire for management and maintenance of 'normality' and social acceptance by 'civvie street' of a misunderstood view of military identity.

The understanding that health and wellbeing cannot be conceptualised in the narrowest sense as a function solely of biology provides much scope for exploring how the quality of life may be achieved and maintained, even in adverse circumstances. It is in the context of this understanding that salutogenesis has an important role to play with veteran's involvement in the CJS. A range of different theoretical concepts contribute to our understanding of salutogenesis (Strumpfer 1990). These include Sense of Coherence (Antonovsky, 1979; 1987, Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2005); Hardiness (Kobassa, 1979; Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982); Learned Resourcefulness

(Rosenbaum & Palman, 1984); Potency (Ben-Sira, 1985); and Stamina (Colerick, 1985). These variously have been used to explore the concept of health as a resource for thriving and increasing quality of life (Lindstrom, 1994). Specifically, Sense of Coherence SOC, which is integral to Salutogenesis and thus the understanding why some individuals are able to remain in relatively good health in conditions of adversity, while others are not (Antonovsky, 1979, 1987). This concept relates to how individuals integrate into their society to utilise effeciently the resources available to them, in order to create and promote a good state of health as can be seen within the veteran practitioner sub-group. Three concepts which underpin Sense of Coherence (SOC) are; 'comprehensibility' (where individuals can make sense of events), 'manageability' (where they feel they can take care of things) and 'meaningfulness' (where they really care about what happens) (Antonovosky, 1979). These three concepts, lie at the heart of Antonovosky's Salutogenic orientation, which represents a global orientation that can help understand how individuals respond to everyday external stressors and overcome stressful and challenging situations (Antonovsky, 1996). The stressors comprise chronic stressors (such as disposable income), major life events (such as divorce) and acute daily hassles (time or support) (Antonovsky, 1987).

Antonovsky (1979, 1987) argued that people create and build a sense of coherence over the first three decades of life. During this period skills, which operate flexibly and dynamically in any given environment are acquired. Given that the recruitment process into the military can commence at 16 years of age, it could suggest that the immersing into a total institution' may impact on developing a sense of coherence, evidencing how military identity and culture impact on development. This observation on development has significance as coherence creates skills to assist individuals to identify the resources needed to address needs, related challenges and source effective solutions to these which promote positive wellbeing over the lifetime.

In order to understand how Sense of Coherence might assist in promoting individual health-related behaviours, Johnson (2004) investigated its relevance in relation to health promotion with respect to self-esteem and locus of control. Johnson (2004) argued that Sense of Coherence appeared to have a strong and unique relationship with the pursuit of general health and a more tentative link to self-esteem or self-worth.

Here, a more stable locus of control was associated with an optimistic perspective towards coping with health challenges. Antonovsky (1993) had previously noted that Sense of Coherence, as a part of Salutogenesis, differed from 'coping' in the traditional sense. Because human beings are continually surrounded by disease and associated stress, it is important, he argued, to understand why certain people survive every day despite this situation (Eriksson & Lindstrom, 2005). Hence, Sense of Coherence required support from other theoretical frameworks such as 'General Resistance Resources' (Griffiths et al., 2011) which purported that individuals may have instinctual drives to utilise financial, social and cultural resources in order to create greater health stability for improved wellbeing (Antonovsky, 1993). Antonovsky (1993) argued that greater General Resistance Resources (GRRs) means a more effective sense of coherence in respect of health promotion.

Having these resources increases the individual's ability to deal with adversity and appeared to be features lacking or present within the two sub-groups of veterans exposed to the CJS. Furthermore, Lindström and Eriksson (2006) identify a range of GRRs, at the individual level, including physical (such as genetic resistance) material (such as money), cognitive (such as knowledge) and attitudinal (such as self-esteem) and interpersonal (such as social capital) resources. At the social/structural level, they highlight, for example, welfare provision and cultural traditions. While SOC is more of an orientation towards life, GRRs are biological, material and psychosocial factors that enable individuals to perceive their lives as consistent, structured and understandable (Lindström & Eriksson, 2006).

Sense of Coherence has received considerable attention in health care literature (Langius-Eklof, Lidman & Wredling, 2009). For example, it has been explored within nursing interventions for cancer patients (Delbar & Benor, 2001) and treatment of young people at risk for developing mental disorders (Ristkari et al., 2006). Delbar and Benor (2001) investigated whether the ability to cope depends on internal resources or can be increased through a structured nursing intervention, the Self-Care Approach. They assessed the impact of the Self-Care Approach on 48 cancer patients living at home, undergoing cancer treatment including radiotherapy, chemotherapy or both. These patients were compared to a matched control group. Measurement of coping ability with responsibility for symptom control, through the SOC and

Multidimensional Health Locus of Control Scales, showed that the intervention group had a significant improvement on their SOC scores in three subcategories (comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness). This meant that the Self-Care Approach was associated with an enhanced coping ability. Ristkari et al. (2006) looked at self-reported psychopathology, adaptive functioning and sense of coherence in adolescent boys in Finland. This quantitative study, using the Young Adult Self-Report (YASR) and Orientation of Life Questionnaire (SOC-13) showed a non-specific association between poor SOC and somatic complaints and a range of diagnosed psychiatric conditions.

A systematic review by Eriksson and Lindstrom (2006) reported that sense of coherence emerged as a health-promoting resource which strengthens resilience and contributes to the development of a positive subjective state of health. Griffiths et al.'s (2011) qualitative study investigated the usefulness of sense of coherence for understanding how (n=20) mental health service users dealt with problems which they faced in their lives. The study identified various resistance resources for both concrete and relationship orientated problem solving, suggesting that SOC may play an important role in coping with stressors in the rehabilitation/recovery process and thus contribute to mental health and psycho-social functioning within general populations (Griffiths et al., 2009) and could have wider implications for veterans exposed to the CJS.

Other social scientific theories have explored the process by which individuals, groups or societies use SOC to promote effective health management (Klein, 1990). Research by Ben-Sira (1985) demonstrates that for the participants of this study, that a sense of individual potency increases the ability to buffer stressful issues and to manage them effectively, as ordered, predictable and meaningful within the context of health and well-being. Here, it has been argued that high individual potency weakens the association between stress, coping and illness, helping individuals to thrive in the face of health-related adversity. Kobasa, Maddi and Kahn (1982) focused on individual 'hardiness' as an aspect of personality type, suggesting that individuals respond to stressful life events, exhibiting different degrees of commitment, control and challenge. They argued that individuals displaying more hardiness tend to involve themselves more readily in specific encounters and attempt to influence their outcome

favourably rather than being helpless (Seligman, 1975). Those having greater hardiness are also, it is argued, more able (and expect) to embrace change in circumstances as normal rather than static coping. It has been argued that in supporting the sense of coherence approach, hardiness increases the ability to expect and embrace change as the norm (Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982).

It should be noted however that evidence for the hardiness theory was generated in respect of research on efficacy among business executives rather than on related behaviours associated with participant's linked to this study, which means its applicability to a sense of coherence is unproven (Blaney & Ganellon, 1990). The emergence of adopting a bio-psychosocial model to explore and understanding the life stories of military veterans' exposure to the CJS has merit based on the success attributed to this approach from simply not adhering to a dominant theoretical model. Similarly focusing on veterans' presence in the CJS via criminology and penological research, alludes the inclusion of other fields which can bring much-needed insight into this field of study.

It is essential to acknowledge that Salutogenic theory and SOC underpin health assets approaches (Morgan & Ziglio, 2007). The notion of assets, or resources, as antecedents of health has been increasingly cited in the health promotion literature to explain social differences in health and wellbeing but never as to explore meaning and understanding of military veterans' involvement in the CJS. Charlton and White (1995) explain inequalities in health, including differences in so-called health-related risk behaviours (as seen within the veteran community), in terms of the 'margin of resources' differentially available to individuals. Hence, an individual's margin of resource, which is equal to their available resources less their essential needs, constitutes salutogenic factors associated with the optimum opportunity for improving health and wellbeing. Consequently, when analysing the two veteran sub-groups life stories, we can see that with a broad definition of health and well-being allows for an understanding into the causality of one life story trajectory as a practitioner and the other as an offender.

The assets, or strengths, based approach is underpinned by understandings of health as a resource for everyday life, rather than the object of living. From this perspective, health denotes social and personal resources as well as physical capabilities. In an

asset or strength-based approach, strengths and resources of the individual and community are emphasised. Fundamental to this perspective is how the capabilities and characteristics of individuals and communities contribute to health and wellbeing, and as identified by Ashcroft (2014) these can be significant for a select portion of ex-service personnel entering civilian life. Health assets, which have been defined as those resources at the disposal of individuals and communities which protect against negative health outcomes and/or promote health status, can be social, financial, physical, environmental or human resources (Morgan & Ziglio, 2007). All prominent features within the life stories that represent a submerged reef, ready to render those making the transition, rudderless and ready for submersion into the CJS as an offender.

While salutogenesis and its applications have received increasing attention by the research community, it should be noted that there is no evidence for the long term sustainability of Sense of Coherence and other applications of salutogenic theory in respect of public health (Eriksson & Lindstrom, 2005). Outside of the confines of this PhD thesis, there is a lack of published research which further identifies the foundation of salutogenesis in the context of thriving and surviving for military veterans having been exposed to the CJS.

The seventeen veteran participants, involved in the study presented here, drew on a range of resources to maximise personal wellbeing. Central to the identification and deployment of these resources was the objective of reconstructing a new civilian identity allowing for a version of normality within their new lives post-discharge from the Armed Forces. In this reconstructed identity, they attended to physical, psychological and social aspects of their new civilian experience and for those unable to adapt then there was evidence of involvement in the CJS as an offender, rather than as a practitioner.

The findings suggest that an important indicator for a Sense of Coherence is enabled through the utilisation of resilience resources through which reconstruction of a version of normality, mapping on to previous lives, is facilitated. Notably, the concept of Salutogenesis concerns an ability to draw from internal and external resources as circumstances require, in order to survive, and because of this, it is not about having static ability to move to a positive place and remain there (Eriksson & Lindstrom, 2005). Hence, adaptation was notable through the coherence identified by the shared

identity of being a veteran noted between the two sub-groups and represents a continuous and dynamic process. As Eriksson and Lindstrom (2005) suggest, development of a sense of coherence is not restricted to the early decades of life but is a continuous process as contexts, personal circumstances and opportunities arise. Given the age of recruitment into the Armed Forces as highlighted within this study, there may be a need to further explore the impact of adolescent spent within a total institution on the impact of the development of a sense of coherence. Following on from these points the following section will highlight the studies and the researcher's positionality and connects this epistemology simultaneously to acknowledge empowering and disempowering practices and policies towards and possible for veterans exposed to the CJS.

6.7 Positionality, Epistemology and Social Justice: Policy and Practice Realignment

This section will seek to identify the implications of the research findings for policy and practice within the United Kingdom. Through the evaluation and analysis of the life stories and literature on policy and practice in relation to veterans in the CJS. The life stories and supporting literature indicate a growing need to support veterans exposed to the CJS in order to ensure that the veterans within the various heterogeneous systems create a codified approach for the veterans and their families. This attempt at a seamless service must seek collaboration from the military resettlement services. This will equip the services within the wider communities with skilled veteran practitioners as well as highlighting and managing any possible future recidivism. This would require collaboration between the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Justice who must be accountable in identifying and supporting this nation's veteran community.

This support needs to become integrated into the wider governmental policy for improving recidivism rates through the employment of veterans as practitioners and use within peer mentorship programmes. This support and assistance could be applied to veteran offenders during imprisonment in addition to pre and post-discharge. This directive needs to include all major stakeholders within the CJS as relevant supporting agencies and charities, in order to coordinate, communicate and share any effective working practices between all the major stakeholders.

A future objective to direct policy and practice does need to be the production of accurate figures on the numbers of veterans who are in the CJS as well as monitoring any changes to identify trends emerging from the veterans first point of contact with the police and the courts. This will allow for an empowered approach to create bespoke support for veterans around specific issues such as mental health, whilst also creating potential employment routes for practitioners. The supporting agencies and charities could be utilised to conduct prison visits and provide feedback of their experiences. Any areas of concern could be reported directly to the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Defence so a collective awareness is established. Currently the delivery of these services to this vulnerable group varies greatly across the UK. This service is limited, sporadic and due to funding streams and competing interests, there is a varying half-life on the impact of the service. The life stories held testament to the veterans (participants) unanimous belief in the constructive support that could be delivered as a result of innovative veteran practitioners.

The findings of the study epitomise the variation between the philosophical principles and values underpinning the various services needed to engage with veterans in the CJS. For example, mental health services are a necessity which has long adopted a focus of deinstitutionalisation, community-based care and independence and holistic care (Barker, 1998). This is in contrast to some of the services who have a judicial and corrective role historically based on punishment (Bean, 2008). These could create a dichotomy in relation to the need to create a joint focus. The policy implicates a need for cross-pollination of knowledge and best practice from across all services within the UK with direct responsibility for diversion and rehabilitation.

As highlighted within the study the UK has decided not to adopt US-style practices of providing an alternate route for veterans through the CJS despite an overwhelming volume of data to support their effectiveness in relation to recidivism. Whilst this study maintains that there is a need to support the long-term social and economic integration of veterans to be managed by relevant civilian agencies, there is nevertheless a need for further exploration. It is true that crimes committed by veterans are extremely serious in nature and involve violent and sexual offences which under the US model are deemed too serious to be treated differently within the CJS.

The study calls on the need for a greater understanding of the problems faced by those who have been exposed to military culture, particularly in relation to alcohol abuse, which is a common feature within the veterans' life stories as a prerequisite to dealing with criminality. As highlighted by the researcher to the Government Review (Philips, 2014), the CJS has in the past explored the use of specific drug and alcohol courts in Liverpool as part of its explorative work their findings showed that the project was successful (Howard League of Penal Reform, 2011). The study suggests the need for a veteran awareness and education course amongst all criminal justice practitioners, mental health services and magistrate's courts. Whilst this study acknowledges that there may be some resistance to separation of crimes dependent on being identified as a veteran, it must be acknowledged that the Military Covenant (2011) enshrines within law that those that have served within the Military must not be disadvantaged. The research suggests that military service comes with consequences, such as stigma and shame, identity struggles and labelling. This directly affects the veterans' well-being, which would be eased if the elite took responsibility for those who have served their country.

Whilst the exact figures of the veterans within the prison population may still be a disputed point, their presence is not. This study advises that there is a requirement for further exploration of the US model of having a dedicated wing within a prison for veterans (Virginia Department of Corrections, 2011). Dedicated veteran wings, would rather than segregate and discriminate against the veterans, there is evidence from the life stories that it may prevent risk to the veterans due to their recruitment into right-wing paramilitary groups. Indeed, this may also aid in supporting the minimisation of stigmatisation and shame that befalls the veteran offender group and would allow a concerted effort to be focussed by the veteran practitioners. The study suggests that veterans' mental health needs to take priority for practitioners in order to identify concerns and relay these to the necessary specialist services.

There is a need for organisations to respond to change with a dual-action proactive and reactive strategy (Ritchie, 2004). Reactionary management strategies should be utilised as a back-up to practice to ensure policies are empowering and co-ordinated with a clear goal. There is a growing awareness of veterans in the CJS (Howard League

of Penal Reform, 2011; Philips, 2014), but little co-ordinated effort nationally to counterstrike the issue.

The life stories provided an insight into the relevant issues as encountered and understood by the veterans and in utilising veterans from various ages and experiences, it was possible to ascertain that some of the contemporary issues appear to be historic. In reviewing the life stories through importation and deprivation theory, the need for a proactive approach was revealed to explore the disempowerment of those individuals at the coal face whilst providing an insight into how to tackle the issues through a shared identity. Also, those problem behaviours such as alcohol abuse, violence, sexual assault (Napo,2009) appear to be manifesting themselves as a result of military service and are as yet without a strategy or directive policy for practice to lead on. The life stories identify a lack of resources and responsibility by society to recognise the negative consequences and challenges associated with exposure to some of the military's total institutions. This study created an awareness of a possible negative association through the active recruitment of adolescents into the Armed Forces and recommends a proactive development of policy in order to guide these young recruits before giving their consent. The failure to do so could result in the continued reactive process of punishing those who were chosen due to their socially deprived background and then turned into a 'child soldier'. This study suggests that the growing awareness within the life stories of the effects of stigma and shame instil isolation from a camouflaged marginalised group, which creates a greater focus on the need to identify the veterans within the CJS. This study suggests that this can only be achieved through the development of a working group to co-ordinate a multi-agency approach.

Through philosophical reflection, it is possible to find feasible solutions which could be readily used within the existing system instead of the inferior evidence base for current policies and practices. Whilst this creates an interesting debate relating to these principles, it must be acknowledged that there is a challenge in gaining purchase over current cultures, policies and practice when searching for a new way of guiding their mission statement.

The concept of social justice was first raised within this study in Chapter 2 and is applied and discussed within the findings within this section. This study argues that the purpose of social justice is not only to seek improvements to the social

competencies of the veterans (both sub-groups), but also to create improved competencies within the communities to provide humanitarian relief to a group which society is indebted to. Sullivan and Tifft (2006) argue that this is a feature of social justice which should be extended to the offenders of crime and not just the victims. The researcher was conscious and worried that categorising the two groups into 'offender' and 'practitioner' could define their personal successes and/or failings and indeed 'judged' as they may perceive by a fellow veteran. Whilst the researcher was confident that he had remained impartial, some concern was levelled at the possibility of a reader dehumanising the individual veteran into a category (sub-group) which had an implied meaning. This study resonates with Sawatsky's (2009) point that society must also take some of the responsibility for the crimes that occur to its people. This means that the veteran and society should be held accountable. For the veteran, it is for the crime they committed, whereas for society, it is for the 'fighter' they created from their own values and interests which ultimately led the veteran into the CJS. The life stories indicated that for those veterans who disengaged with organised crime there was a positive effect on the individual's sense of identity as noted by Offender 04, Offender 07, Offender 08, and Offender 09. They no longer viewed crime to be a key feature within their lives and reflected upon the negative repercussions it had on them and their immediate family. This subsequently resulted in a positive engagement and commitment to the wider society. The study suggests that during transition to civilian life there needs to be greater awareness and training around an 'entrenched veteran identity' in order to achieve a positive life story trajectory. Care and planning must ensure that the individual actively participates in the process of transition in order to have ownership over it.

There has been an acknowledgement within the study that the British Armed Forces recruit heavily within socially deprived geographical locations. Within the life stories, the option of joining the military was a desirable employment route for many. The life stories provide a useful insight into the potential pit-falls of this recruitment strategy as the veteran offender group had a high probability of being recruited from a socially deprived environment into the infantry. Those who engage in armed conflict have an increased likelihood of committing a violent crime or suffering from alcohol abuse, which can lead them into the CJS. This issue is raised within the findings associated with the theme of 'belonging', which highlights the on-going recruitment strategy that

the Ministry of Defence and Army undertakes (MoD, 2008). This is of concern raised by the study in that adolescence can be a crucial and important time to establish relationships outside of the family and find a place of belonging within the community (Murray, 1938; Rogers, 1951; Baumeister and Leary, 1995). The veteran offenders' life stories appeared to demonstrate childhoods with inadequate, transient and fragile relationships with significant others which again became a feature after leaving the military. In most cases, the military provided an island of stability and a sense of belonging with a co-defining purpose that cemented relationships where there had previously been a lack of unmet interpersonal needs. Carcedo et al., (2008) strengthens the point that if a person's interpersonal needs are met in a healthy context an aggressive life story can be prevented. The veteran practitioners displayed variation into the selection of the military as a career choice and there was a more pronounced feature of stability in relation to interpersonal relationships and an ability to adapt, therefore achieving a sense of belonging no matter what the situation.

Given that the military has a perceived strong male-dominated culture of masculinity, this vulnerability may be an unknown variable for many non-veteran practitioners engaged in the support of veterans in the CJS. As previously highlighted, Nicol et al., (2007) give a clear outline for the purpose of this trait in that it is a socialisation into masculinity which fosters aggression and dominance which are sought after and are therefore encouraged and justified. However, as this study has demonstrated, this can have a long-lasting irreparable effect on many of this nation's veterans. This section has addressed the implications on practice, policy and reviewed a need to re-evaluate social justice within the context of this sub-group. The proceeding section will highlight directions for future research with veterans involved in the CJS.

6.8 Recommendations for Future Research

From the findings from this thesis, it is recommended that there is a need for further qualitative life story research. This study has drawn upon the rich history of narrative methodology through life story work. The continuation and expansion of life story research will add a vast contribution to the methodological research of veterans exposed to the CJS. The following areas of research are seen by the researcher to form a necessity to provide greater insight:

Anthem for Doomed Youth – The British Armed Forces Recruitment of Adolescent Soldiers. This study highlights concern over the recruitment of adolescents still not of a legal age to have the capacity to consent. This concern is echoed by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child which has called upon the UK to review the policy of recruiting under-18s into the Armed Forces. This committee has articulated its concern that the "active recruitment policy may lead to the possibility of targeting those children who come from vulnerable groups, within vulnerable communities" (2008, p.3). This thesis has argued that the return of the veterans to these vulnerable communities, who may now possess a heightened tendency (Macmanus et al., 2013) to engage in violence if previously exposed to combat, could be a potential aetiological path into the CJS. In addition, in extracting these recruits from these communities there is an inability to allow 'belonging' to these communities to occur and this may have consequences when returning them post-discharge. The reliance upon the current model of recruitment for the Armed Forces may be unpalatable for some established institutions who have a well-established 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1991) into current practices, yet the results from this thesis suggest that there is a destructive self-forefeeling prophecy currently active within British society.

Further Exploration of Veteran Focused Bespoke Schemes within the Criminal Justice System: Veteran Courts and Veteran Prison Wings as highlighted previously, the United States has focused on identifying, managing and supporting veterans within the CJS with the creation of the veteran court system and two veteran-specific prison wings in Alabama and Florida. Given the emerging evidence of the effectiveness of these two initiatives, the researcher believes inclusive and participatory life story research is undertaken and made available to the current British debate on this issue. This is of interest as a number of UK prisons have established veteran prison wings (HMP Berwyn, HMP Parc) against recommendations set out within Government documents (Phillips, 2014).

The continued success of these specialist courts and prison-wings is due to the peer-support systems provided, which recruit veterans as mentors to guide each veteran (offender) through the court process and make sure their housing, mental health, employment and any substance misuse such as alcohol dependency is managed. The veteran courts have been evidenced to be achieving an impressive 0 per cent

recidivism rate (Russell, 2010) yet the British Government is reluctant to explore this scheme demands further investigation.

Militarism and its Relationship with British Society the process of extending military culture and influence into all facets of public and private life could be having a stagnating effect on industry, education, the public services and innovation. Specific to veteran offenders a reflexive appraisal of the UK's focus and budget would establish an awareness that efforts are being directed away from the solutions that would aid local communities and wider society. The establishment and review of entrepreneurial enablement programmes within schools could provide an insight as to whether stakeholders believe that progress could be made to create other long-term employment alternatives.

There is a need to collect the 'fading life stories' of conscientious objectors from previous military campaigns as this could create an engaging and useful insight into the lives of those who chose not to engage with the UK's militarism and what consequences, if any, they had received for refusing to join military service.

Veterans exposed to the Criminal Justice System: A Veteran Life Story Pathway held some initial consideration as a possible approach. Useful knowledge could be found in a collection of narratives from the individuals that come into contact with the veterans who eventually enter the CJS. This approach has a strong resonance with the style and approach of Tony Parker, Studs Turkel and the wider Chicago Tradition (Becker, 1963). As a tributary study, the researcher believes that this approach does have merit in providing understanding and meaning of the veteran's life through the perceptions of pertinent observers of their life story.

Veteran Offenders outside of the Criminal Justice System. Throughout the course of this study the researcher was becoming increasingly aware of evidence from within the life stories (Ex-Offender 04) and from research (Bloomfield, 2013; Buckman et al., 2011; Johnston, 2014) that there was a growing concern relating to veteran ex-offenders outside of the CJS. Whilst anecdotal information was informative, it highlighted a lack of research that captured the growing concern that those operatives (veterans) working within the Private Military Security Companies (PMSCs) were exposed to lucrative employment, but without the regulation, they had been

accustomed to within the Armed Forces. There has been a greater demand for PMSCs with current estimates in Afghanistan alone, indicating that there are 18,000 operators within the field of operations (Bloomfield, 2013). This omission holds concern as it mirrors the recent findings of the Blackwater Trials (Johnston, 2014), in which four private security operatives were found guilty of killing 14 Iraqi civilians. A life story approach in interviewing those found guilty of these actions may prove insightful into knowing their personal insights, backgrounds and paths into the military life and culture.

The life stories of Ex-Offender 04, Ex-Offender 07, and Ex-Offender 09 indicated involvement in organised crime and that their particular military training had been a sought after skill set by the criminal fraternity. An exploration of this phenomenon could create an informative study in criminology and penology.

The Recruitment and Victimisation of Veterans. There has been an acknowledgement within the study that as a sub-group within the CJS, veteran ex-offenders are at risk from fellow in-mates aligned to Islamic Fundamentalist groups. It is currently maintained by the recent Government Review (Phillips, 2014) that information relating to this is anecdotal in nature.

Throughout the duration of this study the researcher also became aware of the recruitment of veterans into right-wing paramilitary groups based within the UK. This awareness was established through the life stories alongside a close working relationship with the police. The recruitment of veterans was fostered through a macho-culture consisting of alcohol and substance misuse with veterans often being used in illegal street fights to elevate the status of the particular group. As discussed elsewhere, the researcher attempted to highlight and evidence this phenomenon and that of risks posed to veterans by Islamic fundamentalist groups within the confines of the prison environment. Whilst, he was unsuccessful in disseminating this concern via the Government Review (Phillips, 2014), there is still a pressing need to engage further research to gain greater traction.

The replication of this PhD study to determine a global perspective could continue to create a more expansive evidence base which explores different cultural and national nuances and will support a paradigm through further research.

6.9 Chapter Summary

Chapter 6 created a discourse on the analysis of each sub-group, combining the findings of both perspectives and understanding of their individual life stories while setting them in context with other supporting literature. Sections of the chapter are broken down to reflect the dynamic, nonlinear and relational processes involved during the amalgamation of main themes and sub-themes. Topics include the effects of stigma and shame as realised and experienced by both veteran sub-groups. The chapters demonstrate the chain of events that can follow the veteran ex-offender's life story trajectory, both for the individual and their families, as perceived and understood by both veteran sub-groups. This chapter catalogues both sub-groups' experiences of empowerment within the transitional phase from the Armed Forces to civilian life and the acknowledgements of a correlation between this theme and the veterans' subsequent life story trajectory into the CJS. Literature and lessons from other disciplines outside of criminal justice are explored so that an understanding to the issue of the phenomena of veterans' involvement the CJS. Chapter 6 continues by outlining the importance of the emergent theme of belonging within the life stories of an attachment to a military identity. This theme resonates with a necessity for the individual to transgress from a military identity and assimilate into a new civilian identity in order to enable veterans to have a positive contribution to society. This awareness is conceptualised within the findings provided, focusing on the notion of belonging, as demonstrated in the life stories, showing how the wider evidence from the literature helps to understand this theme. This chapter continued with an exploration of the nation's belonging to an ideology which resonates with a cyclical response to the issue of veterans in the CJS. This investigation is furthered by exploring the relationship between deviance, military culture and training in the wider understanding and presence of this theme within the life stories and society. In concluding, the chapter identified the strengths and limitations of this life story research with veterans in the CJS, thereby, creating knowledge through the use of life story research in order to contribute to future research initiatives.

Postscript: Reflections on Researching Military Veterans’

“Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril. When you are ignorant of the enemy, but know yourself, your chances of winning or losing are equal. If ignorant both of your enemy and yourself, you are certain in every battle to be in peril”. – The Art of War by Sun Tzu (Sawyer, 2007, p.42.)

Personal Reflection

This study provides a crucial insight with an emphasis on immeasurable forms of meaning through the experiences of the veterans’ lives as captured within the life stories. When I commenced this study, I was painfully aware of the consequences of war and the ‘soldiers’ need to adhere and follow a political agenda without question. My thoughts on the ‘fallout’ of our 21st century involvement in armed conflict established a realisation of the fear the uncertainty within society. The issue to me of military veterans in the CJS has been a painfully obvious problem, employed as I was for some years as a Regimental Recruitment Officer and often called to magistrate courts to represent soldiers who had become entwined within the judicial system.

This study can be utilised to establish a way of knowing within two realities, it has created knowledge around the experiences of individual veterans, to represent the position of stakeholders, and to go beyond generalisation of policies and practices relating to veterans experiences within the CJS. This developing issue has been overlooked perhaps due to the financial shortcomings and finite resources. Just over ten years ago, practitioners began to express a concern that a problem existed as they recognised fellow veterans entering as offenders. Undeterred by budgetary confines and resources, the practitioners began to engage in positive deviance to use innovation and knowledge of total institutions to engineer solutions in the establishment of systems to identify a camouflaged vulnerable group. I have utilised the veterans’ own life stories to make sure that their voices are heard. This act will help society understand its part in creating the issue through current practices and procedures that could be argued are prejudicial towards creating this cyclical problem.

This thesis has provided insight into the challenges and dilemmas in undertaking research of this nature with this versatile group of participants. The ascent of the

ethical issues and practicalities of this research will remain vivid to me this and will be seen as a contributing factor to my on-going development and maturation as a researcher. Indeed, perhaps as a result of my own military training, I sought to gain ownership and insight into the issues through membership of government committees, directly establishing national schemes and evaluating strategies to support veterans. Most recently as part of the near completion of my PhD and in acknowledgement of my work with veterans within Wales, I have been nominated as a Professor of Practice. The aim of the nomination is to allow me the credibility and influence required to further motivate the veteran agenda within Wales and to support mental health provision. The nominators are represented by senior academics, directors of service, Welsh Government representatives, multi-agency practitioners and service users themselves. In support of peers and peer working I have established a nationwide system to assess the physical and mental health of veterans in Wales through the 'shared veteran identity'. Most recently being entrusted to steer the All Wales veteran peer support service from my current location some 4,500 miles away. This approach in creating solutions through practical applications of system developments has perhaps been my attempt to naively seek to improve when whilst undertaking the considerable challenges associated with doctoral research. Whilst from a strategic stance this made perfect sense it established a pressing need to delve ever deeper into reflexive practice and to explore ethical dilemmas given my identities as a veteran, post-doctoral researcher, clinician (forensic) and involvement in social policy and service development. This established the need of the inclusion of a reflexive chapter, positioned as a postscript, outlining the ethical challenges of my research in order to evidence maturation and confidence as an aspiring post-doctorate researcher.

Through the use of this life story research, I created an overview of the individual and witnessed (share) their life progression from child to present day with an outlook of their future as understood and perceived by those living their own lives. This approach allowed me to explore two veteran life story trajectories into the CJS. This life story approach enabled the veterans to construct and reconstruct their stories, to present how they defined themselves, and how they viewed their past and their future. Throughout the course of the study there has been an investigation into numerous theories in relation to the veterans' involvement in the CJS. Theories such as importation, deprivation, punishment and total institutions created a partial understanding of the

veterans' life stories. A deeper more personable and meaningful understanding was created through the collaborative working between myself and the participants. In conducting this study, I became aware of a deeper understanding of the societal problems as the ex-offenders broadcasted and the practitioners signalled an awareness of the problems through intuition. Both sub-groups shared freely their problems and struggles that had become part of their identity. The life stories revealed that some veterans sought redemption, whilst others continued to contribute positively to everyday society. The need to belong and loss of their veteran identity was an unmistakable theme brought to fruition through thematic analysis. This theme alluded to the need for an empowering transition to civilian life, not only for employability but also to avoid the dangers from absorption into deviant behaviour which could expose them and their families to stigmatisation and associated shame. Whilst unpalatable as a veteran, I believe as a clinician and researcher that the apparent grooming of socially and economically deprived adolescents must be reviewed and further analysed.

Hardships were encountered in both sub-groups' life stories and perhaps demonstrated the thin red line that separates all human beings. The life stories call out for a need to modify and review current practices and policies to enable them to empower the veteran practitioner who will be guided by the research. The current system is perhaps an indictment to maintain militarism and whilst the veterans engage in the transition to a new shattered or reshaped identity, another individual seeking employment, purpose and a sense of belonging is recruited. These freely shared life stories demonstrate a need to review the existing CJS and society's relationship with its veterans. There are barriers to overcome, but with a positive attitude and knowledge of the most contemporary and relevant research, I believe that the issues highlighted within this study can be improved. Change takes time and within a short period, this area of research has emerged as a major feature within the landscape of criminology. This study has presented frustrations which have presented opportunities for me to develop as a more composed yet mindful researcher, now better prepared to objectively support and supervise others, due to the transformative experience of embarking on and completing this PhD journey.

These life stories have been shared so that as individuals, we can continue to learn. The postscripts will now continue into the ethical praxis encountered within this life story research.

Introduction

During the course of the collection of the life stories the researcher encountered moments that highlighted some of the challenges of undertaking life story research with veterans' with lived experiences of the CJS. The following are three such examples;

Scenario 1: Ex-Offender 08 invited the researcher to stay for a meal and a game of chess after the interview was completed. The interview was particularly intense given the content and was in (City name) some distance from the researcher's home and a storm and flooding was prominent across the UK. The participant was a 75 year old man living in a modest but immaculate presented bedsit. He had spent 40 years in prison and residing in some 25 prisons throughout the course of his life. He was a published author of historical prisons, country walks (written whilst in prison) and modest adventure literature. His crimes had ranged from GBH after leaving the Navy (the reason for his dishonourable discharge) to three particularly savage accounts of rape and violence that belied the frail old man who took pride in providing me with light refreshments and a detailed insight into his life without attempt at obscuration. His life had encountered violence and abuse within archaic orphanages by the staff entrusted to care for the children and this had been the harbinger of a life inflicting pain to others and a life time in penal reform. The researcher was able to inform his ethics committee link (via text message) as per my lone worker protocol and a game was played and lost but civility and non-maleficence were won.

Scenario 2: Ex-Offender 05 had spent an illustrious 22 year old career within the Royal Marines and then within the overseas private security industry. Whilst the participant was on leave he took his wife and mother of

his 14 year old child on a weekend break to (City name) staying at a prominent luxury hotel. After a day of sightseeing in the historical city the couple returned to the hotel and after consuming alcohol the participant beat his wife to the point that medical assistance was required *(transcript05...blood was gushing from her ears...)* and he was escorted under heavy police presence to a police cell...*I was in the van and could see the sights that we had visited that day...I remember there had been a war film on but don't know if that was it?).* He later broke bail restrictions to see his wife and after an argument the police were again called and he was taken to prison on remand. Ex-Offender 05 suffered post-release from prison from limited prospects due to his Disclosure and Baring Service (DBS) now acknowledging his contact with the CJS. He spent considerable time researching various industries and ascertained that the large telemarketing industry were less than rigourous in undertakes DBS checks due to the profit margin. In therefore was starting to etch out a career within this industry and was climbing through the ranks utilising his skills of adaptability and survival learnt as a career Royal Marine. The participant contacted the researcher several months after the completion of the life story interview with a request (he was slurring) to speak with his current girlfriend to explain that he was safe to be in a relationship with her and posed no risk – the researcher respectfully declined and suggested contacting the supporting link agency who would be able to advise as they had been involved within this area of support.

Scenario 3: Points within Ex-Offender 04's transcript required verification from the supporting link agency for validation of credentials and accuracy. A survivor from the streets of Liverpool who had comfortably consorted with crime from an early age and progressed through the ranks of crime to the streets of the East End of London – utilising guile and strength of personality to survive a forced self-exile from relationships. This led to him being brought before a judge in the late 1970's and the option of a career within the Armed Forces was presented and accepted. Violence through

controlled aggression was the norm, death through the licensed killing of an IRA gunman was achieved, with an emerging chaotic paranoid psychotic presentation leading to the removal of dead soldiers (colleagues) money and items of worth after a Irish Republican Army IED (Improvised Explosive Device) testimony to a deteriorating fragile mind. Rapidly discharge on medically grounds allowed for a short brief career as a social worker before the predisposition to crime returned with the added involvement in private security details in Iraq which led to the death of Arab hostile insurgents.

The researcher had neglected to inform the Ethics Committee Link as per the lone work protocol as the participants previous role as a social worker, current role as a founder of a veteran's charity and apparent safe location were key points within this decision. On the completion of the interview the participant appeared to compare his life to that of the assumed privileged researcher with an intent to impress upon me his hegemonic masculine supremacy (Connell, 2002) to the apparent docile researcher with generic Infantry experience rather than the elite Royal Marine Commando experience of the participant. This occurred as he blocked the exit holding the door closed and further proceeded to question my own involvement in the Armed Forces – the manner he adopted was a calm, confident assertive approach, with close scrutiny of my reaction/responses and vigilance to any sign of weakness (researchers interpretation). The researcher adopted a successful non-confrontational, de-escalating manner (Royal College of Nursing, 2006) well practiced within challenging environments but never during the course of research. Eventually, he appeared satisfying with my measured responses and resolve and returned to the role of interviewee and left the building. The researcher noted that when he approached his own car after some time had elapsed that evening that the participant was within his own car occupying a good Observational Point – or perhaps this was the researchers own failings to engage in Husserl's (Polit & Beck, 2005) philosophy of impartiality, setting aside biased judgements based on the researchers own interpretations.

These examples illuminate the challenges for both participant and researcher and highlight a number of ethical considerations relating to life story research with veterans exposed to the CJS. The scenario's highlight the requirement for an adaptable approach to emerging ethical considerations as issues of non-maleficence within the research process came under question. A systematic review of the literature in relation to these ethical considerations emphasised to the researcher a lack of clarity in how one might prepare and address the ethical issues that arise in life story research with this particular group of participants.

The focus of the researcher's interest in this topic was the intersection of theoretical knowledge of ethics and its practical application to the reality of incidences encountered during the course of a life story study. This exploration must take into account this sensitive and controversial nature of this study's research question. A systematic review conducted by the Royal British Legion (2011) stipulates that there has been a realisation and acknowledgement that veterans represent a notable sub-group within institutions of the CJS, although the exact number has been a contested issue ranging with figures ranging from 3.5% to 16.75%. Whilst a widely publicised government-endorsed report by the sub-division of the Ministry of Defence (DASA, 2010) estimated the lower figure of 3.5%. However, NAPO (2010) were quick to emphasise that this figure failed to include reservists which at that date accounted for 18% of the total British military personnel or indeed those aged under 18 years of age. These preliminary estimations outlined that 99.6% of veteran ex-offenders were male, that 51% were over forty-five and that 10% were aged twenty-six and under (DASA, 2010). The vast majority were ex-Army personnel (77%), ex-Naval personnel (15%) and RAF (8%) although it should be noted that this data was only conducted within the prison service and the other institutions of the CJS were not investigated. Despite these figures this sub-group has attracted little academic scrutiny. Indeed in relation to the veteran practitioners there is no available data on the figure of veterans employed within the CJS.

Due to this sensitive nature and need to occupy the void in the qualitative life story knowledge of this topic, there was a significant responsibility on the researcher to safeguard the veterans (participants) rights, methodological demands, and dissemination of findings were at the forefront of the studies outcomes (Keen, 2007).

This amendment to the main thesis explores the efficacy of to what extent life story research with veterans exposed to the CJS can be influenced by an ethical framework (Ribeiro et al., 2015).

Ethical principles within this Life Story Research: Theory and Practice

The study had to contend with numerous challenges encountered when undertaking research with participants within two similar, yet contrasting sub-groups with an eclectic array of vulnerability issues (Pittaway, et al., 2010). This researcher within the context of this study had to learn to navigate between his own and the participants understanding of military culture and the irreversibility of social change – derived from a consciousness that veterans with lived experience of the CJS are an emerging identifiable equation. The ethics within this study had to contend with the praised autonomous development of the positive transition of identity and the requirements to pursue legal prosecution and litigation regardless of veteran identity.

The researcher encountered some aspects within the data collection stage which could be contributed to the concept of reluctance within research (Grant & Sugarman, 2004). The participants were divided into two sub-categories within the research those identified as ex-offenders and practitioners. The latter group held less evidence of reluctance as this was a wish to engage and tell their life story of progression and successful transition. However, even with this group, there was evidence of deviant behaviour before and during military service but less so within the stage of successfully working in their new role within the CJS and thereafter. This success could be attributed to not only financial stability, family life but also nationally recognised awards presented at auspicious ceremonies under the patronage of Royalty. The issue of deviance and crime will be discussed further within the main thesis. Reluctance was encountered with the stories of the identified as ex-offenders and this was attributed to stigma and shame in their new less palatable identity which failed to hold the substance of reverence that 'veteran' did or indeed they thought it would.

This point is illustrated by Ex-Offender 07;

Ex-Offender 07: They thought that 'cause I was a soldier and had a criminal record I was just some squaddie who could fight, so what the hell,

I got involved with the wrong crowd back in (mentions town's name) but at the time I thought they were...err…like...the right crowd.

This story holds some insight into the reluctance to explore parts of their life stories within the research context as there had been a devaluation by society on their former role. Ethrington (2010) insists that the researcher must strive to create a collaborative relationship when utilising life story research. The study needed to examine sensitive yet crucial topics such as shattered identities, prison experience, stigma and shame and this required a collaborative relationship between the researcher and the veterans (participants) was a necessity. Both groups were aware of each other as the researcher asked each to comment on the other and why it is that they believed the other sub-group had taken the path that they had by utilising their own perspectives and experiential learning and in so doing so this encouraged integrity to be present within the research as collaboration and honesty would be at the forefront of responses and in keeping with the recommendations made by Steneck (2006) within his research on the need to foster integrity in research. It was difficult to determine to what extent the veterans protected the reality of the challenges that some had faced in making the transition to civilian life or indeed the full extent of the lasting trauma of their contact as ex-offenders with the CJS. As MacManus et al. (2013) importantly articulate within their research of the mental health of the UK Armed Forces within the 21st century, veterans demonstrate resilience in the face adversity.

Ex-offender 01 was attempting to recovery some semblance of a life after his encounter with multiple services from within the CJS. He had been dishonourably discharged from the Army (Royal Logistics Corp) due to a racially motivated incident whilst being intoxicated. This scenario will be explored within the main study but from the interview, it appeared that the participant was putting a brave face to these consequences as a result of loss of employment and a forced loss of what Ex-offender 01 referred to as;

Ex-Offender 01: …I miss having a real purpose...a...meaningful identity…I feel like I'm in no man's land.

The University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014) which provides a guide for conducting ethical research sets an important benchmark for considering these dynamics and in directing this study's bioethical approach. The Handbook (2014) advocates the necessity to adopt the following ethical principles of beneficence, justice, integrity and ensuring respect for those involved. These principles are enshrined within recommendations of conducting research from numerous sources (Crotty, 1998; Polit & Beck, 2009; Silverman, 2011) but as this study was governed by these principles at set down by the Handbook (2014) then it is important to ensure that the complexity of achieving these principles is evidenced within this amendment and critiqued as the theory encountered the practice.

Establishing Distributive Justice and Providing Clarity for Veteran Participation

"Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought."

Rawls (1999, p.3)

As stated previously the University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014) sets the second ethical principle of justice as a prerequisite and is the next to be explored in-line with this studies bioethical approach. The University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014) stipulates that research must not impose upon, burden or coerce participants to take part in a research study. A point supported by Polit and Beck (2009) who stress the responsibility that the researcher has to the participants. The importance of the principle of justice within research relates to the fair distribution of benefits and burdens but there is evidence that this concept and its application to research has evolved (Silverman, 2011). Historically, the application of justice when human participants were involved focussed on whether those involved as subjects were being treated fairly or was there a disproportionate burden to the benefit that they received from their participation

(Beauchamp and Childress, 2001). This principle was explored by Page (2012) who investigated whether this principle and others could predict ethical decision making? There appears to be a broadening within the contemporary focus of the principle of justice within research as there is now a concern as to whether disadvantaged groups received an appropriate share of the benefits of the research (Page, 2012). This has meant that these two concerns have formed the principle of distributive justice which stipulates that members of society should not be laden with an unfair share of the burden of participating in research or be excluded from the possible benefits of participation (Matravers & Bavister-Gould, 2011). The points raised by distributive justice reflect the need of this study to respect the veterans' dignity and obvious diversity of the two diverging sub-group life stories.

Elliott (2005) explains that life stories, in particular, are typically created vertically through time that involves chronologies or sequences of events that are linked together, even if causality is not explicitly emphasised by the narrator. Furthermore, Elliott (2005) believes that stories are more than just chronicles of events, they involve evaluations in which the narrator conveys to the audience the meanings intended in the telling of events.

This was a feature within this study as the life stories appeared to convey a desire to illustrate pertinent issues within their life trajectory that provided an insight into the positive and negative impact with the CJS. It was the life stories of the ex-offender sub-group that presented the researcher with the need to ensure that the interview process what no too distressing as their stories held evidence of loss, poverty, isolation and in most cases 'a fall from grace' that most were still living through. Crotty (1998) highlights the need for researchers to be mindful that interviews can be distressing for participants as they relive possibly traumatic events. The researcher ensured that each veteran had access to a supporting service after the interview stage.

Distributive Justice, Reflexivity and Resilience through Story-Telling

There was evidence that the veterans found their involvement to be beneficial and even cathartic;

Practitioner 04*:* Surprising that,...I've never thought about all those parts of my life in a way like that before – I enjoyed that, makes you think doesn't it.

This point raised by Practitioner 04 that the process of telling a life story enables the concept of self-identity to be re-explored as and that this could encourage personal growth with the participants. Charon (2009) explains that by sharing an individual's life story by using their own words and under their own direction without constraint from the interviewer then reflection can be empowered to occur. This procedure enables a new understanding of the self to be constructed. Polkinghorne (2007) stipulates that there is evidence that positive new meaning can develop a new formulation for the story-tellers sense of identity and progress past the one that they perceive defines them. The researcher encountered examples of when the interview had been completed that the participant then wished to elaborate a point or provide a new perception of a pertinent point within their life story or the topic matter of being a veteran and having been involved in the CJS.

By engaging in the principle of distributive justice, the researcher wished to ensure that both sub-groups of participants; ex-offender and practitioner, were involved within the research question and that there is no discrimination in terms of a distribution of knowledge from both sub-groups. Mclean et al. (2007) explain that whilst positive life stories can commonly serve to entertain and educate, the telling of negative life stories is deemed a more powerful catalyst for creating positive perceptions of self as the individual reflects on the detail of a disruptive life event which allows for a reshaping of self-image. This process could also path the way for the concept of resilience to occur through the retelling of the life stories, this in turn would allow the research to create an opportunity of beneficence. Resilience is a concept that is understood to be an innate ability of people and communities to overcome adversities, recover and move on with life (Garmezy, 1974; Miller & Plant, 2003). This concept could be seen to be a positive application of the use of life stories if the veterans demonstrated a willingness to turn negative emotions or perceptions of disruptive life events into something empowering and a source of strength. The participants demonstrated emotional insight into their life stories and

there appeared to be a connection between resilience and the support of peers and veteran networks in supporting the participants in feeling connected. Through this process, the researcher could discern reflective practice as the participants displayed thoughtful questions regarding their life but also that a change was taking place within the participant through reflexivity as self-change was altering their perception of their self and their life story. Consequently, this had impact and growth on the researcher via not only undertaking a PhD study but also allowing him to delineate his experiences through a restorative lens of his military life and as a practitioner in analogue to the participants' lived experiences.

Establishing a 'Restorative Veteran Narrative' within the Life Stories through Reflexivity

The distributive justice principle applied within this study meant that it was possible to evidence that those life stories able to articulate that life experiences, even negative ones offered an opportunity for insight for personal growth, also equated to a positive impact for the veterans with the CJS through employment. The act of telling the story appeared to assist the veterans to establish an order within their life trajectories. Subsequently, the veterans were also able to reflect how pivotal events may have occurred and what parts people played within their life stories. Plummer (2001) highlights this point within his book 'Documents for Life 2' which champions the use of life stories and other personal documents within research. Finlay (2002, p 532), describes reflexivity as "thoughtful conscious self-awareness," on the part of the researcher. This process whilst enlightening for the participants embedded an awareness within the researcher of a mindful evaluation of the participants' responses, intersubjective dynamics between the two prominent identities and subsequent experiences, and the overall research process itself encompassing the eight years of study. As a mental health practitioner, reflection is embedded within effective practice and so often diffuses into parallel aspects of associated life. However, reflexivity involved a shift in the researchers understanding of how we construct our knowledge from data collection to something objective. This process could be witnessed within the participation with the study for Ex-Offender 09 as it allowed him to establish a 'restorative narrative' within his life story in relation to his transition from the military family to that of an extreme right-wing paramilitary group of veterans who maintain an anti-Islamic stance within their

doctrine. Their initial recruitment/adoption of him as a bodyguard, illegal street fighter later dematerialised after his arrest and imprisonment due to arson attacks on a mosque in retaliation of Drummer Rigby's murder by two assailants. Ex-offender 09 was at that time assisting police with their inquiries and his life story demonstrated reflexivity and a growing resilience as evidenced by the 'restorative narrative'. The researcher appeared to be able to maintain trust with the participants which created a safe environment for them to be able to recollect their lives. Atkinson (1998) advised that if trust could be achieved then life story research can create benefits for the participants by allowing them to gain meaning from events which may have been traumatic such as becoming an ex-offender or even the unsettling experience of transition from the military to a new civilian identity.

The 'Restorative Veteran Narrative' could be said to be linked to the principle of Distributive Justice as the researcher believes that there is evidence within this study that the veterans' life stories formed two restorative objectives linked to comradeship of veteran identity. The first objective was that the veteran practitioners wished their positive life trajectories to be form a blue print for positive transition into civilian life. Whilst the second objective which derived from the veteran ex-offender life stories demonstrated a wish to ensure that their mistakes or accidents of fate were not repeated by other veterans. This point is identified by Becker (1970) who noted that participants could reframe their co-called deviant behaviour into understandable human responses to dire social circumstances and therefore adding a degree of credibility to the individual's story. The concept of deviance as identified by Emile Durkheim (1982) will be discussed further with the main thesis.

Integrity: A Code of Conduct within the Research

The Universities UK (UUK, 2012) published 'The concordant to support research integrity'. This organisation is the representative organisation for the UK's universities. Founded in 1918, its mission is to be the definitive voice for all Universities in the UK, promoting high-quality leadership and support to its members to promote a successful and diverse higher education sector. With 134 members it seeks to promote the strength and success of UK universities nationally and internationally. The Concordant (UUK, 2012) is an attempt to ensure a national framework for good research conduct and that the highest standards of integrity are

maintained. Steneck (2006) explains that integrity in its simplest form when applied to research, is how the researcher should and should not behave. Therefore research integrity when applied to behaviour and a person provides a benchmark for soundness of moral principle, the character of uncorrupted virtue, especially in relation to truth and fair dealing, uprightness, honesty, and sincerity (Steneck, 2006). It is a principle enshrined within the University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014) for researchers which looks to ensure that honesty, reliability and impartiality are common place when conducting research in the pursuit of knowledge.

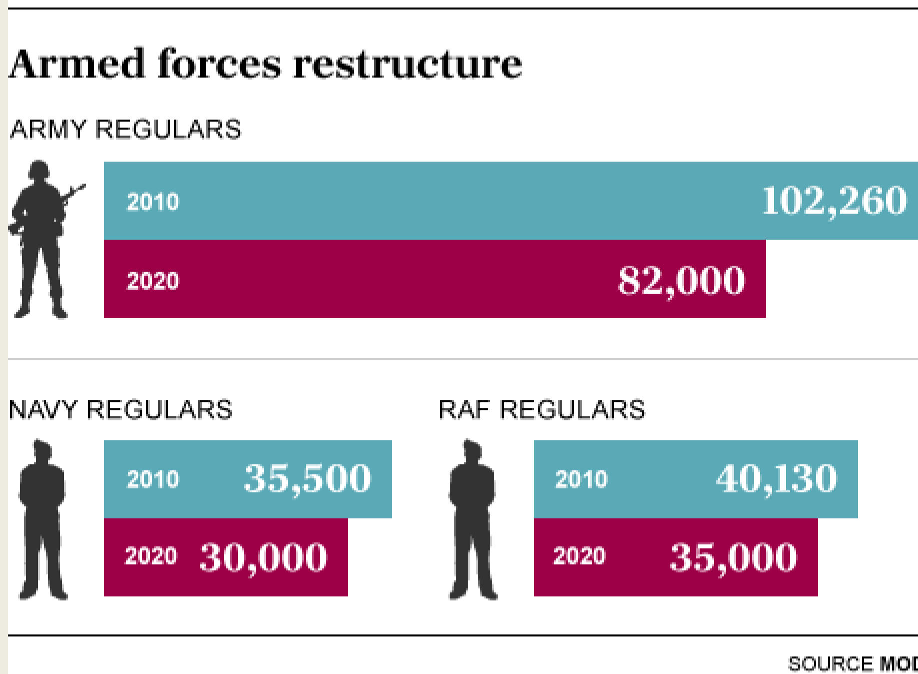
The use of Life Story research in exploring the lived experiences of veterans with the CJS is an approach that inherits many of the concepts relating to integrity in so much that the approach respects the opinions and concerns that veterans have on a topic that has a growing impact upon them and society. Many of the solutions and approaches adopted by the CJS have been derived from the hard work and ingenuity of military veterans. There has been a focus of positivist research in terms of veteran offenders in the CJS with a desire to identify figures for example; NAPO (2009), DASA (2010). This study acknowledges the views of the veterans who are ex-offenders and the practitioners within the system but on different sides of the law. There has been a concern that the practitioner (veterans) have provided inaccurate figures and have elevated concern due to research which cannot be said to have integrity (Royal British Legion, 2011, DASA, 2010) yet a thorough explanation for this opinion has to be presented by the accuser's.

The researcher encountered issues pertaining to integrity during the length of the study. There has been no life story research within this area of study and so this presented an issue with relation to solving ethical issues when they arose. As discussed one of the participants posed an issue relating to the possibility of a lack of integrity in relation to his life story. The researcher decided not to discuss these concerns directly with Ex-Offender 04 as this may have been interpreted by him as having his integrity and honest questioned which again may have affected trust with the interview process. The researcher sought clarification from the supporting agency in order to seek accuracy of the facts presented within this Life Story. Gubrium and Holstein (2009) emphasis that those engaged in analysing qualitative

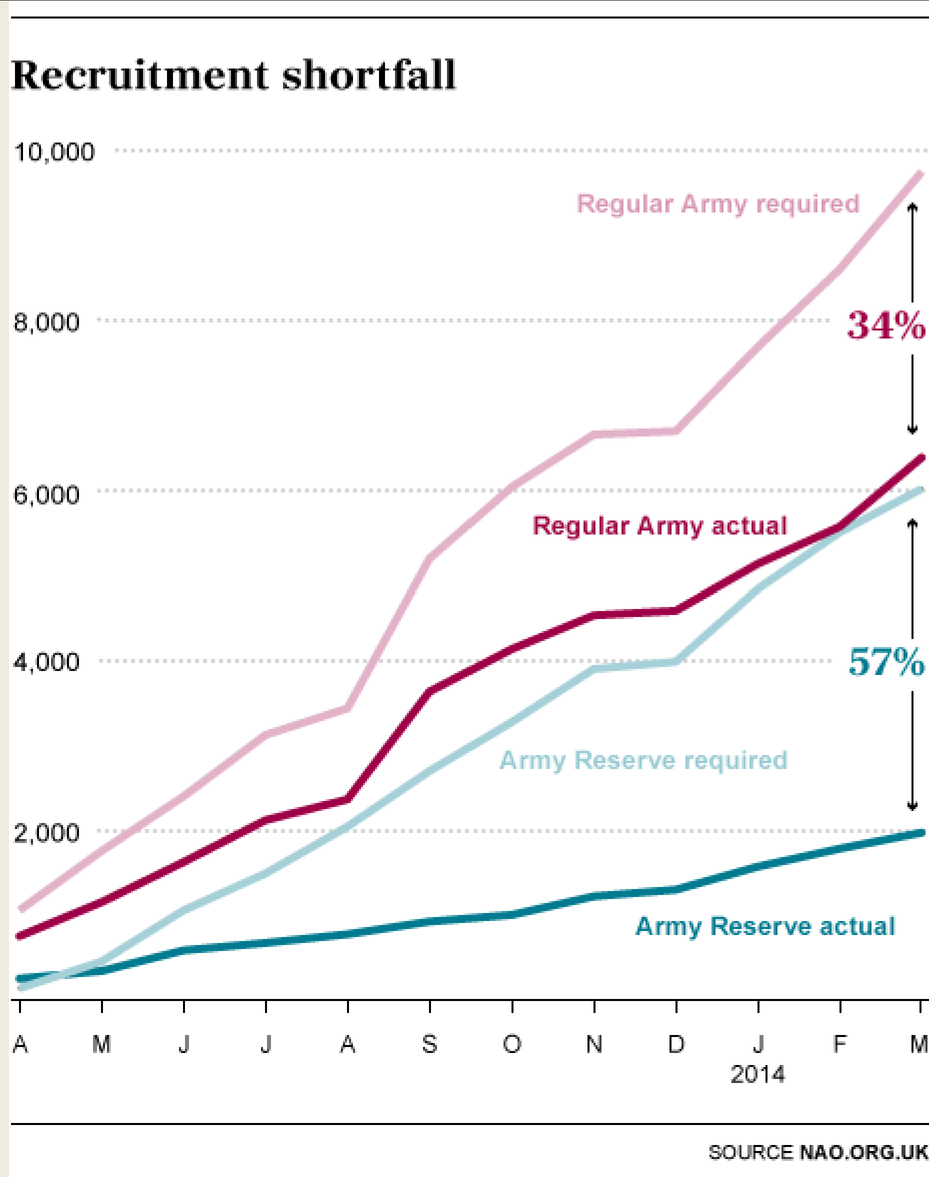
research and narrative form must realise that it is a collaborative venture. Reissman (2008) states that when the interviewer issues an interviewee with an 'inaugural request' to tell a life story, this not only beckons the interviewee into the narrative mode it also legitimates the process. This legitimising of the story can be said to add integrity to the life story through a moral obligation encapsulated in trust between interviewer and interviewee.

Whilst there have been challenges in terms of recruitment of participants through the Ministry of Justice and other organisations it is unsure whether this is due to a lack of integrity in terms of a wish to engage with the research question. This researcher began this research project in October 2010 and at that time the researcher was beset with issues around supervision due to Senior Academics within a previous Institution not believing that the research topic warranted exploration or that it met the requirements of a PhD. It is the researchers' belief that those individuals acted without integrity yet the rationale eludes the researcher still. A concern of the researcher is that although there have been attempts by practitioners and some politicians to raise the issue of the apparent presence of this sub-group within the CJS, there has been limited progress to meet their needs and seek to divert at a national level. The researcher himself was tasked within the Government Review on Veterans in the CJS (Phillips, 2014) to evaluate whether the US Veteran Treatment Courts (Howard League for Penal Reform, 2011) could be adopted or adapted for the UK judicial system. Whilst three models were submitted and reports on a worrying trend that veterans were being recruited into extreme-right paramilitary groups and targeted by Islamic extremists within the prison service – these points were not included. Whilst no evidence exists to the rationale it is a fact that the British Armed Forces numbers are currently being reduced due to a £10.6 Billion budget cuts and the completion of the Afghanistan conflict (see graph 5.1 below). In addition that recruitment into the Armed Forces is currently not being met as illustrated within graph 5.2 below (Shute & Oliver, 2014).

Graph 5.1 Armed Forces Restructure



Graph 5.2 Recruitment Shortfall



This researcher's hypothesis in observing a phenomenon of interest is that there is a wish not to draw negative attention to the possible consequences of a military life at least within the general public's perception. Indeed, McCartney (2011) highlights how competing veteran identities, specifically victim and villain may have a direct

impact on UK defence policy. This study wishes to add insight as to whether military life necessarily leads to a life in crime. Watts (2008) argues that integrity can be characterised by openness and wholeness on the part of the researcher and can be understood as a clarity and directness underpinned by a moral uprightness that rejects intentionally duplicity and deceit. With such a contentious issue of Britain's veterans occupying a 'fall from grace' it is perhaps astute of Watts (2008) to acknowledge that *'integrity can thus be complicated and compromised and is always political'* (p.440). It is therefore pertinent in make inquiry into the concept of militarism and its relationship within the UK and linkage to this studies focus of military veteran's experiences of the CJS. This will be a focus within the main study in order to acknowledge and respect the need for an expansive further review of the topic area. This amendment shall return to the reflection and evidencing of the study's ethical application to address respect and self-determination.

Need for Respect and Presence of Self Determination within the Veteran Life Stories

The UUK (2012) defines respect within research as an awareness of a participants' autonomy and self-determination and that the researcher must ensure that individuals are made aware of the implications of their involvement within the research. Whilst self-determination as defined here relates to research ethics there is an alternative psychological construct which requires review and exploration with reference to this study. The Self-Determination Theory (SDT) as proposed by Deci and Ryan (2000) advocates that individuals are active and growth-orientated agents, inclined to organise and initiate their actions with reference to their values and interests, with the tendency to integrate social norms and practices. These two researchers also add that the individual is intrinsically motivated to pursue personal goals and will strive to master the environments they find themselves in, however this ability is dependent upon the kind of support that they receive from the socialising environments, which may promote or undermine their intrinsic motivation and internalisation (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The researcher quickly became aware that participants demonstrated these qualities when either as offenders/ex-offenders they become aware of support mechanisms often led by individuals with a shared veteran identity. Alternatively, aspirations were realised and galvanised by the veteran practitioners when they became self-aware of veterans located within their particular service within the CJS.

The Howard League for Penal Reform (2011) explain that veterans within the prison population have been difficult to locate even when autonomy to be involved within the research has been assisted by utilising service users (veteran ex-offenders) to facilitate the data collection of identifying other veterans within that prison environment i.e. HMP Everthorpe. Whilst this researcher celebrates the attempts by practice to highlight the issue of veterans in the CJS there has been some criticism that their research has lacked integrity due in part to not being able to evidence research rigour (DASA, 2010; The Royal British Legion, 2011). It is this point which is an issue of concern as autonomy cannot be assured due to possible coercion to participate in the research from influential practitioners and services within the CJS. The researcher whilst attending a meeting to mark the commencement of a national review into this topic witnessed accounts of the removal of data that was sensitive to public scrutiny and brought actions of senior military personnel into question through their own incarceration. The exclusion of the most senior ranks (Officer) but the inclusion of junior ranks within the statistical data on veteran's numbers within the CJS was openly presented but not included within the published data.

Self-Determination and the role of the Supporting Services

There is a requirement to ensure that individuals have an awareness of the existence and presence of the research. As previously discussed, the researcher needed to rely upon supporting services in order to access the participants and disseminate the information about the study. Recruitment of the participants was a necessity in order to answer the research question posed by this study. In 2009 the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Justice (DASA, 2009) undertook a joint research project to estimate the numbers of veterans in the CJS which that identified as 3.4%. However this has been hotly, contested by organisations within the CJS such as the National Association of Probation Officers (2008) and more recently research by No Offence (unpublished, 2012) which indicates that the figure is three times the official figure of 3.4% with one in ten prisoners being veterans of the Armed Forces. The uncertainty in identifying veterans was witnessed when the researcher contacted Norman House. This institute had been a centre of excellence in the 1960's as a place of rehabilitation for those making the transition from prison life to reputable

re-engagement into society. It had been a focal point within the published work of Parker and his published work entitled ‘the Unknown Citizen (Parker, 1960). The participant at the centre of his publication had received national press due to the publication of the total cost to the taxpayer during his 26 years of incarceration. Indeed, this participant was a veteran offender having served within the Army. When contacted by the researcher the senior management was unaware of veteran status of its current occupants or indeed the institutions previous national recognition.

In addition, the researcher attempted to locate a high profile veteran sent to prison for his role in what was deemed at that time to be the unlawful killing of an Islamic insurgent. This proved time-consuming and unproductive as the process of applying for ethical approval submitted to the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and National Ex-offender Management Service (NOMS) to access veterans within the prison services proved uneventful and unresponsive. The researcher needed to stipulate the inclusion criteria on occasions in order to ensure accuracy but to ensure that no confusion existed. Clarification was required so that no cross-referral from partner organisations occurred as the researcher was also involved with a secondary research study entitled ‘Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse Against Men Voices of Victimization Among Ex-Servicemen of the British Armed Forces’ (Taylor, Keeling & Mottershead, 2017. Appendix L). A study envisaged by the researcher when conducting the data collection phase of his PhD thesis and for which required extensive use of the researchers’ links with national veteran services in order to recruit relevant participants. The study would not have been possible without seed funding from the University of Chester and experienced overview by Taylor and Keeling.

The researcher’s role as a mental health practitioner ensured and enshrined a need that any veterans experiencing mental ill health would not be included within the study as the principle of self-determination needed to maintained and respected. Whilst the Department of Health (DoH, 2009) has maintained that the prevalence of mental health disorders in serving personnel is similar to that of the normal population. However, there has been significant research which indicates that there are occupational hazards linked with military service (Fear et al., 2010; Iverson et al., 2009; Woodhead et al., 2010).

Informed Consent in Practice

Informed consent is a principle derived from the concept of respect for the individual and their autonomy within research (UUK, 2012). Mandal and Parija (2014) explain that informed consent is the central doctrine to any research based on the principle of autonomy and self-determination. As advised by the University of Chester, Research Governance Handbook (2014) the researcher ensured that information within the consent form was not overly complicated and catered to the cultural and psychological and social requisites of the participant. The researcher ensured that there was a Welsh version of the consent form for those participants wishing to access but this was never requested. This section will now focus on the issue of voluntarism encountered during the course of the study.

The UUK (2012) and the University of Chester, Ethics Committee (UoC, 2012) required the researcher to ensure that participants were provided with information about the purpose, methods, demands, risks, and possible outcomes of participation in the study and dissemination of the research. Informed Consent holds a central place in the ethical justification within research involving human participants and is a fact that it is the first stated and longest principle enshrined within the Nuremberg Code (Levine, 2007).

Whilst the importance of informed consent cannot be over-estimated, there are some inherent challenges as encountered by the researcher. It was difficult to accurately and honestly convey what participation in the research would entail for the individual participant and so what the veteran was consenting to. Murphy and Dingwell (2007) argue that the reality of informed consent within ethnographic studies can be difficult to predict due to the extended periods of time that researchers spend within the research environment, the emergent nature of ethnographic focus and design, the nature and positioning of risk, the power relationships between researchers and participants and the public and semi-public nature of the settings being studied. These researchers do not concede that ethical implications should not be ignored but that there is a need to emphasis education, training and mutual accountability (Murphy & Dingwell, 2007). Within this study the researcher

attempted to make an estimate for the length of contact and provided this within the participation form (see Appendix B) this proved to be just an estimate as at times the life stories took longer due to the volume and length of the life story. Rubin and Babbie (2009) argue that as life story research uses open-ended questions that a consequence can be a degree of spontaneity as outcomes and discussions can lead to unanticipated results. Given the nature of the veteran ex-offender sub-group there was a need to consider the issue of disclosure of criminal offences and other delicate issues that arose within the Life Stories. Plummer (2001) emphasis the point that the very essence of life story research means that consent needs to be renegotiated as issues can arise that are unexpected and so the researcher needs to be adaptable.

Assessment of Capacity to Consent

In order for an individual to be able to be able to consent to a research project then they must be able to have the capacity to form an understanding of what the study entails (UUK, 2012). If an individual's cognitive ability could be impaired due to the presence of mental illness then it may not always be easy to determine capacity. As previous stated, it was decided that anyone currently exhibiting mental ill health would not be included due to a desire to adhere to non-maleficence. The researcher has worked clinically within a variety of mental health environments, has a role as a Hospital Associate Manager for Mental Health Tribunals were the assessment of capacity to consent is grounded in daily practice. The researcher as a mental health nurse also has the ability to enact Section 5 (4) of the Mental Health Act 2007, which is to detain and hospitalise an individual against their will. These roles have created awareness within the researcher that mental distress can result in ineffective barriers to communication and the recollection and perception of life events based within reality. This point is supported by France and Kramer (2001) who provides a greater understanding of the communication problems encountered when practicing within the field of mental health. The researcher must acknowledge that an individuals' capacity to consent can and does alter and so the researcher needed to ensure that the participants were made aware that they could withdraw at any point (UoC Ethics Committee; UoC, 2012). This feature did not occur once the interview process had begun but one participant did withdraw before the interview had begun. Before the commencement of each interview, the researcher outlined issues of confidentiality,

incriminating disclosure and reminding the participant to be mindful that any information they provide should not breach The Official Secrets Act (1989).

There was a need to reiterate what the information would be used for and how it would be disseminated and who this audience may be. At the completion of the

Life Story interview of Practitioner 07, he and his wife were keen to know what the point of the research was and what it would achieve;

> **Practitioner 07***...so what good is all this...talking going to do? Don't get me wrong, I've enjoyed talking to you but what good is it? Will it all just be more useless reports and recommendations?*

The researcher responded with a fumbling quasi-academic response laden with lofty yet sincere utilitarian principles of working for the greater good – the researcher did not believe that Practitioner 07 or his wife were convinced but was reassured that consent had been granted to use his engaging life story.

Confidentiality, Self Determination and the issue of Incriminating Disclosure

The study adhered accepted principles of confidentiality and the participants' rights to anonymity are held to be of paramount importance to the integrity of the research (UoC, Research Governance Handbook, 2014).

Confidentiality is an important issue not only as an ethical principle but as a requirement to protect the identity of those who feel shame at their new damaged identity. This principle is key to the participants' choice around autonomy. It was a feature of this study that the researcher would be interviewing individuals with a criminal history and therefore may disclose criminal activity that has not been subject to prosecution. The researcher became aware that if incriminating statements had been given then the researcher may have been legally and ethically bound to report this to the proper authorities (UUK, 2012). However, if the researcher were to report such offences then the result could be the emergence of other ethical issues such as non-maleficence and the undermining of trust between the participant and researcher.

The researcher encountered two such instances where the challenge of incrimination during the course of the interviewing stage came to the forefront.

Incriminating Disclosure Case Studies

1) Ex-offender 04 – Theft of items from the corpses of dead soldiers following an Improvised Explosive Device (i) and the acknowledgement that he had killed Islamic Insurgents whilst working within the private security industry in Iraq (ii).
2) Ex-offender 05 – Actively participating in the obtainment of employment by ensuring that DBS checks were not being undertaken.

The first point (1) required considerable reflection on the part of the researcher and advise sought from the supervisory team once the dilemma had been thought through and could be clearly articulated. Wisker (2007) stresses the point that PhD candidates must be able to formulate and disseminate their work effectively in order to be understood and to give credibility to their ability. Point 1(i) caused concerns as the behaviour was so abhorrent to the Values and Standards of the British Army (Dannatt, 2008) from which this research was aware but the participant had been a Royal Marine Commando – an elite elevated position beyond that of the researchers own role as generic Infantry. In 1952, whilst unveiling the commando memorial the Queen Mother observed that;

> *'The Commandos were raised in urgent clouded days; they hardened themselves for battle by sea, land or air, in which nothing was certain except the hazards they would face. To them danger was a spur, and the unknown but a challenge.'*
>
> *(Royal Navy, The Royal Marines Vision: Think Commando, 2011)*

During the interview the researcher became aware that this action may have been an indication of a deeper underlining issue within an aversion towards perceived authority figures. As the life story progressed there was evidence of past Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder which was manifesting itself in poor performance, conflict and eventual violence towards senior ranked personnel in authority. The participants declining mental state was eventually acknowledged by the Royal Navy (mid-1986) who discharged the participant from the Royal Marines and consequently

the Royal Navy. The researcher was able to verify with the participant post-interview, when allowing the review of transcripts that the participant had discussed these actions with medical staff at the time which he confirmed he had done and were documented within the medical records at the time. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) emphasis that the researcher must ensure a level of respect to the individuals and communities they have been entrusted to study. Therefore it was not the researchers focus to pursue incriminating disclosure.

An interesting point of note from this life story was that not only was the participant discharged without support from the Royal Marines but that within a short space of time he was able to join the ranks within the Army's Parachute Regiment (Reserves) whilst gaining employment (briefly as a social worker). The rivalry between the Royal Marines and the Parachute Regiment are well known within the Armed Forces fraternity (Time, 2014) but it is somewhat unusual for an individual to be transient between the two due to a strongly held and ingrained identity. There was evidence that the participant believed that we was in some way retaliating against his former unit who he felt let down by and unsupported during his mental distress. This issue also highlights the theme of belonging which will be explored further within the main thesis.

Point 1 (ii) highlights a growing concern about the external factors and stressors that have a bearing on those individuals who routinely operate in hostile areas and may frequently be exposed to Potentially Traumatic Events (PTEs) as part of their role (Dunigan, et al, 2013). There is a growing concern that those operatives working within the Private Military Security Companies (PMSCs) are exposed to widely varying levels of care and support, which are said to range from zero to well-structured programs (Buckman et al,. 2011). This omission holds concern as it mirrors the findings of the Blackwater Trails (Johnston, 2014) in which four private security operatives were found guilty of killing fourteen Iraqi civilians. This narrative from within the life story in indicative of a growing problem of ex-military personnel finding lucrative employment within PMSCs without compounded regulation that exists within the Armed Forces. There has been a greater demand for PMSCs with current estimates in Afghanistan alone, indicating that there are 18,000 operators within the field of operations (Bloomfield, 2013). Again, clarification of

the issue with the participant alluded to the conclusion that internal procedures within the participants PMSC had been followed and Military and Diplomatic personnel had been involved. As discussed, Soothill (1999) stated that trust was an important feature between Tony Parker and his interviewee's (participants) within Life Story work and this researcher believed that continued interrogation of the story could damage this trust with Ex-offender 04.

This issue of crime and deviance within this evolving sphere of veteran life story trajectories and will be the focus of post-doctoral work as discussed with the thesis's conclusion.

Point 2 highlights Ex-offender 05's awareness, autonomy and self-determination not to expose their past criminal activity (via a DBS) as he was aware of the implications of on his employment prospects. This adaptation of informed consent by the participant to the employee (a well-known national employer) demonstrates and autonomy and self-determination to maintain confidentiality due to a deceptive approach found within the concept of deviance as defined by Durkheim (1982). Ex-Offender 05 was also a Royal Marine but with an illustrious military career but had a trail of failed volatile relationships. There was evidence of this trail when the participant contacted the researcher to vouch for his stability as a partner to his new girlfriend. As discussed previously the researcher suggested another course of action and at the same time it became apparent that the participant had located a new source of employment in another more lucrative industry with equal disregard to the DBS process due to financial costs and suspected profit margins. Again, the participant's adaptive behaviour and actions were known by the supporting agency and the concern for the researcher was to maintain confidentiality and trust with the studies participants.

Avoidance of Inadvertent Breaches of Confidentiality

Flick (2009) explains that there may be an inadvertent breach in confidentiality where there are connections between the participants and where the line of questioning in one interview may be led by what is said in another. Atkinson (1998) explains that within life story interviewing the interviewer will become more skilful and demonstrate an ability to gather the relevant data allowing for a greater

understanding of the story. Within the design of the semi-structured questions there was one which directly asked the interviewee to comment on the other sub-group e.g. the practitioners upon the ex-offenders and vice versa. This allowed for an important insight from those with the lived shared experience (Plummer, 2001). As was the case with HMP Leyhill there was an attempt to seek entry but the approval was nearly a year in its arrival. The reason for the request was that two of the participants' life stories intersected as this point which became apparent within the interviews but neither participants were aware of this coincidence. As discussed previously the interview transcripts were provided to the participants to allow for clarification on points within the stories to be clarified, ambiguities to be resolved, and gaps in the information to be obtained from the participants (Pope & Mays, 2006). Subsequently, participants were able to comment on any issues that they believed may breach confidentiality. As an example, Ex-offender 05 sought confirmation that the name of the Telemarketing company that he had gained employment in was not listed – as mentioned this was due to a lapse within the company's internal DBS checking system.

The UoC Research Governance Handbook (2014) which was utilised as a guiding document when preparing for ethical approval makes no reference to the issue of incriminating disclosure when respecting the participants' right to self-determination. Regardless, the researcher made a note within the design phase to include a caution about confidentiality and incriminating disclosure at the commencement of the interview. It is feasible to consider that had such a disclosure been present within the consent or participant information form then it may have deterred individuals from wishing to engage with the study. As it happened areas of potential incriminating disclosure were reviewed retrospectively, evaluated and confirmation sought through an intermediary dialogue with the participant in question and supervisors.

It appears that there no legal obligation to disclose information received relating to criminal activities unless legal proceedings or an investigation are currently underway (Corti, 2000). Even then, the researcher will only be guilty of perverting the course of justice if they deliberately evade questioning (Rock, 1999). Researchers are therefore unlikely to be under a legal duty to disclose unless

approached by the police with regards to the specific information or case in question (Corti, 2000).

Veracity of the Story and Preventing Epistemological Biased Assumptions within the Research

As the researcher shared a military identity there was a concern not to assume and to ensure knowledge was not misinterpreted. As previously discussed with Goffman's (1963) work on 'spoiled Identity' he warned that individuals may be persuaded to present themselves in a favourable light to others and that this may depend upon the first interactional encounter between the interviewer (researcher) and the participant. This in turn, could have an impact on veracity within the research and the research sought to reassure the participants through a participant information sheet and an initial discussion prior to the interview so that both the researcher and participant could become accustomed to each other, therefore hopefully improving veracity within the life story presented. The interviews provided an opportunity for the participants to not only share their stories but views and opinions on particular nuances within their life and pertinently what or who had empowered or prevented them from their own individual path into the CJS. In some cases the participants presented their achievements as proudly as they may have paraded on a Remembrance Sunday and whilst there could have been the presence of exaggerated stories, the researcher does not believe so. The stories of marked success were married to those of failures and this could be said to be found within both sub-groups.

Sinsing (2011) urges caution when analysing the data as the researcher may be encountering a rehearsed script. Sinsing (2011) explains that a 'rehearsed response' may have been repeated many times before in order to explain a particular life event and this in itself may even soon become a reality to that individual. Only in the life story of Ex-offender 03 did the interview responses appear rehearsed, polished and choreographed at times.

Veracity and Biased Case Study: Ex-Offender 03

Ex-Offender 03 had been raised within a well-known and at times notorious estate within the North Wales locality; he has escaped this deprivation and joined an

Infantry Regiment where he had served for some 8 years before leaving with the rank of corporal. He entered Higher Education and obtained a teaching qualification and then later became employed within a Further Education institution. His life story was riddled with conflict with civilian management whom he neither respected nor valued their life experiences which he clearly believed to be inferior and lacking in the same substance and meaning that his own possessed. Whilst employed at the College he appeared to impress that he went above and beyond his role as a teacher and that despite individuals best attempts to displace him from his employment he continued to progress through the organisation. Whilst in employment at the institution Ex-offender 03 formed a relationship with a married woman, which led to the break-up of her marriage, apparent depression, mischarge of a baby with Ex-Offender 03 and her subsequent suicide. Termination of employment, an investigation by police due to allegations of perverting the cause of justice and violence between Ex-Offender 03 and the young women's still legal husband provided the backdrop to the life story. He had been charged with perverting the course of duty with giving false statements which had exasperated his engagement with the police. Due to Ex-Offender 03's identity as a veteran this has added fuel to the media's pursuit of the story. Sexually inappropriate comments about the opposite sex appeared to materialise with a wish to entice the researcher to perhaps bond or validate this particular hegemonic masculine behaviour (Connell, 2002). The researcher later sought out the news story located within numerous newspapers and a trend of past relationships with students became apparent. In addition, a volatile behaviour had led the police to seize the participant's prized shot-guns (he had acknowledged this point within his interview) but it was unclear whether this was for his own safety or the safety of others. Plummer (2001) stipulates that it is important to consider veracity as a particular truth that is in existence at that particular point in time and place and that biased opinions will be an inevitable encounter in any human encounter. Regardless, his life story was engaging and meaning making in relation to emergent themes of the thesis as will be discussed within the main study.

Discussion and Conclusion

The postscript has outlined the researcher's reflexive preparations for the suspected reality of engaging in life story research in order to ensure that the veteran's voices are paraded and acknowledged through this PhD thesis.

This PhD thesis has been written by a former Soldier and Commissioned Officer of the 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment. For that, which I could not do, I humbly offer this work and pledge my oath to do more. ‘Ever Glorious’.

REGIMENTAL PRAYER

Almighty God, Lord and Giver of Life, guide we pray thee The Cheshire Regiment with thine abundant grace, that as we wear the oak leaf in token of loyalty and forget not the valour of those who have gone before, so, being rooted in the love of Christ and of our brothers, we may not fall away in time of temptation, but stand fast in the Faith and be strong like the Oak, for the sake of the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

End Ex

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Evaluation of Qualitative Analysis Frameworks

Qualitative Methods	Philosophy	Goal	Methodology	Reject/Accept	Rationale
Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2013)	How do people interpret their experiences	Focus on personal sense-making and meaning in a particular context for a particular experience	Interested in the lived experience. Focuses on the individual's cognitive, linguistic, affective and body language. Uses a two stage interpretation process.	Reject	The researcher codes their first data item then progresses to developing themes for that data item, rather than coding across the entire dataset such as with thematic analysis. Dictates what the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the research will be and can be restrictive.
Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967)	Interactionist approach Individuals are known to share a culturally orientated understanding of their world, with similar attitudes and values Theory is grounded in the data.	Develop explanatory level account (factors, impacts, influences, social processes, context) Analysis resulting in a new theory by examining concepts (grounded/having a direct relationship in the data)	People as self-aware Symbolic interactionism and meanings in interactions, actions and consequences Objectivist and constructivist approaches (Charmaz, 2011) How does the process happen in the context of a particular environment?	Reject	Used for developing explanatory accounts/theories. Relies on larger samples, giving less emphasis to the 'Individual'. This study focus is in the understanding and sense-making processes of the lived

Qualitative Methods	Philosophy	Goal	Methodology	Reject/Accept	Rationale
					experiences of veterans in the CJS.
Discourse Analysis (Kaplan & Grabe, 2002)	How is something constructed? Knowledge is constructed through interactions and multiple discourses.	Focus on how things must be understood according to a setting's conventions. Understand how people use language to create and enact processes and phenomena	Use range of data sources. What discourses are adopted and how do these shape identities, activities and relationships.	Reject	Less emphasis on individual lived experiences; less able to elicit a participant's story. Words do not always have to be "interpreted" because their significance is obvious.
Phenomenology (Schutz, 1970)	Based on the premise that reality consists of objects and events (phenomena) as they are perceived or understood in the human consciousness.	Designed to highlight phenomena through comprehension of experiences and meanings around those things that are hidden. To progress past the inferred or merely descriptive.	Seeks to understand phenomena as a whole, using full and in-depth interpretations of their understandings of their particular world. What is the lived experience?	Reject	A determination to distil participants' subjective experiences. Phenomenology studies focus on experiences, events and occurrences with disregard or minimum regard for the external and physical reality. Not always possible to describe something without adding an interpretation – this point emphasis a need for a deeper exploration of reflexivity.

Qualitative Methods	Philosophy	Goal	Methodology	Reject/Accept	Rationale
Narrative Inquiry – Life Story Research (Atkinson, 1998)	What story structures do people use to describe events across their life span.	Focus on how narrative relates to sense-making and interpretation of the world.	Essentially a hermeneutic endeavour. Data drawn from the contextualised stories that people tell to understand their actions and identity.	Accept	Provides important insight and reflections on biographical and narrative approaches through the life stories of veterans in the CJS.
Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)	Thematic analysis is a method in its own right	Becoming familiar with the data, generating, defining and reviewing themes through a systematic process	Identifying, evaluating and recording themes/patterns within the data Units of meaning identified from the data	Accept	Emphasis on exploring the Lived experience. Supports the researcher to identify patterns across the entire data-set. Supports the researcher to analyse a larger sample and focus more on patterned meaning across the data-set.
Reflexivity (Higate & Cameron (2006)	Reflexivity is a process that aids researchers to know what is known and how it is known.	Essential internal dialogue to ensure integrity, credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative inquiry.	An immersive process in establishing a focus to engage with one's own experience and thoughts and then noticing how this influences one's own practices.	Accept	The thesis's need to evidence new knowledge spans into the researchers won veteran identity as a veteran researcher. Due to the shared identity and researchers PhD journey there was a need for an immersive

Qualitative Methods	Philosophy	Goal	Methodology	Reject/Accept	Rationale
					approach which could understand and evidence the influences of the 3 veteran sub-groups within this study; veteran practitioner, veteran ex-offender and veteran researcher.

Appendix B: Introduction Letter and Participant Information Sheet

Date 28.7.13

Dear

You are being invited to take part in a research study. The purpose of the study is to obtain your views and experiences of your time in the Armed Forces and present involvement within the criminal justice system. The study will be conducted as part of the researchers PhD study. The agency (insert name) that you are currently involved with has forwarded this letter to you on our behalf.

Your participation in the study would involve taking part in an informal interview with a researcher to talk about your views of your time within the Armed Forces and current involvement in the criminal justice system. There is no obligation to take part in the research study and if you feel unable to take part at the present time, please do not feel under any pressure to do so. However, if you would like the opportunity to express your views and life experience, please fill in and return the 'consent to be contacted' slip, using the freepost envelope enclosed with this letter.

Once this has been received you will be contacted by a trained researcher from the Faculty of Health and Social Care to make suitable arrangements for an interview. It is possible that if we receive a lot of replies we might not be able to interview everybody, but a researcher will contact you either way to explain this. Enclosed with this letter is a participant information sheet which provides more details about the research study, and if you have any further questions about taking part please do not hesitate to contact me on the number below.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Mottershead
Senior Lecturer in Mental Health Nursing
University of Chester
Faculty of Health and Social Care
Riverside Campus
Castle Drive
Chester
CH1 1SL
01244 511652
r.mottershead@chester.ac.uk

Participant Information Sheet

A Critical Investigation into Veterans involvement in the Criminal Justice System

You are being invited to take part in a research study by participating in an informal interview about your experiences and views on your involvement in the Armed Forces and current involvement in the criminal justice system. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Please take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

The aim of the study is to explore the experiences and perceptions of veterans who have become involved with the criminal justice system. The findings from the study will be used to explore issues of why veterans become involved with the criminal justice system either as offenders and or practitioners.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you have had some contact with the criminal justice system and have been identified as an Armed Forces veteran. I am very interested to find out about your views and experiences.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part, you should keep this information sheet, but sign and return the consent to be contacted form, in the prepaid envelope provided, sometime during the next week. This will give your consent for a researcher from the University of Chester to contact you and arrange an informal interview at a time and in a place

convenient to you. It is envisaged that that the interview will take no longer than two hours.

At this interview you will have the opportunity to raise and discuss your views and experiences relating to your involvement in the Armed Forces and criminal justice system. The interview will be audio recorded with your permission and then transcribed. A written report of the study will be produced and some interview material will be used in this report. All interview material used will be anonymised and your details will be kept confidential, so no names or identifying details will be used in the report.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a form to say that you have understood this information about the research. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect your relationship with your employer or supporting agency.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no disadvantages or risks foreseen in taking part in the study. However, if talking about your experiences causes you any distress you will, if you wish, be offered support.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

You may appreciate the opportunity to share and discuss your experiences and to put forward your views.

This study seeks to explore the relationship of veterans involvement in the criminal justice system and to evaluate the reasons for this involvement. It is envisaged that the results will be disseminated to a wider audience and theat this study will add to the growing knowledge base of this topic area. This research may result in changes that are of personal benefit to individual participants. However, given the nature of the criminal justice system, it is more likely that feedback will benefit future recepiants of the service.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Yes. Nobody need know if you decide to take part in this study. Taking part is strictly confidential and no names or details that could identify you would ever be used in any written or verbal report of the study.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

A written report of the study will be produced as part of a PhD dissertation but, as already explained, nobody who takes part in the study will be identifiable. All data collected will be kept in a secure cabinet for one year after the completion of the study (January 2015) and then destroyed in line with University of Chester policy on confidential waste.

Who is organising and funding the research?

A researcher from the Faculty of Health and Social Care at the University of Chester is carrying out the study as part of his PhD.

What if something goes wrong?

If you wish to complain or have any concerns about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of this study, please contact Annette McIntosh-Scott, Executive Dean of the Faculty of Health and Social Care, University of Chester, Riverside Campus, Chester, CH1 1SL, 01244 513386.

Who may I contact for further information?

If you would like more information about the research before you decide whether or not you would be willing to take part, please contact Richard Mottershead on 01244 511652. You can write to Richard at the Department of Mental Health and Learning Disabilities, Faculty of Health and Social Care, University of Chester, Riverside Campus, Chester, CH1 1SL. You can also email Richard (r.mottershead@chester.ac.uk).

Thank you for your interest and co-operation in this research

Appendix C: University of Chester Ethical Approval Letter

EMW/bh

Faculty of Health and Social Care

Tel 01244 511000
Fax 01244 511270

30th July 2013

Richard Mottershead
Faculty of Health & Social Care
University of Chester
Riverside Campus
Castle Drive
CH1 1SL

Dear Richard

Ethical Approval Granted

FH&SC Ethics Number:	RESC0513-413
Course of Study:	PhD
Supervisor:	Prof. Mike Thomas, Prof. A. Lovell and Dr. C. Buckley (Glyndwr University).
Student Number:	TBC

I am pleased to inform you that the Research Ethics Sub Committee of the Faculty of Health and Social Care have approved your project **"A Critical Investigation into Veterans Involvement in the Criminal Justice System."**

Approval is subject to the above and following conditions:

1. That you provide a brief report for the sub-committee on the completion of your project.
2. That you inform the sub-committee of any substantive changes to the project.

We approve your application to go forward to the next stage of the approval process. If you are applying to IRAS and require a sponsorship letter and insurance documentation please contact Barbara Holliday.

If you have any questions or require any further assistance please contact Barbara Holliday on 01244 511117 or by email b.holliday@chester.ac.uk

Yours sincerely

Professor Elizabeth Mason-Whitehead
Chair, Faculty Research Ethics Sub-Committee

cc Research Knowledge Transfer Office
cc Academic Supervisor

Appendix D: Ethical Approval and Support Letters from Organisations

University of Chester
Parkgate Road
Chester
CH1 4BJ

Date 26.1.2018

To the Doctorate Examination Panel of Mr Richard Mottershead,

In 2012, Richard was invited and later joined the all-party justice unions' parliamentary group (JUPG) due to his interest on the issue of ex-service personnel's' involvement in the criminal justice system (CJS). This group was part of a national strategy to reduce offending among veterans and to gather evidence for the causality of the issue.

Richard had an opportunity to highlight his PhD study which would explore military veterans' involvement from both the perspective of those working within the CJS and those who had been classed an offender. It was hoped that this study would highlight through life story research the pertinent themes that separate or connect the two groups of veterans on different sides of the law.

I along with Elfyn Llwyd MP as Chairs of this group, supported Richard's study on an advisory role as to suggest particular focus on recent relevant publications and their authors, many of whom were members of the JUPG. It is my understanding that following Ethical Approval being granted by the University of Chester that many of these groups gave Richard excellent support.

His involvement with the JUPG led on to a coordinating role with the Government Review on ex-service personnel in the criminal justice system, called by Chris Grayling and led initially by Rory Stewart MP and later Stephen Philips MP. His role was to ascertain the likelihood of whether the American Veteran Treatment Court scheme could be a viable option within the UK judicial system.

I was also involved in the innovative piloting with a UK national bank to support military veterans with financial support and employment opportunities. Whilst representing some of the challenges faced by military veterans in their transition back to a civilian life, I believe this was outside Richard's PhD student but demonstrates his commitment to the issue at hand.

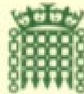
Richard provided updates on his progress.

Harry Fletcher

Yours Sincerely

From

Rory Stewart OBE MP



TEL: 0207 219 7127

HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

University of Chester

Parkgate Road

Chester

Ch1 4BJ

3.5.18

To the Doctoral Examinational Panel of Mr Richard Mottershead,

I write to offer my support, insight and assures of the timeliness of Richard's exploratory study into military veterans' involvement in the criminal justice system (CJS). His observation point as a former Commissioned Officer (Cheshire Regiment) and mental health practitioner affords an engaging insight into the lived experiences of veteran offender and practitioner through life story research.

In 2014, I was appointed by Chris Grayling (Secretary of State for Justice) to conduct a review into the rehabilitation needs of ex-Armed Services personnel convicted of criminal offences and given a custodial or community sentence. The was to identify properly the reasons for ex-Service personnel ending up in the CJS, to look at the support provided to them and how that support could be improved.

Richard was recommended to me at that time due to his work in Westminster with the all-party justice unions' parliamentary group (JUPG). His academic profile was of relevance to my mission statement and his practical experience within the CJS meant that he was selected to chair the group identified to assess the feasibility of adopting a US Veterans' Court system within the judicial system of the UK.

During the course of the review, I was appointed to Chairman of the Defence Select Committee and therefore handed over the lead for the review to Stephen Phillips QC MP. I am informed that Richard provided a useful insight throughout the length of his contributions.

Whilst there is still a contemporary need to capture accurate statistical data on ex-service personnel within the criminal justice system, it is my belief that the voice of the veteran has been generally overlooked. Richard attempts to create a close target reconnaissance into new knowledge by illuminating the lived experiences of those that inhabit the borderlands between military service and the CJS.

I wish him well with his examination and in your considered evaluation of his PhD thesis.

Rory Stewart OBE MP

Penrith and The Border

E-mail: rory.stewart.mp@parliament.uk

Website: www.rorystewart.co.uk

GIG CYMRU NHS WALES | Bwrdd Iechyd Prifysgol Caerdydd a'r Fro
Cardiff and Vale University Health Board

Veterans' NHS Wales

Global Link Building

Adeilad Global Link

University of Chester
Parkgate Road
Chester
CH1 4BJ

Date
3.2.18

To the Doctorate Examination Panel of Mr Richard Mottershead,

This is to confirm that in 2013 the Veterans NHS Wales agreed to support Richard in the recruitment of participants. This was under the following conditions

- Potential participants who had previously been identified as a service user must no longer be receiving treatment from the service and must have been discharged from the service.

He provided confirmation of his ethical approval from the University of Chester and approval was granted for his research to commence with our service within my role as Director, Consultant Clinical Lead & Honorary Research Veterans Mental Health Lead for Veterans' NHS Wales.

Periodic updates on his progress were provided.

Yours Sincerely

Neil J Kitchiner

Director, Consultant Clinical Lead & Honorary Research Veterans Mental Health Lead for Veterans' NHS Wales.

University of Chester
Parkgate Road
Chester
CH1 4BJ

Date
23/01/18

To the Doctorate Examination Panel of Mr Richard Mottershead,

This is to confirm that in 2013 CAIS agreed to allow Richard to seek out potential participants for his PhD thesis. Access was granted to both our staff and service users with the relevant experience sought for inclusion within his research. This would be via our All Wales veterans peer support service 'Change Step'.

He provided confirmation of his ethical approval from the University of Chester and approval was granted for his research to commence following internal approval.

Richard provided updates on his progress and liaised with appointed support personnel throughout the course of his data collection phase.

Yours Sincerely

Director of Partnership and Development

CAIS

Darren Millar
Aelod Cynulliad dros Gorllewin Clwyd
Assembly Member for Clwyd West

Ref: CD/KS

Professor Tim Wheeler
Vice Chancellor
University of Chester
Parkgate Road
Chester
Cheshire
CH1 4BJ

5th April 2016

Dear Professor Wheeler,

Re: Cross Party Group on the Armed Forces and Cadets

In my role as the Chair of the Cross Party Group for the Armed Forces and Cadets I just wanted to say how much we have appreciated the University releasing Richard Mottershead to engage with and contribute to our work.

Richard has been faithful in his support for the Cross Party Group and armed forces family in Wales and his ongoing research into veterans in the criminal justice system and support for those with PTSD has been incredibly helpful in shaping our work programme.

Richard has told me that he would not be able to make these valuable contributions to our work without the continued support of the University of Chester.

Thank you once again.

Kind regards,

Yours,

Darren Millar AM
Chair of the Cross Party Group on the Armed Forces and Cadets

Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru
Bae Caerdydd, Caerdydd, CF99 1NA
0300 200 7214
—
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National Assembly for Wales
Cardiff Bay, Cardiff, CF99 1NA
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—
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—
Darren.Millar@assembly.wales
www.DarrenMillar.wales

Ceidwadwyr Cymreig | Welsh Conservatives

Appendix E: Consent Form

University of Chester

Consent to be contacted form

I agree that a member of staff from the University of Chester can contact me using the details below (please tick box to agree) ☐

Name ____

Telephone: Home ____________________________________

Mobile ____________________________________

Signature ______________________________ Date ______________________

University of Chester

CONSENT FORM

Veteran interview

A Critical Investigation into Veterans involvement in the Criminal Justice System

Name of Researcher: Richard Mottershead

Please tick box

I have read and understood the participant information sheet and have had the chance to ask questions ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, without my medical care or legal rights being affected. ☐

3. I understand that with my permission the interview will be audio-recorded. ☐

4. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

5. I understand that the data will be written up as part of a PhD study and that I ☐

will not be able to be identified in any part of the study.

________________________ _______________ ______________________

Name of Interviewee Date Signature

________________________ _______________ ______________________

Researcher Date Signature

Appendix F: Interview Schedule – Ex-offenders and Practitioners

Veteran (ex-offender) interview schedule

- Please Describe your life prior to entering the Armed Forces
    - Had you any involvement in the CJS prior to joining the Armed Forces?
- What caused you to join the Armed Forces?
- Please describe your career within the Armed Forces
- What caused you to leave the Armed Forces?
- What where your initial experiences when you re-entered 'civvie street?'
- Do you believe you handled the transition well? What would your family and friends comments be on this question?
- What support did you get from the Armed Forces during or leading up to this transitional phase?
- What led you to becoming an offender within the criminal justice system?
- Are there any parallels to your time within the Armed Forces and your time within the criminal justice system?
- Do you maintain any links with your old Regiment/Corp?
- Have there been any drastic changes to your life since leaving the Armed Forces? E.g. divorce

- What support do you think could have made a difference in stopping you from becoming an offender since leaving the Armed Forces?

- Do you know of any comrades who left the Armed Forces and became practitioners/professionals within the CJS? If so why do you think this happened?
    - How would you describe this individual?
    - How do they differ from you?

Do you have any further points you would like to make?

University of Chester

Veteran (practitioner) interview schedule

- Please Describe your life prior to entering the Armed Forces
    - Had you any involvement in the CJS prior to joining the Armed Forces?

- What caused you to join the Armed Forces?
- Please describe your career within the Armed Forces
- What caused you to leave the Armed Forces?
- What where your initial experiences when you re-entered 'civvie street?'
- Do you believe you handled the transition well? What would your family and friends comments be on this question?
- What support did you get from the Armed Forces during or leading up to this transitional phase?
- What led you to a career in the criminal justice system?
- Are there any parallels to your time within the Armed Forces and in working within the Criminal Justice System?
- Do you maintain any links with your old Regiment/Corp?
- Have there been any drastic changes to your life since leaving the Armed Forces? E.g. divorce
- What has been the greatest support to you in allowing you to make the successful transition from the Armed Forces to becoming a practitioner within the criminal justice system?

- Do you know of any comrades who left the Armed Forces and became offenders? If so why do you think this happened?
    - How would you describe this individual?
    - How do they differ from you?

Do you have any further points you would like to make?

Appendix G: Table VII: Participant Profile – Veteran Ex-offender

Veteran (offender)	Age	Nature of Offence	Armed Forces Role	Length of service in the Armed Forces (yrs)	Educational Attainment	Reason for Leaving	Employment Status	Location of Interview
Participant 1 (Ex-Offender 01)	27	Racially Motivated Assault (intoxicated).	Army: Royal Logistics Corp.	4	School (not completed) No qualifications	Dishonourably discharged from Army.	Unemployed	Home
Participant 2 (Ex-Offender 02)	25	Grievous Bodily Harm (intoxicated). 6 month prison sentence.	Army: Royal Regiment of Wales	3	School (not completed) College (expelled) No qualifications	Dishonourably discharged from Army.	Waste Collector	Home
Participant 3 (Ex-Offender 03)	43	Perverting the Course of Justice. Media focus due to veteran identity.	Army: Royal Welsh Fusiliers	16	School (not completed) Post-discharge from Army – level 5 training qualification.	Dishonourably discharged due to GBH whilst on leave.	Employed. Delivery Driver	University
Participant 4 (Ex-Offender 04)	47	Grievous Bodily Harm, hostage taking, robbery with use of fire arm.	Royal Marines/Army: Royal Marine/Parachute Regiment. Dual Identity – Social Worker (removed from register)	16	School (not completed) College Post-discharge – Diploma in Social Work	Medically discharged	Private security	University
Participant 5 (Ex-Offender 05)	49	Actual Bodily Harm (domestic violence), breaching bail – remand to prison.	Navy: Royal Marine	22	3 A -Levels	Completion of engagement.	Call Centre	Home

Veteran (offender)	Age	Nature of Offence	Armed Forces Role	Length of service in the Armed Forces (yrs)	Educational Attainment	Reason for Leaving	Employment Status	Location of Interview
Participant6 (Ex-Offender 06)	52	Intent to cause criminal damage, Public Protection Sentence – remand to Prison.	Royal Air Force:	6	School (not completed) No qualifications	Completion of engagement	Publican	Temporary residence
Participant 7 (Ex-Offender 07)	45	Intention to Supply Drugs, Enforcement for crime syndicate, Grievous Bodily Harm	Army: Royal Welsh Fusiliers	8	School (not completed) Currently undertaking Access to Higher Education Qualification.	Completion of engagement	Veteran peer mentor	Place of work
Participant 8 (Ex-Offender 08)	68	Grievous Bodily Harm, Public Disorder, 3 counts of Rape. 30 years in 25 prisons	Royal Navy	6	School (not completed) No qualifications	Dishonourable Discharge (violence)	Writer	Home
Participant 9 (Ex-Offender 09)	35	Multiple counts of GBH, Racially motived attacks, arson, intent to supply drugs, prison sentence, Military Corrective Training Centre, illegal street fighting, recruitment into right-wing groups (enforcer).	Army: Light Infantry	5	School (not completed) No qualifications	Dishonourable Discharge (violence)	unemployed	Hostel

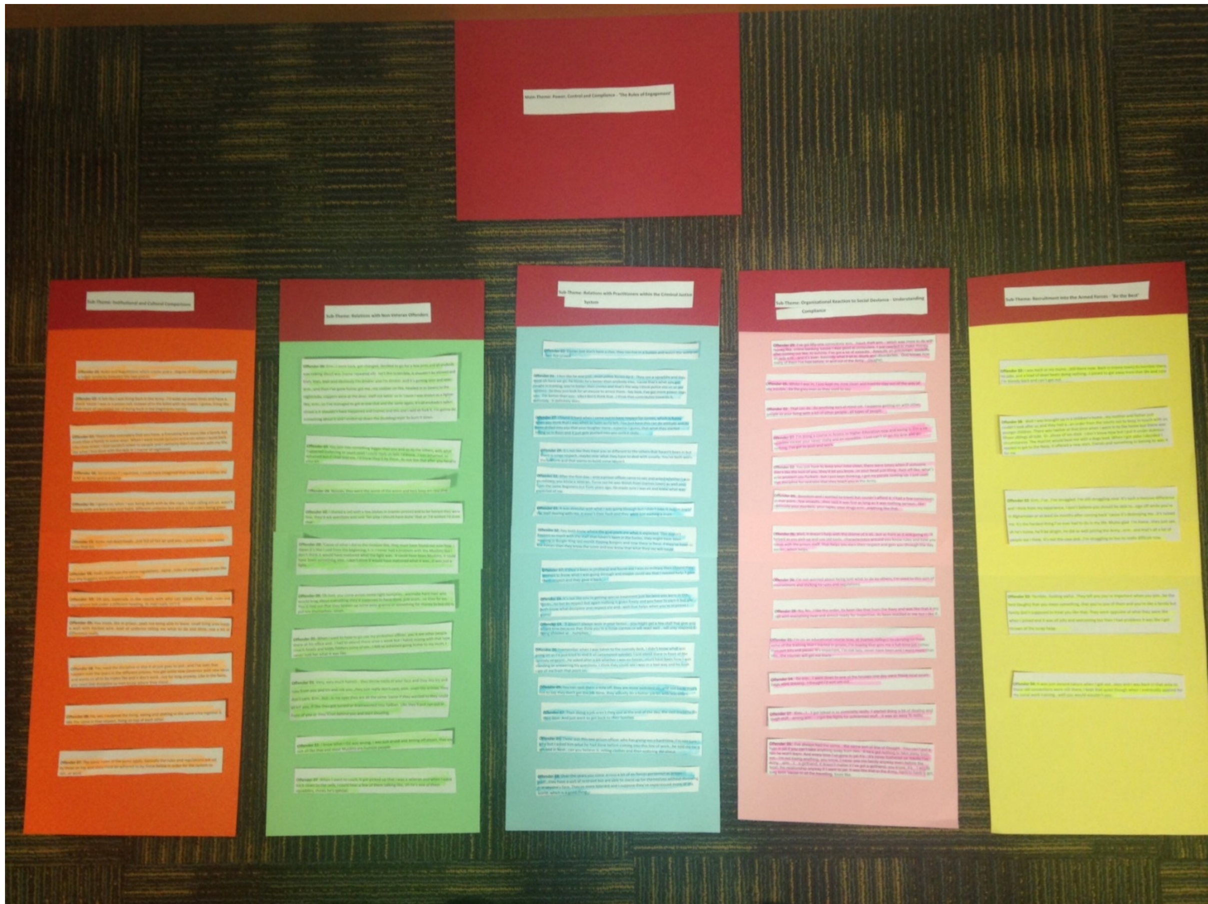
Appendix H: Table VIII: Participant Profile – Veteran Practitioner

Table VIII: Participant Profile – Veteran Practitioner

Veteran (practitioner)	Age	Role in CJS	Armed Forces Role	Length of service in the Armed Forces (yrs)	Educational Attainment	Reason for Leaving	Location of Interview
Participant 9 (Practitioner 01)	54	Probation/Third Sector	Army: The Light Dragoons	16	School (completed) 4 O'levels	Encouraged to resign due to inappropriate behaviour	Job centre
Participant 11 (Practitioner 02)	53	Probation	Navy	22	School (not completed) No qualifications	End of Service	Probation office
Participant 12 (Practitioner 03)	38	Police (Prevent)	Army: Military Police	10	School (completed) 2 A-Levels	Family commitments	Police Head Quarters
Participant 13 (Practitioner 04)	50	Prison Healthcare/ Criminal Justice Liaison Service.	RAF Police	8	School (completed) 5 O'Levels	Wish to pursue civilian career	Hospital (Office)
Participant 14 (Practitioner 05)	55	Prison Officer/ Youth Offending	Army: Royal Welsh Fusiliers	10	School (completed) Apprenticeship	Wish to pursue civilian career	Home

Veteran (practitioner)	**Age**	**Role in CJS**	**Armed Forces Role**	**Length of service in the Armed Forces (yrs)**	**Educational Attainment**	**Reason for Leaving**	**Location of Interview**
Participant 15 (Practitioner 06)	49	Youth Offending Services	Army: Royal Regiment of Wales	22	School (not completed) No Qualifications	End of service	Youth Offending Service (Office)
Participant 16 (Practitioner 07)	50	Prison Officer	Royal Navy: Submariner	12	School (completed) Apprenticeship	Family commitment	Home
Participant 17 (Practitioner 08)	50	Practitioner within National Offender Management Service (NOMS)	Royal Navy (Fleet Air Arm)	15	School (completed) 2 A-levels	Wish to pursue civilian career	Home

Appendix I: Theme Analysis



Appendix J: Practitioner 03 - Case Studies/Modus Operandi

Researcher: OK. (Name) a question I'm gonna ask you and this is specific to…to your role…when you were an MP, you came across anyone who could be described as a…rogue? You know, getting in to trouble, acting in a deviant manner…what was their MO?

Practitioner 03: Er…right…there was…couple of…couple of…fellas that I could think of. One guy was in…was in the (Cavalry) and I followed him from in (Army camp location) to London District and I dealt with him in (Army camp location), er…his beef was er…alcohol. He'd…he'd get pissed and just decided to kick off. Some switch had flicked and it'd either be damage or, er…punch ups. He was quite a big guy he was. He was about six six er…and he looked quite a handy fella type of thing but, er…but his name came up numerous times when I was in (Army camp location) and then I'd had a couple of jobs with him.

Researcher: What do you mean with jobs?

Practitioner 03: Fighting, I reported him for fighting, er…damage to vehicles, er…I tried to get him on a drink driving charge but it was in barracks and it's Queen's property and there was all the legislation aspect 'cause he took a car and…well he was pissed and took his own car and…meandered through everybody else's parked car, you know? So that's where the criminal damage came from and obviously, looking at the drink driving aspect of it as well, er…but what was…I don't know whether he was trying to achieve status if he had the tag of being a baddy and he had to maintain that or it was just in him.

Practitioner 03: And there was another guy, er…in…in Ireland who, er…when I was there had several instances of, er…of bullying and he…he…he was like, he considered himself to be a senior private which is basically a way of saying I've been a private a long time…

Researcher: Yeah, I'm never gonna be a lance jack?

Practitioner 03: Yeah and…why am I being a private a long time? Er…is it because I've got the experience. No it's because you're a donut and you're not gonna get promoted. So he's…so when he…when he lived in the…in the barracks…never went home on leave…and it was in, er…a place called (Army camp location) and er…there were open dorms, you know, like six or eight and er…a lot of it was revolving around, er…initiation ceremonies and things for the…for the FNGs coming through, you know, er…it…and he would always wear a gas mask get dressed up and beat em up in the early hours of the morning type of thing when they lay asleep but he had a very distinctive balding pattern to his head.

Researcher: Yeah.

Practitioner 03: So that's how we managed to identify him, you know? Er…so his name kept cropping up, er…and again, he…he was one of these senior private who prob…if you looked at his disciplinary record, probably would have made some interesting reading, and…I actually left we'd made the charge out for…for a common assault and bullying and things like that but I'd left the forces so I didn't see what happened to him…but I don't think he would have lasted very long. I think he was on the fringes of being made to leave. If he did that on the outside, different kettle of fish.

Researcher: So why do you think he behaved like he did?

Practitioner 03: Status I guess and it maybe…gave him a sense of he was doing something like a role but all he was a little man a bully and once he started he just continued cause he liked it and that was what

evidence military jargon.

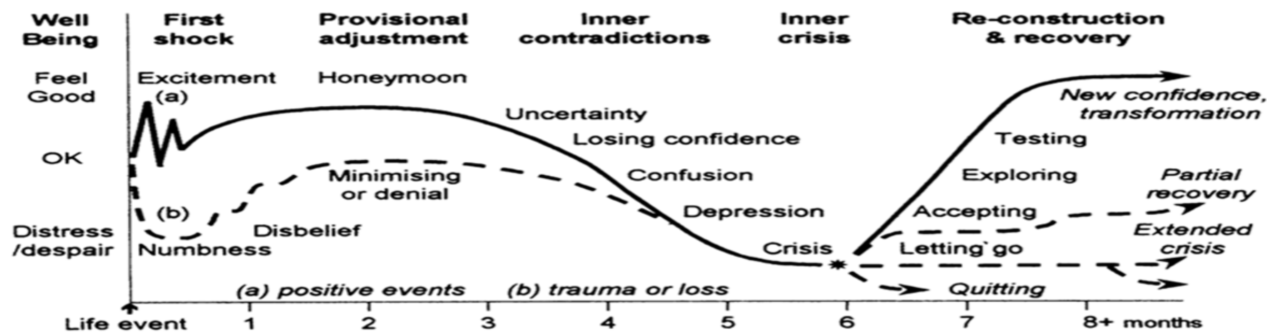
he was known for….breaking the FNG's in….total donut! No doubt, if he behaved like that on leaving, it wouldn't be tolerated and he'd end up as billy no mates and would end up inside.

behaviour not tolerated post-transition → CJS.

Appendix K: Phases and Features of the Transitional Cycle of Belonging and Longing within the Veteran Life Stories

Sense of Longing: Positive Veteran Life Story Trajectory

Military Service	Discharge (Empowered)	Transition to Civilian Life	Establishment of reformed Belonging	Maintanance of extended belonging to reshapped identity (Cynefin)



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Sense of Longing: Negative Veteran Life Story Trajectory

Military Service	Discharge (Disempowered)	Transition to Civilian Life	Defragmented sense of belonging	Maintanance of longing to previous identity (Hiraeth)

Sucessfully establishment of belonging indicative of positive enagement formation of new identity (veteran practitioners)

Unsucessful establishment of belonging indicative of crisis and encounters with Criminal Justice System (veteran offenders)

Phases and features of the TransitionCycle , adapted from Hopson, Adams developed applications for career education (1976)

Appendix L: Taylor, P. & Keeling, J. & Mottershead, R. (2017). Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse Against Men: Voices of Victimization Among Ex-Servicemen of the British Armed Forces. *Illness, Crisis & Loss*. 1-24.

A Phenomenological Study of British Military Veterans' Perceptions of the Criminal Justice System as Practitioners and Ex-Offenders

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Richard Mottershead

June 2019

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Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse Against Men: Voices of Victimisation Among ExServicemen of the British Armed Forces

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Abstract

This study presents the personal testimonies of male British ex-Armed Forces personnel who have experienced violence and abuse victimisation that was perpetrated by civilian female partners. In this research, we argue that to embark upon any understanding of the domestic lives of military personnel, an appreciation of the linkages to the cultural context of the military institution is necessary. Understanding the influence of the military institution beyond the military domain is crucial. We unveil the nature and character of the violence and abuse and how the servicemen negotiated their relationships. In doing so, we highlight the embodiment of military discipline, skills and tactics in the home – not ones of violence which may be routinely linked to military masculinities; rather ones of restraint, tolerance, stoicism and the reduction of a threat to inconsequential individual significance.

Keywords: military institution; intimate partner violence and abuse; help seeking; victimisation

Introduction

This article investigates the experiences of victimisation among servicemen who have endured intimate partner violence and abuse (IPVA) in England. To date, nothing is known of male military personnel's experience of IPVA, and so this paper provides an important illustration of human experience in this particular context. The main aim of the paper is to assess and provide an understanding of the interrelationship between the military institution and the domestic domain grounded within the narratives of male victims of IPVA.

Academic literature on violence and abuse between couples in the military has predominantly followed two lines of enquiry; the mental ill-health of the military/ex-military perpetrator, and secondly, the cultural dimensions of the military institution as important in facilitating the conditions where violence and abuse can manifest. In Sherman et al.'s (2006) assessment within couples therapy of domestic violence perpetrated by military veterans, high rates of violence are observed among those veterans experiencing mental health conditions such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and depression. As the authors have noted, substantial numbers of those returning from conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan experience PTSD and other mental health conditions, thus making insights into domestic contexts relevant. However, while assessments of domestic violence and abuse through a clinical lens may be useful, enquiries have also been made in connecting up the culture of the military and matters of abuse within relationships. Writers such as Harrison (2006) have provided crucial insights into the victimisation of female military spouses in a Canadian Armed Forces context. In particular, Harrison (2006) highlights how despite the presence of a 'zero tolerance' approach to family violence in the Canadian Armed

Forces, only marginal interventions have been made by military authorities in such cases. Reasons of a 'pact of silence' and 'cover up ethos' for fear of personnel being withdrawn as deployable by superiors prevail. Protection of a conflict-readiness identity holds firm, structured by cultural components such as the 'pact of silence' and group cohesion. As Harrison (2006, p. 567) points out, military culture compromises 'the abused spouse's preparedness for the risks involved in reporting the abuse, pursuing assault charges, leaving her relationship, or doing anything other than cooperating with her partner to keep the abuse hidden'.

Out with the military context, the historical backdrop to the rise and consolidation of literature on the topic of IPVA dates over the last fifty years has been gender specific (Lombard and McMillan, 2013). Without a doubt, sociological fields of academia and legal practice had influenced the ambivalence towards the individual experience of victims. Notwithstanding this, the on-going struggle for a deserved attention towards women's experience has seen important intellectual enquiries. A key voice in this process in calling for a feminist examination of the law in practice has been the landmark work of Carol Smart. Smart's contributions have shone light on the trivialisation of male violence against women in the home by the police, and the process of prosecution remains an enduring problem (Harne and Radford, 2008; Keeling, van Wormer and Taylor, 2015), paralleled with scepticism towards whether legal reforms will ever provide adequate protections for women. While studies have illustrated that military experience may lead servicemen to perpetrate IPVA against women (such as they are trained to use controlling behaviour and violence against others coupled with the embedded masculinisation of military cultures), this analysis posits that military training and experience may also shape the experiences of men as victims of IPVA. This has unintended consequences. It may prevent them from seeking help because of deeply held ideas of stoicism, stigma and the idea that they should be able to cope with their problems themselves.

It must be stated, as a backdrop to this research, the study of men as victims of IPVA, while slowly emerging, does not have the critical mass of substantial research on gender-specific victimisation. Indeed, women are more likely to be victims of IPVA, and therefore the development of the intellectual field is motivated by this. However, Drijber, Reijnders and Ceelen (2013) have argued that the dominance of women's centrality as victim (which has also brought about some feminist criticisms for the portrayal of women as weak and helpless) has contributed significantly to the discursive construction of intimate violence to the cost of the recognition of male victimisation. Matters of patriarchy, vulnerability, gender-roles and normative scripts of femininity are inextricably linked and influence a limited paradigm of what we know about IPVA. Indeed, those writing in this area suggest that failures in men seeking support for victimisation may be the consequence of their perceived inferior ability to compete within discourse, policy and practice which is structured in such a way that is female-victim centric (Cheung, Leung and Tsui, 2009). In a context of a continuing legacy of problems of legal protection for women, when making comparisons, studies illustrate that despite inherent levels of under-reporting, women are more likely to disclose their victimisation than men (Houry et al., 2008) and that cultural influences are fundamentally essential in the analysis of non-disclosure by men. According to Dutton and White (2013), issues of 'maleness' and male victimisation in the context of an intimate relationship may well accrue suggestions of improper masculinity or a crime of less severity. The result of poor reporting by

men is impactful as difficulties arise in the State's role to manage legal recourse for victims of crime and address public health matters adequately. The perceived incongruous duality of a masculine identity *and* victimisation (and heightened where the perpetrator is female) challenges the discursive constructions and expected alignments in the consciousness of onlookers. Such challenges to the prism by which IPVA is examined are problemised potentially further by other dimensions of the male victim's identity not least their professional role.

When examining what we know about IPVA in military contexts, overwhelmingly in what is largely a U.S.-centric scholarly picture, it is one of military personnel as aggressors and perpetrators. Claims have been made of correlates between psychological and emotional conditions as a product of combat exposure and intimate partner violence (Marshall, Panuzio and Taft, 2005), the social and racial demographics of perpetrators and victims (McCarroll et al., 1999), recidivism by spouse abusers (McCarroll et al., 2000) and whether veteran status makes a difference in marital aggression (Bradley, 2007). Additionally, studies have sought to enquire into female soldiers as aggressors to civilian spouses (Newby et al., 2003).

Exploring the military context of domestic violence victimisation and perpetration is a relatively recent endeavour in the UK context. Help seeking and decision making over reporting by civilian partners who are victims of domestic abuse has been brought to light in the work of Williamson (2012). Understanding barriers to welfare service use for military families is viewed as crucial. Indeed, Williamson's (2012) research paints a portrait of the challenges and tensions within families where partners return from deployment. Often, as the research has suggested, complex issues in the family are often kept as private matters, or support gained via informal networks (e.g. friends) rather than seeking support from military services. The apprehension of partners engaging with military welfare and support services in often rooted in fears of its impact on the careers of partners and problems of confidentiality. As Williamson (2012) indicates, such practices often lead to a dearth of formal or professional intervention. Such sentiments among victims have echoed in Gray's (2015) analysis of the British Armed Forces. Expected 'stoicism', 'strength' and defence of their husband are unveiled as key requisites of the constructed identity of the 'military wife'. Narratives collected by Gray (2015) identify that such an identity is something which some wives and partners work tirelessly to attain and present to the wider audience – stoicism then is a performative act which is not without a potential to be anxiety-inducing in and of itself.

The body of understanding of partner abuse and violence in the military is growing. A *critical* account of the military institution is recently forming amidst a more developed backcloth of focus on establishing the nature of experience of IPVA and whether military policies sufficiently protect women from harm (Campbell et al., 2003); its prevalence and a questioning whether women in military roles endure domestic violence or abuse more than civilian populations (Murdoch and Nichol, 1995) and; the extent of injury and consequences of victimisation (Forgey and Badger, 2006). What can be seen, however, is a scarcity to date of an understanding of male victimisation, something which this research study aims to provide a critical understanding of.

The Military Institution as a Site of Sociological Interest

The military and post-military life have, for some time, been a place of sociological interest. The manner in which military life (and identities) is an important dimension and/or influence on behaviours and experiences of active duty service personnel, and those who have left, is an avenue of enquiry which is developing with ambition (McGarry, Walklate and Mythen, 2014; Murray, 2015, 2016; Treadwell, 2016).

Work, whatever the profession, plays a fundamental part in the constructed process of interpreting the social world. In the workplace, individuals are subject to an immersion in cultural forces and complexities such as value sets and commitments, informal obligations of membership to work groups and work cultures, and shared expectations on how employees should conduct themselves professionally or within the workplace. Processes of workplace acculturation and adaption undoubtedly contribute to the identity of the worker both within and outside of the workplace. Occupational cultures shape organisational functioning. On inspection, they have been viewed as complex systems of 'tribalism' (Brooks, 2003) and made up of visible customs, traditions, rites, rituals, stories and myths (Trice, 1993).

Sociological investigations into military subcultures offer a rich insight into norms, values and beliefs, and the processes of socialisation into a culture and an 'anchoring into their field' (Lande, 2007, p. 106). The 'performance' of a military identity has also been duly analysed by Woodward and Jenkins (2011) explaining that military identities are 'enacted around the performance, citation and reiteration of specific activities and ideas' (p. 263). Moreover, hyper and exaggerated masculinities have repeatedly been examined within military units (Rosen, Knudson and Fancher, 2003) and outside in how military publicity and representations construct dominant discourses of the 'warrior hero' and heroism (Woodward, 2000; Woodward, Winter and Jenkins, 2009). Writers such as Hockey (1986, 2002) and Winslow (1999) have described vividly matters of group cohesion, informal (peer expectations) and formal rituals (e.g. discipline, drills, etc.), processes of identity stripping and rebuilding into 'approved' occupational roles, and how members of the Armed Forces rationalise potential harm to themselves.

Violence is a normative component of the environment (Malešević, 2010), be that for example, in the context of training for combat roles using weapons and tactics. As Treadwell (2016) explains, 'the military is an institution that trades in violence (albeit of a controlled form, a disciplined and directed violence as it were, but violence nonetheless)' (p. 337). However, as Treadwell (2016) also critically posits, boundaries of acceptability between legitimate and illegitimate violence are not always finite or easily distinguishable. Treadwell (2016) presents a compelling argument that military life must be taken into account when evaluating serious violent and sexual crimes perpetrated by ex-Armed Forces personnel. Already, we have shown the existence of military personnel as perpetrators of IPVA which similarly gives weight to the description of the military institution as violent. Engagement in increased risk taking (Killgore et al., 2008) and post-deployment violence and antisocial behaviour (MacManus et al., 2012) have also been cited as causes for concern. Importantly, however, and as Treadwell's (2016) analysis consolidates, the role of the military institution must not be forgotten in any

appreciation of military personnel's behaviours or experiences; indeed, the explanatory logic of individualism is redundant given the nature, character and context that 'doing military work' takes place within. Whilst the context in which military work takes place is violent, imbued with masculine characteristics of toughness, resilience and authoritarianism, where might experiences of IPVA victimisation sit?

Valuable insights into the cultural context that military work takes place within are building, and criticality is vital. Critical military studies have real potential to vitalise the field of knowledge in, outside and around the military. Moving 'beyond a simple oppositional stance', Basham, Belkin and Gifkins (2015, p. 1) encourage, and offer up the platform, to critically debate and radically challenge the prism by which we may traditionally view the multifaceted world of the military.

Research Design and Method

The aim of this research study was to explore the experience of ex-members of the British Armed Forces who have endured IPVA. The research set about examining the connections between the military institutional environment and the civilian environment where IPVA took place. The research gained full University ethical approval and was conducted in a manner that was appreciative of the sensitivities of doing research on such a topic (Skinner, Hester and Malos, 2005). A University awarded grant funded the research. Participants of this study were recruited using a purposeful sampling technique through community-based veteran support agencies. Group facilitators advertised the study in the support agencies and participants contacted the research team of their own volition. All participants had experienced IPVA in at least one previous relationship whether that was at the time of military service or following their discharge from military service. All perpetrators were civilian and female.

The research was exploratory in nature with a broad aim to capture the lived experiences of ex-Armed Forces personnel in relation to their experiences of IPVA. Objectives were set to consider how participants viewed these incidents in light of their occupational identity, and also to examine systems of informal and formal support to illuminate upon help-seeking behaviours.

Informed and written consent was gained from all participants with each selecting a pseudonym to maintain anonymity. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. All participants were male and described their experience in the context of heterosexual intimate relationships. Six military veterans participated in this study although more had made initial enquiries to participate. Often changes in domestic circumstances prompted withdrawal from the research in advance of interviews being held. Research interview transcriptions were subjected to a process of thematic analysis. The research team chose an inductive approach to analyse the narratives. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this approach enables researchers to understand the participants' everyday experience, leading to an improved understanding of the particular phenomenon being explored (McLeod, 2001). Using a

thematic map, themes continued to develop from the initial codes, building the relationship between themes, and considering what constituted an overarching theme and what constituted a sub-theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Regular team meetings enabled discussion of the developing analysis to achieve consensus where differences in coding occurred, ensuring homogeneity of the findings.

Research Findings

The narratives of ex-servicemen in this research have pointed towards the complexities of the abusive relationships in a context of their military occupation. The military institution is both supportive and submissive in the context of the IPVA experienced. Crucially, the finding presented here are a subversion of dominant tropes of military personnel being aggressive. Findings have been arranged thematically, and here the authors present the analysis in three dominant streams. Firstly, the *suffering* of physical and non-physical violence and abuse within the context of an intimate relationship is shown. Secondly, participants made reference to the influence of the military institution on their domestic situation. Subordination of their own individualism is a major theme which we have presented as *subservience*. These dimensions appear as a contributing factor to a forestalling of help, support and assistance, or timely recognition of their victimisation. Lastly, we investigate the routes of *survival* that these ex-servicemen describe.

As can be seen from the themes presented here, taking an approach that appreciates dominant facets of a military role, identity and life have a real potential to explain how these men's work played an important part in the experience of victimisation. What is important to recognise is the significance of the military institution in the domestic context. Indeed, while the military institution may facilitate mechanisms of support or aid in navigating victimisation, at the same time it may problematise, exacerbate, delay action or worsen the context that the violence and/or abuse takes place within.

Suffering

Here the authors present the detail of the instances of domestic violence and illtreatment. Both non-physical and physical violence are evidenced in the biographical histories of the participants. Participants did not at any time reflect on their own participation in violent acts towards their partner or any psychological abuse exercised by them.

In capturing the non-physical as well as physical violence, the authors aim to provide a more nuanced understanding of coercion and control beyond physically violent tactics (Stark, 2013; Frankland and Brown, 2014; Martin, 2016). Albeit the contexts are different, evidence exists here of what has been extensively evaluated in feminist literature and understandings of female victimisation. We see evidence of a generality of control (see Schneider, 2000) and a pervasive, ongoing emotional control and psychological abuse (see

Crossman, Hardesty and Raffaelli, 2015), threats and fear (Hardesty et al., 2015). Participant's narratives illuminated the impact of these behaviours on their autonomy. Sam noted:

She'd say 'The red mist is starting to rise' and that would tell me back off otherwise you're going to get punched, …it was just threats like that to get at me, just constantly, and she's still even doing it to this day .

Both in the cases of Expresso and Bill, the temporal dimension of living with violence was directed at a micro level of control over many aspects of their everyday life:

There was always a threat there I suppose…which is, as I said, was worse, was the emotional and psychological…you do become this creature where you are quite pathetic because in hindsight, because I agreed with everything, decision making was, you know, and always asking, "Is this okay with you? I'm going to do this, it is alright with you? (Expresso).

Reflective of the power differentials in the relationship, Bill goes on to say:

In the house it was you sat where you were told to sit, you cooked or ate what you were told to cook or eat, bedtimes were governed (Bill).

In advancing his own understandings of the fear and threat that he experienced in his domestic life, Paul compares the 'danger' at home to his work in the Armed Forces. Preparedness for war versus preparedness for disputes in the intimate relationship provides a rich picture of the gravity which Paul ascribes to the situation:

The fear of going away…I wasn't scared about going to war, I was scared about telling her [partner] that I was going to have to go away and how she would react, because just going away for a day got me all sorts of questions and anger and accusations and things.

Obedience and subordination is also described in narratives of participants. Here Sam describes the domination of his partner which invariably subjugates his position in the home. In describing his situation, he is clearly alluding to the deeplyengrained nature of this

dynamic given his comparison to hierarchies in his professional life. Sam's conformity in the home is traced to his intrinsic occupational values, which appears to be exploited through coercive means:

I would be the 'Private', she would be 'Sergeant Major', my partner, so what she said, I did…. It's built into you.

The abuse was varied across the participants. While all had experienced non-physical violence and abuse, only some talked or shared their experiences of physical violence. The men who spoke of physical abuse and violence related incidences that occurred when they returned home on leave, but also after they had left the Armed Forces. These appeared to be mostly disaggregated acts of violence, not an escalation of violence over a period. Paul noted the most severe physical violence he experienced involving weapons:

And she went to the kitchen and she got out like a small, best described as a meat cleaver and she started brandishing that in front of me.

As much of the literature contends, violent attacks and domestic assaults that require medical treatment are typically perpetrated by men (Straus, 1999). However, in this example, Expresso candidly describes an occasion when his spouse violently attacked him without warning:

The next thing I know she's hit me…smashing into my side so I'm just about blanking out and there's blood peeing out all over the place…

Patterns of intimate partner violence are challenging to track. While in many cases research reports a propensity of incidents to escalate in severity; a plateauing may also occur. Reflections on the expectation for violent assaults feature in Sam's narrative here. He describes that the violence was intermittent. However the nature and mechanism of the violence was predictable for him:

…she grabbed me from behind, got me on the floor and started punching and kicking me…[O]ne thing she did do was, whenever she punched me…it was always in the back of the head.

Moreover, Sam's account illustrates how the mechanism of violence may be deliberately utilised to obscure obvious visible signs of injury.

Subservience

Whilst some have argued that no one military culture exists; rather what is evident is countless subcultures (Buckingham, 1999), powerful values are inherent in the socialisation process of service men and women into a role where the presence of influence such as risk, authority and violence shape the occupational realities (see for example Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978; Soeters, Winslow and Weibull, 2006). A sense of mission (Wilson, 2008) imbued with loyalty, dedication, dependency and cohesion (Hall, 2011) has been identified whereby the importance of unity prevails. As Winslow (1998, 1999) powerfully describes, individualism is subordinated to the group identity with expectations that values and norms of the group will be respected above and beyond self-interest.

Perception

Realising that a problem existed in the familial context was not immediate, and indeed for some participants, a level of denial of the severity of incidences remains fixed in their narratives. The explanation that military training offers techniques of tolerance and resilience was commonly felt. Hardened attitudes to encounters and interactions appear to transcend boundaries of military and domestic life. Here Expresso, a British army veteran of Northern Ireland sectarian violence describes how he ‘tolerated’ his family circumstances and victimisation:

I think that the Army training probably [helped], again going back to sort of tolerance, the peace keeping elements, you know, where being in situations where stuff was thrown at you and you were wound up, people spat in your face in Northern Ireland. I can remember going to a bus full of republican women who’d come across to The Maze and just covered me in gob and just going “Ladies, this isn’t very pleasant”, you know, and all this sort of thing because it was a stop check sort of thing and they were just I mean pure hate.

Not recognising, resisting the realities of victimisation or downplaying their impact is perhaps exacerbated by omnipotent occupational norms. Above, Expresso describes the cross-fertilisation of skills from a professional context to a domestic one. Strategies of tolerance have perhaps delayed him from seeking support and addressing the challenging and violent domestic context that he found himself within. Principles and skills adopted in combat or peacekeeping roles are evidently applied to the domestic context. While much literature has suggested incidences of domestic violence perpetrated by servicemen as being influenced by their military role (e.g. combat exposure), the examples here provide an alternative picture. The military role appears embodied within the home in a way that

seems to reduce the relational violence to 'measured' assessment. Such practices could arguably represent such 'threat assessments' and decision making provided in basic training

Expectations of conformity to 'approved' occupational norms are also visible in Sam's occupational life story. He discusses how he maintained a nonconfrontational position with his abusive partner. Through his narrative, Sam explains that values of 'toughness' ostensibly imbued with skills of restraint, resilience and chivalry are cemented early in his (and other's) military career. Controlled aggression is, as Woodward and Jenkins (2012, p. 156) have discussed, 'by necessity, inculcated and developed as a military skill'. In discussing his most recent post-military victimisation, Sam explains that through various training and cultural contexts, values of restraint have translated into a view of his domestic circumstances that was non-confrontational and accommodating of his partner's behaviours. Further, he talks of the guarding of his victimisation from the outside world:

[In the Forces] at times you were forced to do boxing, without gloves. You were put in a boxing ring, they'd pick you an opponent, I didn't like doing that, I got a broken nose. But that's just to toughen you up as a soldier, which is what you expected.

I think, if I'd have never joined the Forces, I may, I may have punched her back. It was discipline, respect [that stopped me]. The men don't touch women.

INTERVIEWER: what prevented you from going out and saying, "I'm being hit"?

The fact that she'd always say it wouldn't happen again, and I didn't want, because I worked as a publican [after leaving military service], I didn't want people knowing that it was going on.

Both Expresso's and Sam's narrative provide rich sources of support for the idea of, in what military ethicists have described, the instilling of virtues through military training and socialisation (Miller, 2004; Robinson, 2007a). Emphasising military ethics and virtues such as honour, courage, loyalty, integrity and respect (see Olsthoorn, 2011), while seen as productive in the Armed Forces role, could well, when embodied into the domestic situation, problematise domestic violence victimisation.

Stigma

Freedom to express and disclose individual circumstances is a bonded enterprise for the victim, bound up in omnipotent pressures of the socialising process. For example, an unveiling of victimisation could resemble the antithesis of virtues such as honour – whereby honour may be seen as commensurate with 'toughness' (Cohen and Nisbett, 1994); courage – to act without courage is to act cowardly (see Olsthoorn, 2007); loyalty – to be considered disloyal to the spouse or partner and undermine the 'ideals' of an intimate relationship (see Fletcher, Simpson, Thomas and Giles, 1999); integrity – 'doing what one thinks is right because doing otherwise would undermine one's sense of one's own self-worth' (Robinson, 2007b, p. 260); respect – that a victim status may attract stigmatisation and confirm the designation of a 'spoiled identity'.

Other participants have also described professional norms of the military and their challenges in disclosing their victimisation. Paul describes the difficulties he faced in attempting to address the emotional fallout of his sustained victimisation:

I'm sure it is getting better now, but back then, things like mental health or things that were more kind of taboo like domestic abuse or isolation and depression, it just wasn't talked about or dealt with really, it was kind of alien. You went to the med *[medical]* centre if you had a physical injury or an illness and even then, you were kind of frowned upon as being trying to get out of something, but there was just no talk of things like therapy or emotional problems or anything like that. It was just "laugh it off, have a drink and get on with it", "get down the rugby club, have a drink, have a fight, go out in town", yes, those are the solutions to everything really…

While physical injuries associated with military life are accepted, Paul emphasises the difficulties of expressing emotional or psychological ill health within the military institution. Expectations for emotional resilience are high from the peer group, with remedies aligned to hegemonic caricatures of approved military masculinities. These 'appropriate' militarised gendered behaviours of stoicism, strength and dexterity, as Gray (2015) eloquently describes, are challenged by the perceived weakness of emotional distress, hence why they remain concealed to preserve group and public imaginings of the masculine military body (also see Woodward and Jenkins, 2013 for an overview of the significance of the 'physical' and the 'body' in the military). Paul goes on to describe the reasons why such emotional or psychological distress is hidden from colleagues:

I mean knowing what I know now that I'm involved with all these mental health services and therapy, people that do the therapy and IAPT and all that sort of thing, just, just alien. And to the point where if you did, if you had access to them then and people knew about it, people would be very suspicious of you, I think, they would be very 'what on earth is that? What's going on there?' And I think there would have been a lot of ridicule for somebody who had been abused by their partner as being weak and pathetic so I think even in civilian society, I think there's still that kind of sigma attached to it but particularly in the Forces where it's a very macho environment.

Analyses of mental health, stigma and the military have provided critical insights into the actuality of, and potential for, feelings of marginalisation, experiences of discrimination, fears of limited career prospects and self-stigma (Greene-Shortridge et al., 2007; Nash, Silva and Litz, 2009; Kim et al., 2011).

While aetiologically they may be different, domestic violence victimisation and mental disorder in the cultural context of the military may occupy a similar domain and may overlap through causality (i.e. mental distress as a product of victimisation). Programmes have been developed and evaluated, and work continues to assist in reducing stigma in the military that surrounds issues such as mental health through education and support (Gould et al., 2007). However, in all likelihood, and amidst environments of hegemonic militarised masculinities, hostile stigmatisers will be ever-present. Where values such as camaraderie, bravery, pride, loyalty and strength hold dominant positions in the military culture and the construction of military identities, their presence consigns those who fall short in meeting these approved norms as weak, and therefore stigma will ensue (McFarling, 2011). Various attempts are made by respondents in this study to mitigate against *public stigma* by the primary group through the maintenance of victimisation as a hidden and personal matter. However, media and traditional accounts of male victims of domestic violence in civilian society have portrayed them as atypical and contrary to shared and normative ideas over appropriate gendered roles, ideas of the aggressor and ideas of the victim (Pagelow, 1983; McLeod, 1984; Felson, 2002 to name but a few). While for military personnel some may elect to hide their victimisation and its effects, the presence of popular cultural stereotypes and ideas over male victimisation is likely to produce symptoms of *self-stigma.*

Obstacles to help-seeking

What we see here across several participants is *label avoidance* occurring purposefully (e.g. through self-medicating using alcohol and a denial of circumstances) as well as a more automatic process driven by culturally and formally instilled norms of conduct and behaviour (e.g. a trivialising of, a tolerance of, or an accommodating of, violent and confrontational situations).

Masculine characteristics that permeate throughout military cultures are likely to make help-seeking more challenging (Gould, Greenberg and Hetherton, 2007). Paul discusses just this, and the potential consequences that disclosure would bring with it. However, he locates barriers imposed by his partner in gaining the support of his primary group. As Paul explains, accessing, and maintaining support is problematised because of the primary group ethos and the restrictions that the domestic situation creates or imposes:

…there was one guy I got quite matey with not long before I left actually, not long before I left the Forces, and his wife was quite controlling so we would quite often talk to each other about it.

And then, but then again, she would fall out with her, you know, something would go wrong and she hated her and then suddenly not only was she, didn't want to see this, you know, my friend's wife, she didn't want me being mates with him either because he's obviously like her and she didn't want things, 'I told him to go back to her' and that sort of thing.

But yes, I don't think to the extent that I was struggling but he was pretty isolated but if there were more, you didn't get to know about it because people never really talked about it really, it wouldn't have been… much the reason I never really brought it up with many people or I would try and cover it up or make excuses.

Participants such as Paul have made clear judgements as to how they would expect their victimisation to be received by colleagues. Like other human experiences, IPVA victimisation is relegated to a 'taboo' status. Prevailing conditions of masculinity, patriarchy, and more broadly the military institution for all its characteristics, creates what may be seen as impervious barriers to confessions of experience, which may be deemed culturally as improper, or at odds with dominant values and norms.

Remedy and support then appear to be an individualised enterprise.

Surviving

'Surviving' the victimisation is taken critically here as a term to discuss aspects of behaviour and experience that may distract from the victimisation and postpone the experience. Further, we also examine narratives of support. Alcohol features prominently in Guber's account, both as an issue that sustained his victimisation *and* provided the conditions whereby his experience was anesthetised by consumption afforded by the military culture. Secondly, findings suggest that a lack of physical proximity to the perpetrator has afforded some relief from the victimisation. While such survival may be short term, inevitably it risks simply a deferral of the victimisation. Finally, surviving victimisation is articulated along lines of group support, here Brian describes his experience of navigating the peer group.

Alcohol

Habitual alcohol consumption has been argued as a prominent issue among military personnel, both investigating it as a health problem, and also in the context of morale boosting and group cohesion (see Jones and Fear, 2011 for an overview). Combat exposure, PTSD and stress have been cited as being inextricably linked to binge and sustained alcohol usage (Lande, Marin, Chang and Lande, 2011; Bray, Brown and Williams, 2013).

Outside of the military, IPVA research has articulated connectivity between chronic traumatic events (such as domestic violence and abuse victimisation) and alcohol use where heavy episodic drinking is motivated by a need to cope with traumatic circumstances in the relationship (Kaysen et al., 2007). For Guber, he reflects that alcoholism has been a defining source of his relational problems and contributory to the breakdowns in relationships, his abuse and victimisation. The salience of alcohol in the context of reflections on military service and culture are discussed here in detail:

All I know is about being in the Army is that it's kept me, it's kept me, I know how to look after myself, I know how to wash, I know how to cook, I know how to sew, I learnt all that, um, the only time I go off the rails if I've had a drink and you can ask anybody that's been in the Forces and most of them have a drink problem.

In the Army or any kind of Forces usually it's [a mentality] been forced into you isn't it? It's like "do now, think later".

INTERVIEWER: Can you explain why this may be the case?

Well you are trained to kill aren't you? You're not playing nursery rhymes when you've got a gun in your hand.

INTERVIEWER: So does the same mentality apply to alcohol consumption?

Yeah. I have seen, I have seen Majors, um, top ranking Officers all in full dressage uniforms with all their medals and all the shiny outfits with all the silverware out on the tables when you're talking about what, 12 servings and you go down and they've got all the

silverware out and all their wives and girlfriends, turning into just one massive orgy and I mean a massive orgy and I mean it and I'm not telling no lies.

INTERVIEWER: So alcohol plays an important part in military life?

It does do and it always has done, same as being on the field, if you've been out on the field for a fortnight, straight in there, straight to the bar, it plays a great part in somebody who's in the Army's life like. The thing is… when you're out there, if you've got problems and you've got nobody to talk to about them, that's when you'll hit the bottle because you can't escape it.

Guber's perspective chimes with analysis already completed. Indeed, Ames and Cunradi (2004) have argued the ritualised drinking opportunities and the manner in which it is used as a response to stress, boredom, loneliness and making sense of the complexities of occupational and domestic life. Moreover, alcohol has been cited as making a positive contribution to group bonding and cohesion (Holmes, 2003). However, as Hall (2011) postulates, alcohol may well act as a mechanism which creates emotional distance between the user and their family. As Guber claims, alcohol may not simply be resultant in escapism from the stressors of the role, but is also an important facet of processes of socialisation into the 'military family' and masculine military idenitites. This view is supported by authors such as Iversen et al., 2007) who argue that aspects of the military culture may 'unwittingly encourage heavy drinking' (p. 960). Role modelling, in the context of behaviours such as alcohol consumption as Iversen et al. (2007) continues is an important dimension of military life, with younger personnel observing the behaviours of the more experienced or senior ranks. Further, the established use of alcohol in military contexts perpetuates it usage, indeed as Ames et al. (2009) contend, military cultures (in their case US naval cultures) shape normative beliefs about acceptable or unacceptable drinking behaviours. The narrative account of Guber adds support to analyses that have come before. Indeed it appears that not only does alcohol use serve as a way of coping, but also features as a core value and behaviour of the group. Failure then to participate may well leave service personnel vulnerable to a failure to access the group.

Proximity and peer support

For some participants, time spent away from the family home featured as an important narrative in the story of their lived reality of abuse. While not all had experienced long periods of deployment with the 'military family', those who had described its effect on their understandings and experience. Brian, explains the contrast of home and time spent away with other servicemen:

I had absolute dread of going home and all this time I think [my mood] was…dropping and dropping and dropping. And it was like… if I read a paper at home… if I put it down, you know, wanting a cuppa or something, you put the paper down, "don't put it there".

INTERVIEWER: Was this going on every day all day?

Pretty much when I was home, yeah, which is why it became a relief to go to sea.

Similarly for Paul, a Royal Naval serviceman, time spent away detracted from his ability to recognise the victimisation that he was experiencing:

I suppose, um, [I] didn't see anything untoward at all but in fairness I was never there and that's probably why the relationship lasted as long as it did was because I was always either at sea or working away. But it was always a turbulent relationship, we were always arguing, it was never a relationship that I was comfortable with…

In recognising the masculine values that saturate the work context, Brian also accounts for important mechanisms of support:

Well there is a macho culture but there's also a highly supportive culture. I mean, you know, I can recall times, I remember several times, you know, blokes who were in real, real trouble and the lads had sort of pulled round with them, you'd obviously get a couple of blokes over in the corner there going whatever but, you know, you'd look after your mates and if your mates was going through some horrible shit you would, you would kind of back them up. But at the same time it would take a lot for them to get to that point and you felt stronger for not reaching that point in a way so, you know, you didn't want to kind of go down there and ***[sighs]*** front it happened and admit it.

Descriptions of support available from the military institution, formally and informally, for domestic matters vary somewhat. However evident from what we observe here is that support is heavily bound to the context in which military work takes place within. It is either absent for fear of ridicule, or support gained is undertaken in a hyper-cautious manner. This in itself requires a huge investment of time and emotion, and it is clear that the omnipotent presence of accusations over

‘inappropriate’ disclosures of vulnerability looms large for those experiencing IPVA.

Discussion

It has been our intention to contribute to the critical understanding of the military institution and the experiences of those who work and have worked within it. We have identified how, in the context of IPVA, the influence of the military institution reaches into the domestic setting. As key voices in the field of war and criminology and critical military studies have eloquently described, our need to understand individual experience in the context of (and influences of) military service is crucial if we are to appraise and account for matters with integrity and insight. The normalisation of violence in military life is an important avenue of enquiry in a range of contexts. Treadwell (2016) has already appreciated this when examining understandings of violent crime, criminal justice and post-military life. Similarly, the issue of violence and the presence of actual or anticipated violence in routine military work and training are important here both for those in the military and those who have exited. Hardened attitudes to violence through cultural conditioning have perhaps left those interviewed here unaware of the significance of IPVA. Skills in managing tolerance have masked the severity of the IPVA. Violence then presents in work and the home, and its responses hold several similarities across the domains.

The narratives collected here provide a rich source of insight into the multifaceted nature of victimisation and military work and culture. Work was undertaken already in military sociology on the importance and composition of military cultural conditions (Winslow, 1998; Burk, 1999) which are relevant and important in helping to assess and exploring IPVA phenomenon. For example, military groupings have traditionally utilised solidarity as a key strength. Here, we have observed through the participant’s narratives processes of socialisation into the military culture. Basic training requires a process of identity stripping and the embodiment of attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours approved by the organisation. In doing so, bonds are built between others who share the same commitment. The cohesiveness of the group is tantamount to an obedience to formally directed instruction, and informally defined and expected rules of conduct, loyalty and trust. Outliers of the group ‘risk ostracism’ (Winslow, 1998) due to concerns of levels of emotional investment in one another being affected. Concepts of an occupational, or more specifically a military ‘family’ are highly influential and

deeply impressed on Armed Forces personnel. Such language, and acceptance into the role of a 'family' member brings with it functionality in teamwork, comradeship and reliable bonds. Unity then is a fundamental element of military life for many.

However, such unity and the sharing of a sense of mission can bring both benefits and hazards. We have seen that for one participant, alcohol use granted access to networks of support between fellow service personnel, but has also been significant in potentially contributing to/sustaining victimisation and acting as a source of distraction/survival to deal with victimisation. Moreover, while evidence has been put forward of the advantages that peer support can bring in offering an outlet for disclosing victimisation, there is equally evidence presented that talks of the way in which unity within the military culture serves as a barrier to disclosure for fear of ostracism or rejection from the group. By and large, customs and traditions of the military seem to undermine opportunities for disclosure. This appears to be grounded by concerns of how peers would receive IPVA victimisation, and whether this would constitute a direct interpretation of weakness and vulnerability by colleagues together with a concern for allegations of improper masculinity within the group. In an occupational context of embedded patriarchal behaviours, hyper-masculine value sets and by the common tropes of IPVA being perpetrated by men against women, any revelation of male victimisation would appear to have ramifications for group membership.

As has been seen here, a substantial theme which has emerged which may account for limited disclosure of victimisation and a delay in help-seeking is the embodiment of a military identity in the home. Studies previously have sought to explore members of the Armed Forces as aggressors in the family home, often citing a transgressing of authoritative and aggressive behaviour between work and home. However, the analysis presented here provides evidence contrary to this. While this may occur in some instances, what has emerged here demonstrates how deeply impressed military values and skills have normalised, rationalised or neutralised their victimisation, thus impeded help-seeking. This scenario speaks to processes whereby the serviceman has subordinated his own individualism to the group identity, not only in the occupational domain as Winslow (1998) describes, but further into the domestic context.

Conclusion

There is a paucity of evidence in the area of ex-Armed Forces personnel who experience IPVA victimisation. A suite of scholarship is emerging which aims to illuminate upon some of the challenges that ex-Armed Forces personnel endure; be that in the contexts of criminal justice, transitions into 'civilian' life, education and training, mental health and social mobility. The identity of serving or veteran service personnel is often celebrated for their heroism, resilience, courage and loyalty (Malešević, 2010). However, what must also be remembered is that such identities can bring with them a significant burden especially in contexts where adversity may be

experienced. The very identities which are cultivated through occupational cultures and onlookers can be the things which problematise human experience and increase vulnerability. Help-seeking for those ex-Armed Forces personnel interviewed here has been delayed for a range of reasons. However in the absence of (i) a cultural acceptance of male IPVA victimisation, (ii) a recognition of this phenomenon occurring in closed and heavily unified work groups, and (iii) the provision of/enhancement of existing support mechanisms, then as bystanders we will continue to bear witness to human suffering, or not as the case may be through victim's astute and well-rehearsed strategies of masking.

There are further research and theoretical debates to unfold here as this research has just begun to contemplate some of the issues emerging from this area of enquiry. Building on what has been presented, further examinations are possible that consider characteristics of stoicism, restraint and self-control as an alternative (in contrast to normative representations of 'toughness' and violence that have structured hegemonic militarised masculinities) realities of military identity. Understanding the influence of the military institution in the lives of service personnel and veterans of the Armed Forces is critical. Doing so will assist in shaping the research and scholarly agenda as well as making valuable practical contributions to how and in what ways services can be shaped to meet the needs of individuals. It is the view of the authors that to understand the domestic phenomenon of IPVA, an interrogation of the significance of the military institution is needed. In drawing comparisons to our topic, the authors here concur with Treadwell's (2016) analysis of veteran offenders that the explanatory logic of individualism is redundant due to the complexity of experience felt in doing military work.

Note:

The idea of researching ex- service personnel and IPVA victimisation was initially raised by Richard Mottershead following his own research with veterans in the criminal justice system and subsequently fully developed by the research team. We would like to thank the community based support organisations and the participants for their contribution to this research.

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