A soldier's journey: An arts-based exploration of identity

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

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Abstract

My time in the army has past but I still see myself as a soldier. Why is this identity still salient beyond my career when I no longer have a role "as" a soldier? How did this soldier identity form, how did it develop and how complex is it? In order to gain a deeper understanding of the creation, development and maintenance of various military identities through a life course within the military environment and broader society, I focus on the funds of knowledge that an individual member of a military organisation may internalise in his or her military identity work. Taking an auto-ethnographic approach and based on the developing theory of funds of identity, I apply an arts-based method and thematic analysis of seven of my military-related drawings and accompanying descriptive texts, as well as a description of my childhood and adolescence and desire to be a combat soldier. The evidence suggests that there are two forms of military identity work that I have conducted, a more personal "warrior/soldier" identity work and pragmatic or utilitarian "community of practice" identity work. Each has a progressive structure and associated funds of knowledge and is influenced by the history and geography of both the group and myself as an individual member. I find that even though operational and career experiences validated my community of practice identity work that my journey has always been one of chasing combat or warrior experience. Without that experience part of me feels that I have only been "playing soldier". The thesis concludes with discussion on the implications for military identity research, particularly military-exit research, the further development of funds of identity theory, and the role of formalised or structured education and training in identity development.

Key terms: military identity, identity regulation, identity work, funds of identity, education and training

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Finally I would like to acknowledge past and present members of all militaries, regardless of national affiliation and cultural practices. Each one that has accepted his or her military into his or her heart has made a sacrifice of love, even if that is not the way that he or she may see it. When it is time to leave the military, for whatever reason, there is a sense of loss, if not of the whole, then of the significant parts, leaving a void that needs to be filled. For those that have not found a way to fill that void I hope this thesis may provide some light.

Dedication

Of all the past and present military members, this thesis is dedicated to but one:

In loving memory of my Dad.

Prologue

I'm an Australian soldier who is an expert in close combat

I am physically and mentally tough

compassionate and courageous

I lead by example, I strive to take the initiative

I am committed to learning and working for the team

I believe in trust, loyalty and respect

for my Country, my mates and the Army

the Rising Sun is my badge of honour

I am an Australian Soldier – always.

https://www.army.gov.au/our-people/our-contract-with-australia

1. I am an Australian Soldier who is an expert in close combat

Introduction

What does it mean to "be" an Australian soldier? In fact, what does it mean to be a "soldier" in general, or more precisely, what does it mean "to see myself" as a soldier? These questions themselves lead to broader questions of "what is a soldier identity", "how is it developed and maintained" and "why does soldier-identity have a lasting salience beyond military service"? These are all questions raised by my reflections on my military service and by others with similar experiences. Having completed 20 years of full time service in the Australian Army, followed by three years of on-again, off-again service in the Army Reserve whilst continuing to work as a civilian contractor to the Royal Australian Navy, I have reflected on my identification as a soldier throughout my career and my continued identification as a soldier, within both my working and social environments, well beyond the years of active service. As I start a new chapter of my own changing identity, this research may help me and others better understand the development of identity in the military context prior to enlistment, throughout a career and beyond. In particular, I hope that this research may aid in the successful reframing of the self into valid post-military identities.

While this study used the developing theory of funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a) as its theoretical framework, three other concepts have shaped the terms or language I have used throughout the thesis: communities of practice, identity regulation and identity agency. Lave and Wenger (1991) developed the concept of community of practice, that is, "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do better as they interact regularly" (Wenger, 2011, p. 1). Wenger (2011) points out that the crucial characteristics are "the domain….the community….the practice" (pp. 1-2), that is, the knowledge and skill base, the members of the collective and what the collective and individuals do with the knowledge and skills. This conceptualisation is very useful in distinguishing and discussing the organisational layers within the army, especially in relation to the "domain" (Wenger, 2011, p. 1) and as such the term communities of practice is used throughout this thesis.

Alvesson and Willmott (2002), taking a management perspective, present a concept that appears to capture the influence a community of practice has in the development of a member's identity. In their conceptualisation, an organisation, which I

consider as a formalised community of practice, "pursue[s] purposefully or it may be a by-product of other activities and arrangements typically not seen" (p. 635), to exercise an influence on its members and how they see themselves. They coin this as "identity regulation" (p. 627) for what they identify as "organizational control" (p. 627). Further, they propose that this identity regulation "prompts identity work [that is] interpretive activity involved in reproducing and transforming self-identity" (p. 627). This identity work results in a re-working of "self-identity [that is] precarious outcome of identity work comprising narratives of self" (p. 627). This is not to suggest that their concept is a one-way power model. It also captures the concept of identity agency in that self-identity "induces" (p. 627) identity work which informs the organisation or community of practice of the progress or result of their identity regulation, that is, he or she will be "responsive or resistant to" (p. 627) the identity regulation. Where he or she is responsive, Alvesson and Willmott (2002) highlight that identity regulation is "accomplished through" (p. 627) alignment of the self-identity to the expected identity standard, similar to Burke's (1991) concept of identity control. Where he or she is resistant to the identity regulation, assuming the organisation or community of practice desires to retain him or her, the form and structure of the identity regulation may be altered to achieve the desired identity standard.

The army is what Goffman (1961) termed a "total institution" (p. xiii), that is, "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life" (p. xiii). The army has extensive "formally administered" (p. xiii) programs for controlling its members and regulating for conformity. As such the terms identity regulation, identity work and self identity as well as identity agency are used extensively throughout this thesis in concert with relevant identity concepts from different theoretical frameworks.

As an auto-ethnographic study I have been conscious to avoid the methodological criticisms of auto-ethnography, such as egocentricity, highlighted by Doloriert and Sambrook (2012) in their study on applying auto-ethnography methodology to an organisational context. In keeping with this methodology, my drawing and reflection method is used to generate data from my own perspective but analysed and discussed in the broader context of the army and military organisations in general. It should also be noted that while much can be taken from my data, analysis and discussion from a sociological perspective, this study gives greater emphasis to the

psychological development of my identity and self as an example of identity development in individuals within the social, cultural and historical contexts of a military career.

In the following chapter, my literature review, I review a selection of literature related to identities in the context of current and past military members, what is referred to as "military identity", for which a soldier identity can be considered a part. I use this term throughout the thesis when referring to or implying identity associated with multiple military Service branches. In reviewing the literature I first apply three career stages to focus on the pre-enlistment literature, career or membership literature, and the exit and post career literature. I then consider the literature as a holistic military identity set before identifying areas in the literature that this study might contribute towards further developing. In the next chapter I describe my use of an auto-ethnographic approach, presenting myself through a selection of my own drawings, as a case study to gain insight into the creation, shaping, development and refinement of my soldier identity. I also detail using funds of identity as my theoretical framework. Before addressing my data, I provide in Chapter 4 a narrative of my childhood and early adolescence as the foundation of my soldier identity development. In my data chapter, Chapter 5, I describe each of my drawings and the associated stage of my life history followed by the chapter detailing my content analysis of each to identify emotional connections I have with particular groups, any knowledge bases of those groups and instances where I have internalised that knowledge as part of my identity. Details of my findings in Chapter 7 outline my warrior/soldier identity work, community of practice identity work, history and geography. I then discuss how these may influence and be influenced by controlled access to military funds of knowledge, validating experiences and combat identity. In the eighth and final chapter I conclude with discussion on the multiplicity of military identities, historical funds of knowledge, funds of identity in adults and the role of continuous education in the development of identity and an acknowledgement of the limitations of my research.

2. I am physically and mentally tough

Literature review

My preliminary gathering of suitable literature for my review highlighted that, while there is an abundance of research on identity conducted with soldiers as participants, the research focus was military identity, the term I use hereon, rather than soldier identity. This literature review begins with a rationale for my selection of literature, in particular the theories that have been used to study military identity and my focus on the application of social identity theory in military identity literature. I discuss my inclusion of military identity literature focused on values, attitudes and behaviours based on Franke's (1999) proposed inter-relationship of these attributes with social identity. I conclude my rationale with discussion of the value of using career stages in reviewing the military identity literature. In my review of the selected military identity literature I apply these career stages, entry, service and exit, to analyse the common themes in the literature of each stage. Next, I analyse the literature as a holistic set to identify themes common to all stages of a military career before concluding with identification of gaps in the literature.

Rationale

In situating my understanding of a soldier identity in the theoretical landscape let me first acknowledge some of the more prominent developments in conceptualising identity. While the literature on identity is profoundly diverse, both Stryker and Burke (2000) and Herbert provide useful snapshots of the identity literature. Stryker and Burke (2000) in discussing "the past, present, and future of an identity theory" (p. 284) highlight that there are three branches of identity related theory and research. They note the first is related to cultural identity, where "some use the term [identity] to refer essentially to the culture of a people, indeed drawing no distinction between identity" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 284). The second is social or collective identity, where "some use it [the term identity] to refer to common identification with a collectivity or social category" (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Finally, their own focus is on identity as symbolic interactionism, where "some use it [the term identity] … with reference to parts of a self composed of the meanings attached by persons to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies" (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Herbert (n.d.) provides a further breakdown of "Symbolic Interactionist Theories of Identity" (p. 331), including a synopsis of both Stryker and Serpe's (1994) identity

salience and Burke's (1991) identity control. Herbert (n.d.) notes that Peter Burke and Jan Stets have also added another branch of theorising identity, "person identity or an individual self-conception (or what some call core-identity)" (p. 344). Other theoretical perspectives, such as McCall and Simmons' (1978) role identity, Albert, Ashforth, and Dutton's (2000) organisational identity and Schein's (1978) professional identity highlight that there are many ways to approach the concept of identity.

Of particular note for my research, on the social or collective branch of identity conceptualisation (Stryker & Burke, 2000), further conceptual developments seek to address the cultural and historical influences on identity. Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014a) concept of funds of identity, my theoretical framework as will be discussed later, considers the social, cultural and historical funds of knowledge that an individual may internalise. Being a relatively new concept, funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a) has, to the best of my knowledge, yet to be used in military identity research. As such, in consideration of military identity literature, I turn to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory to review the social or collective conceptualisations of identity.

Military identity as a social identity

Military identity has been studied by many researchers using Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theoretical framework. They proposed and developed this theory when studying inter-group conflict. The individual compares him or herself to a group, gives a positive or negative valence to the result of the comparison, and where there is a positive valence, commits emotionally to the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Hopner (2014), for example, drew upon social identity theory when examining New Zealand veterans of war to explain the impacts of New Zealand ex-military members' re-entry to non-military society. She found that the participants socially identified and emotionally committed to informal ex-service groups as coping mechanisms in order to deal with the after effects of war. Another example is Becker (2013) who drew upon social identity theory when studying the creation of military identity in the United States Marine Corps to show how an individual commits to the identity of "a Marine".

While this theoretical framework is appropriate for understanding how an individual makes and maintains the strong emotional commitment to the military, social identity theory has some limitations in its utility for studying military identity. I argue that social identity theory assumes that membership is guaranteed, that is, the theory does not consider barriers or impediments to membership. In the military context,

recruitment and initial training form the physical and mental barrier that must be successfully overcome before an individual becomes an actual member, what Van Gennep (2011) would describe as a rite of passage. Without considering these rites of passage, social identity theory does not acknowledge that an individual can identify with a group without being a member. Social identity theory also does not consider the historical and cultural context of the group, as the rites of passage into a group are a result of the group's history and culture, as well as a means of protecting and preserving it. Therefore, while social identity theory is useful for understanding the process of emotional commitment to the military group, regardless of the size, structure or hierarchical level of the group, consideration of the group's culture and history is likely to be important. A final consideration is that social identity theory does not account for identity relationships between members of the group. For this, another theoretical perspective is required.

Whilst social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is an important conceptualisation for understanding aspects of the self, identity theory provides a different perspective. Stets and Burke (2000), proposing a unification of social identity theory and identity theory, explain that "in identity theory, the core of identity is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role" (p. 225), that is role identity, whereas in social identity theory "people derive their identity or sense of self largely from the social categories to which they belong" (Stets & Burke, 2000). Thus, identity theory proposes that the individual seeks to distinguish his or her self from others in similar roles (Stets & Burke, 2000). As the individual may be part of multiple social groups within the military, he or she will progress through multiple roles, possibly within the same social group. For this reason I expected that identity theory might be a theoretical perspective found within the military identity literature. On the contrary, however, studies based on identity theory were rare in the literature I examined. Where role identity has been discussed there appears to be some confounding between roles and social categories. Becker's (2013) paper on the creation of a United States Marine Corps identity is a case in point, for while it contains the subsection titled "Role identity" (p. 31) he continues to discuss social identity, with no distinction between the individual's identity work associated with being a group member, social identity theory, and the identity work associated with being seen as a distinct and useful member of the group, identity theory. Not withstanding the theoretical confusion, it was expected that

concepts from both social identity theory and identity theory would be found in the military identity literature.

It is useful here to point out that a military career involves a series of transitions from one group to another to meet the organisation's requirements as well as the individual's goals within the scope of the organisation's control. Entry and exit to the new group involves what Van Maanen and Schein (1977), in their seminal work on organisational socialisation theory, describe as boundary crossings. These may be between functional groups, inclusionary groups, hierarchical levels or some combination of the three. Taken from the perspective of the individual making the boundary crossing through any associated rites of passage (Van Gennep, 2011) military identity literature dealing with boundary crossing events might be expected to support identity theory. In contrast, the period of group membership, that is, the period between the entry and exit states, might be expected to be characterised by conformity with group norms and expectations and may support social identity theory. Without an acknowledgement of this career progression and the applicability of both social identity theory and identity theory, a deeper understanding of military identity may be difficult to attain. As such, further theoretical consideration should be given to the influences and outcomes of identity work, particularly values, attitudes and behaviours.

Identity, values, attitudes and behaviour

In studying the relationship of military identity, values orientation of military members and military education programs, Franke (1999), progressing social identity theory proposes an interconnected nature of values, attitudes and behaviours as shown in Figure 1. In light of this identity concept, I have expanded my selection of military literature to include studies on values, attitudes and behaviours, considering them as part of an expanded definition of military identity literature.
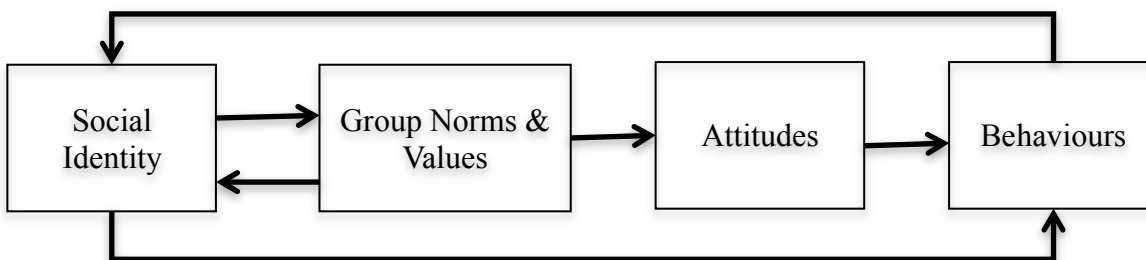
Figure 1. Franke's Advance Social Identity Model (1999, p. 27)

From the broader literature on identity, Hitlin (2003), also seeking a common foundation of social identity theory and identity theory, argued that "our values lead to experiences of personal identity, which in turn lead to reflexive constructions of various role-, group-, and value-identities" (p. 122). Reflexivity in the military context is indicative of a response to the military organisation's attempt to manipulate the values of new-to-organisation members, what Hitlin (2003) described as "social patterning" (p. 121). As such, I have expanded my selection of military identity literature to include both organisational value-control, such as Becker's (2013) study on United States Marine Corp basic training, and individual value-response, such as Lohse's (2012) study on the effect that military deployment has on values. These two perspectives (social patterning and reflexive construction) are included not to suggest that the values the individual brings to the military are, or can be, changed to match the military organisation's values but rather to highlight the continual tension between the identity work of the individual (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002), based on his or her values (Hitlin, 2003), and the organisation's identity regulation (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

The outcomes of the continual tension, according to Franke's (1999) model, are the actions of the individual in the form of attitudes and behaviours. As such, in seeking to understand the development of military identities, I have also considered literature based on military member individual attitudes, for example De Graff and Van den Berg's (2010) study of "moral professionalism with the royal Netherlands armed forces" (p. 1), and group behaviour, for example Vest's (2013) study of negotiated identities of members of the United States National Guard operating alongside full-time military members. By including identity, values, attitudes and behaviours I am able to gain a deeper understanding of military identity development.

Career stages in military identity literature

When seeking to understand military identity it is necessary to identify how the military identity literature conceptualises military identity and its development. To do this, I consider military identity literature in three career stages, two that "bookend" a military career and the third covering the period of service. The two bookends are (a) entry into the military and (b) separation or "discharge" from the military. The military entry literature, which will be discussed in detail later in this literature review, contains studies of the on-boarding process, that is, the organisational socialisation (Van Maanen & Schein, 1977) and acculturation (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011; Berry, 2009) programs the military implements and an individual undertakes. Studies in this category include a

broad range of national military recruitment and socialisation programs aimed at creating a military identity. For example, Godlewski and Kline's (2012) study of military recruits was conducted "in response to growing voluntary attrition concerns" (p. 251) in the Canadian context. They tested "a model of early voluntary turnover" (p. 251) and found that the characteristics of an individual prior to entry influenced "the development of commitment and subsequent turnover" (p. 251). While Godlewski and Kline (2012) based their study on "organizational commitment theory" (p. 252), it can be seen this commitment to the group, as noted by Kessler (2013) in discussing management theory, is founded on social identity theory. Garb (2014), as will be discussed later, studied the motivation of recruits undertaking Slovenian military basic training. Her Slovenian context was a changing national and military cultural context heavily influenced by the geo-political history of Eastern Europe. Likewise Johansen, Laberg, and Martinussen's (2014) study of Norwegian military recruits, based on social identity theory, sets their study in historical and cultural context by noting that "over the past twenty to thirty years, social trends have caused radical changes in the application of military power, including new service patterns and altered skill requirements" (p. 522) as well as a decrease in the size of the Norwegian military organisation. By doing so, Johansen et al. (2014) addressed the limitations of social identity theory identified earlier in that the theory does not accommodate the group's history or culture. They highlight that "the historical connection between social development and trends in the Norwegian Armed forces thus provides a sound basis for studying the development, dimension, and trends of Norwegian military identity" (p. 523).

The military separation literature, by comparison, is more extensive than the recruitment literature as this category covers (a) voluntary separation, which relates to individuals that have exercised agency in determining a change in their life course such as Walker's (2013) study of identity work in the British military prior to a member's exit and (b) involuntary separation which includes the ever growing literature on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PSTD) as well as other stress and their impact on identity and behaviour such as Smith and True's (2014) study of United States veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts. The final stage of military identity literature is that covering the period of military service. This is a more diffuse category, ranging from studies such as Lohse's (2012) study on military values and the effects of operational deployments through to studies of women's identity work in a masculine-identity social environment by Badaró (2014). Having discussed my rationale for selection, I now review my

selection of military identity literature, firstly by career stages followed by a review of the literature as a holistic collection.

Military entry and military identity creation

Entry into the military is not a process focussed on the individual who exercises his or her agency. Rather, it is a deliberate process implemented after extensive analysis by the military of the skills, knowledge, behaviours, values, beliefs, attitudes and identity the military requires its members to have and display in order to meet the military organisation's strategic, operational and cultural requirements. The socialisation tactics, as described by Van Maanen and Schein (1977), employed by the military are designed to take an individual as a "raw material" and to "produce" a military member that conforms to the specific military social norms. As Emmerich (2014), in his study of the "the moral socialisation and ethical enculturation of medical students" (p. 1) notes, "a collective enterprise of inculcation is always socio-cultural and, as a result, we should always consider the relations between society and culture, socialisation and enculturation" (p. 5). He highlights that "all examples of enculturation…are distinct from but nevertheless reliant on process[es] of socialisation for their success" (p. 3). The goal of the organisation is to produce new members who see themselves and are seen by others as having the appropriate military identity. Military entry programs can thus be analysed as both deliberate socialisation and enculturation programs, or, using Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) concept, systems of "identity regulation" (p. 625).

Understanding the individual's motivation

Taken from the perspective of the individual, it can be understood that the individual only exercises agency in enlisting into military service: "signing on the dotted line". As discussed by Stone‑Romero, Stone, and Salas (2003) in their study of "the influence of culture on role conceptions and role behavior in organisations" (p. 328), the individual's agency is limited to decisions on whether to comply or not comply with the military's systems, structure, policies and procedures which are initially communicated and enforced during the military entry program. This perspective suggests that studies of the organisational on-boarding come from a managerial paradigm where the world-view tends toward optimised product outcomes and where the individual is subservient to the organisation.

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Accepting that the individual has limited opportunity for agency in the military on-boarding process however does not mean that the individual is not motivated to pursue her or his chosen path in the military. Combining Moskos' (1977) occupational versus institutional orientation of individual's motivation dichotomy thesis and Inglehart's (1971) proposition of a post-modern shift in values and attitudes towards a more participative, aesthetic and self-fulfilling motivation, Battistelli (1997) studied motivation in volunteer and non-volunteer members of the Italian military. His study sought to test a typology of motivations of participants that were deployed on peace keeping missions, that is, deployment of military personnel and assets under a United Nations mandate, as shown in Table 1. He found through a range of interviews that there were a high proportion of individuals with paleomodern and modern motivation types in the volunteer-category of members.

Table 1

Battistelli's typology of motivation

Motivation type	Attitudes
Paleomodern	To be useful to others
	To strengthen the country's image at the international table
Modern	To earn some extra money
	To learn things that could be useful to one's career or on one's return to civilian life
Postmodern	To satisfy a desire for adventure
	To have a meaningful personal experience

Note. Battistelli (1997, p. 471)

Using Battistelli's (1997) typology of motivational factors, Garb (2014), quantitatively studying the motivation of individuals undertaking Slovenian military basic training found that her survey items of "help needy people in the area of operation…contribute to the national security of Slovenia…contribute to world peace" (p. 62) ranked highest in response score which, she concludes, aligns with Battistelli's (1997) paleomodern motivation type, "to be useful to others and to strengthen the country's image at international level" (Garb, 2014, p. 62). She also found that the more

pragmatic, "modern motives (money and other personal and career benefits)" (p. 62) were still present but were subordinate to the paleomodern motivation. Her use of Battistelli's (1997) explanation of the motivational types can thus be argued to be aspects of attitude that drive behaviour which feeds back on the development and/or maintenance of a particular social identity (Franke, 1999).

This concept of identity can be related to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) by considering the study of Bardi, Buchanan, Goodwin, Slabu, and Robinson (2014) on "value stability and change during self-chosen life transitions" (p. 131). Bardi et al. (2014) found individuals will be orientated to groups with perceived values that match with those of the individual and he or she may be motivated to seek membership in a new group. This appears to be the case with the participants of Battistelli (1997) and Garb (2014). According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), at some point, prior to applying to become a member of the military organisation, the individuals compared his or her values and goals with the military organisation's values along with the organisation's ability to meet the goals of the individual. The individuals then made a positive decision based on the value fit (Bardi et al., 2014). Finally, the individual made an emotional commitment to the group, that is, they were motivated to seek membership of the military organisation. Other examples include the study of German compulsory-service-age males by Jackson, Thoemmes, Jonkmann, Lüdtke, and Trautwein (2012) and the impact of military training on personality traits. Their participants made conscious choices to elect military service over community service for their compulsory service obligation. Thornborrow (2005) conducted an auto-ethnographic study, finding that he and others found a value fit with the British Paratrooper regiment prior to joining and were motivated to undertake the rigorous mental and physical training associated with gaining and maintaining membership as a paratrooper, as well as the identity work associated with that membership to maintain the specific military identity.

What these examples highlight is that individuals can identify "with" military members before being able to identify "as" a military member. As shown by Godlewski and Kline (2012) in their Canadian recruit context, this pre-identification can have a direct impact on the emotional commitment the individual makes to the group. This suggests that the genesis of military identity may occur before entry to the military organisation. This is supported by Bachman, Sigelman, and Diamond (1987) who, in their study of senior high school students, found that "pro-military values among

service personnel are not, for the most part, the product of events and experiences that occur *during* military service" (p.182). Similarly, Thornborrow and Brown (2009) note that "for many of our interviewees, the attraction of paratrooper identities, and their desire to pursue these, long pre-dated their formal application for membership of the Regiment" (p. 360). Likewise, "Mo" Becker, Mabry, and Anderson (2014), in discussing Unites States Marine Corp recruits, note that the recruits "at the time of their arrival, may have already adopted the established organizational values and identity to some degree" (p. 29). Not withstanding this point, after meeting the military organisation's entry requirements, the individual must be shaped by the organisation to meet the social norms and skill requirements defined by the military organisation.

Shaping values and identity

The on-boarding process, recruitment and basic training, is designed to have a deliberate organisational outcome in terms of skills, knowledge, attitudes, behaviours, values and identity (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Van Maanen & Schein, 1977). While the individual has made a value comparison prior to entry, the military values have only been "distilled interpretations…based upon expectations about who participates in certain events and how these events unfold" (Vågan, 2011, p. 48). The realities of the values and identity expectations of the military organisation, however, only emerge whilst the individual is within the on-boarding programs such as those described by "Mo" Becker et al. (2014) in their study of the Unites States Marine Corps basic training and the "Crucible…3-day training evolution" (p. 24). This particular program is designed to enhance the organisation's espoused core values of "honor, courage, and critical thinking" (p. 24) and entrench the Marine identity in the individual. Guimond (1995), in studying the four-year on-boarding program for Canadian officers, found that the first and fourth years, that is, the entry and exit to the on-boarding program were the periods of highest value instability. He found that there was an adjustment process where the individual's preconceived idea of the military is broken down before the individual's values and identity become more aligned with those required by the military organisation. As Johansen et al. (2014) highlighted, "military identity can thus be understood as the degree to which soldiers' [sic] and officers' [sic] are motivated and willing to internalize the expressed values and goals of the Armed Forces" (p. 527). While Johansen et al. (2014) suggest the first discrimination of military identity, that is officer and soldier, or in broader military terms commissioned and enlisted or Other Ranks individuals, it is interesting to acknowledge that this basic or recruit training is

not the completion of the military on-boarding process as individuals also require shaping to prepare them for the specific functional roles she or he is recruited for.

Beyond basic training

The studies discussed thus far have focused on basic or recruit training programs as the genesis of military identity. Yet basic or recruit training is only the first part of the military on-boarding process. Here the training relates only to those required sets of skills, such as small arms weapon handling, knowledge, such as military discipline and justice systems, and attitudes, such as professionalism, honesty and integrity, which are common to all members of the specific branch of service, Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines. However, each individual is recruited to a specific role within a subgroup of the specific branch and is required to undertake a role-specific on-boarding program. For example, Holland and Groves (2011) studied the vocational education and learning of members recruited for "catering, clerical-administrative [and] aviation" (p. 5) roles. As such, individuals will move from basic training to role-specific training before employment in the assigned role. Role-specific on-boarding programs, like military branch-specific programs, provide the required skills and knowledge for the role while establishing the social norms of identification in the specific community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). That is, the community of practice regulate the identity of the individual (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Subgroups may also have on-boarding programs to shape the values and identification of a common set of roles within their jurisdiction. This suggests multi-level military identity, consistent with social identity theory. These on-boarding programs into multiple simultaneous communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), however, highlight that social identity theory may be limited to analysing an affective response to the organisation's identity regulation.

Having been constructed and developed through the complete on-boarding process, military identities in the next stage, that is military service, are continually refined with the multiple military identities of an individual ever-changing in salience and valence throughout his or her military service.

Military service

My personal experience has demonstrated that military service, like military entry, is a deliberate organisational system for training and educating an individual with a continual reinforcement of the military culture and identity to meet specific organisational roles. It is a progressive system where the individual is expected to gain a range of experience at a given hierarchical level before education and training to

prepare the individual's skills, knowledge, attitudes and identity for hierarchical progression. The participants of Galvin's (2015) study, members moving from middle to senior military leadership roles, highlight that this progressive system ensures the military organisation has experienced individuals moving into new positions of responsibility and authority. It also ensures that there are experienced, empathetic individuals such as the instructors in the study of Holland and Groves (2011), to instruct, guide, coach and mentor their subordinates to meet their respective roles, conform to the social norms and to manage pressures related to the role, that is, to regulate the identity of the individual (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

Considering the amount of structure in the military system for developing its individual members, it is surprising to find a scarcity of specific military identity literature covering post on-boarding through to exit compare to that body of literature covering the entry period. Not being anchored by specific career events, researchers have explored a full range of social, managerial, organisational and psychological issues and phenomena which can be argued to be generalizable across wider society as well as the military context. For example, Hale's (2012) study of "the extent to which the military rebuilds or reframes masculinities as a means of meeting the aims of the military process" (p. 699) could be compared with Parker (2006) and his study of English local trainee professional footballers and "the heavily gendered nature of legitimate peripheral participation within this specific community of practice" (p. 690). The literature review by Culver (2013) on "gender identity development of women in the American military" (p. 64) could be compared with the study by Butler (2013) on female jockeys in England who had to become "one of the lads" (p. 55). The study of the identity construction of middle managers aspiring to be senior leaders in the military (Galvin, 2015) sits comfortably in organisation and management literature with works such as Kornberger, Justesen, and Mouritsen's (2011) study of managers in a large accounting firm seeking a pathway to the role and identity of partner in the firm.

There are also examples of identity development that are unique to the period of military service. Thornborrow's (2005) thesis on "identity work in the British Parachute Regiment" (p. 355) is a good example of the continued identity work an individual undertakes in response to the identity regulation of subgroups of the military organisation. Thornborrow and Brown (2009) highlight that other members of the group enacted this identity regulation of the individual through continual "surveillance" (p. 367) or visual monitoring. They also highlight that the individual is part of the group's

surveillance and enforcement of the group's idealised concept of "paratrooper", its associated behavioural expectations and the performance standards of the elite military community of practice. It is interesting to note that Thornborrow (2005), having been a member of the social group, finds that the figured or "aspirational" (p. 355) identity of paratrooper is never attained as the definition of the identity is never fully quantified or qualified by the group. He does, however, highlight the importance of operational experience on identity validation and the place it plays in the story telling of the paratrooper. As the final physical and mental test of the Marine basic training the Crucible event (Becker, 2013) is the pinnacle of identity regulation by the organisation and identity work and internalisation by the individual (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002), so military operations or deployments can be viewed as crucible events in a military career, which may impact continued identity development.

Operational deployments

Operational deployment is a military phenomenon common to all branches of the military and all military organisations of every nation. From a perspective of a nation, the ultimate purpose of any military engagement in operations is the defence or enforcement of national agendas and/or identity. From the perspective of the branch or the subgroup identity, that is, the military formations and units, deployment on operations continues a military cultural and historical legacy that continues to be written in the official and unofficial discourses as the operation plays out, enhancing or detracting from the group identity. From the perspective of the individual, deployment is the culmination of identity work founded on what Broesder, den Buijs, Vogelaar, and Euwema (2014), in their study seeking to quantify military identity of individuals situated in a combined war-fighting and peace-keeping context, referred to as the "warrior identity" (p. 522). From a social identity theoretical perspective, the individual may identify themselves at any of these levels, national, branch, subbranch, or personal, depending on the individual's point of reference in his or her immediate discourse (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Studying the military identities of individuals in the British military from a sociological perspective, Woodward and Jenkings (2011) found that "military personnel perform military acts, and participation in military events [operational deployments] wherever they occur confirms a military identity" (p. 262). In a study of United States' National Guard members, who are civilians with part time roles as soldiers, Vest (2013), noted that the "experience of a deployment, and particularly a combat

deployment, fundamentally alters the conditions of life in the civilian world, such that it is not possible to return to life exactly as it was before" (p. 617). She continues "individuals appear to more fully accept themselves as real soldiers, leading this identity to be internalized to a greater degree and therefore become more integral to their core sense of who they are as individuals" (p. 617). This is not to suggest that deployment has a causal relationship with increased military identity salience, as there are examples of the opposite effect.

Vest (2013) found that "deployment does not universally lead to a stronger identification with the soldier identity" (p. 616). She found that one of her participants "expressed that deployment had the opposite effect, causing him to develop stronger attachments to his civilian identity" (p. 616). Similarly, Harris, Gringart, and Drake (2013), who studied identity of ex-Australian Special Forces members, also found that "two of the five participants described a cognitive shift away from the political objectives of the government which determined their military operations and expressed disillusionment with the resultant operational goals" (p. 107) resulting in the "participant's rejection of the political ideology led to his questioning the compatibility of his personal values with the military narrative" (Harris et al., 2013, p. 108). They note, "this rejection of the military narrative demonstrates a complete psychological disengagement from the military identity" (Harris et al., 2013, p. 108). These two examples highlight that the individual continues to maintain agency through the level of her or his emotional and behavioural commitment to the respective group. The rejection of the narrative, however, either national or military is the exception rather than the norm as can be seen in Lohse (2012). Studying the value scores of Dutch professional officers and soldiers before and after a six-month operational deployment to Afghanistan, Lohse (2012) found that there was no significant change in values as a result of the deployment. This suggests, using Franke's (1999) conceptual model of identity, that if values did not change then attitudes and behaviour did not change and as such there was likely to be no change to the military social identity of the study participants.

By comparing the studies of Vest (2013) and Lohse (2012) it can be seen that military identity is not constrained to professional or full-time military members (Lohse, 2012) as those in the part-time military forces (Vest, 2013) also undertake military identity work. However, there does not appear to be literature that studies the comparative military identities or their development of these full-time and part-time

groups. While it may appear useful, comparing Vest (2013) and Lohse (2012) prima facie does not further our understanding of military identity development. Such comparison lacks a consideration of the individual's cultural and historical background leaving it difficult to determine or understand the difference between military identity development of full-time and part-time military members. In particular, without a consideration of his or her cultural and historical background it is difficult to understand what part a civilian identity plays in the development of military identity.

What the military deployment literature does suggest, if obliquely, is that the type and nature of an operational deployment may, in the discourses of military members and broader society, alter the valence of the experience and also its identity capital (Côté, 2005). This is shown explicitly by Battistelli (1997) who sought to answer the question of "whether soldiers in the post-modern volunteer force will be sufficiently motivated by noneconomic factors to undertake non-traditional military missions like peacekeeping" (p. 467). The implication is that peacekeeping operations are considered less valuable experiences than "traditional" military operations of war fighting. Thus, in line with Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014a) proposal, operational deployments can be argued to be "funds of identity" (p. 31) for military members.

Collective training

While it can be argued that military deployment has a significant shaping effect of military identity, the military identity literature does not appear to have taken account of the cycle of progressive training and exercising of groups to prepare them for operational deployment. In this progression, using an Army context to illustrate, the section, that is, a team of 3-10 members, trains and practices the integration of the individual member's roles in order for the section to be an employable capability on operations. The section, now at the operational standard, works with other sections and the platoon leadership to meet the platoon's operational requirements. This preparation to meet operational requirements progresses to the company, unit, the formation, the Service/branch and, for coalition or allied operations, the nations. As the group size grows, different groups from specialty fields are collectively combined to conduct and support both exercises and future operations. At each stage, the relevant hierarchically superior group regulates the identity (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) while the individual works on their identity in a simulated operational context. Once ready, the military organisation is then committed and employed by a nation's government or moved into a resting and refurbishment phase before restarting the preparation cycle.

It is important to note that there are cycles within cycles to accommodate individuals changing functional roles and hierarchical progression. As highlighted by Spencer (2000) in his paper on factors effecting military readiness of the United States, groups and individuals cannot sustain the stress of maintaining prolonged optimal readiness. As such the cycling of groups and individuals includes periods of resting, rebuilding and retraining. These periods allow reflective identity work by the individual, more typically through story telling rather than active cognitive exercises (Thornborrow, 2005). Each phase in the cycle represents occasions where the individual and the collective can reflect upon their values and performance and make behavioural adjustments that they practice, thus adjusting the outward projection of identity before operational deployment.

The military service literature highlights that military identity is developed through an individual's military life history within the practices and culture of multiple military subcultural groups. But while the cycle of collective identity regulation and operational and strategic preparation continues unending, for the individual, there will come a time when she or he must transition from the military to the non-military environment.

Military exit

Military identity is expected to be at its most salient at the end of military service, regardless of the duration of that service. Kester (2014) for example studied individuals that exited the British military after one period of service, that is, "between four to six years in the military" (p. 86), who participated in a structured transition program. Kester (2014) notes that "the military's mandatory 5-day transition program was found to be ineffective in preparing these veterans for civilian life and certainly had little effect on dissolving a firmly held military identity" (p. ii). This highlights that a long career in the military is not required for high levels of commitment to and identification with the military. At the end of the military career, it is the nature of the exit, voluntary sanctioned exit, voluntary unsanctioned exit and involuntary exit, which might be expected to mediate the post military service identity work.

The nature of military exit

Voluntary sanctioned exit from the military is the result of an individual exercising his or her agency in determining, what Bardi et al. (2014) refer to as "self-chosen life transitions" (p. 131). Voluntary sanctioned exit involves member-initiated administrative processes by the organisation to remove an individual's official

membership. During the period from notifying the organisation of the intent to separate through to separation, the individual has the opportunity to conduct preparatory identity work, that is, he or she may trial what Ibarra (2005), in her paper on "liminality and career change" (p. 1) refer to as "new possible selves" (p. 6). Liminality refers to that period of self-identification where the individual has a rapidly decreasing identity salience with the group she or he is leaving but does not at that stage have a significant identity salience with a future possible group (Ibarra, 2005). While the time for preparatory identity work is available to the individual, this is not to say that the individual actively uses this time to construct a new identity. Walker's (2013) qualitative study of the "identity constructions of final year UK career soldiers" (p. 284) found, counter to the idea of active preparation for crossing the exit boundary, that "overall, the leavers seem ill-prepared for civilian life and are often interacting with identity constructions of negligible civilian value" (p. 298).

In contrast to voluntary sanctioned exit, individuals may either feel the need to separate of their own volition, without the knowledge or consent of the military organisation, or be forced by that military organisation to relinquish his or her military membership. Both have implications for an individual's identity work. An example of voluntary unsanctioned exit is Maringira's (2014) study of ex-combatants in South Africa, most of whom were "ex-Zimbabwean National Army (ZNA) soldiers (deserters who went absent without leave)" (p. 76). These men enacted an unsanctioned separation due to changes in value alignment and physical safety concerns but were unwilling to relinquish or lose their military identity and its associated status (Maringira, 2014). Forced separation may have similar results of identity work, that is, an unwillingness to lose their military identity. From Herman and Yarwood's (2014) perspective, any sense of loss of identity resulting from enforced separation appears to be heightened by "the disempowering effect of that lack of 'capability to choose' " (p. 45).

Sense of loss

Regardless of the nature of exit, voluntary sanctioned exit, voluntary unsanctioned exit or involuntary exit, a sense of loss is a common finding across the military exit literature. Herman and Yarwood (2014) found a "sense of loss permeated all of our interviewees' accounts even if, in general, they had a positive attitude towards, and experience of, transition and had chosen to leave" (p. 45). Harris et al. (2013) likewise found that all Australian Special Operations Forces past members interviewed in their study "described their experiences of grief post-exit, citing the loss

of intense camaraderie, of purpose, and of guilt over fallen comrades" (p. 105). Similarly, Brunger, Serrato, and Ogden (2013) found that "all participants spoke strongly about a loss of community upon return to 'Civvy Street' [sic]" (p. 92). At the extremity of the exit experience and a sense of loss, Fragala and McCaughey's (1991) study of "suicide following medical/physical evaluation boards" (p. 206) report that two of the three individuals studied "were stressed by the reality of the loss of their military identity and career and subsequently committed suicide" (p. 206).

I argue that it is here, at the sense of loss an individual feels, that we can see the essence of military identity. It is the strength of emotional connection, commitment and identification with the military group, that is, the social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), that he or she does not want to relinquish. However, as Walker (2013) notes, members exiting the military may "cling" to an identity that has or may have little or no relevance in the non-military environment. The military exit literature highlights that individuals may seek to resolve this relevance issue through identity continuance, that is, continuation of his or her military identity beyond military employment.

Identity continuance

Identity continuance is a common finding across the military exit literature and appears as a strategy to mitigate feelings of loss. Higate (2001), for example, found that the breakdown of relationships "with spouses or partners frequently touched on the desire to rekindle camaraderie with other men; here continuity with a military life is closely linked with homosociability [maintaining social groups with members exclusively of a single gender] and military masculine-gender identity" (p. 453). Herman and Yarwood (2014), studying the geographies of ex-British military members notes that "while they [ex-members of the British military] were in new professions their military experiences continued to shape who they are now in terms of both their social circle and their attitude towards their current role" (p. 47). In their study of past members of the Australian Special Operations Forces, Harris et al. (2013) found that "replicating the military culture in civilian life reinforced social identity by allowing the military identity to continue" (p. 107). It is this replication that is found to be one of the approaches individuals employ to maintain a specific military identity. This can be seen in the study by Higate (2012) of ex-military members employed as private security firm members. Private security companies operate in the same operational context as structured national military forces. The skills, knowledge and attitudes the military members' possess are therefore highly valuable for the private security firm. By

employing ex-military members for the private security company's own corporate goals they facilitate the continuance of the military identity in the individuals.

Military identity continuance, however, is not just limited to individuals who undertake sanctioned separation from the military. Like Higate's (2012) sanctioned-exit participants, Maringira (2014) found a pragmatism in the military identity continuance where ex-combatant's physical and identity capital was highly valued in locations with high levels of instability, conflict and/or crime. In the townships in the vicinity of Cape Town, Maringira's (2014) participants enacted their military identities as "'Defenders' of Community" (p. 77). The civilian population who sought increased levels of security as well as retribution for violent crimes encouraged the ex-combatants' military identity continuance. Here there were financial and emotional rewards for continuing military identity thus meeting the individual's needs for survival and meaning. While Maringira (2014) and Higate (2012) focused on combatant roles, Holland and Groves' (2011) study of "catering, clerical-administrative or aviation" (p. 5) members, who possess directly relevant or actual civilian qualifications and experience, highlights an alternate form of military identity continuance.

As a result of identity work, either prior to enlistment or during a military career, an individual may feel that her or his specialisation identity has more identity capital (Côté, 2005) than her or his military identity. Where she or he chooses to continue in her or his respective field or speciality the period of identity liminality (Ibarra, 2005) may be greatly reduced or negated as only the context has changed. It should be noted however that this self-assessment of the identity capital valence is expected to be either aligned to distal goals related to the continued identification with the specialisation, or proximal, pragmatic goals of securing employment post-military service before further exploration and experimentation of a possible self. A proximal, pragmatic goal orientation could thus be argued to be "deferred liminal identity". Regardless of the motivation, the individual carries with them the "military values and attitudes, as well as employability skills" (Holland & Groves, 2011, p. 8) associated with her or his military identity. These may be carried forward, consciously or unconsciously, using the role-specific identity as the vehicle for military identity beyond the military environment.

Analysing military identity literature as a single set

All three stages of military identity literature, entry, service and exit, show that no stage can be viewed in isolation to gain a full understanding of military identity development and its continuance. Rather, as Gade (1991) proposes, a life-course

perspective should be taken to fully understand military identity. As such, by taking a life course perspective of the military identity literature and considering them as a complete or single set, three common themes emerged: the masculine warrior nature of military identity, the enculturation and identity regulation of the individual through organisational training programs, and the consideration of military identity as a single identity.

Masculine warrior military identity

Historically, only male members populated military organisations that focused on combat-in-arms, that is, the warrior concept. As such, cultural symbols and norms developed into masculine warrior traditions founded on the practices of the male members as well as historical events, battles, campaigns, wars, of the various military groups. These traditions became part of the official and un-official fabric of a male-only military organisation and its range of suborganisations. Although female members have now become mainstream members of military organisations, particularly Western military organisations, the identity work of female members is still related to conformity with the historical masculine warrior identity requirements of the military (Badaró, 2014; Hicks, 2011).

The results of Brunger et al. (2013) demonstrate that conformity to the historical masculine warrior identity transcends any gender barriers. Their male and female former British military participants "experienced the military to be highly masculinised in nature" (p. 91). In the participants' military experiences "some felt that the more stereotypical attributes of a military life symbolised their masculinity, whilst also reinforcing the notion of being a soldier ('shooting guns', 'blowing stuff up')" (p. 91). Hale (2012) sees this as the result of the military rebuilding or reframing "masculinities as a means of meeting the aims of the military process" (p. 699). This suggests that military masculine warrior identity is developed, reinforced and perpetuated through continual individual and collective training and practice. This is supported by Maringira (2014) who notes that "while military identity involves wider issues that are connected to the idea of being a soldier, military training is the ultimate point of departure in understanding how a soldier's identity is shaped" (p. 74).

Enculturation and military training

In the individual and collective training programs, communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) are produced with "strong emotional bonds between individuals and across groups" (Woodward & Jenkings, 2011, p. 260), what Woodward

and Jenkings (2011) describe as "fictive kinship" (p. 260). These emotional bonds are formed regardless of the individual's state of membership, full time or part time, branch of service, Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine, specialisation, combat, combat support, combat services support, non-combat, or hierarchical rank. That is, they are formed within the social, cultural and historical context in which the individual is situated. Each community of practice has its own social structure, culture and history (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a) that shape that particular community of practice's identity regulation of its members and thus the identity work its members undertake (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). However, I argue that the range of social contexts an individual will navigate throughout a military career should be considered further in the development of military identity literature. Of note is that the military identity literature has appeared to treat military identity homogenously, that is, as a single entity.

Military identity as a single social identity

I argue that scholars have considered military identity as one of a multiple of an individual's social identities, as discussed in social identity theory literature (Stets & Burke, 2000). I further argue that military identity scholars have not acknowledged the multi-layered social environments within military organisations and as such have deviated from the broader social identity literature findings that an individual has many social identities (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011; Ibarra, 2005; Stets & Burke, 2000). I propose that "military" should not be considered a social identity but rather the context in which multi-layered, multi-temporal, multiple identities exist. This is supported by Johansen et al. (2014) who found that their "study also indicates that Military identity might be best seen [as] a multidimensional phenomenon" (p. 537). Broesder et al. (2014) highlighted that "the self consists of a multiplicity of different role identities that are linked to the different roles a person holds in society" (p. 3). As an individual takes on many roles across his or her entire military service, within a range of groups with the group's own culture and history, the individual should thus have a range of military contextualised identities.

<div align="center">

Conclusion

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In this military identity literature review I have discussed the conceptualisation of identity in general and, as related to military identity literature, specifically from social identity theory and identity theory perspectives. I considered the military identity using three career stages; entry, service and exit. The military entry literature described the social environment in which new members to the military are shaped and prepared

to be full members of the military, that is, the initial identity regulation by the military organisation. The military service literature, while diverse, highlighted the impact of the ultimate military experience, military operations, on military identity of the individual. Whilst there were some exceptions (Harris et al., 2013; Vest, 2013), generally military operations reinforce the military identity salience for individuals. The military exit literature highlighted that separation from the military results in a sense of loss by the individual. Here, the individual must undertake identity work to redefine him or herself. The exit literature highlights that military identity continuance is a common form of identity work and a coping strategy for individuals once separated from the military. By considering all military identity literature as a complete set it was found that military identity was masculine-warrior in nature and that training and education were an important part of the military organisation's identity regulation of its members. However, I also identified several areas that further research can enhance our understanding of military identity.

I found in the military entry literature that scholars had not considered specialised training regimes beyond basic training. I argued that basic training relates to the knowledge, skills and identity requirements of the specific broader service-branch whereas role-specific training to make an individual a specialist in their field, for both combat and non-combat related roles, results in new social identities related to military suborganisations. In the military service literature I found that research into collective training of individuals and groups was lacking. I argued that this collective training leading to operational deployment provides rich environments in which individuals continually trial and amend their military identities. In the military exit literature I found that the individual's motivation and exit strategy in regard to military identity requires further consideration and study. Across all three career stages, that is, in considering all the military identity literature as a set, I found the military identity concept as single identity may constrain further understanding of military identity. I argued that we should acknowledge that military organisations are complex, structured, fluid social environments. Likewise, we should acknowledge the diverse roles an individual may fulfil, often simultaneously, in structured and unstructured groups. In order to address these limitations and to gain a fuller understanding of military identity a new and different perspective on military identity may be beneficial while building on, and perhaps refreshing or re-invigorating, established perspectives.

Gade (1991) called for researchers to take a life-course perspective when studying military identity. To do this, researchers need to incorporate a cultural and historical perspective of the groups that an individual draws her or his multiple identities from. It is this "drawing" from these multiple military groups that presents a new perspective on military identity development and maintenance, a way forward using Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) concept of funds of identity, a concept I employ in this study.

3. Compassionate and courageous
The study

The aim of my study is to explore military identity through the funds of knowledge that an individual member of a military organisation may internalise in his or her military identity work. I aim to gain a deeper understanding of the creation, development and maintenance of these various military identities through a life course within the military environment and broader society. I originally asked the questions, "what is soldier identity", "how is it developed and maintained" and "why does soldier identity have a lasting salience beyond military service". On reflection of my research aim, the research question is now not "what is soldier identity?" but rather:

How does military identity develop and change over and beyond a military career?

The research paradigm

This study is underpinned by a pragmatic worldview. Dewey's (1957) concept of pragmatism was that reflection on our actions leads us to alter our beliefs, and that reflection on our beliefs leads us to decide on the actions we will take in the current social and cultural context given the history of the situation. This essentially was the basis for Dewey's (1957) concept of experience which holds true for my own study, as can be seen in the introduction to this thesis. I opened by stating that "I have reflected on my soldier identity". Here I am reflecting on my belief of what military identity is. I continued, noting that I have reflected also on "my continued identification as a soldier". Here, it is my actions that I have reflected on while noting the social and historical context, that is, "within both my working and social environments [the social context], well beyond the years of active service [the historical context]". Denzin (2012), in discussing pragmatism and mixed methods research, points out that Dewey's (1957) conceptualisation of pragmatism as a philosophy "rests on the argument that the meaning of an event cannot be given in advance of experience. The focus is on the consequences and meanings of an action or event in a social situation" (Denzin, 2012, p. 82). In this study I reflect on my historical actions in the cultural context of the Australian military, that is, my military career. In this, my research action, I seek

meaning of this life-stage event now that my military experience has concluded. As such I must take an approach that supports a search for meaning.

Methodology

In his book discussing the design of research, Creswell (2013) highlights that "*Qualitative research* is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 4). As such, Qualitative research is a suitable approach to achieve the aim of my study, as I am interested in understanding the meanings I have ascribed to my experience as an individual in the social, cultural and historical context of a military career. This is not to suggest that this research is a self-indulgent, self-centred exercise. Rather, my aim is to draw attention, by way of example, to the identity work of individuals in highly structured social groups in the military context. That is, I use an auto-ethnographic design for my qualitative methodology in attempting to answer my research question. Hamilton, Smith, and Worthington (2008) note "for auto-ethnography, the researcher uses an ethnographic [for my study with the "ethno" being the military] wide-angled lens with a focus on the social and cultural aspects of the personal" (p. 24). They also note "in auto-ethnography, it is the cultural I [sic] [that is the self] shaped by cultural contexts and complexities that takes the foreground" (p. 25). Doloriert and Sambrook (2012), when discussing auto-ethnography in organisational contexts, noted "autoethnography [sic] can tell stories otherwise silenced; exploring the mundane, ignored and distorted in current academic life" (p. 83). As such, this methodological design is well suited to addressing the research problem that scholars appear to have homogenised the concept of military identity, as discussed earlier.

Theoretical and conceptual framework

When studying military identity, Gade (1991) asked researchers to consider "familial influences …. historical influences …. [and] developmental timing of military service" (p. 192). In response to this call, in this study the scope of my analysis is framed by Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014a) concept, or developing theory, of funds of identity. Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) argue "in our view, funds of knowledge become funds of identity when people actively internalize family and community resources to make meaning and to describe themselves" (p. 33). This focus on family and community makes funds of identity an appropriate theoretical framework for this study, particularly given Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014a) conceptual expansion of Gade's (1991) "familial groups" beyond the "biological" family. Funds of knowledge

relates to a social group's knowledge generated from the group or community's history and culture and socially stored for use by its members (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a). Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) proposed five major subdivisions or types of funds of identity: (a) geographical funds of identity, (b) practical funds of identity, (c) cultural funds of identity, (d) social funds of identity and (e) institutional funds of identity.

Geographical funds of identity relate to the body of knowledge associated with a geographical categorisation, such as my identification at enlistment as a Tasmanian and then later in my career as being a Melbournian (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a), or geographically significant event, such as my military deployment to Cambodia. Social funds of identity relate to the social groups that I am a part of, that is, "significant others such as relatives, friends, or colleagues" (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014a, p.38), such as the telecommunication technician group which will be discussed in the analysis of the drawing *Techs at work*. Practical funds of identity relate to deliberate activity designed to achieve an outcome. Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) highlight "work, sport, or music" (p. 38) as examples. In the context of my study "work" is analysed based on specific roles within the army while "music", or performing arts, is substituted by visual arts, that is, my drawings.

While these three subdivisions of funds of identity are relatively easy to operationalise, the final two, cultural funds of identity and institutional funds of identity, are harder to operationalize. Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) expand on their grouping of cultural funds of identity by citing examples as "national flags or social category such as introversion/extroversion, age, gender, or ethnic group" (p. 38). The first of these examples could be argued to be "institutional", that is, a nation could be considered an institution of global organisation of humans. But in general terms, I take cultural funds of identity to mean funds of identity related to general behaviours and attitudes observable in all members of a societal group. These cultural funds of identity may be based on broader societal funds of knowledge stored and distributed in artefacts such as the military movies and television programs of my youth.

The final subdivision, institutional funds of identity, is explained as being "any social institution, such as family, marriage, or the Catholic Church" (Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a, p. 38). However, this emphasis on "social" appears to position institutional funds of identity beyond the work environment, which I argue is a limitation of the definition. To account for this limitation I will use an expanded meaning of institutional funds of identity. I take it to mean any formally recognised

group of individuals, such as my identification as an army apprentice, as well as any codified recognition system of a formally recognised group, such as the institution of military rank.

Research method

In this study I use an arts-based self-portrait technique with supplementary explanatory text to collect my research data. This is an adaptation of Bagnoli's (2009) method of "self-portrait technique with supplementary interview", which will be discussed prior to detailing my use of explanatory notes.

Self-portrait technique with supplementary interview

In discussing methods to enhance or supplement traditional interviewing methods, Bagnoli (2009) used "graphic elicitation and arts-based methods" (p. 38) to analyse identity in young people in Italy and England. He designed a self-portraiture technique "with the aim of encouraging participants' reflexivity and getting them to think holistically about their identities and lives" (pp. 549-550). His technique involved the participant drawing her or himself and then adding "people and things" (p. 550) that the participant felt were significant. Each participant was then interviewed to explain the signification of the component parts of the drawing. Together these drawings and explanations were then analysed.

Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) applied this technique with a slight nuance in that the participant was given the option to "add the people and things most important" (p. 38) to them at that moment in their life. Here the participant could choose to forego any application of cognitive processes of recollection and evaluation of significance in what could be considered a more natural or core response where the drawn image may be a better indicator of the central self and a more instinctive identification of important external relationships.

Self-portrait technique with supplementary explanatory text

Beltman, Glass, Dinham, Chalk, and Nguyen (2015) used a similar technique in their study of pre-service teacher identity. But, where Bagnoli (2009) and Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) followed this technique with interviews, Beltman et al. (2015) instructed their participants to create a text explaining the self-portrait. While essentially the same method as Bagnoli (2009) and Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a), that is, a drawing activity followed by some form of explanation of the drawing, Beltman et al. (2015) employed the technique for a different purpose. Bagnoli (2009) and Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) used the self portrait as a reflective artefact where the social,

cultural and historical context can be induced whereas Beltman et al. (2015) used the technique to create aspirational or figured-world (Vågan, 2011) identity artefacts. This is not to suggest that the reflective application and aspirational application of the drawing technique are incompatible. On the contrary, from a pragmatic world view (Dewey, 1957), we must look to the future in order to make meaning of the past while we also cannot consider the past without considering its impact on the possible future. What each study highlights, Bagnoli (2009), Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) and Beltman et al. (2015), is that the self-portrait drawing technique is highly effective in capturing the nuances of identity at a given moment in time.

I argue, however, that this application of the method is limited in that it is only a snapshot of identity. This is clear in the instructions of Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a) to their participants: "I would like you to show me on this piece of paper who you are at this moment in your life" (p. 38). I argue that a single time point application of the method is not able to aid understanding of how the individual shapes and is shaped by his or her cultural and/or social environment over time. To overcome this limitation a longitudinal application is likely to be advantageous.

Longitudinal application of self-portrait technique

Bagnoli (2009) refers to his PhD study to highlight a "longitudinal application of the self-portrait" (p. 552) where a participant re-viewed the original image during a second interview. Here the drawing task was not repeated; rather the original drawing was used for elicitation and reflection on the image in the now-current context. This could be considered a limited longitudinal study. In a similar application of arts-based techniques in identity studies, Bennett (2013), who conducted an initial drawing technique in studying the teacher identities of music students, gave each student "a sealed envelope containing their original drawing" (p,59) and invited them to "again…draw a teaching situation" (p. 59). These were then analysed "alongside reflective journals and the responses from each survey [conducted with each drawing task]" (p. 59). I suggest that Bennett's (2013) application of the self-portrait or drawing technique with supplementary explanatory text is a more robust longitudinal application of the method. With what appears to be a high level of serendipity, I take this method one step further. With my own skills in drawing and illustration, combined with the serendipity of having retained many of my art works across the last 30 years, I have the opportunity to extend the application of this method to a life course. While logistically impractical for the scale of study of Bagnoli (2009), Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a),

Beltman et al. (2015) and Bennett (2013), I have used this longitudinal method together with an application of arts-based research not previously seen, that is, applied to a single individual across a life course rather than to groups of individuals at a single moment in time.

Artefact selection

In their study of identities in the British military Woodward and Jenkings (2011) employed "autodriven [sic] photo elicitation" (Jenkings, Woodward, & Winter, 2008, Pt. 2.3). They asked participants "to select from photographs they already owned" (Pt. 2.3) and noted that their "study was retrospective, in having respondents show us who they were, rather than who they are" (Pt. 2.3). Similarly to Bagnoli (2009), Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014a), Beltman et al. (2015) and Bennett (2013), Woodward and Jenkings (2011) "did not just ask about the content of the photograph but also their explanations". This similarity between the two methods, self-portrait technique with supplementary explanation and auto-driven photo elicitation, highlights the method I have used may be described as auto-driven self-portrait elicitation.

From a body of my artwork spanning approximately 30 years, I have selected drawings and illustrations based on three criteria. Firstly, that the image is explicitly or implicitly related to some facet of military identity, as this is the focus of the study. The second criterion was that the image is distinct from any previously identified military identity. This criterion was selected so that clarity could be maintained between any themes captured in the individual artworks and analysis could then by applied to deduce common themes and points of separation. The final criterion was that the image could be either reflective or aspirational. This criterion was set to include artefacts that recorded an event, that is, reflective artefacts, and those that presented a possible self (Ibarra, 2005) in a positive light, that is, an aspirational artefact. What I found from my selection based on these three criteria was that the uniqueness in my data set of drawings, without intention, closely matched significant time periods of my military career. As such they present as a life-course data set.

My initial selection included eight drawings that I felt captured the range of my military contexts and soldier identities: a warrior (Figure 2 and 3), an army apprentice (Figure 3), a telecommunications technician (Figure 4-7), a "MEDPORT"ian (Figure 5), a member of the Royal Australian Corps of Signals (Figure 6), an artificer in my trade, that is, a member of a category at the pinnacle of her or his skill and knowledge (Figure 7), and finally my identification as a cartoonist. Two drawings contained this

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identification and as such one was discarded in favour of Figure 4 *Techs at work* as a representation of my cartoonist identity.

I have composed a description of each of the drawings (Beltman et al., 2015), which are presented in the following chapters. In each I have introduced the description with an account of the time period associated with the drawing and detailed the respective stage of my military career. Each description captures both my motivation for the drawing and techniques I used to weave my story in the respective picture. Together, the drawings and the description became my research data.

Data analysis

The data, that is the drawings and descriptions, have been individually thematically analysed using Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) subdivisions of funds of identity as prior codes to (a) establish evidence of identification with an entity, (b) ascertain the knowledge base associated with the entity that has been internalised and (c) determine the mechanism by which the knowledge is passed on. This approach to analysis has been taken to not only address my research question but to also explore the applicability of the emerging theory of funds of identity in a new context. It also allows note to be made of emergent themes that may support further development of funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a). The individual drawing analysis was further thematically analysed as a holistic set to identify common themes through the data. Before commencing with descriptions and analysis of the drawings, let me first describe the influences on my identity development prior to enlistment in the army in order to situate the origin of my soldier identity.

4. I lead by example, I strive to take the initiative

Pre-enlistment

The army has always shaped my life. I was born the first child and son of a soldier who was himself the first child and son of a soldier. So, for the first 16 years of my life, before my father retired as a soldier, the army determined where I lived and as such where I went to school. But my dad must have wanted to minimise how much direct contact with the army that my brother and I had as he "didn't bring the Army home with him". He would leave for work before I got up and would always go for a run before heading home so that he always came home in sports clothes, never his army uniform. While he may have kept the visual components of being a soldier hidden from me, this pattern of behaviour, a distinct set of actions to achieve an aim, modelled for me a structured way of organising life. Looking back I can see this was a military way of looking at things. This way of thinking was reinforced by my parents throughout my upbringing. Whether it was the cycle of tears from my mother at the poor state of the kitchen each time we moved into a new married quarter house followed by her refurbishment of the offending kitchen or my father's three month preparation for a two-week solo bushwalk he was planning, the systematic approach to preparation, conduct and refurbishment of an activity was an approach that I was always comfortable with. And even though my father kept his work and family life separate as much as possible, there were still open days on the barracks, family functions at Christmas in "the Sergeant's Mess" and dad's obligatory slide shows. For me, far from being separated from the army, the army's influence and allure of being a soldier was always there.

Surviving school transitions

Being the son of a soldier, I was moved around the country whenever my dad got posted. This meant a new primary school in Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, for year 5, a new high school in Newcastle, New South Wales, for year 7 before moving to another high school in Newcastle once we moved out of hotel accommodation into a married quarter house. This was followed by a move to Millicent High School, South Australia, for a repeat year of first year high school (accommodating an age/year level difference between the education systems of New South Wales and South Australia). I attended year 9 of high school in Melbourne and finally, year 10 and 11 in Devonport,

Tasmania. While certainly not as many changes as some army kids, I adapted to the movement into new schools with a strategy that became almost routine to me.

The plan was simple. Get into the classes and focus on the schoolwork. During recess and lunch it was walking in and around the school grounds during the first few weeks. What this allowed me to do was to observe the different groups around the school. It also gave me an appearance of purpose. This was an intentional defensive tactic against being singled out and picked on. As the first few weeks went by I slowly gravitated to the individuals and groups that I felt most comfortable with, both in class and out of class. This strategy proved effective in negotiating the transition to the many schools that I moved to and allowed me to actually be a member or a tolerated outsider of a broad spectrum of school groups.

While I look back now and can see that this strategy was also isolating, it did work for me. I eventually became aware that I had developed my own philosophy: be in the group but not of the group. What this meant was that I could join and act with a particular group but that no other group could use my membership of that group against me. As such, I became very adept at observing, contemplating and reflecting on the social environments I moved through. When other students asked me about a particular social situation, I was able to discuss considered and alternative viewpoints. So prevalent was this situation that the student body voted me as the person in year 9 at my school most likely to become a psychologist. While most of my views were about my own sense making of the school life that I was going through, perhaps the other students had seen something else. Maybe they could see a future for me based on the comment and advice they had received from me. I was chuffed at the time as I saw this as a valid identification that the other school students had placed on me. However, although the job of a psychologist presented itself as a future employment path for a short time I have always figured, from those high school years on, that I could not help other people with their internal issues of self if I hadn't worked out my own.

For me, my observations of day-to-day interactions in the schoolyard and in my home life were always part of finding my own self, as a boy, as a son, as a student and as a young man. And it was in my two favourite activities that I captured and explored who I was and what I was becoming: drawing and playing soldier. Being from an army family, playing soldier was second nature for me, and was an activity I enjoyed without too much awareness of any personal development that the game play may have been a part of. Drawing on the other hand was different. Drawing, and art in general, was an

activity where I was both consciously aware of my development and active in my pursuit of mastery. This pursuit would lead to a developing sense of self, to an awareness of my "becoming" an artist.

Becoming an artist

I vividly remember the day I first became aware that I was good at art. I don't remember how old I was but the time must have been either just prior to starting school or at least during the first year or two. It was definitely before I was 10 as the piece of artwork, a painting, was done while at a childcare centre in an outer Northern suburb of Melbourne and the year I turned 10 my family moved to Wagga Wagga in New South Wales. Maybe it was on a school holiday program as the day, according to my recollection, was bright and clear and I was not at school.

The group was painting on easels that were placed in a row. I don't know if we were asked to paint a topic of our own choice but my creative bucket was evidently empty that day. While I don't remember deciding to copy the painting of the boy beside me, I am keenly aware that the topic of the painting I chose, a bird's eye view of a formula 1 racing car, was a copy of his. I was not consciously trying to gain praise through someone else's idea. Rather I was taking inspiration from and imitating an artist, all be it another child, with a more developed skill, much as an art student might replicate a work by one of the great masters. That said, this single piece of artwork is the earliest piece of artwork that I can recall as consciously acknowledging my ability in art, as well as the appreciation that others can show for my work and the sense of pride and satisfaction I took from their reactions.

Throughout my schooling years I developed a range of skills as I was exposed to more artists and their work. Drawing became an artistic tool to not only express myself in arts class but also to enhance other assignment work in other topics. Whether it was a small pencil scratch-drawing (making a silhouette with a grey lead pencil) of Jesus on the cross in religious studies absentmindedly on the side of my exercise book or a highly detailed hand drawing of an FA-18 Hornet fighter aircraft on my wall poster assignment on a topic of choice assignment, I incorporated art and drawing into any assignments I could. Needless to say, this additional effort in the presentation of assignments gave me a huge sense of self-pride and was generally reinforced by comments from the teachers, although not necessarily from my parents. There were occasions, especially in my later years of high school where it was pointed out to me that I needed to concentrate as much on the content as I did on the presentation.

By the time I had reached my second year of high school my drawing had become what I consider reasonably proficient. By this I mean that my skill level was high but I compared myself to the one or two other students who were, by my judgement and the teachers, clearly better than me. One example is a painting and sketch work of another year 10 student in my art class. He was fascinated and passionate about trains. His painting of a steam engine and carriages as his end of year display piece, along with his sketch of a miniature steam engine in a picnic basket, was exquisite. But I was not envious of these other young artists. I was impressed with what they could do, and just like replicating the formula 1 car, I took inspiration in the ideas and techniques from other students' work and slowly practiced them and integrated them into my own style.

As a high school student, I saw myself as an aspiring artist or artist in the making. However, it was the influence of movies and television and my free drawing outside of school where I was developing my skills in a new technique, cartooning. In the last years of primary school I started drawing cartoon-like drawings. Not cartoon strips or images as such but drawings that were between "realistic" drawings and a child's drawing. This technique let me artistically explore more subjects and themes, unhindered by my skill limitations when creating realistic drawings or sketches. These topics often came from television or movies. One of the most memorable was as space battle between helmeted characters with propulsion packs firing lasers at each other, all inspired by the final battle scene in the film *Moonraker* (Gilbert, Broccoli, & Wood, 1979). Then there was the drawing of my own group of "ghost busters" (Reitman, Aykroyd, & Ramis, 1984) after the movie was released. All the time, this cartooning technique was developing. As my schooling years continued, where others would "doodle" in the margins and pages of their exercise books, I would draw cartoon style characters and scenes.

I took a lot of inspiration in developing my cartoon style, just as I had in that first cognisant painting. From my favourite comic strips of *Hagar the Horrible* by Dik Browne (1973-1988) and, what I consider an outstanding body of work, *Footrot Flats* by Murray Ball (1976-1999) to my exposure to the dead pan humour of *The Far Side* (Larson, 1980-1995), which I felt was written by a kindred spirit of eternal dad-jokes, all my favourite cartoons had some kind of influence on my developing style. None more so than Don Martin (Martin, 2016), a regular in the *MAD Magazine* comics. The clean lines of his characters fitted how I was developing in my style and I replicated his

distinctly oval-shaped facial feature techniques for eyes, nose and ears directly. They gave me a new found confidence in my drawing as it made me feel that I had found my style, or at least the pathway to it. In later years I would make these features rounder but the influence can be seen through the later artefacts in this study.

In 1985 I entered a new world of subject matter to inspire my drawing. In that year my old friend from across the road introduced me to the fantasy role-playing game *Dungeons & Dragons* (Gygax & Arneson, 1974). This is a role playing game controlled by a "dungeon master" who controls the scenario and overall gameplay of the players. I, like the other players, developed a fantasy character in the vein of Greek or Roman mythology or from the type of characters from Tolkien's (1954) *Lord of the Rings*: dwarves, elves, orcs, trolls and the like. We each played out imagined lives determined by the roll of dice. Over the next few years playing under several dungeon masters I experimented with a range of character types and attributes. I started drawing my characters as well as a range of multi-character scenes as a way of visualising the essence of the game play I had been involved in, of my individual characters as well as their experiences in the game. While the drawings were predominantly for me, my fellow players enjoyed seeing them as an expression of our collective interest in the game and the shared experience we had in the imagined world.

So at the end of my time at high school, I felt that I was a pretty well developed artist. I thought that this might be a pathway that I could follow into the working world. I even did work experience at a small graphic design firm in Tasmania. Despite my passion for art and drawing, and even though I identified as an artist, my years of playing soldier set me on a different path.

Playing soldier

Ever since I could remember I played soldiers. Playing soldier in the back and front yard was a major part of my life growing up. Using anything as a gun I played out scenes from movies and television or came up with my own war scenarios with friends or by myself. In my own space in my room I would continue this play with toy soldiers and army vehicles and play out larger scale scenarios, making decisions more as a general, although I never consciously envisioned myself in that role. In each town or city I moved to over the next 10 years I found friends who also liked playing soldiers. This play culminated in 1983 with a group of about 12 boys in various items of military uniforms supplied by my father and wooden guns playing in two teams over an acre around our local gun-club quarry, Paint-Ball without the paint-ball. Even when I was

alone I would often dress in army uniform items and play out scenes, usually from movies or television, as much to give me something to do as it was to give me a sense of comfort as well as a sense of moving toward service for a greater purpose than my own.

I was thoroughly enthralled with war movies and television shows. Throughout my life leading up to joining the Army, movies and television were a constant source of social reinforcement of my desire to be a soldier. In my pre and early teens I was engrossed in movies from World War II, be it serious portrayals like *The Longest Day* (Zanuck, Annakin, Marton, & Wicki, 1962) about the D-Day landings, *The Fighting Rats of Tobruk* (Chauvel & Munro, 1944) and *The Great Escape* (Sturges, 1963) or the fictitious story lines such as *Kelly's Heroes* (Katzka, Leob, Beckerman & Hutton, 1970) and its mixed genre placement of a "hippie-like" character and *The Eagle Has Landed* (Niven, Weiner, & Sturges, 1976) with its hypothetical assignation attempt of Winston Churchill. On television, shows such as *The Rat Patrol* (Gries, 1966) set in the Western Desert, *Baa, Baa, Black Sheep* (Cannell, DeGuere, Beaton, Conrad, Doheny, & Doniger, 1976-1978) set in the South Pacific and *Hogan's Heroes* (Fein & Ruddy, 1965-1971) set in a German prison camp were must watch events each weekday.

As I got older and matured through my early teens (1981-1986), from my mind, so did the movie and television war genre. For me, movies and shows started to explore more explicitly personalised and developed approaches to the topic of war and the various forms that it can take. Little did I realise at the time, the late 1970s and the 1980s marked a change in the war genre resulting from the unpopularity of the Vietnam War (Hoffman, 2014). To me the movies seemed to be focusing much more on the story of an individual or small groups rather than the broader military picture. By this I mean that in the movies already mentioned you could see how a whole campaign was playing out across a broad scale whereas in later films the larger geopolitical or military strategic actions are either absent or used only as a backdrop to the human story. The Peter Weir directed film *Gallipoli* (Lovell, Stigwood & Weir, 1981) is a prime example. It is set in the scene of the Allied forces' Dardanelles campaign in World War I but follows the fictitious story of one young man from outback Western Australia to his death on the Gallipoli peninsula.

Gallipoli (Lovell, Stigwood & Weir, 1981) was the first film that I connected to personally, not as a connection to the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps or ANZAC legacy which has had such an encompassing and enduring impact on the

broader Australian identity (Donoghue & Tranter, 2013), but rather a personal connection to the life (and death) of "a" soldier. In it I found a grittier "truth" about war, its futility and the flashes of beautiful humanity that can occur within it, particularly sacrifice for the group and the country. *The Wild Geese* (Lloyd & McLaglen, 1978), a movie about a band of UK mercenaries operating in central Africa, showed me that sometimes the right thing can be done for the wrong reason, and that the success of a mission can be influenced by powers beyond our control. And *First Blood* (Feitshans, Kassar, Vajna, & Kotcheff, 1982), the first movie of the *Rambo* franchise, as with *Apocalypse Now* (Coppola, 1979), showed me that there was an emotional toll to pay when someone comes back from war. Hoffman (2014) notes this change in direction of the genre captured the "public's disillusionment towards war" (Hoffman, 2014) but despite public sentiment and the perception that "the vast majority of war films since the Vietnam War have made a point to more deeply address the horrors of war" (Hoffman, 2014), there were two war movies that reinforced rather than undermined my sense of becoming a soldier, regardless of the portrayal of the devastation, sacrifice, horror and drudgery of war. For me Kubrick's (1987) *Full Metal Jacket* as well as Kopelson and Stone's (1986) *Platoon* were the final motivating factors to my seeking membership of the army.

Set in the Vietnam War, *Full Metal Jacket* (Kubrick, 1987) was taken from the perspective of a single individual, firstly in recruit training and then on deployment in Vietnam into urban combat zones. Not only did the movie fulfil my veracious appetite for all things military, the setting in the urban environment took me straight back to the slide shows my father had shown me of his time deployed in Vung Tau, Vietnam. The movie made me feel like I was seeing and sharing a bit of his experience.

Platoon (Kopelson & Stone, 1986), also set in the Vietnam War, focused on an individual's experience, however in this film the themes were explored through a twelve-month deployment window of that individual. But it was not just the movie that made it significant to my developmental journey. More importantly to me was the fact that I went to see it with my dad and that afterwards we discussed the merits of the movie. We discussed the movie's effectiveness as a representation of the Vietnam War, the emotional tug on the individual soldier between competing social groups, and effective and non-effective leadership. It was the only time we had discussed anything closely related to his experience. For me, it also felt like we were discussing as peers as well as in that tradition of a father handing on the family secrets to the son, a tradition

that, even as a boy, I was acutely aware of and definitely embraced. But despite my years of playing soldier, the goal of being a soldier when I left school was not my original plan.

Planning my military career

Even though I liked playing soldiers, being introduced to making and painting model aircraft and heavily influenced by my friend across the street, my first military goal was to become a fighter pilot. Cliché, maybe, but I quickly developed a passion for making the plastic model aircraft. Here I found a beautiful combination of my passion for the military, particularly World War II aircraft and my enjoyment and skill at art. Painting and decorating the aircraft gave me a way to express myself and my creativity through developing the colour schemes and camouflaged patterns. As my teen years progressed I included World War II navy vessels and then model tanks and helicopters into my collection. This hobby continued into my first year of army apprenticeship where being paid a wage let me practice on more detailed plastic model kits.

My goal of being a fighter pilot changed when in Year 10 at a public high school in northern Tasmania. I had the perception that enrolling in advanced maths, science and English subjects would make me more competitive in the selection process for becoming a fighter pilot. This of course was predicated on the assumption that I would be successful in the advanced subjects as I was in the standard maths, science and English subject for year 10. The assumption proved to be flawed as I achieved "at standard" results for the advanced subjects rather than the expected "above standard" results. These results made me re-evaluate my perceived career options against a hierarchy of military positions that I had created in my own mind. I positioned a fighter pilot as the highest value military identity. As I had received lower than my perceived requirements of fighter pilot I "lowered my goals" to that of a transport aircraft pilot, considering it a high value calling but lower than that of fighter pilot.

In year 11, now at a Tasmanian matriculation college, I again enrolled in elective units that I thought would give me the best competitive advantage to be recruited as a pilot. I added an enrolment in economics, advanced subjects in maths and English and selected the physics stream of science. My choice of economics was a purely strategic choice, as I had no interest or prior knowledge of the subject as shown by my marginal results for the course. Physics didn't do much for me either. Neither economics nor physics proved to be a suitable choice although physics at least provided a pathway from school, which I will highlight shortly.

High school was a very structured and controlled environment with a discipline system that I felt very at home in. Year 11 at the matriculation college however, was quite the opposite. It was, in my opinion, a pathway from school to university and run as such. Students who did not intend going to university either went to vocational training or straight into work. Where year 10 was structured and ordered, I found year 11 to be semi-structured chaos. Classes were compulsory as far as I wanted to turn up, which for physics in the second half of the year was not often. The workload was self-monitored and there were no uniform requirements. While this may sound like an ideal learning environment, I longed for structure and discipline. The lack of it compounded the over stretch of my subject selection which together impacted negatively on my results.

The decline in my school results forced me to reassess my goals and made me even more disenchanted with the environment and culture of the school. By the time I had reached the middle of year 11, even my goal of being a transport aircraft pilot in the air force had changed to a goal of becoming an officer in the Army as I slowly worked my way down my perceived hierarchical value structure of military jobs. Not long after, I was looking for any escape from school. I fell back on the hope of one job that meant the most to me, a soldier, a common fighting soldier, the one thing that I had been practicing for pretty much the whole of my life. So it was that I "defiantly" proclaimed to my parents that I was going to join the army as an infantryman. While my perception of the proclamation was as defiance, my parents had never applied any pressure for me to take any specified path in life. On the contrary, they had been supportive of any of the life decisions I had made of my own volition such as wanting to join the Cub Scouts at age 9 and to play competitive basketball at age 10. I had learned about both activities at school. On this occasion, my proclamation of wanting to be an infantryman, my perception at that age of what a soldier is, set about the longest and most pivotal conversation with my parents that I ever had.

Over the next three hours (that's right, a 16 year old actually conversing with his parents for three hours, that in itself makes this event momentous) I sat with my parents and discussed my options in the army. They wanted me to consider an apprenticeship so that if life in the army did not turn out as I imagined that I would have a trade to fall back on. But I baulked, mainly from a perception that I had created when I wanted to be an officer that I was set for greater things than a base trade. My conception was that all trades were manual labour trades like metal work and woodwork. Not being particularly

adapt at those types of skills, I was very resistant to the idea. But as the conversation went on the pragmatism of the apprenticeship began to sink in. But what trades would I like to do? My response to the question was even more pragmatic, which one paid the most? So it was that I settled on applying to become an electronics technician apprentice in the Australian Army. But deciding to join is not the same as being accepted to join.

To be honest, I felt that I scraped in through the recruitment process due to three things. Firstly, that I had actually attended the physics classes in the first term. During these attendances I was taught the fundamentals of electronics and electricity, such as Ohm's law and basic light circuits. The second thing that helped me was that I had a friend who was taking the electronics subject. Before my interview he took me through recognition of electronics components and pointed me in the direction of my local electronics hobby store to buy my first electronics project, an FM transmitter. But what I think really got me across the line was the fact that my dad had been in the Army and that as the son of a soldier I had a fuller understanding of the impact on my life outside of my future job in the Army, particularly the transient life of moving to a new location every couple of years.

But what of myself as an artist? Well, my yearning to be a soldier was not to the detriment of my becoming an artist. Rather, my father, an Australian Vietnam veteran, had a book that combined my passion to be a soldier with my passion for drawing. The book was called *How to live in Vietnam for less than 10 cents per day* (Abood & Ranfone, 1968) and would be the most significant artefact in the development of my identification as a soldier artist and my connection with my dad.

How to live in Vietnam for less than 10 cents per day (Abood & Ranfone, 1968) is a collection of cartoons by an American soldier in the Vietnam War. It captured the simple everyday activities of soldiers at war, such as the weather, the boredom and the fear. It was an inside look into a world that was not fully explored in the war movies, television shows, books, novels and obligatory *Commando* (1961) comic books I had immersed myself in. As an early teen, my dad would let me borrow the book to read. Each time was like his trust in me to respect and honour an artefact that was so important to him made me feel more a part of his military history. I became more enthralled and attached to it each time I devoured its pages. But this artefact was not the only thing that I was aware of my father passing on to me. I was also aware of the moral standards my family had set, a code of behaviours and principles that must have been

handed down through the generations. A family tradition carried from soldier's son to soldier's son.

Maintaining the family tradition

There is something about being the first son of a first son of a soldier. Add to that, with a mother who was a soldier and grand mother who was in the air force, I always felt that I was part of a family history that not only valued commitment and sacrifice for Australia but "did their bit". That we were all servants of our country was a source of personal pride and honour. I felt that I was continuing a long line of family service to the country. To me it felt like a responsibility to carry the family name forward.

The feeling or growing awareness of heredity was reinforced by my reading of Tolkien's (1937) *The Hobbit* and *Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1954), novels based around the theme of hereditary birth-rite. In these novels, as in others that I favoured, the central characters had moral values and codes that I strongly related to. I began to see myself and my duty in what could be considered now as being in a romantic light, played out in my *Dungeons & Dragons* (Gygax & Arneson, 1974) game-play and drawings. I say romantic light as I drew on the moral lessons from the fantasy genre and applied them to myself in the real world. Not only did I apply them, I sought to establish my own link to the hereditary feudal systems of middle age Europe and England through my fraternal bloodline. This became more relevant to me as duty to my family became a more central part of who I thought and felt that I was. Central to this moral code was the concept of duty to the family.

For me, duty to my family played itself out as a teenager when I followed my dad's passion outside of his work. My dad had always been a bushwalker and fisherman; from his earliest days as a boy in northern Tasmania until the day he died. His father had been a lover of the bush and his mother, my grandmother, right up until her last years, had bushwalked and trekked Australia and around the world. You could say that putting on a backpack and a pair of sturdy boots was another family tradition. Dad mostly walked solo when I was a small boy. I suppose he was waiting for one of his sons to walk with him as he had done with his father. I don't recall my brother showing much interest in bushwalking but I willingly and happily fulfilled what I saw as my duty, as a first son, to join my dad. While the walks were often arduous and we didn't talk much, the shared experience of overcoming adversity strengthened my connection to him, each trip reinforcing that feeling of pleasure and satisfaction at

fulfilling my family duty. It did not take long for me to start enjoying bushwalking in its own right. In my early years in the army, whenever I came home on leave we would fit in at least an overnight walk. Later, for my long service leave at the 10-year mark of my army service, I bushwalked with a close friend for 250km in the Victorian high country and although my dad was in the last stages of his cancer, he was with us in spirit. He died the next year and bushwalking became the way I maintained his memory and my connection to him.

Just as the book *How to live in Vietnam for less than 10 cents per day* (Abood & Ranfone, 1968) became an important artefact for me after my dad died, so too, bushwalking became a way for me to introduce my children to their grandfather and pass on the lessons of duty, dedication, perseverance and self-reliance to my children. That I want to pass them on to my children is an indication of how much I embraced those lessons as a young man. What I found back then in those developmental years and lessons in the bush and at home was the moral code my family lived by. A moral code that shaped every facet of my life, both then and now, that I felt and feel duty-bound to continue as a father's son. A moral code that I added to and modified as a child and teenager. And it is at this point, just prior to my enlistment on the 12th of January 1988, that I now turn to the seven drawings that span my military career. In the following chapter I present each of these drawings along with an accompanying description as my data set.

5. I am committed to learning and working for the team
The data

In the first quarter of 1987, at the age of 17, I had been playing soldier and drawing for some 12 years. And even though I had commenced my application for enlistment, I was still drawing my fantasy self. But unlike earlier drawings and artwork, I was now at what I considered the pinnacle of my illustration skills. It was a point in time that coincided with arriving at my own internalised moral code founded on my family values and history. The result was a drawing that I title "Knight in armour".

Drawing 1: Knight in armour

Figure 2. Knight in armour, drawn in black and white prior to my military enlistment, circa 1987.

Knight in armour is a complex pencil drawing of the last of my persona in the fantasy world of *Dungeons & Dragons* (Gygax & Arneson, 1974). The character is a paladin, a Knight in armour, a warrior duty bound to uphold the law and maintain and protect all that is good. They lived by a strict code of honour akin to the historical figures of Templar Knights from the Middle Ages. Paladins are usually portrayed as fighting from horseback however I needed to apply some practicalities to my character in the fantasy world. In particular, riding a horse through caves, dungeons and castles for prolonged times would not be feasible. So I cast my character in a dismounted role but maintained the trappings of a horse-mounted fighter to portray the link to the high moral code.

The first of these trappings is emblazoned on the character's shield. Whilst hard to discern due to my inclusion of battle damage on the shield, it is a downturned head of a stallion with a tip of a lance, a weapon used from horseback, to its left. I designed these because I wanted to give my character the look and feel of coming from a legitimate hereditary line. Below the mane of the stallion are three circles. These I included as three golden orbs, indicating that the character had three sons. Again, I was building a history and future for my character to give him depth and feeling. I created a tradition in my character's family that the shield and pennon of a knight in the hereditary would give acknowledgement to the past, the stallion and lance, while proclaiming the future, the bloodline that would carry the family name forward. While the orbs cannot be seen, the pennon flies from the head of the short lance, the next of the trappings that I used to connect my character to an equestrian family history.

I equipped my character with a fighting lance as opposed to a jousting or competition lance. Again, I had deliberately chosen this form of the weapon to fit with the practicalities of a fighter operating from the ground where the fighting lance could be used in the fashion of a spear. To separate lance from the spear I added external spikes to the head of the lance. In a real application of this imagined weapon, this head could not effectively penetrate a target by hand alone. Rather it would require the type of momentum provided by a charging horse. Were the character fighting from horseback, his armour would have to accommodate the seated position in the saddle. As such, the sculptured groin plate is the final reference in the drawing to the mounted Knight in armour.

This drawing was part of a growing private collection of artwork I created. I enjoyed showing other players and people the drawing but they never motivated it.

Rather, I was motivated by a combination of enjoyment of the fantasy role-playing and sketch drawing, that is, drawing something and making it look as realistic as possible, even if it was imaginary. I used this technique a lot in school arts classes and on reflection I think that I associated it with a more formal or academic style of art. But in this drawing I took this technique and applied it in my free drawing outside of school art assignments. For me, this was daunting because I still hadn't quite worked out how to effectively represent metallic surfaces and human proportioning to maintain realism was still somewhat of an issue for me. However, the result was a work that I have always considered as one of my standout pieces, not just because of my technique but also because of the depth of story that it tells, a created warrior history captured by the work.

Although the warrior was always inside me, my path into the army was specifically through training to prepare me for a combat services support role, that is, a role where I was not a combat soldier. This training began at the Australian Army Apprentice School by becoming an army apprentice or "Appy" as we were known. While not necessarily the warrior path, I still managed to make it that way for myself.

Drawing 2: The Appy

In 1989 I was in my second year of my electronic technician apprenticeship. The euphoria of being a soldier I felt throughout my first year was gone as I fought what my friends back home called "the second-year blues". It was hard for me to make the distinction between high school and the apprentice school as I was still in a classroom and a uniform. The only real difference was that I was being paid. While I was dressed as a soldier and we did do military training through my trade studies, I still didn't feel like a fully-fledged soldier. But I did feel like a fully-fledged apprentice, which is captured by Figure 3.
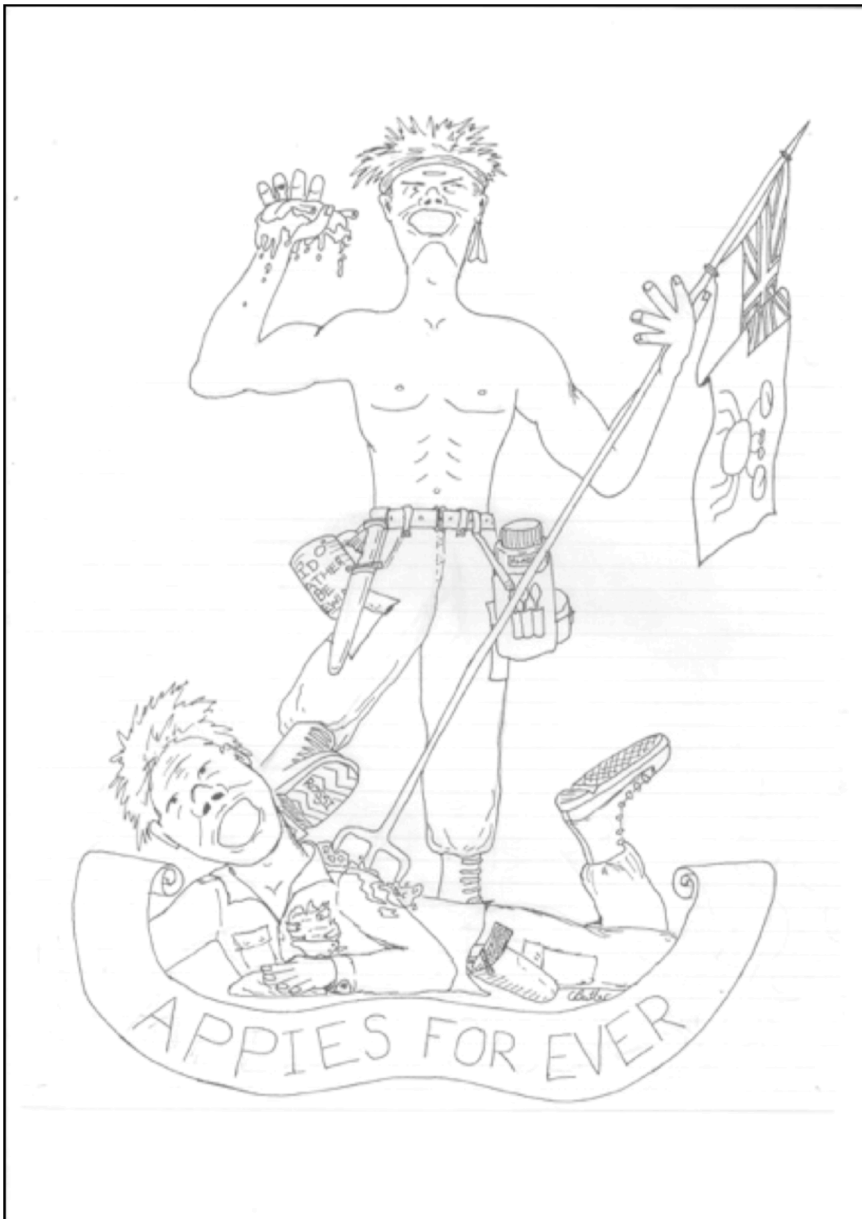

Figure 3. The Appy, drawn in black and white during my Australian Army Apprentice School classes, circa 1989.

So many pages of my high school notebooks were littered with little drawings or designs. Some related to the topic at hand however many were done as a distraction when I had finished my work, before the teacher was ready to move on in the class. My time at the Australian Army Apprentice School was no different. My notebooks had fewer drawings but when I did draw they tended to be full-page drawings such as *The Appy*. They also tended to be free drawn in ballpoint pen, that is, in ink. This is in contrast to my free drawing and school arts classes where I used pencil. Pen art created a high level of risk to the quality of the drawing. I had many failed drawings in my notebooks where a simple error in proportion, technique or spelling resulted in pictures half finished. So *The Appy* not only represents a period of time in class that I was distracted but also a considerable amount of time given the concentration I must have committed to get this drawing to that standard.

I initially started this piece of artwork not as representation of army apprentices but rather as a way to address what I considered as being a deficiency in my drawing skills, that of being able to accurately depict the human form. I was very conscious that my characters created in my other artworks were drawn with straight bodies and limbs. I had struggled to master the intricacies of muscle tone and other body shapes, both covered and uncovered. But it was one of my classmate's interests in bodybuilding magazines that provided the motivation for this drawing. While this was the motivation, like so many of my drawings, the artwork soon took on a life of its own.

As drawing muscle tone was the skill I was practicing, it was only natural for me to depict my character as a bare-chested young warrior "befitting" the collective way that my class group and I saw our selves. By befitting I mean that it was a representation of a male dominated military organisation. It was clearly not befitting to the female apprentice member of my class and neither would it have been appropriate for me to draw a bare-chested female warrior. That said, I wanted to cram in as many references that, to my mind at the time, hyper-militarised the drawing in this representation of the electronic technician apprentices or "Boffs", short for boffins, as we were known by other army trade apprentices.

I gave my character four warrior artefacts. The first was a headband. This was a direct reference from the *Rambo* (Feitshans, Kassar, Vajna, & Kotcheff, 1982) movie franchise. The second artefact was a trident weapon, a reference taken from the movie *Spartacus* (Lewis & Kubrik, 1960) and the gladiatorial fighting systems of ancient

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Rome. Coupled with this reference was the third artefact, the Australian service issued bayonet. This was added instead of a short sword hanging from the belt as a way of contextualising the gladiator reference to my Australian perspective. The final artefact was the extracted heart. This was a reference taken from the 1984 film *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (Watts & Spielberg, 1984) where the protagonist extracts a "sacrificial" heart as part of a cult ceremony or rite. Being a military theme I wanted to give my character a counter-foil and in military terms this is the enemy. Of course to hyper-militarise the drawing the enemy must have been "vanquished". As such I created a character based on a representation of a North Vietnamese army soldier, drawing heavily from the movies *Platoon* (Kopelson & Stone, 1986), *Full Metal Jacket* (Kubrick, 1987) and *The Odd Angry Shot* (Milliken & Jeffrey, 1979).

As my creative process progressed with this drawing I made it take on a heraldic tone. Like symbols on a coat-of-arms, I added the coffee mug and thermos, a crab, a flag based on an Australian State flag and the scroll. The mug and thermos were added as a colloquial reference that was significant to the electronic technician apprentices. The crab was added as a colloquial reference that was significant to all apprentices. The crab was used in the state based flag design to both give it a legitimate feel and to highlight subservience to the national cause. And finally, I under-scored, literally, the design with a scroll, in the same vein as *Knight in armour*, with a statement of loyalty to the army apprentice community, past, present and future. This loyalty was paramount while at the army apprentices' school and lingers still to this day. But when I had graduated it was the job that I had enlisted for, an electronic technician, which became the main focus of who I felt I was.

Drawing 3: Techs at work

In January of 1992, at the age of 22, I "marched-in" as a telecommunications technician, that is, as a specialist electronic technician, to the 2nd Signal Regiment in my home town of Melbourne. No sooner had I done so than I was informed that I would be deploying to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) mission for twelve months as part of the Force Communications Unit. Unlike previous wars and deployments of Australian forces that were lead by and focussed on combat operations, this was an Australian mission solely focused on the deployment of communications capability, an Australian contingent founded on the Royal Australian Corps of Signals. For me, I saw this as an opportunity to record my time in drawings. One of those times is captured in my third drawing, which is titled "Techs at work".

Figure 4. Techs at work, drawn in black and white during my United Nations deployment in Cambodia, circa 1992, and digitally coloured circa 2001

During the preparation time, prior to my deployment in April, I made a conscious decision, inspired by *How to live in Vietnam for less than 10 cents per day* (Abood & Ranfone, 1968), to record my experience on deployment through drawing. My intent was that my drawings would add to the recorded military history of the Australian army. I prepared myself by creating a drawing kit comprised of a large thin plastic container to protect my sketchpads, pencils, felt-tip pens, sharpeners and erasers. This kit went everywhere with me on my deployment so that if I was inspired by events I could start my preliminary sketches. In itself, this kit is a personally significant artefact, one that I carried on deployment to Iraq in 2004 and which is still tucked lovingly into the back of a shelf in my wardrobe. But it was not just operationally significant events that I wanted to capture. Just like *How to live in Vietnam for less than 10 cents per day* (Abood & Ranfone, 1968), I wanted to capture the mundane events, the downtime of my deployment. One of those times is shown in *Techs at work*.

In *Techs at work* I have captured an actual afternoon outside my accommodation room in the area allocated to the telecommunications technicians. In it I wanted to capture the individuals that I lived with and shared in this operational experience. While I neither was nor am skilled at caricatures, that is exaggerated but realistic drawings of an individual, I still found ways to characterise each of the figures in the drawing. I gave each subject additional detail which I associated with that individual. Whether it was the character giving haircuts, playing the harmonica or kicking the football, in each character I am reminded of the individual and our shared deployment.

I added other items in the picture to record the conditions I lived in. I added a wooden frame with orange electrical conduit or pipe supporting the net above the soldier sleeping on the stretcher. The carpenter constructed these in sets when we first arrived in country to keep off the threat of mosquito-borne malaria. The hammock was added to show that even in the strict weight limit control for our initial deployment, essential military items only, that contraband items could still make it through. In this case hammocks were "smuggled" into country as a small creature comfort, rolled up in our army-issued stretchers. The clothesline, local house in the background and the layout of the steps and pillars were all taken directly from our living environment. The most important of all the additions to the drawing was the deck of cards.

To me, a deck of cards was the ultimate entertainment before the age of smartphones. There was not one gathering of army telecommunications technicians, either on that deployment or anywhere back in Australia, that did not pass the downtime

with games of "500", "Euchre" or "Arse" (a humorously denigrating card game where the loser of the last round, the Arse, is required to shuffle, deal, give up their best two cards to "the President" in exchange for the president's two discarded cards, ultimately decreasing the arse's chances of winning the round and increasing the chance of retaining the arse role and collect cards played each hand). So important was a deck of cards to the technicians and I that I chose them as the focal point for the action in the drawing.

I should note at this point that the original artwork in *Techs at work*, as with all but three drawings during the deployment, where black and white. It was not until some seven years later that I digitally coloured the picture. When I did, I deliberately added the colours and coloured-band proportions of the Royal Australian Corps of Signals on the back of the playing cards to situate the type of electronic technician, in this case telecommunications technicians. But I also included the reference as a connection between my own deployment to Cambodia with the Corps of Signals and my father's deployment to Vietnam with the Corps.

For me, composition and balance in a piece of artwork has always been imperative. I generally fill the empty spaces with contextually appropriate filler so the picture has a feeling of balance. In the case of *Techs at work* I had captured the mundane life of not being on shift but was left with a void in the bottom left corner. After some contemplation on this problem, it struck me that my collection of drawings was just recording the deployment from an outsiders perspective. While this was clearly my intent I realised that I was a part of that history and not just an observer so I filled the void in the drawing with a representation of myself in the "mundane act" of observing and recording through the act of drawing the historical event.

While capturing myself was no easy task, *Techs at work* was my first successful attempt to represent myself accurately in some artistic form. This form would become the basis of "my approved" projection of my physical self in my cartoons from that time forward. Well, while I say from "that time forward", my next significant body of cartooning work after Cambodia would be an anthropomorphic representation to record another historical event. In this series, my "approved" representation of myself would appear only in the first three panels of a comic strip that I created called Mux Regoat.

Drawing 4: Mux Regoat

In 1993 I returned from Cambodia back to Melbourne and the 2nd Signal Regiment, which had changed title to the Land Force Signal Unit while I had been deployed. At the end of 1995 the unit was given orders to disband in Melbourne and reform in Sydney as the 145th Signal Squadron. So it was, as a 25 year old who had been in the army for seven years, that this born-and-bred Melbournian found himself at the start of 1996 in the "strange and foreign world" — of Sydney.
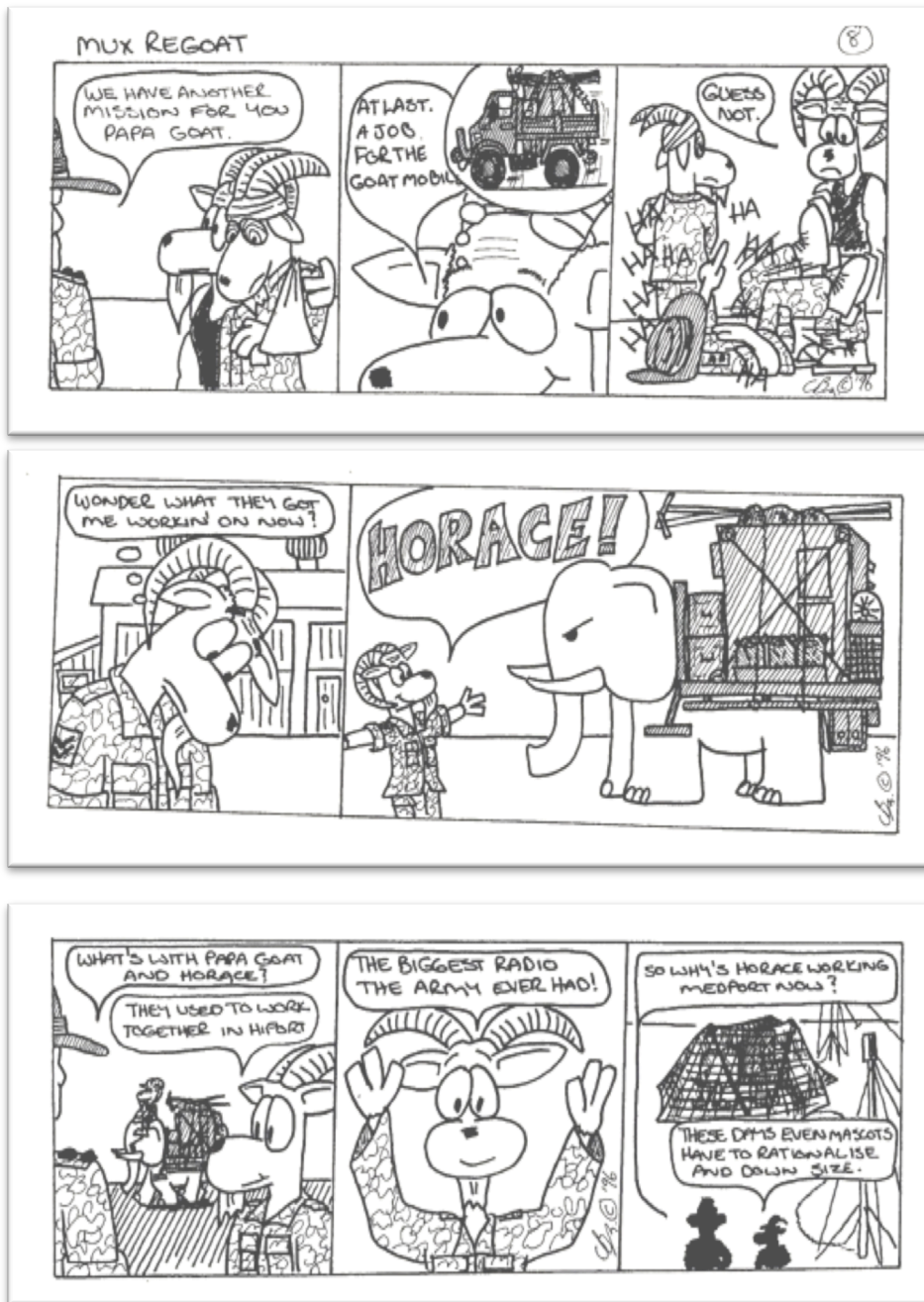

Figure 5. Mux Regoat, drawn in black and white during my posting to the 145th Signal Squadron based in Sydney, circa 1996.

As I had done before my deployment to Cambodia, when my unit moved to Sydney I once again made a conscious decision to record my experience through cartooning. As part of the move I was allocated to lead a newly created capability team operating a small transportable telephone exchange and data-switching centre that would be connected by a radio link back to the main switchboard and data router. It was designated as a remote multiplexing detachment (team) or MUX-REMOTE. As the team leader for this newly created capability, I created a detachment culture to bring my small team together. The best way I knew how was to create a mascot and identity for the new team.

Having a mascot had been a very effective way to bind the teams I was part of in Melbourne. The Heavy Radio trunking teams held our mascot Horace in high veneration. Trunking is a term used in telecommunications to indicate the connection between two message switches or telephone exchanges. Unlike my new, small point-to-point radio link, my High Power Radio Terminal or HIPORT and its "little brother", the Medium Power Radio Terminal or MEDPORT, provided long distance over-the-horizon radio links. With the teams' equipment being mounted on trucks and being "trunks" it was only natural that the mascot would be an elephant. Now I wanted to recreate the affinity that I had in the previous team with our own mascot.

Eliciting from my team members a suitable animal to be our mascot, a goat, a word phonetically similar to the "mote" sound in mux-remote, the identity of mux-regoat was born. The flow on effect was a cartoon series that involved representing my team and myself as goat-headed characters as the running gag of a comic strip, penance, together with our being "ripped out" of our beloved Melbourne by the hand of God, for our "crimes" of the past. I created an image and persona for myself, and borrowing from the television cartoon series *The Smurfs* (Hanna, Barberra, Monnickendam, & Culliford, 1981-1989), named my character Papa Goat, the reference used in the discourse of *Mux Regoat*. Here I was aiming to be seen in the same way as the character Papa Smurf, as a wise and caring leader and mentor of the individuals under my influence. And it was this caring that starts the first frame. In it I had "rescued" one of my team members, *Rambo* style (Feitshans, Kassar, Vajna, & Kotcheff, 1982), from the computer operators influence. This was the theme of the three strips before *Mux Regoat* and recorded the period of 1996 when one of my team members had been on a 5-day computer operator course. I used the first frame in *Mux Regoat* to link the comic strip to a new task I

received from my troop commander and the next significant event that I wanted to record.

Although I was in a new role, in the early months of 1996 there had not been any serious exercises that my team had been involved in. There had been lots of stock-takes and administrative activities but nothing related to deploying my detachment into the field. When the call did come, as recorded in *Mux Regoat*, it was not for an exercise that I had expected with my new equipment as depicted in the thought bubble in the second frame. Rather, the exercise would be with the "little brother" of my old high power radio equipment. As one of the very few remaining members of the unit with experience with the medium power radio trunking equipment, it fell upon me to take the equipment back to Victoria as a learning activity for Signals officers in training. While I was disappointed to not be deploying my new equipment, I was very happy to be working as an "expert" in the old equipment and I captured this in frame 5 and 6. The punch line of the joke carried through *Mux Regoat* was in relation to the physical size different between the HIPORT and MEDPORT shelters. Both were carried on the trucks with the former being three times bigger. It struck me at that time that working with the "down-sized" radio terminal was a great metaphor and commentary for the Australian Defence Force's downsizing at that time.

Unlike other drawings I had created that were kept in my private collection or in waiting to be published like *Techs at work*, *Mux Regoat* was posted on the pin board in the unit's canteen, as each comic strip in the series was. Here the artwork could be viewed by the soldiers and corporals of the unit during morning and lunch breaks each day and by the senior non-commissioned officers (Sergeants and Warrant Officers Class Two) and officers of the unit on Friday afternoon unit gatherings. While *Mux Regoat* was well received by everyone, being my own situation on display, some other topics I addressed in other sequences were very cynical toward the management of the unit. These cartoons bordered on insubordination, a punishable offence in the Australian army. However, my method of publishing the pieces, that is, internally to unit, meant that I had a ground swell of support from the members at all rank levels. As the issues were not being raised outside the unit it meant that I was moderately safe from any retribution. That is not to say that there were not some close calls. Regardless of that threat, I was fighting, through my comic strip, for a form of social justice in the unit. Rather than being detrimental to my career, I felt that others, at all rank levels, could see my potential as a leader of larger bodies of soldiers than my two team members. My

performance appraisals confirmed this and it was not long before I was undertaking training to prepare for promotion to the rank of sergeant.

Drawing 5: Subject 2 for Sergeant

Having commenced in 1992 as a member of the 2nd Signal Regiment based organisations, 1996 would be my last year. It was now time for me to be posted to another unit. So in 1997, 27 seven years old and starting my ninth year as a soldier, I marched in as a maintenance technician to the Army School of Signals. It was not long before I was identified as a future instructor and as part of my development I needed to be promoted. Not only to be promoted but also to gain a fuller understanding of how Signal's detachments collectively operated in the field. As such, midway through the year I commenced the Royal Australian Corps of Signals Subject 2 for Sergeant course, a course captured in Figure 6.
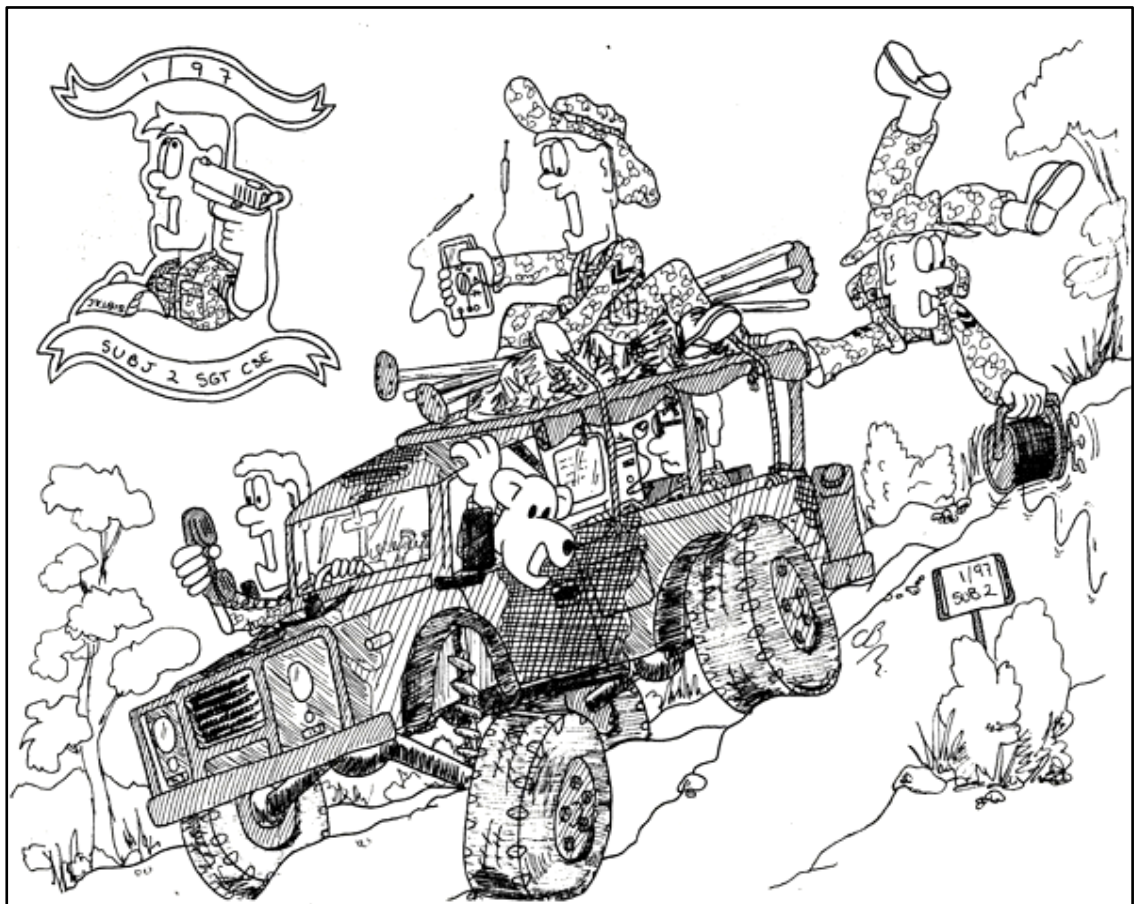

Figure 6. Subject 2 for Sergeant, drawn in black and white during my attendance of the 1/97 session of the Royal Australian Corps of Signals Subject 2 for Sergeant course.

To prepare for promotion to the rank of sergeant all soldiers, regardless of the Corps they belong to under take the Subject 1 for Sergeant course. This course is focused on the common military skills required of all sergeants in the Australian army. It covers topics such as complex parade drill procedures, military law and most importantly leading and supporting a platoon in the field. However, each individual has to be trained and educated in the requirements of his or her specific Corps. For me, this was the Subject 2 for Sergeant RA Sigs course. I found this course both physically and mentally demanding but also the most influential in changing my sense of self in this military environment, a sense of self that changed from worker to supervisor.

Although I had matured in a range of areas across my years since leaving high school, my ability to concentrate in class has never really matured. Once again I found myself drawing little pictures beside my class notes when the topic became dull, tiresome or just that bit beyond my comprehension at that particular moment. Lessons on "Signals tactics" or SIGTAC were a prime example. SIGTAC is knowledge of how a transportable communications network is deployed and defended in a war environment. There were sessions of SIGTAC where I found it incredibly hard to concentrate or even stay awake. These were typically after lunch and if it was also Friday afternoon my interest in the content of the class was extremely low. I would make the charade to a nearby classmate of shooting myself in the head when I was particularly disengaged with the learning. I jokingly considered that suicide would be preferable than sitting in the classroom at that time. I by no means instigated this subtle communication between students but so regularly was it passed without the knowledge of the presenter that I felt that it was becoming a theme of the course. And I captured this notion with a small drawing that can be seen on the upper left corner of *Subject 2 for Sergeant*.

As the course progressed I started the larger drawing to capture our course for posterity. It was an extension of a drawing I had done on my promotion course preparing me for promotion to the rank of corporal. That drawing was a pen drawing of my detachment vehicle but without any characters, a practice of my skill at drawing vehicles as much as it was of recording my experience in that particular course. But for the promotion course for the rank of sergeant I wanted to provide a representation of the five different employment categories within the Corps of Signals, radio operator, electronic warfare operator, computer operator, linesman and my own category, telecommunications technician.

The communications or radio operator, identified by the radio handset, is in the driver's seat of the vehicle. Next to the communications operator sits the electronic warfare operator, depicted by the bear headed character. Whereas I created my goat head reference for my team and those immediately around us, the electronic warfare operators were unique in the Corps of Signals. Their animal reference was acknowledged across the entire Corps of Signals. It is a geographical animal reference as opposed to equipment-based symbology. That is, this reference originates from the training and base location for the electronic warfare operators in Cabarlah, Queensland. "Cabarlah" being phonetically similar with the name "koala" and the colloquial term for koala being "koala bears", the electronic warfare operators became "Cabarlah bears". This term was shortened and as such the electronic warfare operators became and saw themselves as "Bears".

In the back of the vehicle is the computer and information systems operator, one of the very same that had kidnapped one of my team members in Sydney. With a "geek" identity assigned to them by the broader social group within the Corps of Signals, I carried a generalised characterisation I used in the Mux-Regoat series through to *Subject 2 for Sergeant*, thick spectacles and siting in front of a computer. Hanging onto the back of the vehicle in the drawing is a character paying out light field telephone cable or line. This is a representation of the linesman employment category, the smallest category in the Corps of Signals. This representation of hanging on at all costs captures the history and future of this employment category. In 1998 and again in 2005 the Royal Australian Corps of Signals would consider amalgamation or disbandment of this employment category. For the members of this category, with its own potent sense of self, based on historical marginalisation within the Corps, these periods presented high levels of uncertainty for members of that small community. For this reason, in *Subject 2 for Sergeant* I depicted the Linesman "hanging on for dear life". Finally, atop the vehicle, is my own employment category, the telecommunications technician, holding the electronics multi-metre in a rodeo bull-rider pose.

Very early in drawing the main picture in *Subject 2 for Sergeant* I decided that I would turn it into a placemat for the course graduation dinner. However the composition of the scene, the downhill slope of a hill, was an issue, the same I had found in composing *Techs at work*, as it left a large blank space in the top left corner. While I found this acceptable for the original drawing, as inclusion of tall trees behind the vehicle would have cluttered the drawing, for the placemat I felt that it needed

something else. The answer was the suicide motif drawn during class. Together, they captured my shared classroom and field training experience. It was extremely well received by the graduates, course staff and distinguished guests at the dinner. The original was signed by each of the graduates as a spontaneous gesture of history, solidarity and appreciation of my work. That act made me feel very proud and humbled at the same time.

Although the signed work was lost, *Subject 2 for Sergeant* has always been one of my most captivating works, evoking stories and memories of a course I counted as the most physically and mentally demanding of my army career. It would also be the last significant military-focussed artwork I would undertake for some seven years, when I would once again record my experience on deployed operations.

Drawing 6: Baghdad

It was 2004, and after weeks of watching the email traffic to see if I would get the call to deploy and then more weeks in pre-deployment training, I was deployed to the Australian Headquarters in Baghdad, Iraq. I was 34 years old and had been in the army for 16 years. But not only that, I had been married two years and now had a five month old daughter. It was the fact that my six-month deployment would be completed to have me home for her first birthday that made it more palatable for my wife and I. Once again I dedicated myself to recording my experience through cartoons, recording the mundane and ordinary occurrences of another military operation.
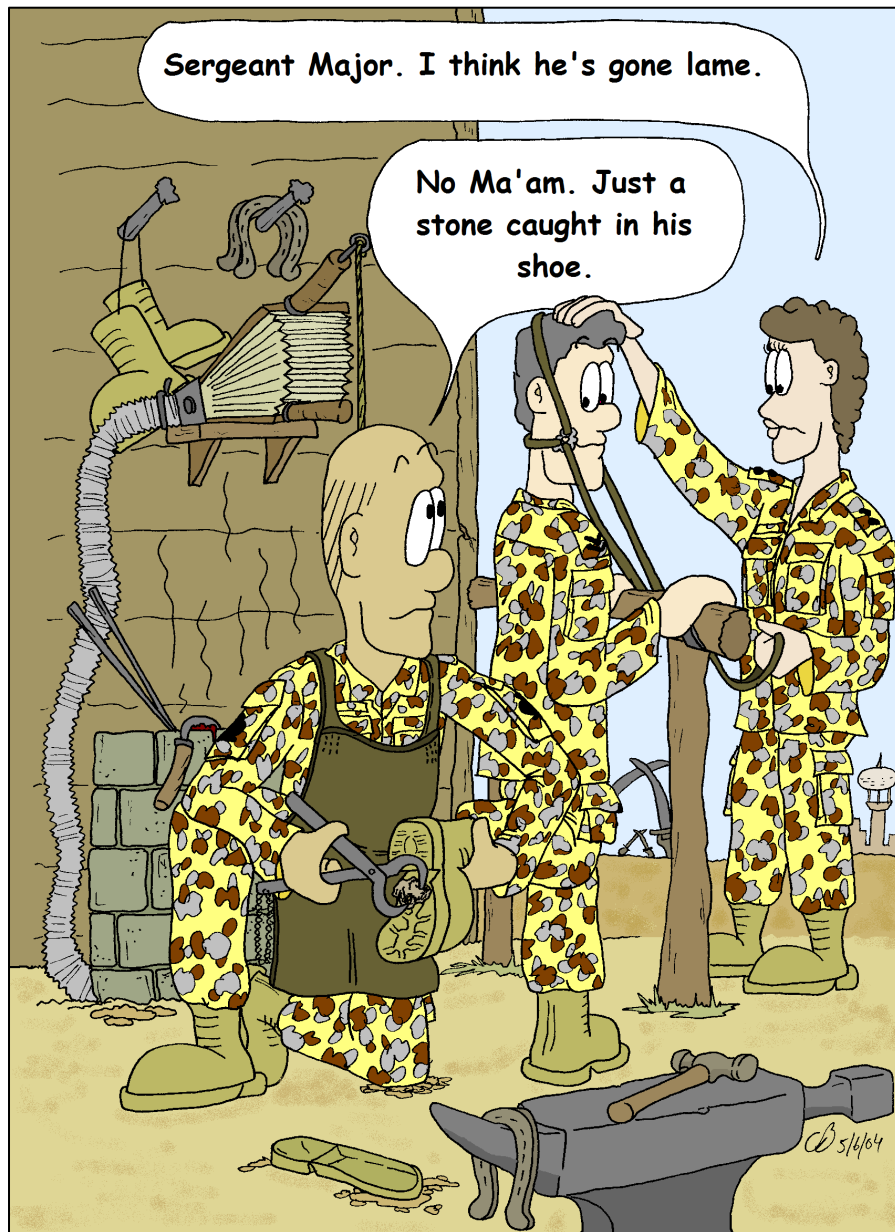

Figure 7. Baghdad, drawn in black and white and digitally coloured during my deployment to Iraq with Australian forces, circa 2004.

Baghdad was hot, dusty and from April until October it was my home. I was working and living in Camp Victory, the palace complex of Saddam Hussein that had been turned into a major operation control centre for United States forces in Iraq. My role was as a telecommunications manager and while I was not under any direct threat from hostile intentions as the Australian infantry and cavalry soldiers were, there were instances of indirect threats across my deployment. On several occasions, indiscriminate mortar and rocket fire landed inside the base perimeter in the vicinity of the buildings housing the Australian headquarters. But, just as in my deployment to Cambodia, my time in Iraq was a story of routine where my job role became the mundane and the mundane became the points of interest and entertainment in the long deployment. Of all the mundane occurrences it was the large stones that would lodge in the tread pattern of my combat boots when walking to and from the camp dining facility that became the most "interesting".

On one instance when walking back from a meal, another large stone lodged in the sole of my boot. It was a repetitious nuisance but sparked a flash of creative inspiration. The idea and image of taking a horse to a farrier when it had "picked up a stone" in its shoe sprang into my mind. It raced as I mentally created the framework for a new cartoon, adding details to the drawing I was already completing in my mind. As it raced I searched for and visualised items that would be in a farrier's workplace such as the fire pit, the bellows and the leather apron. On return to my desk I had to put my thinking on hold but when I had finished for the day my pencil was a blur as I roughed out the scene in *Baghdad*.

I saw myself in the role of the farrier in the same way that I saw myself as the Papa Smurf (Hanna, Barberra, Monnickendam, & Culliford, 1981-1989) role in *Mux Regoat* series. It was a sense that as the telecommunications manager and senior technician I was always there to help my teams and team members with any problem. The analogy of the horse picking up the stone in its shoe was a great way for me to capture, complete with bit, bridle and reins, that my technicians were the workhorses in the telecommunications world. I also wanted to capture that there were telecommunications technicians in our group from the Royal Australian Air Force and so in this drawing I have drawn the character with the two chevrons on his shoulder, marking him as an Air Force technician team leader.

It was fortuitous at that time that the Troop Commander of the technicians was a female Signals officer. It gave me the opportunity to once again draw a female

character, a skill that I had only became proficient at during this deployment to Iraq. More importantly, it let me draw from discourse in the American Westerns television and movie genre to create a play on the title "Ma'am". Ma'am is the honourific or formal way for an enlisted soldier or subordinate officer to address a female officer. It was also used extensively in the American Westerns I had watched as a teenager in dialogue between male and female characters and I felt it added to the blacksmith motif. To complete the motif I added those finer details that had been racing through my mind; the anvil, the bellows and the spare horseshoes. Of course the "gag" was about our combat boots so I added the complete set of spare boots and a replacement sole, "just in case".

To finish the drawing, as I still like to do with so many of my drawings, I wanted to give the work a depth as well as situate the scene to Baghdad. To achieve both I added a general object to the horizon line and a very specific object, one that I attached to that fighting soldier side of me that I still nurtured. The general object was the building in the distance with the allusion to Middle Eastern architecture. I say allusion because I had not really studied the form of the architecture in the buildings around Baghdad and I find the representation less than satisfactory. However, for me there was nothing more iconic, in military terms, than the iconic Arc of Triumph. While the name may sound ubiquitous, the arc formed by two giant hands holding giant swords crossed high above the roadway was unique. It was the cross swords statues that I felt truly situated the scene in Baghdad.

My deployment continued as mundane task followed mundane task, punctuated with moments that were a flurry of activity and visits to other parts of Iraq. Throughout the deployment I created more drawings as new flights of inspiration came, adding to my unofficial history of my deployment. But my time would end on that deployment and three years later so would my full-time army career.

Drawing 7: Letting go

In January 2008, at the age of 37, I retired as a full-time soldier after 20 years of service. But retirement was not the conclusion of my life as a soldier. I transferred to the Active Reserve, parading each week and on weekends. My engagement in the reserves would come in fits-and-spurts and in 2011 I finished "playing soldier" and transferred to the Inactive Reserve, on the books but not attending. Then in 2015, seven years after discharging from the regular army, my research supervisors asked, specifically in regards to my military identity, "have you been drawing?". When I responded that I had not they enquired why. I highlighted that I felt there had not been a need. My supervisors indicated that this was an important point to note for my research. However, noting that you "haven't" done a drawing on a topic is like "not thinking of an elephant". As such, like the stone in my combat boot in Iraq, after the meeting I was inspired to create *Letting go*. In it I wanted to record the transition that I could see that I was going through in terms of my identity and my sense of self.

Figure 8. Letting go, drawn in black and white and digitally coloured during the second year of my part time research study, circa 2016.

As the last representation of my military self, I did not feel the need to include any of my identification as a telecommunications technician or manager. Neither did I feel a need to include reference to the locations I was posted to or my operational deployments. I simply wanted to show that I was as an Australian Army Warrant Officer Class 2, a soldier who had as good as reached the pinnacle of his career. I did include a reference to being an apprentice, a crab drawn into the camouflage of the uniform. This was a technique I borrowed from the cartoonist Geoff "Jeff" Hook who would always hide a small fishing "hook" in his cartoons as a "calling-card".

A few years after discharging from the army I had been watching a documentary on Freemasons. My wife, seeing that I must have been floundering a bit without the social connections of the military asked if I would be interested in joining. After some research and Masonic meetings I did eventually join and worked my way through the hierarchical positions within my Lodge. Freemasonry has become a large part of how I see myself and in this drawing I wanted to highlight my primary identity transition from soldier to Freemason. By the time I had reached submission of my research proposal I was in the position of Worshipful Master, that is, the president of my local organisation for that 12 months. As a snapshot in time, I felt it appropriate to draw myself with the regalia of a Master of a Lodge, the collar around the neck with a "square" jewel attached, the gauntlets on each wrist and the three upside down "T" on the apron. However, it was not the only identity transition I have undertaken. The cap and gown that the Freemason "me" is reaching for are those for a Masters of Education degree from the School of Education at Murdoch University in Western Australia. In the drawing I wanted to show that I am reaching for an identity as an academic in adult education. It is a growing sense of who I feel I am, a novice researcher reaching for mastery.

Finally, in the scene I set myself as saying goodbye to myself. The discourse was created without conscious thought but captures the sense of satisfaction that I felt at not only having served as a soldier but also that I had successfully negotiated the transition from soldier to something else — almost. And it is at this point in time that I now exercise my new sense of self. Now, as a novice researcher, I turn to analysing my drawings and descriptions in order to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between all three identities as well as the complexity of my military identity.

6. I believe in trust, loyalty and respect for my Country, my mates and the Army

Analysis

In this chapter I analyse each of the drawings in terms of Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) concept of funds of identity, that is, I identify the internalisation of funds of knowledge as part of my identity work in developing my sense of self (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). In particular I look for practical, cultural, social, geographical and institutional funds of knowledge that I have internalised (Esteban-Guitart and Mole, 2014a) as part of my identity work. I also note other funds of identity not considered by Esteban-Guitart and Mole (2014a) as well as other concepts that provide explanation of military identity development.

Knight in armour

The drawing *Knight in armour* highlights that even at that early stage of my life, "the warrior" was central to my sense of self. However, it is the value that I still place on this personal artefact, the drawing, which is evidence of the strong emotional attachment I continue to have with the warrior identity. Considered from the theoretical perspective of Esteban-Guitart and Mole (2014a), the warrior is a practical fund of identity, that is, it is identification with the knowledge and practicalities of fighting in war. This is evident in the detailed weapons and armour depicted in the drawing, which demonstrate a level of understanding of medieval war or more broadly, to combat in arms. The description of my pre-enlistment history highlights that this understanding of the "combat" fund of knowledge in the medieval context came from emersion in fantasy genre novels with the application of that combat knowledge trialled in the role playing gaming system of *Dungeons & Dragons* (Gygax & Arneson, 1974). *Knight in armour* then, as an artefact related to my *Dungeons & Dragons* (Gygax & Arneson, 1974) group of friends and is also evidence of one of my social funds of identity where I identified as a member of that role-playing group. This method of education, trialling the knowledge through experiential social game-play (mentally experiential as this gaming system relies solely on the interaction of group members), is evidence of a mechanism by which I make meaning of the fund of knowledge I have accessed.

While *Knight in armour* appears to be focused on the warrior concept there is a deeper sense in the drawing, that of weariness of and resignation to a life of service. This can be seen most explicitly in the distant-stare of the character. The drawing is also suggestive, through the concept of "the wandering adventurer", of a transient life, not fixed in any geographical location, reflecting the transient history of my childhood and early teenage years. This is not to suggest that a geographical fund of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a) is not evident in the drawing. Rather, it highlights a further development of Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) geographic fund of identity sub-division where the transience has its own fund of knowledge related to continual geographic dislocation such as how to prepare and how to cope, which is internalised as a geographic fund of identity.
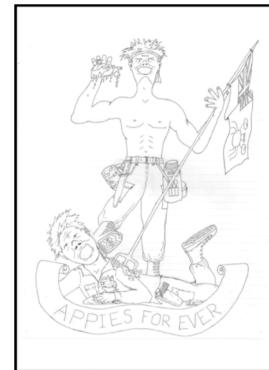
In *Knight in armour*, this transience could be seen as the cause of the weariness however it serves more to highlight that I was already in possession of a considerable vicarious military history through my father's membership in the army. Neither does this sense of weariness indicate that the resignation in the drawing is abject. Rather, the distant-stare has a sense of resolve and a focus on the near future, a dedication to the service required. The identity in the drawing can thus be seen as "dutiful servant" and as such a warrior identity is evidence of my agency in choosing a particular path of service, a participant in preparation for war. Likewise, the nature of that path, a moral warrior fighting for the benefit and defence of others, is evidence of agency in my identity work, wherein I have chosen to internalise the essence of historical chivalric codes (institutional fund of identity) from the European Middle Ages (cultural fund of identity), a temporal and geographical period which are drawn heavily upon in the fantasy genre.

The heraldic devices included in the drawing, that is, the symbols of the down-turned stallions head, lance tip and three orbs, all denote family membership and are thus evidence of my emotional attachment to my own family and its military history in particular. That heraldry, as an institution, is used in *Knight in armour* suggests an ownership of my family history, five military generations on my father's side and at least two generations on my mother's side. Emblazoning a heraldic device declares my membership of that history. Thus, the outcome of my identity work presented in this drawing is a sense of self and identity that can be understood as "a dutiful member of my family in the service of a greater good". It is this meaning that I assign to the

concept of a warrior, where identity as an individual is sacrificed for an identity of the group, an idea akin to Battistelli's (1997) paleomodern motivation.

The Appy

Like *Knight in armour*, *The Appy* appears to be an open declaration of a warrior soldier. However, the difference between the two drawings is that where *Knight in armour* was a figured or created identity based on my knowledge of combat obtained through the social and cultural funds of knowledge presented in popular culture, *The Appy* is evidence of my on-going identity work directly influenced by the formal and informal identity regulation of the Australian army. Although apprenticed as a electronics tradesman, *The Appy* highlights my identity work response to my recruit training (common soldier combat skills), weekly "battle physical training", twice yearly infantry skills exercises in the field and two weeks training and exercise at the Australian army's Jungle Warfare Centre in Canungra, Queensland. The result was a practical fund of identity based on the internalisation of "actual" combat skills, which strengthened my internalisation and emotional attachment as well as validated to a high degree my internalised warrior identity.

The depiction of the vanquished enemy in *The Appy* shows that my identity work also resulted from a cultural fund of identity based on a specific part of Australian army military history, the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War culture at that time was ubiquitous in the Australian military doctrine and as such my formal training was reflective of the lessons learned in that campaign. But just as influential on my identity work was the substantial number of veterans of the Vietnam War who delivered my training or supervised my exercises. Their stories and informal lessons added to both the practical fund of knowledge and the cultural fund of knowledge, all of which I internalised as I continued to develop a sense of being an Australian soldier. However, rather than *The Appy* being an artefact which announces an arrival at this aspirational identity, *The Appy* is more of a transitional drawing which captures a liminal identity (Ibarra, 2005) where I no longer consider myself a civilian but, not having yet been posted to my first army unit, neither do I yet consider myself a "real" soldier.

The identity work in *The Appy* then is not so much a declaration of the warrior but rather a declaration of my membership and strong emotional attachment to the institution of the army apprentice community of practice. This institution has its own

funds of knowledge as evident in the crab symbology and its associated tradition, both of which I have internalised as part of my apprentice identity. The statement of fealty in the banner and the heraldic tone of the drawing are evidence that this institutional fund of identity is accompanied with its own distinct cultural fund of identity, separate to, but dependant on the Australian soldier identity.

As was the case in *Knight in armour*, the use of heraldry is my device of choice to glorify the warrior. Even though there is evidence of a clear affinity to and identification with the apprentice community, the reference to the Vietnam War and gladiatorial fighting systems as well as the character being partially dressed in military uniform highlights that I consider the term soldier to be synonymous with a warrior identity. This definition of a warrior identity had been enculturated through my exposure to popular culture, as evident in the movie references in the drawing. This idea of what a soldier "is" was reinforced through my idolisation of my father as being a soldier and my childhood years of playing soldier. As such, my representation of the army apprentices as warrior soldiers is then evidence of my identity work where I have consciously blended my aspirational identity, the warrior, with an occupational identity, soldier apprentice.

The Appy also presents evidence of identity relativity, that is, multiple identities are presented and given a valence in relation to each other. For the time period of the drawing, my apprentice identity is given a higher valence than my soldier identity, while my identity as an electronics technician appears only as a reference to how my membership in the apprentice system was categorised. While I was given access to the electronics fund of knowledge, *The Appy* is evidence that I had not at that time internalised it as part of my desired identity. This appears to be the result of my identity work where, as discussed in the description of my motivation to join the army, selection of the electronics technician category was a pragmatic pathway to gain membership of the army rather than an emotional attachment to the notion of an electronics technician. As such *The Appy* is evidence I was prolonging my liminal identity in that, even though I was expected by the army to identify and conform to the norms and practices of the electronics technician category, I maintained stronger emotional attachment to my pre-existing identification as a soldier and my new identification as an army apprentice. In these two identifications, *The Appy* is evidence of my continued conceptualisation of my self as a dutiful servant for a greater cause as evident in the flag design that acknowledges apprentices as being servants of Australia.

Techs at work

Where *Knight in armour* and *The Appy* where focused on my identification as an individual, *Techs at work,* as the first record of my service to my country, is a distinctly social drawing. Each act portrayed in the drawing is an application of the knowledge inherent in the social side of the community of practice, that is, the drawing contains evidence of the social funds of knowledge that I have internalised in my telecommunications technician identity work. The card games are one social fund of knowledge. These games have their own rules and an agreed etiquette. My instruction in both the rules and the etiquette came during my pre-deployment training when I joined the technician community after my apprenticeship. However, in *Techs at work* this social fund of knowledge is part of a broader knowledge related to the act of "living" in a deployment environment, away from the front line as it were. Whether it was the recreational activities, the card game, kicking the football, playing music, listening to music, or the domestic activities, doing the laundry, having haircuts, sleeping, the activities in the drawing are a shared social knowledge amongst the technicians. *Techs at work* then is evidence of how I have internalised what a Tech "does" and who he "is" and as a result, who I am as a member of the community of practice.

In contrast to *The Appy,* which presents evidence of a level of resistance in my identity work response to the regulation applied to me to shape my identity as an electronics technician, *Techs at work* highlights my emotional and identity stability. Here I have considered myself as an integral and equal member of the telecommunications technician community of practice, as can be seen in the balance of the drawing where no one character is drawn with more significance than another. The foundation of this identity stability comes from my internalisation of the skills and knowledge of the deployable telecommunications equipment, the knowledge of the telecommunications community of practice as such. Being given access to this knowledge during my Corps of Signals equipment application course in the fourth year of my apprenticeship appears to contribute significantly to my identity work as the low salience of an electronics identity in *The Appy* has morphed into a technician identity with equal salience to my identification as a warrior. Here I have internalised and created a strong emotional attachment to the knowledge of the deployment, operation,

maintenance and repair of radios and switching equipment of the Corps of Signals' deployable telecommunications systems and as such have responded positively to the Corps' and telecommunications category's operational requirements and defined identity. While this identification was significant at the end of my apprenticeship, being deployed in the year following validated my technician skill and knowledge. This validation as being equal among my peers was the source of my identity stability presented in *Techs at work.*

While *Techs at work* highlights my identity work as a member of the telecommunications group, the representation of myself sits on the periphery of the drawing. On face value, this may suggest identity uncertainty (Ibarra, 2004) that may be associated with peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). On the contrary, my deliberate positioning of the caricature is evidence of increased salience of the group identity based on my unique contribution to the group as a chronicler of our deployment. Here I have combined my practical fund of identity as an artist with an historical fund of identity being my father's deployment history and the artefact *How to live in Vietnam for less than 10 cents per d*ay (Abood & Ranfone, 1968) to add to the cultural and historical fund of knowledge of the technician community of practice. What the drawing then highlights is identity work combining my group identity as a technician with my personal identity as an artist.

While my artist identity is explicit in this drawing my warrior identity is subtle, obscure or tangential. Here the scene, while recording an actual afternoon on the deployment, is a deliberate reference to scenes from the movie *The Odd Angry Shot* (Milliken & Jeffrey, 1979). In that movie, Australian Special Air Service (SAS) soldiers recuperate between combat patrols back in the tent-lines of their operating base in Vietnam. As the SAS are considered pinnacle-warriors in the Australian army and wider Australian Defence Force it is this shared phenomenon of incongruent normality, that is, acting as if you were at home while in an operational environment or war zone, that I have used in my personal identity work to subtly validate myself and the technician group with the warrior identity.

Finally, *Techs at work* as an artefact highlights identity work that I have undertaken since the time of returning from that deployment. My experience and drawings formed a body of historical military knowledge that was defined by the geography of the deployment that resulted in identification, both self-identification and assigned identification, of myself as a "Cambodia veteran". The setting on the steps and

the stilt hut in the background are distinct to the Australian base in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and anchor this identity in the drawing. At the same time, the light blue caps and t-shirts are evidence of my identity work as a veteran United Nations peacekeeper.

Mux Regoat

Moving beyond my deployment to Cambodia and my identification with the Corps of Signals' telecommunications technician community of practice, *Mux Regoat* presents evidence of a very strong emotional attachment and identification with a specific piece of telecommunications equipment, the medium power radio terminal (MEDPORT). This identification and emotional attachment to the radio terminal is an internalisation of
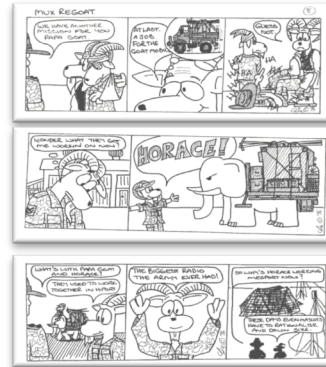
(a) the practical fund of knowledge that I was given access to during the Corps of Signals equipment application course, (b) the historical fund of knowledge of my using the equipment on my deployment in Cambodia, and (c) the institutional and cultural funds of knowledge of the "heavy radio troop", as indicated by the symbology of the elephant. But where my technician identity was shaped and internalised by funds of knowledge as well as experience in all areas of deployable telecommunications (switching, radio terminals and radio repeaters) on exercise and deployment, my identification with the medium power radio terminal is evidence of preference based identity work. It is hard for me to analyse the source of this preference beyond a natural skill and affinity with the radio terminal I had during the learning phase of my telecommunication equipment application course. Each experience from the field-phase assessment of my course, allocation to a heavy radio detachment on my first posting to an army unit and my time operating the equipment in Cambodia reinforced and validated my "medport" identity.

Mux Regoat is evidence that the result of my historic identity work was arriving at a sense of self as a "master", that concept or institution of being at the peak of knowledge, skill and application. While I had a high level of efficacy with the radio terminal, that is I internally felt very competent and comfortable with the equipment and its deployment and operation, it is the categorisation and identification by others, represented by the Lieutenant in the first frame, of myself as a subject matter expert in the equipment that are the funds of knowledge that I have internalised in identifying as a master in the equipment, that is, a master identity was an institutional fund of identity.

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While my medport identity is central to the drawing, my warrior identity is still predominant on the periphery. In this case, the drawing starts with a representation of myself as a warrior rescuing one of my team members. This is evidence that even though not a member of a combat oriented part of the army, my personal identity work was still heavily influenced and focused on the warrior concept. Like *The Appy*, the popular culture reference, depicting the character in a black singlet, itself a reference taken directly from the *Rambo* franchise (Feitshans, Kassar, Vajna, & Kotcheff, 1982), is evidence of a continued internalisation of the social and practical definition of what a warrior is. But rather than combat in arms, *Mux Regoat* as an artefact shows, by way of the political satire related to the army downsizing, that I was "fighting for justice" in the unit. It is evidence of how I continued to reinforce my own definition of a warrior, a morally contextualised definition based on the premise of sacrifice for others. In the case of *Mux Regoat* I was prepared to impact my career progression for the sake of providing a voice for those with less power in the unit.

One final point to note in *Mux Regoat* comes from my description of wanting to establish a heraldic style group identity. This highlights, just as the British paratroopers of Thornborrow's (2005) study, that I was more than a receptive member of the regulation of the group's values, norms and attitudes. I was also a perpetuator and enforcer of the values, norms and attitudes for other members of the telecommunications technician community of practice within my sphere of influence.

Subject 2 for Sergeant

The scene in *Subject 2 for Sergeant*, when taken from a perspective outside of current or past membership of the army, appears to be a warrior drawing. However, from an insider's perspective the vehicle situates the drawing within the membership of the non-combat parts of the army. This perspective in itself is evidence of my accessing and evaluating the institutional funds of knowledge about the army's structure and component parts, resulting in identity work which positions me within sub-institutions of the army. The reference to the different employment categories of the characters and to SIGTAC identifies the drawing, and as such my identity work, as being specifically situated in the Corps of Signals. The categories and how they do business (signals tactics) are institutional funds of knowledge and I have internalised these based on my history thus far in the Corps. However, even though the drawing is a
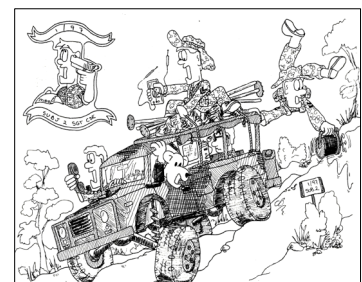
record of participation in a program to shape my identity as a future sergeant in the Corps, *Subject 2 for Sergeant* is another example of resistance to the identity regulation. Rather than reshaping my identity as a sergeant in waiting, *Subject 2 for Sergeant* is evidence of increasing my identity salience as a corporal in the Corps and to identify socially with the other corporal participants in the program.

The drawing presents evidence that I feel equality in my membership of this temporal micro-community of practice of the course cohort, similar to my feelings of equality in *Techs at work*. This equality, and thus my identification as a member of the cohort, is reinforced by the shared experience of overcoming adversity in the classroom, as indicated by the suicide artefact, and in the field, as indicated by the Land Rover vehicle scene. That the drawing as an artefact celebrates the journey rather than the completion of the program is in itself further evidence that my identity work at that time was focused on maintaining my identity as a corporal and detachment commander. *Subject 2 for Sergeant* can then, from a Corps of Signals perspective, be seen as unsuccessful identity regulation to get me "out of the back of the car", the identity expectation where I should cease seeing myself as a member of a discreet work team. However, while from a Corps perspective it can be seen as unsuccessful, from a telecommunications community of practice there is evidence of very successful identity regulation.

My positioning of the telecommunications technician category above the other categories of the Corps, while unintentional, can be seen as the result of identity regulation by my telecommunication community of practice. The drawing is my perpetuation, if only subconsciously, of three cultural funds of knowledge where I categorised telecommunications technicians as the superior category in the Corps. Firstly, that the telecommunications technician category's academic and technical aptitude entry requirement were at a higher level and as such technicians were "smarter" than the other categories. Secondly, that the telecommunications technician training was the longest in duration for all training conducted for entry to the Corps (4 years). I, and my community of practice, associated time-in-training with the value of the rite of passage, arguing, or more precisely self-justifying, that the longer the training, the more it was inherently valuable. And thirdly, that the Army itself had acknowledged and continued to validate this "superior" position by awarding telecommunications technicians the highest level of pay grade an enlisted individual, that is non-officer category, could receive, equalled only in the Corps of Signals by the electronic warfare

operators. *Subject 2 for Sergeant* is then evidence of my internalisation of the cultural funds of knowledge of the telecommunications community of practice to create one of my cultural funds of identity.

Baghdad

Baghdad is a return to recording my deployment history through cartoons. But it is more than a continuation of the story that is my military career. As the final drawing selected that records my official membership in the army, *Baghdad* captures the culmination of my identity work as a soldier, a Signaller and a telecommunications technician through the internalisation of Iraq the country, and in particular Baghdad (geographical funds of identity), the purpose of the

operation (practical and institutional funds of identity), the concept of mastery (institutional fund of identity) and the culture of professional service, equality and respect.
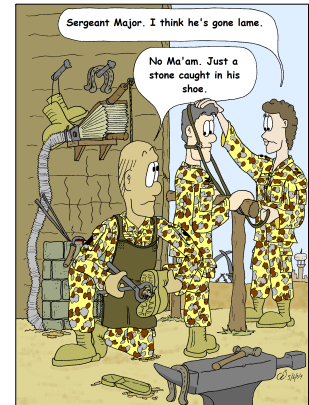
As an artefact *Baghdad* declares my identification as a veteran of an operational deployment defined by its geographical location, Iraq. Even though the title itself geographically situates the drawing it is clear that *Baghdad* is geographically different to the deployment location depicted in *Techs at work*. The sandy desert colouring of the drawing tells the story that the geographical fund of knowledge includes an environment knowledge directly related to the geography, that the deployment was in the Middle East. Likewise, the depiction of the building highlights that there is also a religious-cultural knowledge related to the inhabitants of the geography, in this case, the Iraqi people being predominantly Muslim. Collectively these environments, architecture, regions and culture make up the geographical fund of knowledge. While I had access to this fund of geographical fund of knowledge through regular news stories in the public and army media as well as stories from those that had deployed to Iraq they only became funds of identity for me after setting my first booted foot on the ground. That is, *Baghdad* is my claim that I have "been" to Iraq and internalised that geography, environment and local culture as part of my story as a soldier.

Baghdad highlights that the geography, local culture and the geo-political situation, in this case the post Saddam Hussein regime period, define the type of military operation. Here the crossed swords statues in the background of the drawing not only situate the scene to Baghdad but also highlight that this was a war operation,

unlike the peacekeeping operation depicted in *Techs at work*. This nature of the operation necessitates a particular practical fund of knowledge and *Baghdad* as such reminds me of the pre-deployment training focused on war-fighting skills of small arms, operating in toxic environments, battle first aid and the experience of capture. For me, being put through these preparatory programs for deployment to Iraq was the pinnacle of my identity work related to my sense of self as a warrior, all I needed was a validating event "in country". But *Baghdad* has not been selected to highlight my warrior identity work. There was no incident that I had to respond to as a warrior soldier. Rather, it has been selected to highlight my sense of self as being at the pinnacle of my trade, an artificer or master in my trade, having access to the full practical fund of knowledge of both my trade and my corps and validated on deployment.

On face value *Baghdad* presents as a depiction of institutional subordination with the corporal subservient to the lieutenant and myself supporting that subservience. In particular, the lieutenant's hand on the corporal's head may be read as a patronising display of overt power. However, rather than *Baghdad* being an institutional identity based on hierarchical rank and power relationship, it is this same gesture of hand on head that highlights that the drawing is actually a picture of equality, respect and commitment. It is inspired by scenes from the movie *The Lighthorsemen* (Bladier, Ginnane, Jones, Lee, & Wincer, 1987) where, after significant travel through the desert, with their horses severely dehydrated and being prepared for one of the last horse mounted charges in modern warfare, the riders gave their own last drops of water to their mounts, tussled their manes with affection, gratitude and resignation and commenced the charge into Turkish dug-in infantry and German artillery. This tussling of the mane is what is presented in the drawing *Baghdad*. It is an acknowledgement that without the corporal the lieutenant's aims cannot be achieved, nor could they be if I was not helping to keep the corporal in a working condition. *Baghdad* then represents a cultural and institutional fund of identity of equality, not as peers as depicted in *Techs at work* but in identification as Australian Defence personnel. It is a cultural identity that is founded in the knowledge and respect of the value that each member brings to the institution, irrespective of gender, rank, role or branch of service. From a drawing technique perspective, the cartoon reveals my internalisation of this cultural fund of knowledge.

One final comment on the drawing *Baghdad*. In contrast to my deployment depicted in *Techs at work* where my funds of identity related to a particular military unit

(2nd Signal Regiment), that is an institutional fund of identity, *Baghdad* is a reminder that I was sent into a role within the deployment as an individual. The results of my identity work as such could best be described as a "cohort" identity, similar to my *Subject 2 for Sergeant* identity work, where I had a close connection to the Signallers that I went into Iraq with in the absence of deploying with a formed Signals unit.

Letting go

Like *Knight in armour*, *Letting go* sits outside of the time period of my official membership in the army. The difference between the two is that while *Knight in armour* is aspirational military identity work, *Letting go* is reflective military identity work. By this I mean that this representation of my military self is a singular construct resulting from internalisation of all facets of my experience in the army. It highlights that the recollections and acknowledgement, that is reflective identity work, of all of my role-based identities, rank-based identities, and deployment-based identities, together with their inherent funds of knowledge and experience, have resulted in a military sense of self as a generic Australian soldier.
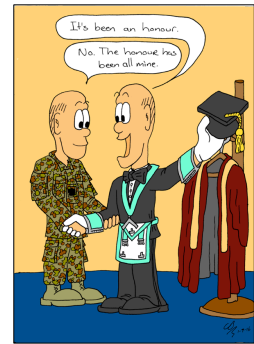
What is interesting to note is that as a spontaneous analytical drawing covering my identity transition post-military membership, I had originally intended to draw myself in a ghostly form, dashed lines and translucent colouring, a technique I had used in my childhood drawings. My intent was to present an idea that my military identity was fading into obscurity, no longer a part of who I was going to be. But at that time it just seemed easier to draw myself as it is in the drawing and I left it at that. Now, at the end of my analysis, I see that this full, non-ghostly, representation of my military self is a true representation of my military identity work. The "ghostly" idea coincided with a range of identity work and actions I conducted that distanced myself from my military working environment (I was contracting to the Royal Australian Navy) and my own military history. As time has gone by during my research my identity work has resulted in a balanced sense of self in relation to military identity. Gone is the craving to be (and identifying as) a member. Gone too is my aversion to having been a member. What remains is a historical fund of knowledge, my military career, which I internalise in seeing myself as a "past" member of the army.

The crab in the drawing is somewhat of an anomaly in my residual military identity work. None of my other military subidentities are evident in this final drawing

of the research set, yet this small symbol of the apprentice cultural fund of identity finds itself inextricably linked to my identity as a former soldier. It may be that while other suborganisations and sub-institutions had their own knowledge, history and culture each of these was comparable with members all entering the military system through officer training school or recruit training school (enlisted personnel). As an apprentice I did not enter through recruit school and as such beyond basic training my three years at the apprentice school was a reinforcement of the apprentice culture and history. What the crab in *Letting go* then highlights is that the entry point into an organisation of any size provides the initial fund of knowledge that is internalised and used as a reference point for all professional identity work in developing a sense of professional self.

Letting go shows that as part of my transitional identity work I have found in Freemasonry an institution with a strong moral culture and sense of camaraderie as well as a long history and rich symbolism. Just as posited in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), having had a positive response to my comparison of the two institutions, I have internalised the masonic institutional, social, cultural and historical funds of knowledge and made a strong emotional connection to and identification with the group. In essence I have found an alternate valid central identity but still one based on internalisation of the organisation identity as my own. That I represent myself as the "master of my Lodge" highlights that, just as in the army, I progressed through a range of roles, gaining access to the various funds of knowledge of each role to enable me to fulfil the responsibilities of each respective position. While each role was internalised as a sub-organisation/institution identity, *Letting go* is evidence that each successive step of the progression reinforced and enhanced my identification as a Freemason. *Letting go* then highlights one way I found to retain a semblance of my former military identity. The School of Education cap and gown in *Letting go* is another.

Where freemasonry, as a volunteer institution, is most relevant to my personal identity work, that is, identity work not related to my employment, the cap and gown is an indicator of my professional identity work as a professional educator, in this case, in adult and vocational education and training. This is the result of internalising the practical fund of education knowledge and experience in the army and the opportunities it has afforded me in transitioning from my military membership. The soldier representation elicits memories of my five years of instructing telecommunications technicians and the final three years of my military career redesigning the whole range of telecommunications training, all of which set me on my new professional pathway.

In reaching for the cap and gown of a Master of Education *Letting go* captures my identity work in seeking identity validity through the recognition afforded by a formal qualification. The interesting part to note is that I am seeking recognition in academic education as both an enhancement and transition from vocational education, which had commenced with a Certificate IV in training and assessment qualification.

While *Letting go* highlights transitional institutional funds of identity (freemasons) and transitional practical funds of identity (education) it also contains evidence of geographical funds of identity that I use to categorise or distinguish myself in my identity work in three fields represented. The uniform is that of a soldier in the Australian army. In itself this is a representation of that geographical knowledge I use to differentiation myself from all other armies of the world. Being master of my lodge specifically refers to Mandurah Lodge, which is part of the Western Australian Constitution. Both are geographical funds of identity in my relationships either internally or externally to the Western Australian Constitution of freemasonry. Finally, the cap and gown is the distinctive colours adopted by Murdoch University in the suburb of Murdoch, Perth, Australia, which I internalise in defining myself as a graduate and as a novice researcher. In each it is the geographic fund of identity that I use to define myself internally and in relation to others.

While all three identities in the drawing exist for me in relative harmony with no identity conflict, or at least no occasion for these identities to be in conflict, *Letting go* presents evidence of the requirement to relinquish facets of identity due to hierarchical progression. *Subject 2 for Sergeant* highlighted that my transition from the rank of corporal to sergeant in the army was predicated on the identity requirements of "getting out of the back of the car", that is, no longer to identify as a corporal. In *Letting go* I am a Warrant Officer Class 2 and there is likewise no going back to identifying as a sergeant. In this case this was not a hard requirement to comply with. As the warrant officer ranks (class 1 and 2) in my trade were responsible for planning and managing networks, a new higher order practical knowledge, I internalised the rank and the technical role as synonymous in my professional identity work. Freemasonry likewise gives access to a fund of knowledge related to the management when attaining a senior role with a requirement to relinquish an identity. In my case, relinquishing an identity as a "master mason" to identify as a "worshipful master". Now, having served my time as the master of my lodge, I will always identify and be identified as a "past master". While I may validly identify as a worshipful master in the future should I elect and am

elected to once again be in that role, no amount of identity work will ever result in my identifying again as a master mason. Of course, academic qualification is the same. While I may change fields of study and start at the foundation qualification, in the field of education I internalise each successive qualification, with its associated level and depth of education knowledge, as my salient educational identity. And it is now, exercising my identity as a novice education-researcher that I turn to discuss my findings of the themes that run throughout the analysis and the insight they give in understanding military identity development.

7. The Rising Sun is my badge of honour

Findings and discussion

In the previous chapter I analysed the drawings, *Knight in armour*, *The Appy*, *Techs at work*, *Mux Regoat*, *Subject 2 for Sergeant*, *Baghdad* and *Letting go*. From the drawings I have found that there are two forms of identity work that I have conducted, warrior/soldier identity work and community of practice identity work. These are elaborated in the first part of this chapter. While warrior/soldier can be seen as a specialised community of practice I consider them separately as my warrior/soldier identity work is much more personal while my community of practice identity work is predominantly professional. I have also found that there are two significant factors that ground all of my identity work, history and geography. In considering these findings in terms of military identity development I discuss the army's regulation of my military identity by controlling access to military funds of knowledge whilst exercising identity agency through conscious and deliberate alignment to the army's norms, values, attitudinal and behavioural requirements (Franke, 1999). Finally, as a result of considerable reflection, I discuss my requirement to validate my military identity works and conclude that not all of my military identities have been validated.

Warrior/soldier identity work

While my community of practice identity work was directly related to the role I played as a professional soldier, that is Signalman, telecommunications technician, apprentice and electronics technician, what the drawings highlight is that "the warrior" has always been at the centre or core of my personal military identity. The warrior theme is based on a conceptualisation I had associated with a combatant, that is, a person who fights in armed conflict. It is evident in the selection of drawings by the overt representations of the central characters in *Knight in armour*, *The Appy* and the black singlet-wearing representation in the first frame of *Mux Regoat*. In themselves, *The Appy* and *Mux Regoat* are evidence of my aspirational identity work to identify as a warrior when I was not in a warrior or direct combat role, highlighting the depth of personal warrior identity work I conducted throughout my membership of the army. In each I had internalised the combat practical fund of knowledge and found ways to exercise my warrior identity, to play soldier as it were, as part of my private identity work on the periphery of the warrior community of practice.

The Appy elicits memories and stories of rifle training, infantry tactics, digging trenches and jungle warfare training. *Techs at work* elicits memories of mine warfare training, helicopter rides in ex-Russian military helicopters over plains bombed during the Vietnam War and recounts of the night the Australian communications centre in Siem Reap, Cambodia, became the first communications centre to come under attack since that war. The most salient memory of my year in Sydney elicited by *Mux Regoat* was not experiences in my specific trade but rather my exploits with my platoon in the unit's yearly infantry tactics exercise. Likewise, *Subject 2 for Sergeant* was most noteworthy for the defensive work that we practiced, the foot patrols that we conducted and the repelling of staff playing the enemy force. Finally, *Baghdad* elicits memories of pre-deployment training, mortar and rocket attacks, helicopter rides wearing full body armour and once again the yearning to be in "contact" with an enemy, a yearning that would never be fulfilled as will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

The drawings highlight that my identity work has tended to conceptualise a soldier identity synonymously with a warrior identity. The popular culture references, war movies and television programs of my youth, appear to show that this conceptualisation itself is a cultural fund of identity, where the warrior-soldier identification is both internalised by members of the army (Broesder et al., 2014) and expected by the civilian community (Maringira, 2014). But while my warrior identity work was personal it is my actual role as a soldier that highlights the influence of communities of practice on the activation of my professional identity.

Communities of practice identity work

Four interrelated professional or category communities of practice are evident in the set of drawings with which I identify. Two are related to my recruitment and initial training, Australian army apprentice (*The Appy* and *Letting go*) and electronics technician (*The Appy*). Two are related to my employment, telecommunications technician (*Techs at work*, *Mux Regoat*, *Subject 2 for Sergeant* and *Baghdad*) and member of the Royal Australian Corps of Signals (*Techs at work*, *Mux Regoat*, *Subject 2 for Sergeant*, *Baghdad* and *Letting go*).

Of my recruitment and initial training identities my army apprentice identity appears to be one of the strongest and most enduring results of my identity work. It was created, developed and re-enforced in the formative years of my career as a distinct army sub-cultural community of practice. The apprentice sub-cultural fund of identity intimately intertwined with the army's warrior/soldier culture, a culture that resonated

with me on a personal level as highlighted above. It is perhaps for this reason that my identity work resulted in such a strong army apprentice identity that persisted through my career, as evident in the crab symbology in *Letting go*.

In contrast to my army apprentice identity, my identification with the electronics community of practice, created and developed in the same period, was intentionally limited to an internalisation of a practical fund of knowledge as a way for me to distinguish myself from other trade apprentices. It was an identity subservient to my warrior/soldier identity. This lack of emotional attachment and limited identification was perhaps due to my pre-enlistment consideration of electronics as merely the mediator for my gaining membership to the army. That there is no evidence of a salient electronic technician identity beyond *The Appy* is not to suggest that the electronics technician community of practice was not significant in my identity development. Rather, I acknowledge that my electronics technician identity was the foundation of my identity work in becoming a telecommunications technician and thus a member of the Corps.

My identity work associated with the telecommunications community of practice and the Corps of Signals community of practice can be seen throughout the data as interdependent. By this I mean that for every instance of my telecommunications technician identity in the drawings, *Techs at work*, *Mux Regoat*, *Subject 2 for Sergeant* and *Baghdad*, it is within the context of the Corps. For every instance of my Corps of Signals identity it is predicated on my membership as a telecommunications technician. Indeed, it is only through the requirements of the Corps of Signals that my electronics technician identity was contextualised to a telecommunications technician identity. However, while these two communities of practice regulated my identity throughout my career, the genesis of my emotional attachment to each was very different. My attachment to the telecommunications community of practice had its genesis in my Corps of Signals equipment application course and the on-the-job-training component of my apprenticeship. Essentially, I grew into seeing myself as a telecommunications technician. In contrast, my attachment to and identification with the Corps of Signals predated my membership; it was a matter of family history.

History

That the selection of drawings are all personal artefacts recording my military career highlights that history is a significant part of and influence on my identity work and how I see myself. While there are layers of the Australian army's history underlying

the data, two aspects of history in particular stand out in the selection of drawings in terms of my internalisation of historical funds of knowledge. The first is the influence of my family's military history, in particular that of my father. The second is my use of military historical events to define and validate my identity work and my military sense of self. Of the military historical events, the drawings highlight that it is the military campaigns of Vietnam, Cambodia and Iraq (the second Iraq campaign) that I have internalised as the most valuable historical events in my identity work.

From my nomination in the second year of my apprenticeship to join the Corps of Signals rather than the Royal Australian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers to my choice of units to join, *The Appy, Techs at work,* and *Mux Regoat* each allude to the internalisation of my father's military history as a career soldier in the Corps of Signals as I charted my career path to continue, or perhaps replicate or follow, my family's military history. Founded on the institution of heredity highlighted in *Knight in armour*, these drawings capture the emotional connection I had with my father's military history as part of my community of practice funds of identity. Likewise, as I became more cognisant through my career of my paternal grandfather's army history my emotional connection to my warrior/soldier identity also deepened.

Techs at work and *Mux Regoat*, along with the drawing *Baghdad*, also highlight the importance I place on participation in historical events as part of my identity work. Not only in my sense of self but also in how I project my identity through association, or claim of association, with historical events. In particular, consistent with Battistelli (1997), Woodward and Jenkings (2011) and Vest (2013), I internalise my operational deployments in Cambodia and Iraq as my most important funds of historical knowledge to classify, identify and proclaim myself as a valid member of the respective community of practice. It is interesting to note that, apart from *Letting go* that was drawn many years after my career, the only drawings presented in colour are the two deployment drawings.

While *Techs at work* and *Baghdad* highlight the importance of my participation on operational deployment, it is *The Appy* that highlights the foundation of my historically based military identity work. For me this drawing is the nexus of my father's military history, my maturation and a doctrinal organisational environment of the army, all focused on the experience and lessons of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. *The Appy* reminds me that not only did I come into the army with an emotional attachment to this historical event but that I was conditioned through my

military education and training to carry on that legacy. *Techs at work* likewise elicits memories of my conceptualising Cambodia and my deployment as a proxy Vietnam War. In this way I continued a connection to the historical event, even though it had no connection other than geographical. Geography, however, is not only enough for me to validly associate the two military events. Geography for me is a key fund of knowledge that I use to define my military self.

Geography

The drawings highlight that geography is also an important part of my identity work. Geography is, however, more than just an historical reference of validated identity work. For me, geographic reference points are the funds of knowledge that I use to define my career and explain myself "to" others. Geography is as such a scaffold for projecting various aspects of my soldier identity in order to either establish commonality with other military members or explain the differentiation from both military and non-military members.

The range of drawings shows that geographical transition defines and differentiates my career and identity work from other members of the military. *The Appy* is an internalisation of Bonegilla, Victoria, the location of the army apprentice school at that time. Here I internalise that geographical location to differentiate from members of the first thirty two intakes of apprentices who undertook their training at Balcombe, Victoria, where the school was originally located. *Techs at work* highlights my posting and attachment to my birth town of Melbourne while *Mux Regoat* reinforced this identification by suggesting conflict between a Melbourne identity and the Sydney environment. *Subject 2 for Sergeant* reminds me that once again I was posted to a Melbourne based unit. Likewise, *Baghdad* reminds me of the Canberra based unit I left behind to go on deployment and the Melbourne based project that I returned to.

But as discussed previously, the deployment locations of Cambodia and Iraq hold the greatest relevance and perceived value in my identity work. Each is a fund of knowledge with its own unique characteristics that become synonymous with the geographic location. Apart from the environmental conditions associated with the geography, each were deployments in response to a geo-political situation. Cambodia was a United Nations response and as such, the nature of the training and deployment resulted in my internalisation of the mission as a fund of identity as a peacekeeper. While this remained for many years as the most significant military operation for

Australia, and particularly for the Corps of Signals, *Baghdad* reminds me that Australia's deployment to East Timor in 1999 resulted in identity work that decreased the value I placed on the Cambodia fund of knowledge. Not having the opportunity to deploy on the East Timor mission, *Baghdad* is both evidence of my motivation to deploy to Iraq and a statement of membership of that campaign. Like Cambodia, Iraq had its own geo-political situation, post Saddam "rehabilitation and rebuilding of Iraq". The training and initial exposure to the deployed scale of the United States forces reinforced my identity work as a warrior going to war. But as much as *Baghdad* is a fund of identity for the warrior, Iraq for me is equally evidence of an extremely personal identity work. Here, my perception of the reality of the Australian contribution to the multi-national campaign, a tokenistic contribution, became a fund of knowledge in my identity work of being a soldier. While Iraq as a geographical fund of knowledge is tinged with a sadness due to this tokenism, it became an institutional fund of knowledge that reinforced my identity work as a dutiful servant of Australia, playing my role, regardless of the situation, in service to the agenda set by the Australian government.

The common thread through all of these findings of the various forms of identity work and the influence of history and geography is having access to practical, institutional, cultural and historical funds of knowledge. Access to funds of knowledge in total institutions, particularly military institutions, is however strictly controlled.

Controlled access to military funds of knowledge

What can be seen throughout the analysis is that I have been "given" systematic access to three practical/cultural funds of knowledge, warrior, soldier, Signals and trade (telecommunications). I stress the point given as, regardless of my identification with a particular community of practice (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and motivation to seek membership of it, it is the respective military communities of practice that grant me access to their funds of knowledge. *Subject 2 for Sergeant* is a reminder that it is only when a particular community of practice either needs or wants me to enter, and later progress within that community of practice, that the community grants me access to its funds of knowledge.

It can be inferred from the analysis that granting of access is conditional on my meeting the norms, values, attitudes and behavioural requirements (Franke, 1999) or expectations of each respective community of practice. As Franke (1999) highlighted, this should influence social identity, that is, in the terms of Alvesson and Willmott

(2002), regulate my identity. The expectations of the soldier community of practice are articulated in the army's "contract with Australia", a requirement to internalise that:

> I'm an Australian soldier who is an expert in close combat
>
> I am physically and mentally tough
>
> compassionate and courageous
>
> I lead by example, I strive to take the initiative
>
> I am committed to learning and working for the team
>
> I believe in trust, loyalty and respect
>
> for my Country, my mates and the Army
>
> the Rising Sun is my badge of honour
>
> I am an Australian Soldier – always.
>
> > (https://www.army.gov.au/our-people/our-contract-with-australia)

Likewise, the Corps of Signals required that I would, as a Signaller, use my:

> unique understanding [fund of knowledge] of the electro-magnetic spectrum, communications systems, information communications technology and electronic warfare, listening to or interfering with enemy electronic transmissions,…[to] enable highly dynamic command and control, while disrupting that of any adversary.
>
> > (https://www.army.gov.au/our-people/corps/royal-australian-corps-of-signals)

Finally, the expectations of my trade are clearly articulated in that:

> in this job you'll be working in a variety of conditions so you'll need to be a quick thinker and highly adaptable. Both on the battlefield or on a base, you'll be responsible for ensuring all radio, fibre optic, microwave, information systems, satellite links and the Army's information services are available wherever the need.
>
> > (http://www.defencejobs.gov.au/army/jobs/TelecommunicationsTechnician/)

Each of the communities of practice thus granted me access to their practical, institutional and cultural funds of knowledge to meet their expectations. This is not to suggest any determinism in regards to the military identities that I developed in response to the education and training programs. Rather, my pre-enlistment history and *Knight in armour* highlight that, just as hypothesised by Bachman et al. (1987), Godlewski & Kline (2012), "Mo" Becker et al. (2014), and Thornborrow and Brown (2009), my identification with the army started well before my official membership. From my perspective, the army's education and training programs thus afforded an opportunity for me to exercise and gain validity for my personal military identity work. It could be argued that the army facilitated my identity agency as I wanted to be a soldier and they made me a soldier. Likewise, when I had enlisted as an electronics technician, I wanted to be a telecommunications specialist and the Corps of Signals selected and trained me as one.

In taking me from civilian to technical soldier "on the ground" the army immersed me in a "trinity" of military funds of knowledge, soldier, Signals and trade, as my entry into the army. Here I was the sum of all three funds of knowledge. Likewise, for progression through the ranks, as highlighted by the drawings *Mux Regoat* through to *Baghdad*, each progression in rank was proceeded by a systematic process where I was given more detailed or additional access to the community of practice's funds of practical and cultural knowledge; the soldierly fund of knowledge (Subject 1 courses), Corps of Signals fund of knowledge (Subject 2 courses) and trade or category fund of knowledge (Subject 4 courses). Each of these programs was accompanied by the community of practice defining its expectations for roles that became progressively more supervisory and managerial, including the expectation that in these roles I would be a champion of those expectations and gatekeeper to the community of practice (Thornborrow, 2005). Again not suggesting determinism, I find that my identity work responded positively to each community of practice's progressive interventions with my agency being in choosing to conform to the community's requirements and expectations. Each resulted in a heightened salience of my warrior/soldier type identity and my respective community of practice type identities. It is for this reason that I find that military structured education and training is one of the most significant influences in the development of my multiple military identities. I find that the other is military experience.

Validating experiences

The analysis highlights that having access to and internalising particular funds of knowledge, as well as being identified through categorisation by others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as possessing that knowledge, is not the end state of my identity work. I find that it is the application of the fund of knowledge in the field that brings meaning and a sense of identity validation. *Techs at work* and *Baghdad*, in particular, highlight that for me there is no experience more validating than military operational deployment, a finding supported by Thornborrow's (2005) study of British paratroopers and Vest's (2013) United States part time soldiers. But again, when experience is considered a fund of knowledge itself the analysis highlights that the army, the Corps of Signals and my trade controlled access to that experiential fund of knowledge through their normal human resource policies and practices; the army deployed me, the Corps set the request for me and my trade selected me to fill the required role. Without the opportunities afforded by this control, that is, if I did not get to go on deployment for example, I would not have validated those military identities, soldier, Signaller, telecommunications technician, that remained salient through the data. But while my professional military identities were validated, no amount of access to funds of knowledge, practical, geographical or historical, could validate my personal warrior identity. For that there is only one type of event, one form of identity work that can bring validity to a warrior identity—combat.

Combat identity

This thesis, in itself, is evidence of my projection of the identity I wish others to have of me. It rings with passion and emotion and no doubt the reader can see my professional pride and identification with my service to my country. It is a reflection of the social interactions I have had through my life, within the military and without. It may be that there is even more in my professional soldier identity than I can see myself. But while, from a non-military member perspective, it may be concluded that I have a sense of identity stability of both my professional and personal military identities, what is harder to see is the identity conflict related to my personal warrior/soldier identity.

Consistent with Battistelli's (1997) postmodern motivation, I took every opportunity in my career to practice or position myself for the highest likelihood of engaging in combat as part of my identity work to validate what I can now clarify as my aspirational warrior identity. I was always chasing "the" combat experience, for, as noted by Smith and True (2014) in studying the "identity struggle faced by [United

States] soldiers from Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom" (p. 147), "combat allows one to make good on a cherished ideal: the battle-tested soldier who has survived war" (p. 153), that is, the aspirational warrior. But combat never came and I could not situate my practical and cultural funds of warrior knowledge in any geographical or historical context or fund of knowledge. This has resulted, even to this day, in a sense of emptiness, a feeling of failure, cheating, or not really having done my bit. It is a sense that, while I still have access to 20 years of accumulated combat related practical funds of knowledge, I do not have the right to internalise them when there are others that can validly claim a "combat identity" (Smith & True, p. 153), internalising the experience based on practical, geographic and historical funds of knowledge related to their combat experience.

I do not draw your attention to this development of my military identities to elicit sympathy or pity, a methodological criticism of auto-ethnography (Doloriert & Sambrook, 2012). Rather, I seek to draw attention to an under-studied phenomenon of military identity development in a segment of the broader military ethnographic group. I say under-studied as in all of the literature I reviewed, only Smith and True (2014) articulate in any meaningful way the phenomenon that "soldiers lacking combat experience often feel an unfulfilled void that plagues their sense of self…stemming from a perceived failure to achieve 'true' veteran status" (p. 153). In itself, this phenomenon reinforces that while the army regulates the identity of its members, it should always be considered that his or her military identity is a result of continual tension between his or her public and private or personal military identity work and that "sometimes the hardest battle we fight is the battle within" (Anonymous).

8. I am an Australian Soldier – always

Conclusion

In this final chapter of both my thesis and my first tentative steps into the field of educational research, it is time to reflect on my study and this new journey I have taken. I first summarise the study's foundations, methodology, methods and findings before discussing some of the broader conceptual and theoretical implications as well as implications for arts-based methods. I discuss implications for the concept of military identity as homogenous and propose a consideration of multiple military identities, and more specifically further conceptualisation of multiple military-member identities. I discuss theoretical implications for a further development of funds of identity through consideration of historical funds of identity as an addition to Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) typology. While the original funds-of-identity research was in the primary or elementary school context of ethnically marginalised student cohorts (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a), I discuss further theoretical implications through the application of funds of identity in an adult context, in particular vocational education. This discussion itself leads to discussion of the practical implications of the study and the role that continuous education plays in the development of military identities and the redefining of the self beyond official military membership. Finally, before acknowledging the limitations of this study, I discuss the methodological implications of the study through the application of arts-based methods in singular life course applications.

Research summary

In addressing my prolonged identification as being a soldier beyond my military career, that is my research problem, I first turned to the military identity literature to gain an understanding of how the military identity literature discusses the creation and development of military identity. While acknowledging the theoretical perspectives on the study of identity in general, I noted that my selection of military identity literature had been predominantly grounded in social identity theory. I used three stages to review the military identity literature, entry, service, exit, as well as a final holistic review. The literature suggests that the creation or generation of a military identity may pre-date military enlistment, that operational deployments are key identity-validation events and that a military member does not necessarily stop identifying so when she or he leave the military. I found that post-basic or -recruit training in the entry stage and collective

training in the service stage were not acknowledged in the military identity literature. A significant finding from my review of the military identity literature was that military identity had been considered as a singular or homogenous identity, which impeded development of a deeper understanding of military identity.

The findings in my literature review, together with my funds of identity theoretical framework, clarified my research aim and crystallised my research question. My aim was to explore military identity through the funds of knowledge that an individual member of a military organisation may internalise in his or her military identity work by asking the question, "how does military identity develop and change over and beyond a military career?" To achieve my aim I used a qualitative methodology, taking an auto-ethnographic approach and applying an arts-based self portrait method with accompanying text. It allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the creation, development and maintenance of various military identities through a life course within the military environment and broader society.

Using Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) subdivisions of funds of identity as priori codes I looked for evidence of identification with some entity, knowledge associated with the entity that I have internalised and mechanisms by which the knowledge had been transferred. Through thematic analysis of each drawing and description, followed by thematic analysis of the holistic set, I found that there were two types of identity work that I had conducted during my military career, warrior/soldier and community of practice identity work. My warrior/soldier identity work was more personal than my community of practice identity work having started in my play activities as a child. In contrast, my community of practice identity work only commenced after my formative years of training in my chosen trade of electronic technician and more specifically when I specialised as a telecommunications technician. I found that each form of identity work appears to be mediated and moderated by history, geography and permitted access to community of practice funds of knowledge. The result was numerous identities that I can categorise as military identities, with many validated on operational deployment. Consistent with the military identity literature, I found that operational deployment is a key element in military identity development.

The most revealing of my findings though was that after three years of reflective research I have finally come to the realisation, or more precisely, I have finally come to be comfortable enough to articulate, that as a former soldier, without combat experience I still feel that I did not live up to the identity as a soldier. As stated prior, this revelation

has not been included to elicit sympathy. It has been included as a valid outcome of my identity work and highlights that my unique personal and military life history has resulted in multiple militaries identities and not necessarily constrained by the temporal boundaries of my military service. It is this multiplicity that has implications for future military identity research.

Conceptual implications: Multiple military-member identities

I posed in the conclusion to my literature review that military identity appears to have been conceptualised as a singular or homogenous construct. This conceptualisation is useful when studying the broad ethnographic group of individuals that are or have been members of a military organisation. It allows, for example, physical and mental health care providers (see for example Hall, 2011; Stevelink, Malcolm, Gill & Fear, 2015), and educational specialists (see Rumann & Hamrick, 2010) to gain a deeper understanding of the group that they, as non-member individuals and organisations, may support before, during and after a military career. But what my study has shown is that total organisations are multi-level in their structure and examining suborganisation levels as well as the total organisation allows further insight into the multiplicity of military identity. Further, my pre-enlistment identity, family structure and family history described in Chapter 3 highlight that a more nuanced conceptualisation of military identity might be necessary.

Consistent with Broesder et al.'s (2014) notion that "the self consists of a multiplicity of different role identities that are linked to the different roles a person holds in society" (p. 3), my study highlights that military members fulfil many roles and belong to many formal and informal communities of practice within their career. Some roles and communities, as can be seen in Galvin's (2015) study of military leader promotion, are progressive and hierarchical. Others are held simultaneously, such as my role as soldier, Signaller, unit member, team leader and technician. Each has its own fund of knowledge that the military member may internalise, resulting in multiple military identities that a military member may choose to activate at any given time in the given context, what Johansen et al. (2014) term as a "multidimensional phenomenon" (p. 537).

Multidimensionality of military identity extends beyond multiple military roles and associated identity. Taking Gade's (1991) "life-course perspective" (p. 187) in studying military identity, and in particular his request to consider the "developmental timing of military service" (p. 192), this study shows that temporal and developmental

military identities are formed through the life course. In seeking further literature, outside of my original selection, that may support this concept of multidimensionality, I found that Bonura and Lovald (2015) in their essay on the dimensions of the United States military population engaging in higher education, note a military member may, by categorisation or personal identification, be a "Service Member…Active duty service member [deployed]…Prior service veterans…Disabled veterans…Military retirees" (pp. 7-9). Each of these life-stage identities appear to be the result of internalising personal historical funds of identity related to his or her military experience. Military role identities (Broesder et al., 2014) and life-stage identities (Bonura & Lovald, 2015) therefore appear to paint a comprehensive picture of military identity and its development. However, each is predicated on past or present membership of a military organisation or suborganisation and this membership is not necessarily the limit of identities related to the military.

It is clear from the description of my pre-enlistment identity development that I identified as "the son of a soldier". Taken from a funds-of-identity perspective, I internalised the fund of knowledge that was my father's military membership to define myself, as well as my experiences living in a military family. What this highlights is that an affective connection in some way to a military organisation may result in a military identity. That is, the "I am" may be deliberately shaped in terms of a military funds of knowledge that she or he has access to. This non-member identity work is acknowledged in other areas of literature outside of my selected literature but related to military identity. Eubanks (2013) for example studied military spouse identity and noted the conflict between spousal association with their partner's (serving member) military identity and the development of his or her independent personal identity. Another example is Lester and Flake's (2013) discussion of the effects on children of parental military deployment. They highlight that "despite [the] challenges, living in a military family gives children a meaningful identity" (p. 123). In both cases, military identity is a result of internalising the military funds of knowledge of a family member. What this suggests, along with multiple military role identities (Broesder et al., 2014) and military career or life stage identities (Bonura & Lovald, 2015) is that it may be useful to further clarify or develop the term "military identity" for future research and discussion.

Theoretical implications: Funds of identity

Along with further developing the concept of military identity, this thesis presents two theoretical implications for the further development of funds of identity: historical funds of identity and funds of identity in adults.

Historical funds of identity

Esteban-Guitart and Mole (2014a) identified five subdivisions of funds of identity based on their research of school-aged students, geographic, practical, cultural, institutional and social. They note in responding to the feedback of Nogueira (2014) that each has a "temporality" (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014b, p. 71) and is influenced by respective histories. However, what the findings of my military experience has shown is that we can further develop funds of identity by considering history, specifically historical events, in their own right as a subdivision of funds of identity and not just as an influence.

My findings suggest that for individuals that have more exposure to the world in general, by virtue of being older, that there is an increased chance that the individual will be exposed to events that are historically significant beyond their family environment. In military terms, this may be battles, campaigns or wars, whether as an active participant or as a vicarious attachment through "battle honours" of a military unit that he or she may temporarily belong to. This differentiation between battle, campaign and war highlights that historical events have geographical boundaries, much as geographies have histories. Taking this concept further, and beyond the military context, the historical significance of an event may be local, for example Cyclone Tracy hitting Darwin on Christmas Day 1974, regional, such as the annexation of the Crimea, national, for example the election of Barrack Obama as the first black president of the United States of America, or global, such as the global financial crisis which commenced in 2007.

Consistent with funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a), these historical events become historical funds of knowledge that may be internalised as an important part of the self and group identity. In my military context, I identify as a Cambodia veteran, having internalised the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia mission, and an Iraq veteran, having internalised the Australian Operation Catalyst deployment. In the case of the previous non-military examples, individuals may identify as an evacuee of Darwin (local history), a Russian in Ukraine or a Ukrainian in Russia depending on your standpoint at a particular time in history

(regional history), a member of President Obama's first inauguration crowd (national history), or a financial victim of the GFC (global history). In each case it is an historical event or reference point that she or he may internalise as a part of her or his identity work.

While historical funds of identity did not present in Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) early studies focused on school students, it is expected that an increase in numbers of students studied would increase the likelihood that students presenting evidence of historical funds of identity would have become significant in the findings. Regardless of this possible finding, a consideration of historical funds of identity appears to be situated in an adult context given Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014b) comment that "funds of identity are appropriated throughout our life span from a vast range of semiotic resources that have been developed throughout history" (p. 72). Noting Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014a) original intent to improve learning and social interaction through the utilisation of marginalised student's funds of identity for the benefit of the class group, this thesis suggests funds of identity could be further explored from an adult perspective.

Funds of identity in adults

Based on my findings, the key theoretical difference in considering funds of identity in adults appears to be that the adult population (a) may have accumulated funds of knowledge that he or she may internalise based on his or her life experience and that (b) he or she may actively draw on a range of funds of identity to continually develop an internal sense of self and project an acceptable identity in social interactions. Indeed, Esteban-Guitart and Mole (2014b) conclude, "funds of identity are resources or tool kits that are historically created, accumulated, disseminated and situated" (p. 73) that "people use to define themselves" (p. 74). An implication of this study and Esteban-Guitart and Mole's (2014b) conclusion is that in adults some identities, while not immediately salient, appear to be ever at the ready, held in potential in his or her accumulated knowledge. In my professional and social life I now identify as an educator and Freemason respectively, yet on ANZAC Day or other social gatherings where ex-military members meet I once again internalise my military knowledge with the deliberate result of one or more of my dormant military identities being made salient, if not active, for that brief period of time where it has relevance and value. The implication of this agency in particular for adult students or trainees, or more accurately post high school students and trainees, is that his or her identity work may not result in

outcomes aligned the respective educational, training or organisational requirements. It is here at this point of interaction that further funds of identity research may enhance our understanding of the inhibitors and enhancers for successful outcomes of education and training, whatever those outcomes may be. For myself, access to knowledge is the key to my identity work, access that has only been provided through continuous education.

Practical implications: The role of continuous education

As funds of identity is the internalisation of funds of knowledge (Esteban-Guitart & Mole, 2014a), I argue, based on my findings, that it is the application of education and training interventions by organisations that mediates and moderates a given fund of identity. In the adult world this mediation of funds of identity is related to an organisation granting access to the organisation's funds of knowledge. I argue that funds of identity are moderated by how much access is granted, what frequency the granted access occurs and at what points in time in the development of the individual that the granting of access occur. This study has demonstrated that when the education interventions are consistent and progressive, such as my courses preparing me for hierarchical progression in the army, the identity regulation inherent within the education system is continually re-enforced and the requisite identity is inculcated in the individual.

It can be seen that the success of any continuous education program in regulating an identity may be measured by the strength of emotional attachment to an identity and the length of time that the identity remains a fund beyond his or her membership of the group. Military organisations, as total institutions, have highly effective continuous education programs that result in the continuation of military member identities as is highlighted by the findings of Herman and Yarwood's (2014) study of United Kingdom ex-military members. They note of their participants "while they were in new professions their military experiences continued to shape who they are now in terms of both their social circle and their attitude towards their current role" (p. 47). But this is not to suggest that ex-military members do not develop new or parallel branches of identity. Rather, her or his military experience and identity, now her or his historical fund of identity, forms the foundation or reference point for any future education or training.

This study illustrates that when a particular system of education and/or training ceases that the associated identity salience slowly decays. It is this phenomenon that I

argue accounts for the prolonged identification of many individuals with the military after exit (Harris et al., 2013; Herman & Yarwood, 2014; Higate, 2001; Higate, 2012; Kester, 2014; Maringira, 2014; Walker, 2013). I suggest that a slow decay in identity salience, without an increase in an alternate identity salience, may negatively feed back on itself, prompting him or her to cling tighter to his or her military identities, prolonging the identification which may have impacts on an individual's post-military life (Brunger et al., 2013; Fragala & McCaughey, 1991; Harris et al., 2013; Herman & Yarwood, 2014). I propose that the key to successful identity transition may be prolonged education in another field where he or she may have a new identity regulated by a new organisation or community of practice. Again, the new organisation, in my case Freemasonry and the academic field of education, must grant access to its particular funds of knowledge, but this access allows an individual to conduct new identity work to discover a new and valuable self. As the new organisation inculcates its funds of knowledge, which may become more relevant to his or her current situation in life, the previous military funds of knowledge may become just that, knowledge of a previous life stage and no longer internalised as the most salient practical identity. The new funds of knowledge may be internalised, that is, they may become funds of identity beyond the military career.

Methodological implications: Longitudinal arts-based methods

Esteban-Guitart and Mole (2014b) highlighted that "in order to document the temporality that permeates a person's funds of identity, we need more 'longitudinal' accounts of their family funds of knowledge and…the trajectories of their funds of identity" (p. 73). In this study, the application of a self-portraiture arts-based method at multiple time points in my life has provided a longitudinal account of my biological family as well as my "professional family" funds of knowledge. Each drawing or self-portraiture artefact has enabled me to map the trajectories of my funds of identity.

As a data collection method, self-portraiture, especially when combined with some form of explanation, has provided me a rich insight into how a person may see him or herself at any given time (Bagnoli, 2009; Beltman et al., 2015; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a). While this enables what could be considered a cataloguing of identities, the application of the arts-based method of Bennett (2013) highlighted that longitudinal application may be extremely useful in understanding the development of those identities. In combining Bennett's (2013) application with Gade's (1991) call for a "life-course perspective" (p. 187) when researching military personnel, this thesis

espouses the benefits of "flipping the equation" of arts-based identity research, by collecting individual artefacts from a particular participant at multiple moments in time across a life-course, that is, in following his or her funds of identity trajectory. The application of a life-course longitudinal arts-based method not only holds promise for studying the development of an individual's identity development, it also holds promise in a range of fields where comparison between funds of identity development can be made between individuals with similar life trajectories or common life stages and events. While this study presents some conceptual, theoretical, practical and methodological implications, I acknowledge that there are a number of limitations that should be taken into account when considering the field of study, how I have approached it, my findings and discussions.

Limitations

As this study is an auto-ethnographic study of my army experience there are some limitations when considered in the broader military and societal contexts. Firstly, this study is of course taken from my (a) male, (b) other ranks or enlisted, (c) technical trades person perspective with (d) a long family army history and (e) operational experience. Where any of these characteristics is changed, such as to be from a combat perspective, a non-technical category perspective, an officer perspective or a female member perspective, there may be differences in the findings. This study also does not consider the informal education (Lave & Wenger, 1991), local (Ashforth, Sluss & Harrison, 2007) and organisational (Van Maanen & Schein, 1977) socialisation and acculturation (Berry, 2009), discourse or other mechanisms that reinforce identity regulation or the negotiation of the agreed identity as found for example in Thornborrow's (2015) thesis on "the construction of collective identity in the British Parachute Regiment: a storytelling approach" (p.1).

Secondly, in the Australian army, and it could be argued to be in all armies, there is an expectation that any member of the army, regardless of role type, may be required to defend themselves and those around them given the environment soldiers operate in, that is, on the ground. The army's Contract to Australia (www.army.gov.au) highlights this and as such the warrior identity is synonymous with a soldier identity. The Royal Australian Air Force are likely to have this warrior identity to a degree as the ground-based elements have this same defence-on-the-ground philosophy. However, the air force's main warrior class is the fighter pilot and as such it is expected that there may be two different warrior identities in this Service branch. In contrast to these

Australian military Services, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) members are more likely to respond to threats as a group than as an individual given the nature of their operating environment on a ship or submarine. A warrior identity for an RAN member may therefore be quite different in this Service context. Structural differences between the Services also are a limitation on the part of this study. In particular, neither the Royal Australian Air Force nor the Royal Australian Navy has internal Corps structures. Without these structures it is expected that their members may only have two or three levels of military institutional identity in contrast to my three or four levels.

While the results of this study may be informative beyond the military context, it should be noted that the army and military in general are total institutions (Ashforth et al., 2007; Goffman, 1961; Van Maanen & Schein, 1977) with the will and resources to exert influence over their members. Research beyond the military environment may provide complimentary, contrasting or contradictory findings based on the organisational context, the field in which it operates and the level of control that the organisation has on its members or, conversely, the freedom that the member is granted by the organisation, that is, the control it cedes to its members. Not withstanding these limitations, this study provides further avenues to study military identities, theoretically develop funds of identity and use arts-base methods in longitudinal studies of identity development.

Conclusion

The aim of my study was to explore military identity through the funds of knowledge that an individual member of a military organisation may internalise in his or her military identity work. In providing answers to my research question, how does military identity develop and change over and beyond a military career, I have developed a deeper understanding of the creation, development and maintenance of various military identities through a life course within the military environment and broader society. This study has shown that an identity in a military context is more complex than any singular notion of "a" military identity. Military identities develop as a result of continual tension and negotiation between a military member and the military organisation in response to the organisation's education systems. In discussion of my pre-enlistment history this study has also highlighted that non-members, through association with members, are able to develop a military identity. Finally, this study has illustrated that beyond a military career all members become non-members and that without membership in and identification with another group he or she may become

overly reliant on his or her military identity in the social world, outside of the military organisation.

It appears this study may be one of the earliest empirical studies applying the concept of funds of identity in an organisational context, in this case the Australian army. While, like all research, it leads us to ask more questions and provides me with further avenues in my academic journey, this thesis has been a deeply personal piece of identity work and reflection of the self. It is the record of a reshaping of my military identity, or more accurately, a rebalancing of my core self where my military identity has ceded primacy. It has not been discarded, lost or forgotten. Rather, it has been placed in a position of honour as a foundation to the multiple ways in which I now identify, a reminder that no matter how my identity may develop in the future—

I am an Australian Soldier – always.

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