Ex-military Personnel in the Criminal Justice System:

An exploration of the violence committed across the military life course and the role of alcohol within this violence.

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September 2019

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Acknowledgements

There are many people who have enabled this research to take place and to whom I am truly grateful. Unfortunately, there simply isn't the space to name them all. For everyone who took part in the project, as well as those who enabled participants to engage, sanctioned access and let me in to and out of prisons and probation offices, thank you!

Specifically, I would like to thank Dr. Carly Lightowlers, whose original proposal catalysed this journey and whose ongoing support and engagement has been so helpful. Similarly, I would like to thank Dr. Emma Murray, whose expertise, motivation and approachability, allowed this project to flourish. Special thanks are reserved for Dr. Matthew Millings, who has been an excellent mentor, motivator and critical friend and whose support, insight and encouragement has been invaluable, not only for this thesis, but far more broadly within my academic career.

I would also like to thank my parents, Terry and Norah, as well Trish and Mike, and my wider family members who have encouraged and supported me throughout the project. Finally, I would like to thank Caroline, Sophia and Talitha, whose unwavering support has never faltered. I simply could not have done this without you.

Abstract

This research has qualitatively engaged with military veterans within the criminal justice system of England and Wales who have been convicted of alcohol related violent offences. Deviating from a quantitative approach most commonly employed within the extant veteran-offender literature and employing a qualitative methodology has provided veteran participants, in custody and subject to probation intervention, with an opportunity to narrate their own experiences and understandings around both violence and alcohol use, as well as how these two areas have intersected, across the military life course.

Central to this thesis is that the commission of domestic violence was the most common form of violence committed by the military veteran offender post transition. In light of this, a model to effectively engage with this population was proposed, namely The Military Informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM). Developed from the Nested Ecological model proposed by Dutton (2006), the MINEM represents an analytical tool to engage with the domestically violent military veteran.

Ultimately, a need to engage with and account for a military history when working with the domestically violent veteran within the criminal justice system was highlighted. Such a focus provides an opportunity to garner a deeper understanding around the nuanced risk and needs associated with this population, set against more common understandings of domestic violence within a civilian population, ultimately with a view to more effectively facilitate their desistance journey.

Contents

Introduction

Who is the 'veteran offender' in the criminal justice system and what do we know about them? Who shapes our understanding and who is missing from the discussion? How is this group governed and how can this governance be improved? Such pertinent questions are at the centre of this thesis.

Murray (2016) points to a report produced in 2008 by the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO, 2008) which propelled the 'veteran offender' in the criminal justice system (CJS) in to a political and media spotlight. The report, entitled; 'Ex-Armed Forces and the Criminal Justice System' claimed that around 20,000 ex-service personnel were serving prison or probation sentences. Whilst these figures have been contested (DASA, 2010, 2011, Murray, 2014), if to be considered accurate, this figure would render the veteran population the largest occupational subset within the CJS as well as a group that simply could no longer be ignored (HMIP, 2014).

Such revelations led to increasing media coverage concerning the; 'Thousands of war veterans locked in British prisons' (Leach, 2008) as well as; 'Record numbers of ex-soldiers in UK jails as combat trauma blamed' (Doward, 2008). Beyond this, awareness campaigns and initiatives as well as social science research burgeoned, with a view to explore the extent of the problem, as well as seeking to better understand the issues surrounding the veteran offender (James and Woods, 2010; Treadwell, 2010; HLPR, 2011; McManus et. al., 2013; Murray 2013, 2014; RBL, 2014; Murray, 2016).

This newly visible offending group then, somewhat inevitably, became the focus of acute political attention. In 2012, Lord Ashcroft was appointment as the 'Prime Minister's Special Representative for Veterans' and produced 'The Veterans' Transition Review' (Ashcroft, 2014). In 2014, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) conducted a 'Rapid Evidence Assessment' around veterans' rehabilitative needs within the CJS. Equally, the UK Government commissioned an independent report entitled 'Former Members of the Armed Forces and the Criminal Justice System' (Phillips, 2014).

Whilst these reports, as well as a nascent literature base establishing itself with respect to this population, there remains a limited understanding around the veterans who end up in the CJS or the various factors that contribute to their offending behaviour (Treadwell, 2016). Equally, with a developing yet fragmented and uneven provision for the military veteran offender (MVO) within the CJS, a clearer understanding around this groups' offending risk factors, needs and vulnerabilities represents as salient and necessary at this time, to contribute to effective and consistent policy and intervention options therein (Ford et. al., 2016: Murray, 2013; 2014). This is particularly within the context of the violent veteran, as violent offending represents the most common offence type committed by this population (DASA, 2010; 2011). Furthermore, with alcohol representing a common affiliate with violent offending (Lipsey, et. al., 1997) as well as closely bound to military culture (Fear et. al., 2011), a deeper understanding around the alcohol related violence committed by this population represents a specific focus of this thesis.

Dominant perceptions around the MVO research base that have prevailed have been described as prominently 'psychological' and 'political' (Murray, 2016). The 'psychological' or positivistic approach to understanding the MVO can be understood as assuming a mainly quantitative, statistical approach. Conclusions drawn around this population through such a lens can categorise this population's offending as individualised, pathologized and often associated with issues around mental health and individual failings. In turn, as the prevailing academic approach, it represents the basis for which information is extracted from and disseminated through, both media and political channels, which then leads to the further and broader establishment of these powerful discourses, shaping policy and interventions, as well as broader public understanding (ibid).

Subsequently, concerns around individual, qualitative narratives and experiences of the military intuition as well as deployment and combat are omitted (Murray, 2016). Indeed, fears around a lack of critical attention being paid to the military institution on the whole and a lack of understanding around how the military environment and contexts therein may impact upon offending behaviour has also

been raised (Treadwell, 2016). Ultimately, the voices of the veterans themselves are missing from the extant research base at this stage, as is a criminological analysis around the offending of this group (Murray, 2016).

As the characteristics associated with offending behaviour and the associated narratives can be understood as somewhat absent from the existing literature, the current research seeks to challenge this. By employing a qualitative approach, the current research offers veterans within the CJS an opportunity to narrate their own subjective experiences of military service and beyond. Furthermore, this approach has enabled the study to explore individual's reflections of their offending behaviour, helping to generate a better understanding of the factors that veteran's themselves perceive as contributing to their anti-social and offending behaviours. Ultimately, such an approach facilitates the opportunity to challenge the current status quo regarding the prominent methodologies employed to understand this population. Furthermore, it provides the veteran's experiences to be criminologically analysed, engaging the MVO and the 'Criminological' voices by seeking answers to the following research questions:

1) *To explore the circumstances and subjective understanding around violence committed by the veteran over the military life course[1].*

2) *To consider how veterans understand the role of military service and its impact on the use of violence across a military life course.*

3) *To consider how veterans understand the role (if any) that alcohol plays within the use of violence across a military life course.*

4) *To gain a subjective understanding from military veterans currently in the CJS around their own alcohol use over the military life course and consider factors that have influenced this use (in particular, to consider the role of military service and its impact on substance misuse).*

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[1] The 'Military life course' represents the period commencing at the recruitment stage for MVOs, up until point of interview.

5) *To consider the experiences of the veteran within the criminal justice system.*

Contributions to knowledge

Through exploring alcohol and violence across the military life course for the MVO, the current research offers original contributions to knowledge, in the first instance, by bringing these three broad areas together. Beyond this, through acquiring a detailed and comprehensive body of data, this thesis then qualitatively gathers the perspectives of MVOs around their understandings of alcohol and violence across their own life courses.

Furthermore, the thesis highlights the importance of considering the military experience and its legacy on the potential for violence as well as alcohol use for ex-service personnel within the CJS. This is particularly so around domestic violence. The thesis offers the Military Informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM) as an analytical tool to understand the commission and multi-layered nature of the IPV committed by the MVO. By designing and introducing such a model, there is an opportunity for practitioners working with MVOs to explore more broadly, the factors that can be understood to have contributed to IPV, at various levels across the military life course.

Finally, originality emanates from the methodological approaches used, particularly through applying a highly reflexive approach to the research. This is through articulating my own biography and experiences of working within the CJS as a Probation Officer for over a decade and exploring how this impacted upon the direction, interpretation and understanding of the research and data.

Overview of the chapters and the key themes.

The first chapter situates the MVO within the context of the CJS and explores some of the wider issues and analysis that has contributed to the shaping and understanding of this group and their journey. Charting the increased media, political and academic coverage around the MVO, particularly following the NAPO report (2008), an analysis around the nature of the prominent voices within the shaping of dominant discourses around the MVO is undertaken. An outcome of this represents one of the fundamental aspects of this research, namely the need for criminological and qualitative research to be conducted with the MVO as it presents as lacking in the corpus of research with this population.

The chapter then investigates 'veteranality' (Murray, 2015; 2016) and considers new demands that the MVO makes on the CJS and the tensions that exist around this population and their presence therein. Beyond this, the policy direction for the veteran within the CJS is explored. Crucially, an inconsistent strategy for veterans has been articulated, with pockets of good practice, on an 'ad hoc' basis taking place across uneven terrain (Ford et. al., 2016; Murray, 2013). Ford and colleagues (2016) highlight that there are limited services and interventions available for this group overall, on account of a lack of evidence around the needs of the veteran population.

That violence represents the most common offence committed by veterans within the CJS, represents a key aspect of this research (DASA, 2010; 2011). There are inevitable links between the military and violence, with violence being present throughout the military experience for most. Within the military environment, primarily the training phase, Armed Forces personnel are drilled to inflict violence (Hockey, 1986; Brown, 2015). Furthermore, combat can be seen as 'a dramatic example of massive violence and victimisation in *extremis.'* (Jamieson, 2014: xviii). This thesis contends that the context of this violence has to be understood as a factor that can contribute to subsequent violence committed within a civilian setting. Furthermore, it represents a unique aspect of a veteran's biography that should be considered within future interventions and engagement with violent MVOs within the CJS.

Chapter 2 critically analyses the military environment associated with training and the development of skills and techniques associated with violence. More

broadly, the various forms of violence beyond proficiency as an occupational duty are explored. These informal or unsanctioned acts of violence include mechanisms to enhance perceptions around masculinity (Wadham, 2013) as well means to resolve conflict amongst soldiers for example. Beyond this, a military experience associated with violence within the context of deployment and combat are investigated as well incorporating a broader consideration around the criminology of war (Jamieson, 2014), seeking to highlighting experiences of violence across the military life course.

Whilst there exists a well-established link between alcohol and violence in general, Chapter 3 critically appraises this relationship within a military setting and across a military life course (Lipsey, et. al., 1997). This is especially important given the historical significance and enduring role and position that alcohol holds within military culture (Jones and Fear, 2011; Donnelly, 2015). Alcohol use has been identified as more common in UK and US militaries than within a civilian context and has even been described as an 'occupational 'hazard' in which soldiers are particularly susceptible to heavy drinking and the consequences therein (Fear et.al, 2007; Bray et. al., 1991; Henderson et. al., 2009: 29). Beyond the military, alcohol use has been outlined as more likely to befall the veteran post transition as well as contribute to the veteran's offending behaviour (Fear et. al., 2007; Phillips, 2014).

The cultural dimensions of the military and its long-term and diverse relationship with alcohol use and violence is then critically explored. This relationship, in an environment in which violence is all pervasive (Jamieson, 1999) and alcohol is also commonplace, represents a key consideration when considering the alcohol related violence committed by veterans within the CJS. Charting key characteristics of the military, such as team cohesion and masculinity, as well as varying military stages and environments, such as training, barrack life, deployment and combat, alcohol and violence can be seen to commonly interact, creating a backcloth of problematic behaviour that can be difficult to escape post transition.

With a view to develop and explore the issues detailed within Chapters 1 to 3 and to garner a greater understanding of the relationship between alcohol and violence committed by the MVO, Chapter 4 outlines the methodology employed to

gather the subjective narratives from this population in the CJS. Initially, a broad rationale for the research taking place is outlined, emphasising the need for qualitative research within a criminological context, as outlined earlier within this introduction. Equally, a personal and reflexive account of the motivation and engagement within the current research is considered and explored within the context of my own biography, particularly around my previous role as a Probation Officer.

Beyond this, a constructivist, interpretivist approach is articulated employing qualitative, semi-structed interviews with MVOs who have been convicted of violence and in which alcohol has been identified as a criminogenic risk factor. Such an approach provides each MVO with a powerful opportunity to narrate their own perceptions around how both violence and alcohol have been used and understood over the military life course as well as how these two factors have combined, both during and beyond military life. Chapter 4 then interrogates how the data was analysed, both thematically and incorporating a highly reflexive approach, shaping the subsequent findings chapters around a chronologically ordered analysis of participants' military life course journeys. The chapter concludes with the introduction of the 'Military Informed Nested Ecological Model' (MINEM). The MINEM represents an analytical framework, adapted from the Nested Ecological model (Dutton, 2006), through which offences of IPV committed by the military veteran participants can be better understood.

The onset and experience within a military career represent the enduring focus of Chapter 5, commencing with a detailed exploration around individuals' experiences of violence and alcohol within and immediately outside of the military environment (for example nights out within a social capacity). A scale of legitimacy associated with various forms of violence can be located within this analysis. From the State sanctioned violence inculcated into the professional soldier, particularly the infantryman, through formal training, to the less formal or unauthorised forms of violence, associated with bullying, initiations or fighting on nights out, violence was pervasive. Engaging in violence provided an opportunity to fit into a culture associated with hyper masculinity, hegemonic order and discipline.

Alcohol was also articulated as a prominent aspect of military life as well as a coping strategy and mechanism to achieve time out from the rigours of service. Competitiveness, overt masculinity and camaraderie were associated with alcohol consumption. Often, nights out, where excessive alcohol use took place, would result in violence occurring. Whether this took place with other soldiers or civilians, the consumption of alcohol was regularly a precursor to violent confrontation, seeing the participants as both instigators and victims.

The next stage of focus across the military life course concerned the period of transition from military to civilian life for the MVO's. Initially, a sense of rejection, a loss of structure and difficulties in adapting to the civilian world represented prominent issues for this group, captured and analysed within Chapter 6. Beyond this, three overarching themes emerged, namely; 'Employment and Employability', 'Accommodation and Homelessness' and 'Mental health and Help Seeking'.

Lack of employment opportunities as well as the unexpected absence of transferrable skills to the civilian workforce resulted in an abundance of free time, which represented an opportunity to consume alcohol. Alternatively, 'Doorwork' in the Night Time Economy (NTE) was a form of employment preferred by numerous veterans, seeing alcohol use and violence combining once again within the already volatile NTE. Furthermore, problems regarding accommodation, including relationship breakdowns and subsequent homelessness, all increased opportunities to consume alcohol and engage in violence and confrontation. Hostel dwelling or rough / street sleeping represented environments in which substances were ever-present and unavoidable, as were experiences of violence and victimisation. Beyond this, experiences of mental health issues, particularly around depression and PTSD and the comorbidity of alcohol, presented as precursors to violence and aggressive outbursts. Using alcohol to cope with PTSD often exacerbated symptoms that veterans sought to avoid. Furthermore, violence directed inwardly, in the form of self-harm and suicidal ideation were also disclosed.

The last of the three findings chapters, Chapter 7, provides an analysis of the alcohol related violence that was most commonly committed by veterans, namely domestic violence. Issues within domestic relationships, such as the nature of the

offence as well as the characteristics and dynamics associated within violent relationships more broadly, were analysed. Anger and hostility, drinking habits, self-esteem issues and shame were emphasised by participants as key aspects of problematic relationships. Further issues such as absenteeism or persistence within problematic relationships also prevailed as issues. Whilst common characteristics associated with (civilian) IPV have been located within this chapter, some of these factors can be understood as exacerbated or complicated by a military history. The MINEM has been designed and introduced within this thesis as an analytical vehicle to explore such factors and experiences across the military life course, to better comprehend the broad and wide-ranging factors contributing to such an offence type for the MVO.

Chapter 1: The Military Veteran and the Criminal Justice System

Introduction.

The current chapter represents the first of three literature reviews providing a background and context to the MVO within the CJS. The chapter will commence by exploring the statistics and figures available around veterans within the CJS. It will then outline the point at which media and political focus intensified around this population. Alongside this, the various academic research, commentary and awareness campaigns that followed, which informed and progressed the knowledge of this population will be considered. Crucially, this chapter then identifies and attends to the most prominent voices within the literature, and how these particular approaches, predominantly of psychological and political origins, have shaped a prevalent understanding of the risks, needs and generally depicted profile of the MVO within the CJS. By doing so, the less prominent voices are unearthed, in particular the qualitative approach in which veteran's subjective voices are explored and poses that these voices are equally necessary to hear, to gather a greater understanding of the MVO within the CJS.

The current criminal justice policy associated with the MVO population is then explored. Difficulties in the initial identification of the MVO within the CJS represents a barrier to effective assessment and management, with limited mechanisms and protocols in place to successfully identify this group. Furthermore, and central to this thesis, the lack of robust research regarding this population is charted. Such a lack of research has been understood to have resulted in inconsistent and undeveloped intervention options and further research being articulated as necessary to inform improved and effective practice (Ford et. al., 2016).

In particular, comprehensive insight around the criminogenic risk and need factors associated with the offending of this population, leading to a better understanding around their offending journey, is required at this stage. Indeed, concerns have been raised that such risk and need factors have often being aligned to those of the general, civilian offending population. The limitations of such an

approach and the need for significant future research and expansion around the nuanced and particular risk and need factors associated with the MVO is articulated. The specific risk and need characteristics of the MVO within the CJS that are currently available, discerned within the existing research and commentary outputs, are then critically explored.

The chapter then turns to consider the offence type most commonly committed by the MVO, namely violence. Data upon which this is substantiated is explored and critical consideration of the nature of the violence committed and the impact of this violence is undertaken. The need and value of further research and a greater understanding around this particular area of offending is then articulated.

The numbers.

Around 17,000 people leave the Armed Forces each year and in 2017 there were an estimated 2.4 million ex-service personnel living in England and Wales (Albertson et. al., 2017b; MoD, 2019). The significant majority of service leavers transition from the Armed Forces to civilian life without incident (Phillips, 2014; Iverson et. al., 2005). However, there are a minority who find this journey difficult. Regarding this minority, and whilst there have been estimates around the numbers of ex-service personnel within the CJS ranging from 20,000 to veterans making up 5% of offenders in prison and 5% on Community Orders supervised by probation (not including Suspended Sentence Orders), there has historically been no formal and standardised data collection process through which accurate monitoring of this population can take place within the UK (NAPO, 2008; Kelly, 2014; RBL, 2014; Phillips, 2014). As such, this has resulted in definitive figures remaining illusive (Albertson et. al., 2017a).

The most robust data collected around ex-service personnel within the CJS has been disseminated via the Defence Analytical Services and Advice (DASA) reports. Population and characteristics data around ex-forces personnel within the custodial environment reveal that 5% of the total population were identified as veterans. This population was predominantly male, made up of British nationals who

were on average older than that of the general population and 1% were identified as from officer ranks (DASA, 2010). Furthermore, it was estimated that 77% were from the Army, 15% from the Navy and 8% from the RAF. Data held around ex-forces who were subject to probation supervision revealed veterans accounted for 3.4% of the total number supervised. They were also overwhelmingly male (99%), with 1% identifying as officer grade (DASA, 2011). It was determined that 81% served in the Army, 12% in the Navy and 7% from the RAF.

Despite such figures being universally accepted as the most reliable, concerns remain around the accuracy of the data, with suggestions that the numbers are in all likelihood higher (Phillips, 2014; CJS, 2014). Disquiet around this data has been raised due to the omission of those service personnel who left the Navy prior to 1979, the Army prior to 1972 and the Air Force before 1968, which prevent a full analysis of the characteristics of all ex-service personnel (DASA, 2010). It is also important to note that Reservists or those who completed National Service were not included in this dataset, thereby still not offering a full and clear picture of the exact numbers of ex-service personnel within the CJS as well as their offending behaviour, needs and risk characteristics (HMIP, 2014).

An increased media interest.

With a lack of clarity around veteran numbers and associated accuracy, the visibility of this group within the CJS can be understood as historically limited. Whilst veteran offenders are nothing new (Murray, 2015) a report in 2008 (NAPO, 2008) claiming that around 20,000 ex-service personnel were languishing within the CJS, shone light on this population, increasing the visibility of this group significantly, alongside their public profile:

"Thousands of war veterans locked in British prisons - One in 11 prisoners serving time in UK jails is a former member of the Armed Forces, a new report reveals."

(Leach, Telegraph Online, 2008)

The NAPO Report (2008) can be understood to have led to an increased media focus, particularly on account of the significance of the purported numbers of veterans within the CJS. This, in turn, increased the public visibility of the veteran offender, incorporating their military and post transition experiences as well as contributing to the shaping of a public image associated with this population. Indeed, a dominance within the media has prevailed around conflict and operational activities of the military more broadly. Contemporaneously, there has been an increased level of coverage and insight into recent conflicts, which has seen some of the most intense and sustained operations in a generation (CSJ, 2014). This is particularly so within the context of the 'war on terror' and conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan post 9/11/01. Coverage of these conflicts, as well as other, less prominent deployments, can be seen to have propelled the visibility of the soldier, and subsequently the veteran, into the public consciousness, through media depictions as well as enhancing political considerations around these groups (Murray, 2016; Treadwell, 2016).

With deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan by British troops since the turn of the 21st century, lasting well over a decade, coupled with the intensity of the fighting, which has been described as incomparable to any period of conflict since the Korean war, it is of little surprise that such coverage has increased (HLPR, 2011). Such exposure can be understood to have propelled the 'nastiness of conflict' into the public imagination and can act to articulate the sacrifices that both military personnel, and their families, have made (Treadwell, 2016: 334, HLPR, 2011). Indeed, 179 British forces personnel died during the second Iraq war and 454 died whilst serving in Afghanistan (MoD, ND). Such figures act as a stark reminder of the reality of military intervention and potential outcomes for personnel.

Media representation and focus around the military service personnel's role, commitment and sacrifice, alongside that of their families, offer the public various insights which are often couched within a context of 'hero' or 'victim' as these are perceived as most newsworthy (Lyne and Packham, 2014; HLPR, 2011; FIMT, 2014). Indeed, even within media coverage of veteran offending, the remanence of such sentiments have been highlighted by Treadwell (2016) who emphasises that certain

'symbol offences', where experiences of war and trauma or PTSD can be seen to link to the offending committed by this population, underpin a significant portion of media representation around veteran offending (HLPR, 2011). Treadwell draws attention to the media coverage of two cases in particular. Firstly, Alexander Blackman (also known as 'Marine A') was filmed killing a Taliban captive in Helmand Province in 2011 (Morris, 2013). Originally receiving a conviction for murder, this was successfully appealed, and reduced to Manslaughter by way of diminished responsibility finding in 2017. Blackman was described as representing an 'emblematic figure' and the case represented the governments failings around effectively supporting a combat damaged veteran. The media coverage and ongoing public support reflected Blackman being perceived as an 'undeserving offender' worthy of victim status (Treadwell, 2016; McGarry, 2015). Secondly, coverage of Liam Culverhouse, (Press Association, 2014) a veteran who killed his daughter whilst suffering with PTSD linked to combat experience within Afghanistan. Whilst limited public support was garnered compared to the Blackman case, again, the narrative associated with veterans as war damaged, suffering from PTSD and traumatised, which again highlights something of a victim-offender status for the veteran offender (Treadwell, 2016).

Nevertheless, such coverage is not necessarily reflective of the majority of offences committed by veterans or those within the military environment (ibid). Indeed, a third dimension of reports pertaining to serving military personnel and veterans has been emerging, linking to the perpetration of violent acts during military service, conflict and post transition to civilian life (see; Roberts, 2012). The death of Private Cheryl James at Deepcut Barracks (BBC, 2019) and three other suicides at the same training barracks, as well as allegations around the pervasive milieu of sexualised, violent and racist abuse (Kelly and MacSorley, 2016) coupled with 2016 coverage revealing convictions for three marines, regarding the maltreatment of a subordinate, reflect concerns during training and service around the culture of the military and links to violence. The Marines were said to have subjected the victim to 'initiations' such as 'water-boarding', fighting other marines whilst naked and consuming a cocktail of lard, urine, vomit and cider whilst other drunken personnel,

watched on. This was described as a 'rite of passage', a traditional initiation and a form of 'bonding' (Press Association, 2016).

Furthermore, coverage of violence committed by ex-forces personnel include reports of a soldier convicted for the manslaughter of his landlady (BBC, 2012) as well as a serial rapist (Morris, 2011). Such a wide range of coverage reflects a confusing and obfuscated picture of the military culture and environment, links (if any) to offending behaviour, and violence in particular, as well as the risks and needs that military veterans present. Furthermore, it can be understood to contribute further to an already complex relationship that exists around the public image of the veteran offender (Murray, 2016).

More generally, the portrayal of veterans has even been perceived as erroneous by Lord Ashcroft (2014: 14) who recommended that the MoD and Armed Forces should seek to promote a more accurate perception of ex-service personnel, which can often be misrepresented through 'misleading or partial information' often via the media, which could be seen to disadvantage the veterans' chances in the civilian world.

"Yet there is a widespread public perception that veterans are likely to be physically, mentally or emotionally damaged by their time in the Armed Forces."

(Ashcroft 2014: 14)

As such, exploration around the factors and mechanisms that contribute to ex-service personnel's involvement within the CJS needs to be conducted, not only to identify and reduce the risks of further ex-forces entry into the CJS, but also regarding the portrayal of ex-military personnel within the media (Ashcroft, 2014).

Increasing research, commentary and initiatives.

Following the NAPO report in 2008 and subsequent increased coverage around the veteran offender within the media, increasing amounts of research,

commentary, awareness campaigns and initiatives were established with a view to explore the extent of the problem, as well as seeking to better understand the issues surrounding the veteran offender (Albertson et. al., 2017).

In an article published in the Howard Journal, Treadwell (2010: 73) emphases the media coverage of military personnel who lost their lives in combat in Afghanistan. However, beyond this, the author highlights the 'forgotten casualties of war', or those soldiers returning to civilian life, as well as those individuals who 'at some unspecified point in the future will become the victims of their crimes'. Concerns were expressed around the impact of military experience potentially effecting future criminal behaviour. Equally, that veterans were potentially overrepresented at every stage of the CJS and that professionals who worked at each of these stages, as well as the discipline of Criminology more broadly, had little understanding of this new population or offending group, represented concerns that were in need of further exploration (ibid; Taylor, 2010).

This lack of awareness around the impact of military experience upon the veteran community by CJS practitioners was also raised by the social justice charity NACRO, who published 'A Guide to Working with Veteran Offenders' (James and Woods, 2010; Albertson et. al., 2017). This guide offered CJS professionals insight into the cultural aspects of the military experience, as well as articulating some of the barriers and challenges that veterans may experience upon transition. In 2011, the Howard League for Penal Reform produced a 'Report of the Inquiry into Former Armed Services personnel in Prison', the remit of which was also around exploring ex-service personnel involvement within the CJS. The report considered the offences veterans committed, the risks and needs associated with this group as well as considering support options available (HLPR, 2011). Other reports such as the 'Review of Veterans within the Criminal Justice System'(RBL, 2014), continued to explore the role of military service for veterans within the CJS. Transition issues more generally were also being explored around the same time. Reports such as; 'Back to Civvy Street: How can we better support individuals to lead successful civilian lives after a career in the UK Armed Forces?' and 'Doing Our Duty. Improving Transitions for Military Leavers' were conducted, exploring broader issues around difficulties in

returning to civilian life as well as exploring support options for ex-service personnel (FMIT, 2014; CSJ, 2014).

Recognised as a politically salient area of consideration, Lord Ashcroft was appointed to the position of the Prime Minister's 'Special Representative on Veterans' Transition' in 2012 and was invited to prepare a formal review around the legislation, policies and practices in place for service leavers transitioning to civilian life, culminating in 'The Veterans' Transition Review' (Ashcroft, 2014). Such reports highlighted the need for insight and understanding into this populations' needs following service in the forces. As well as recommending improved provision for this population both within the civilian community more generally and within the CJS more specifically.

Increased political focus.

Inevitably, the involvement of the veteran in the CJS in particular and the lack of knowledge around their needs and risks came in to sharp political focus in 2014. A 'call for evidence' was requested by the then Secretary of State for Justice, Chris Grayling (MoJ 2014a; 2014b) which sought to collect relevant research around the rehabilitation needs of ex-service personnel within the CJS. Equally, an independent formal review by Stephen Phillips QC entitled: "Former members of the Armed Forces and the Criminal Justice System" was commissioned (Phillips, 2014).

The MoJ produced two reports to inform the Phillips (2014) report. First was a Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) (Lyne and Packham, 2014) which sought to summarise the existing evidence base of veterans' needs within the CJS. This evidence was taken from the USA as well as the UK and was caveated with a warning that as evidence was accrued in a short period of time and was 'quite limited', a lack of understanding or focus around this group historically was evident. The authors also identified that, even the existing research lacked robustness, raising concerns around methodological rigour, sample sizes and lack of UK based work, resulting in international evidence that may not be fully transferrable to England and Wales. Within this REA, it was identified that there was 'moderate' evidence (denoting

several pieces of research deemed of 'lower methodologically quality' which suggested similar findings) to suggest that mental health needs; depression and suicide; PTSD; Adjustment disorders and alcohol use all represented potential needs of the military veteran.

The second MoJ document was an analytical summary of two surveys; 'The Offender Management Community Cohort study' (data collected between 2009-2010) consisting of 2919 service users subject to Community Orders of which 151 identified themselves as ex-forces and 'Resettlement Surveys', conducted between 2001 – 2004, consisting of 4898 prisoners, of which 232 were ex-services personnel (Kelly, 2014). This report concluded that veterans' needs were similar, if not lower in most criminogenic areas, to the general offending population. This was particularly notable in custody, in which ex-military were perceived to have higher levels of education and enjoyed longer term employment prior to entering custody. However, veterans in prison were more likely to have reported pre-offending alcohol misuse problems. It was reiterated that alcohol use within this population is linked to mental health issues as well as violence and represented a vital area to consider both at assessment and intervention stages to effectively reduce offending behaviour for the veteran group (ibid). Equally, awareness of services that were available to support ex-service personnel was also a key area considered within the summary and in need of improvement, to reduce veteran numbers within the CJS.

Other prominent contributing documents included the earlier cited reports (e.g. Ashcroft, 2014; FMIT, 2014; HLPR, 2011) as well as The Murrison Report (2010) which explored the mental health needs of servicemen and veterans was an oft cited document. Research produced by the Kings College for Military Health Research, in Particular; ''Violent offending by UK military personnel deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan: a data linkage cohort study' (McManus et. al., 2013), was regularly referred to within the document. Beyond this, numerous individuals and stakeholders within the CJS, including primary, voluntary and third sector organisations, as well as service users were involved within the information gathering to determine involvement of ex-service users within the CJS (Phillips, 2014).

Overall, ex-service personnel were recognised to share many commonalities with the general offending population, including disadvantaged social background, drug and alcohol abuse, poor health and homelessness (see also; HLPR 2011; HMIP 2014; Gee, 2007). Phillips (2014: 19) claims that these, as well as other key risk factors with respect to offending apply in equal measure to both general offending population and veterans, with the caveat that; whilst in service, most of these factors, such as unemployment, finance, accommodation and even substance misuse are 'taken care of' however upon discharge, they are not.

Treadwell (2016: 338) argues that the key recommendations within the Phillips report did little to advance on recommendations contained within the HLRP report (2011), some five years earlier, nor did it suggest explicitly what veterans needs actually were. Furthermore, it did not consider that the military was 'worthy of more critical attention' (something that will be elaborated on further into this chapter). Equally, the Royal British Legion express concerns that little progress has been made with respect to the recommendations made therein. Requesting a '5-year statement on progress', a proposal that each of the recommendations outlined should be addressed individually and that such a publication would aid 'the Armed Forces sector who work to support veterans in the criminal justice sector, understand the public policy landscape in order to plan any investment in interventions accordingly' (RBL, 2019: 72).

Who are the dominant voices in shaping the veteran in the CJS?

So far within this chapter, the emergence and subsequent prominence of the veteran in the CJS has been outlined. This can be understood as having been mobilised by the NAPO report in 2008 and enhanced by subsequent media coverage, charitable organisation and lobbyist reports (HLPR, 2011; RBL, 2014), political attention and associated documentation (Lyne and Packham, 2014; Kelly, 2014, Murrison, 2010) as well as academic focus (McManus et. al., 2013). In light of this, attention now turns to explore who the main 'voices' are with respect to shaping our

understanding around who the veteran offender in the CJS is, how these 'voices' have achieved this and how has the veteran been 'framed'?

Murray (2016) asks us to consider how the veteran offender, in particular the 'violent veteran' is represented and understood, suggesting that two particular voices have been dominant in shaping the discourse around this particular group of offenders. Firstly, Murray (2016) articulates that 'Political voices' are proffered through the formal state arms represented by the MoD (e.g. DASA, 2010; 2011) and MoJ (e.g. Lynn and Packham, 2014), as well as charities and lobbyists (e.g. HLPR, 2011; RBL, 2011). These voices shape the discourse around this population within the political and media spheres, allowing a general construct of the veteran offender to be developed and then formally disseminated, whilst at the same time, suggesting (and implementing) various forms of interventions (Murray, 2016).

The second voice Murray identifies is the 'Psychological voice'. Behind the political voice, there is an intellectual voice, which is predominantly positivistic in approach. An academic body mainly employing quantitative and statistical methodologies to gather insight into the challenges faced by the veteran post transition (e.g. McManus et. al., 2013; Fear et. al., 2011) and in particular, Kings College Military Health Research department (Murray, 2015). This intellectual voice has been understood to have placed the experiences of the criminal veteran into domains associated with mental health and individual welfare (Murray, 2015, 2016). As a consequence, further discourses can develop, particularly through the weight of the 'political voice' around the needs of the veteran offender as pathologically linked, and which can be seen to connect the offending, in particular the violence of the veteran, to individual deviancy (Murray, 2016).

Veteran offending, when being framed as linked to the personal failings of the soldier in one way or another, can be seen to admonish or remove the responsibility of the military institution or conflict (including the political decision making to take soldiers to war) from the conversation (Murray, 2016: 319). By omitting the experience of the military and placing the emphasis on the individual, the role of the military institution, or 'militarisation', is underestimated as having potentially contributed to the commission of offending behaviour. Treadwell (2016)

questioned whether there is a criminogenic aspect to militarisation for some and whether service experiences has been overlooked within academic and policy contexts (Ibid: 333). This thesis aligns with this contention and will demonstrate how necessary it is to explore how a period of young men's lives so characterised by violence and hyper masculinity informs offending behaviour later on in the life course. In this way the thesis contributes to the development of criminological knowledge that explores 'the role of the military in fostering violence; and questioning whether personal controls and checks on violence have (or can be) properly promoted in the military' (Ibid: 344).

Whose voices are missing?

Concerns have been raised that, as the political and psychological voices have predominated and, albeit with some exceptions (see: Murray, 2013; McGarry and Walklate, 2016; Walklate and McGarry, 2015; for examples) this has resulted in a limited criminological, as well as victimological understanding of this group, particularly within a qualitative context (Treadwell, 2016). Murray (2016) argues that criminological research was underrepresented when referring to the REA, one of the main documents upon which the Phillips report was based in 2014. Therefore, the reinforcement of the individualised responsibility for offending removed the focus of militarisation. As such, a call for veterans' voices to be heard and to narrate their own experiences has been made regarding the veteran offending population as a counterbalance to a predominant, quantitatively orientated, psychological approach (Murray, 2016; Treadwell, 2016).

This smaller body of evidence seeks to explore the voice of the veteran, their subjective experience and place it into a cohesive narrative. Beyond this, such narratives are to be understood in a criminological or criminal justice context, as well as garnering a greater understanding of the veteran as an 'offender', 'victim' or both, and the influences that their military experiences have had on this process (Murray, 2015; Wainwright et. al., 2016).

Equally, and referring to the criminology of war, a burgeoning, albeit recently evolved subject within the discipline of criminology (see Jamieson 1998, 2014; Walklate and McGarry 2015, McGarry and Walklate; 2016), Murray (2015) expresses concern around the focus on veterans' experience of war and combat, and not the war itself, representing the currently accepted 'problem'. However, the undercurrent of suggestion within this claim, is, once again, around the responsibility being placed on the individual, whereas the interrogation or omission of the State and military institution's liability presents as absent from the argument. As such, the veteran's voice, engaged with, within this thesis, represents an opportunity to regain that focus.

Veteranality and effectively governing the veteran offender.

'Veteranality', a concept outlined by Murray (2013), pertains to the issues around the governance of veterans within the CJS. Whilst this thesis does not seek to engage the governance of veterans specifically in terms of research findings, as it represents a departure from most of the research questions posed, a brief exploration of the tensions of the veteran within the CJS are relevant at this stage to fully contextualise the experience of ex-service personnel in the CJS.

Through the theoretical context of 'Veteranality' Murray (2013) seeks to comprehend the veterans' place and identity within the CJS and the various tensions that the veteran experiences within this process. It considers how the veteran is perceived and subsequently engaged with by various agencies as well as considering the inherent identities that are ascribed within society to the veteran and how these traditional perceptions are spoilt by the introduction of criminal behaviour and conviction (Murray, 2013, 2015). Both the 'offender' and the 'veteran' are social constructs and labels which are applied and allow society to gain a better understanding of who these individuals are and, to some extent, their value. When these two concepts converge, i.e. the veteran travels through the CJS following the commission of an offence, then not only does the positive or 'inherently good' perception of the 'heroic' veteran deteriorate (Murray, 2015: 57), but also the

identity of the 'criminal' impinges yet further, perhaps as it would do on any member of society, and creates a tension which can lead to stigmatise 'the traditional celebration of the veteran identity' (Murray 2013: 20).

Nevertheless, the CJS cannot escape the veterans' military identity and past, and, rather than managing an 'offending type' (representing the traditional approach) the CJS has sought to manage an 'occupation type' (Murray, 2013). However, as a result of a dearth of research around the offending of the military veteran specifically, and a more nuanced and defined understanding around the links between crime and military service (Murray, 2013; McGarry, 2012), the CJS may have been, or even remains, ill-equipped to effectively manage (read; control or rehabilitate) the veteran, who is making new and unchartered demands on a system ill-prepared or equipped to respond to these demands effectively, subsequently creating an 'identity crisis' for the veteran alongside a 'crisis of management' for the system (Murray, 2013: 21).

As such, this lack of research base represents an important area of consideration, particularly in terms of the current research, and the need for ongoing contributions to alleviate the dualistic crises outlined above. Furthermore, Veteranality emphasises that the veterans' voices need to be heard and allow them to narrate their own experiences associated with militarisation (Murray, 2016). Qualitative analysis of the experiences of the MVO, and in particular the violent veteran, has been described as absent and 'extremely, indeed perplexingly rare' (Treadwell 2016: 339). This has resulted in rendering the subjective experience of the veteran offender hidden, whilst allowing the psychological interpretation of empirical evidence to flourish and mould policy and intervention focused around the veteran offender (Murray, 2016). Indeed, this is where the current piece of work can be located, seeking to bridge a gap within the current research pertaining to exploring qualitatively, the narratives of veterans within the CJS, whose commission of violence was linked to their misuse of alcohol as well as providing qualitative insight around the military veteran subject to supervision by criminal justice services currently.

Current policy direction for the veteran offender in the CJS.

The political focus and media attention can be perceived as a move away from the myopia or perhaps even the obliviousness towards the veteran within the CJS that has historically prevailed, pertaining to veteran's transitions and difficulties experienced from a military to a civilian life (Murray, 2013; 2014). However, this perceived void around the focus on the veteran within the CJS historically leaves a legacy of unanswered questions around their specific set of risks, needs and experiences (Kelly, 2014) as well as a limited research base (Lyne and Packham, 2014) which require further development to improve services for this group to reduce the likelihood of future offending. Equally, a tide change with respect to focusing on the military veteran in terms of policy within the UK has raised some interesting historical and contemporary issues with respect to this population that require attention at this stage to improve services to ex-forces personnel. As such, the chapter explores the current policy direction around veterans within the CJS, with a view to consider responses designed to accommodate and gather insight into this problem population.

There remain existing barriers to accurate data collection within the veteran population (Phillips, 2014). The categorisation of a military 'veteran' represents the first stumbling block for ex-service personnel and therefore the response of the CJS to focus on their needs. Defined as anyone who has performed military service for one day, whether as a Regular or as a Reservist within the Armed Forces Covenant (MoD, 2011), the service leaver may not perceive themselves as a 'veteran', with this terminology conjuring images of older ex-service personnel or elderly World War 1 or 2 survivors (see Murray, 2014; Burdett et. al., 2012). Equally, feeling shame around convictions, not wanting specific military intervention or not perceiving their military service as an 'active need', as it may have been concluded numerous years ago, have been cited as reasons for failure to disclose veteran status (James and Woods, 2010; Ford et. al., 2016). The implications of rejecting or avoiding the label of 'veteran' may result in a reduction of access to tailored support and benefits available to this population (Burdett et. al., 2012). This is stipulated by the Armed Forces Covenant,

which requires that those who have made sacrifices through service, should have access to appropriate support following transition, as should their families who have made similar sacrifices (Phillips, 2014).

To combat this, and in response to the Phillips report, the MoJ released two reports, (MoJ, 2014, 2015) reflecting policy intentions and future direction regarding intervention within this population. The need was reiterated for veterans to be identified, effectively assessed and, where appropriate, referred for treatment (MoJ, 2014). Basic custody screening tools have since been introduced which ask whether the individual being received into custody has ever served in the Forces or as a reservist. Furthermore, the Equality Information Form (EIF), a screening form used by probation services, which request the same information was introduced in 2016, however, inevitably, will take some time to produce insightful data (Ford et. al., 2016). This is perceived as important in that probation are potentially involved at every level of the CJS (HLPR, 2011), particularly following the enactment of the Offender Rehabilitation Act (ORA, 2014) in which all short term sentences require a minimum 12 month statutory period of probation supervision, thereby offer an opportunity to identify ex-service personnel and divert the individual to appropriate agencies, or at least consider the veteran's experiences of their service, to establish if there is any criminogenic link to their offending behaviour.

The question posed to each prisoner asks whether they have been a 'member of the Armed Forces' as opposed to 'veteran' as numerous commentators expressed concern around the official definition of a veteran as having served one day in the Armed Forces (McDonald, 2014; Ashcroft, 2014; RBL, 2011). Phillips (2014) questions whether participation in the basic training element of the forces as being likely to have affected the veteran's subsequent offending behaviour. Equally, concerns arose that those who would benefit from the targeted support, i.e. those who have spent longer in the services, may not get it, if individuals are claiming veteran status after serving very short periods and not completing training (ibid).

However, there are also concerns around the veteran being willing to disclose their service history, potentially due to a combat related stress disorder, poor job performance or disciplinary problems, all of which may represent a source of shame

to the veteran (James and Woods, 2010). Furthermore, in considering high profile attacks on military figures within the media (see; Casciana, 2013; Farmer, 2013), anecdotal concerns around violence directed towards those who disclose their service history, from those who have been radicalised as well as potential exploitation by extreme right-wing organisations seeking recruits, remain areas of concern required for future exploration and investigation (Phillips, 2014). As such, the vulnerability of the veteran requires exploration, in considering their experiences within the CJS, alongside the risks that the group poses around the perpetration of violence and conflict (Cooper et. al., 2018).

A 'Liaison and Diversion' (L&D) scheme was identified as a vital service by Phillips (2014) as well as receiving coverage within the subsequent literature (MoD, 2014; 2015, Ford et. al., 2016; Cooper et. al., 2018). The L&D service seeks to identify vulnerability, such as mental health, learning difficulties and substance misuse amongst others, at the earliest possible stages, but at any stage of the CJS. These vulnerabilities are to be initially detected by criminal justice professionals who then refer onto an L&D practitioner who conducts a formal assessment, which can then inform the direction, sentencing and effective case management of the service user (MoJ, 2015).

A 'snapshot' of individuals who engaged with the L&D services between April and September 2015 revealed that 'mental health' and 'alcohol abuse problems' were the most frequently identified issues for military veterans, compared to 'mental health' and 'suicide' issues for the those serving in the Armed Forces. The percentage of those with perceived 'alcohol abuse problems' amounted to 24% of the serving personnel compared to 43% of the veteran population, reflecting a sizeable increase post transition. Equally, 'mental health' was identified as a vulnerability in 67% of service personnel, compared to 82% of veterans. It is important to reiterate that caveats are attached to this data, highlighting that persistent issue around the self-disclosure of veteran status, potential failure to disclose other vulnerabilities (or have more than one / comorbid mental health issues) and those declining to use the service, which prevents one from drawing any firm conclusions from the snapshot data (MoJ, 2015). Nevertheless, the data does suggest the need for a deeper

understanding around the specific needs of this population, in developing an effective L&D service which sufficiently incorporates the military veterans' needs, at the earliest possible stage within the CJS process. Such a procedure also recognises the need to effectively develop the skill set of all criminal justice professionals, tasked with the responsibility of initially identifying key vulnerabilities within this population. Concerns have been expressed around a lack of national guidance as well as the knowledge levels that criminal justice professionals had when identifying and engaging with this group (Lyne and Packham, 2014; Phillips, 2014).

With respect to more specific aspects of the CJS, Cooper and colleagues (2018b) conducted an audit pertaining to the support options across various stages of the CJS. At the police stage and of the 205 custody suites in England, 147 (72%) were without a 'Veteran Police Champion'. The Veteran Police Champion is a volunteer role which aims to provide veteran specific focus around the CJS and its impact on veteran community integration and rehabilitation, as well as an enhanced knowledge of support agencies available for veterans and an awareness of the needs and barriers veterans face (Remember Veterans, 2019). Of the 17 in Wales, two did not provide such a service (Cooper et. al., 2018b). The authors comment that this reflects the priority afforded to veteran identification and service provision by the Welsh Government, even prior to the commission of the Phillips Report, with Armed Forces Champions positioned in all 22 Local Authority areas. Alternatively, veteran support services, provided by either Armed Forces charities or other statutory service providers, were articulated. Of the 205 custody suites in England, 79 have externally provided support services, 71 of which are provided by Armed Forces charities (e.g. Project Nova) with the remaining eight delivered by Thames Valley Referral Service, provided by Thames Valley Police, referring veterans to specialist support provided by Armed Forces charities (Ibid).

Support opportunities at the police stage have been outlined by Project Nova. Following a needs assessment being conducted, a bespoke package of support can then be developed, around accommodation, employment or training, financial support, substance misuse, physical or mental health issues as well as exploring options for group work programmes (Fossey et. al., 2017). Effectiveness of such an

approach was found, not only through providing such individually tailored support, but also through staff who understand military culture as well as establishing positive rapport and trust with veterans at this stage (Cooper et. al., 2018a, 2018b).

Cooper and colleagues (2018b) only found Project Nova to evidence specific support provision at court stages, preparing letters for the purposes of support as well as information contributing to the pre-sentence report process, as well as a key worker being present at court (also see Fossey et. al., 2017). Other charities and service providers indicated that they could provide such services, however, were not forthcoming with details regarding this process. No organisation had an office or permanent presence at any court. The Royal British Legion recommend that enhanced training for the judiciary would also represent a proactive approach to ensuring veterans' needs are appropriately considered at this stage (RBL, 2019). This is as veteran specific courts were not recommended within the Phillips report (2014), unlike in the USA.

Ford and colleagues (2016) conducted a review of the provision for veterans under probation supervision. They found that there was no comprehensive strategy for veterans' subject to probation, despite proposals within the Phillips report (2014). The authors went on to describe an uneven terrain, in which pockets of interventions exist across England and Wales, with some areas engaging well with the veteran population and others having no provision at all (also see Murray, 2013). This lack of uniformity may be linked to Transforming Rehabilitation (TR). TR is the process through which the 35 Probation Trusts of England and Wales were abolished in 2014 and replaced by the National Probation Service (NPS), a public body responsible for supervising high risk offenders and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC), private and 3rd sector organisations, responsible for the management of medium and low risk of harm offenders. TR was understood to have brought about ''a swift array of changes typical of broader patterns in the field of work and employment within the context of neoliberalism' (Walker et. al., 2019: 114). A reduction in CRC staffing, through redundancies and staff cuts, as well as high caseloads, was reported to have led to experiences of deskilling and de-professionalisation as well as negatively impacting upon the professional identities of staff (Ibid, NAO, 2016; Millings et. al.,

2019). Within the Phillips report (2014) investment in staff training was emphasised for effective intervention with veterans, however, training and staff development are often the first casualties of the budgetary bullet with respect to the introduction of private companies (Burke, 2013). Furthermore, subsequent high workloads have rendered staff development, training and supervision more difficult, with probation staff feeling unable to commit to training and development due to workload pressures (NAO, 2016). Again, this represents a potential barrier to furtherance of knowledge around ex-forces needs and risks subject to Probation intervention.

Equally, there have been general concerns expressed around lack of development of programmes and 'innovation' in working to reduce offending behaviour by lower levels of business volumes (NAO, 2016). This is particularly pronounced in that 'innovation' was deemed to be the very essence of the TR changes outlined in 2013 (MoJ, 2013; 2014b). Lower numbers than anticipated, from between 6% below anticipated levels, to 36% in some CRC areas (NAO, 2016) as well as concerns around 'commercial confidentiality' (McNeill, 2013) have been identified as some areas in which development of veteran interventions may have been impacted upon. The lower business volumes, due to lower numbers of CRC supervised offenders, may have potentially reduced provider's appetite around investment to develop innovative ways of working with offenders (NAO, 2016). This is particularly so with service users with complex needs, very much reflective of the veteran offender. A pertinent comparison is the general tendency to neglect women in criminological research, due to low numbers within the CJS, or the assumption that what works for men will translate and work for women (Gelsthorpe and Hedderman, 2012). As such, the pool of resources is limited with this group, leading to a leaner empirical evidence base as to establish what works effectively with female offenders. As veterans could be considered the new diversity subject in which it is anticipated that the pathways to offending are more complex (Murray, 2013; Wainwright et. al., 2016), concerns exist that this population may be neglected, or not investing in, as heavy investment may not yield substantial economic returns to represent economic viability.

In terms of 'commercial confidentiality' McNeill (2013) expresses concerns that, should innovation and quality be the priority for private companies (in place of efficiency/cost reduction) then successful outcomes will be highly prized and carefully guarded, with market logic preventing the sharing of such commercially valuable ideas. Indeed, fears remain around the lack of a 'common language' preventing 'silos' from communicating with each other in this case (Senior, 2016: 68) particularly around best practice guidance, with monopolies being established, competition eroding and ultimately, quality reducing (McNeill, 2013).

Provision provided for veterans within the probation setting has been outlined by Ford and Colleagues (2016). Mentoring and veterans peer mentoring schemes in which mentors provide support for veterans through motivating and encouraging individuals to attend and engage in programmes or external appointments, such as education and employment courses and opportunities, interviews or meetings. Veterans' Coordinator roles existed within some CRCs, in which designated staff members are required to confirm a military past, make referrals on behalf of veterans or signpost them to appropriate veteran specific services, as well as acting as a point of contact between the outside agencies and the case manager supervising the community based order or licence. Projects such as the 'Ex-Forces Action Network' programme (EFAN); 'Remember Veterans'; 'Active Plus' and 'IOM Cymru SToMP', were also highlighted. EFAN, as an example of intervention and support specifically for ex-forces personnel across the CJS, is delivered by Cheshire and Greater Manchester CRC in conjunction with the Defence Medical Welfare Service. The programme sought to engage with veterans at any stage of the CJS, conduct an assessment to identify their needs, promote access to tailored services as well as health services and raise awareness of the specific needs faced by veterans (Steele et. al., 2018; Ford et. al., 2016).

Nevertheless, Ford and colleagues (2016) express concerns that more specific services are not in place, due to evidence regarding the needs of this population not being suitably robust. Concerns were raised that the needs of veterans, as well as risks posed, require identification and development via broader forms of research, to unpick the difficulties experienced by some within transition. To engage in a

strategic approach for this population, moving away from applying civilian risk and need criteria to the MVO and developing a more nuanced and individualised approach to this group, represents a key dimension to the ultimate goal of developing effective, bespoke interventions for the MVO within the probation and prison settings. Equally this is echoed by Albertson and colleagues (2017a) who suggest that change will be unlikely until the broader experiences of veterans in transition are transferred to criminal justice policy through effective research. As such, a better understanding around such needs (and their links to risks) are required to enhance opportunities for more effective veteran support at this stage of the CJS, a focus that remains at the heart of this thesis.

Within a custodial environment, out of the 138 prisons in the UK, 135 provided or facilitated some form of support to veterans, either through the 'Veterans in Custody scheme' or Armed Forces charity provision (Cooper et. al., 2018b). The 'Veterans in Custody scheme' which was set up in 2009, sought to track and support the needs of veterans within prison (Greenwood, 2012). The Veteran in Custody Support Officer (VICSO) provides a link between veterans in custody and specialist organisations. Often this is a volunteer position with many staff members opting to take the role due to previous military service affiliation (Cooper et. al., 2018b). 89 of the 114 (78%) English prisons and all of the six (100%) Welsh prisons were found to have provided VICSO's in their establishments. Of the 35 that did not provide the service, nine were YOIs and one prison housed Foreign Nationals only. It was determined that in all 10, there was unlikely to be prisoners in need of such a service (ibid). SSAFA represented the biggest presence across the Armed Forces charity in-reach support providers, providing services in 131 of the 138 prisons in the UK (Ibid).

Specialist provision can again be seen in Wales, where veterans have been identified as a priority population. Specific veteran only wings are available for ex-service personnel in HMP and YOI Parc and HMP Berwin Russ (Madoc-Jones et.al., 2018; Albertson et. al., 2017a). The Endeavour Unit at HMP and YOI Parc opened in 2015 and has been described as open to veteran first-time offenders, with a view to 'minimise exposure to a wider offending culture elsewhere within prisons and based

on the British Army's values including integrity, discipline and respect for others' (G4S, 2016). There are no such wings available elsewhere within the UK.

As has been alluded to earlier within the chapter, a guide to working with veterans in prison was produced in 2010 (James and Woods, 2010) for general staffing consultation. Despite recommendations by the Phillips Report (2014) to update such guidance, this does not seem to have materialised at point of writing (Ford et. al., 2016; MoJ, 2019).

Characteristics of veterans within the CJS.

The chapter now turns to some of the identified characteristics of veterans within the CJS that have been outlined within various documents both outlined so far within this chapter as well as reaching to broader research, not employed within prominent political focus.

Whilst criminogenic risk factors associated with veterans have been likened to those of the general population, it is important to consider some specific aspects associated with these criminally linked areas, that pertain specifically to ex-forces personnel. The Howard League's study into ex-service personnel within prison, highlighting three categories of veterans who were vulnerable to experiencing problems within the CJS (and in which overlap can be considered common):

1. *Those with pre-existing needs, including experience of violence and/or trauma in childhood or adolescence, criminality, substance misuse and negative social peers.*

2. *Those soldiers who experienced problems within service, the onset of mental health issues such as anxiety / depression or physical health problems including injury, cutting service unexpectedly short.*

3. *Finally, those who experience problems post transition, who struggle to adapt to civilian life.*

(HLPR, 2011: 5)

The transition from the military to civilian life is like no other, relinquishing accommodation, camaraderie, and an environment in which structure, organisation and roles are well established and accepted (HLPR, 2011). Where civilian life is perceived to promote individualism, military life promotes working as a team (Brown, 2015). These circumstances can present as alien or unwelcoming to a veteran who can find themselves 'psychologically homeless' as a result (Jolly, 1996: 40). Associations and bonds are developed within the military, in which trust is established with other veterans and a mistrust of others who do not have a military history may prevail. This can result in difficulties for veterans moving back to civilian life. It has been argued that, in some cases a 'dependency culture' can be established in military life, causing difficulties in adapting to the civilian lifestyle, particularly without the support of their comrades (James and Woods, 2010).

Financial problems can result, following service leavers being unfamiliar with processes such as applying for benefits, paying utility costs and other household bills, and, as a 'proud' group who are 'trained not to show weakness' lack the assertiveness to address this, allowing the problem to spiral out of control (James and Woods, 2010). Involvement within the CJS, as a result of financial difficulties, has been reported some veterans, turning to robbery offences as a means to secure finances (HLPR, 2011). Reporting to being used to having money available to them within the services, lack of income can lead to some resorting to the use of instrumental violence to acquire money, or alternatively, employing service acquired skills to further criminal activities, using violence in the context of debt collecting or working as 'hired muscle' (ibid: 41; Ashcroft 2014).

Employment also represents a problematic area, whereupon skills and effective training and qualifications within the military setting lack transferability outside of the military environment which can lead to problems gaining employment post transition (FIMT, 2014; Ashcroft, 2014). It has been claimed that many ex-service personnel lack basic skills required for post transition employment (CSJ, 2014) and higher unemployment levels are recognised as existing for ex-service personnel compared to the general population. Common misconceptions by the public around

ex-forces having some issues around physical, emotional or mental health (ibid) as well as those purported within the media can lead to further damaging employment opportunities for this group (RBL, 2014b).

Other areas with well-established links to offending behaviour have been outlined for this population, such as accommodation issues, particularly homelessness (van Staden et. al., 2007). Homeless veterans were perceived to have slept rough for longer and more likely to have had alcohol related problems and/or mental health problems (RBL, 2014a; Johnsen, Jones and Rugg, 2008; Gee, 2007). Equally, MVO's who were subject to community orders were more likely to live in hostels or other temporary accommodation compared to the general offending population (Kelly, 2014). Indeed, homelessness can represent a complicated area of criminogenic need, which both includes a multitude or risk factors that are difficult to escape. 'Issues such as financial difficulties, alcohol abuse, mental health, and domestic and family breakdown all contribute to homelessness as well as being consequences of it' (CSJ, 2014; 53).

In a study conducted around the experience of homeless ex-service personnel in London, the population perceived themselves to be better equipped to endure, and are less fearful of, the hardships of street life as well as less likely to seek or even accept help on account of feelings association with shame. Furthermore, it was reported that this population had, in the main, a greater propensity to consume alcohol, something which they perceived to have been either initiated or exacerbated by military life, resulted in them being more likely to experiences repeat or sustained episodes of homelessness (Johnsen et. al., 2008). As such, homelessness can be seen not only to increase the likelihood of the perpetration of crime but can also be perceived as closely linked to victimisation as well as substance misuse.

It has been claimed that mental health issues, sustained during service, such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), increases the likelihood of entry into the CJS for ex-military personnel compared to those who have not been diagnosed (Lyne and Packham, 2014) and particularly so with Early Service Leavers (ESLs) who are more likely to suffer from mental health issues (Phillips, 2014). Service leavers who have left the forces due to mental health issues are described as being doubly

disadvantaged in entering the civilian world, as they are the group who are less likely to gain employment, a factor recognised as a further trigger to offending (Ibid).

Whilst numerous commentators have articulated that military veterans share a range of commonalities with the general offending population (HMIP, 2014; Phillips, 2014; Gee, 2007), there are areas in which the experience of the veteran may potentially contribute to their involvement in the CJS. For example, it has been suggested that service leavers may become bored with their perception of a mundane civilian existence post transition. Ex-service personnel may be attracted to the excitement of a criminal lifestyle which may replace the exhilaration experienced with certain aspects of military life (Taylor, 2010). Potentially, it may be that service personnel are able to effectively apply the skills learned in service to facilitate an efficient and lucrative criminal lifestyle (HLRP, 2011). Alternatively, it has been postulated that criminal activity, or more specifically being apprehended, holds little fear for the former soldier. Imprisonment may not represent a significant enough punishment to deter ex-forces due to similarities between such an establishment and the military barracks (Treadwell, 2010) with some perceiving prison as a stable, regimented environment in which the routine was similar to that of the Armed Forces (HLPR, 2011).

Violence as a prominent offence for the veteran offender.

Whilst there remains a lack of clarity around the criminogenic characteristics of the veteran offender in the CJS, there remains one aspect of this populations offending that is accepted consistently, namely that violence presents as the most common offence type committed, something that is not true of the general offending populace (DASA, 2010, 2011; HLPR, 2011; Phillips, 2014). The most common offences for which ex-service personnel were incarcerated for was 'Violence Against the Person' (32.9%) which is defined as 'offences ranging from assault to murder' (DASA, 2010: 5). This was followed by 'Sexual Offences' (24.7%) and also included 'Robbery' (7.2%) (ibid). As such, it can be clearly identified that violent acts committed within this cohort, representing 64% of the total convictions, signify violence as a prevailing

offence type within the population. However, 'other offences', which consisted of 9% of the overall offending type, also covered; arson, criminal damage, kidnapping and affray, which can all be considered within the context of violence. This is particularly evident within the World Health Organisation (WHO) definition of violence:

"*The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.*"

(WHO, 2015).

McDonald (2014) rightly asserts concern around the classification of some offences within the 'other' category of offending behaviour, highlighting that Public Order offences (for example; harassment) are closely linked to domestic violence offences, therefore may be considered within the context of violence also. Krug and colleagues (2002) draw attention to the inclusion of the word 'power' alongside 'physical force' within the WHO definition of violence, allowing the definition to include acts of neglect and omission, as well as all types of physical, sexual and psychological abuse. As such, offences akin to domestic violence, sexual offending, and other under reported offending, such as child and parental abuse (ibid) may all fall into this area of risk. Indeed, a NAPO report (2009) around Armed Forces subject to CJS intervention concluded that the most common offence committed by this group was violence committed in a domestic setting, with most being either drug or alcohol related. Phillips (2014) highlighted the importance of insight into this area to appropriately influence future policy.

In exploring the needs and experiences of sub-groups within the custodial estate, combining prisoner surveys and inspections between 2011-2013, HM Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP, 2014) reported that the highest proportion of ex-service personnel were in high security or Category B prisons (13% respectively). Equally, it found that veterans were more likely to be in custody for the first time (54% compared to 34% of the general prison population {GPP}) and that ex-service personnel were serving longer sentences than those in the GPP with 63% of veterans

serving over four years compared to 53% of GPP and 39% of veterans serving over ten years compared to 26% in the GPP. Within the report, it was posited that such data reflects the potential that ex-service personnel may be committing more serious crimes, resulting in more substantial custodial sentences (HMIP, 2014). This may reflect violent offending types outlined within the DASA reports (2010) being the most commonly committed offences by this subgroup. Conversely, concerns have been raised as to whether this may reflect an 'up-tariffing' of the seriousness of offending (and subsequent sentencing) regarding the risk the veteran poses 'as a consequence of skill they have assumed earlier on in life' (Murray, 2013: 21). Furthermore, the commission of violence as a prevailing offence type was not only restricted to those service leavers serving a custodial sentence. 'Violence Against the Person' (19%) was also identified as the most common offence committed by ex-service personnel being supervised by the (then) 35 Probation Trusts of England and Wales (DASA, 2011).

Such statistics also represent concern, not only for the CJS and the MoJ, but the MoD and public health sector. It is important to highlight the global health issue that violence represents (Krug et. al., 2002). Health care expenses, loss of earnings and investment, the cost of CJS staff and infrastructure, not to mention the human cost of grief and pain, which is far less quantifiable, are significant issues of both the perpetration and victimisation concerned with violence (ibid). As a consequence, violence encourages a multidisciplinary approach with a view to its reduction, including the involvement and collective action of the CJS agencies, medicine, epidemiology, criminology, sociology, education, psychology and economics (ibid). Fundamentally, the relevance of furthering knowledge around the contributing factors relating to the violence committed by the veteran represents an important area of ongoing development and research across numerous disciplines. Offender profiling in terms of risks around the commission of violence have been identified as appropriate to further understanding around this group in future research (McDonald, 2014; Phillips, 2014), highlighting the importance of the current research.

Conclusion.

This chapter has provided an analytical review of what is known so far around the MVO in the CJS. Following the emergence of a 'Hidden Army in UK Prisons' (Travis, 2009) and incorporating statistics contained within a report by NAPO (2008), a subsequent media focus, as well as an emergence of research and initiatives, led to formalised political attention around this group was charted, most prominently culminating in the Phillips report (2014). Central to this report was establishing who the MVO in the CJS was and what was in place to support them, in line with the Military Covenant and beyond.

Against this backdrop, critical consideration around who emerged as dominant within the shaping and understanding of the veteran offender was articulated. With political and psychological voices transpiring as leading the discourse around veterans within the CJS, the less prominent voices of criminology and the voices of veterans themselves, were highlighted as being far less prominent and in need of expansion (Murray, 2016).

Veteranality was then introduced to consider various tensions that the veteran experiences within the CJS process, how the veteran is perceived and engaged with across the CJS and how a veteran's identity can be complicated or spoilt therein (Murray, 2013). Veteranality calls for a better understanding of the veteran, with a view to improve the journey through the CJS, both to minimise the 'identity crisis' of the veteran and the crisis of management of the system.

In light of this limited qualitative, criminological approach, and to answer the call made by Veteranality (Murray, 2013, 2015), the current thesis provides the opportunity for MVOs within the CJS to provide a subjective and individual account of their experiences and factors across the military life course that contributed to their offending behaviour with a view to challenge the dominant discourse and allow veterans to narrate their own experiences.

Beyond this, the chapter critically explored the direction of criminal justice policy that has emerged over the last decade. Furthermore, the status of veteran awareness within the various stages of the CJS was explored. Difficulties in

identification, including a lack of protocol around recording veteran status, alongside the absence of joined up and consistent interventions were highlighted therein, with further research described as crucial to better understanding and more effective engagement with this population (Ford et. al., 2016). Such an appeal for a better understanding of the risk and needs of the MVO population is also central to this thesis.

Finally, the chapter considered some of the more nuanced characteristics of veterans within the CJS that have emerged from the extant literature. Whilst in the early stages and far from comprehensive, a military experience may be understood as a contributing factor to the veteran's involvement in the CJS (HLPR, 2011, Taylor, 2010). Beyond this, limitations around robust and veteran specific criminogenic risk and need factors were evident. Such factors require development for a more comprehensive understanding of MVO in the CJS and to assist effective policy for this population. This is particularly so regarding the commission of violence, which is most common offence committed by veteran offenders and unlike their civilian counterparts. Such a statistic demands a more comprehensive unpacking and represents a key aspect of this thesis.

Whilst a majority of ex-military personnel do not end up in the CJS, the veterans that do are not well understood, nor are the factors that underpin their crimes (Treadwell, 2016). Ultimately, a lack of empirical data exists around the causes of veterans offending and, until this changes, effective policy and practice with the veteran population within the CJS will remain curtailed (Albertson et. al., 2017a).

Chapter 2: The Violence in and of Military Service

"Violence is inextricably linked to military service, and the preponderance of former soldiers in contact with the criminal justice system in England and Wales may well suggest an enduring pattern of behaviour that is in part established by service in the military."

(CSJ, 2014: 98)

Introduction.

Military service has been perceived as a mechanism for individuals to desist from crime (Alker and Godfrey, 2015). It has been observed as an opportunity for change from existing circumstances as well as being considered a prospect of improve life chances (Bouffard, 2003). However, the commission of violence by the military veteran population post transition has been highlighted as problematic, as outlined in chapter 1, and is identified as the most common offence committed by veterans within the CJS (DASA, 2010; DASA, 2011; HLPR, 2014; Phillips, 2014). Equally, concerns have emerged not only within media and political arenas, but also within academic circles across the globe. Such research is primarily located in the USA, in which the journey and experiences of the military veteran has been explored more extensively when compared to their UK counterparts (Iverson et. al., 2005).

This is particularly evident in terms of the links between military service and violence post transition, which has been deemed as a significant problem within the United States (Jackupcak et. al., 2007; Killgore et. al., 2008; Elbogen et. al., 2014). McManus and colleagues conducted research in 2013 around violent offending by UK military, revealing that violent offences were discovered to be the most prevalent offence type committed by military personnel who had been deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan. However, further research is required within this burgeoning field.

This chapter will predominantly draw on military sociology to situate and explore the links between military service and violence. This is important as a unique set of life experiences can be seen to take place across the military life course, particularly around the 'legitimate' or state sanctioned violence, often alongside or coupled with 'illegitimate' or unsanctioned forms of violence. Such experiences can

be understood to differentiate the MVO experience within the CJS to that of the civilian within the same setting and, in particular, when comparing the violence used within a civilian setting.

As such, the chapter outlines the violence experienced by the MVO across the military life course. Initial focus commences around the enlistment stage, considering the military role, purpose and environment. It considers the training phase of military life and the 'inculcation of violent ideation' (Grossman, 2009) the development of a proficiency in violence as well other key aspects of assimilation into the military culture. It explores the different types of violence, crossing what can be understood as 'legitimate' as well as 'illegitimate' forms of violence and how these are experienced within this culture. Equally, the use of violence against the backdrop of key aspects of military life such as masculinity, camaraderie and hegemony in particular, are considered within this context.

The chapter will then move towards considering the deployment and engagement in combat, exploring the various forms of violence that can occur in and around war zones as well as more broadly considering the criminology of war with a view to explore the experiences of violence across the military life course. Victimisation post transition is considered within this context, and the uniqueness of the military role, the use of violence, the risk of death and the potential to take life are also considered. In particular, PTSD, combat exposure and the potential for antisocial and violent behaviour are also considered.

Context to the Armed Forces and develop the use of violence.

The MoD outlines three National Security Objectives which represent the core duties of the Armed Forces within the UK. These are concerned with protecting the British people, it's global influence and promoting its prosperity (MoD, 2015). Methods of achieving national security remain multi-faceted and include the use of diplomacy, the development of international relations, effective engagement with NATO and the UN Security Council, and the state representing a 'leading soft power' in which a 'persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use

of economic or cultural influence' (OED; Nye, 2004) can be employed without resorting to 'coercion' to maintain security.

However, the use of 'hard power' also represents a means, when all else fails, of defending / maintaining the national security objectives, by coercion and / or force where necessary. The Armed Forces provides the vehicle through which to "…threaten or use force when other levers of power are unable to protect our vital national interests" (MoD, 2010a: 15). Indeed, fighting has been described as the 'raison d'etre' of the Armed Forces (MoD, 2010b: 1-3) and Hockey (1986) articulates this role within the Armed Forces is ultimately concerned with the implementation and management of violence.

Such 'hard power' can involve the mobilisation of Armed Forces personnel and can take place in various forms, including; supporting humanitarian assistance and disaster response, and conducting rescue missions (e.g. Sierra Leone, 2000); Conducting strike operations (e.g. Kosovo, 1999); Conduct operations to restore peace and stability (e.g. Sierra Leone, 2000; Bosnia, 1992) as well as conducting major combat operations (e.g. Afghanistan, 2001 – 2014, Iraq, 1991, 2003) (MoD, 2015). Such types of mobilization clearly represent a range of objectives, from peacekeeping to counter insurgency. However, all are underpinned (to a greater or lesser degree) by the potential involvement of 'combat' (MoD, 2010b). As such, the use of violence, is necessarily instilled within each service personnel from training up until (and including) periods of operation, to ensure the maintenance of national security.

Training: A new environment and inculcation of a new culture.

Phillips (2014) indicates that whilst there is a weak direct link between offending behaviour and service within the Armed Forces, there is an indication that service within the Armed Forces may either have indirectly contributed to offending (perhaps though what veterans have witnessed or done) or been made possible through their training. Violence post transition may take place because the veteran, following military training, may feel capable in the effective use of violence (RBL,

2014) or the use of service acquired skills applied to criminal actions, such as debt collecting or hired muscle, may be applied within the civilian world (Ashcroft, 2014):

> *"This could be as a result of a violent altercation in which they felt physically capable as a result of their military training but had failed to control their aggression. This aggression was linked to triggers such as 'goading' and perceived disrespect, frequently coupled with excessive consumption of alcohol."*
>
> *(RBL, 2014)*

Indeed, the veteran's experiences of training may represent or contribute to problems post transition (Brown, 2015). Armed Forces personnel are trained to inflict violence, via controlled and targeted aggression (McManus et. al., 2011a; Hockey, 1986) and military training is designed to teach soldiers to kill (Green and Ward, 2005; Lang, 1980; Bryant, 1979). As such, if the use of violence is inculcated into each soldier at induction into the military, then it is crucial to understand the training process through which a civilian makes the transition into military life.

Recruits are perceived to be 'indoctrinated' (Brown, 2015; Siminski et. al., 2013) during training. They surrender, albeit voluntarily (Jolly, 1996), to an institution which seeks to remove the soldier's civilian intuition to 'zero', replacing it as dependent on the military establishment. Furthermore, this process seeks to transforming the recruit into a body through which the army can use as they see fit, trained without hesitation to institutional stimuli (Hollingshead, 1946). Drawing from Goffman's (1961) concept of the 'Total Institution', Brown (2015) describes the recruit as entering a 'Military Total Institution' upon enlistment, in which the conditioning of trainees takes place in isolation from civilian society, during which each individual is (usually) treated the same, within the same set of conditions, monitored closely and are expected to conform fully to the institutions rules, values, expectations and standards (ibid: 122; Goffman, 1961).

The process of indoctrination, of stripping an individual of their civilian ways, allows the militarization of the individual. To socialize them into violence, instil the military rationale in them and garner them with the technical skills required to make them a proficient killer (Blake, 1970). Grossman (2009: 254) refers to the 'Institutionalization of violent ideation' which was inculcated within Vietnam soldier

(and has continued within the world's best armies – ibid: 257) and differed from previous generations training and psychological approach to engaging the opponent. Grossman suggests that both 'classical' and 'operant' conditioning was (and continues to be) employed to improve 'kill rates', through alternative modes of training. For example, Grossman observes that, as opposed to shooting at a target whilst lying on the floor in a calm environment (as in previous generations), soldiers experience uneven terrain whilst in a 'foxhole' and are required to shoot targets that 'pop up' without hesitation, thereby encouraging shooting in a reflexive and instantaneous manner. If successful, highly praised and rewarded with plaudits of skilfulness. Alternatively, if unsuccessful, then retraining, failure to graduate and peer ridicule may result (ibid).

By constantly reinforcing military values, with the training process repeatedly celebrating 'winning' and promoting the efficiency and 'glorification of killing the enemy' the importance and centrality of violence in military life and within the recruit becomes evident (Brown, 2015: 125). Indeed, Brown and colleagues (2013) argues that some veterans have been over-trained, by pervasive militarisation, rendering their responses instantaneous and defined like muscle memory, in that the response of aggression is reflexive and without thought. This is because failure to react in critical situations can potentially result in death, either of themselves of their colleagues (Brown, 2013, 2015). Whilst this may be useful within a military setting, this set of skills are not applicable to civilian life and can even be considered maladaptive post transition. Lilly (2007) questions whether this is fair:

> "*We train them to maximise aggression on the battlefield, to despise and exploit weakness, to dehumanise their enemies and to bond with and rely upon their male colleagues to the exclusion of others – then foolishly and implausibly expect them to behave with restraint and sensitivity when off duty.*"

(Lilly 2007: 72)

The transition back to the civilian world requires a switch from military to civilian characteristics, characteristics that have been systematically trained out of the individual during their military life (Brown, 2015). The main purpose of military training has been said to 'make an efficient force, whose job is to kill the enemy

whenever that enemy is defined by politics and ordered to die by politics' (Brown et. al., 2013: 32). This, therefore, requires total surrender to a military institution, the fundamental restructuring of one's psychological shaping of inflicting injury and death, encourage the soldier to dehumanising the enemy, perceiving death as 'just a job' and attach very little meaning to it (ibid). The removal of moral reasoning and judgement, for almost automated responses, allows more effective battlefield survival (Brown et. al., 2013; MoD, 2010b). Equally, protective behaviour in the form of hyper arousal / hyper vigilance as well as emotional and moral numbing are prized assets within the military however not so within civilian community (Brown et. al., 2013).

Training: An all-pervasive environment of violence?

Abusive interpersonal behaviour is developed and experienced by soldiers in training as much as in combat itself (Jamieson, 1999), and, to some extent creates an inescapable climate of aggressive behaviour, potentially encouraged at all stages within the armed services. Yet violence is not necessarily always directed towards the enemy. Violence can be both developed and conducted in a variety of different ways within the services. For example, physical and psychological bullying can be experienced whilst serving, perpetrated by both peers and superiors, with this experience mainly taking place during initial training (Wainwright et. al., 2016)

Violence in the form of 'milling' takes place within the 'Pre-Parachute Selection' training phase to date in which each recruit is required to engage in a 1-minute bout, which is similar to boxing round. It differs in that participants are unable to defend or back off from their opponent, simply being required to punch and be punched for the full 60 seconds (Walker, 2016). Blake (1970: 340) reminds us that 'most men, after exposure to violence, are able to commit violence with no aftershock'. This, no doubt, will be evident within the context of combat through the process of desensitisation, but also, is evident within the milieu of training. To expose 'controlled aggression' through 'milling' endorses the use of violence structurally, as well as minimizes the aftershock of such behaviour, thereby potentially reducing the

compunction to employ controlled violent behaviour in the future within a range of settings, whether this is within a military setting, or post transition. Equally, the concept of exposure to violence (Blake, 1970) may also take place for trainees via observational training, particularly within elite teams, who may observe parachute or training-based accidents, or, where possible, the observation of genuine atrocities to desensitise the trainees and socialise them into violence (ibid).

Another dimension of violence reported within (largely American forces) has been violence towards those in authority, perhaps officers acting in a tyrannical manner or perceived as generally unpopular, may be targeted by lower ranks using violence. 'Fragging' (the act of throwing a fragmentation hand grenade at the disliked officer) was perceived to be a relatively common occurrence, even 'endemic' within the American Armed Forces, by many servicemen during the Vietnam conflict (Bryant, 1979). Whilst incidents of 'Fragging' were estimated at around 800 between 1969-1972 (Lang, 1980) an important issue is raised around perceptions of acceptability and the use of extreme violence as a response to confrontation or humiliation within the military. Equally, violence against the 'subordinate' has also been highlighted by Bryant (1979) within the training and combat phases of military life. The use of degradation and humiliation as tools by drill sergeants or instructors as mechanisms to transform the civilian into a soldier (Brown, 2015) which may precipitate or result in confrontation from subordinates resulting in physical violence perpetrated by staff (Bryant, 1979). Wainwright and colleagues (2016) reported in their study around the exploration of pathways to offending by ex-forces personnel in prison, that physical and psychological bullying was experienced by nearly 25% of participants whilst serving, from both peers and superiors, predominantly during initial training. Bullying and harassment have been reported as widespread within the Armed Forces, despite a zero-tolerance policy (Gee, 2007).

Exposure to violence within training also varies according to units and roles. Elite units such as Marines, Paratroopers and special forces are trained to sustain and accomplish more violence, therefore require a greater sense of violence or aggression as well as 'fighting spirit' and 'esprit de corps' (Bryant, 1979).

"Paratroopers consider themselves superior to all other such troops, not only in their military values, but in their vices as well. A Paratrooper is supposed to be able to outdrink, 'outbrawl' and 'outwhore' any other member of the Armed Forces."

(Weiss, cited in Bryant, 1979: 56)

Elite troops have a strong sense of identification within their units which promotes 'in-group cohesion, and often 'out group' conflict' often resulting in a 'propensity for fighting and brawling' (Bryant, 1979). As a consequence of this, these groups' collective self-image is located around being 'better', 'tougher' and 'superior' (ibid). As such, self-perception, allocation to a particular group, troop or regiment, as well as loyalty and camaraderie all pervade to represent a set of core values that is not only unique to the military, but also a number of subcultures, in which in-house conflict and competition is evident.

Dimensions of military culture and links to violence: Group Cohesion and Masculinity.

Brown and colleagues (2013) highlight that the core values of the military are unique, comprising of numerous subcultures, rules and regulations, that separates the organisation from the civilian world. Within the training phase, competition between units is fostered (Blake, 1970). The inculcation of 'esprit de corps' is perceived as an essential dimension of the military training process, engendering 'enthusiasm, devotion and strong regard for the honour of the group' as well as developing competitiveness and fostering the will to win collectively into each recruit (Brown, 2015: 124). This form of 'group cohesion' is determined as critical within a military training setting. It can be seen to foster teamwork, improve performance and cooperation, particularly within combat, in that a non-cohesive unit could lead to fatalities within the group (Du Preez et. al., 2012; Ahronson and Cameron, 2007). Equally, it could be suggested that group cohesion is the manifestation and reinforcement of the training and shaping of each individual soldier which can develop a willingness to adhere to, observe and even perpetrate various forms of

violent behaviour, with a view to maintain a strong regard for the honour of the group and ultimately defeat the enemy (Brown, 2015).

Furthermore, the creation of a 'common enemy' which can be understood as 'an out-group, replete with social pariahs, traitors, infidels and barbarians' provides a further opportunity to reinforce group cohesion (Crelinsten, 2003: 301). The separation of an; 'us and them' or an; 'in-group and 'out-group' (Bryant, 1979) can create a unified enemy (within the total military institution as well as in society through propaganda, media and populist politics) and can 'legitimize the moral transgressions' towards the other group (Crelinsten, 2003). For example, if an opposition are stripped of their human identity, and categorized as 'vermin', as the Jews were by the Nazis this can then be reiterated, (therefore authorized) by authority, reinforced as a legitimate perspective by other members of the group, then they can be targeted for violence through warfare or torture upon capture, with little consideration around moral justification (Ibid; Kelman, 1973, 1995)

Another prominent element of military culture is also that of 'masculinity'. Indeed, through group cohesion, an opportunity exists to reinforce masculinities inherent within the services. Instilling loyalty within the collective group represents an essential element of services training and acting like a 'real man' who will protect his colleagues, even if at significant risk to himself, is promoted, if not insisted upon (Hockey, 2003; 18). 'Soldiers learn violent behaviors from constant exposure to a culture that is manifested with violence as a means of proving masculinity.' (Sun, 2006: 253).

There are inevitable connexions between men and violence. A majority of violent offences are committed by males in a criminal context (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012). This is also true within the context of organisational violence, in which a significant majority of soldiers, suicide bombers and pilots are male (Connell, 2005). Indeed, as an overwhelming majority of ex-service personnel in custody are male and the predominant offending types are violence (DASA, 2010; 2011), the link between masculinity, the military and violence represents a key area of consideration. Equally, an understanding around the differences between

interpersonal violence and institutional violence needing to be unravelled (Connell, 2005) and, within the context of the veteran, the crossing over of the two.

A sociology of masculinity emerged from the study of gender and crime within the discipline of feminist criminology (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012). As men are responsible for such a significant proportion of all crime committed, the study of masculinity sought to explore; what it is about 'men as men' that induces them to commit crime? (Ibid: 348). Equally, what it means to be a man, where is it learned and how and where should (and is) masculinity be displayed? (Karner, 1998).

Connell (2005: 77) describes the concept of hegemonic masculinity as representing the configuration of gender practice which currently represents 'the legitimacy of patriarchy' or the dominant position of men in society and the subsequent subordination of women. Furthermore, the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' does not simply apply to sex difference between men and women, but also to a dominant form of masculinity, by which other masculine, subordinated forms are subjugated, such as homosexuality (Jones, 2000; Connell, 2005). This dominant form of masculinity represents a combination of characteristics including; heterosexuality, toughness, power, authority and competition (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 348). It also emphasises; authority, control, competitive individualism, independence, aggressiveness and the capacity for violence (Messerschmidt, 1993; Jones, 2000).

Military service offers recruits (mainly men) such resources for the construction of a (hegemonic) masculine identity (Hinojosa, 2010). Risk taking, emotional control, discipline, toughness and the willingness to use aggression and violence, represent the qualities closely aligned with masculinity and military ideals (Ibid; Messerschmidt, 1993). This results in service personnel being perceived as the quintessential figure of masculinity and the white hegemonic masculine paradigm remaining the cultural framework of the armed services (McGarry, Walklate and Mythen, 2014).

During training, through a process referred to as a 'masculine rite of passage' (Jolly, 1996: 35), recruits are taught to endure hardship, whether that be heavy physical training, injury, fatigue or exposure to the cold and to develop stoicism, all

of which are linked 'firmly' to a particular form of masculinity (Hockey, 2003). Failure attracts derision from supervisors, describing such behaviour as akin to that of acting like a female: 'Get fell in and stop fucking about! Act like men and not like a bunch of wet tarts!' (Hockey, 2003: 17). This represents a conditioning process in which reinforces the notion that those who fail to conduct themselves in a hegemonic masculine way, risk being singled out for contempt and marginalisation (Ridge et. al., cited in McGarry et. al., 2014; Morris, 1996).

> *'The trade of the infantryman is centrally concerned with proficiency in homicidal techniques, toughness, ruthlessness and aggression, all of which are underpinned by a virulently traditional masculinity that continues to pervade the life of the infantryman as he passes through his rite de passage, moving from basic training to life in an operational unit.'*
>
> (Hockey, 2003: 19)

Furthermore, 'manliness' remains the expectation of the soldier within war and when serving ones' country. This is outlined by the State in which 'the conventions or laws of war prescribe forms of conduct that are promoted as honourable, noble and manly' (Ward and Green, 2004: 147). Qualities of 'aggression', 'rationality' and 'physical courage' are perceived as necessary components of war as well as masculinity (Hutchings, 2008). Masculinity was perceived through the portrayal of a macho image, the symbolic representation of themselves as warriors through bragging around their military achievements, and the avoidance of 'emotional engagement' with other soldiers, which was perceived as necessary for survival (Karner, 1998). 'Emotional' topics, such as relationships issues were not considered appropriate within a study of 15 Vietnam veterans conducted by Karner (1998). Emotions were perceived as barriers for some that could result in their job not being done properly, interfering with their concentration and efficiency in combat, which may result in someone being killed within the troop (Ibid).

Karner (1998) sought to also explore how perceptions of masculinity by veterans influenced their military career. The perception of the 'heroes of war', of 'good men' whose efforts in WW2 were perceived to have regenerated the economy and cultivated prosperity through organised violence, encouraged the enlistment

into the Armed Forces of the subjects. The images and lessons of WW1, around the 'warrior soldier' and masculine associations, was considered by participants regarding enlistment, representing an opportunity to replicate such behaviour and acquire hero status. Equally, it was perceived as an opportunity for recruits to traverse a rite of passage from 'boyhood to manhood' and engender masculinity through a traditional role of 'strength and aggression' (ibid: 203). Furthermore, it could act to continue, and therefore reinforce, a 'masculine tradition' within the family, to become a serviceman like one's father and grandfather before him, or alternative to seek 'acceptance' from a father.

Karner also considered participants' perceptions of role models within the family. Despite the above perception of war heroes, participants' views of their own fathers, who were in the main also ex-service personnel, were perceived dualistically; both as 'good men' and 'heroes' alongside many being considered strict, violent, authoritarian and often with alcohol related issues. Fathers' roles were closely associated with 'activities traditionally associated with men' (Ibid: 206) and most participants recalled violent victimisation at the hands of their fathers with some consistency. Masculine roles and expectations, especially around those in the military, were being formed for these recruits at an early age, with some being negative and numerous involving violence. Recollections of mothers' roles would be perceived as far less influential, with traditional homebased tasks recalled.

In other studies, contemplating masculinity within the military, Hockey (2003) refers to 'friendly fighting' with civilians, other troops, military and civilian police which the author argues served to reinforce the masculinity and potency of the infantryman and their ability to display the violence and aggression which has been fostered within the military. This was perceived as useful by some as a mechanism to keep combatants ready and for certain soldiers to prove themselves against other men. It also acted to cement group bonding, which drew the lines clearly between the insiders (the group) and the outsiders (everyone else) (Karner, 1998). Equally, by service personnel perceiving themselves as being more skilled, disciplined and martially capable than civilians, the participants positioned themselves as

symbolically dominant over others (Hinojosa, 2010) reinforcing a form of hegemonic masculinity.

At all stages of the military journey, the concept of masculinity prevails. Indeed, military occupational culture has been viewed as a conservative subculture, characterized by (amongst others) 'hypermasculinity' (Sun, 2006; Collins, 1998). Morris (1996) indicated within her study, albeit primarily anecdotal, that military cohesion was associated with hypermasculinity in which a pervasive masculine culture, the use of pornography, sexualised attitudes and language regarding women, results in women's objectification and denigration. Bonding in some units was around stereotypical masculine characteristics, such as dominance and aggression, as well as attitudes that favour sexual violence toward women and that reflected distrust, anger, alienation, and resentment toward women (Morris, 1996; Rosen, Kaminski, Parmley, Knudson and Fancher, 2003).

Claims of a culture of sexual harassment existing within the Armed Forces also represents part of a 'pervasive macho culture' (Gee, 2007: 113). Rutherford and colleagues (2006) conducted research into sexual harassment within the Armed Forces. They found that sexualised behaviours were widespread within a male dominated environment, with males using explicit sexual language, describing sexual exploits in detail and using pornography. Interviewing male service personnel, they highlight two key emergent themes around 'emphasising women's differences' (to men) and 'sexualising women'. They highlight that maleness was defined by masculine traits, with female behaviours representing the antithesis to the model of 'macho' behaviour within the service. Women could be perceived as a "liability", not being strong enough physically or emotionally to do the job to the necessary standards. Some servicemen were 'uncomfortable' working alongside female personnel and other being described as hostile towards them. Also, fears were expressed by servicemen around the importance of group cohesion and bonding being inhibited by the presence of females (ibid).

A culture of hyper-masculinity (described as involving degrading conversations about women with fellow troops) as well as low perception of support of leaders and lower level of recognition for the needs of spouses has been identified

as correlating with the domestic violence perpetrated by US Army Soldiers (Elbogen et. al., 2014). Equally, Rosen and colleagues (2003) also found that a climate of hyper-masculinity is associated with an increase in domestic violence perpetration by service personnel.

Furthermore, there is a link established between masculinity and different forms of violence. 'In rape, in homophobic violence, and in war men may be violent in order to assert (or defend) masculinity' (Connell, 2002: 36). Connell explores the links between violence and masculinity, citing multiple forms of violence, including dispossession, poverty, greed, racism, inequality, bigotry and desire. However, given that the majority are committed by young males, it is suggested that gender patterns appear strategic and that masculinities represent the common forms through which these violent acts take place. As such, a hegemony of masculinities exist that promotes violence, confrontation and domination (ibid) within the Armed Forces, which can potentially lead to maladaptive behaviour post transition.

It may be that a strategic change around dominant masculinities is required to develop peace in the post war period (Connell, 2002) including that of the veteran post transition. The inculcation of violence through 'virulent masculinity', whilst useful within an Armed Forces setting, then can become problematic post transition. The presentation of the veteran as the 'epitome of normative heterosexuality… very much the 'non-victim' endowed with the capacity for the use of brute force and resilience' (McGarry and Walklate, 2011: 5) may act as a barrier to the military personnel resulting in their avoidance to seek help (McGarry, 2015), reflective of a military culture leading to the establishment of 'barriers to care' (McGarry, 2010). This perception of the soldier as a 'gendered subject' also rejects physical weakness and emotional impairment as 'stigma symbols' and can create difficulties for men in expressing feelings, leaving this group isolated and unable to ask for support and rendering them vulnerable (Ibid).

Deployment and combat: The Criminology of War.

In considering the impact of combat on the potential for veterans' future violence, the nature and experiences of conflict and their relationship both with Criminology as well as Victimology is required. War experiences can have lasting effects on veterans and their post military behaviour, seeing some struggle to fit in to the civilian community. This is something that is especially true of those who have experienced combat, exacerbated by multiple deployments (Brown, 2015). Most combatants would agree that war constitutes a combination of "death, killing, sacrifice and survival" (Brown, 2015: 121). The experience of war, involving the uncovering human remains, as well as the killing or witnessing of comrades being injured or killed, can all contribute to a difficulty in adapting, which can lead onto involvement within the CJS (Brown, 2015).

It seems strange therefore that the discipline of Criminology has sought to ignore 'war' as a focal point, albeit with some exceptions (Bonger, 1916; Park, 1941; Mannheim, 1941; Walklate and McGarry, 2015) This is particularly perplexing as the constituent parts of war include violence, victimization and crime in various circumstances and forms (Walklate and McGarry, 2014; Jamieson, 1998). The link between war and violence is clearly articulated by Degenhardt (2013: 31) who poses the question: 'What precisely links war with crime, apart from violence?' Jamieson's contention that war offers; "...a dramatic example of massive violence and victimization *in extremis'* (Jamieson, 2014: xviii with emphasis in original text) bolsters the need to contextualise post transition violence committed by the veteran through an analysis of violence within conflict and combat. Only then is it possible to gain a broader understanding around the potential aetiology of the veteran's use of violence.

McManus and colleagues (2015) question why violence committed by military personnel should come as such a shock to society, especially following exposure to war and combat. Extant research highlights that the commission of violence by military personnel has been strongly associated with holding a combat role and combat trauma, post-deployment, over and above that of previous aggressive behaviour or socio-economic factors (McManus et. al., 2013; McManus et. al., 2012a). Beckham and colleagues (1997) found that the level of combat

exposure was found to have an independent effect on subsequent use of interpersonal violence and Gallaway and associates (2012) discovered that numbers of minor and severe physical overt aggressive actions increased with soldiers who had previous deployment, and this increased with those soldiers who experience high levels of combat intensity.

Resnick and colleagues (1989) reported that combat exposure levels were independently and significantly related to the number of adult Anti-Social Behaviours (ASB) of 118 Vietnam veterans seeking psychological services in Los Angeles. Elsewhere, combat exposure has been related to subsequent ASB, with 50% of veterans who had been exposed to high or very high levels of combat, reporting problems with violence (Barrett et. al., 1996). 20% of the subjects who reported no pattern of childhood behaviour problems, were found to report higher levels of Adult ASB post combat, leading the authors to conclude that extreme trauma may play an important role in the development of adult antisocial behaviours (ibid).

Military training can be understood as promoting the use of violence or aggression as an appropriate response to threat during combat (Forbes and Bryant, 2013). Equally, the frequency with which a soldier has experienced combat may increase the amount of times that this process has been activated and therefore reinforced or conditioned. As such, the level of combat exposure is relevant in terms of the potential likelihood that a veteran may experience the pattern of perceived threat and aggressive response (see Brown, 2015).

Armed conflicts have been described within the context of 'organised violence' (Ruggerio, 2015: 27). War zones are described as arenas in which illegal excesses, violations of human rights, mass victimisation and state crimes are perpetrated and in which people may act as they please, where torture is interpreted as patriotism and rape potentially being perceived as an act of heroism (ibid). In short, war zones potentially represent a breeding ground for violence and / or illegal activity, in which conventional and legally acceptable behaviour can be abrogated, with little recourse. There are those who are salaried, such as the police or Armed Forces, who are provided 'a non-written licence to loot and are promised the emotion to kill without feeling any sense of guilt' (ibid: 29).

Jamieson (1998) refers to the concept of 'ethical dualism' within the context of the soldier in war, in which one set of moral standards applies to the community and another towards its enemies within the military, particularly during conflict. It may be that the soldier may struggle to separate these State determined, often geographically located, ethical boundaries, resulting in the ongoing use of inappropriate and confrontational behaviours post transition. Forbes and Bryant (2013) highlight that engaging in or witnessing a range of different atrocities or behaviours within the theatre of war, such as killing another individual or failing to protect a fellow soldier may profoundly impact upon the emotional well-being of the military personnel, leading to shame, guilt or anger that can be internalised or directed at others. Equally, Maguen and colleagues (2009) posit that moral conflict, shame, and guilt produced by taking a life in combat can be uniquely scarring across the lifespan.

Jamieson (1999: 483) suggests that war can represent 'a temporary reversal of moral progress' in which pent up urges of anger, jealousy and violence may be expressed (Keegan, cited in Jamieson, 1998). It may be that the act of war itself satisfies these urges of would be criminals. The opportunity to satisfy these 'pent up urges' post transition, would seem unavailable in the legitimate and legal sense, and violent offending may represent an option for the military veteran to recreate this environment and provide an opportunity to express this build-up of emotion. For some soldiers, killing may be an enjoyable experience (Keegan and Holmes, 1985: 267; Karner, 1998).

War may promote the use of violence to address social problems, or an appropriate mechanism towards the achievement of one's own goals (Ruggerio, 2006). Equally, conflict is an arena in which 'a spirit of violence can be learned' (Bonger, cited in Jamieson, 1998) which can, in turn can be carried over into peacetime, either by army veterans unable to adjust to peacetime civil society (Jamieson, 1999) or those unable to cope with what they have experienced.

War, the State and authorisation.

The commission of violence in conflict, via 'authorisation' at a State and political level represents a context through which military personnel can justify violent behaviour through military necessity and within a legal framework, thereby distinguishing soldiering from crime and criminality (Green and Ward, 2004). By imposing some boundaries on the scope and moral dimension of acts and behaviour in war, such as condemning chemical weapons or 'dum-dum' bullets, a wide and varied set of alternative acts can be legitimised as justifiable. This may be in spite of these acts being perceived by other commentators as equally atrocious, such as bombing cities resulting in innocent civilians being mortally injured (Ibid).

Re-categorising or re-labelling certain behaviours as deviant or acceptable can impact on the legitimacy of that behaviour, and whether it is to be considered illegal or not. Ruggerio (2005) cites homicide as a case in point. The act of killing can be considered a criminal act, which is condemned in peace time. However, if a legitimating authority deems it to be so, the commission of homicide, coupled with a freedom from blame can take place in war. Indeed, such acts may represent a 'duty', in which failure to commit such acts, may result in criminalisation (Jamieson, 1998). In an attempt to understand the violence of the soldier, and potentially the veteran post transition, an understanding of the 'deeds done by agents of the state acting in its name' (McGarry and Walklate, 2011) is required for a full comprehension of potential risks that the that military veterans pose, post transition.

There has been a historical disinterest regarding criminological analysis and engagement with war, which has been perceived as having yet to address war in the substantive ways demonstrated by other disciplines (McGarry and Walklate, 2015: 2). Such disinterest has been determined as criminology being 'in a state of denial" (Smeulers and Haveman, cited in Klein, 2011: 86) especially around the "white-collar crime of aggressive war" (Klein, 2011: 86). Tombs and Whyte (2002) claim that criminologists often lack the analytical skills and resources to consider violence and victimisation perpetrated by state and corporate actors (McGarry and Walklate, 2015).

In exploring the cultural criminology of war, Klein (2011) explores the concept of inculcating an 'Ideology' to justify engaging in conflict, particularly criminal

conflicts. Effective forms of propaganda led by a powerful elite coupled with elite promotion of the military and its class functionality, replicates and reinforces hegemonic power and ideological domination as well as recruiting support from the civilian public around the use of violence in conflict (Ibid). As the military's primary function is considered the management and implementation of violence, (of which the officer is responsible for the management and 'other ranks' for its implementation – again reflective of hegemony and power - Hockey, 1986) such violence can be seen to be justified by the powerful which, not only allows the violence to physically take place within the context of conflict, but also offers a collective meaning around violence within this context. Wars, including criminal wars can be 'normalised culturally' (Klein, 2011) as well as acting to 'reproduce power and inequality, encoding it into the circuitry of everyday life' (Ferrell, Hayward and Young, 2008: 11). Essentially, coding when violence is acceptable.

By developing ideology through the media, educational channels and 'other intellectual actors' through peddling myths and narratives that support in group militarisation and war (Klein, 2011). By threat exaggeration and alarmism (Esch, 2010). By exacerbating fear and inculcating negative and intolerant views towards others – particularly Arabs following the 'war on terror' narrative (Klein, 2011). By 'peddling myths' of 'American Exceptionalism' and 'Civilization vs. Barbarism' (Esch, 2010) in which a nation can perceive itself as superior or as the 'good' to an 'evil' other within conflict, structurally develops techniques of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza, 1957) which can prepare and mobilise soldiers to engage in violence and can allow the moral justification of military violence (Esch, 2010).

Indeed, it may be argued that civilian support for such violence and reinforcement of military hierarchy around violence represents an all-pervasive milieu of justification for the use of violence for the soldier. All of these mechanisms, that are endorsed and propagandised at elite level structurally, protect the soldier, constantly reinforcing and justifying their use of violence. However, upon transition, this endorsement is removed completely, with the cultural perception of violence changing, representing an unacceptable and criminal offence.

The ex-forces personnel return to an alternative culture where violence is criminal and unacceptable, despite training and experience of war and media / political perceptions around war and conflict can be seen to be glorified (Brown, 2013). "Many military personnel who have experienced combat have a difficult time identifying with the glorification of war by the culture industry. War is not about glory. War is about killing" (ibid: 7). As such, does the politicisation, media focus and glorification act as an attempt to sanitise as well as redirect attention away from the violent reality of war, thereby doing a disservice to the veteran and their sacrifice and experience (James and Woods, 2010). It presents as a process which seeks to minimise or even disregard the reality of war (Brown, 2013) and what the soldier has had to do and subsequently live with as a result of war, i.e. killing people. This again can potentially reinforce a civil – military divide in terms of perspective and attitude towards conflict and the inevitable violence contained therein.

Violence as 'war crimes' and in criminal wars.

The violence both witnessed and perpetrated by the soldier can also take place outside the context of explicit state sanctioned and authorised behaviour. 'War crimes' are referred to by numerous commentators when considering the various levels of criminal behaviour that can take place during conflict. Green and Ward (2004: 150) outline the nature of 'war crimes' as spanning 'structural or societal, institutional and individual' levels, and interrogate; 'Criminal wars', 'Criminal armies' and 'Criminal soldiers' (also see Khaki Collared Crime - Bryant, 1979).

'Criminal Wars', in which, due to the nature of the war is such that, for one or both sides there is little or no incentive to abide by the conventional rules (Green and Ward, 2004) e.g. Vietnam (ibid) and Iraq (Kramer and Michalowski, 2005). 'Criminal wars' represent an important consideration when exploring the criminal behaviour and violence committed by military personnel within war. The Iraq war represented a 'war of aggression', therefore can be perceived as both a criminal war and a state crime (ibid) in which a range of violent behaviours were committed that represented

a departure from the International Humanitarian law or the 'Law of armed conflict' set out by the 1907 Hague Convention, the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the First Additional Protocol of 1977 to the 1949 Geneva Conventions (ibid).

> *"American and British forces have shot and killed demonstrators, bombed civilian areas, invaded homes in the search for insurgents, demolished homes and destroyed property as collective punishment, abused prisoners and violated deep cultural rules of gender and social respect."*

(Ibid: 452)

Such actions were committed, seemingly in line with an unwavering obedience to authority (Kelman, 1973) in which one is required to obey the command of superiors, to prioritise the organisational goals above one's own commitments, devotions and private conscience (Bauman, 1989). Bauman's 'obedience to authority' thesis referred to by Cohen (2001: 78) states that 'ordinary people' can do terrible things when they are ordered and authorised to do so. Waddington (1999: 289) reminds us that 'In wartime, armies of conscripts have willingly slaughtered fellow human beings and faced almost certain death themselves for no better reason than it was demanded of them'.

Criminology has been seen to engage with the concept of 'crimes of obedience' through experiments by Milgram (1963) and Haney (1973). However, there has been little exploration within the context of conflict, with the broad range of violent and indeed criminal acts can be witnessed or perpetrated within war. These events may have a lasting impact on those involved and may even represent a difficult set of behaviours to justify for each individual actor. However, this process of rationalisation (alongside any potential associated difficulties) may only take place following transition as Ruggerio (2006: 187) reminds us that 'War is the supreme expression of conventionality, and so soldiers do not have to excuse themselves for anything, unless they refuse to kill.' Here, it is implied that conformism, with the actions of other military personnel, spanning various grades, of any behaviour within war can be justified as acceptable.

Kelman (1973) considered mass atrocities and how the weakening of moral restraints against violence can be implemented to mobilise acts of extreme violence.

He considered three areas; 1. 'Authorisation' in which the military personnel can be absolved of individual and moral responsibility through acting on instruction by authority. Indeed, war necessitates that individuals act in a manner contrary to their interests, thereby requiring a 'legitimating ideology' (Green and Ward, 2004) usually through a legal and political framework. 2. 'Routinisation' in which a repetition of such instructions reduces further the opportunity to challenge the morality of the violence acts; and 3. 'Dehumanisation' which provides the actor to remove a moral lens from the act of extreme violence altogether, by removing the identify and community of the victim and victimiser, or placing them 'outside of your moral universe' (Cohen, 2001: 90).

Grossman (2009) also considers conditioning approaches employed to enable service personnel to kill in conflict. He describes 'emotional distance' as a suite of four mechanisms firstly comprising of 'Social distance' in which establishing any form of relationship with the enemy is avoided to maintain objectivity as Individuals who fight at close quarters, may get to know one another, therefore, in turn, become more reluctant to kill each other. 'Cultural distance' then seeks to highlight the differences between 'them and us', through ridiculing of local customs, behaviours, clothing of the enemy, for example, allows killing to take place on account of the opposition appearing different to the soldier. 'Moral distance' is outlined as the condemnation of the opponent and the confirmation of their guilt is reinforced and the enemy's cause is seen to be improperly predicated or wrong, and that the enemy (both the leader and subordinates alike) are acting in a criminal manner, justifying violence. Finally, 'Mechanical Distance' involving distance strikes or night vision goggles in which the enemy are not physically perceived at all at close quarters, or as a 'thermal image', therefore having a dehumanising effect, and providing 'psychological distance' for the soldier (Ibid: 170). Indeed, such mechanisms may be processes through which violence and aggression can be perpetrated and justified post transition, though being reinforced throughout one's employment in the armed services.

<u>Criminal violence in times of conflict.</u>

Klein (2011) highlights that 'war crimes' in a criminological sense, includes the exploration of criminality perpetrated during war. Bryant (1979) considered that the violation of military norms, within the military occupational environment, represented a unique form of criminal behaviour. This was labelled as 'khaki collared crime' and considered such offending that took place within several separate circumstances, set out within the following paradigm:

1. **Intra-occupational crime** – crimes committed within the military institution itself, in which the victim and perpetrator are within the military system. *(e.g. training 'initiations' – see Press Association, 2016).*

2. **Extra-occupational crime** – offences committed by the military personnel against domestic, foreign or 'enemy' civilians external to the military. *(e.g. the death of Baha Mousa {McGarry, 2015} Squaddies fighting in bars {Bryant, 1979; Hockey, 1986} My Lai {Green and Ward, 2004}).*

3. **Inter-occupational crime** – crimes committed towards 'enemy' military systems at the behest of international humanitarian law. *(e.g. Torture of POW's in Abu Ghraib).*

(Bryant, 1979; McGarry, 2015)

Each category is articulated into three broad categories, including; a) crimes against property, b) crimes against the person and c) crimes against performance. For the purpose of this thesis, focus around 'crimes against the person' is pertinent, to explore the circumstances in which violence is employed within a range of circumstances. Equally, focus with remain within this section, around 'extra-occupational' and 'inter-occupational crime' with 'intra-occupational crime' being discussed at earlier stages of this literature review.

The My Lai massacre (see BBC, 1998) committed during the Vietnam war by American troops has been described as an atrocity of epic proportions committed against innocent civilians, including women and children. Images from this atrocity

'brought home to a generation the potential criminality endemic in soldiering' (Walklate and McGarry, 2015: 185) and exemplifies 'extra – occupational crime'. Equally, Hockey (1986, 2003) provides a further example of 'extra – occupational crime', with squaddies getting into fights in bars, both during training and operations, invariably following the excessive use of alcohol, against civilians, other military members and the police. Hockey (2003) frames this behaviour as part of the masculine subculture of the military.

'Inter-occupational crime' can be illustrated by the case of by Alexander Blackman, a marine who was filmed killing a Taliban captive in Helmand Province in 2011 was initially sentenced to life imprisonment in 2013 (Morris, 2013), which was then reduced to manslaughter. His actions were accompanied with the words 'shuffle of this mortal coil, you cunt it's nothing you wouldn't do to us' as well as his acknowledging to colleagues that he had just 'broke the Geneva Convention' (Ibid; McGarry, 2014).

Furthermore, sexual violence is also reflective of criminal behaviour committed within conflict, with Jamieson (1998, 1999) reminding us that feminist victimology represents an important consideration when considering an analysis of war. Particularly so around the link between gender and violence, and their subsequent potential for continuation, in male violence against women in war time (mass rape) and peace (femicide and domestic violence). Sexual assault and associated violence are described as common during armed conflict (Mullins and Visagaratnam, 2014). Bryant (1979: 16) suggests that young men, cut off from traditional informal controls and imbued with the masculine and aggressive military subculture, alongside the 'relative unavailability and inaccessibility of females' may represent prime candidates for sexual offending. Lilly (2007) recounts findings from studies conducted around WW2 U.S. soldiers who were estimated to have raped 14,000 civilian women (representative of 'Inter–occupational crime'). Lilly (2007: 74) challenged the defence proposed by the US government of 'a few bad apples' perpetrating these sexual offences, citing the need to 'examine the rotten barrel' which includes military culture that has been interpreted to have treated rape or sexual assault by soldiers as collateral damage or a mechanism to intimidate enemy

combatants. The sexualised torture, such as humiliation by removing clothing of victims or mutilation of detainee's genitals have been seen in both historical and recent conflicts (Mullins and Visagaratnam, 2014), particularly within high profile media coverage of Abu Ghraib, reflecting 'extra-occupational' criminality and an area of war and conflict which important to consider when exploring the violence committed (and indeed witnessed by) military personnel.

Victimisation as a result of military experience.

The victimisation of soldiers as well as the potential for the engagement and perpetration of violence can be seen, side by side, witnessing atrocities as well as potentially perpetrating them within the context of war. Indeed, as can be seen throughout this chapter, the potential for military to both perpetrate violence, whether this be state sanctioned, within the legal framework, or straying beyond it, witness it or even be the direct victim of violence, represents potential for victimisation of the soldier and can be understood through the 'Atrocity Triangle' as described by Cohen (2001). As such, having a better understanding of the "processes by which individuals come to cast off their socialised inhibitions against violent and cruel behaviour, particularly in the contest of state-sanctioned violence" (Green and Ward, 2009: 120) and shift within the atrocity triangle, between victim, perpetrator and observer (Cohen, 2001) could be considered important in understanding the link between soldiering and violence post transition.

As has been alluded to earlier within this chapter, witnessing or taking a life in combat can be uniquely scarring across the lifespan (Maguen et. al., 2009; Forbes and Bryant, 2013). This is particularly so within respect of mental health, especially PTSD, which has been seen to prevail, despite being described as an 'overused explanation' by some (RBL, 2014; Phillips, 2014). This is predominantly so within the context of American based research, however, post deployment mental health problems, in particular alcohol use and PTSD, as well as high levels of self-disclosed aggressive behaviour were found to be pertinent risk factors associated with

increased risk of violent offending amongst veterans in the UK (McManus et. al., 2013).

PTSD has been significantly associated with veteran violence, with some authors claiming there can be little doubt of the association between aggression levels and PTSD (Barrett et. al, 1996; Beckham et. al., 1997). Booth-Kewley et al (2010) revealed that Marines who were assessed as high risk of PTSD were over six times as likely to engage in ASB as those who were not. McFall and associates (1999) found that, in a study of 228 Vietnam veteran inpatients, those with PTSD were approximately seven times more likely than those without PTSD to have engaged in one or more acts of violence during the four-month period prior to hospitalization. Equally, veterans with PTSD were found to be more likely to destroy property, threaten others without a weapon or become involved in physical fighting and make violent threats with a weapon. Jakupcak and colleagues (2007) highlights that much of the evidence around the links between PTSD and aggression has focused around Vietnam veterans, and redirected their focus to veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts. They found that veterans who screened positive for PTSD reported significantly greater anger and hostility than those in the 'sub-threshold PTSD' who, in turn, reported significantly greater anger and hostility than those in the 'non-PTSD' group.

Smith and associates (2008) highlight that specific combat exposures, rather than solely being deployed, greatly impacted on the onset of PTSD symptoms after deployment. Those experiencing combat were found to be three times as likely to experience symptoms of PTSD compared to those who were only deployed. Furthermore, combat exposure was found to be indirectly associated with aggression through its relationship with PTSD symptoms (Taft et. al., 2007) in their study of 265 male veterans from a range of theatres of combat (e.g. WW2, Vietnam, OIF). Maguen and colleagues (2009) found that killing was associated with PTSD symptoms, disassociation experiences, functional impairment, and violent behaviours in US Vietnam veterans and concluded that killing may represent a 'causal ingredient in the development of PTSD' (ibid: 441). Fontana and Rosenheck (1999) also discovered that killing may be the most potent ingredient in predicting PTSD.

Persons diagnosed with PTSD are also at increased risk of having a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder (Barrett et. al., 1996). They found that 11% of Vietnam veterans met the criteria for a diagnosis of ASPD, significantly above the typical estimate within the general community of around 3%. It was suggested that this may be due to the demographics of veterans who had less education and came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than their non-Vietnam peers as these have previously been identified as risk factors for antisocial personality disorder (Ibid).

Marshall, Panuzio and Taft (2005) highlight in their review of literature regarding male military perpetrators of Intimate Partner violence (IPV) that PTSD is an important correlate that largely accounts for the relationship between combat exposure and IPV perpetration. Veterans with PTSD have been highlighted as more prone than those without PTSD to express hostility and physical aggression within their intimate relationships (Jackupcak et. al., 2007; Prigerson et. al., 2002).

Conclusion.

This chapter has explored the link between military service and violence within existing literature. Starting with the period immediately after enlistment into the services, consideration around the roles and expectations of recruits associated with violence were considered. Violence employed in a professional capacity, within the training phase and general remit of military service life was highlighted. The inculcation of 'authorised' or legitimate forms of violence, instillation of a 'violent ideation' and the socialisation into violence within the context of the 'Military Total institution' was highlighted. Furthermore, the chapter then explicated some less prominent and unsanctioned or 'illegitimate' forms of violence that were reported to take place within this environment. Key areas associated with 'group cohesion', 'masculinity' and 'hegemony' within service life were acknowledged as pertinent and the violence associated with such prominent characteristics were developed.

Beyond this, the violence associated with deployment and combat were outlined. Considering the existing research, various forms of violence employed professionally, through state sanctioned deployment of authorised violence, as well

as illegitimately or criminally committed within the context of conflict were explored. Importantly, the limited criminological analysis associated with war was expressed, which emphasised the need for further work in this area being raised by authors.

A ubiquity of violence that exists for most personnel within the Armed Forces, coupled with a range of techniques, mechanisms and performances associated with the improvement, development and efficiency of violence can be seen within the existing literature. However, as outlined within Chapter 1, the narrative of the MVO within the CJS, particularly so with respect to the *violent* MVO, has been most prominently framed as aligning to the individual failings of the veteran (often linking to mental health, e.g. PTSD) as well as admonishing or minimising responsibility for the state or military institution (Murray, 2016). This thesis seeks to challenge this concept, by developing a criminological understanding around the impact of violence experienced both within the context of the military barracks and training environments as well during deployment and combat for veterans within the CJS who have committed violence.

Indeed, whether there is a criminogenic dimension to military service within this context is central to this thesis. Whether the experience of such a ubiquity of violence impacts upon future violence of the veteran, beyond the military confines and how veterans understand this represents crucial areas of consideration that require a deeper understanding in seeking to understand the violence committed by the veteran within the CJS.

Chapter 3: Alcohol and the Military

"It is not a huge leap to suppose that the cultural and social use of alcohol in the Armed Forces, and the reported excessive use of alcohol by service personnel, may be a factor in dangerous and irresponsible drinking among some veterans, and its consequences such as domestic violence, homelessness, and exposure to the criminal justice system."

(Fossey, 2010: 11)

Introduction.

One well known and established correlate of violence within the context of general (civilian) offending is that of alcohol (Rossow and Bye, 2013; Lipsey et. al., 1997; Roizen, 1997). Whilst there is limited space at this stage to explore this relationship within the general literature, and on account of the current research seeking to unearth the alcohol related violence committed by the MVO within the CJS specifically, a brief literature review around the more general links between alcohol and violence can be found in Appendix 3A. This was prepared for an earlier iteration of the project, seeking to explore the *role* of alcohol specifically within the violence of the MVO, however, as the research evolved, this information was deemed superfluous to the main body of the thesis. Nevertheless, it acts as a useful source of reference.

As such, this chapter commences with an exploration of alcohol use within the context of the military experience. Alcohol has long been perceived as an important part of military life (HLPR, 2011) as well as being described as an 'occupational hazard' (Henderson et. al., 2009: 25). Alcohol has been designated as an important cultural mechanism which engenders team cohesion, comradeship and sociability, all of which represent key aspects of the military institution more generally (See chapter 2). Alcohol has also been identified as a coping strategy for many within the service as well as a way of 'doing' masculinity (Karner, 1998).

This chapter then seeks to explore the ways in which alcohol and violence have been seen to conflate within the military environment. Consideration around the combination of key aspects of the military, such as masculinity in particular, and

the key ingredients around aggression, competition and mechanisms to display skills acquired within the military associated with violence (see Chapter 2) are taken. The chapter then explores how alcohol use can be understood to exacerbate such characteristics, resulting in problematic and confrontational behaviours across the military life course.

A prevalence of high levels of alcohol related harm and dependence within the military has also been identified, with alcohol use reported to be higher than that of the general population (Iversen, Waterdrinker, Fear, Greenberg, Barker, Hotopf, Hull and Wessely, 2009; Aguirre, Greenberg, Sharpley, Simpson and Wall, 2013; Thandi, Sundin, Ng-Knight, Jones, Hull, Jones, Greenberg, Rona, Wessely and Fear, 2015). Alcohol use disorders, depression and adjustment disorders have been deemed to persist as more problematic mental health concerns within a military context (Aguirre et. al., 2013). In particular, Iversen and colleagues (2009) found that the most common mental disorder in the UK military is alcohol abuse, which is followed by, and often comorbid with, neurotic disorders.

Beyond the military milieu, problematic alcohol misuse has been identified as more likely to befall the veteran as well as contribute to veterans' offending (Fear, Iversen, Meltzer, Workman, Hull, Greenberg, Barker, Browne, Earnshaw, Horn, Jones, Murphy, Rona, Hotopf and Wessely, 2007; Phillips, 2014). Aligning to more common criminogenic risk factors within a civilian context, such as homelessness, financial hardship, mental health issues and relationship problems, alcohol use by the veteran represents a factor that can be understood as complicated by military experience.

The prominence of alcohol use within the military environment and beyond represents the central focus of this chapter. Alcohol related violence across the military and post transition phases also represents a key area of consideration with a view to garner a better understanding around alcohol use across the military life course and the relationship that alcohol has with the violence committed by the veteran.

A Historical relationship: Alcohol and the military.

Primarily, the relationship and association between alcohol and the military dates back centuries (Jones and Fear, 2011) and has even been described as an 'important' part of military life, with free liquor historically representing a motivating factor (alongside free food and financial reward) to join the Armed Forces in the first place (Iversen et. al., 2007). The drug's prominence has also historically featured within the Armed Forces due to its perceived medicinal properties, with some proponents espousing the drug's role at protecting users from various diseases, including yellow fever (ibid). Through its different guises and justifications, (some of which will be explored within this chapter) there presents as an inescapable and cemented cultural aspect of alcohol in relation to the Armed Forces historically. This is perhaps articulated most clearly within the UK Navy continuing to issue rations of rum (1/8 of a pint of 95.5% proof rum) to all trained seamen over 20 up until 1970 (Dunbar-Miller, 1984).

Excessive alcohol consumption has been identified as more common in both UK and US militaries than in civilian life (Fear et. al., 2007; Bray, Marsden and Peterson, 1991), with alcohol use acknowledged as being higher in the Armed Forces than in the rest of UK society (Donnelly, 2015). Such a link between excessive alcohol use and the Armed Forces has been perceived as negative, not only with respect to the associated risks concerned with adverse health issues (e.g. pancreatitis, cirrhosis of the liver or cancer) but also addiction, dependence as well as depression, anxiety and other mental health issues (Babor, Caetano, Casswell, Edwards, Giesbrecht, Graham, Grube, Hill, Holder, Homel, Livingston, Österberg, Rehm, Room and Rossow, 2010; Drinkaware.co.uk). Indeed, media reporting reveals that more that 1600 service personnel required medical treatment linked to alcohol misuse (Owen and Crook, 2014) representing an increase from previous years, which continues to fuel concern around substance misuse within the Armed Forces.

Excessive alcohol use is purported to be something that the Army is seeking to address. In looking to employ an approach that is akin to attitudes seen with

professional sports persons, Brigadier Donnelly (2015) admitted that using alcohol was not compatible with the work of soldiers which was, in the main, perceived as 'safety-critical'. Misuse can result in the individual becoming a liability to themselves, families, colleagues as well as diminishing the effectiveness of the service (MoD, 2013, 2014). Psychomotor impairment, lengthened reaction time, impairment of judgement, emotional changes and decreased responsiveness to social expectations all represent issues linked to the use of alcohol, which clearly contradict employment effectiveness (Babor et. al., 2010). However, absenteeism or lateness for work, inappropriate behaviour, disciplinary issues, increased likelihood of accidents, all represent potential outcomes of alcohol use in general (ibid) and contravene the expectations of a soldier and military effectiveness. Indeed, over 4000 personnel were disciplined for being intoxicated between 2009 and 2014 (Owen and Crook, 2014).

Nevertheless, there is a well-established historical association between service personnel, rituals and alcohol use, and whilst alluding to these links 'slowly being broken' (Donnelly, 2015), such changes are slow and difficult to implement, with such rituals as; 'Toasting the Queen' or 'fines of etiquette normally being alcohol based, dating back over 100 years' (bid), there presents as a somewhat ingrained and even underlying reluctance to sever ties between the Army and alcohol altogether. Equally, within the Navy, there is a similar perception of heavy drinking which has been outlined within operational and policy documentation as in need of addressing institutionally. Within the 'Navy Personal Management' document (2015: 21-33) education is perceived as 'the main safeguard against the alcohol culture ... in the Service'. This statement alone reflects or at least acknowledges the 'culture' around alcohol that has existed historically, and perhaps remains of concern, and it's potential to have a detrimental effect on the whole service.

Henderson and colleagues (2009: 29) posit that 'the military fosters an environment in which access to and availability of alcohol are high and, significantly, one in which its cost is low'. Alcohol costs are subsidised within the military, therefore cheaper to service personnel (Teachman et. al., 2015). As such, affordability and pricing represent a consideration, with lower prices, both

supplemented organisationally, as well as the cost of alcohol when posted abroad, may be issues that contribute to increased alcohol consumption (Fear et. al., 2007). The MoD, following commissioning research into the use of alcohol within the services in 2012, suggested that, alongside education, testing and support for those with alcohol related issues, the review of the prices of alcohol on bases as well as availability should be considered. Indeed, alcohol pricing represents an area of political salience within the civilian community. Price increases reduce alcohol consumption across all beverage types, all types of drinkers (heavy to light) across all jurisdictions (Österberg, cited in Anderson, 2015). Indeed, within the 'Alcohol Strategy' policy currently in place in the UK, 'Minimum Unit Pricing' (MUP) was considered to be an appropriate strategy to reduce alcohol consumption, however, has not yet been implemented (UK Alcohol Strategy, 2012).

Military alcohol policy has aimed to both educate personnel via awareness campaigns as well as employing 'health fairs' which are in line with government policy around alcohol use (ibid; MoD, 2014, 2017). Policies around effective testing and support around treatment as well as disciplinary procedures and breathalysing for those on safety critical duties have been discerned to effectively address alcohol issues within the services (MoD, 2014). However, a Commons Defence Select Committee, sitting in 2014, outlined concerns around the effectiveness of such an alcohol policy, highlighting that there was a need for a reviewed and comprehensive strategy to be implemented (MoD, 2014). The military alcohol abuse strategy was categorised as flawed with education being perceived as an ineffective measure to prevent the general population from drinking alcohol (Greenberg, cited in Kotecha, 2015).

Further efforts to establish a better understanding around alcohol use within the UK Armed Forces as well as seeking to inform a more comprehensive alcohol policy, moving forward from an education only approach resulted in a forces wide alcohol screening event taking place between 2016-17 in which 109, 459 (74%) of the regular UK Forces population undertook an AUDIT alcohol screening tool, during routine dental appointments (MoD, 2017). 37% scored below 5+, indicating lower risk of alcohol related harm. Service personnel were provided with alcohol advice

leaflets which included information around defining a unit, recommended guidelines for consumption and risks associated with alcohol use. 61% scored 5+ and 2% scored over 10. Both groups were provided with advice via an 'Alcohol Brief Intervention' which comprised of an evidence based and structured conversation seeking to increase levels of motivation and offer support to consider / action a reduction in alcohol consumption (ibid).

Other alcohol policies are referred to by Iversen and colleagues (2007) such as the '2 can rule' in which only two cans of beer can be consumed by commanders during peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, alcohol not being offered at lunchtime, happy hours being discouraged and alcohol no longer being offered as prizes or rewards all representative of movement forward in terms of organisational attitudes towards alcohol within the service. However, the Commons Defence Select Committee (2014) felt '(un-)convinced (that) sufficient focus' was being employed around alcohol misuse and education at each level of the chain of command (MoD, 2014), once again, potentially referring to an organisationally endorsed misuse of the substance. Equally, alcohol has been referred to a continuing to represent a function of the social process within the services, with 'beer calls', 'after work wind downs' meetings 'with the boss' or with colleagues which are difficult to avoid (ibid).

Military culture.

Alcohol represents a significant dimension of the Armed Forces, particularly within the context of the 'Military Total Institution' (Brown, 2015). That authority remains total and orders followed by superiors unquestioningly, a culture and acceptance of alcohol within the 'work hard – play hard' tradition that has authority approval has emerged (James and Woods, 2010). The Armed Forces culture reflects an unquestioning order being followed within a total institution format. This is endorsed by superior officers and can be seen to be unequivocally accepted by lower ranks, thereby reinforcing the culture for future generations. Equally, with the 'military family' being perceived as playing an important role in 'loco parentis' for younger soldiers, senior members of the Armed Forces represent role models within the organisation (Iversen et. al., 2007) and therefore can be instrumental in the

promotion or avoidance of excessive alcohol use. Indeed, in considering the recruitment profile; young (late adolescence / early adulthood) adult identities can be seen to be influenced and developed, potentially seeing peer pressure and alcohol culture becoming an established part of the individual's 'sense of self'. A habit that may translate beyond transition to civilian life (Teachman, Anderson and Tedrow, 2015: 462).

As such, it is important to account for 'occupational culture', when attempting to understand the role of alcohol within the services (Fear et. al., 2007). Henderson and colleagues (2009: 25) consider that military culture makes personnel 'especially vulnerable to the consequences of heavy drinking', potentially resulting in alcohol use being viewed as an 'occupational hazard of military life'. Bray and colleagues (1991) found that US military personnel were less likely to use drugs but more likely to drink and drink heavily, as well as smoke and smoke heavily. The lower levels of drug use were perceived to be linked to the imposition of an effective 'zero drug policy', with regular testing and the threat of dismissal (following a positive test result) acting as an adequate deterrent. However, the alcohol policy presented as less robust, potentially resulting in certain aspects of military life fostering alcohol use (ibid). Some two decades later, a follow up study found that progress in reducing cigarette and illicit drug use continued to be made within the US military, however less progress around reducing heavy alcohol use was evidenced (Bray and Hourani, 2007). Suggestions of the promotion of alcohol within service magazines such as 'Army Times' as well as reduced pricing structure of alcohol for service personnel may have contributed to this heavy consumption (ibid).

With heavy and sustained drinking been perceived as part of military culture (Teachman et. al., 2015; Fossey, 2010), there is a potential that this may mask existing mental health problems, result in potential dependence as well as holding inevitable associations with violence and criminal activity (Fossey, 2010). As such, it has been suggested that a cultural shift is necessary within the Armed Forces to make changes, with leadership at all levels endorsing and promoting sensible drinking (ibid). Fear and colleagues (2007: 102) comment that a 'profound cultural shift (inevitably) takes time' reinforcing the long-term place and role that alcohol has had historically

enjoyed within the Armed Forces. Equally, Jones and Fear (2011: 171) suggest that as alcohol has been so culturally embedded for so long, any change may result in 'a war of attrition'.

During Training and military service.

As has been previously outlined, alcohol is presented as a key factor within military life (HLPR, 2011). Teachman and colleagues (2015) conducted a longitudinal study into military service and alcohol use in the USA, finding that service appears to encourage young men to consume alcohol, that male enlistees and veterans are more likely to consume alcohol than comparable civilian counterparts, and that the longer their service, the more likely that alcohol use will take place. This has also been identified by Iversen and associates (2007) who found that staying in the military is associated with a risk of increased heavy drinking compared to those who leave.

The socio-demographic characteristics that are linked to military heavy drinking include; younger males who were lower rank, single, (Henderson et. al., 2009; Fear et. al., 2007) without children and smokers (Fear et. al., 2007; Browne et. al., 2008). Those with subjectively poorer mental health scores (Henderson et. al., 2009) and those who have been exposed to traumatic events, are also at increased risk of heavy drinking (Jones and Fear, 2011).

Higher drinking levels have been found for males when compared to females in the military (Fear et. al., 2007; Bray et. al., 1991). Teachman and associates (2015) found that female service personnel were not only less likely to use alcohol than male recruits, but also than their civilian counterparts (ibid). It was posited that the women may be less influenced by the 'macho' culture of men or, on account of their lesser number in the military, may not have 'been exposed to an established a (sic) culture of drinking' (ibid: 463). Alternatively, the authors propose that women may be less likely to consume alcohol due to the threat of sexual harassment or assault, or due to the perception that they are being critically appraised on account of their gender, therefore abstain from use (ibid). However, Bray and colleagues (1991) found that

alcohol use, especially heavy alcohol use, was more prevalent both in male and female service personnel and across age groups, when compared to their civilian counterparts. Their findings revealed that both military men and women are 'twice as likely' to be 'heavy drinkers' than civilians.

Furthermore, significantly higher level of alcohol use has been highlighted within the Army and Naval Forces (including the marines) when compared to the Royal Air Force (Jones and Fear, 2011). This has been posited as reflective of an association with higher levels of teamwork in the Army and Navy, as well as an embedded cultural tradition of alcohol use as a means of relaxing and debriefing (ibid; Lightowlers, 2015b).

Comradeship and group cohesion.

The military have long argued that moderate amounts of alcohol are positive for group cohesion and unit bonding, as well as acknowledging the risks associated with increased alcohol use (Browne et. al., 2008; Aguirre et. al., 2013). With camaraderie and group cohesion also linked to violence (as outlined within the previous chapter) any analysis of alcohol, violence and the military requires consideration around this area specifically. When "used responsibly, alcohol has a role in unit cohesion and team building" (Donnelly, 2015: MoD 2017). Alcohol has been described as a social 'glue', which can enhance the bonding process between members of a unit, especially following deployment or an intensive period of training (Fear et. al., 2007), evidenced with excessive amounts of alcohol being supplied to the service personnel during the Vietnam conflict by the service (Karner, 1998).

Group cohesion has also been found to support psychological well-being (Ahronson and Cameron, 2007) and unit cohesion has been associated with lower levels of probable PTSD and common mental disorder in UK troops who were deployed to Iraq (Du Preez et. al., 2012). It has been argued that the conceptualisation of unit cohesion, involves a cross section of individual factors (of the group members) as well as multidirectional constructs, such as peer bonding, bonding with leaders as well as task and emotional support opportunities,

nevertheless, very little has been written on unit cohesion and its impact on alcohol use (ibid).

Du Preez and colleagues (2012) explored the nature of group cohesion within a military setting and located that 'comradeship' was associated with increased alcohol use. Browne and associates (2008) found an association between heavy drinking (Scoring over 16 on AUDIT) and comradeship as well as poor leadership in the military, suggesting that this may be due to bond troops together, in social settings, to vent grievances around the chain of command. However, high unit cohesion was found not to be related to alcohol misuse in their study of combat experience and alcohol misuse (Wilk et. al., 2010). They indicated that this may have been due to definitions differing to that of Browne and colleagues (2008) who used 'comradeship' as an indicator of cohesion, which, they argue may be misinterpreted, carrying with it connotations of drinking associations. Du Preez and associates (2012) found that the ability to discuss problems with others reduced alcohol use amongst reservists within their study, indicating that alternative coping strategies may be a better substitute than alcohol.

Nevertheless, "traditional ideas about group camaraderie and bonding may be seen as causative factors (of alcohol use within the military) as well as close-knit social interaction and peer pressure" (Henderson et. al., 2009: 29). This has been seen in other 'high risk allied positions' (Fear et. al., 2007: 102) such as the police or fire service, in which colleagues work in a close-knit team and where members can be susceptible to occupational drinking subcultures, which have been argued as being more likely to form in such institutions (Henderson et. al., 2009; Middleton Fillmore, cited in Du Preez et. al., 2012).

Such camaraderie within the military can also be perceived within the context of the 'Set' as outlined in Appendix 3A. Social pressure was observed and reported to be have been applied to soldiers to engage in collective (and excessive) drinking by Hockey (1986) in his ethnographic exploration of military life. Training, repetition of drills and conditioning, alongside the monotony of garrison life, may also drive the individual to seek respite through alcohol (Hockey, 1986; Bryant, 1979). As such, alcohol can be perceived to alleviate boredom, as form of escapism, or as a coping

mechanism (Albertson and Best, 2016). Equally, a clear and recognised theme of a study undertaken by Albertson and Best (2016) was around veterans' consistent recollection of an affiliation with alcohol use, as a social expectation or as a way of being accepted (also see HLPR, 2011). Indeed, drinking excessively has been perceived as something 'men do' and especially something that 'soldiers do', with the self-image, masculinity and their organisational role being something that was 'intimately linked with alcohol' (Hockey, 1986: 114).

Masculinity.

As has been previously outlined within Chapter 2, there is an inevitable link between masculinity and violence, with many violent offences being committed by males in a criminal and organisational context, i.e. soldiering (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Connell, 2005). Equally, masculinity is also linked to the use of alcohol with the ability to drink (particularly to excess) being described as a cultural motif denoting manliness (Karner, 1998; Uy, Massoth and Gottdiener, 2014). As such, alcohol consumption may be perceived as an important facet within the construction of a military (masculine) identity, as it has been within the civilian population and expectations associated therein (De Visser and Smith, 2007; Connell, 2005).

Combined aspects of masculinity, including the excessive use of alcohol alongside the ability to fight, which seeks to reinforce a sense of masculine self-image, as well as display the organisational disciplines that foster aggression and violence imbued in each individual (Hockey, 2003) can result in alcohol related aggression amongst military populations, often during periods when the soldier is released from duty. Ethnographic research amongst active service personnel reveals that excessive drinking and fighting can often take place, often during the same excursion, in pursuance of a trinity of "'booze' 'birds' and brawling'" (Hockey, 2003: 22). Fighting can take place with other military personnel, civilians, military or civilian police and result in 'cleaning out bars' following excessive alcohol consumption (Karner, 1998; Hockey, 2003; Bryant, 1979). Bryant (1979: 118) suggests 'inter-unit' and 'inter-service' rivalry is common, with ethnocentrism and a competitive spirit

being inculcated through this procedure and endemic within military systems across the world (ibid) something that may be exacerbated following alcohol use.

Karner (1998: 219) suggested that such inter-unit conflict sought to establish or reinforce reputations, particularly with the marines, who considered themselves 'bad'. Indeed, 'mystical notions' and 'exaggerated beliefs' around reputations and expectations has been known to be instilled into military personnel. Bryant (1979) highlights that elite units such as paratroopers perceive themselves to be better at military virtues as well as vices such as drinking, fighting and wooing. As such, excessive alcohol use and fighting can represent an expectation of certain service personnel, which can become reinforced within the duration of their service and maintain reputations.

The perception of the masculine soldier presents as 'an occasioned construct' as well as a practical and continuous accomplishment (Hockey, 2003). A man who can drink excessively and be 'accepted by men by their ability to drink' (Fejes, cited in Karner, 1998: 219; HLPR, 2011), who can use alcohol as a mechanism to bond with other men, and a coping strategy to avoid considering their combat experiences and other difficulties (Karner, 1998) can result in a gendered presentation of the veteran offender which may act as a barrier resulting in their avoidance to seek help (McGarry et. al., 2011; McGarry, 2015). A masculine military culture may lead to the establishment of 'barriers to care' (McGarry, 2010) in which physical weakness and emotional impairment are perceived as 'stigma symbols' and can create difficulties for men in expressing feelings, leaving them isolated and unable to ask for support and rendering them vulnerable (Ibid) post transition, potentially resulting in the continued or enhanced levels of substance misuse as a mechanism to cope or 'mask' other issues in need of address (Fossey, 2010).

Conflict and Combat.

Bray and associates (2007) refer to pre-combat stress, following their revealing a spike in heavy alcohol use between 1998 to 2002 within the US military. This was described within the context of the immediate aftermath of 9/11/01, with the authors proposing that pre-combat stress may have provoked the increased

alcohol spike, using alcohol as a coping strategy, particularly amongst command ranks. Also, there was a reported increase in recruitment at this time, potentially seeing enlistment from populations with higher rates of pre-existing heavy drinking, using the example of non-college graduates. Heavy alcohol consumption increasing and remaining 'significant' is also of note at this stage, in considering that 'heavy' consumption has been linked to the commission of violence in general alcohol-violence literature (e.g. Chermack et. al., 2010).

Indeed, alcohol as a coping strategy remains a relevant consideration throughout a military career. Alcohol has been considered as a substance that acts to diminish or suppress emotions. This can be during training, pre-conflict or pertain to those within the military who withhold emotions or experience conflict between absenteeism from home life (Bray et. al., 2007; Karner, 1998). Managing a 'work life balance' may prove difficult and some personnel may use alcohol to cope with subsequent emotions and the stress of these conflicting responsibilities (Uy et. al., 2014). Nevertheless, as outlined within the Appendix 3A, aggression can result from alcohol being used to supress emotions (Fagan, 1990) as well as alcohol use resulting in emotional plasticity, overreactions or increased agitation, all of which have been found to lead to aggression (Pliner and Cappell, cited in Graham et. al., 1997; Graham and Homel, 2008; Graham, 1980).

Deployment to conflict zones as well as engagement in conflict has also been linked to increased alcohol use, revealing another link between violence (or the prospect of violence) and alcohol. 22% of troops returning from an operational theatre were found to be more likely to have an alcohol problem than those who haven't deployed (MoD, 2010). Alcohol misuse was reported as higher in those holding combat roles when compared to those who were not deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan between 2003-2009 (Fear et. al., 2010). Those deployed in TELIC 1 (the operational / combat phase of the 2nd Gulf War) as well as those in a combat role, were found to have a higher risk of alcohol use (Fear et. al., 2007). Equally, those deployed to Iraq (2nd Gulf war) were also associated with heavy drinking (Browne et. al., 2008). In exploring how experiences in Iraq affected alcohol use for male military personnel, Browne and associates (2008) found that; 'Thinking you might be killed'

as well as 'being deployed with one's parent unit', 'medium to high in theatre unit comradeship' and 'poor unit leadership' all increased the risk of heavy drinking amongst service personnel. Having major problems at home before or during deployment also increased the risk of high alcohol use (ibid).

Jacobson and colleagues (2008) revealed that deployment with combat exposures increased risks of new-onset heavy drinking, weekly drinking, binge drinking and 'alcohol related problems' with youngest members of the cohort at the highest risk for all alcohol related outcomes and Marines at increased odds overall of binge drinking following deployment as well as experiencing alcohol related problems. Suggestions emanating from this research regarding this relationship are that soldiers receive inadequate training and preparation for the stress associated with combat. Alternatively, stress for families and personnel being transitioned between civilian and military settings, as well as reduced support and family options available for personnel were posited as contributory factors.

Hooper and associates (2008), in their longitudinal research around the association between cigarette and alcohol use within the UK Armed Forces and combat exposure, found that being deployed resulted in an increase in service personnel's alcohol use. More specifically, 'thinking you might be killed' as well as 'experiencing hostility from civilians' contributed to the serviceman's increased use of alcohol. Wilk and colleagues (2010) also sought to explore specific combat experiences and their direct association to alcohol use in US soldiers deployed to Iraq as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF). Building on the work of Fontana and Rosenheck (1999) who developed a theoretical explanation around five 'war zone stressors' (such as 'killing', the 'fear of being killed' and 'perpetrating atrocities') and their role in the origins and development of PTSD, Wilk and colleagues (2010) sought to expand on this model, linking six war stressors; 'fighting'; 'killing'; 'threat to oneself'; 'death/injury of others'; 'atrocities' and 'positive experiences', directly to the onset of alcohol misuse. Results indicated that 25% of soldiers screened positive for alcohol misuse problems 3-4 months following deployment. They also found that combat experiences were found to be significantly related to representing a positive screen for alcohol misuse. Equally, five of the six war stressors (all but 'positive

experiences') were reported to have been significantly related to screening positive for alcohol misuse.

Rona and associates (2007a) found that the prevalence of 'severe' alcohol problems increased with the duration of deployment (i.e. the lengthier the deployment, the increased likelihood of subsequent alcohol problems) and that exposure to combat partly accounted for this association. Equally, the prevalence of all psychological well-being problems was reported as higher among those with prolonged deployments, with a combat role, problems at home and time spend in forwarding areas, all partially accounting for this association (ibid).

Most modern armies, prior to more traditional conflict seen in Iraq and Afghanistan, have spent less time fighting wars, and more on peacekeeping and peace enforcement duties (KCMHR, 2010). Peacekeeping has also been identified as associated with the increased use of alcohol upon their return, with those participants having served in Bosnia being more at risk of heavy drinking than those deployed in the Gulf war or those service personnel who were not deployed at all (Iversen et. al., 2007). Such operations can reflect 'complex cultural encounters' in which regular Armed Forces, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), contractors and civilians may all represent potential threats, and a lack of clarity regarding who the enemy actually is, can result in increased stress levels (Boene et. al., cited in KCMHR, 2010: 38). Peacekeepers are exposed to all the stresses of regular combat operations, yet they have less options in terms of responding to these stresses, with alcohol being one of the few options (Ibid; CSJ, 2014). It was posited that being exposed to civil war for prolonged periods, seeing injured, violated and dead women and children and potentially experiencing difficulties in distancing themselves from war (as Bosnia was 'closer to home' in that it was in Europe) were all possible factors to explain increased alcohol use as well as having limited possibilities to express anger and frustration, resulting from experiencing dangerous, provoking and humiliating experiences (Iversen et. al., 2007). However, a study of peacekeeping forces conducted by Du Preez and colleagues (2012) found no association between levels of perceived morale during deployment and alcohol misuse.

Post conflict and conflict legacy.

Alcohol also has been referred to as a reward of post service combat (Lightowlers, 2015b), as helpful for service personnel to bond and debrief informally after stressful missions (Jones and Fear, 2011) or as a coping mechanism following traumatic events, particularly in terms of combat (Jacobson et. al., 2013; Lightowlers, 2015b). Alcohol as a form of 'informal operational decompression', has also been posited as a potential contributing factor for longer term alcohol issues associated with military personnel (CSJ, 2014: 65; Fossey, 2010; Hacker-Hughes, 2008).

Kilgore and colleagues (2008) refer to some combatants developing an 'invincibility complex', referring to organisationally acknowledged anecdotal observations, regarding some personnel retuning from conflict and displaying Increased risk taking, alcohol use, fighting and other ASB (ibid; Booth Kewley et. al., 2010; KCMHR, 2010). Brown (2013) suggests that traditional military culture rejects or at least resists the potential for a 'psychological cost to war' or in which the soldier claims to have been emotionally impacted by the horrors experienced. This is because this may result in the 'degradation' of the fighting unit, and/or a breach the groups honour. It is reinforced that such behaviour portrays weakness, shame and embarrassment and would hinder any prospects around career progress (Ibid; Hoge et. al., 2004). Furthermore, Brown (2013) indicates that culturally sanctioned means to address or manage emotional difficulties remain; such as emotional numbing, prioritising the prestige attached to mission success and the continued use of alcohol within service. Equally, other commentators remind us that the military culture is associated with strength and independence, potentially resulting in employment of 'avoidance' as a 'primary coping strategy' to avoid being labelled as weak or failures, and by turning to alcohol to 'handling it on their own' post transition to civilian life (Skidmore and Roy, 2011; James and Woods, 2010: 12-14).

Post transition issues linked to violence and alcohol.

Whilst ex-service personnel have been recognised to share many commonalities with the general offending population (Kelly, 2014), Phillips (2014) outlines that, whilst in service, most of these factors, such as unemployment, finance, accommodation are effectively managed by military, however upon discharge, they are not. Indeed, there remains little evidence around the contributing factors or needs and experiences of the veteran population (Kelly, 2014).

Early service leavers (those who have served for a period below 4 years) are noted as some of the most vulnerable, post transition to civilian life and who were observed to experience financial, employment, homeless or substance misuse-based problems (Ashcroft, 2014). This group were also identified in one study to be more likely to commit violence offences (McDonald, 2014). Often, this is the group which receives the least support and would benefit for significantly more intervention (Ashcroft, 2014). Whilst anecdotal suggestions of pre-existing issues, where individuals were 'in trouble' prior to joining and did not serve long enough to 'grow out of these problems' (Ashcroft, 2015:2) further research has been suggested to clarify the claim empirically (ibid).

Substance misuse is perceived as a key contributor to homelessness in the general population (RBL, 2014). This can be due to substance use resulting in domestic and relationship breakdowns, financial difficulties as well as links to mental health, all of which can not only contribute to homelessness, but also represent a consequence of homelessness (CSJ, 2014), creating a perpetual cycle which is often difficult to exit. When applied to the ex-forces population, homeless veterans were perceived to have slept rough for longer and were more likely (than other homeless people) to have had alcohol related problems and/or mental health problems (RBL, 2014; Johnsen Jones and Rugg, 2008; Gee, 2007, CSJ, 2014). In a study conducted around the experience of homeless ex-service personnel in London, the veteran population perceived themselves to be better equipped to endure, and less fearful of, the hardships of street life as well as less likely to seek or even accept help because feelings association with shame. Furthermore, it was reported that this population had, in the main, a greater propensity to consume alcohol, something which they perceived to have been either initiated or exacerbated by military life, resulted in

them being more likely to experiences repeat or sustained episodes of homelessness (Johnsen et. al., 2008).

In exploring accommodation issues of veterans' subject to probation intervention, those who were subject to community orders were more likely to live in hostels or other temporary accommodation compared to the general offending population (Kelly, 2014). This can be perceived as unstable, particularly for substance misusers, with alcohol fuelled aggression increasing the risk of eviction and future bans form various day centres, as well as causing problems for fellow residents and neighbours (Johnsen et. al., 2008). Alcohol misuse was also found to severely inhibit ex-forces engagement with support services as well as acting as a barrier to sustained resettlement (around gaining accommodation). Alcohol was also suggested to have 'numbed' acknowledgement of the difficulty of their circumstances reducing their desire to do anything to rectify them (ibid).

Both alcohol use and homelessness are perceived as criminogencially linked, both elevating the risk of committing crime (Grover, 2008; HLPR, 2011). The homeless ex-forces population have also been found to be more likely to have issues associated with alcoholism coupled with anger management (Riverside ECHG, cited in Ashcroft, 2014). When considered that the homeless experience higher levels of violent victimisation than the general public (Newburn and Rock, 2004) there presents as a higher chance of violence and aggression being employed within such a setting, whether this is in self-defence, regarding confrontation from the general public or alternatively, within threatening, intimidating and violent settings such as shelters and hostels, where other individuals are potentially confrontational or aggressive (Grover, 2008). This is complicated further as ex-forces are trained and inevitably skilled in the use of violence (Hockey, 1986).

Elbogen and colleagues (2008) found that violence committed by veterans with severe mental health issues was associated with substance abuse, and homelessness (as well as head injury, PTSD). As such, homelessness can be seen not only to increase the likelihood of the perpetration of crime, especially when considering the relationship between alcohol and violence, but can also be perceived as closely linked to victimisation as well as substance misuse.

Relationships, alcohol and violence.

Alcohol as a risk factor within domestic violence (DV) and, specifically, the perpetration of intimate partner violence (IPV) has been well documented (Easton, 2014; Martin, 1992: Collins et. al., 1997). Abramsky and associates (2011) indicate that alcohol abuse, alongside other factors such as cohabitation, young age, attitudes supportive of wife beating, having outside sexual partners, experiencing childhood abuse, growing up with domestic violence, and experiencing or perpetrating other forms of violence in adulthood, increased the risk of IPV within the general population. Whilst there remain some issues around establishing causality between alcohol and DV, alcohol has been claimed by Leonard and Quigley (2016) as 'un-equivocally' having contributed to the occurrence and severity of DV, either as a 'trigger', a 'contributing cause' or a factor that increases severity of violence within general population.

Nevertheless, the role of alcohol in DV within the military has enjoyed little academic coverage (Martin et. al., 2010: Marshall et. al., 2005, Madoc-Jones, Lloyd-Jones, Owen and Gorden, 2018) Within the limited research however, similarities have been drawn to characteristics found within civilian risk factors (Trevellion et. al., 2015). Problematic alcohol consumption has been highlighted within the military population as well as disproportionately impacting veterans and their families (CSJ, 2014: Fear et. al., 2010). Research around the link between veterans use of alcohol and domestic violence is also sparse, however, Saravese, Suvak, King and King (2001) found that alcohol use, specifically the quantity of alcohol consumed rather than the frequency with which alcohol was used, was significantly associated with both physical violence and psychological abuse within the marital setting. This was found even when controlling for drinking frequency and hyperarousal symptomatology concluding that drinking quantity seems to have more serious implications for marital discord. This was at odds with the frequency with which alcohol is consumed, stating that this did not impact on the likelihood of violence.

Research surveying 713 active US Soldiers identified that alcohol use by the

perpetrator was determined as the most significant association in the commission of moderate to severe IPV (Rosen et. al., 2003). In a previous study, Rosen and colleagues (2002), found that alcohol problems were positively associated with severe male perpetrated IPV. Bell and associates (2004) conducted quantitative analysis of 9,534 US male enlisted active duty soldiers who had one substantiated act of spousal abuse registered in the Army Central Registry database, compared against a control group of 21,786 soldiers. The research found that heavy drinkers (or those who disclosed consuming 22 or more drinks per week) were found to be 66% more likely to be spouse abusers than were abstainers. This was not only immediately following the consumption of alcohol. The research revealed that there was a greater risk of spouse abuse events taking place, even when alcohol has not been consumed by either the perpetrator or his victim within the heavy drinking group. This was also true even if the heavy drinking habits were measured years before the event. It was also highlighted that the very youngest and lowest ranking soldiers are particularly at risk for perpetration of spousal abuse as well as the importance of exploring race/ethnic subgroup variations in patterns of abuse and in the role of alcohol in spouse abuse events.

Data from a military database, which recorded spouse abuse perpetrated by military personnel was analysed by Martin and colleagues (2010). Of the 7,424 solider spouse offenders recorded, 25% (or 1873) were using substances at the time of the offence of which an overwhelming majority was alcohol (96%). The perpetrators were predominantly male, white and slightly older than non-substance misusing IPV perpetrators. The substance consuming group were more likely to perpetrate physical abuse, less likely to perpetrate psychological abuse, and were more likely to commit more serious abuse when compared to the non-substance misusing spouse offenders.

Problematic substance misuse, depression and anti-social characteristics have been identified as psychiatric correlates of IPV perpetration in active military personnel (Marshall et. al., 2005). Risky alcohol use behaviours by active duty personnel have also been found to be significant individual predictors of engaging in IPV (Fonseca et. al., 2006) and resulting in increasing aggression levels in IPV setting

(Pan et. al., 1994). Cultural and social influences have also been found to influence drinking patterns and links to DV within military personnel. Weekly heavy drinking (more than 14 drinks per week) and alcohol-related problems were significant predictors of domestic violence among white and Hispanic soldiers (Bell et. al., 2006). Family problems were also found to mediate the effect of alcohol-related problems on spouse abuse in white soldiers (Ibid).

Alcohol disorders which were established prior to deployment were associated with negative emotionality as well as behavioural disinhibition, impulsivity, risk-taking behaviours, and being less bounded by societal constraints, with the potential to engage in sensation seeking, risky, and antisocial behaviour (Cloninger, cited in Kuhle et. al., 2012).

Mental health issues, alcohol and violence.

Iversen and colleagues (2007) refer to the military as a culture imbued with stigma around not seeking help within the service around alcohol use and other mental health problems. Concern about mental health stigma was disproportionately greatest among those most in need of help from mental health services (Hoge et. al., 2004; Fossey, 2010). Early service leavers, younger service leavers and those who do not perceive themselves as veterans, therefore do not seek help from available sources post transition, suffer higher incidents of mental health problems and don't receive suitable support (Fossey, 2010: Langston et. al., 2010). Concerns have been raised that, until these barriers to care have been addressed and the stigma removed, there will inevitably be more soldiers entering the CJS. This has been especially linked to those that have seen service in recent conflicts such as Iraq and Afghanistan (Treadwell, 2010).

Indeed, the psychological cost to war for some soldiers, or 'Invisible harms done as a result of war' (McGarry and Walklate, 2011: 2) have been pervasive within recent media coverage around veterans as well as within academic circles (see; Walklate and McGarry, 2015). Such 'invisible harms' can manifest themselves as impairments to the mental health of soldiers, including alcohol use, anxiety disorders

and PTSD (ibid) that can exist well beyond service, potentially leading to involvement within the CJS.

Veterans from the 1st Gulf war were found to be at increased risk of developing PTSD, affective disorders and substance misuse disorders when compared to a non-deployed control group and this risk remained elevated for 10 years after deployment (Ikin et. al., 2004) Equally, Hoge and colleagues (2004) found that there was a significant risk of mental health problems amongst personnel deployed to Iraq and / or Afghanistan, with PTSD representing the most significant increase in risk. Equally, problem drinking has been associated with major depressive disorder (MDD), unexplained multi-symptom illness (MSI) and chronic fatigue syndrome like illness (CFS) within Gulf war veterans (Coughlin, Kang and Mahan, 2011). Co-occurring depression and PTSD was also found to be predictive of developing peri/post-deployment alcohol abuse (Marshall et.al., 2012). As such, there presents as a range of mental health issues linked to deployment, which have links to substance misuse and violence post transition.

Alcohol and PTSD.

Elbogen and associates (2014a) suggest that the highest barriers to care present around veterans with co-occurring PTSD and alcohol misuse, who have been deemed as least likely to recognise treatment as being helpful for them. Despite recent assertions that PTSD is 'an overused explanation' for military veteran issues post transition (Phillips, 2014), post deployment mental health problems, alcohol use and comorbid PTSD, as well as high levels of self-disclosed aggressive behaviour were found to be pertinent risk factors associated with increased risk of violent offending amongst veterans in the UK (McManus et. al., 2013).

Substance misuse has been reported to be highly correlated with PTSD (Stewart, 1996; Jacobson et. al., 2008; Debell et. al., 2016; Hassija et. al., 2012). Studies around veterans (and civilian) populations has indicated that alcohol misuse is more common among people with PTSD than without (Coughlin et. al., 2011; Jacobsen, Southwick and Kosten, 2001). Veterans diagnosed with PTSD were found

to be 2-6 times more likely to abuse alcohol or drugs than those without PTSD (Kulka et. al., 1990).

The frequency of comorbidity between alcohol and PTSD and its aetiology considers two predominant theories (Jacobson et. al., 2001; Coughlin et. al., 2011): The first, or 'shared stressor hypothesis' suggests that the two disorders may share environmental risk factors or stressors, increasing the possibility that they will occur together (McLeod, Keonan, Meyer, Lyons, Eisen, True and Goldberg, 2001). Combat exposure represents a prominent example for the veteran (as has been outlined earlier within this chapter) with Hotopf and colleagues (2006) concluding that those with a combat role were more likely to have PTSD and to consume more alcohol than non-deployed personnel roles, in their quantitative study of over 10,000 UK service personnel.

The second, or 'Consequences of PTSD hypothesis' has also been posited to explain the relationship between PTSD and alcohol (Jacobsen et. al., 2001; Kulka et. al., 1990, McLeod et. al., 2001). It denotes one disorder existing, then a second developing because of the first. For example, Kuhle and colleagues (2012) found that the development of new alcohol disorders in military personnel was found to be uniquely predicted by higher levels of PTSD symptom severity. Furthermore, alcohol may be used by military personnel suffering from PTSD as a mechanism to 'self-medicate' or to cope with or ameliorate the distressful and psychological symptoms (Thandi et. al., 2015; Jakupcak et. al., 2010; Kulka et. al., 1988, 1990). Maguen and colleagues (2009b: 783) proposed that alcohol was likely to be used as a coping strategy, within the context of the 're-experiencing' symptom cluster of PTSD. Veterans deployed to Kosovo in a peacekeeping capacity were judged to have sought to manage 'unmanageable re-experiencing symptoms' with excess alcohol. Skidmore and Roy (2011: 98) express the concern that, whilst this may be effective in the short term, the individual may experience more traumatic events due to the 'multiple physical, mental and legal risks' that are associated with substance misuse, thereby exacerbating existing symptoms or adding more. Leeies and associates (2010) found that those who used alcohol self-medicate for PTSD, experienced increased levels of the distressful symptoms they sought to escape, such as suicidal ideation and

increased rates of comorbid psychopathy. Equally, whilst alcohol may initially reduce symptoms of PTSD, those who attempt to stop or reduce their substance abuse may experience heightened substance withdrawal which may increase arousal symptoms related to PTSD (Klostermann et. al., 2012; Jacobsen et. al., 2001).

A third theory, the 'shared vulnerability hypothesis', exists, however this seems to have attracted less focus than the two previously outlined. This hypothesis postulates that PTSD and alcohol disorders occur together due to a shared vulnerability that increased the risk of the two occurring (McLeod et. al., 2001). These vulnerabilities may be 'genetic' or 'environmental factors' (both individual as well as shared with other e.g. siblings) such as experiences within the family, childhood adversity or lower socio-economic or education status (previously discussed within this chapter) (ibid: 262; DSM:V, 2013). Specific, or unique environmental factors to individuals, such as employment or religious practices were found to have contributed to vulnerability to PTSD and alcohol misuse (Xian et. al., 2000). This was also the conclusion from the research on twin studies, pertaining to the same group of veterans by McLeod and colleagues (2001). This reinforced that specific, unique environmental factors were identified as more important than shared environmental factors for PTSD and current alcohol use.

Alcohol has been highlighted as a factor that can increase the risk of violence within veterans with PTSD, with co-occurring PTSD and alcohol misuse being associated with a marked increase in violence and aggression in this population (McFall et. al., 1999; Elbogen, 2010; Elbogen et. al., 2014a). Jacobson and associates (2001) highlight that Individuals with comorbid PTSD and substance use disorders tend to suffer more severe PTSD symptoms or symptom clusters; such as 'avoidance behaviours' as well as 'irritability' and 'hypervigilance / hyperarousal'. Whilst hyperarousal within combat acts as a protective measure, heightening awareness of and even seeking out potential threats, to protect self and unit (Brown et. al., 2013), it has been determined as the most significant of the PSTD symptomatology clusters linked to violence by some post transition (McManus et. al., 2015; McManus et. al., 2013; McFall et. al, 1999). When alcohol was co-morbid with PTSD, the drug was found to be a 'serious worsening factor' of the hyperarousal symptom, especially

general aggressive behaviour, in veteran PTSD patients (Zoriçiç et al, 2003). Zoriçiç and colleagues also found that combat veteran soldiers with alcohol addiction as well as soldiers with combat-related PTSD comorbid with alcohol addiction were found to have high levels of verbal and physical latent aggression verbal and physical manifest aggression when compared to soldiers with combat-related PTSD without comorbid conditions. Equally, alcohol use and PTSD hyperarousal symptoms have also been found to jointly predict DV perpetration amongst veterans (Kulka et. al., 1990; Marshall et. al., 2005) or even been found to increase the impact of PTSD hyperarousal symptoms within the commission of IPV (Saravese et. al., 2001).

Jackupcak and associates (2010) found that veterans who screened positive for PTSD or depression were twice as likely to report alcohol misuse relative to veterans who did not screen positive for these disorders. They discovered that hyperarousal was not found to be strongly associated with alcohol use but concluded that 'emotional numbing' was a symptom which was independently associated with alcohol use, within the population of Iraq war veterans, linking to 'self-medication' explanation outlined earlier within the chapter.

Booth-Kewley and associates (2010) found that responses to combat trauma varied from veterans becoming depressed and withdrawn, whereas others respond with antisocial and aggressive behaviour. Miller and colleagues (2003) conducted research around identifying personality-based subtypes linked to post traumatic responses in combat related PTSD Vietnam veteran samples. They identified 'internalizers' (or those who tended to express distress inwards) and 'externalizers' (those who expressed distress outwards), as well as a third or 'low pathology' group. 'Internalizers' displayed higher rates of depressive disorder and lower positive emotionality, whereas 'externalizers' had high rates of antisocial personality traits, alcohol-related behaviours, and histories of delinquency. When compared to the other two groups, the 'externalizers' subtype was portrayed as a 'veteran who is more emotionally labile, overactive, impulsive, fearless, aggressive, intimidating, likely to feel chronically betrayed and mistreated by others, and likely to abuse substances compared with members of the other two clusters' (ibid: 211). In a follow–up piece of research, Miller and associates (2004) further found that

'externalizers' again displayed the highest rates of alcohol-related and antisocial personality disorders.

Alternatively, the comorbidity of PTSD and alcohol use, and it's potential to increase risk of violence is considered by Elbogen and associates (2014a: 368) through 'self-dysregulation' theory. Within this theory, violence occurs when impelling forces (which push an individual towards violence) exceed the inhibiting forces (which seek to prevent the violence action). When comorbidity of PTSD and alcohol use is considered, PTSD is considered as the impelling force and alcohol the disinhibiting force, 'substantially elevating the risk for aggression'. As such the use of alcohol could exacerbate hyperarousal symptoms such as anger and irritability (ibid, Saravese et. al., 2001; Taft et. al., 2007) as well as simultaneously act as a form of self-medication, which increases the risk of disinhibition and impulsivity, creating a 'cycle of increased risk' (Elbogen et. al., 2014a: 373).

Other combinations of symptoms and behaviours within the PTSD / Alcohol relationship leading to violence are considered by Taft and colleagues (2007), who suggest that hyperarousal symptoms alongside physiological reactivity and alcohol misuse may also lead to aggressive behaviour, due to diminished cognitive processing, impaired attention and inhibitory control. Equally, Taft and colleagues (2005) found that substance abuse may be an intermediary variable between PTSD symptom severity and partner violence, with alcohol potentially magnifying cognitive disruption and disinhibition for those with PTSD, which may, in turn, increase levels of anger and lack of control.

Brown (2013) calls for a cultural competence around military culture when considering PTSD, to understand and therefore effectively respond to the symptoms and how they are expressed. Milliken and associates (2007) screened for mental health problems immediately upon return from deployment and then followed this up with a further assessment, around six months later, discovering that the initial screening underestimated the mental health burden, or, alternatively put, soldiers were more likely to disclose increased levels of mental health and were more likely to be referred to appropriate support following the second screening. Intervention with soldiers at early stages of PTSD or mental health issues, is highlighted as vitally

important within the research, citing early intervention should take place before work or relationships are compromised, symptoms become chronically entrenched, or before comorbid conditions develop (i.e. alcohol use). Furthermore, lack of perceived confidentiality prevents military personnel disclosing alcohol misuse and receive treatment (ibid).

Other mental health issues.

Whilst PTSD (and comorbid alcohol misuse) remains a significant focus for veterans who commit violence post transition and whilst such a diagnosis has been said to increase the likelihood of entry into the CJS for ex-military personnel compared to those who have not been diagnosed (Lyne and Packham, 2014; Murrison, 2010), alcohol use disorders, depression and adjustment disorders have been deemed as persistent and more problematic mental health concerns within the military and veteran populations (Aguirre et. al., 2013; Hotopf et. al., 2006; Fossey, 2010; Phillips, 2014). Iversen and colleagues (2009) concluded that the most common mental disorder in the UK military is alcohol abuse, which is followed by, and often comorbid with, neurotic disorders. Fossey (2010) highlights that depression, anxiety and alcohol misuse is especially prevalent for young men leaving the service.

Post-deployment mental health problems and alcohol misuse are associated with increased violence post deployment (McManus, 2012b). McManus and colleagues (2013) conducted a data linkage study, linking details from 13,856 military personnel with national criminal records. They found that violent offending was the most common type of offence committed by forces personnel following deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan with a combat role. They also found that increased exposure to traumatic events conferred additional risks to violence and that post deployment alcohol misuse was strongly associated with violent behaviour.

Kulka and colleagues (1990) conducted a study entitled; The National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment study, which sought to explore the prevalence of PTSD and other psychiatric problems in readjusting to civilian life among Vietnam

veterans. In considering alcohol use, they found that male combat theatre veterans who met the criteria for a lifetime substance abuse had an increased likelihood for serious post military and readjustment problems. They were found to be have been less likely to have completed school or college, less likely to be working and experienced employment instability. Furthermore, the group was less likely to be married, have had multiple divorces and reported greater difficulty in both marital and parental role functioning as well as reporting to be more socially isolated, exhibit more violence and have overall lower perceived well-being. Equally, lifetime alcohol abuse was found to increase the likelihood of participants experiencing a lifetime or current major depressive disorder or a persistent mild depression by 4-5 times when compared to those without substance abuse issues as well as generalised anxiety disorder or panic disorders (ibid). The same group were 4-6 times more likely to meet the criteria for Anti-Social Behaviour Disorder (Ibid).

Rona and associates (2015) sought to explore the relationship between alcohol misuse and anger within the military population. Anger has been referenced as a frequent feature of alcohol dependence within the civilian population (ibid: Tivis et. al., 1998). Whilst anger is a common symptom in military personnel, often presenting as comorbid with PTSD and alcohol abuse amongst others, the relationship between alcohol and anger within the military population is less well explored. Rona and colleagues (2015) found that anger was strongly related to alcohol misuse within the military sample, as well as PTSD and psychological stress.

Conclusion.

Exploration of the evidence and research base associated around alcohol use within the military setting has formed a significant aspect of this chapter, charting the culture of the military, its historical and contemporaneous links and associations with alcohol use. Alcohol has been perceived as a predominantly positive factor within the military culture, enhancing team cohesion, camaraderie and enhancing sociability. Equally, alcohol use in and around deployment and combat was explored, with the substance being perceived as a coping strategy prior to and post deployment/combat, a reward or practice of informal 'decompression'.

Furthermore, within the context of 'doing' masculinity (Karner, 1998; Uy et. al., 2014) as another prominent aspect of military culture, alcohol has been understood as enhancing the potential for violent confrontations, both between fellow soldiers as well as civilians, leading to a fundamentally problematic link between alcohol and violence within the military emerging.

The impact or negative aspects of alcohol, impacting upon the safety critical roles that service personnel hold as well as inappropriate behaviour and disciplinary issues, have prompted some measures to be introduced to counteract these concerns. However, the approach to implement effective alcohol policy measures, unlike when compared to illicit drug policy, has been deemed as limited or even fundamentally flawed, and made little inroads into significant change.

Ultimately, the culture associated with alcohol within the military represents an area of important consideration, requiring further exploration. In particular, the legacy of such cultural experiences and understandings for the MVO within the CJS. This is equally so as violence (as has been charted within Chapter 2) represents a fundamental aspect of military culture and training and, a well-established literature exists around the link between alcohol and violence in general (see Appendix 3A).

The chapter then turned to explore the existing literature associated with alcohol related violence committed by veterans within the CJS. Aligning closely to the well-established criminogenic risk factors used within the CJS for the broader service user population, the longer-term impact of alcohol use for military personnel, particularly within the prominent areas of accommodation, finances, relationships and mental health were explored.

It is important to note here that, once again, the majority of research can be seen as emanating from the USA, with UK research base remaining comparatively far more limited and scarcer. Equally, the predominant approach with respect to the extant research has been, overwhelmingly aligned to a psychological and quantitative approach. Emphasis around the role and predominance of PTSD can be seen to emphasise this point, in which the failings of the individual and not the military can be seen to be a contributing factor to military service (Murray, 2016).

Again, turning to the need around a better understanding around the culture associated with alcohol within the military environment and the impact of such cultural learnings for the MVOs within the CJS who have committed alcohol related violence represents a crucial aspect of this research, particularly as this presents as wholly absent from existing literature. Furthermore, on account of a distinct lack of qualitative insight around this issue, a criminological and subjective understanding around the 'voices' of the veterans is required at this stage to comprehend whether alcohol use within the service has criminogenic properties for some MVOs.

Chapter 4: Methodology

<u>Introduction.</u>

The current study has its origins in a joint Alcohol Research UK and Liverpool John Moores University PhD studentship that had the broad ambition of exploring the relationship between alcohol and the violent offending behaviour of military veterans. The original aims of the studentship were to employ a mixed methods design, combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches to gain a better understanding about veterans' violence committed following the use of alcohol (see Appendix 4e).

Initially, the research sought to analyse the statistical data held around military veterans who were subject to probation intervention both nationally and locally. This secondary data collection was to provide a 'snapshot' of veteran offenders being supervised within probation settings. The quantitative aspect of this project would have sought to statistically explore the various characteristics, risks and needs of veterans, comparing these to the general offending population as well as against other statistical representations, such as DASA (2010, 2011). Extracted from this dataset was to be the number of veteran offenders who have been convicted of violent offences and where alcohol has been identified as a criminogenic risk factor. These data were then to be compared against nationally held data (DASA, 2010, 2011). Such information gathered was to provide comparative data around the violence and substance misuse of the whole population supervised against that of the military veteran.

Not only would this provide an overview of the proportion of veterans being supervised and a comparison against the whole population but would also represent purposive sampling, identifying a sample group in a specific and non-random manner (David and Sutton, 2011). However, data systems used by probation sources don't routinely record information about service personnel in ways that were expected, and the absence of robust and systematically recorded data compromised the intent

to conduct statistical analysis. The lack of formal identification and monitoring of veterans engaging with probation services has been raised as a concern by others (RBL, 2014; Phillips, 2014, see chapter 1). By not recording such information, or even by identifying veteran status at the induction process (via the EIQ, Ford et. al. 2016) and then failing to record such data on the electronic data system, ongoing concerns can be identified around the perceived relevance of veteran status at this stage. Having worked with practitioners involved in the collection and management of data in probation services - and identified the weaknesses of current recording practices - the research design was adapted, with the study employing an exclusively qualitative, interview-based approach.

As such, the current chapter outlines the progression and development of the research project after this point. Initially, the chapter considers the broader rationale for the research taking place. Emphasis around the absence of comprehensive qualitative research existing within a criminological context is accompanied by a more personal and reflexive account of the motivation for engagement within the current research from my own perspective is positioned. Beyond this, specifically tailored research questions are articulated and used to frame the study and clarify its intentions.

Thereafter, the chapter outlines and critically discusses the methods and methodology employed to engage with the MVO. Initially, exploration of how participants were identified and recruited for interview as well as the barriers and problems associated in this process is discussed. Beyond this, a reflexive account of the fieldwork will be considered. Critical attention was paid to my own biography, including approaches to interviewing and participant engagement techniques. Furthermore, ethical and political considerations are incorporated within and throughout the chapter.

Exploration around the analysis of data collected then follows. After data collection and transcription, a thematic analysis approach was employed, articulating broader considerations around violence, alcohol use and military experience, both within the military environment and beyond. In exploring the veterans' common understandings around the factors linked to violence and alcohol use, the thematic

analysis chronologically investigated such characteristics across the military life course, separating these out over active service and post transition periods. My own biography can also be seen to have permeated the analysis process. Reflecting on my approach to analysis as a former Probation Officer and often deferring to the use of risk assessment and management approaches commonly used within the CJS represented an important area of discussion. Identifying various risk, need and protective factors associated within the data, coupled with the theoretical information around alcohol, violence and the military, conflate within the analysis, explicated within findings chapters 5 and 6.

Beyond this, specific focus around the nature of DV (specifically IPV) offences that have been committed by this group, on account of this being the most common form of violence committed by participants, was explored through focused analysis. Designing and using an adapted form of the Nested Ecological Model (Dutton 1995; 2006) entitled; the 'Military Informed Nested Ecological Model' (MINEM) represents the analytical framework through which offences of IPV committed by the military veteran participants can be better understood. The MINEM provides a theoretical vehicle which articulates and reconciles the experiences of both the military and post military periods of the veterans lives with the violence committed within the domestic environment.

Rationale and focus.

Within Chapter 1, concerns around the prominent strands or origins of understanding associated with the veteran offender were outlined. In the main, such understandings have been proffered by psychological and political 'voices' which have in turn, shaped the popular discourses and representations around the 'veteran offender'. The 'Psychological voices' can be understood to offer a primarily positivist insight into the veteran offender, using quantitative and statistical approaches, and determining insights often associated with mental health and pathology (often PTSD) as well as individual welfare issues, rather than a broader critique of the role and responsibility of the military institution and / or the State per se. The 'Political voices'

provide a vehicle through which the prominence of the psychological approach can resonate, thereby reinforcing its dominant discourses, including an understanding of the veteran within the CJS and shaping the subsequent responses and interventions (Murray, 2015; 2016). Consequently, there represents a somewhat limited criminological understanding around the veteran who offends. Furthermore, the 'voices of veterans themselves' are missing (Murray, 2016: 323).

As little empirical and qualitative research around veterans' offenders exists, a call for a greater understanding around the profile of veterans within the CJS alongside insights into the nature and context of their offending is necessary at this stage (Treadwell, 2016). Furthermore, a better understanding is required around how military service may impact on those who experience it. In particular, how violence is conceptualised and accepted through militarisation and beyond (ibid). By employing a qualitative methodological approach, through one to one semi-structured interviews with veterans in the CJS, the opportunity to hear the 'Veteran's voice' is presented within this thesis. Such an approach facilitates the opportunity to challenge the current status quo regarding the prominent methodologies employed to understand this population. Furthermore, it provides the veteran's experiences to be criminologically analysed, engaging the 'Criminological voice'.

Beyond the broader rationale of the study however, a personal academic interest in exploring and further understanding the veteran offender within the CJS was also a motivating factor. Williams and Treadwell (2008: 56) emphasise the importance of considering the researcher's biography and background regarding the choice of research as well as exploring how these factors influenced 'access, data gained, techniques and relationships formed.' Whilst referring to their own ethnographic research, the authors accentuate that such considerations can be applied to other research methods, representing a rich source of data in and of itself.

Reflexivity provides an opportunity to monitor, as well as reflect upon, all aspects of a research project, from formulation to application (Jupp, 2001). Equally, it provides a mechanism to 'substantiate findings through a reflexive account of themselves' (Altheide and Johnson, cited in Williams and Treadwell, 2008: 58). Throughout this chapter, ongoing reflexivity is employed, considering the

contributing factors associated with my own biography, including that of my employment within the Probation Service.

My interest around MVOs and their journey and experience in the CJS can be seen to have been established, in earnest, upon commencing an MA in Criminal Justice at LJMU in 2013. The veteran offending population represented a prominent area of focus across the programme. Such focus provoked my interest, not only around the plight of the veteran, their lack of specific academic attention and practical intervention, but also encouraged me to reflect on the veterans I had supervised as a Probation Officer, over my professional life. In particular, I considered whether I had allocated sufficient time and attention to their biographies and experiences and adequately applied this to the assessment and management of their cases.

Consequently, the MA programme provided me with an opportunity to academically unpick how veterans problematise the risk assessment (and therefore management) process within the probation environment. Beyond this, my dissertation interrogated how staff understood working with veteran offenders within Merseyside Probation. A firm interest around how ex-military personnel were understood and governed within the CJS was established during this time and my interest to further this understanding prompted my application, and successful acquisition of the current research studentship.

On account of the range of motivations and interests around the veteran within the CJS, the following research questions represent the fundamental focus of the thesis and encapsulate the ontological and epistemological approaches of the research, namely a constructivist, interpretivist approach (Bryman, 2016; Braun and Clarke, 2013). They reflect a move away from the more commonplace approaches associated with veteran offenders, namely the psychological, to explore the narratives and subjective understandings of alcohol and violence for veterans, across the military life course:

1) *To explore the circumstances and subjective understanding around violence committed by the veteran over the military life course.*

2) *To consider how veterans understand the role of military service and its impact on the use of violence across a military life course.*

3) *To consider how veterans understand the role (if any) that alcohol plays within the use of violence across a military life course.*

4) *To gain a subjective understanding from military veterans currently in the CJS around their own alcohol use over the military life course and consider factors that have influenced this use (in particular, to consider the role of military service and its impact on substance misuse).*

5) *To consider the experiences of the veteran within the criminal justice system.*

<u>Recruitment and participant selection.</u>

Within the originally proposed project (proposed in 2014) the intention was to qualitatively engage with military veterans' who were subject to probation supervision. This would allow confirmation of the commission of a violent offence having taken place, namely through conviction, securing key inclusion criteria, without impacting upon ethical disclosure issues or concerns around self-incrimination for volunteer participants from charitable veteran organisations for example. However, the 'Transforming Rehabilitation' (TR) agenda and reform process significantly (and negatively) impacted upon access to veteran probationers.

TR was the process, enacted through the Offender Rehabilitation Act (ORA, 2014), by which the 35 Probation Trusts of England and Wales were abolished in 2014 and replaced by a National Probation Service (NPS) and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs). Whilst previously, the probation service existed as a unified body, post TR, service users were designated supervision based on their risk of harm allocation, seeing low and medium risk of harm offenders being supervised by privately run CRCs and high and very high risk of harm offenders supervised by the NPS, which remained a public body. Such a disparate range of service providers added numerous barriers to access. Primarily, what once was a unified service in which access to all service users would have been available from a national database

can be seen to have been disrupted by a range of different services spanning the public and private sectors with various protocols for each service being different, thereby delaying and impacting upon access and progress.

Engagement initially took place with a local CRC who were also responsible for providing supervision services across a number of other geographic locations. This was facilitated through established links by staff within the Law Faculty at LJMU. Following an opportunity to meet with senior management, I formally presented the project to the CRC board, who agreed that the research could take place across the five areas of supervision, subject to National Offender Management Service (NOMS) and Liverpool John Moores University (LJMU) ethical clearance (which will be detailed further in this chapter).

Ongoing liaison with the CRC Research Officer, enabled requests for identification of suitable candidates to be made electronically via email to Case Managers and Offender Supervisors, as well as senior management staff across the five sites of geographical supervision. This was through the 'Case Manager summary document' (Appendix 4a). The document outlined the inclusion criteria, namely a veteran who has been convicted of a violent offence, and in which alcohol was determined as a contributing risk factor within the offence. As such, a purposive sampling approach was employed (Richie et. al., 2014; Bryman, 2016). The document also sought to outline the research intentions as well as expectations of the veterans, if they chose to participate. Furthermore, I attended various probation staff team meetings, whereupon I would present an overview of the project, detailing expectations and intentions. Again, this was a method through which Case Managers could identify suitable veterans and forward details to invite them to interview.

Where Case Managers or Senior Managers identified suitable veterans, I would receive an email, either directly from the Case Manager or via the Research Officer, following which a letter inviting individuals to take part within the research and the expectations of the interview, alongside a participant information sheet, further detailing expectations around the study, its purpose, location of interviews and confidentiality issues would be forwarded back to the case manager to provide to the veteran (see Appendix 4b and 4c).

Uptake was initially slow, however, as the research progressed, further opportunities to engage with staff members became available. This was due to more meetings being attended, engaging with directors of the various geographic areas, as well as working closely with a veteran specific service, provided by the CRC. Such links developed further recruitment opportunities, both within the community and custodial environments. I found that this staff group in particular, many being veterans or having close familial ties with veterans, were keen to assist in the research recruitment process. It was clear that furthering an understanding around military and veteran offending was particularly important to these staff members.

Additional applications were made to NOMS (which was subsequently replaced by Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS)) to extend the research criteria, beyond the remit of the CRC I was initially working with and to include individual prisons as well as the NPS. This was on account of the networking, outlined above, and in particular, attending a veteran-specific event regarding veterans in the CJS. At this function, I met a number of 'Veteran in Custody Support Officers' (VICSOs) who worked with a broad range of veterans, spanning risk brackets and geographical areas.

Further individual applications were also required for each prison (to be submitted to and approved by the Governor of the prison) and NPS area (to be submitted to and approved by the Deputy Director of each area). This was time consuming and provided ongoing delays or even barriers to recruitment, particularly when requests were subsequently denied! For example, on one occasion, a governor was unwilling to disclose confidential information around inmates (namely their military past, offence or risk factors) or grant unsupervised recording to take place within a prison. Immediately, concerns around a 'supervised' interview, with prison staff member present, risked a conflict of interest regarding the confidentiality of the interview as well as disrupting the dynamic of the interview, resulting in such interview opportunities being declined.

Despite these additional barriers, by extending recruitment to prisons and the NPS, a wider range of offence types committed by veterans were included in the research. Again, this was reflective of the separation of probation services, following

the TR reform programme. Whilst a majority of those supervised by the CRC had committed offences such as Common Assault (s.39 CJA, 1988) or Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm (s.47 OAPA, 1861), inclusion of NPS supervised veterans broadened the opportunity to interview 'higher risk' veterans who committed offences such as Grievous Bodily Harm with Intent (s.18 OAPA, 1861) as well as Murder (Common Law).

Ultimately, the TR reform programme represented something of a barrier to the smooth and timely progress within the current research. As has been outlined above, the devolvement of a significant portion of probation services to twenty-one private companies across England and Wales, as well as seven NPS areas, resulted in the necessity to complete numerous applications, across the various areas independently, resulting in a time-consuming process. However, more broadly, TR can be understood to be a process that has fragmented a once, single, public sector entity, seeing neoliberal ideology driving such changes. As a result, Walker and colleagues (2019) describe potentially harmful working environments, financial cuts and increases in workload pressures culminating in 'unmanageable caseloads'. As such, it is perhaps understandable that responses to invitations for case managers to identify, discuss and provide documents to veteran service users were low, in that staff simply may not have had the time or capacity to prioritise participant recruitment for such a study in the face of such workloads and pressure.

Participants.

A total of twenty-two veterans took part in the research. 20 were Army veterans, one served in the RAF and one, the Navy. Of the Army veterans, seventeen joined infantry regiments, including The Coldstream Guards, The Rifles and The Yorkshire Regiment. The remaining three joined the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (REME), The Royal Signals and The Royal Logistics regiments. One participant also joined the French Foreign Legion, after service with the British Army.

Five recruits joined at the age of 16, seven at 17, four at 18, three at 19, two at 21 and one at 25. Enlistment usually took place through the local recruitment

office. Of the data disclosed, there was a broad spread around periods of service, with one veteran commencing service in 1970's, eight in 1980's, two in 1990's, six in 2000's and two in 2010's. Participants most commonly cited the following reasons for joining the armed services:

- *To make something of their lives.*
- *To travel the world.*
- *To provide for their family.*
- *To emulate family members who were in the services or being encouraged by family members to join.*
- *To escape something, e.g.; substance misusing peers, 'dead end jobs' or a life of crime.*

Whilst in service, eight participants revealed they had had no experience of being deployed into a combat zone. Of the remaining fourteen, eleven disclosed engaging in conflict, most commonly in Iraq, Afghanistan and/or Northern Ireland. With respect to criminality (and criminal sanctions) during service, eight veterans recalled having served a sentence in a military prison. This was often due to going AWOL, often for days or even weeks and receiving short custodial sentences, typically between one week and four months.

Six participants left the forces before serving at least 4 years, ten served between 4-8 years, two between 9-12 years, three between 13-21 years and one veteran completed 22 years (over two separate terms). Nine left following the completion of their contracts, four were medically discharged and eight were dishonourably discharged. Of those who received dishonourable discharges, three tested positive for illicit drugs (cocaine), four were recorded as going 'AWOL' and one committed the index offence for which he was subsequently convicted of and remains in custody for. One did not disclose the nature of his discharge.

Following service, the most common offence and subsequent conviction was related to DV. Sixteen veterans were convicted of a domestic related offence for which they were subject to CJS supervision in relation to. A further three admitted to committing DV related offences for which no convictions ensued. The nature of the convictions spanned; Criminal Damage (s.1(1) CDA 1971), Threats to Kill (s.16 OAPA,

1861), Assault (s.29 CJA ,1988) Assault occasioning Actual Bodily harm (s.47 OAPA, 1861), Breach of Harassment Order, (s.5(5) PHA, 1997) Grievous Bodily Harm (s.20 OAPA, 1861) and Murder (Common law).

Of the three veterans who were not convicted of, nor admitted to the commission of DV related violence, the convictions were concerned with; Assault Police (s.89 PA, 1996) Grievous Bodily Harm with intent (s.18, OAPA, 1861) and Murder. Nine participants were subject to probation intervention when interviewed. Seven were subject to licence conditions (or PSS following ORA, 2014). Six were subject to custodial sentences. Overall, seventeen veterans have previously received or were currently serving a custodial sentence within the civilian environment.

Interviews.

Each participant was interviewed on one occasion, lasting between 45 minutes and 1½ hours. Initially, I had intended to interview veterans on two separate occasions. Such an approach represented an opportunity to accrue in-depth data across the life span, as well as to allow for reflective practice to take place for the participants and to amend, address or clarify points made, to ensure accuracy and therefore 'trustworthiness' of data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2016). Two Interviews would also have allowed scope to consider a whole life approach in exploring the role of violence and alcohol use with the veteran both prior to, during and post military service life. Such an approach would have included more detailed investigation around childhood and adolescent experiences, reasons for joining the military, as well as previous offending prior to military service. However, concerns were raised by NOMS around potential attrition rates between interviews and proposed that conducting a single interview should be considered. As such, and in order to minimise attrition, only one interview was conducted. The revised interview schedule limited the scope to explore in-depth pre-military information and focused instead on a 'military life course' approach, with a focus on military recruitment, service, transition and beyond, up until the interview date (See Appendix 4f). Such

an approach enabled a deeper and more comprehensive exchange of information to take place.

Interviews were semi-structured in approach, allowing for a less formal or structured interview and which led to subjects' viewpoints being more openly and freely expressed (Flick, 2002). Such an approach was perceived to yield a more diverse, wider ranging and broader consideration around the various areas of discussion. Key areas or themes were set out, ensuring that all areas of interest were explored, as fully as possible. Equally, such a 'checklist' would act to maintain consistency across all interviews being conducted with participants. Nevertheless, flexibility and the capacity to pursue areas of interest and relevance to the participant represented upmost importance also, therefore avoiding a rigid adherence to the interview schedule was important.

Using open ended questions, to allow participants to answer on their own terms, to elaborate or expand as they see fit, also represented an approach within the interviews aligning to flexibility (Bryman, 2016). This approach provided opportunities to probe and explore such themes, even deviating away from the interview schedule where necessary, to develop areas of veteran interest (Yeo et, al., 2014). This was particularly so with violence and alcohol use, both within and immediately beyond the military, as this is an under-researched area (see chapters 2 and 3). As such, I was keen to be led by the experience and knowledge of participants, rather than the limited theoretical information available.

All interviews were recorded via digital recorder. Not only did this provide the opportunity to capture all necessary information, which was then transcribed, but also provided the opportunity to maintain concentration and focus on what was being discussed. This also allowed for the utilisation of other interviewing skills, such as active listening, as well as note taking, to capture nuances of interviews and non-verbal ques that may be missed through voice recording (Noakes and Wincup, 2004).

Active listening provides an opportunity to assure the interviewee that you are fully participating as well as being alert to important areas or themes raided by participants. Equally, the use of reflective listening in which I would actively listen and respond to participants, paraphrasing statements, to both ensure clarity, my

own understanding and emphasis that I was 'tuned in' regarding the content and context of the veterans experience was employed (Trotter, 2006: 144). Furthermore, forms of non-verbal communication were prominent considerations within interviews. Attention paid to seating position, posture and well as maintaining eye contact, all represented methods to display physical attentiveness to the individual being interviewed. Equally, a relaxed body language can engender a relaxed atmosphere, one in which effective engagement can take place (Raynor et. al., 2010: 119). Such awareness provided opportunities to further explore the areas of interest raised by the interviewee more comprehensively (Yeo et. al., 2014). Again, due to the nature of the research being within its infancy, rich data can be yielded from participants through this process.

Other forms of motivational and engagement techniques were also employed, being perceived as another key tool in effective interviewing. Indeed, my experience of working within the probation service, greatly assisted me within the interviewing process. Good offender engagement skills within probation practice represent a vitally important aspect of effective intervention (Raynor et. al., 2010; Burke and Davies, 2011). Skills such as effective interpersonal communication and interviewing approaches, coupled with effective personal engagement, which can be honed and developed over time, overlap with characteristics such as reliability, respectfulness and trustworthiness, dovetailing towards the development of effective rapport and relationship building (Durnescu, 2012; Canton and Dominey, 2018).

From the outset of the research process and particularly within the context of fieldwork and data gathering, the development of a 'warm, open and enthusiastic relationship' was a prominent consideration, emanating from my own probation experience (Dowden and Andrews, cited in Canton and Dominey, 2018: 124). Such an approach has been recognised as a key facet of successful supervision, with enthusiasm, genuineness, using humour as well as being respectful and considerate representing aspects of engagement that were employed within interviews (Raynor et.al., 2010).

Further effective engagement skills included an initial clarification of roles and responsibilities and articulation of the parameters of the research (Trotter, 2006). Such an approach, alongside ethical considerations outlined further within this chapter, provided a framework for participants to both understand the research intentions as well as what expectations were, of both myself and the participant. Equally, it represented an opportunity to clarify that I was not there to argue, blame, or criticise, but understand the perspectives of the participants. Equally I did not hold a position of 'domination' in terms of a probation officer or prison officer, for example, therefore the problem associated with the dual role of the 'authority figure' within the CJS was minimised to some extent – this will be explored more broadly further into this chapter (Raynor et. al., 2010).

Opportunities to model prosocial and anti-criminal attitudes, represented another important facet of probation practice as well as an aspect of engagement that I reflected upon post interviews. Whilst clearly linked to the reduction of re-offending, such an approach represented an important engagement approach, which I employed almost instinctively. Pro-social modelling and reinforcement is based on social learning theory and seeks to identify pro-social comments or behaviours and reward these with praise, where possible. Equally the process aims to model prosocial expressions as well as challenging antisocial comments, thinking or behaviours, through the use of disapproval (Trotter, 2006; Raynor et. al., 2010). Prosocial attitudes were 'displayed' within each interview, through my attending on time, being polite and friendly and adhering to the rules of the institution we were in, such as the prison, for example. However, 'praising' prosocial behaviours or challenging or displaying 'disproval' of anti-social attitudes presented as a more complex issue, as the research role was very different to that of the Probation Officer. My priority had inevitably changed from a dual role, which can be understood as both seeking to achieve (or enable) rehabilitation alongside ensuring a certain level of social control, determined by the legal sanction imposed (Trotter, 2006). As such, the focus of the research, and therefore my role, was to acquire an honest account of the violence and alcohol related behaviours committed by those interviewed. Ultimately, striking a balance was necessary, gathering this information in a prosocial

and warm manner and avoiding the use of 'disapproval' when exploring individuals' accounts of offending. Indeed, perceived moralistic challenges which can be seen as being employed though the use of 'disapproval' may impact upon the openness of the interview, the chance if it being terminated or continuing in shallower fashion or initiating the potential for confrontation. However, challenging forms of minimisation, justification or techniques of neutralisation used around offending behaviour, if and when proffered by participants, provided an opportunity for a deeper layer of analysis within interview (see Raynor et. al., 2010: 117).

Motivational Interviewing (MI) approaches were also applied, with adaptation, to the veteran interviews. Within probation practice, MI represents a mechanism to initiate and maintain behaviour, change and/or challenge ambivalence to change offending behaviour (Raynor et. al., 2010). Within the current research, the aim, rather than to encourage change, was the use of such an approach to elaborate a deeper engagement with the subject material. Empathy, both within the context of prosocial modelling as well as MI, represents a form of emotional literacy in which an awareness of one's own feelings as well as being aware the feelings of others and effects these have, particularly on relationships was important within the research (King, cited in Canton and Dominey, 2018). Being able to put oneself in someone else's place and being aware of and /or sympathetic to the impact of behaviours and the subsequent emotions attached to situations, relationships and contexts generated by memories within interview was important (Hogan, cited in Trotter, 2006: 143) Equally, being aware of my own feelings, particularly around expressions generated (consciously or otherwise - a look / frown etc.) regarding participants accounts and memories was important, with a view to maintain engagement as well as gathering richer responses.

Ultimately, using MI alongside broader techniques and strategies of effective interviewing garnered from probation training and practice do not represent a cynical and manipulative method to gather information. Rather, these form a suite of approaches to elicit effective information, enhance engagement, encourage self-reflection and prompt deeper engagement with participants around their offending behaviour (Canton and Dominey, 2018; Miller and Rollnick, 2009)

Effective interviewing and the development of rapport can be enhanced by confidence, both around the content of the interview as well as the context or surroundings in which the interviews are taking place (Yeo et. al., 2014). Again, professional experience prepared me to also feel comfortable within probation offices and the prison environment. Had it not been for such professional experiences, I may have felt intimidated or distracted, which may have impinged upon natural, engaging, interviewing. Indeed, this may have potentially jeopardised effective rapport building and subsequent information gathering. Beyond this, taking into account the environment, again particularly the prison and probation environments, provided a stark reminder of the risks participants were taking, simply by engaging in research around their offending behaviour, particularly some of which may not have been disclosed to CJS staff, and for which, further convictions, disciplinarily actions or breach / recall decisions could result from. Indeed, this led to, prior to interviews commencing, a reissuing and discussion of all of the documentation, including the 'Participant Information Sheet' (PIS) and 'Consents to Participate' forms, which were then formally agreed (see Appendix 4c and 4d). This represented a further opportunity to reiterate expectations and that veterans could withdraw from interviews at any time. It was also a chance to re-emphasise that any disclosure of a serious offences during interviews would be relayed to participant's supervising officer in the first instance.

Two Individuals declined to participate further within the research at this particular stage. One veteran explained that he felt concerned that any disclosure he made around behaviours within and beyond a military environment may have a detrimental effect upon those he served with as well as himself (potentially resulting in legal consequences). Another individual clarified that he was willing to engage, however denied that his alcohol use had been a factor within the military, his personal life or within the index offence. This was despite his Case Manager referring the case to me, following discussion with the veteran himself, as well as being in receipt of the documents outlining the research intentions and PIS.

Upon reflection, such refusals to engage were stark reminders that individuals were voluntary participants who were not receiving any form of incentive

to take part within the interviews. Recruiting veterans from the CJS was perceived to offer those who had been convicted of a violent offence the freedom to discuss this offence in detail, as conviction had already taken place. Nevertheless, concerns around the potential of incriminating others or themselves in the index offence or other offences represented potential barriers to engagement. Equally, the potential around breaching their community-based order or be recalled to custody if subject to licence, should they disclose something within the interview that represented a serious further offence, also represented obstacles that were understandably difficult for some to agree to.

Upon completion of the interviews, I reflected about the nature of the work conducted within the CJS and, in particular, my own experiences. Some participants spoke about desensitisation to violence within the military, which resonated with me, in that, often the criminal justice professional can also become desensitised to *hearing* about violence, aggression, confrontation and offending behaviour. After leaving the NPS in 2015 and not formally returning to such an environment until commencing the current research in 2017, even in this short space of time, the impact of the narratives I encountered, many of which were powerful and at some points distressing, seemed to me, upon reflection, to be amplified. It led me to consider that I had experienced something of a transition period myself. I was no longer a criminal justice professional and was no longer listening to those stories on an almost daily basis. As a result, a level of desensitisation from such accounts had reduced, thereby making the veterans accounts all the more powerful and in need of further deconstruction.

Conversely, and despite an absence of two years from employment within the CJS, an almost instinctive consideration, which was established within probation work and evidently remains potent, was almost inescapable attention paid to an administrative approach to risk assessment and management. Throughout the interview I was considering or noting 'risk factors', as well as mechanisms around how to potentially 'manage' and mediate these risks, alongside the consideration of the various professional agencies that may need to be manage these risks within a statutory framework were difficult to circumvent. Indeed, whilst a new direction of

focus around the individual's narratives, stories, distinctions, perspectives and concerns became central to the process, such considerations were also deemed useful, in that a deeper level of exploration around certain areas of risk and need that were discussed could be framed both from an institutional as well as an individual perspective.

Data Analysis.

All Interviews were recorded by digital recorded and transcripts typed, verbatim, aligning to an orthographic approach (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 162). Transcriptions were largely prepared contemporaneously, usually within 24 hours of the interview taking place. Such an approach allowed for recollection and recording of the particular nuances around interviews, including non-verbal ques, thereby offering a richer and more comprehensive data set (Davies et.al., 2011). Once transcribed, the audio was played back, and the transcript followed for accuracy. All participants were ascribed pseudonyms, to maintain confidentiality and anonymity as well as to identify who spoke and when (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Following the compilation of the transcripts, a thematic analysis of the data set was conducted. Thematic analysis represents a flexible approach or method to analyse data. Such an approach aims to identify, group and interpret patterns and clusters within the data set, with a view to refine and develop key areas or themes (Spencer et. al, 2014). Through transcribing all interviews myself, my familiarity with the information was enhanced from the initial point of analysis. Indeed, such an approach can be perceived as part of the formal early analytic process (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Following transcription, the raw data was read and re-read, furthering familiarisation with the content. Initial areas of interest were noted within the printed transcripts. This process was actioned by adding descriptors or labels that summarised large portions of text, with a view to identify, often unordered information, and allow for future reference to key information, concepts or categories in a simplified and speedy manner (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Spencer et. al., 2014b). This early stage coding process can be understood, as essentially

indexing, offering effective signposting to the areas of interest within the data (Seale, 1999).

Following the initial coding process being conducted, labels that correlated, overlapped and linked to others were grouped using further annotation within the transcripts. These pieces of important, patterned and meaningful information contained within the dataset, set against the research questions, were then further explored and developed as themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Three overarching and distinct phases of the participants lives were highlighted as key domains or areas within which further analysis could take place (Spencer et. al., 2014). These areas were organised chronologically across the military life span and labelled as 'the military phase', 'the transition to civilian life' and then specific focus around 'the commission of domestic violence'. Most commonly, the latter domain was concerned with the index offence for which veterans were subject to CJS intervention, however, as the commission of IPV was particularly common within the current dataset, disclosed offences of IPV committed by veterans was also included within this analysis phase. A fourth phase, around the particular veteran experiences within the CJS was also established, however in keeping with the intentions and aims of the study, such data will be explored in future academic outputs. (e.g. comparisons between the prison environment and military life)

Within 'the military phase', environmental and cultural issues that aligned with violence and its various roles within service life emerged as pertinent, frequent and meaningful (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 223). Coded information and subthemes included issues around the legitimacy of violence; violence as discipline, violence to establish order and hegemony; and displaying or reinforcing masculinity. Alcohol use was then considered within the military environment as well as in and around this use of violence, both within the military barracks and the NTE. Legitimate use of alcohol as a bonding agent, as masculinity affirming and culturally associated with the military as well as violence were also highlighted.

Within the 'transition to civilian life' phase, subject areas associated with a loss of identity and difficulties in reintegrating into civilian life, alongside an absence of discipline and problems within or lack of stable accommodation, were determined

as areas leading to alcohol use and contributing to violent confrontation. Employment issues, including the lack of available or meaningful employment, as well as a significant proportion of participants seeking 'door work' within the NTE, in which alcohol and violence intersected regularly, also represented alcohol related violence conducted by veterans.

The final domain or key theme focused on the index offence committed by the veteran. This analysis revealed an overwhelming link to DV. Sub-themes again were established, within this overarching thematic area, exploring issues within domestic relationships and considered factors such as drinking habits within relationships; anger and hostility as well as self-esteem issues and shame. Equally, broader relationship issues including absenteeism and persistence as well as the commission of more serious offences were deemed important areas of focus.

Within the analysis of the data and the generation of the themes and sub themes, acknowledgement around the disciplinary knowledge and epistemology as well as the perspectives of the researcher were considered. Ultimately, one is unable to fully discount prior knowledge from guiding insight into the data to a greater or lesser degree (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Established research outlined within the literature reviews contained within this thesis, around the violence and alcohol use of military service personnel and veterans were inevitably linked to the analysis of data. Equally, my own biography can be understood as closely linked to the analysis of data employed and the shaping of themes therein. This links to the assessment and subsequent management of risk which represents a key aspect of both contemporary probation practice, therefore my professional career for 14 years, as well as various agencies across the CJS more broadly (Phillips, 2008). This overriding culture associated with risk awareness, assessment and management, can be said to have pervaded within probation practice, and as such, a natural leaning towards such ingrained concepts and the centrality of risk thinking can be seen within the thematic analysis employed within the findings chapters.

Risk assessment can be understood as a process through which the likelihood of further offences taking place (risk of re-offending) and/or the likelihood of a harmful act taking place (risk of harm) is evaluated (Canton, 2011). The process

provides an opportunity to identify and further interrogate the nature and characteristics associated with the specific risks posed by offenders. Furthermore, it offers insight into individual needs and protective factors as well as providing a mechanism to determine and subsequently implement effective intervention(s) to prevent future offending (Joyce, 2017).

The use of structured risk assessment tools, (e.g. OASys, OGRS, ARMS, SARA) allow professional judgements around such risks, needs and strengths of offenders to take place, across both an actuarial and clinical context (Kemshall, 2010). Such dimensions of risk and need are understood to be areas that align with and have empirical evidence to support their inclusion and links to the commission of offending. Whilst some commentators have challenged such evidence, particularly in respect to the Offender Assessment System (OASys) (Williams, 2010), the use of such tools are commonplace within CJS practice and represent guidance to identification of key risk and need factors. OASys, which represents the main generic case recording and risk assessment tool in probation practice, offers some insight into risks and needs that were prominent within probation practice, as well as shaping aspects of risk and needs thinking. OASys combines, amongst others, pertinent sections around 'Risk of reconviction and criminogenic factors'; 'Risk of serious harm' as well as a 'Sentence Planning' (Canton and Dominey, 2018). In particular, 'criminogenic needs' or risk factors, which can be understood as dynamic factors that, if suitably addressed, can impact upon the likelihood of offending, were pertinent within my thinking (Kemshall, 2010; Fitzgibbon, 2008). Factors such as 'Accommodation', 'Education', 'Relationships' and 'Mental Health' can be identified as articulated in my findings. Confident in determining such factors through both a thematic analysis, reinforced by such characteristics being familiar criminogenic factors within probation practice, such factors were engaged with and explored in an assertive manner.

Using a flexible, thematic analysis enabled prioritisation of the narratives of veterans, and the areas of importance outlined by this group. That they aligned with some traditional and established concepts associated with risk and need within the

OASys and therefore more broadly within the CJS can be seen to add to their relevance and trustworthiness.

Following the thematic analysis approach used to explore the key themes and sub themes emerging around DV, specifically IPV as the most common type of DV offence committed, and to offer a deeper and more comprehensive analysis around such a specific type of violence, an adapted form of the Nested Ecological model (Dutton, 2006), which I have termed 'The Military Informed Nested Ecological Model' (MINEM), was employed as an analytical framework. The introduction of the MINEM represents a framework to explore and illuminate aspects of IPV that can be understood as having been influenced by a military experience within a broader framework that has been employed to offer insight into the commission and rationale of IPV perpetration within a civilian community.

However, prior to the exploration of the model, it is important to outline definitional aspects of domestic Violence, thereby differentiating between DV and IPV. This is as IPV was the most common form of DV committed, and therefore, will remain the focus of both the remainder of the thesis as well as the MINEM.

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) can be understood as taking place across a spectrum of violence, which includes the commission or threat of one or more of the following acts:

- **Physical violence**- *including slapping, punching, pushing or shoving, hitting with a fist or other object, threatening or using a weapon (Ali et.al., 2016).*

- **Sexual Violence** - *including forced intercourse or alternative forms of sexual coercion (Heise and Moreno, 2002; WHO, 2012)*

- **Psychological violence** - *as can be seen within the 'power and control wheel (figure. 1). Psychological violence can constitute threatening and intimidating behaviour, economic abuse and isolation, intimidating, humiliating and damaging property as well as threatening to take children (Pence and Paymar, 1993; WHO, 2012).*

- **Controlling acts and behaviours** - which include restricting the behaviours and interactions of partners, with friends, family members as well as / or

seeking to isolate or monitoring movements and whereabouts (Heise and Moreno, 2002; WHO, 2012).

Alternatively, **Domestic Violence (DV)** can be understood within a broader context. Whilst DV includes acts outlined above and incorporates IPV, such violence can be extended to children or parents, or wider family members, thereby not exclusively pertaining to partners within an intimate relationship (WHO, 2012).

The Military informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM).

There remains little consensus around the aetiology of IPV. Whilst there have been a number of theories which have emanated from a wide range of various disciplines (such as psychology or sociology for example), these have often been perceived as 'narrow... single-factor theories' which fail to incorporate the 'complexity and messiness of real life' (Heise, 1998: 262). Psychology, psychiatry and sociobiology seek to offer insight into the characteristics associated with individual or groups of similar individuals with similar qualities, regarding their violence, for example, pathology or poor impulse control (Dutton, 2006; Heise, 1998). Social psychology seeks to explore and better understand the important relationships to the individual prior to exploring their behaviours, including that of social learning (Dutton, 2006). Sociology seeks to explore a broader context or setting in which violence takes place. Within the context of IPV, this is often associated with explanatory factors linked to patriarchy and gender-power inequalities or broader gender theory (Heise, 1998; Connell, 2005). However, many of these 'narrow single factor theories', emanating from such diverse disciplines, can understood as complimentary rather than in direct competition (Heise, 1998; Dutton, 2006). Combining such factors, where relevant, ranging from an individual's personal circumstances and experiences to their social contexts and influences, and then exploring how these various factors interreact, can be perceived as going someway to better understand the nuances and multifarious dimensions or levels of IPV.

Such an approach represents the central proposition of the Nested Ecological model (NEM) (Dutton, 2006). The model originates from an early study by Bronfenbrenner (1977) who sought to separate out various social influences on human development. The author located and set these influences out into three 'ecological spaces' or areas described as the; 'macrosystem', 'exosystem' and 'microsystem'. Belskey (1980) then applied this ecological approach to explore child abuse and neglect issues, adding an 'ontological' or 'personal history' dimension (Dutton, 2006). Thereafter, the framework, in various adaptations and guises, has been widely applied to provide insight and enhance understanding around the commission of IPV (e.g. Edleson and Tolman, 1992; Dutton, 1995, 2006; Heise, 1998).

Dutton's NEM, initially outlined in 1985 and then developed in 1995 and 2006, integrates psychological and social characteristics, to explore how 'more precise variables' such as the individual's developmental trajectory and their personal history and experiences, as well as attitudes and beliefs can be understood as developed from, as well as 'nested' within a broader set of contexts, namely wider social settings and influencing cultures, norms and values (Schumacher et. al., 2001). It offers a framework which highlights the interactions, across a range of potentiating characteristics, of the individual and broader settings across the social strata that contribute to IPV (Stith et.al., 2004).

Figure 1. The Nested Ecological Model (Dutton, 1995:2006)
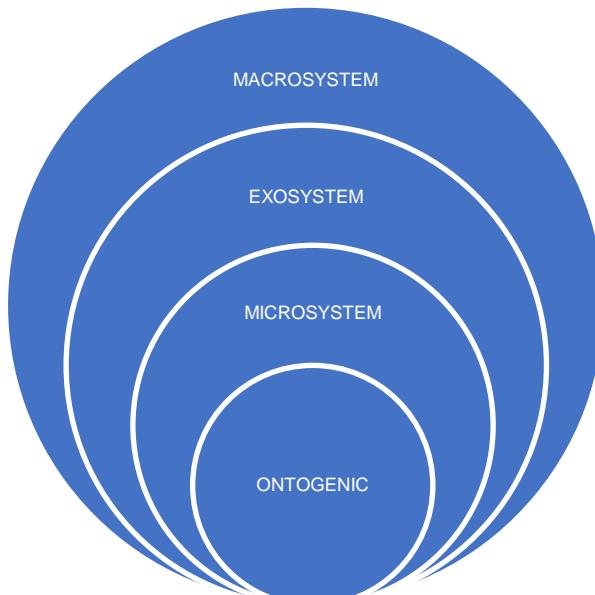
However, concerns were expressed by Heise (1998) regarding the absence (or lack of full integration) of a gendered perspective, particularly that of the sociological feminist perspective associated with IPV, across the various layers of the model. As such, Heise proposed an 'Integrated ecological framework' which incorporated the sociological

feminist perspective into the NEM outlined by Dutton (Lawson, 2012). Whilst, prior to this, feminist perspectives were understood to focus on macrosystem factors such as patriarchy almost exclusively, Heise argued that its integration was vital across the ecological analysis and required integration at various stages of the model (for example; to understand male dominance within the family at a microsystem level).

To understand the Nested Ecological Model (NEM) and its relevance to understanding IPV committed by perpetrators, it is first required to explore the four 'levels' or 'systems' of the framework. This will be conducted through initial exploration of the 'macrosystem' or general cultural values that exist, then moving forward to the 'exosystem', concerning formal and informal social structures, the 'microsystem' or immediate environment in which the violence takes place and finally the 'ontogenic' level, which is understood as the perpetrator's individual characteristics, experiences and background (Ibid; Ali and Naylor, 2013).

As can be seen in Figure 1., the interaction and interrelationship between these 4 systems, can be seen to create 'a web of relationships' (Edleson and Tolman, 1992: 12). It is within this web, that further insight into the commission (and complexity) of IPV perpetrated by the veteran offender can be unpicked and developed. Whilst there is room for interpretation as to were certain factors can be located across the four systems, the focus should remain at all times, on the 'dynamic interplay between factors operating at multiple levels' (Heise, 1998: 266).

The macrosystem encompasses the broadest analytical layer which can be understood as being associated with IPV. Primarily informed by the discipline of sociology, the macrosystem incorporates and analyses the general cultural values and belief systems which are relevant to IPV. It is within the layer that 'attitudes and beliefs are developed as a result of cultural and sub-cultural norms and values' (Schumacher et. al., 2001: 282). This has also been described as the 'set of blueprints at a cultural... level that dictates certain consistencies among similar settings' (Bronfenbrenner, cited in Edleson and Tolman, 1992). Concepts around patriarchy and expectations around masculinity and femininity or the superiority or inferiority of the sexes are perceived to be of relevance at this level. From thereon in, these

factors, often engrained consciously or subconsciously, can be seen to influence the various factors and structures further down the system (Ibid; Heise, 1998).

The 'Exosystem' is informed by social structures that have the capacity to influence at a community or social level. Formal and informal mechanisms of social control e.g. work groups, friendships or peer groups can be understood to play important roles at this level. Job stress and unemployment may also be understood to represent factors or instigators that could contribute to IPV (Dutton, 2006).

The 'microsystem' represents the factors and characteristics of the immediate environment in which the offence takes place. Often this is represented by the interactions and relationship within the family or partnership or within the household setting. 'Husband dominant households' or male dominance within the family, in which the male was understood as the authority around important decision making, such as having children or making expensive purchases, were most commonly the highest risk of IPV (Blood and Wolfe, cited in Dutton, 2006; Heise, 1998). This is understood as a result of a relational power imbalance coupled with a lack of acknowledgement or awareness of this imbalance. However, it was also found that, if the power imbalance leans toward a female partner, then such violence exists from female to male (ibid). Marital conflict also (predictably) represents a key aspect of IPV at this level. The frequency of disagreement, expectations around household labour as well as frequency of drinking by the male were found to be closely aligned to increased likelihood of IPV (Hotaling and Sugarman, cited in Heise, 1998). Equally, sexual jealousy and allegations of infidelity also represent common IPV risk factors (ibid). Furthermore, risk factors such as 'emotionally abusing a partner' and 'forcing a partner to have sex' yielded strong effect sizes. 'Past history of physical abuse' and 'marital satisfaction' were found to be moderate risk factors for IPV (Stith et.al., 2004; Heise and Moreno, 2002).

Finally, the 'Ontogenic' layer offers a conceptualisation of the unique developmental history perspective of the individual to the social aspects of the model. It incorporates the individual's characteristics, behaviours, cognitions and emotional responses. The value of this particular dimension allows a better understanding of the different learning experiences, exposures to violent role

models as well as emotional responses for coping with or reacting to conflict. At the ontogenic level, 'attitudes condoning violence', 'traditional sex role identity', 'alcohol use', 'depression', 'history of partner abuse' and 'anger/hostility' have been located as prominent risk factors within IPV (Stith et. al., 2004; Schumacher et.al., 2001). Nevertheless, whilst alcohol use can be understood as initially situated at the ontological level, importantly for the current study, such use can be understood to interact at all levels of this model (Stith et. al., 2004; Gilchrist et.al., 2014).

Figure 2. The Military Integrated Nested Ecological Model.
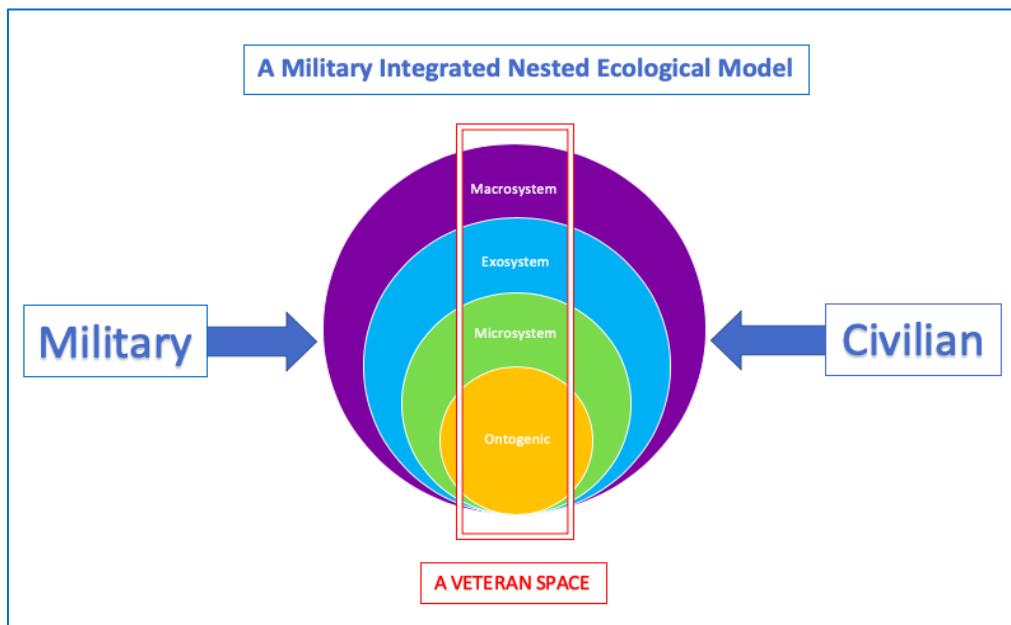
The MINEM, as outlined in Figure 2 (above), represents an adapted NEM framework to analyse alcohol related IPV conducted by military veterans within this thesis. By applying a military life course approach, made up of the biographies of veterans, a better understanding around the impact of militarisation and transition difficulties experienced by veterans can be gleaned within this context. Equally, a greater understanding around the liminal and complex space that exists at the centre of the MINEM and the impact of this clash of cultures and influences across a range of levels can be discerned with respect to each of the veteran participants around their commission of IPV.

'Trustworthiness' in qualitative research.

Research within a positivist tradition seeks to establish conceptions of 'reliability' and 'replicability' with a view to provide evidence around the quality of quantitative research (Bryman, 2016). Research within this paradigm context can be understood to be grounded within a realist perspective, in which a single, external reality exists that can be known through language. Furthermore, a variety of interpretations are unacceptable, with a single, valid outcome, which can be replicated, represents the goal or ultimate outcome. (Seale, 1999:41). However, qualitative research seeks to understand and generate knowledge that is grounded in human experience (Sandelowski, cited in Nowell et. al., 2017) and of which there can be more than one, perhaps several accounts (Bryman, 2016; 384). As such, reliability and replicability, within a positivistic sense, cannot realistically and directly apply to qualitative approaches (Seale, 1999). Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer an alternative set of criteria that seek to establish quality within qualitative research, namely; 'trustworthiness' which parallels the concepts of 'reliability and 'validity' (Nowell et. al., 2017; Bryman, 2016).

'Trustworthiness' is characterised by four criteria; 'credibility', 'transferability', 'dependability' and 'confirmability' paralleling 'Internal validity', 'external validity', 'reliability' and 'objectivity' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2016). By outlining the methodological arguments, techniques and approaches that are employed by researchers, trustworthiness can be evidenced (Nowell et. al., 2017: 3).

Figure 3. Trustworthiness Criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; taken from Seale, 1999: 45)

Conventional Inquiry	Naturalistic Inquiry
Truth Value (Internal Validity)	Credibility
Applicability (External Validity)	Transferability
Consistency (Reliability)	Dependability
Neutrality (Objectivity)	Confirmability

To ensure 'credibility', a form of 'respondent validation' or providing interviewees with a transcribed account of the interview, to confirm that it was an accurate account of the discussion that took place was offered to veterans, both verbally and within the paperwork sent to participants and reviewed at interview (Bryman, 2016). This transcription would include the interpretations and physical cues that have been mentioned by the interviewer. Such an option to review the transcript was taken up by one participant. As I was unable to forward the document electronically, due to the participant being in custody. I did not feel that it was appropriate to forward the transcript via probation or prison staff, due to issues of confidentiality. As such, I travelled to the participants place of work, as arranged through the Veteran in Custody Support Officer (VICSO) at the prison, with a view to go through the transcript, face-to-face, and discuss potential issues identified. Subsequently, no concerns were raised, however the veteran disclosed that he found the process a positive experience, allaying any concerns around disclosure and confirming that it was a true representation of the sentiment with which it was intended and recorded.

'Transferability' is concerned with the generalisability of the research conducted. As qualitative research seeks to explore the background of the individual(s) and their social context, providing a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) or a rich and detailed account of the culture and context or circumstances of those interviewed is required (Bryman, 2016; Braun and Clarke, 2013). Working hypotheses can then be established, 'associated with a description of time and context in which they were found to hold' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 316). This can be seen to have been achieved through extrapolating conclusions and articulating findings from the current research around the context of the military environment for example. Furthermore, this research will then form a basis for future work or replication, and in which future research can be conducted against (Gray, 2009; Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The 'dependability' of qualitative research refers to the logical, traceable and clearly documented (or audited) process applied to the current project (Nowell et. al., 2017). Comparable to the conventional inquiry criteria of reliability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) highlight that an audit approach, akin to that of a financial audit, can be applied to ensure procedural accuracy. To keep an 'audit trail' or records of all phases of the research process, alongside justification and rationale associated with each phase, offers the reader or auditor a better position to 'judge the dependability of the research' (Nowell et. al., 2017:3).

However, presently, the audit approach represents a less favoured and uncommon approach to ensure dependability (Bryman, 2016). As such, this thesis, in its entirety, represents the documentation trail to replicate this process. The articulation of the initial problem, namely the violent veteran and links to alcohol use, represents the starting point to which dependability can be outlined. Justification and rationale associated with the fundamental theoretical framework that underpins the ontological and epistemological perspectives as well as theoretical background associated with violence, alcohol and the veteran all represent dependability criteria that is logically and traceably evidenced within the first four chapters within this thesis, relating to the initial problem and research questions sought to be explored. Furthermore, the processes and rationale around research participant selection and engagement, outlined within the current methodology chapter, alongside the data collection and analysis process, can be understood as offering clarity and transparency to the thesis (Bryman, 2016). Demonstrating credibility also can be understood as furthering evidence or the reinforcement of dependability, which can be seen as evidenced earlier within this chapter (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Finally, 'confirmability' aligns to the quantitative concept of neutrality or objectivity and can be understood as referring to the authenticity of the research and findings being clearly derived from the data collected, rather than being impacted upon by the bias, personal perspectives or theoretical preferences of the researcher (Seale, 1999; Bryman, 2016). Demonstrating confirmability, is also to successfully achieve credibility, transferability and dependability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Nowell

et.al., 2017). Confirmability within the current research can be evidenced through the use of 'reflexivity', or critically exploring the researcher's impact on the research situation (Gray, 2009). Indeed, Lincoln and Guba (1985) outline that the use of a reflexive journal, detailing the research process, represents a technique to establish both confirmability individually as well as trustworthiness as a whole (namely across all 4 criteria).

A critically reflexive account of the current research can be seen to have been woven into the current chapter, characterised, for example, by my past experiences as a Probation Officer within the data collection section. Equally, further examples will be explored. Braun and Clarke (2013) outline that articulating aspects of one's identity, particularly when it is pertinent to the research topic can be an important reflexive consideration. The researcher, being a white, 38/39-year-old male (depending upon when the interview took place) represents a pertinent place to start, in that many of the participants included in the study were of a similar age and ethnicity. Concerns around discussing issues of violence and alcohol use as well as links to the military and associated aspects of the broader dimensions of masculinity were all issues of initial concern. In some circumstances, I was apprehensive that participants would seek to glean acknowledgment or agreement around the acceptability of violence or aggression, that it was normalised to some extent and that it was a way in which men could act to address problems. Furthermore, that violence against women and patriarchal attitudes more generally, may pervade, seeking for myself as a male to collude with such a viewpoint. Beyond this, concerns around violence within the CJS, particularly within the prison environment was raised. As it was perceived by some that violence was necessary as a form of self-protection or an accepted part of jail life, violence could be again framed through masculinity, and an area in which collusion could take place, on account of my gender.

Ultimately, it was important that, whilst exploring these issues with participants, they understood that the research was being conducted objectively. Emphasising that it was not a collusive relationship, in which illegal acts would/could be normalised was vital. Emphasis that the research project was a fact-finding

process with a view to better understand violence committed by this population was conveyed regularly. By not offering opinions, around the accounts being proffered or disclosing personal information around relationships, for example, focus on the information disclosed by participants was objectively accrued and not impacted upon by the interviewer. Equally, by remaining non-judgemental and not offering agreement or disagreement, the risk of 'distorting' responses can be understood as being minimised and enhance the willingness of participants to engage fully (Bryman, 2016). Again, as an experienced Probation Officer, I was familiar with this process, with over 14 years' experience of working around violence and substance misuse, remaining objective in seeking to explore both an account of an offence as well as a context (or thick description) as well as gathering a broad social history of an individual in an objective manner.

At no point did I refer to my previous career within probation during interview or in correspondence with interviewees. I was concerned that, should I have disclosed my previous role, rapport may have been damaged. This is as certain participants expressed high levels of distrust or even dislike of staff within the CJS. Whilst this was mainly the police and prison service staff, there was a concern that some level of trust may have been impacted upon, resulting in lower levels of engagement within interview and less rich data and insight yielded therein. Equally, 'Threats to validity' in which respondents falsify, exaggerate or otherwise respond in a disingenuous manner for example, may have resulted if I had disclosed my CJS history (Jupp, 2001). This may have been out of fear that I may have disclosed information to participant's supervising officers for example. Ultimately, the most important aspect of the research was the focus on the life stories of the veteran participants.

Some level of deception can be understood as involved within this process. (also see Wakeman, 2014). Whilst I would not lie about my past employment or biography, and, if asked, I would disclose my probation past, I did not volunteer such information. Indeed, at no point was I asked. I felt that this was ethically justifiable on the grounds that my research focused on the narratives of the veterans, which required rapport and trust with any interviewer, something that can be lost within

the power differential of the 'agent' of the CJS and the 'offender'. Nevertheless, reflexively, I recognise that I benefitted from this standpoint, in that I was in a position in which I had some 'insider knowledge' around the CJS process and experiences around which the veterans were undergoing.

Conversely, I was concerned around my potential 'outsider' status around not having a military background, representing something of a barrier to engagement (Braun and Clarke, 2013). I clearly articulated at the start of each interview that I had not served in the military, and that I wanted to understand participant's individual accounts and understanding. Whilst I learned some military terminology, to assist within identification of acronyms for example, overall, I felt that this level of candour and honesty provided the opportunity for participants to explain their experiences in more detail, based on the knowledge that I had very little understanding about what it was like to be in a military environment. By virtue of this 'dual status', of some 'inside knowledge' as well as an 'outsider status' (Wakeman, 2014: 711), I benefitted from instantly understanding CJS procedures, convictions and sentences, and, as such, I could focus my attention more formally around the military aspects (of which I had less understanding) as well as engaging in reflective and engaging interviewing.

Furthermore, I did not seek to proffer opinions around probation or prison routines, practice or intervention. This was both to avoid any conflict or concerns regarding perceptions individuals had of CJS staff, or to stifle engagement or candour as well as seeking to remain objective. The focus of the interview(s) was around veterans and their experiences, rather than myself and my opinions (or knowledge of the CJS environments) which may have shaped subsequent and ongoing engagement or objectivity.

Other, wider considerations for example, the impact of TR and the impact of the privatisation of part of the probation services, through which many of the individuals were subject to supervision from, formed an aspect of reflexive consideration. In particular, some case manager's use of interviews as a Rehabilitation Activity Requirement (RAR) session. The Offender Rehabilitation Act (2014) allows the RAR sessions to be used innovatively and flexibility, 'promote their (service users) rehabilitation and desistance.' (HMIP, 2017: 14). In that the research

sought to reflect on a military life course, explore for veterans their use of violence, alcohol and their experiences of military life, the session was an opportunity to engage with someone from outside the CJS, to explore these prominent aspects of their lives in a confidential manner.

Further ethical considerations.

The project was granted ethical approval to proceed by Liverpool John Moores University's Research Ethics Committee. This process ensures that the projects will observe sound ethical practices and place the psychological and physical well-being of those involved in the research at the core of the project's design.

The principles of 'Informed Consent' were observed through providing all participants with clear details on the nature of the project, its ambitions as well expectations of participants. This information was initially disseminated through an introductory letter (Appendix 4b) which was electronically sent to case managers to be passed on to veterans who met the criteria for the study, outlined on the case managers information document (Appendix 4a). The introductory letter outlined the intention of the research, expectations and length of the interview, and how to proceed about participation. A Participant information Sheet (PIS) (Appendix 4c) form accompanied the introductory letter. This document reiterated the purposes of the study and provided further details around the expectations of participants if they were to take part. The PIS outlined the risks and potential benefits of taking part in the project and sought to detail issues around confidentiality, emphasising the opportunity, and right, for individuals to withdraw from the exercise at any time, both during and beyond interview, thereby having their data disposed of and not used for research purposes (Bryman, 2016; Robson and McCartan, 2016).

For those veterans who took part in the interview, Informed consent procedures were reiterated and reviewed. This was both verbally, at the start and end of each interview, as well in written form, with the PIS, once again being issued to participants. Furthermore, a 'participant consent form' (Appendix 4d) was

provided at interview, which confirmed intentions of the research and informed consent information. Confidentiality issues were elaborated on this form, outlining disclosure issues, should a serious offence or harmful ongoing behaviour, be disclosed during the interview. This document also outlined how the data will be used and stored. Finally, confirmation that participant's probation records may be accessed was outlined. Each participant was required to sign the form, confirming their understanding and willingness to take part in the research at the start of the interview.

Within each of the above documents, confidentiality and anonymity were emphasised. Equally, assurances of anonymity were reiterated at interview stage, something that encouraged individuals to meaningfully participate in discussing experiences or practices within (or outside of) the forces as well as providing a richer or thicker account of their experiences. All interviews were anonymised upon transcription and individuals were allocated a pseudonym. All other identifying characteristics, such as locations or areas in which participants lived or served for example, were removed. Confirmation that the data would be erased from the digital recorder, following transcription, and the word documents saved within the password protected and secure LJMU computer system was then offered to participants. Furthermore, a copy of the recorded interview transcript (including the addition of handwritten notes) was available to participants to allow them to check for accuracy as well as an opportunity for participants to offer feedback, ensuring credibility (Bryman, 2016).

Participant challenges and potential benefits.

It was anticipated that some participants may find the subject matter distressing and/ or upsetting, given the sensitive nature of the subject. Beyond options to terminate the interview and withdraw being outlined to veterans, information was provided regarding support agencies and services available to veterans such as; the Royal British Legion, SSAFA, Combat Stress, counselling services (via GP), medical services, financial services, substance support services (See:

Appendix 4g). Equally, as participants were subject to community based or custodial sentences, they had the opportunity to discuss any concerns or anxieties with their Offender Manager, Offender Supervisor, VICSO or an approved Listener within their respective establishments which was again reiterated at interview. However, it was anticipated, at the start of the project, that most participants will have already confronted and discussed their offending and substance use with probation or prison staff, therefore the impact of revisiting this may be diminished somewhat, minimising significant upset.

Alternative to identifying potential challenges, there were also potential benefits to such research taking place. Interviews were perceived to be an opportunity to reflect and focus on a specific, potentially unexplored dimension of their lives, providing them with the opportunity to 'discover who one really is' (Plummer, cited in Hammersley and Traianou, 2012: 59) and even act as a catalyst to seek further support around this area (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012). Furthermore, it was perceived that involvement within the current research presented and opportunity for participants to contribute to a body of knowledge around factors that contribute to the offending behaviour of some military veterans within the CJS. Such an opportunity resonated with many of the participants, with a sense of camaraderie and affinity to the military community being described regularly, and many veterans expressing willingness to help other service personnel who have experienced similar problems.

Researcher challenges.

I consider that my experience of working within the CJS benefitted me immensely within this research. I also knew some staff members at various locations, furthering familiarity. I felt confident within the CJS environment, namely prisons and probation offices. I was aware of the protocols and expectations of professional visits and expectations of staff within this context. For example, with respect to probation interviews, I was required to sign into the building as well as into interview rooms with receptionist due to a risk flag of violence. I would check the geographical lay out

of the room prior to interview, with escape routes / alarm positions established. I was aware that Interview rooms are positioned in the building for quick evacuation. If there was only one door, I would position myself closest to this door, facilitating quick exit, should a confrontational situation arise.

Whilst I was aware of the potential volatility of some offenders, at no point did I feel concerned about my well-being or at risk. I consider that outlining and being clear from the start, around the nature of the interview and content, informed consent and confidentiality issues, were all factors that contributed to a respectful interview. Equally, I remained respectful at all times of the participant taking part in the interview, avoiding aggressive or confrontational interviewing techniques or body language, to minimise confrontation. Interviewees were provided with opportunities to stop the interview at any time, have breaks or terminate the interview. Interviewees were instilled with full confidence that they were in control of the direction of the interview.

Whilst working with service users within the CJS, I was aware of the legal responsibility to disclose offending behaviour or further admission around plans to commit offending behaviour. This was clearly articulated in writing and within interviews, with clarity and transparency. Whilst focus around the index offence for which offences took place within the context of conviction were already subject to CJS intervention, therefore could be discussed freely without concerns of disclosure, other offences for which convictions did not follow, for example violence during service life or beyond, were described by participants vaguely, without time and place specific details.

Final researcher reflections.

Formally gathering information at the point of interview, detailing certain participant demographics such as dates of birth, enrolment dates, areas of upbringing, for example, would have provided a more consistent and comprehensive participant biography section. However, I was concerned that this would take up too

much interview time, especially as I only had one interview, lasting around one hour. Equally, I felt that I could access such information from case managers. However, exchange of information via email was difficult due to confidentiality / sensitivity issues. Approaching case managers was also problematic due to being sympathetic of excessive caseloads, particularly post TR, with such additional tasks representing an unnecessary deviation from key priorities and demands. Ultimately, I did not want to further burden them (as I felt that I had already asked enough of them by identifying, approaching and arranging interviews).

Upon reflection, I regretted not having the opportunity to have conducted two interviews with each participant, to gather a more comprehensive life story. This may have provided the opportunity to focus upon broader areas, particularly around pre-military life, including more detailed exploration of upbringing, schooling, peer association, substance misuse, violence and aggression in school and outside as well as within the family.

Equally, and perhaps as a result of only one interview, my interviewing and subsequent analysis often took a deficit approach, when considering risk and need factors that lead to offending. Such an approach has been perceived as the traditional focus of risk assessment process (Whyman, 2019). However, an opportunity to explore further reasons for avoiding confrontation, to consider circumstances and protective factors that enhance the possibility of desistance, despite the presence of numerous risk factors, were (or were not) acted upon would have been a fascinating aspect of the research, adding further depth of understanding around the military veteran offender and their opportunities for desistance within the CJS.

Conclusion.

This chapter has detailed the methodological processes through which the current research was conducted. Whilst initially designed to incorporate both qualitative and quantitative approaches, the politically salient concern raised within the Phillips report (2014) and elsewhere (RBL, 2014) around the lack of statistics

surrounding veterans within the CJS, again prevailed, rendering the quantitative aspect of original mixed methods design being unachievable. As such, a solely qualitative approach was adopted. Nevertheless, the original intentions of the research as outlined to Alcohol Research UK and Liverpool John Moores University, on account of the funding conditions and expectations, were closely maintained.

Commencing with a broader rationale and outline of the project, key research questions and intentions of the project were articulated and framed through a qualitative lens, offering guidance and shape to the interviews and findings. Beyond this, the strategy around how veterans were recruited and invited to interview was explored, accompanied with a detailed and reflexive account of the fieldwork that took place. Biographies of the veterans that took part were articulated, before the chapter then turned to a detailed exploration of the fieldwork, regarding the interview and data collection processes. Again, a reflexive approach was taken in exploring the methods used, particularly around the interviewing and engagement techniques. Furthermore, attention was paid to pertinent political considerations as well as other barriers to effective engagement.

Upon the completion of the fieldwork period, the analysis of this data was then described. Employing a 'thematic analysis' approach, three, chronologically ordered overarching domains or areas of consideration, across the military life span were established. The first or 'military phase', detailed key environmental and cultural issues that aligned with violence and its various roles within service. The second phase, or 'transition to civilian life', explored identity and reintegration issues following transition. These were aligned to criminogenic areas of accommodation, employment and mental health issues, alongside the broader considerations around substance misuse. The final domain focused on the prominent offence of DV, in particular IPV, committed by participants. The MINEM was used as a theoretical framework to elaborate the various contributing factors to the commission of such an offence.

Reflexive and biographical considerations were also explored regarding the data analysis process, particularly around my own biography as a Probation Officer. Beyond this, the concept of 'trustworthiness', paralleling quantitative considerations

around 'reliability' and 'replicability', and representing as a concept to ensure quality qualitative research was detailed and applied to the current research (Bryman, 2016). Finally, ethical and political considerations were explored as well as the various challenges and benefits associated with the research.

Chapter 5: Violence and alcohol use in and around the military environment

Introduction.

The current chapter represents the first of three findings chapters which analyse the data generated during interviews with veterans convicted of violent offences in which alcohol was a criminogenic risk factor, as determined by probation or prison assessments. Initially, the research set out to explore the role of alcohol in the violence committed by MVOs within the CJS, post transition to civilian life. However, as an exploration of the life experiences of participants unravelled during interview, it became apparent that broader cultural aspects of violence and of alcohol use across the life course, and particularly within the military environment, were identified as important factors within the interviewees' lives, warranting specific attention and focus. Rather than solely exploring how the relationship between violence and alcohol existed directly, a broader investigation around these two areas of interest independently took place. The interviews explored how the two areas coexisted within the lives of the interviewees' and subsequently how and when these two areas of focus intersected.

Experiences around alcohol and violence became prominent for most participants during their recruitment into and experiences within the Armed Forces as well as beyond service life, and then further explored within the CJS. The focus of this chapter is around the period of participants' military service. The discussion explores participants' subjective experiences during military life, paying particular attention to areas associated with violence and alcohol use and how cultural aspects associated with these two areas were subjectively understood to individual participants within the broader context of the military culture and environment.

This chapter also takes into account the aspects of violence and alcohol within the military environment which can be understood within the cultural (macrosystem) and social (exosystem) dimensions of the Military Informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM). As such, this chapter provides a military cultural background and context

which will be considered within the analysis of IPV offences committed by veterans within the CJS (see chapter 7).

To this end, the following questions can act as guide points to the discussion:

1. *How was violence (namely the role and function of violence) understood by participants within the military environment and immediately outside (e.g. nights out)?*

2. *How was alcohol (namely the role and function of alcohol) understood by participants within and immediately beyond the military context (eg periods of leave)?*

3. *Did these cultural understandings (around violence and alcohol) coexist independently?*

4. *When and how did these intersect?*

The perceived legitimacy of aggression and violence.

Culture can be seen to be 'the stuff of collective meaning and collective identity' (Ferrell et. al., 2015: 3). The military sought to imbue a sense of 'collective meaning' around violence within training. The inculcation of well drilled and honed skills imbued into the recruit, conditioning them with an enhanced capacity to perform violence, represented a key aspect of soldiering for participants and therefore the military culture. Violence was accompanied by State endorsement, as it is the State that trains recruits, reinforcing the 'legitimacy' of such violence as a form of both State intervention and protection. It rendered violence normal, routine, even patriotic as well as fundamentally underpinning the perception of the role of the professional soldier.

The military also seeks to impose a 'collective identity' (Ibid) in ways that align with Goffman's (1961) notion of the Total Institution. The collectively 'shared characteristics' that make up the military culture can offer some insight into the imposed meanings around violence as well as the control imposed around violence and perceived transgressions within various settings (Ugwudike, 2015: 203). The

conditioning, acclimatising and the use of violence and its legitimacy take place within a structural setting which aims to shape and manage the meaning and acceptability around the use of violence for the recruit. Goffman (1961) refers to the 'mortification of the self' in which one's identity, prior to entry into the total institution, can be seen to be eroded. Attitudes around violence and aggression were identified by participants as important aspects of this process within the military institution. Whilst some participants admitted to engaging in violence prior to enlistment, in school or on nights out, this was perceived as transgressing the borders of acceptability within the civilian context. However, during military life, engaging in aggressive behaviour was determined as expected:

> *"That's what's drilled into you... when you're in training, it's drilled into your head: 'Be aggressive, be aggressive, be aggressive!" (Gordon)*

Various forms of violence were described by participants as having been committed or observed within (as well as immediately beyond) the military environment. Across this spectrum of violent acts, there are those interpreted as 'legitimate' or acceptable within the culture of the military (such as training around the use of violence to be employed within military context). However, there were other acts of violence, which strayed beyond the boundaries of being determined as legitimate as well as being outside lawful parameters (e.g. fighting within barracks or on nights out).

Indeed, to understand the use of, and rationale behind the determined forms of 'legitimate' violence and the spectrum of alternative violence that moves across something akin to a 'legitimacy scale', both within service and beyond, allows a better understand around the meaning of violence by (and to) the soldier whilst in service. It provides an insight into how a range of differing forms (and justifications) of violence can co-exist. It offers insight into who contributes to shaping these parameters. Equally, it allows insight into the consequences of the differing forms of violence, which can often determine acceptance or rejection, thereby reinforcing or castigating certain forms of aggression for the military recruit and further shaping the discourses around and the meaning of those forms of violence.

<u>'Legitimate' violence.</u>

Violent acts performed within the preparation for conflict and training, as well as deployment and engaging in conflict directly, all represented or were perceived as 'legitimate' forms of violence (Treadwell, 2016; Murray, 2016; Green and Ward, 2005). Violence in this capacity was understood to be a necessary aspect of soldering and therefore accepted unequivocally across the military institution. A proficiency in violence, often extreme violence, was demanded from each individual, and instilled within the training phase. This, alongside other associated traits of determination, fitness and commitment as well as a mental capacity and willingness to perform acts of extreme violence was perceived as fundamental part of training:

> *"They (the military) ... break you down from the start and try and rebuild you as a professional soldier that if it come to conflict, you're not going to flap (panic), you're going to go straight at the enemy ... My job role was just to kill... at close quarters, yeah, just get the enemy and kill them." (Joe)*

> *"Because you're training... you start to see people as targets... you're doing your job that you're taught to do... I've been trained for this.... and we're going to kill them first." (Phil)*

Training sought to inculcate this legitimised form of violence and preparedness to kill (Grossman, 2005; Brown, 2015). It provided recruits with both a physical and mental steel or confidence to use violence as well as breaking down (or the capacity to overcome) any barriers to engaging in such violence:

> *"In a way I thought I was untouchable... that's the kind of attitude and confidence that it used to give me." (Joe)*

The expectation of the professional soldier was to commit the most extreme forms of violence without hesitation or consideration of the consequences. Violence was being culturally reinforced as a key job role readily available to the professional soldier. It was reinforced through various formats (not just on the training field). It was subtle and unrelenting:

> *"... from the day you go to that basic training, they fucking train you... 'You're a fucking killer'... you're the tip of the spear, you're fucking brainwashed... And, you know, if you do your minimum time in the army, you're brainwashed for fucking 4 ½ years. Which is a long time to be fucking brainwashed! This ideology just pumped into you... You're getting threw all these fucking equipment (sic) that fucking kills people, you're sent on courses, you sit in classrooms, you know, you're trained up to the maximum, to fucking be ultimately, to go and fucking stab someone in the face... Because that's your job... that's the difference between you going home to see your family or not. And that's what they build you up to."* (Barney)

Being 'brainwashed' around violence and its acceptability removed previous, civilian labels and interpretations around certain forms of legitimate violence. A uniformity and collective understanding around the acceptability and purposefulness of violence can be seen to be established. Indeed, Barney refers to an 'ideology' of violence within the military. That violence holds a cultural and political message in which it is associated with legitimacy and was couched in the soldier's professionalism. To protect Queen and Country, to be willing (and capable) to use extreme forms of violence where necessary as directed by and for the benefit of the State was paramount. Barney refers to being 'brainwashed' by such ideology, whereby the readiness to use such violence became tantamount to automatic, when directed by authority. Moreover, by determining that the use of violence within conflict could be reduced to a binary decision, either resulting in the death of the soldier or the opposition, further cultural messages around violence as a necessity, as beyond a rational or logical choice and as morally justifiable is also evident. Not returning to see his family represents an emotive aspect to Barney's training, that humanises the plight of the conflict for the home soldiers, namely that family members may lose a partner, parent, son etc, whilst simultaneously 'othering' the opposition, dehumanising and rendering the use of violence as inevitable, unquestionable and necessary (Brown et. al., 2013, Crelinsten, 2003, Bryant, 1979).

Training within the Military Total Institution (Brown, 2015) also sought to desensitise the recruit around the actions and consequences of extreme forms of violent behaviour:

"...that's what the army life was... desensitise you to ... the bad things in life and turn you into an alcoholic! .... you know, they say; 'Right, here's a gun, shoot that target.' The target's shaped as a human, as a person. So, in your mind, you're shooting a person ... And, when you fix bayonets, the straw bale is shaped like a human body, and everything they teach you is about how to disable the human body, you know, using combat ... So, you just become desensitised to it and you think; 'Yeah, that's ok to do that." (William)

The desensitisation to extreme forms of violence, in which the repeated practice of targeting and disabling 'the human body' by repetitive acts of violence takes place and remains in keeping with the 'institutionalization of violent ideation' (Grossman, 2009: 254). The regular and culturally engrained messages around the acceptability of such violence and the subsequent minimisation around the consequences of such violence, represents further mechanisms of breaking down barriers associated with the act of violence and ultimately killing, for the recruit.

In contrast to the more accepted forms of violence that were politically and institutionally legitimised and constructed as a fundamental role of the soldier, participants revealed a range of alternative forms of violence within service. Examples include: discipline meted out by superiors for failure to successfully undertake a command; 'milling' or fighting in the barracks to resolve conflict; violence committed by other soldiers (to establish hierarchy amongst rank); violence during Initiations; witnessing violence being perpetrated in games and 'murderball', victimisation or witnessing bullying across ranks as well as violence on home leave or on nights out. All of these can be seen to contribute to a 'spectrum of violence' experienced within service. Such forms of violence were not formally authorised and therefore not perceived as strictly legitimate. However, the interpreted meanings around these forms of violence and how they were rationalised and accepted by individuals remains of specific importance in understanding military cultural violence.

Violence as discipline.

One particular example of such culturally entrenched violence within the milieu of the military was violence used by staff as a form of discipline or training:

> *"If you did mess up, it were (sic) custom to get a dig... so, you didn't want to mess up for your own pride, but also because you'd get a crack." (Peter)*

> *"In them days... we got used to it (violence committed by superiors). I mean, we used to line up against wall, and get hit, get punched and that... You take it as it comes. You fuck up, you're going to fucking get it." (Geoff)*

The above forms of violence can be seen to act as a 'training tool', to reinforce learning (or challenge a failure to learn) and therefore adding meaning to violence. Submitting to a culture where obedience is demanded and where violence and aggression is a method to secure compliance, often committed by a higher rank, can broaden the function and understanding of violence within the military, beyond that of conflict, to an appropriate mechanism to gain compliance (Bryant, 1979). Such violence can be seen to be normalised and assimilated as acceptable within the military environment (as seen outlined by Peter and Geoff). It was perceived as a standard and unchallenged mechanism to address problems around behavioural issues, to increase levels of conformity to the military rules and regulations and, in a broader sense, to develop the best and most efficient soldiers.

Nevertheless, such violence was also perceived as exploitative, with higher ranks being accused of victimising some participants. Violence was described as a way of confronting or challenging subordinates, and was often interpreted and understood within a context of bullying:

> *"... my section sergeant (name) was a bully. If a dog took a shit on (the) carpet, he'd batter me. 'Stand to attention.' But I was a rum (cheeky) bastard, so I'd stand back to attention in front of all of the lads and he'd just put me down and I'd stand back to attention. He'd hurt his knuckles more that it'd hurt my face. So, I'd just take it and take it and take it... and he'd come in pissed up (drunk) and I got it!" (Bobby)*

> *"... I've pissed off a petty officer... He used to take his epaulets off as if to say; 'I've got no rank on me now, let's (fight).'" (Alan)*

Violence could involve acts of intimidation and threatening behaviour or repeated and persistent violence, during formal working hours, and beyond. As such, this violence ceased to be employed as a 'training tool' but in many cases, was reduced to forms of bullying subordinate ranks. These behaviours were interpreted as techniques used by superiors to reinforce the use of violence (both individually and even institutionally) as an appropriate mechanism of addressing problems or even confronting personal differences or personality clashes (as can be seen within the example provided by Bobby). Equally, such violence can be seen to be yet another variation of desensitizing the recruit around the various aspects and roles of violence within the military.

Other forms of bullying were also acknowledged to have taken place, in which physical or psychological violence was employed. It was often described as indiscriminate, spanning ranks and frequently with limited reason or rationale:

> *"... (there was) a lot of bullying. I never got physically bullied, but I think I got mentally bullied... One lad attacked this lad who'd been in for years... and he was soft as shit, used to cry and stuff over nothing, and the army weren't for him... He was just standing in the foyer, and (another soldier) just attacked him, and nothing happened to him, because this lad's a shitbag ... it wouldn't have got took any further anyway. Army law is, it gets dealt with in house... If it happened on civvy street, he probably would have got jailed for it." (John)*

John outlines that the assault was serious in nature and could potentially have attracted a custodial sentence outside of the military confines. Yet, no consequences or repercussions around such violence were initiated or pursued within service. Through minimising the potential consequences and punishment attached to such violence for perpetrators as well as witnesses, levels of acceptability or tolerance around such behaviour can therefore be reinforced within the military culture and potential perceived as a mechanism to dominate or subjugate perceived weaker targets:

> *"I knew one lad who got seriously hurt by another lad, who took a dislike to him, and put him in hospital, but nobody grassed him up. We all said, you know, there's been an accident... because you don't*

William again describes violence being employed as a method of addressing an issue with a fellow soldier (*whether this was rational or otherwise)* with observers of the violence refusing to disclose any information for fear of repercussions. Indeed, disclosing or 'grassing' was perceived as less tolerable or acceptable than the act of violence itself and the fear of being labelled a 'grass' and becoming the future target of violence was less favourable. Equally, effective group cohesion and camaraderie remain key aspects of an efficient military, where teamwork, interaction and trust are highly valuable commodities (James and Woods, 2010). As such, the potential impact of 'grassing' on a member of the unit, and the subsequent impact on the group as a whole was determined as a priority over the victimisation of the individual soldier.

What can be perceived as something of a subcultural code around the use of violence and the acceptability of bullying is evident within the above quotes. Such a code, similar to that within the prison estate as espoused by William and others, can be observed as maintaining an informal structure within the military, with violence perceived as a key and fundamental aspect of this control and order (see Toch, 1998). Furthermore, consequences attached to the use of violence, for example the threat of reprimand or charge, present as minimal, thereby breaking down barriers to the continued use of violence in the future. Additionally, it once again reflects a further erosion or desensitisation around the use of violence beyond the context of the professional soldiers' role and formal training.

Violence to resolve issues and establish order.

Another example of violence being used as mechanism of addressing problems within the military milieu, was through the use of 'milling'[2]:

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[2] *'Milling is one minute of controlled aggression, similar to boxing, but with a few important differences. There is no ducking, no weaving, and no fancy footwork. Just taking hits and dishing them out' (Walker, 2016).*

"...(if) everyone agrees to it, you are all adults, it's a milling session. If two people have got a problem, they want to sort it out, let 'em get it in, get in the bloody ring and do the milling. Yeah, and then over and done with at the end of it... That is a good way to vent aggression. If you can do it on somebody, rather than on a punch bag. I mean don't get me wrong, a punch bag feels good, to do that, you've probably done it yourself.... When someone's pissed you off, it's amazing how good it feels to actually punch them instead of a punch bag." (Jim)

Jim highlights that 'milling' offered participants an opportunity to resolve confrontation or animosity through the use of organised violence. Two soldiers would voluntarily enter the boxing ring, wearing boxing gloves and appropriate protective clothing, and fight for 'bouts', usually of around one minute each. It was a practice that was organised by superiors; therefore, it can be seen as yet another form of reinforcement at an institutional level of using violence to resolve conflict or animosity within a military culture. Milling (therefore violence) represented an appropriate medium to resolve ill-will between soldiers. It represented further insight into the desensitisation to the use of violence to resolve conflict, as well as an effective method to address pent up emotions, 'vent aggression' or satisfy a need to use aggression to quell the feelings of frustration within camp. Equally, it was a sense of entertainment for other personnel, who, in many instances, could observe the bouts (Blake, 1970; Bryant, 1979; Davies, 2017).

Milling can also be seen as a highly masculinised process. Violence is perceived as a more appropriate or default form of conflict resolution, rather than verbal communication of feelings or emotions for example. Indeed, this would be perceived as non-masculine or weak, rejecting the typical military masculine cultural stereotype which includes idealised versions of the soldier as risk taking, tough, disciplined and a masculinity closely aligned to an absence of emotion (Hutchings, 2009; Karner, 1998). Such violence also represented a further opportunity to display masculinity or 'manhood' within an organisational context (Kimmell, 1994: 132). The willingness (and desire) to enter the ring and fight reinforces and replicates a sense of manhood within the military setting as well as an opportunity to establish hegemony amongst recruits. Milling can be seen to reveal the most competent

fighters, thereby providing an opportunity to enhance reputations, standing amongst peers and dominance or hegemony within the military environment more broadly (see Connell, 2005).

Whilst milling was often determined as a 'safer' mechanism to settle conflict, fighting on the barracks was also referred to as taking place as yet another format to resolve disputes between peers:

> *"... say for instance, if they're (soldiers) having drinks in the block. There can be a disagreement, and they'll have a fight, in the room, or they'll go outside and have a fight. I think it's just a normal. I think you get that everywhere..." (Peter)*

Resolving a problem by fighting within the barracks reflected an alternative option within Peter's account which was commonly accepted within the company he was in. It was perceived as 'normalised' and, as with the milling session, offered opportunity to address problems, and reinforce a sense of masculinity and manliness. Equally this could be perceived as yet another opportunity to establish a hierarchy or hegemony amongst the soldiers.

Indeed, violence can be seen to represent a method of gaining compliance and establishing dominance over peers (usually those perceived as weaker, whether this is mentally or physically). Furthermore, it can be seen as an opportunity to establish hegemony or enable an informal hierarchy amongst those of the same rank within the barracks:

> *".... So, you'd give him a slap. It's just like a family. Because a hierarchy has to be sorted out between privates, never mind the NCO's. When you're in your company, platoon, section, you've got a hierarchy.... there's somebody who's got to be... not in charge, but sort of, instinctive... have instinctive leadership skills. Because, if you're leaving it until after that training and something happens... how do you know you're going to be able to trust that kid? If you're in ... if the shit hits the fan, and you've just battered this fucker next to you, is he going to watch your back?" (Mo)*

Here, Mo outlines the use of violence as a way to coerce others into adhering to an informal hierarchy and a form of social order within the early phase of training.

The acceptance of such violence (and bullying) presents, not only as an acceptable form of self or group-regulation but also it can be seen to be closely aligned to and considered within the context of masculinity. Violence can be seen here to represent a performance of power and domination (Ferrell et. al., 2015) within a military setting. Violence can be seen as communicative in that, not only does it seek to physically dominate, but also seeks to denounce and degrade others who are victims of this violence, subjugating others' status and position within an informal hierarchy or a sub group within an institution that is, itself, ordered around rank and hierarchy. The subgroup exists within a broader institution which, in circumstances outlined within this chapter, has itself made use of illegitimate or unsanctioned violence to physically dominate, denounce or degrade.

Violence as a form of displaying and expected masculinity.

As the examples above illustrate, the meaning of violence can be as much symbolic within the culture of the military as physical. Violence can represent an action or symbolic display of power and authority, which can be employed by superiors within the institutional hierarchy. Equally, it can act to maintain a position of authority amongst members of the same rank alongside maintaining a sense of order. Furthermore, it serves to replicate and reinforce a sense of masculinity that has been so readily associated with military life (Hinojosa, 2010; Messerschmidt, 1993; McGarry et. al., 2014).

As outlined within Chapters 2 and 3, military service can be seen to offer recruits such resources for the construction of a (hegemonic) masculine identity in which dominant forms of masculinity are promoted and revered and subordinate forms of masculinity are subjugated and repressed (Connell, 2005). Risk taking, emotional control, discipline and toughness represent some characteristics that have been identified as aligning with masculinity and military ideals as well as the willingness to use aggression and violence (Hinojosa, 2010; Messerschmidt, 1993).

Recollections of military life for most participants included pertinent insights around masculinity and its links, both to violence and alcohol. Fundamentally, the

military was perceived as a hyper-masculine environment in which those who did not meet the characteristics outlined above were either ejected or were required to adapted to life within the services:

> *"... Yeah... you can't be a wimp, you know. By definition, you don't want wimps.... that's what the basic weeds out." (Jim)*

> *"...Man up or fuck off..." (Geoff)*

Masculinity was perceived to be closely aligned to much of the violence used during military service. In its rawest form, the preparation and training outlined earlier within the chapter, to engage and ultimately to kill in service (a role predominantly reserved for the infantryman) can be seen as the ultimate test of soldering and of masculinity (Hockey, 2003). Indeed, it is important to outline that participants were mainly drawn from the infantry regiments, therefore an 'idealised warrior ethic' can be seen to prevail, namely someone who would be prepared and willing to engage in conflict whenever and wherever it is required of him (Higate, 2003).

However, aspects of military masculinity were also identified as important beyond the legitimised role of the infantry soldier. To maintain a highly masculinised reputation around being tough, fearless and unwilling to back down, even in the face of adversity, applied to the barracks as well as in conflict (and beyond). The willingness to use violence and aggression, as an informal mechanism to establish (or challenge) hegemonic order, which has been outlined earlier within this chapter, can also be understood as a mechanism to facilitate a (hegemonic) masculine identity amongst peers within the military setting:

> *"... I think what stopped me from getting bullied was this mask I had on... macho, bravado. So, people were always a bit wary... they didn't know whether to push me too far." (John)*

John outlines that to employ a 'macho, bravado', which he used as a method to resist subjugation, was also seen to be a form of masculinity that was revered within the military. His willingness to be aggressive and confrontational *minimised* the risk of being bullied or exploited. The willingness and capacity to fight in cultures

of masculinity, have been identified as measures of worth and self-worth (Toch, 1998). A sense of self-worth can be seen to have emanated from displaying physical prowess, either through fighting and displaying bravado, or through and enhanced physical stature and presentation:

> *"After that (fighting with others in barracks and winning) I was like the hero… 'Any shit and John will sort you out!' And it felt boss!! Do you know what I mean?" (John)*

> *"... I done a lot of weight training, joining up as a junior rank, you get a lot of shit, so ... I wanted to be seen as someone who could look after myself.... In some ways I might of (have) become the opposite to ... being bullied in school, I then become more of the enforcer, ... maybe a bit of a bully in some ways." (Alan)*

Violence can be seen as something of a commodity within the military, to be used, both as a form of protection and self-preservation as well as a form of power, control and subjugation of others. It was something that could be used (or threatened to be used) by an individual or on behalf of another with a violent reputation (e.g. John). Furthermore, body image, within the context of a measure of self-worth and imagery, reflects an important aspect of masculinity. John recalls using steroids and Alan worked out in the gym, both to enhance a muscular physique that could reflect masculinity and a physical prowess, as well as minimise the potential around being bullied or even facilitate bullying process.

Further examples of conventionally perceived masculine traits associated with military personnel included fearlessness**:**

> *"I think it's the testosterone. It's the macho-ness of; 'Right, I've been to fucking war ... I don't give a shit how big and hard you are, I'm going to stay and fight.' And that's generally what a soldier's mentality is like. 'I ain't running from nobody. I'm staying, I'm fighting and I ain't going nowhere!' (Peter)*

The military requires (and inculcates within training) characteristics closely associated with masculinity. During combat, a soldier is required to display courage and a fearlessness that ultimately will enable him to engage with the enemy. '*...To go straight at the enemy ... and kill them' (Joe).* However, such a mentality can apply,

not only to combat, or even conflict with fellow soldiers necessarily, but can be applied within and across the social strata. Any form of challenge or confrontation can be met with a display of bravado and a fearlessness that can result in violence in a wide variety of circumstances:

> *'If you're in the army, you've got to expect to fight no matter what. If you're in the barracks or on an exercise. I mean you could be anywhere... you could be in the pub, anywhere.' (Mo)*

> *'(The soldier) is trained not to back down' (Peter)*

Violence within the military environment and the involvement of alcohol.

Prior to exploring the links between violence and alcohol, it is important to highlight perceptions around alcohol and its consumption within the military setting. Alcohol was understood to be a fundamental aspect of military culture, with a 'drinking culture' referenced frequently across interviews (Fear et. al., 2007; Henderson et. al., 2009):

> *"...the army has got a drinking culture ... no ifs or buts about it ... The Army would organise things and there was always drink. Even if it was just the Platoon drinking night out, or a company night out, or whatever, or Battalion boxing, or a Corporals' night… there's always booze involved with the military." (Barney)*

Upon joining, the presence of alcohol was described as a structural mainstay, in which functions, celebrations or events organised within service involved alcohol. The use of alcohol was described as performing numerous roles, from celebrating 'passing out' or promotions, marking birthdays or whilst spectating sporting events or even accompanying formal meetings in the NAFFI. It was also a form of socialisation when not on duty, something to look forward to at the end of the week and a chance to escape a disciplined and structured military environment. Alcohol use was also depicted as a military cultural *phenomenon*. It represented *more* than something that simply accompanied sociable pastimes. Rather, it was part of a military identity for many of the interviewees. It was something 'squaddies *did'*, often more frequently and excessively that their civilian counterparts:

"Drinking is in our, it's part of our culture, you know, it's part of squaddie culture is somebody who drinks." (Jim)

"... it's a big drinking culture when I was in... we drunk more, definitely.... Because, if you didn't, back then... you was a puff, there was something wrong with you, yeah: 'Why don't you drink?' Do you know what I mean?" (Mo)

Such consumption of alcohol was described as expected. To join the military was to fall into a revered culture that held traditional stereotypes linking excessive drinking and the military man (Teachman et. al., 2015; Henderson et. al., 2009). It was a pastime that one was expected to engage in and be part of for the majority of interviewees, something that was passed down from military generation to military generation, and to be carried on:

"Yeah, we drink far more than what civilians drink yeah ... even back in the '80s and '90s ... the army ... was known as big drinkers wasn't they... We still are known as that, and I think what we're trying to do, we're trying to follow that on." (Matty)

The use of alcohol was often couched in a generational context for participants, with many seeking to explain their experiences around alcohol in service aligning with a particular cultural period of time. Many started sentences with; '*In my day...*' and '*I'm not sure that it's like that now...*'. However, despite many serving during different eras (between the 1980's to the present day) there remained a consistency around expectations of alcohol use.

Alcohol was perceived as a mechanism that could assist and hone what is understood as key aspects of the military, namely comradeship and loyalty (Donnelly, 2015). Socialising with alcohol at the epicentre was understood to provide an opportunity to become better acquainted with fellow soldiers as well as encourage and deepen the bonding process:

"...it's... a bonding thing. They (the Army) use it as a bonding thing. But it's not a good thing. Because alcohol, as we already know, it brings out the worst in people. ...Even people who's never been violent before, never hurt anyone in their life and never would want to hurt anyone in their life, through drink, have done it." (Paul)

"...going out and socialising... that brings you together with people, makes you tighter with people, and you understand people more. Even though you are with them all the time anyway, you see a different side to them, you don't see the work side to them... But, then... as soon as you throw alcohol into anything, you've got a heightened chance of something happening... something going wrong, someone getting out of hand, inhibitions go..." (Barney)

It can be seen from the above quotes that alcohol was interpreted as an institutionally and culturally approved form of enhancing both bonding and camaraderie within the military (Browne et. al., 2008). Whilst this was determined as positive, the increased risks that accompanied the excessive use of alcohol, namely an increased potential for violence, were often perceived as a counterpoint to this positivity, even jeopardising the original intentions of using alcohol to galvanise the soldiers and enhance the socialising process. Such violence could often occur within the context of confrontation amongst military personnel. Alternatively, such camaraderie could be heightened, if confrontation with others (e.g. civilians) took place, seeing recruits unite against a collective adversary (as will be discussed further into this chapter).

At the very outset of discussing alcohol related violence, it became clear that individual aspects or expectations around violence associated with alcohol use were elicited by participants as problematic. Alcohol was commonly determined as a substance that removed one's sense of consequential thinking as well as increasing one's confidence and sense of self, thereby occasionally leading to violence. Indeed, alcohol use has frequently been perceived as a mechanism to enhance confidence (Graham and Wells, 2003).

Alcohol was understood to disinhibit the effective and rational thought processes regarding avoidance of confrontation. It was described as a drug that resulted in the consumer discarding inhibitions, which could lead to the increased possibility of confrontation taking place across a range of social settings. Claims have been similarly made within the context of 'The disinhibition model' in which a direct causal relationship exists between alcohol consumption and violence. This model outlines that alcohol has an anesthetising effect on inhibition centres in the brain,

which can control socially unacceptable behaviours, in this case, fighting (Graham, 1980). Whilst this may represent a contributing factor, Graham maintains that such an explanation alone is not enough. It can be understood to be deterministic, as not all people who consume alcohol subsequently commit violent acts, therefore requires further mediatory factors to explain this complicated link.

Importantly, expectations around consuming alcohol and then committing acts of violence present as an important dimension expounded within the exemplars of Paul and Barney. The 'expectancy model' suggests that the learned beliefs regarding an individual's behaviour may determine their behaviour following alcohol use (Lightowlers, 2015a). In this case, if soldiers expect to act aggressively, following their consumption of alcohol or have a permissive attitude towards violence, it may increase the likelihood of such behaviour taking place (see Quigley and Leonard, 2006; Taylor and Leonard, cited in Graham et. al., 1997).

Nevertheless, it is obviously difficult to determine whether the expectations alone are enough to determine alcohol related violence. It is more appropriate to integrate participants *expectations* around violence, as has been suggested by Graham (1980) with further mediatory factors, including that of cultural dimensions of military and civilian life, when seeking to fully understand the potential factors that precipitate alcohol related violence.

Initiations.

A regular reference to alcohol use and service life was that of the 'initiation' process. The initiation was perceived by many to represent a fundamental aspect of military culture, which held a traditional reverence as well as providing essential insights into a recruit's character, stoicism and commitment to the group:

> *"... they're part of the army them. That's not going to happen without the Army. Without that ... it's not the Army." (Matty)*

Drinking *"...concoctions of beer or ... urine..." (Matty)* was determined as a method of revealing the character of a person, therefore the process of initiations

provided valuable insight into the character of the soldier and their capacity for loyalty and commitment to the institution as well as fellow soldiers. Initiations were perceived as traditional mainstays of the military process, which was accepted and assimilated by recruits as a fundamental aspect of military life. Violence was also elicited by interviewees in their recollections around initiations, often seeing alcohol and violence converging*:*

> *"... there were a couple of lads... thought because I were a red-arse (a new soldier) and I'd just got to Battalion, they could come in pissed up and give me a hammering... because you were new, you know, so, on day, this and I got up and give them a slight hiding. (we) Goes to... parade next morning with black eyes and I'm stood there like and they never touched me again..." (Bobby)*

> *"(on the first night) ... I got my head stoved in (assaulted) because I was the new guy... (and) because they (established soldiers) were pissed up. Because they were drunk... and at that time, you could get away with it.... they ... just came in and gave me ... a good hiding, yeah!... I kind of expected it because, me brother had already forewarned me anyway, so, I kind of anticipated it, but it still wasn't a pleasurable experience! But then the next night, I waited on the edge of my bed with a cricket bat." (Peter)*

The combination of alcohol and violence were evident as part of a similar process for both Bobby and Peter. Due to their new soldier status, they were subjected to violent victimisation following the aggressors' consumption of alcohol. Peter's brother, who had joined the service years earlier, had 'forewarned' him about the potential of such an initiation, therefore eliciting a sense that such aggression was not uncommon or even normalised as an acceptable 'tradition' within the military environment and culture. Likewise, and as a result of this process, violence was quickly assimilated as a method to be used to reduce the future risk of drunken violence, thereby to establish violence as an appropriate mechanism to counter aggression from others.

Other forms of initiation were disclosed in which alcohol related violence were aligned to the military culture. Initially, Alan was reticent around discussing

initiations whilst being recorded, stating that some were 'disgusting' and only offered his own experiences as it was 'not too bad':

> *"... blind boxing... that's not too bad to talk about ... I was blindfolded and thrown into the mess deck, 30 x 30, and someone threw a keg of beer at me, split my... yeah... but, you just... you've got to show face!" (Alan)*

Closely associated with these alcohol related acts of violence was a sense of loyalty to the military tradition, with the initiation ceremony being perceived as a 'rite of passage' (Jolly, 1996; Hockey, 2003). It also presented an opportunity to display a sense of loyalty even to those who committed any acts of violence. Disclosure of such acts to superiors was not an option (as 'grassing' was less tolerated that the violence that preceded it, as outlined early within this chapter) and even the concern around disclosure during interview reveals something of a lasting and deeply ingrained sense of loyalty that was established within the military environment. It was also perceived that the meaning associated within this cultural tradition was able to establish whether recruits could *"show face" (Alan),* achieve and maintain levels of the appropriate masculine traits, such as bravery, stoicism and resilience as well as being prepared to fight back, to use violence as a defence mechanism and challenge any form of confrontation where necessary.

Beyond the military environment.

Culturally, some acts of violence have been deemed by participants as acceptable, state legitimised behaviour within military confines. Equally, other forms of violence, which are seen to transgress the borders of acceptability within service, for example within discipline or establishing hegemony amongst peers, were tolerated or minimised (or not even acknowledged) and often resulted in limited (or an absence of) punishment. A military identity around violence can be seen to be one that accepts (or 'brainwashed' into accepting) that violence is purposeful, organisationally instrumental and justifiable. It was seen to be reinforced constantly, subtly or overtly by superiors and peers alike. Yet, what about violence beyond the

military walls? Where and when does the soldier stop being a state sponsored and therefore legitimised instrument of violence and simply become a violent criminal?

It is important to acknowledge that the soldier constantly passes between two cultures (namely the military and civilian environments) and in which acts of violence are defined and responded to in different ways. The cultural messages that soldiers receive in the military around the use of and acceptability around violence are different to those of the civilian. In the same way that those soldiers that are trained to inflict extreme violence, as well as having various forms of what can be described as 'unlawful' violence minimised or tolerated in service. Such violence does not receive the same protection outside of the military walls, namely when committed within a civilian environment, albeit with some exceptions, such as the involvement of the military police rather that the civilian police (as will be explored further within the chapter). There is, therefore, the scope of ambiguity or confusion in the minds of the men around the cultural acceptability of violence which can (and often does) take place outside the military environment, on periods of leave or nights out.

Alcohol as a form of escapism and 'time out'.

When considering at which point military cultures associated with violence and alcohol intersect with a civilian environment, it is first important to highlight the role that alcohol plays for participants outside of the military walls. Alcohol was perceived as a coping strategy or form of escapism whilst in service and an accessible form of stress relief for many during their military career. It was cheap, readily available and, as previously outlined, accepted as a fundamental aspect of military life for most:

> *"If had anything worrying me, I'd turn to the alcohol, because in the Army, a lot of things would worry yer, or you can't go home and see your family, so you'd have beer then." (Matty)*

> *"you get depressed and you have a drink... (to cope with) ... the pain and the things you've seen and the things you go through, the flashbacks you get..." (Dave)*

Dave explained that he would drink to cope with recollections of witnessing fatalities of fellow soldiers within conflict or unearthing dead bodies within deployed service (Jacobson et. al., 2013; Lightowlers, 2015b). The experiences of extreme circumstances and subsequently coping with these situations (something that was perceived as expected of the soldier) as well as being separated from family and friends (or people who felt you could talk to), combined with a highly masculinised culture (Higate, 2003; Hockey, 2003). Opportunities to articulate feelings or engage with peers around such experiences were perceived as being unavailable or potentially problematic for one's standing within the military, resulting in alcohol use being perceived as a form of escapism and a coping strategy.

Equally, the domestic lives of military personnel were not suspended during their service. Of course, to submit to a total institution does not fully remove an 'outside world'. During interviews, relationship breakdowns and problems within family life would also be seen to contribute to some interviewee's excessive drinking:

> *"... Me and her split up and I, er, decide that I don't want to go out anymore, to meet anyone else, to enjoy myself with my mates... But I just want to get shitfaced in the NAFFI." (Aaron)*

Equally, increased levels of alcohol could potentially lead to increased levels of violence:

> *"...I ended up getting divorced in the military. Me being in military basically killed the relationship... that didn't help me ... I started getting more violent then. Drinking even more. I did start a few fights." (Paul)*

The two responses to relationship breakdowns above both include the increased use of alcohol. With Aaron, the availability and opportunity to regularly drink within the military environment prevailed. The excessive use of alcohol became a form of escapism, to avoid relationships in the future and the potential pain and disappointment associated with such emotional investment. Whereas with Paul, alcohol and violence resulted following his separation from his partner. Paul

articulates that his increased alcohol consumption was accompanied by an increased use of violence. He admits to initiating some conflict and in other situations he recalls reacting to violence in kind. Paul describes resorting to violence as something that was not 'part of his personality' prior to joining the forces, thereby allocating some responsibility to his military experience. Alternatively, many participants considered alcohol as an acceptable form of escapism or downtime from the hyper-disciplined, regimented military environment (see Atherton, 2009). Referring to McAndrew and Edgerton's (1969) work around drunken comportment, Graham (1980) refers to drinking situations that can be culturally agreed upon as 'time out' occasions. Nights out for interviewees provided the opportunity for 'time out' from military life and were often characterised by excess, 'binging' and revelry. Such excessive consumption, usually starting at Friday after work and would take place across the weekends, was regularly reflected within interviews:

> *"...that where the binging comes from, definitely... Friday night, bang! People are out... they just need that escape.... everyone needs some sort of addiction /escape and I think alcohol is one of the only ones you can have in the military." (Kenny)*

> *"... I was going all over the country, drinking in bars... and all the women was there, renting hotels with the lads and getting absolutely smashed all weekend and not going back 'till the Sunday night." (Matty)*

Displaying key characteristics of a Military culture following alcohol use.

Despite the observations that such nights out in the NTE offered a form of escapism from the MTI, the strict regimentation of the military environment and a place to forget one's stresses, it also represented an arena in which key characteristics of the military identity could be honed and developed.

'Time outs' were articulated to consist of behaviours that can be understood as closely aligned to a heterosexual masculine profile. These time outs from the military were often characterised by excessive (therefore 'manly') and competitive alcohol consumption (Hockey, 2003, Karner, 1998):

"It was, it was like a competition... work hard, play hard, even on exercise, we'd be saying; 'Right, what are we doing this weekend? Or ... Going up to (place name) and go on a right bender ... see if we can go 3 day without any kip!' (laughs) ... and boom, boom, boom... you just drink yourself sober." (Steve)

"...like, erm, lads being lads, like, all trying to out-do each another. See who could drink more. Even though it was, it's not a good thing at all, because it was like seeing who could damage their body quickest basically." (Paul)

To consume excessive amounts of alcohol and competitively drink more than your colleagues or civilians to evidence hegemonic or higher-level masculinity. To evidence stoicism through not requiring sleep. To drink so much that you no longer feel the intoxicating effects of alcohol. These all represent masculinity inherent in soldering evidenced within the social environment (see; Higate, 2003; Hockey, 1986; Karner, 1998).

Often, this excessive alcohol use was accompanied by the 'ardent pursuit of women' (Hockey, 2003: 23). Again, this represents highly masculinised behaviours befitting of the hyper-masculine soldier. Morgan (1994) argues that that masculinities represent a fundamental and key element within the military identity construction and suggested that this can be manifested through misogynism, particularly as the service is made up predominantly of men. Higate (2003: 36) outlines that misogyny, whilst often being associated with the hatred of women, can also manifest itself through the objectification of women, where men can assume their power over women or represent women as passive sex-objects. Indeed, during interview, perceptions around women, especially during nights out, was often sexualised, therefore steeped in a masculinised context:

"You're probably going out, pulling birds and getting drunk." (Phil)

"The squaddies are putting their arms around the (civilian) girls... before they've even said they want a drink... because they're drunk... inhibitions are gone." (Paul)

"... as soon as you get alongside, you start drinking, and you drink to the extent that you know, sometimes passing out, or you end up in a brothel... so whoring it is big ... you know, I don't like saying

that word, but that's what they used to say in the Navy about going into Brothels." (Alan)

The pursuit of female attention, sexual encounters (legal and illegal) and the display of unwanted and provocative behaviour (e.g. Paul) can all be seen to represent misogynistic attitudes of which Higate (2003) refers to. Referring to women as 'birds', employing unwanted physical contact and attending brothels all subjugate the positioning of women, providing services to men on their terms and within their timeframes, and reinforcing the 'patriarchal status quo' (ibid: 37).

Excessive alcohol consumption and pursuit of women was described as most prominent during weekends following soldiers' receiving their monthly salary. Describing themselves as 'weekend millionaires', participants would seek to spend large parts of this pay on the same weekend, displaying wealth and excess, which was disproportionate to their income, on highly masculinised pursuits:

> *"You get paid that lump of money and you've got a weekend off. Oh, it's gone! Hookers (prostitutes) beer, you know what I mean." (Bobby)*

> *"To a young lad that's come from nothing, or from deprived areas and get £1,200 put in your bank ... and that's when we'd go out... and you're going to buy all this flash champagne and go to the strip bars and all that." (Matty)*

The 'weekend millionaire' mentality was perceived as possible as budgeting and the need to consider the payment and management of bills and living costs were removed from the soldier. Many participants recognised that they were over-reliant on the military for accommodation, food and other key provisions, therefore their salary could be spent immediately on hedonistic pursuits. Often, such excess would result in loss of control, with some participants recalling that they would go absent without leave (AWOL), which would usually result in military incarceration following their return:

> *"... going AWOL all the time. I was always partying all the time. We were all out in the pub, the platoon, and I didn't come back... come back for about 2 week(s) ... that's when I met my first wife, and I stopped at her house." (Geoff)*

> *"I did 3 months in there (Military Prison) ... for going AWOL for a bit that ... partying a bit too much!" (Luke)*

An interesting paradox presents itself here, in that what may be considered quintessential characteristics of military masculinity, namely, being in control, being able to handle one's drink, stoicism etc, can be seen to be eroded by the spectacle of the NTE. The 'visceral pleasures and seductive hedonism of the nighttime carnival' represent too much for some soldiers, who can lose control and fall foul of military expectations and boundaries, failing to return to their military life (Winlow and Hall, 2006: 96).

Importantly, the NTE is also an arena in which alcohol and violence can often coalesce. Research conducted around identity, consumerism and violence within the NTE with a civilian population by Winlow and Hall (2006) found that whilst violence may have represented an 'unwanted digression' from pleasurable experiences, such as excessive alcohol use, seeking sexual encounters and enjoying the environment, it has been accepted as inevitable and 'part of the show'. However, with many of the military personnel interviewed, violence represented a firm *expectation* of 'the show' alongside the same pleasurable experiences:

> *"...we'd always be scrapping... if you was there (in camp) the week, you'd go to the local town and I'd guarantee there's going to be trouble against the civilians, we're going to be fighting..." (Matty)*

> *"Fighting) would be every time you were on leave, or on the weekend if you stopped (in barracks)" (Geoff)*

Whilst the NTE was perceived as providing a site for pleasure and excitement, particularly aligned with alcohol related violence, it also offered an environment in which expectations and prominent characteristics of the military job role could be displayed. It was perceived by some, that alcohol related violence represented a somewhat informal part of the training delivered by superiors:

> *"**Gordon**: We used to have corporals or sergeants who would say to you, like; 'if you don't come back with a black eye, you'll get jail when you get back.'*

> *JM: And what do you think they meant by that?*

> *Gordon: Get out and start fighting!*
>
> *JM: Why would they want to do that?*
>
> *Gordon: Because they're training you to be aggressive."*

Gordon recalls that alcohol related violence on nights out represented an opportunity to develop and hone skills learned within training around the use of violence. It was perceived that violence and the aggression associated with training should not be exclusively restricted to and managed within the military environment, but that it was perceived by superiors as acceptable, if not expected, beyond the military milieu. As such, it broadened the remit of violence into the civilian arena, within the NTE representing a suitable environment for such violence.

Tacit endorsement of violence within the NTE by the military hierarchy was perceived by numerous participants. Paul recalls his commanding officer being 'blasé' about a brawl which he described as a large-scale 'riot' which saw numerous forces personnel and civilians fighting following the use of alcohol the previous evening. Paul explained that fighting within such environments was deemed acceptable if you were not caught or were victorious:

> *"The next morning, the Colonel got us all out on parade... People stood there with black eyes, cuts all over their noses... The Colonel said; 'Right, can't be having this fighting anymore, you've got to calm down, but I hope we won!'" (Paul)*
>
> *"If they got into bother... we got; 'Who won?'... If you won, you'd be alright!... They had to be seen to be doing something, but at the same time, they were going; 'Well done!'" (Neil)*

Violence committed in pubs and clubs was perceived as institutionally tolerated if not formally designated as acceptable. As such, direct instruction or, at the very best, ambiguous messages received around alcohol related violence within a civilian setting can be seen as institutional endorsement. This was further opined by individuals during interview, outlining how such violence would often be kept 'in house' which may be perceived as further implicit acceptance by the military hierarchy that alcohol related violence was accepted, even expected (as outlined by Gordon) and would not result in serious sanctions:

"...if anything did kick off, the military police would come and get you, yeah, and the civvy police wouldn't have anything to do with it. The military police got us off, quite a fucking lot..." (Steve)

"...the army, they have their own rules and they'll deal with their own shit." (Arron)

"... So, it's kept in house, so then you get, you think, oh yeah, we'll get away with it... you're going to be in front of ... the sergeant Major, but you're not going to go to jail, you're going to get community service... well you're probably going to get a fine, but not as much as you would get out... and you wouldn't get a criminal record either... you'd only get a record in the army, so you know you'd be able to push it..." (Matty)

Overall, participants referred to a diverse range of incidents perceived as forms of tacit acceptance around the use of violence following alcohol use, directly or indirectly within the military. Overall, such reliance on the military institution as a protective factor was understood in the sense that soldiers (unlike civilians who may have also been involved within the conflict) could be shielded from a civilian justice system. It was perceived that military justice was less harsh or impactful (if it took place at all) with consequences of such offending behaviour being perceived as minimised and underplayed. Indeed, whilst consequences of civilian justice may have been more severe and formalised sentences, potential loss of employment and/or reduced employment opportunities within a civilian setting in the future, the less harsh approaches meted out within the military context may have contributed to the minimisation and lack of consequential thinking around the use of aggression and violence within the NTE by some soldiers.

The soldier as victim.

A link between alcohol and violence can be understood to exist within the context of the perception of the soldier, or more broadly the military, by members of the civilian population. Depending upon whether this was a positive or negative perception, would determine whether they were subsequently victimised. This was articulated by some participants within the context of soldiers being confronted and

challenged by civilians. This was usually within the context of the NTE, often in locations which were geographically close to military barracks:

> *"... we had a couple of lads who got battered, in (place name) because they knew the barracks was there, and a couple of ours got beat up, simply because they was (military personnel)." (Gordon)*

Participants explained that civilian's preconceptions around soldiers were often negative, seeing them labelled as confrontational, troublesome and threatening. Equally, some referred to the behaviour and reputations of military personnel in the past which cemented such a reputation and subsequently impacted on future perceptions of serving soldiers and their relationships with local civilians. This was perceived to enhance resentment around their presence as well as restrictions around entry to pubs and clubs. This was seen by some as a form of stigmatisation (Goffman, 1963) of the military personnel which could result in their being threatened with, or the victim of, violence:

> *"...sometimes we'd go to clubs and that, and because of past people, and how they carried on, some locals just hate you before they met you... And er, I've been attacked a few times by civilians, out drinking like. Like, one lad, I asked him if he had a light, and he stuck the nut on me! Head-butted me..." (Paul)*

Paul contents that he was attacked, simply due to his military status, without provocation or warning. However, such a 'flash point' can act as a catalyst to further violence within such a setting. This is particularly so when considering the military culture and ascribed identity characteristic of loyalty and group cohesion. Within the context of 'the set', or the group and its collective personality (Zinberg, 1984 see Appendix 3a), the military unit can be seen to display a sense of group loyalty 'par excellence' as per their military training. Military camaraderie, togetherness, unity and conformity all represent fundamental aspect of soldiering (Brown, 2015) and run through the core of the training experienced by participants. Equally, the effective training in and use of violence also represented a key dimension of this training for participants. Attitudes and behaviours, perceived to be initiated by pockets of the

civilian population, could represent a catalyst to a wider scale confrontation, involving other military personnel and civilians;

> *"...if you see one of your lads being jumped, you jump in don't you?" (Geoff)*

> *"... when one of your mates is, you feel he's getting a bit of grief, you've got to stand up for him and you stick up for him. But, when you're sober, you can talk about things in a normal manner. But, when you're drunk, you're not going talk about things in a normal manner, you're just going to... automatically use violence, because, you're in the army. Violence is what runs the army really." (William)*

> *"If he's getting shit, you're going to back him up, no matter what..." (Mo)*

'Group loyalty', which has been seen to be important factor linking alcohol and violence within civilian populations (Tomsen, 1997) can also be seen within the military culture and a fundamental aspect of the military identity. A military loyalty or camaraderie can be seen to be a central aspect of the link between alcohol use and violence, particularly when challenged by the civilian population on nights out. Furthermore, group loyalty fortified by a military instilled sense of fearlessness can further enhanced the potential for confrontation:

> *"Say you've got 5 soldiers, you could have 10-15 normal lads on the street and those 5 soldiers won't give 2 shits, they'll stick together, and they'll bind... 'I've been to war, I've been shot at, I've been through a hell of a lot of shit... I ain't scared of you!'" (Peter)*

Simply to be identified as a soldier could result in civilians seeking to test your capabilities around violence:

> *"... if you're a squaddie, you're a hard bastard... so come on, let's see what... let's see how hard you are!" (Gordon)*

This perception was couched within the civilian's understanding of the squaddies' occupation and perceived reputation around proficiency in violence. Such violence can be understood in a decidedly masculinised context, in which civilians sought to establish or impose their own 'masculine social identity' or 'male honour'

(Tomsen, 1997) within a military presence. To test the soldier who is often perceived as hyper-masculine, around his often-revered capacity for violence, commonly perceived as a hyper masculine trait, is an opportunity to display power which holds a greater stock for the civilian if successful, enhancing their self-esteem and masculine social status (Graham and Homel, 2008; Kimmel, 1994).

Other perceptions around masculinity, were also intimated by participants around why civilians displayed such confrontational attitudes towards the military group or set. Civilians were accused of being '*jealous*' of soldiers regarding their inability to adhere to the discipline of the military environment as well as being unable to achieve or 'push themselves' like the soldier can (Matty, Jim). Such characteristics have previously been closely linked to military masculinity, namely stoicism, discipline and endurance (Hutchings, 2009). Civilians were accused of being envious of female attention squaddies received or took exception to soldiers seeking to attract the attention of females on nights out (Dave, Trevor). Hockey (2003: 23) highlights that the infantryman's role in particular emphasises heterosexual prowess, usually manifested through; *'the ardent pursuit of women (which) accompanies the collective drinking... (and) provides fertile grounds for brawling and public fracas.'*:

> *'...Girls knew that we were in the forces...erm, and we used to get attention and then, the lads ... they'd start getting into scrapes and things like that. (Trevor)*
>
> *'They're just out for a good time, and maybe meet women, but that's another thing. I've known lads try to get off with women, obviously, they've been out with their (civilian) fella, like that, and then that's got into fights.' (Paul)*

A 'Squaddie mentality'?

Perceptions around the soldier representing a target and a potential victim of violence was prominent within the accounts of participants. However, it was also regularly acknowledged that the behaviour and demeanour of soldiers, particularly on nights out, could also be disruptive, provocative, confrontational and problematic in and of themselves:

"... (you) can tell army lads a mile off!... They're not very well liked because they don't behave very well to be quite honest and I've been guilty of that as well.... It's like, er, obnoxious, arrogant, ignorant... to civilians.... pushing them out of the way, pushing in front of them... getting served before them. Just silly stuff." (Paul)

The behaviour and demeanour of soldiers within the NTE was often recognised as a catalyst to alcohol related violence. In turn, such behaviour was closely associated with characteristics that were referred to as making up the '*Squaddie mentality*'. Participants suggested that the Squaddie mentality consisted of sense of confidence or even aloofness as well as a feeling of superiority over others:

"... once you're a squaddie, you think you're better than everyone else anyway... you don't fucking stoop to their level and stuff like that, you know. But, truth be told, we were fucking 10 times worse than them (civilians) you know..." (Steve)

Not only was this sense of superiority considered over the civilian population but would also extend to fellow soldiers and regiments on nights out. Being better or superior and evidencing this through competitive confrontation was reported as common:

"There was a lot (of fighting) between regiments...always seeing one was better than the other!" (Neil)

A 'healthy' level of competition was perceived as important from an institutional perspective and would be tolerated and abided. It offered the opportunity to enhance and develop the fighting spirit or the 'esprit de corps' and reinforce the unity between regiments, a vital aspect of military culture (Brown, 2015; Bryant, 1979). Such competition could also be understood within a masculinised culture. The competitive use of violence following the consumption of alcohol can be seen to provide a further opportunity for soldiers, who have competence and skills around the use of violence and the willingness to use such skills, to dominate and subjugate other individuals as well as regiments, both physically, but also reputationally. It offers the opportunity to espouse a hegemonic

masculine identity and position within (and outside of) service for both the individual as well as the regiment, reinforcing or challenging regiments who were perceived as superior:

> *"I think the army always wanted to know, let you know ... who the main boy is! I think like, the culture of the drinking and the violence... was acceptable... They'll put up with so much." (Aaron)*

Embodied within the squaddie mentality was also a propensity towards the employment of 'squaddie banter'. Participants perceived that this excessive and often deprecatory from of 'banter' was a more extreme form of civilian humour. It was recognised as provocative and could often result in confrontation:

> *"But it's the squaddies version of pulling your leg, it's more severe than civilian." (Jim)*

> *"Just thought we'd go down there and we'd all banter...we got barred from (Place name) once!... and we went to (Place name) and got barred from there. That was for fighting...one in all in… I mean, that were like, it wasn't just the platoon what would go out and get barred, it were like a company." (Geoff)*

As such, specific cultural aspects of military life were highlighted by participants as potential contributing factors to the commission of violence, within the NTE. A 'squaddie mentality' and all of its composite parts (as outlined above) coupled with 'squaddie banter' present as exacerbating the likelihood of violence being committed by the military personnel within a civilian environment. Furthermore, little recrimination would take place regarding alcohol related violence between soldiers. It was purported that it would be highly unlikely that a soldier would approach the police to make a complaint (military or civilian) or report an assault. Equally, it was likely to be 'laughed about' dismissed or resolved the following occasion the fighters met, usually over a drink:

> *"It was more enjoyable to have a clash with other regiments. You'd be on parade with each other the next day and laugh about it!... The next night you could go by someone a pint in the NAFFI. 'Sorry about last night, there you go.' So, it's all done and dusted, you know." (Bobby)*

"It doesn't matter what happens… you could have fights. You can fight with someone, and 10 minutes later, you'd be laughing about it." (Gordon)

Once again, evidence of a military mindset coupled with a perception of a military institution that was tolerant of many forms of violence in a range of environments. Violence, particularly following the use of alcohol, was seen as acceptable or even commonplace between soldiers. It was perceived as behaviour that would attract very little recrimination. Even when it did, punishment was perceived as notional, particularly in comparison to civilian life, in which it was regularly acknowledged that similar forms of violence would potentially result in a custodial sentence. It was likened to family disputes, and it was unlikely, unless very serious injury resulted, to be taken any further, again reinforcing acceptability and normalising the use of alcohol related violence as a mechanism to resolve disputes, and address issues between colleagues.

Conclusion.

This chapter has critically explored how various cultural aspects of violence and alcohol use within the military environment have been shaped, honed and developed over a military career for participants. The differing forms of violence that have been employed and observed within service can be seen to represent a spectrum of legitimacy. Such violence presents as spanning the State legitimised use of violence within a professional capacity, such as lethal force within combat, to various forms of 'illegitimate' or unauthorised violence, such as some violence committed within the NTE, or within the barracks, employed to resolve disputes or establish hegemony and order. Equally, there represents a 'grey area' in which institutional tolerance of certain forms of violence was disclosed to advance broader military goals of instilling a military identity and develop various skills associated with violence. This was particularly so within the infantry regiment.

Certain key ideologies that contribute to this process were also explored. Ideologies around; 'military masculinities'; 'discipline and authority' and the

inculcation of 'group cohesion' and 'esprit du corps' (see; Cooper et. al., 2018; Wadham, 2013; Hockey, 1986, 2003) were central concerns within this process. All of these facets that contribute to military culture and the development of a military identity, in particular a 'squaddie mentality' have been seen to shape the range of violence that has taken place within military service in various ways.

Alcohol use within service also represented a strong cultural consideration for participants. Its role and function within service, as a form of escapism and coping strategy was often accompanied by other motivations, such as masculinised forms of competition and group bonding. Furthermore, some of the violence that has taken place within service has been committed following the use of alcohol and/or within environments that are closely associated with alcohol consumption. Important aspects of the alcohol / violence relationship were explored, such as 'the set' and 'the setting' (see; Graham et. al., 1997; Zinberg, 1984; Tomsen, 1997). Equally, cultural aspects around alcohol related violence were explored and developed within a military capacity, adding nuance to more traditional theory.

This chapter has also acted to contextualise the various aspects of violence and alcohol in the military environment within the cultural (macrosystem) and social (exosystem) dimensions of the Military Informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM). As such, this chapter has provided a military cultural background and context which will be considered within the analysis of IPV offences committed by veterans within the CJS (see chapter 7).

The following chapter builds on this understanding around cultural aspects of violence and alcohol within a developed military identity to explore the experiences of participants' transition to civilian life. The analysis will identify how the legacy of military service and the inculcation of a military identify impact on individual's journeys and shapes aspects of their use of violence and alcohol within the civilian world.

Chapter 6: Post transition experiences of violence and alcohol by veterans in civilian life.

Introduction.

This chapter shares the experiences of transition to civilian life for veterans. Initially, the immediate journey from military to civilian status and the varying levels of preparation alongside problems with acclimatisation associated with this process are explored. Complications emerged regarding the immediacy, definiteness or even shock that veterans experienced during and within the initial aftermath of transition, often with little preparation within service. Equally, the acknowledgement of a limited timeframe in which to fully and coherently acclimatise to civilian life was recognised as challenging. Furthermore, the journey of adapting to civilian life was impacted upon by an absence of key military characteristics which were instilled and deeply ingrained within service life and relied upon by service personnel. Familiar characteristics such as discipline, structure, purposefulness and camaraderie, which were referenced as reassuring and important to veterans were absent and the removal of these characteristics rendered transition to civilian life problematic.

Typified by an initial sense of dislocation and loss, veterans can be seen to have struggled with the process of rebuilding a life outside of the military walls, encountering and subsequently adapting to key areas such as employment, relationships and accommodation. In this regard, the chapter turns to explore some of the broader barriers and difficulties that veterans experienced post transition. These have been arranged around three overarching themes of; 'Accommodation and Homelessness', 'Employment and Employability' and 'Mental Health and Help Seeking Behaviour'. Consideration was then given to the associated barriers of support seeking in respect of these issues which represented an additional and often uniquely significant obstacle for veterans. Ultimately, the links between these key themes and their association with veterans' alcohol use and their implementation of violence will be considered within this chapter.

The chapter deepens the underpinning ambition to critically explore how the legacy of military service and militarisation - and the inculcation of a military identity and associated culture - have impacted on participants' life course. The primary focus here is how these experiences shape veterans' use of violence and alcohol within the civilian world with the following questions acting as guide to the discussion:

1. *How has the veteran experienced transition to civilian life?*

2. *What barriers to transition have been endured and how have alcohol and the use of violence been employed within this context?*

3. *How has a military experience impacted on subsequent alcohol use post transition?*

4. *How has a military experience impacted on subsequent violence post transition?*

Furthermore, this chapter highlights that these areas can be understood within the macrosystem and exosystem dimensions of the Military Informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM), will be considered within the analysis of IPV offences committed by veterans within the CJS (see chapter 7).

Transition from service and an ensuing sense of rejection.

Of the veterans interviewed, six left military service before serving at least 4 years. Of the rest, ten served between 4-8 years, two served between 9-12 years, three between 13-21 years and one veteran completed 22 years (over 2 terms). As such, a significant majority were not classified as 'Early Service Leavers' (having served less than four years), a group who are perceived as having poorest mental health issues and most significant problems post transition (Binks and Cambridge, 2018). The most common age to join was 17, with six participants commencing service life at that age. Five jointed at 16, five at 18, three at 19, one at 21, one at 22 and one at 25. The most common (mean average) age to leave the services was 23.

Five left service aged between 18-21, eleven aged between 22-25, three between 26-29, two between 30-33 and one left aged over 34.

In terms of reasons for leaving, eight were 'dishonourably discharged' in respect of illicit drug use (3) or going Absent Without Leave (AWOL) (4) which was predominantly due to excessive alcohol use and socialising or 'partying'. One participant cited the commission of Grievous Bodily Harm with Intent (Sec. 18 OAPA 1861) whilst in service as the reason for his dishonourable discharge.

Four disclosed being 'medically discharged', with two sustaining physical injuries from service; one during training and one when competing within the military gymnastics team. One participant was discharged following a diagnosis of PTSD and another following a civilian car accident. Most of those who received an 'honourable discharge' left upon completion of their contractual time period. Those who volunteered to leave the service recall no longer being willing to adhere to the discipline, felt that they wanted a new challenge or to secure a career in civilian life.

The commencement of the process or journey back to civilian life was identified as problematic by several participants. Many felt that there was a lack of support from the military institution. Preparation for civilian life was something that many felt should have commenced during their service life, and well in advance of discharge, yet this was not the case. The experience of transition for many of the group was akin to abandonment or rejection by the military. This attitude was consistent across the differing forms of discharge:

> *"As soon as you say you've had enough (want to leave) ... 'Alright then, well, there's the gate, fuck off... There's another 300 ... been in the recruiting office this week... we don't need you... fuck off and don't forget to hand your kit in!'"*

(Mo – served contract – 'Honourable Discharge')

> *'When you're dishonourably discharged, that's it, you're just gone, they don't care.'*

(Nick – 'Dishonourable Discharge' – Drug use)

> *"It was a case of; 'Right, we're finished with you now, go on, fuck off!'... I come out the army and nothing was done for me whatsoever."*

This sense of rejection represented an important consideration across interviews. Paul was injured in a car accident during service and was medically discharged following an 18-month period of hospitalisation and rehabilitation. He recalls not being contacted during this time by the Army. He described a sense of rejection around no longer being useful to the military and recalls feeling abandoned. Equally, he recalls a lack of support around making the transition back to civilian life, finding the process difficult, especially following an injury. The impact of being 'forgotten', of no longer being useful and subsequently rejected by the military palpably impacted on the men's mental health and well-being:

> *"… I never heard nothing from nobody for 18 months… like I'd just been forgotten. I was still getting paid, which was nice, but I wouldn't have minded a bit of support. And that got me depressed as well…. And… start drinking more and everything…. I were injured… I were no good to them!" (Paul)*

Describing himself as 'depressed' as a direct result of this rejection, Paul's self-esteem and confidence were eroded post transition. An increased use of alcohol followed, which represented a familiar coping strategy to overcome these pervasive emotions, commonly employed within military service (see Chapter 5). Yet, the sense of being rejected was not solely restricted to those who were medically discharged. Many veterans recall not receiving any substantial support post-service and turned to increased levels of alcohol use as a mechanism to cope with transitional issues:

> *"I didn't have no support when I come out from the Army themselves, they didn't give me no transition. It's alright for them to make me as I was, but to put me back into civilian life, there was nothing in place for that. To ween me off or to come out and check how I'm ... So, without their support, what I did, I was drinking my problems thinking; 'Ah fuck it, I'll just have a beer' … just to forget about my problems. But what happens then is all the little problems ... the financial difficulties, they were always on my mind, but what I was doing, was I was drinking, but they was always there the next day, which caused depression, and because I was depressed, I was drinking again." (Matty)*

Matty outlines that, not only was there a failure on behalf of the military to prepare or effectively transition veterans back to civilian life, but that the military can be seen as directly responsible for having made him *'as he was'*. Specifically, he referred to the use of alcohol representing a militarily approved coping strategy for the various emotional and practical problems encountered. Such an approach post transition, acted to exacerbate problems, to which he considered led directly to his offending behaviour and deterioration in mental health (to be explored further in chapter 7).

Furthermore, many veterans indicated that they had invested so much of themselves into the military. They had shed a civilian identity, immersed themselves fully into the military culture and, as a consequence, garnered a powerful military identity. At the point of transition, they felt inadequately prepared and found themselves returning to a culture they did not fully recognise or understand anymore. Many felt that they were unable to effectively traverse this new culture, especially in the absence of some form of support or guidance:

> *"I wasn't really getting what civilian life was about." (Aaron)*
>
> *"I just couldn't settle in and all that and it was doing my head in." (William)*

Many felt 'lost' or struggled to adapt to civilian life. Well-established cultural associations around alcohol use as a coping strategy, problem solving mechanism and form of escapism in service became evident post transition as a result of this feeling of loss (see chapter 5). However, this was without any of the structure, discipline and order that in-service drinking could be mediated by.

The loss of a military structure and other military characteristics.

Whilst there was a prominent alcohol culture within the military, for many participants, leaving the Armed Forces environment was a precursor to increased levels of alcohol use. Over reliance on a disciplined environment, in which recruits unquestioningly followed order, was proffered as a reason for both a form of

controlled drinking within the military and subsequent lack of control thereafter for some participants. Submission to the Total Institution and immersion into military life was seen to curtail the opportunity for excessive and/or persistent alcohol consumption for recruits. For most, alcohol use can be understood within the context of 'binge drinking' within service, in which the consumer drinks excessively, usually over a short period of time, with the intention of intoxication (Newburn and Shiner, 2001, NHS, 2018). However, following service-life, and in the absence of such a definite structure, alcohol use became a more regular and pervasive feature of many participants lives:

> *"I drank more on civilian street than I did in the Army. Because sometimes, like, you'd be on guard all weekend, so you ain't going out. So, you can't drink while you're on guard, because if something happens, you'd be, you'll be kicked out the Army, or you'd go to Colchester (Military prison)." (Dave)*

The men reflected on how various aspects of being in military service served to (somewhat) minimise the risk of persistent and pervasive alcohol use. Post transition and away from the pervasive influences of military culture many experienced an increased use of alcohol:

> *"When I got home... I wasn't getting it (anger) out anywhere. The discipline, getting me out in the morning, going for... a run, I didn't have that there for someone to come and do it, so I was just drinking throughout, I was drinking in the morning and all the way through the night to the mornings." (Matty)*

Matty also outlined that military service offered an outlet for various emotions, primarily that of anger. It was an environment that effectively channelled anger, into what can be understood within the context of a constructive and well-respected job role. The military can be seen to provide a legitimate and respectable environment in which 'robust activities' that took place acted as an alternative coping strategy to that of alcohol. Such opportunity for a 'legitimate outlet' was then removed following discharge from military life. Indeed, this was rather swiftly removed, following Matty being dishonourably discharged following drug use, and

therefore increased levels of anger, resentment and frustration all culminated in the increased use of alcohol post transition.

The physicality of service life bought with it a discipline that served to regulate alcohol use. Excessive (or daily) alcohol use was regularly curtailed (for most), due to the potential impact of such use on the next day's exercise and work in general. Following transition, the same level of institutionally imposed self-restriction was absent, thereby resulting in increased levels of drinking:

> *"...but when you're in civilian street, what do you do? You drink, you feel rough in the morning... you don't go for a run, you just head towards that fridge, and open another can..." (Dave)*

This structural absence also saw alcohol use shifting to excessive drinking around the clock for many participants. Whilst in service, a more traditional 'work hard, play hard' narrative was established, with a Monday to Friday, 9-5 working routine being adhered to (James and Woods, 2010). Following this, a weekend of downtime, consuming alcohol within the binge drinking context could be observed. However, many participants highlighted that without this steadfast routine, their alcohol use changed to drinking at different times of the day.

> *"... it was in the evening basically, that's when I was drinking (in service) and when I came out, it started to become first thing in the morning." (Trevor)*

Surrendering autonomy to the military institution via enlistment was also understood as absolving aspects of one's personal responsibility around alcohol use. Some participants struggled to conform to the typical or traditional drinking format in the Army, post transition:

> *"It (civilian life) was totally different. It really was. Being able to do what you want. I think that's why I ended up drinking, because I could!" (Steve)*

Relinquishing autonomy and individual decision making to the Military Total Institution (Brown, 2015) was perceived as a mechanism to also control one's alcohol

intake. Once removed, through leaving the service, personal responsibility around substance misuse was returned, and some struggled to cope with this. Indeed, a dependency culture within the military, particularly around discipline and direction / instruction was regularly articulated. The soldiers admitted to having relied on the military for the basics as well as structure, and, upon transition, when this support and guidance was no longer available, problems were encountered:

> *"You are so used to having everything planned out for you, being told where to be, what to do, what time to be and even now, it affects me..." (Steve)*

The Military environment provided recruits with stability, shelter, sustenance and order. It also provided a form of escapism from civilian life for some, an opportunity to see the world for others as well as a chance to gain meaningful and permanent employment and income. Via a process of militarisation, the transition from civilian to military life was a powerful and all-encompassing process, transforming the civilian into a soldier. Specifically, the removal of individualism, replacing it with a strong sense around the importance and priority of 'the group' represented a key factor associated within this process (Brown, 2015). Building bonds was perceived as central to becoming a good soldier. Camaraderie became a vital and powerful aspect of their military life. The loss then of comradeship when leaving the services brought with it a profound sense of loss for many of the participants:

> *"(The) worst thing I ever did, is leave the army... because you've, you've never had friends like you have in the army." (Dave)*

> *"I miss the camaraderie... I suppose (the) sense of... being wanted." (Trevor)*

The removal of those tight bonds left some participants feeling insecure and unsupported. For others, civilian life and relationships were incomparable to that of a military life, resulting in a sense of isolation or difficulty re-integrating (also see Jolly, 2006). To recreate these bonds were difficult for many as they deemed civilian populations as incapable of understanding them. For others, an over-reliance on

colleagues and the subsequent removal of a sense of order, resulted in a reduction in the levels of self-confidence and were perceived as contributing factors leading to regarding increased use of alcohol post transition:

> *"(I found civilian life) Hard! bloody hard! Because I'd been used to living with a family, mates and all that and all of a sudden, I'm going back (village name) going back to me mam... and it... was crap. I just couldn't settle in (and drank) to cope, you know, because I was missing my mates in the army, because you do." (William)*

Employment and Employability.

Meaningful employment opportunities were perceived as scarce for some veterans, aligning to findings in existing literature (FIMT, 2014; Ashcroft, 2014). This is despite the acquisition of an extensive and broad skill set within the armed services. The capacity to follow orders and the institutionally demanded and deeply ingrained work ethic inculcated within the military, was perceived to be overlooked post transition. The lack of transferability of such skills and military characteristics to low paid or what may even be considered or semi- or un-skilled civilian work (such as shop work) represented a source of frustration for veterans, representing a barrier to effective reintegration as well as an affront to the pride of the ex-soldier:

> *"Well, I'd signed on for 12 years, done that, and I thought to myself; 'Well, I can go out and I can do anything I want'. Not the case!... (I) worked in a dry cleaner's... various takeaways. Really menial, stupid stuff, but it was jobs that I could get straight away. I needed to be working... Financially and for my well-being as well. Which I've er always stated is the main reason we go to work. I know it's for money as well, but it is for… I miss the camaraderie ..." (Trevor)*

Employment can be understood as having the capacity to provide a sense of purpose to veterans. The disadvantage of unemployment and it's perceived negative connotations can be seen to result in low self-esteem, increased levels of isolation and a lack of personal pride and fulfilment, something that the military was perceived as offering to all of the recruits (Regan de Bere, 2003). The disadvantage and the associated frustration were deepened through a lack of recognition linked to the role

and responsibilities of the soldier. There was a perceived failure to sufficiently acknowledge the risks taken on society's behalf by the soldier. Furthermore, upon transition and in the pursuit of employment, unskilled work presented as an affront to the pride and role of the veteran during service as well as a lack of respect.

> *"I was quite lucky, but the lads who haven't got anything like that, they're going to come out and go the job centre ... B&Q or Asda or whatever, stacking shelves. Lads don't want to be doing that. They've fought for this country; they've put their lives on the line for these people, and you've got some desk jockey going:*
>
> > *Interviewer: 'Well, what experience have you got?'*
> > *Veteran: 'Well, I can strip a weapon down, I can, you know, dig in, live off the land for fucking 3 weeks.'*
> > *Interviewer: 'There's none of that going on at B&Q this week!'*
>
> *... I can see where the drink comes into it!" (Mo)*

Mo Recalls drinking 'near enough every day' after leaving military service, whilst adapting to civilian life. Ultimately, he considered that his having acquired a trade (plastering) prior to joining the Army, was a 'saving grace'. This was because he was able to regain some structure, income and pride through regular, well paid employment, re-establishing something akin to a militarised routine which was so familiar. However, he considered himself to be lucky, articulating that many other ex-military personnel, who were unable to secure employment with even a moderate wage, were understandably stymied by their options post transition and their increased use of alcohol could be understood in the context of their frustration, excessive free time and increased levels of boredom as a result. Indeed, within service alcohol was perceived as a culturally accepted and regularly employed 'down time' option. In the absence of employment and meaningful activity, veterans found increased and excessive periods of 'free time' so alcohol use rose, which helped fill the void. This was alongside the view that alcohol would combat the extended periods of boredom experienced through lack of employment and structure:

> *"(I was drinking) basically through boredom... and not working."*
> *(Dave)*

The veterans can be understood to experience what they consider unfair disadvantages as fundamentally compromising their efforts to fully and legitimately reintegrate into the civilian world. This is particularly so within the context of employment, which can be seen to represent a way in which one can 'contribute' to society in a range of different ways, through production, management or design as well as financially, through the payment of taxes and avoidance of claiming welfare benefits. Equally, to be perceived as actively and legitimately engaging within the civilian culture and minimising the potential of stigmatisation and shame of being 'unemployed' (James and Woods, 2010). The veteran is compelled to wrestle with the notion that they have gone from a role steeped in responsibility, physicality and activity, in being ready and prepared for anything at any time to being inactive and redundant.

Of those who did work, employment opportunities ranged, with temporary and varied work being reported by many and very few veterans retaining regular employment. Insecurity associated with civilian employment, unlike the experience of working in the consistent and dependable environment of the military, presented as problematic and often provided increased opportunity for alcohol consumption. Luke recalls securing a well-paid job post transition. However, the subsequent loss of this employment resulted in feelings of stigmatisation, isolation and frustration, particularly around being unable to contribute to household bills. Furthermore, this loss of direction, structure and sense of self-worth, which was so valued within the military, coupled with a perceived lack of support (or not knowing where to turn for support) ushered in the increased use of alcohol, to be used as a coping strategy to counteract these powerful emotions:

> *"... work dried up and (I) felt myself back in the same position again. Because, before, the money was just there, no problem, and then like, having nothing, it was just like; 'what the fuck am I going to do?' And then I was back in that same situation where I felt like I had no support or nothing, so I ended up drinking again." (Luke)*

Within the military, additional responsibilities around accommodation, food and other key life essentials were assumed by the Armed Forces, yet upon transition,

this was no longer the case. Therefore, simply securing employment, did not eradicate problems associated with transition and adapting to civilian life. The responsibility or pressure of acquiring and maintaining employment within the civilian world was different to military life and could often result with the employment of poor coping strategies, namely that of excessive alcohol consumption.

For those who did secure employment, many continued the military tradition of using alcohol as forming part of the working week. Yet, whilst alcohol use represented a form of socialisation, bonding or downtime from the rigours of work, something that was understood in Chapter 5 as a strong cultural dimension of military life and within the context of a 'work hard play hard' mentality, post service drinking did not hold the same structural restrictions or boundaries:

> *"(I) set up my own little company. It started rapidly going down with alcohol, so, because, I were pulling 2½ -3 grand a week. Cash.... It were (spent on) cocaine, champagne lifestyle. So, you've got all that money and Monday morning, 'cos you were hungover.... Jobs were getting knocked back ... it were a vicious circle." (Bobby)*

The Armed Forces provided accommodation and sustenance alongside the nature and provision of work schedules. Equally, it provided all necessary travel arrangements as well as general organisation and direction around expected roles and responsibilities. Upon transition however, these all become further supplementary duties, often adding a range of alternative employment (as well as broader general) pressures, which some struggle to adapt to or maintain. Veterans consistently reflected on how challenging they found managing the daily rigours of balancing personal and professional commitments in ways not uncommon to their fellow citizens. It was however the adaption to civilian life following the full integration into the Total Institution of a military environment - where many responsibilities were removed or managed for them - that rendered this process difficult:

> *"I found it hard with transition like from military to civilian. It must have taken me, truthfully, about 7 years... you find it hard, not being horrible, but (not) having a set regime." (Bobby)*

This was then confounded by a legacy of military inspired coping strategies (such as the use of alcohol) and a sense of displacement, loss and lack of reintegration. Bobby's account of drinking excessively, due to the abundance of money he was earning, was reflective of the 'millionaire's weekend' culture that was referred to during military service (see chapter 5), evidencing a persistence of behaviours and characteristics learned within service life which then represented ongoing difficulties post transition. Equally, the loss of a military regime, centred around and employment which was predictable, stable and consisted of a structured order can be seen to impinge on his and many other veteran's full integration into civilian life as well as substance misuse and offending behaviour:

"... it (alcohol use) got worse because I had no structure. I had no routine in life. If I was getting up at 6.30 in the morning in the army, I wasn't drinking then." (Aaron)

"Because you've always got your roof over your head in the army, so you can go and spend all your money. You've' always got food on the table, you can go and spend all your money on beer. But, if you do that out here, you've got no means of survival... then, you need to go and do crimes...." (Matty)

"...it was totally different… It really was. Being able to do what you want. I think that's why I ended up drinking ... because I could... I ended up in jail, then the violence started again because ... I'd hit rock bottom and I didn't give a fuck. Ended up living on the streets ... Chaos ... because you are so used to having everything planned out for you, being told where to be, what to do, what time to be and even now, it affects me because I'm terrible with fucking times and places and stuff you know... because I've not got somebody there, telling me …The drinking was my escapism I suppose." (Steve)

'Old wine in new bottles'.

Often, many of the employment opportunities that participants took up within civilian life, shared similar characteristics to veterans' military experience and skills. Jobs such as 'security work' as well as working within the prison service, Securicor and G4S held close associations with military experience and skills acquired therein. Furthermore, door work or working as a 'bouncer' in the NTE provided

similar roles concerned with order, security and protection. Moreover, these were roles immersed within cultures of alcohol and the threat or involvement of violence that meant many aspects of the organisational and occupational practices were not only familiar but played to the men's strengths regarding physicality and control.

Violence and the routine threat of violence was understood as a component part of these roles, with risks of victimisation as well as the commission of violence and aggression forming part of the expectation of the military role. Phil recalls being a 'successful' store detective, in that he made numerous arrests, inevitably involving some form of restraint or confrontation, through preventing would-be shoplifters from leaving shops he worked in. Jim recalled working within the same role, in which he was physically attacked and victimised. He outlined that he returned to military service as a result of these attacks, feeling undervalued and underpaid for the risks he was taking in the role:

> *"I joined back up because, er, I'd had a few problems, you know, getting bloody stabbed and shot ... it was bloody ridiculous, you know, working as a store detective ...why am I risking, you know, doing a dangerous job like this, for peanuts (meagre pay) they're paying me..." (Jim)*

A Security Industry Authority (SIA) qualification is currently required for any position within the private security industry. Expectations around challenging people, effectively dealing with sensitive situations, physically preventing shoplifters leaving premises, as well as undertaking 'physical intervention training' reflects a heightened potential for confrontation and aggression within post (SIA, 2018). Parallels with military life can be seen within the store detective role (and within the doorman role to follow) in which various forms of violence can be seen to take place. However, rather than representing the State, and risking the commission or victimisation of violence within an institutionally sanctioned international, or local security setting, the store detective engages in a commercial role, seeking to protect profit and minimise theft.

With respect to door work, the links to violence are even more explicit. This can be within the context of engaging in, witnessing, or becoming the victim of

violence on a regular basis. Indeed, this is as the setting of the NTE, namely in and amongst licence premises, is one in which violence and excessive alcohol use are both regular features (Winlow et. al., 2001; Hobbs et. al., 2003; Winlow and Hall, 2006; Pernanen, 1991). As such, with violence being posited as a regular occurrence within the NTE, a 'doorman' or 'bouncer' is required to be someone who can 'adequately conduct himself in a highly problematic occupation' (Winlow et. al., 2001: 542; Hobbs et. al., 2003). This is usually amongst the alcohol fuelled hedonistic excess of the NTE (Smith, 2014).

Violence represents a form of interaction in which bouncers specialise, representing a significant aspect of their culture, self-Identity and working environment (Winlow et. al., 2003; Winlow et. al., 2001). This can be understood as being closely aligned to a military culture in which violence represents a central aspect of training and, has been outlined within the previous chapter, a significant cultural aspect of soldering within a diverse range of settings; from the barracks, resolving a dispute, to nights out fighting with civilians or other regiments. Thus, a cultural appreciation of door work was seen to be immediately recognised and comfortably assimilated.

In the same way that legitimate forms of violence represent a core function of the military and closely aligned with the 'commercial role' of the bouncer, there represents occasions in which violence can be used outside of such a remit (Winlow et. al., 2003; Wells et. al., 1998; Homel et. al., 1992). John recalls relying on violence as something that he felt capable around post transition, applying the skills and use of both the formal and informal violence within the military setting to door work in the NTE:

> *"I was a doorman, again violence as this mask! This false macho, bravado that I've worn... (door work) was no good for me ... I don't like people in my space and that, so there's people drunk and that, so, to combat that, it'd be (makes a punching gesture) .... I remember I was working with the worst door firms ... (with a) really bad reputation... And one of the bosses said to me; 'You need to calm down, you're too aggressive!' ... I ...thought being a doorman is just about fighting and being dead hard and that, and it's not. It's about just talking to people. To diffuse the situation." (John)*

John explained that his use of violence exceeded the expectations of the role, which he describes was to diffuse problems rather than using violence to address perceived issues. He recalls his own alcohol misuse and mental health issues would frequently result in his not turning up for work or being highly aggressive when he did turn in. He described pre-empting confrontation and striking first, using violence to resolve problems before they started (acknowledging that they may not even have started in the first place). He recalls increased levels of paranoia and fear, worsened by his use of alcohol, resulting in his enhanced motivation to resort to violence:

> *"When I'm drinking, I don't care of the consequences... of me actions, but when I'm sober, I can't deal with it. I don't care when I'm drunk... it'd be, from someone who doesn't even like violence, because I'd be that scared of people around me... I thought; 'they're going to do something here' so I'll just start fighting do you know what I mean? ... I wouldn't get sacked, but I was just running away... I couldn't deal with it. And I was sick of lying, going' 'Oh, I'm not well' They knew... they knew I was on the 'ale. Everyone knew, except me." (John)*

Whilst Phil recalls being good at diffusing problem situations, he also recalls engaging in extreme violence whilst working as a doorman. A military experience was cited as a turning point for his willingness to use such violence. Prior to military service, he was inclined to avoid confrontation, yet, following military life, as well as following the use of both legal and illicit drugs, extreme violence was committed:

> *"Whereas, years ago, I'd do it (fight) to a certain extent, then I'd flight (run). Now, I'd just go straight in. I'd fight nine guys at one time, I've done it… fractured eye socket, broken nose… I'm good with conflict management. I know how to diffuse situations. I can speak to people... but, you know, sometimes, it could just be spur of the moment, I could just switch, and I don't know when that's going to happen.... if I've had alcohol and it's been with the drugs, and stuff like that.'' (Phil)*

Both John and Phil describe their own substance use, coupled with a proficiency in violence garnered within the military became problematic within the NTE economy often characterised by excessive substance misuse of citizens and the increased probability for conflict and tension. Their own alcohol use (and illicit drug

use with Phil) coupled with military experience resulted in increased levels of confidence around violence, thereby increasing the willingness and motivation to employ violence. Furthermore, the deterioration of mental health and well-being coupled with excessive alcohol use with both participants rendered employment and the expected use of controlled violence virtually impossible. As can be seen in the examples above, the comorbidity of alcohol and mental health issues for John and Phil resulted in an increased use of violence that was described as excessive, impacting upon the perception and effective risk assessment skills (see; Zorçiç et. al., 2003).

Solving problems by resorting to violence, as outlined above, also features within Bobby's perception of door work, which commonly involved indicators to such violence:

> *"I were meeting and greeting and saying yes and no and ID'ing (checking identification) instead of running in, knocking people out and ragging them out and stuff." (Bobby)*

Bobby outlined that he was promoted to 'head doorman' on account of a long-term injury sustained within the military. Due to this injury, he was unable to fulfil the expected role of 'knocking people out'. Just as violence is a fundamental aspect of military training and service, where an essence of violence can be learned and honed (Bonger, 1936) and where violence can be seen as a mechanism to address problems, such cultural learnings can also be seen as well as reinforced within the NTE as a bouncer. Violence has been described as 'legitimate tool of the trade' for the bouncer and cited as a vehicle to effectively control crowds and settle arguments in certain circumstances (Monaghan, 2002). The use of techniques such as 'knocking people out' and addressing problems with violence represents an efficient and culturally sanctioned or legitimate form of problem solving across the two sites of the military and door work for participants. Furthermore, it is important to recall that the military environment emphasised *some* restrictions and boundaries regarding alcohol use outside of active duty hours, as well as instilling collective discipline. However, following the removal of this structure, the risk for excessive and

increased levels of alcohol misuse precipitating violence is evident within the Bouncer role.

Toughness or 'hardness' within an overtly masculinised environment can be understood as an accepted aspect of doorman culture (Winlow et. al., 2003: 170). The opportunity to develop a hyper-masculine persona in which 'vitality and power, dominance and hierarchy, respect, honour and pride, and of course violence' were located as central to such a culture (ibid: 172; Winlow et. al., 2001). There represents a clear overlap between the experiences of the bouncer and that of the soldier within the context of masculinity and cultural expectations. The display of male status and power was referenced by participants within the NTE. This has also been referenced as an important factor within masculine confrontations and drink related violence within the NTE more generally (see Tomsen, 2005). The characteristics of the 'macho bravado' (John) soldier stemming from military life can be seen to have been sustained within the door work environment. This is evidenced through the portrayal of the doorman being 'dead hard' (John) and being unwilling to backdown, even facing 'odds of 9-1' (Phil). Equally, to run in and 'knock people out' (Bobby) displays an assurance and dominance or superiority around the capability and capacity for violence. All of which seek to emphasise a robust and dominant masculinity, to be effective and competent in and around violence.

Such overt, confident and masculinised violence was perceived as not only important to the individual and their own self-image, but also to that of the group (Winlow et. al., 2003). As such, other key military cultural dimensions were highlighted as being important, when working as a bouncer, rendering the employment desirable and appealing for ex-Armed Forces personnel:

> *"... the only job I've found since leaving the army like that, is working as a bouncer." (Bobby)*

Bobby refers to the camaraderie, teamwork, bonding and trust within the context of door work, which he likened to that of military life. The prevailing sense of fraternity which provided protection and friendship, trustworthiness and a sense of belonging within the ethnographic work conducted on bouncers was found by

Winlow and colleagues (2001). The sense of camaraderie, which many participants referred to as having been lost post transition, can be seen to be regained within door work, providing a familiar, if not an exact replica, of something of a lost military identity within civilian life. This was further achieved through the commission of violence where necessary, in which trusting that others are protecting and supporting you, as you them, was also an important factor for Bobby:

> *"I only work with people I trust. That's the only thing I can compare with (the military), because at the end of the day, initially, where something goes wrong (i.e. conflict takes place), they've got your back in their hands and it's having that trust and that bond." (Bobby)*

Accommodation and Homelessness.

Difficulties in transition for the veteran offender have been previously aligned to accommodation issues, particularly homelessness (van Staden et. al., 2007: Gee, 2007, Johnsen et. al., 2008). Ten of the men experienced extended periods of homelessness post transition and virtually all of the participants would cite accommodation issues more broadly as representing a significant issue and barrier for effective reintegration into civilian life.

Many participants would return home to a parental property or domicile shared with their partner or spouse upon discharge from the Armed Forces. Breakdowns in these relationships would regularly lead to the emergence of accommodation problems. Often, the veteran would leave the property, finding accommodation in hostels, 'sofa-surfing' in friend's properties, or in many cases, resorting to street living. Alcohol use was regularly described as either a reason for, or catalyst leading to, homelessness as well as a consequence of it (also see CSJ, 2014). Excessive alcohol use was also attributed to the breakdown of intimate and familial relationships as well as a key factor within the commission of domestic violence (Chapter 7 will explore veteran's involvement in domestic violence offences in greater detail):

"I Lost my job, family threw me out, they didn't want nothing to do with me anymore (due to substance misuse). So, I finished up on the streets then." (Paul)

"I got married (post service) but fucked it up through the drink ... my wife left me, my son was only still young. And that was just an excuse to drink even more. You know. I lost my licence, then lost my business... lost my licence ... through drink driving... ended up in jail, then the violence started again... Ended up living on the streets." (Steve)

Homelessness offered opportunities for excessive and persistent alcohol use as it was perceived as a coping strategy for the difficulties experienced as a rough sleeper. It was described as a sleep-inducing agent, as well as a form of escapism from the extreme forms of victimisation and other difficulties faced by those who were living on the street:

"You get drunk and you fall asleep... If you're homeless, you don't really care." (Trevor)

"... (I was) sleeping on a park bench ... (and) you had guys coming out of pubs and clubs and that, spitting on yer, pissing on yer, kicking yer, saying, 'yer tramp, get up and get a job'... I was shoplifting, to get more, to get money...they stopped my dole, suspended me universal credit, so I had no money, so I had to pinch some stuff to sell, to buy beer." (Dave)

Alternatively, even if participants were motivated to abstain from alcohol use, *avoiding* substances whilst rough sleeping or in temporary accommodation was remarked upon as problematic. Hostel accommodation was perceived as an environment in which there was an inescapable temptation to drink, exacerbated by the frequent association with other (often problem) drinkers (also see Johnsen et. al., 2008). This would often result in individuals succumbing to alcohol or even poly-substance use:

"I find hostels quite impossible to live because of the temptation. So, I was having a drink quite often actually ...." (Alan)

In some cases, substance misuse represented a form of escapism in which a lack of opportunity or adaptability to a civilian life presented as beyond reach. In such circumstances, homelessness was an outcome of such substance misuse:

> *"...at first, when I didn't know (about support available for ex-service personnel) I was drinking with my mates, I was partying, I was taking like, that much coke... Staying up for like, 7 days... that was the only time I felt good then, when I was going out partying.... I didn't want to go back to reality in a way. I was ... homeless." (Luke)*

Mental Health and Help Seeking Behaviour.

As has been discussed in chapter 5, alcohol represented a coping strategy or form of escapism for participants whilst in service. This was also evident beyond the military, with increased levels of alcohol often being used to cope with or evade responsibility from a range of different issues within veterans' lives. Indeed, coping with issues around mental health represented a prominent aspect of participants alcohol use. This was particularly prominent with respect to disclosures around PTSD. Seven participants disclosed a diagnosis of PTSD, with six revealing that they were using alcohol to 'self-medicate'. This aligns to the 'consequences of PTSD hypothesis, outlined within Chapter 3, in seeking to outline the relationship between alcohol and PTSD (Jacobsen et. al., 2001; Thandi et. al., 2015). Alcohol was perceived as an easily accessible and familiar coping strategy that could be employed:

> *"... it was scary to talk about (experiences in Bosnia) and I didn't want to talk about (it) and I turned drink then... as a coping mechanism." (William)*

Veterans would recall experiencing a broad and heightened range of emotions, extending from fear, anger and guilt to hypervigilance and paranoia. Whilst initially unaware, participants latterly understood such extreme emotions as symptomatic of PTSD (See DSM:V, 2013). However, at the time, these emotions were raw and difficult to understand, contain or control. Often PTSD could lead to extreme outbursts associated with aggression or anger directed at others or result in self

isolation or even suicidal ideation. Most commonly, participants linked heightened levels of anger and their own use of violence (whether this was within respect of the index offence for which they were currently serving a sentence for, or other forms of aggression or post transitional violence) to PTSD and their experiences of military.

> *"They reckon this (experience of the CJS) has fucking triggered that (PTSD) off in me, that was obviously military related, because of a few other things that they sort of made me realise like, whereas I've been going along thinking I was fine, maybe I weren't, maybe I was, but maybe it was always there, underlying. You know, when I did fucking lose it, the fucking brainwashed, fucking, trained, fucking violent fucking lunatic… part of that come out of me do you know what I mean? Because my fucking threat levels were heightened, you know, I was on alert like, thought everyone was out to get me."* (Barney)

This was then exacerbated, by the use of alcohol, despite the substance being used with the intention to ameliorate such symptoms:

> *"Yeah it was through drink (the offence). I knew what I was doing, but I couldn't control myself. Again, a lot of that was due to the PTSD, but mixing PTSD with alcohol, you might as well just literally go into a room and pull loads of grenade pins out!"* (Peter)

Alcohol and PTSD were described by Peter as a toxic combination, increasing the potential for violence. This supports the findings of MacManus and colleagues (2013) who found that post-deployment alcohol use and comorbid PTSD were found to be pertinent risk factors associated with increased risk of violent offending amongst veterans in the UK. Equally (and more specifically in the case of Peter) Marshall and colleagues (2005) found that PTSD represents a key correlate linking combat exposure and domestic violence perpetration. Both Jackupcak and colleagues (2007) and Prigerson and associates (2002) found that military veterans with PTSD are more prone to IPV perpetration than those without a diagnosis. Of the seven diagnosed with PTSD, six committed offences within a domestic violence capacity and one committed a street robbery (*Aaron*). Nevertheless, as can be seen within the following excerpt, violence directed towards family members and within

close relationships was also perpetrated by Aaron. He recalls becoming violent following using alcohol to self-medicate for PTSD symptoms:

> *"When I got diagnosed with PTSD, I tend to, erm, drink more, use more, to try and numb that feeling, you know... and I was lashing out at people. People who were close to me. Erm, stealing off people when I didn't have money to get it (alcohol), people who love me. That was at first and then I'm mixing around with... what I call associates in (town), people who've done this life for a couple of years, where I was new on it, where it was street drinking… fighting, robbing people, street robberies, burglaries, things like… people had been doing for years and I thought; 'This is alright, I can handle this life." (Aaron)*

Initially, Arron's aggression can be seen in the form of 'lashing out'. He describes this as being directly associated with his use of alcohol to 'numb' the feelings associated with PTSD, using alcohol as a familiar coping strategy. However, following a formal diagnosis of PTSD, Aaron recalls perceiving this as an *excuse* to consume alcohol and to act in a manner that transgressed legal and social boundaries, aligning to the concept of 'Deviance Disavowal' (Fagan, 1993).

Differing forms of violence in the form of self-harm, suicidal ideation as well as attempted suicide were also outlined, with five of the seven participants diagnosed with PTSD disclosing such feelings and actions:

> *"I tried fucking killing myself... I didn't know where to go for help. I wanted help, I thought I needed help, because I thought 'I'm going to do myself in' do you know what I mean? I wasn't fucking blind to it, but I didn't know where to go. I hit the booze a bit more. Fucking made more mistakes. I was living in me car, you know what I mean? I fucking had nothing." (Barney)*

Crucially, with Barney, as with many other veterans who were suffering from mental health issues as well as broader issues around difficulties in adapting to civilian life more generally, support seeking represented a problem. Many of the participants explained that they were unaware of support available or unwilling to seek or accept support in the first instance. Some didn't feel that they deserved support and assistance or failed to seek help (from the military or other charities)

due to an overwhelming sense of pride and/or low self-esteem (see; James and Woods, 2010):

> *"I didn't feel quite the same person when I came out. I didn't have the pride. I think a lot of my pride went and I probably didn't feel any self-worth." (Trevor)*

In the same sense, others, on account of being unwilling to acknowledge or perceive themselves as veterans, neither felt that they were eligible for, or required, such support. As previous research has indicated, often those who do not consider themselves as veterans suffer higher incidents of mental health problems and don't receive suitable support (Fossey et. al., 2010; Langston et. al., 2010). In Neil's case, it was not until involvement in the CJS that he was diagnosed with PTSD and commenced appropriate treatment:

> *"I'd never consider myself as a veteran. I don't know, it's just, I always looked on veterans as your second world war ... 'I flew a spitfire and Lancaster bomber.' So, I never seen myself as a veteran, you know." (Neil)*

In many ways, a lack of (pro)active support from the military institution presented as a significant barrier to veterans' independently seeking help within civilian life. Upon reflection, many veterans felt that this should have represented *the* primary source of support – especially as the military were perceived as being positioned as having insight and understanding of the specific difficulties ex-forces personnel may experience. When this was not perceived as forthcoming, most veterans eschewed seeking independent support, preferring to resort to traditional military coping strategies, namely the use of alcohol:

> *"... you get depressed and you have a drink... (just as drinking in the army was a way of dealing) with the pain and the things you've seen and you go through, the flashbacks you get." (Dave)*

This, in turn, furthered or reinforced the barrier to independent support seeking, enhancing mental health issues and creating a cycle of decline which was difficult to escape:

"I was drinking... which caused depression and because I was depressed, I was drinking again." (Matty)

Disclosing issues around mental health also presented as a stigmatising process for many of the veterans. With a general stigma associated within mental health within civilian life, this has been perceived as enhanced within a military environment (Iversen et. al., 2007; Sharp et. al., 2015). Equally, post transition, concerns have been expressed that veterans, whilst having respect conferred upon them for their services, may feel social excluded or perceived as having diminished competence within a civilian setting, resulting in their being stigmatised around such stereotypes around being 'damaged' from their service (Hipes et. al., 2015):

"I felt embarrassed because I should have been this macho geezer that I used to be, do you know what I mean?" (Barney)

"I was ashamed, ashamed of who I was. (I) Hated myself." (John)

Both Barney and John recall initially failing to recognise symptoms of mental health (in their case PTSD) and then lacking motivation to subsequently seek support. Thereafter, their use of alcohol prevailed as the preferred coping strategy, which, in turn, exacerbated problems associated with their well-being, and further reducing future support seeking behaviour. Barney can be seen to outline that seeking help would be to betray a prominent and ingrained characteristic garnered within the Armed Forces, namely that of masculinity. Masculinity represented a prized trait within the military environment. To ask for help, or to be perceived as helpless, dependent or weak, were understood as traits associated with femininity (Cooper et. al., 2018). Importantly, such gendered identities have been outlined as particularly potent and can endure well beyond service life (ibid; Higate, 2001). Indeed, perceptions and an adherence to a military constructed masculinity can be seen to have resulted in a powerful barrier to admit weakness associated with mental health or emotional well-being post transition, resulting in increased alcohol use.

John also highlighted that acknowledging his own problems and externalising them was difficult. Once again, alcohol replaced help seeking behaviour, embedding and reinforcing substance use as a suitable alternative coping strategy. This led to his

self-isolating, further impacting upon the deterioration in his mental health as well as an increase in his substance misuse. Self-stigma can be understood as a mechanism though which an individual internalises perceived negative societal beliefs around those who have issues associated with mental health. Such self-stigmatisation can be seen to impact or erode one's self worth and confidence levels through feelings of shame and inadequacy (Hipes et. al., 2015). John's perception around his own mental well-being can be understood within this context. Stigmatised by his own perceptions around PTSD, John describes experiencing shame and self-loathing, resulting in isolation, all acting as barriers to effectively seeking support and help.

Conclusion.

This chapter has articulated pertinent issues associated with how MVO participants experienced transition back to civilian life. Specific focus was around the barriers experienced and how a military history impacted or even precipitated such barriers. In particular, focus around the use of violence and alcohol within this context was highlighted for MVOs. By explicating a military history attached to the use of violence and alcohol, the chapter highlights how such use has translated to the post transition, civilian environment, and the impact of this upon commonly understood criminogenic risk and need factors associated with offending within the general (civilian) population.

Participants experienced a strong sense of loss and dislocation upon transition. Rejection from the military institution in which they were fully immersed and committed, resulted in feelings of resentment. Equally, there was a strong sense that the military institution had failed to sufficiently take responsibility for effectively preparing them in overcoming the 'culture shock' that they subsequently experienced during transition (See Bergman, Burdett and Greenberg, 2014). Equally, it was clearly articulated that the military provided limited, if any, ongoing support during and beyond this difficult time, was proffered as a further failure or inadequacy of the institution.

MVOs experienced difficulties in adapting to the civilian environment and the absence of key features of military life that they had come to depend upon during service, particularly around strict institutional structures, discipline, and camaraderie. Furthermore, the withdrawal of responsibility taken around the provision of basic needs (namely accommodation, food and exercise) acted as further pressures that many struggled to cope with. This led to an increased use of alcohol, as a familiar military coping strategy for many MVOs. As such, the military was perceived as having to take more responsibility for effective transition and support of those within this process.

Barriers to effective transition for veterans aligned to traditional criminogenic factors identified within civilian offending population (see Chapter 4). Such risk factors, contained within risk assessment tools and assessment processes within the CJS, identify commonly asserted characteristics that hold 'established association(s) with offending' (Canton, 2011: 89). Nevertheless, veterans were seen to further complicate these criminogenic areas, on account of their military history and experiences.

Employment opportunities were identified as scarce post transition, and therefore represented a significant barrier to effective reintegration for MVO's. Service as a soldier was perceived as highly reputable with high levels of responsibility and skills attached. Upon transition, civilian employers were perceived as failing to recognise this, as well as the value of their broad and transferrable skills. This would often result in a sense of resentment and as well as status frustration, which, in turn led to a reduction is self-esteem and pride. Engaging in substance misuse to combat such emotions resulted, emanating from a traditional coping strategy employed within the military. Alternatively, turning to employment opportunities in which violence and alcohol intersected - such as doorwork – in which previous skills associated with violence could be resumed, often within the alcohol related environment of the NTE, resulted in increased levels of substance misuse and commission/victimisation of violence.

Mental health issues, particularly that of PTSD, and comorbidity with alcohol use in outbursts of violence and aggression was referenced by all those who were

formally diagnosed with PTSD. Alcohol was again perceived as a familiar coping strategy, often further complicated by a lack of support or help seeking, attributable to the legacy of a limited military support as well as perceptions aligning with a military constructed masculinity, often resulting in self-imposed isolation.

Finally, accommodation issues, which have been emphasised within the existing literature as problematic for those with a military background were again availed as issues for MVOs post transition (van Staden, et. al., 2007; Johnsen et. al., 2008). Difficulties in maintaining accommodation or living in temporary accommodation or periods of rough sleeping were prominent. Indeed, alcohol use often contributed to problems with accommodation, seeing breakdowns in relationship for example, resulting in homelessness. Furthermore, residing in hostels or sleeping rough were often accompanied by increased levels of alcohol use, with alcohol (and other drugs) described as ubiquitous and unavoidable, or features to cope with the harsh realities of these environments. Equally, violence was experienced through civilians within the NTE assaulting the rough sleeping veteran, further problematising accommodation issues and experiences for the MVO population.

This chapter also contextualised the post transitional difficulties that MVO's experience, which can be understood through the macrosystem and exosystem dimensions of the Military Informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM). This, alongside the military cultural context outlined in Chapter 5, can be seen to inform and contribute to a deeper understanding and analysis of IPV offences committed by veterans within the CJS within the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Domestic Violence and the military veteran

Introduction.

The current chapter represents the last of three findings chapters and culminates in a detailed exploration around the predominant offence type for which ex-service personnel committed and/or were convicted of, namely IPV. In particular, the chapter brings together pertinent aspects of the 'military life span' of veterans; exploring influences that have occurred and potentially shaped behaviour and actions from the point of joining the military, to leaving service life, returning to civilian life, and finally up until present day. Such apposite military, and post transitional experiences, which have been detailed across chapters five and six, have offered insight into the relationship between alcohol and violence in the various settings within and beyond the military milieu.

Initially, whilst in service, violence could be seen to have been inculcated into the soldier as well as spanning a 'spectrum of legitimacy'. This could range from professional training and the use of lethal force within combat (legitimate) to fighting within the barracks to resolve disputes, establish hegemony or order, as well as evidence camaraderie and group cohesion (less formal but still tolerated forms of violence). Often, such violence was committed following the consumption of alcohol as well as being accompanied by other potent motivations, such as overt forms of masculinity, competition and group bonding. Ultimately, the violence was committed by men against men.

Following transition, accounts of violence were frequently linked to the consumption of alcohol. Indeed, alcohol use increased for many veterans who struggled to adapt to civilian life, using the substance as a mechanism to cope. Violence was recounted, both through victimisation and perpetration, within the context of homelessness and transient living and following the experience of mental health issues. Alternatively, violence, within the NTE, where veterans were

consumers or even employees (bouncers) was revealed as areas in which displays of violence and aggression were employed.

Nevertheless, and unlike the accounts of violence within and immediately beyond the military milieu, DV offences were found to be the most common type of convictions recorded by veterans within the CJS. This is in stark contrast with the predominant (disclosed) nature of violence during military service, which was portrayed as highly masculinised and competitive violence between males.

Sixteen participants were convicted of a DV related index offence and a further three admitted similar offences within their previous (post transition) offending. DV offences were primarily committed within the context of IPV with 16 participants being convicted or admitting to such an offence type. However, three incidents were committed against immediate family members of both sexes. Consequently, there has been a significant change of direction around the violence disclosed within the previous two chapters and a redirection of focus within the current chapter around garnering a greater understanding around relationship issues in which alcohol use and violence would converge for veteran participants.

In light of this, the chapter turns to the Military informed Nested Ecological Model (MINEM) to explore an additional and powerful level of influence, across a military life course, on the IPV committed by veterans, namely military service and its legacy.

As alluded to within Chapter 4 of this thesis, the Nested Ecological Model (Dutton, 1995; 2006; Heise, 1998), provides a framework in which to explore factors associated with IPV from an individual level (ontogenetic) as well as considering the environment, relationships and various other interactions that occur within a broader set of social levels (microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem). In adapting this model, by applying a military dimension, the MINEM provides the opportunity to apply the cultural (macrosystem) and social (exosystem) aspects around alcohol use and violence detailed within a military context (see Chapter 5) to the IPV offences committed by veterans. Furthermore, the application and understanding of how post transition difficulties from military to civilian environments (macrosystem and

exosystem) have impacted on alcohol and violence provide a further layer of analysis, when understood through the lens of IPV perpetration (see Chapter 6).

Figure 4. The Nested Ecological Model (Dutton, 1995; 2006)
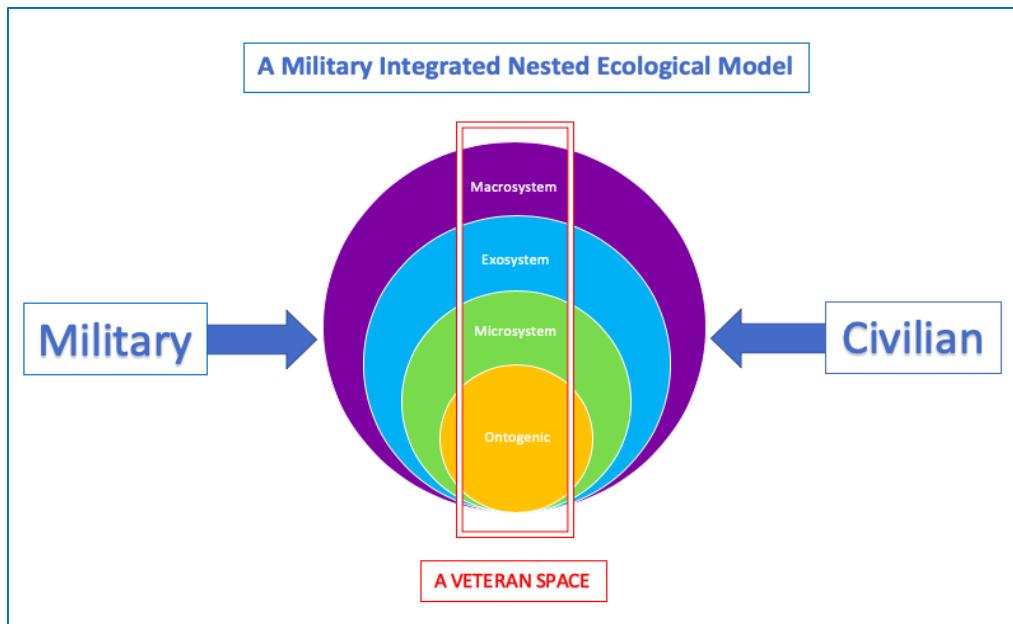
Finally, and within this chapter, a specific focus around the violence and alcohol use on the veterans themselves (ontological) and their intimate and familial relationships (microsystem) are explored in analysing the domestic violence offences committed by veterans. At the same time, the chapter will seek to incorporate broader considerations from across the military life course, to articulate how these aspects have contributed to the IPV offences. It will consider how all of these areas coalesce, paying particular attention to the relationship between alcohol and IPV (where there is one) and more generally with respect to the influence of the military experience on such offending.

To effectively explore the offences of IPV, this chapter commences with a focus around the microsystem level of the MINEM at which the offence takes place. The nature and context of conflict within the intimate relationship represents the starting point, however, the interrelationship between all of the levels will be incorporated and which are understood to influence the violence committed. To this end, the following areas can act as guide points to the discussion:

1. *To explore the alcohol related violence committed by veteran within the context of IPV.*

2. *To explore post transitional IPV disclosed by participants, which did not result in conviction, but offered further insight into post transition violent offending behaviour.*

3. *To consider how a military experience may have contributed to the commission of such offences.*

4. *To consider the 'veteran space' occupied within a military integrated nested ecological model and the factors that contribute to alcohol related IPV committed by veterans.*

Violence in relationships: Challenging drinking habits.

Frequent conflict within relationships were common within the accounts of veterans. Often this was around the men's use of alcohol and the lifestyle that accompanied it, with regular socialising and returning home late, or failing to return home. The perception of veteran's drinking and their partner's experiences of their alcohol related behaviour was identified as problematic and regularly led to relationship problems (microsystem):

> *"She was pissed off (with his drinking and associated behaviour) and that's why I got kicked out and that led to more drink as well."*
> *(Matty)*

Predictably, relationship conflict, presented as a key aspect of IPV, with the frequency of verbal disagreement being found to increase the potential for the commission of IPV (Hotaling and Sugarman, cited in Heise, 1998; Klostermann and Fals-Stewart, 2006). Indeed, IPV related conflicts and links to alcohol use, particularly within the context of situational couple violence, can be considered key regarding arguments around objections to a partner's excessive drinking (Johnson, 2008: 65). Levels of alcohol consumption have also been highlighted as important in predicting

IPV. Heavy or binge drinking, as well as alcohol dependence, have been understood to increase the likelihood of IPV perpetration as well as the severity (Foran and O'Leary, 2008; de Bruijn and de Graff, 2016). As such, it is perhaps understandable that drunkenness and frequency of drinking were reported to have been of concern by intimate partners.

However, as explored within the preceding chapters, excessive use of alcohol has been identified as acquired within the military and accompanied veterans into transition (macrosystem). Such use represents a mechanism developed to cope with various difficulties experienced, such as health or emotional issues. However, within a domestic setting, such strategies became sources of conflict.

Bobby explained that his alcohol use was excessive, daily and used as a form of self-medication for injuries sustained within the military. He felt that his partner was unsympathetic to his health issues and was being unreasonable by regularly demanding that reduce his alcohol intake, particularly in and around the home. Prior to the offence taking place, Bobby recalls returning to the family home after attending a funeral in which he had consumed five pints of lager. He explained that an argument ensued, once again, around his alcohol consumption:

> *"I went back home, I said;*
>
> > *Bobby: 'Right, I'm going to bed'*
> >
> > *Partner: 'What, to sleep fucking drink off?'*
> >
> > *Bobby: 'You know I'm not sleeping, I'm in that much pain'.*
>
> *With pain, it triggers night terrors and stuff like that and you know, I lash out and stuff in my sleep... So, she went;*
>
> > *Partner: 'Go upstairs and sleep it off'*
>
> *... 2 hours later, she walks in with me rucksack. Threw it at me;*
>
> > *Partner: 'Get out!'*

Upon challenging his partner, he explained that she displayed an act of violence in which she threw a remote control at him, which he states was the catalyst for conflict between the couple and resulted in him forcibly restraining his partner.

Despite being convicted of a violent offence, Bobby maintained that his actions were in self-defence. (*Indeed, self-defence was commonly referred to by veterans, something that will be explored further within the chapter*). However, from the limited insight into his partner's perspective (namely Bobby's subjective interpretation of his partner's account) representation of Bobby's drinking levels seems to align with problematic regular drinking patterns and concerns (or expectations) of subsequent violence:

> *"When I was restraining her, and she was screaming out for next door neighbour to call the police;*
>
> > *Partner: 'he's going to kill me, he's going to kill me.'*
>
> *I'm thinking;*
>
> > *Bobby: 'Calm down, relax and I'll let you go, relax.'*
>
> *You know, and she wouldn't. She'd go more, she escalated and she got more irate and it went up."*

Equally, following an argument in which he had already consumed alcohol, Matty explained that he was asked to leave the family home by his partner due to his alcohol related behaviour. He did not expand upon this behaviour, however, again, alcohol related behaviour can be understood as problematic from his partner's perspective, resulting in his eventually being asked to leave the family home. He subsequently consumed more alcohol, and, upon returning home, found that he had been locked out of his property. He proceeded to kick at the door of the house, without consideration of the impact of such behaviour on his partner or young son present at that time. Eventually, after not gaining access, he left the property, yet proceeded to send threatening messages to his partner:

> *"... what I was doing, to let my anger out, I was sending (text) messages to my ex-partner; 'I'm going to chop your head off.'"* (Matty)

As has been outlined in Chapter 5, the military represented an environment in which anger (ontogenic) could be ameliorated or vented by the pursuit of physical and 'robust activities' (Matty). However, post transition, this perceived 'outlet' was

not available, with Matty and other veterans engaging in alcohol use as an alternative 'coping strategy' to *reduce* feelings of anger. Such a tactic was frequently referenced as leading to *increased* feelings and subsequent expressions of anger in the forms of violence.

<u>Anger and hostility.</u>

Anger was commonly referred to as being present post transition and attributed by some, as resultant of military experience. Feelings of residual aggression, resentment and anger were understood by many veterans as being emotions that the military were, in part, responsible for augmenting:

> *"I do feel that the Navy did contribute to me losing myself a little bit. Even my mum said that you would not have been that angry person if you had not gone in the forces." (Alan)*

> *"They forced us to be aggressive, forced us to be angry, forced us to be abusive but, they never showed me how not to be aggressive, not be angry, not to be abusive." (Gordon)*

Feelings of anger (ontological) coupled with responses of aggression were understood as fundamentally based upon training and inculcation into the military mindset (macrosystem). Descriptions around resorting to the use of violence as a veteran as being a form of institutionalisation or learned behaviour and remaining a legacy of armed service was a common theme (outlined in chapter 5). It was during military service where they *acquired* and were *desensitised* to, the use of (and the ubiquitous nature of) violence. As such, violence here can be understood as a cultural mainstay of the military environment (macrosystem). A culturally assimilated perspective around violence that shapes the veteran's mindset. Military service offered order, structure and discipline in which all of these characteristics were 'checked'. Then, upon transition, lack of control, following the removal of the institution charged with maintaining that control, through order, discipline and structure, could be seen as evident:

"I went off the rails! After I signed off the army, that was it, it went massively tits up. I got 4 other charges... I got two threatening behaviours; I got a criminal damage (IPV related offending)." (Joe)

Anger and hostility (ontogenic), factors closely associated with IPV within the general population (Dutton, 2006; Schumacher et. al., 2001), coupled with a loss of structure and order, have been identified as characteristics that were aligned to IPV, increased the probability of conflict within the domestic setting for veterans (microsystem):

"All my relationship have had problems ... because I was angry...I was arguing with my girlfriend... I'd been drinking, and said 'listen, just fucking leave me alone'... 'you don't want to wind me up' so I left, and she followed me. So I threw a can of beans at the window. Then broke every single window in the house, ripped the banisters off, knocked a couple of walls down... ended up with every copper in (place) looking for me." (Gordon)

Such feelings of anger were negatively impacted upon or augmented by alcohol use, resulting in disclosure of inadequate levels of self-control which would often result in intimidating and confrontational behaviour within intimate and familial relationships. With a view to address confrontation, effective engagement between couples and family members can be understood to require effective problem-solving skills. However, alcohol has been identified as impairing such skills within relationships (McMurran and Gilchrist, 2008). Coupled with violence representing a response to problem solving within the military environment (see chapter 5), especially following alcohol, there represents further layer of complexity within the commission of IPV by the veteran offender. Indeed, in civilian cultures in which violence is tolerated to resolve conflict, the risk of IPV has been found to be heightened (Heise, 1998). Such an approach to violence is clearly applicable in a military culture, (macrosystem) and can be understood to represent a risk factor for IPV within veterans also.

Self-esteem issues and IPV.

Alongside experiencing increased levels of anger and frustration as well as the loss of infrastructure to control such emotions, veterans also described a reduction in levels of self-esteem and pride following exiting the military (ontogenic). As has been explored in Chapter 6, the loss of military employment (exosystem) and culture (macrosystem) often coupled with a sense of rejection from the services (ontogenic), as well as difficulties in reintegration into a civilian lifestyle (exosystem / macrosystem), resulted in veterans feeling isolated, disorientated, leading to a reduction of self-worth:

"I probably didn't feel any self-worth, for myself" (Trevor)

Self-esteem / self-worth has been found to be lower in IPV perpetrators appearing in court than a comparative (non IVP) group (Murphy et. al., 1994). Low self-esteem has also been found to be closely linked to repeated or severe IPV in a military sample (Neidig et. al., cited in Schumacher et.al., 2001: 331)**.** Meaningful employment was not available to many, despite a broad skill set established within the military, which added to levels of frustration and derision of self-esteem. Furthermore, the loss of status of being a soldier, which was highly regarded by veterans, also represented a factor that further eroded self-esteem. This loss of status, coupled with a military informed pride, in which seeking out help and support for stigmatising issues (such as mental health) were avoided or substituted by alcohol use. Indeed, alcohol, which has been seen within the military culture as a coping strategy, often used to combat or ameliorate these feelings was, once again employed to address such feelings and emotions:

"You have no confidence in yourself, and to boost that up, alcohol again" (Matty)

Nevertheless, alcohol consumption would often have the opposite effect, acting to exacerbating such feelings, leading to further reductions in well-being, self-esteem and increased levels of isolation:

"I was just isolated... I didn't want to see anyone... I was just scared of everything... I'd go out, first thing in the morning, and wait for

the shops to open, get back in, draw my curtains (and) go out at night... very rarely saw daylight." (Steve)

Many veterans recall seeking out partners or companions to relieve that sense of isolation and boost their sense of self-esteem and well-being. As will be discussed further in the chapter, veterans often sought out likeminded partners, in which both partners were using alcohol. However, the pursuance and engagement in such relationships was seen to actually contribute the increasing the likelihood of confrontation (microsystem) and subsequent violence:

"...I jumped into a relationship because I was afraid of being alone and somebody, somebody showed me a bit of love and happiness for the first time in my life and it was the wrong person to be with because he ended up being controlling and erm (a) jealous freak and everything and, as he got deeper in my life, took control." (William)

Alternatively, a reduced sense of self-esteem and self-worth were exacerbated through excessive alcohol use and socialising and engaging with negative peers (exosystem):

"Hanging around with the wrong people, thinking I've got nothing left because I was disheartened with myself and everything I'd been through." (Matty)

"Staying up for like, seven days, no sleep or nothing like that, just drinking vodka, straight... that was the only time I felt good then, when I was going out partying." (Luke)

Once again, such an approach to address low self-esteem or isolation, resulted in relationship-based conflict around veterans' drinking within the domestic setting (as has been previously outlined above).

Low self-esteem is also associated with PTSD, forming part of its symptomology (DSM:V, 2013). John explained that he was unable to leave his mother's property for six months post transition, due to feelings of paranoia and fear:

"My mental health was gone... I was just isolating in my room."
(John)

John also referenced isolation, following which he entered into a relationship with a female partner who he described as *'as addicted'* to substances as he was to alcohol. He described persisting in this relationship with a likeminded partner as toxic and problematic and eventually contributed to the commission of serious violence on his partner. Nevertheless, he describes the deterioration of his mental health, including very low self-esteem, as well as the companionship offered by his partner as preferable alternatives to isolation:

"But I was letting it happen and all that. Because I was so gone in the head, I would have latched on to anything, even though it was killing me, do you know what I mean, I was dying inside and my head was gone." (John)

PTSD has been highlighted as a factor that can increase the likelihood and/or severity of IPV perpetration in veterans (Jackupcak et.al., 2007; Prigerson et. al., 2002; Taft et. al., 2005). Furthermore, PTSD represents a key correlate linking combat exposure and IPV perpetration (Marshall et. al., 2005). Deployments can be understood to place significant stress on the military personnel, as well as increasing the risk of relationship issues and IPV (Williston et. al., 2015).

Each of the seven participants who were diagnosed with PTSD have committed violence within the domestic environment. Three committed violence against family members and the remaining four committed IPV offences against partners. Amongst those who committed IPV, 'anger' as a disclosed symptom of PTSD (ontogenic) was emphasised in the violence and aggression committed within a domestic context:

"...the relationship continued (following William attempting suicide) because I'd become so isolated and I saw no way (out). I just thought I was trapped and, inside there was anger building up, but I was just pushing it all back. I wasn't dealing with the PTSD. I was on and off my meds... It were making me, build up and build up inside and I could feel this anger building and resentment towards him and these thoughts came so easily that it scared me because 'you could just kill him, get a hammer, hit him over the

head, get a pillow, just suffocate him.' And I wasn't scared if it, I wasn't scared of doing it, I was just scared of, I don't know, it just freaked me out a bit, that it was easy to do." (William)

Peter also recalls the use of violence, emphasising PTSD symptomology, regarding anger and loss of control as significant contributing factors:

"The first time, that was an unprovoked attack. Don't get me wrong, I didn't give her a good hiding or anything like that, but, I pushed her over, but she could have hurt herself. Erm, I was actually mortified that I did that! ... it was through drink. I knew what I was doing, but I couldn't control myself. Again, a lot of that was due to the PTSD, but mixing PTSD with alcohol, you might as well just literally go into a room and pull loads of grenade pins out!" (Peter)

Violence committed in anger has been identified as one of three distinct patterns of IPV related violence committed by veterans with PTSD (Finley et. al., 2010). Furthermore, hyperarousal symptoms, includes 'hypervigilance', 'irritable behaviour and angry outbursts' and 'exaggerated startle response', have been highlighted as particularly prominent in aggressive behaviour by Veterans with PTSD (Bell and Orcutt, 2009; DSM:V, 2013). Excessive alcohol was understood as contributing to, or exacerbating, this sense of frustration and subsequent anger, despite being used as a strategy to effectively deal with these emotions. Again, a tactic commonly employed within the military environment to escape emotions or unwelcome feelings (see chapters 5 and 6) (macrosystem).

Equally, whilst symptoms of PTSD were emphasised as contributing factors to aggression, learned behaviour around aggression stemming from the military was also outlined as a contributory factor:

... I deal with my feeling and my emotions a hell of a lot more, a lot better that what I did do. Erm, but like I say, especially in the early stages of the PTSD, you feel a massive array of different emotions, and sometimes you struggle to control them emotions. So, if you're angry, the only way you know to lash out is by punching something, or by actually showing physical signs of aggression. And, I think, sometimes that seems to be the problem with the soldier... when they're shown animosity, what do they reply with? Violence! So that's all a soldier really knows, is to reply with violence. But I think

again, the alcohol's a contributory to give you the bollocks to stand
up and go; 'right, I'll have a go.' (Peter)

Peter links the reaction to addressing feelings of anger within the military through the use of violence, representing an area of consideration post transition too, even beyond a diagnosis of PTSD. An 'Institutionalisation of violent ideation' (Grossman, 2009: 254) coupled with social learning around the value and benefits of proficiency in violence has been seen in Chapter 5. Indeed, it cannot be overstated that this population, particularly those who have experienced conflict, have engaged in 'mission-driven' violence. Such violence can be understood as being instilled through persistent, pervasive mechanisms to desensitise recruits around the use of extreme violence over a prolonged period of time (Ibid: Williston et. al., 2015).

Here, the effects of violence, committed by either by the individual or modelled by others within the context of the military, can be seen to yield benefits, professionally as soldiers on the battlefield as well as amongst fellow soldiers within the barracks, around hegemony, status and minimisation of bullying (see Barnish, 2004). This was also evident within Barney's account in which his anger levels, which were also described as prominent symptoms of PTSD, contributed to aggression and confrontation as well as increased alcohol use as a coping strategy:

"...I needed help... I wasn't fucking blind to in, but I didn't know
where to go. I hit the booze a bit more. Fucking made more mistakes.
I was living in me car... I fucking had nothing... They (Medical staff)
reckon this (PTSD) has fucking triggered that off in me, that was
obviously military related, ... You know, when I did fucking lose it,
the fucking brainwashed, fucking, trained, fucking violent fucking
lunatic… part of that come out of me ... Because my fucking threat
levels were heightened, you know, I was on alert like, thought
everyone was out to get me." (Barney)

Complex typologies around IPV have been developed (see; Johnson, 2008; Kelly and Johnson, 2006; Ali et. al., 2016). However, 'their applicability to a military population is questionable, due to the lack of consideration of specific military risk factors, including combat-related PTSD.' (Misca and Forgey, 2017: 2) As such, veterans and their experiences, including their training, mindset and honed military

skills, can be understood as problematic, particularly if exacerbated or complicated by PTSD. This combination of macrosystem and ontogenic factors and influences hold a unique standing within the comprehension of this population, emphasising the need for a greater understanding.

<u>DV / IPV in relationships where both partners drink.</u>

As outlined earlier within this chapter, problematic relationships, especially where both perpetrator and partner drink, have been raised as issues within relationships and highlighted as factors around which the potential for IPV was increased (Gilchrist et. al., 2019) (microsystem). Violence has been identified as more common where both victims *and* perpetrators are consuming alcohol (Gadd, 2017). Indeed, many veterans described being in relationships and even seeking out partners who were also substance misusers**.** Veterans reported either unwittingly or actively seeking out relationships that were potentially problematic, whether this was linked to violence and / or in which mutual alcohol use contributed to problems within personal relationships. Often these relationships would start and then persist, in spite of conflict, due to an established sense of co-dependency around the mutual use of alcohol:

> *"...erm, I met a girl ... (we were) just drinking and using together, and, but because I was in such a bad place, I'd grab on to anything... it was just a fucking mess mate. It was a mess. She's an addict (too) ... It was just a horrible relationship where we was both just sick people... she stabbed me and stuff... we were both round the bend..."* *(John)*

John describes his low sense of self-esteem, coupled with mental health issues linked to a diagnosis of PTSD (ontogenic), as reasons for engaging and remaining in such a relationship (microsystem). Engaging within a relationship in which alcohol represented a mutually accepted and reinforced coping strategy, exacerbated problems both individually and within the relationship. John's use of alcohol was garnered from the military in which it was also used as a coping strategy, surrounded by others who also turned to alcohol as a coping strategy in a

masculinised environment in which pride prevailed and help seeking was shunned (see chapter 5). As such, co-dependent personal relationships were akin to the military relationships established, therefore represented something of a continuation of a military approach. It was easier for many veterans to persist in or replicate familiar drinking relationships (microsystem) beyond transition than it was to seek help and support (ontogenic). However, dependency and over reliance on a partner, in spite of, or even due to their substance misuse, also represented a problem, both to enduring alcohol use and IPV. Murphy and colleagues (1994) found that IPV perpetrators were found to have higher levels of interpersonal dependency, spouse specific dependency and lower self-esteem than non-violent control group. Indeed, within the mutually substance co-dependent relationships, violence was often described as inevitable:

> *"We'd just bounce off each other then, and just partying and like, she was getting aggressive and I was getting aggressive and then, it was like, from one extreme to another." (Luke)*

Luke described turning to excessive alcohol use to cope with difficulties within transition around lack of employment opportunities, homelessness as well as lack of structure and post transition support (exosystem). Equally, entering a relationship in which both parties used alcohol excessively, resulted in a form of escapism, endorsed (and therefore justified) by a partner. However, it also increased the opportunity for confrontation as well as serious violence to take place (microsystem). Furthermore, persistence within such a relationship embedded such dependency and frequency of conflict, thereby raising the risk of violence (as will be discussed later within the chapter).

Similarly, Geoff, who described both himself and his partner as 'alcoholics', recalls that conflict would regularly take place on account of their substance based co-dependent relationship:

> *"JM: And what did your partner say about the drinking?*
>
> *Geoff: We used to start arguing and, verbally and that, fucking… once got a pan poured over my head... (I) pushed her off, don't know my own strength... There were one point... I were in a nightclub, and*

I digged (hit) her in the ribs.... I thought she was some bloke in a nightclub.

JM: ... why did you do that?

Geoff: I don't know ... Drinking."

Deviance disavowal and minimisation can be observed within Geoff's account around alcohol, seeking to blame the use of alcohol and the 'disinhibition' or 'proximal effects' model around the physiological effects of alcohol impacting upon his cognitive processing abilities (*something that will be explored later within this chapter)* (see; Klostermann and Fals-Stewart, 2006)*. However, despite both using alcohol, Geoff outlined that his partner would complain about his drinking and arguments would ensue around this. Equally, despite Geoff describing himself and his partner being violent towards one another, with serious forms of violence occurring as conflict escalated on numerous occasions. Geoff described himself as unpleasant to be around following alcohol use and that his excessive drinking and aggression levels contributed significantly to problematic and confrontational relationships and then aggression:

"I got with this lass... we were always arguing, fucking, I were horrible me... you know verbally 'fuck off you'... I think, you know, karma's got hold of me for being a nasty bastard." (Geoff)

Kenny recalls seeking out relationships in which volatility was an attractive feature. He maintained that he was not always the aggressor, and describes the relationships he sought as mutually aggressive:

"I started getting violent in the domestic household, in my relationships.... I've been bad, I have been bad. Some of them, I'm not going to lie to you, some of them I haven't got remorse for and think they were quite often violent because they were relationships I was attracted to. Very volatile women who will give it back or give it in the first place and you would have to defend yourself and rightly so in my opinion." (Kenny)

Whilst violence was described as bidirectional, Kenny admits to being responsible to initiating violence within some of these relationships and describes

being the victim in others, which would lead to him then defending himself. Violence can be understood here as being ubiquitous and something that he felt comfortable with, akin to the military environment, in which violence (or the threat of violence) is equally pervasive and ever-present.

On occasions, Kenny recalls using alcohol as an initial strategy to avoid or prevent verbal conflict escalating to violence within his intimate relationships. However, such a strategy, namely using alcohol excessively and subsequently 'going missing' for up to 4 nights from the family home, would often result in 'more serious arguments and accusations' and subsequently violence taking place in any respect. Indeed, once again, conflict around veteran's alcohol use was a common catalyst to conflict within relationships.

Absence and persistence in problematic relationships.

Kenny's relationships can be understood as being characterised by techniques associated with both absence and persistence, seemingly at his discretion. He describes absenting himself from domestic responsibility in relationships, leaving the family home for up to 4 nights at a time, thereby reneging any form of household responsibility such as childcare, cleaning, cooking etc, when he felt that issues within his relationship were escalating. Furthermore, his alcohol use, acting as a form of escapism, extended this period of absence, furthering subsequent conflict within a domestic setting.

Veterans, having used alcohol as escapism, time out and coping strategies (ontogenic) at pressure points within service (see chapter 5) can be seen to again turn to escapism and alcohol use in response to domestic stress. Such alleviation of responsibilities have been understood as a source of couple conflict which can lead to IPV (Johnson, 2008) (microsystem).

The military offered order and structure, it also offered consistent income, accommodation, food and other essentials. Such barriers were to be individually negotiated within civilian life. As such, the adaption to a civilian life and culture as well as barriers, such as gaining meaningful employment for example, coupled with

the increased levels of individual responsibility foisted upon veterans was outlined as problematic upon transition (see chapter 6). Furthermore, adapting to the bidirectional workings of relationships, sharing responsibilities around the home as well as engaging in responsibilities around childcare, further presented as barriers some veterans experienced, leading to conflict within the domestic sphere (microsystem).

Indeed, Matty explained this his partner and he used to consume alcohol prior to the birth of their child, however, his alcohol use continued as excessively and problematically even after the birth of his son, whereas his partners stopped at this point. This also represented a source of contention between the couple, also seeing Matty absenting himself from household responsibilities, and absenting himself from the family home, as seen earlier within the chapter, again leading to conflict.

Persistence within problematic relationships.

Whilst absenting oneself from domestic responsibilities, employing a traditional form of escapism of alcohol use represented problematic behaviours associated with IPV for veterans. However, longer term persistence (often punctuated by short periods of absence) can also be understood as problematic. Remaining in problematic or confrontational relationships (microsystem), often characterised by emotional dependency and/or substance related co-dependencies, represented a further risk factor in the ongoing commission of IPV. Again, dependency can be seen as linked to military life, in which paying rent and bills or purchasing and cooking food are all services provided therefore unconsidered. As a result, a sense of independence and responsibility can be understood as being removed in military service and a difficult skill for many veterans to (re)gain. Furthermore, dependency in the context of reliance on others for mutual support, through socialising and drinking with fellow soldiers in service, for example, was another aspect of familiarity that transferred to civilian life and relationships. Entering into, and persisting in relationships in which mutual drinking and aggression occurred, can also be understood as transferring a similar form of military

dependency to the domestic sphere and a context in which ongoing confrontation would prevail:

> *"(I) Didn't really love her that much, and she was a major drinker herself. But, to me, it was great. She had stacks of Carlsberg (lager) under the stairs... and, very quickly, it became apparent that our relationship was volatile... so, eventually... the police were getting called every 5 minutes. (Trevor)*

Receiving custodial sentences for breaching several harassment orders, Trevor recalls being involved in turbulent relationships in which alcohol became the focal point of the relationship and where his levels of emotional dependency upon his partner, within a co-dependent relationship, resulted in volatility and conflict. Trevor initially outlines that his relationship with his partner was based around her readily providing alcohol. However, ongoing conflict would frequently result in his leaving the property, rendering himself intentionally homeless. This was also true within a family related DV capacity, with Trevor historically relying on his parents and subsequently engaging in aggression there. As a result, his parents refused to allow him home on account of his aggression following alcohol use. However, after further consumption of alcohol, and ruminating around whether his partner was being faithful to him, he would return to the property, which would often result in further conflict and police involvement:

> *"... (I was) wondering what she was doing, what she was up to, and yeah, that was festering all day. And, as soon as I had a drink ... where I was drunk, you know, it'd just be like… 'I'm going 'round!'" (Trevor)*

Trevor explained that he felt jealous or suspicious of his partner and regularly questioned her fidelity. Jealousy, sexual jealousy and accusations of infidelity represent risk factors that increase the potential for IPV taking place (Schumacher et. al., 2001; Heise, 1998). Trevor also explained that he most likely returned to his partners home regularly because he wanted to engage in sexual activity. In relationships that were co-dependent, perceptions of partners were relatively

superficial, with predominant focus being around; 'partying' or socialising together, using alcohol and engaging in sexual intercourse:

> *"It's probably because I want to get a jump (have sex) at night"*
> *(Trevor)*

Geoff, who also failed to adhere to a court imposed Restraining Order, and was subsequently imprisoned in respect of a breach of the order, also described similar intentions:

> *"I wanted a drinking buddy... and a shag." (Geoff)*

Alternatively, attachment issues, such as overt dependency, fear of rejection and poor strategies to address attachment issues, also represent risk factors for IPV (Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart, 1994). Despite court-imposed bail conditions not to contact the victim (following the commission of IPV offence of throwing a glass at his partner's head), Luke continued to visit the victim, following the use of alcohol:

> *Luke: "I was on bail ... we got told not to contact each other and ended up going back 'round and, er, one day, and I said; ' right, that's it, I've had enough' and I was taking me stuff out, and she was stopping me from getting out of her flat, and I barged past her, and she was grabbing and clawing me, so I grabbed her by her hair and just pulled her out the way. And then she said; 'I'm calling the police on you' using that then. Even though she wanted me to come 'round and all that do you know what I mean? ..., so I grabbed the phone and broke it. I ended up getting remanded into custody then, for that, and got an extra 15 weeks, on top of when I got sentenced for the glass thing, like. So, it was just a big massive mess like, I got myself into.*
>
> *Interviewer: Was that linked to the alcohol?*
>
> *Luke: ...definitely yeah ..."*

Luke also outlines that this episode was not an isolated contact, but ongoing visits were taking place between the couple, despite bail conditions being set. As such, issues around persistence and ongoing dependency were prioritised, risking further sanctions (which ultimately were imposed in terms of breach and subsequent additional custodial sentence) and further acts of IPV being perpetrated.

<u>Violence as a form of self-defence or provocation.</u>

Persistence within a problematic and confrontational relationship was also perceived to have resulted in increased opportunity for conflict, not only through perpetration of IPV, but also with violence representing a form of self-defence. This was a regularly occurring theme, with veterans describing the use of violence as a response to provocation or confrontation within intimate relationships:

> *'...we were rowing, he went for me, I put him down on the ground and I strangled him...'' (William)*

William described being a regular victim of both physical and psychological violence within his relationship. He explained that, from the start, he was unwilling to retaliate, on account of his being able to 'go further' and perpetrate serious, potentially fatal violence. He outlined that this stemmed from his military training, which essentially lay dormant, for numerous years following leaving the services. Eventually, going on to commit murder, he recalls a build-up of anger and resentment eventually overwhelmed him, coupled with a desensitisation to violence, acquired from the military.

Perceptions that partners were unreasonable, aggressive or confrontational was often highlighted as a precursor to violence, particularly following alcohol use (microsystem):

> *"She kicked me in the balls three times. We had an argument, and I shouted at the top of my voice 'I'm not a bellend, me!' and her 17-year-old son was upstairs, and he shouted: 'Yes you are!' So, I've got up to go to the bottom of the stairs to tell him to shut the fuck up, it's nothing to do with you and she thinks I was going upstairs to hit him... So, she's got in front of me. She hit me in the balls three times... I had my hands down there, trying to stop her from hitting me in the balls, and she's come forward... I admitted to pushing... I pushed her face... 'get out me fucking face'..." (Gordon)*

Gordon admitted that he had been drinking prior to the offence taking place but explained that he was reacting to aggression directed towards him from his

partner. He also disclosed that he felt that his military training inevitably led to his use of violence within this context (macrosystem):

> *"I can't get hit without hitting back and that stems from the army: you hit me, I'm going to fucking hit you back." (Gordon)*

Bobby felt that his partner remained in the relationship on account of his owning a property and being in receipt of a military pension. He described being frequently victimised, both mentally and physically by his partner, emphasising her depression as a catalyst to confrontation. He also described his ill health, following a military injury to his hip with his partner violently targeting this area:

> *"If someone's attacking me, I'm going to defend myself. I put her in a full arm restraint... (learned from) doing doors, erm, and close armed combat (in the military)." (Bobby)*

Whilst William acknowledged the seriousness of his offending, seeking to take full responsibility at court, Bobby sought to minimise the impact of his violence. Equally, he explained that, had he meant to, he could have seriously hurt his partner and proceeded to describe an account of the court exchange between solicitor and victim:

> *Bobby's Solicitor: 'you know what Bobby used to do in the army?' ... Do you know what he's done for the last 7 years as a job? If Bobby would have hit you, would you still be here?'*
>
> *Victim: 'Well, no'*
>
> *Bobby's Solicitor: 'Did you have any facial bruising, any other bruising other than your arm?*
>
> *Victim: 'No'.*

Geoff explained that he received an IPV conviction, after defending his daughter from an attempted assault by his partner:

> *"...we were arguing ... and she went to crack (hit) me, missed and clipped the top of (daughter's) head. I fucking went to boot her, but as I went to boot her, she fell back into a wall, smacked back of ...*

side of her head... I rung police and ... they arrested me for hitting her." (Geoff)

On this occasion IPV was contextualised in defending the wellbeing of his daughter, aligning with the self-defence perspective, in which the partner was aggressive and violence, with IPV offence taking place in the form of a violent response. Whilst instinct to protect one's daughter may be a natural response, a right to protect has also been outlined by veterans representing a core aspect of military service:

"...you feel like you've got some sort of right to protect. And I don't know, it doesn't really leave you (following leaving the army) and it's how I ended up in custody, to be honest." (Mo)

This sense of military responsibility around the inculcation of violence and perception around an institutional obligation to protect provides an additional layer to responding with the use of violence for the veteran who perceives either themselves or others, within a domestic or broader sphere, who they perceive as at risk of harm.

The Commission of more serious offences.

Violence was described, as can also be seen within Chapter 5, as something that underpinned the military experience and which occurred frequently, both within and beyond the training milieu. The inculcation of proficiency in violence as well as familiarity around its use, left a lasting impression on some soldiers:

"I wouldn't say that I got a better fighter (through service life) I've just got more violent. I'll do anything. I'll bite, I'll scratch your eyes out, I'll stab you. If I can get a knife, I'll stab you, and I'm not bothered... if you die or not." (Paul)

The military experience was attributed by Paul as where he acquired his propensity and readiness to use extreme forms of violence with little consideration for the consequences. Such experience can be seen through serious violence

committed or threatened within the index offence and within a context of desensitisation around the commission or ideation of violence, garnered through military experience:

> *"**William**: I could feel this anger building and resentment towards him (partner) and these thoughts came so easily that it scared me because: 'you could just kill him, get a hammer, hit him over the head, get a pillow, just suffocate him.' (A)nd I wasn't scared if it, I wasn't scared of doing it, I was just scared of, I don't know, It just freaked me out a bit, that it was easy to do.*
>
> ***Interviewer**: Do you think your experience of the military made that easier for you?*
>
> ***William**: Yeah, yeah. very, yeah. Just the thought of killing somebody came very easily to me."*

William explained that he felt comfortable with the thought (and eventual commission) of serious violence, namely murder, attributing this to his military training and experience. Such a disposition can be understood to have remained dormant, but readily available, years after leaving the service:

> *I talked (to lawyers) about, erm, how in the army I was desensitised to violence and all that.... in the relationship, I'd never been violent before, until this one point... I'd let him be violent towards me, but I'd never been violent... because, inside I always think; I can go that one step more, and that was a scary... and when I did let it go, I ended up killing somebody.... (my training) it helped in a way, because I knew how to put him down on the ground straight away, I knew how to subdue him ... all the training you're given in the army, it's still there, and it takes a trigger and it comes back to you. (William)*

Ultimately, there can be seen as a general capacity to commit or threaten violence and a willingness to use more serious violence, and this was present within the context of the domestic sphere also:

> *" 'I've had enough of this.' So, I've just laid into her. 'I'm going to do you and myself in (kill us both) because I can't carry on this life with me and you.'" (John – to partner)*
>
> *"Look lad, I've got a knife, I'll use it, fuck off." (Neil - to son)*
>
> *'I'm going to chop your head off." (Matty - to partner)*

The minimisation of, or threat or preparedness to use, serious violence in this sense can be understood as a result of desensitisation to violence and aggression through military experience. Veterans have been inculcated into the military in which violence is commonplace and a key tool of the soldier, particularly the infantryman. The commission or even witnessing a broad range of violence, spanning a spectrum of seriousness, from fighting within the barracks or simulated combat in training, to actual conflict and combat can be seen to result in the desensitisation of the veteran around the seriousness of such behaviour, thereby the underestimation of threatening such violence or even using it (macrosystem). Furthermore, the use of violence as a response to aggression or conflict, may therefore be understood as a form of military conditioning in which delineation between partner or stranger, may be less clear.

Additionally, alcohol use has been found to be more common in severely aggressive events, and therefore can be seen to be an aggravating factor in the severity of IPV (Leonard and Quigley, 2017; Thompson and Kingaree, 2006). Coupled with a potential to use more serious violence by veterans, the use of alcohol was also perceived to have resulted in more serious violence taking place:

> *"It was all over alcohol. If I was sat there and I hadn't had a drink, I wouldn't even think about saying anything like that." (Matty)*

Shame and Stigma of IPV and mechanisms to disavow.

In seeking to fully comprehend the commission and nature of IPV committed by veterans, some barriers prevailed which limited a broader insight into such offences. The commission of IPV offences were often perceived as a highly stigmatising offence type. As such, accounts were often recalled hazily or without significant clarity.

Stigma has been commonly associated with help seeking barriers associated with mental health issues for veterans (Wainwright et. al., 2016). Equally, Murray

(2013) has also highlighted that stigma can be associated with the 'spoilt identity' of veterans who travel through the CJS. Murray articulates that the social perception of the 'veteran' can be seen as 'good' in contrast to the negative perception of the 'offender' and that the combination of these two social identities - 'the veteran offender' - creates a tension in which the stigma of being an offender jars with the celebration and respect around being ex-forces.

Equally, for veterans, a spoilt identity can be further understood here around the commission of IPV, particularly IPV against a female partner. Such an offence can be understood as vastly different to the traditional, masculine framework of confrontation between men, as readily evidenced within the military (Chapter 5). As such, the impact of discussing such an offence and the effect it has on the pride and identity of the veteran, was understood to attract mechanisms to disavow or minimise veterans' roles and responsibility levels within the commission of IPV. Such approaches can, in some way, be understood as distancing oneself from such a spoilt identity.

Minimising levels of culpability around such offences, or the level of detail around the IPV offences were regularly employed by veterans. This was especially contrasting to the descriptions of violence towards other men:

> *"I stopped having a bit of a care, about shit that's happening... I used to be a shitbag (coward) me, when I was younger... (n)ow, I'd just go straight in, I'd fight nine guys at one time, I've done it..." (Phil)*

Phil describes acquiring a new sense of confidence within the context of fighting with others which he recalls being garnered from military experience. This, coupled with increased levels of anger and masculine attitudes towards violence, would often result in regular engagement in fighting. Yet, whilst Phil was willing to divulge a masculinised sense of confrontational anger, was directed towards groups of males within the quote above, his index offence was for IPV, something that he was less willing to expand upon. Indeed, it was marked that and IPV related offence were underplayed in terms of detail and preparedness to divulge specifics:

"Oh, that was just a slap on my partner." (Phil)

The military can be understood as an institution in which a dominant form of masculinity has been seen to have existed, where toughness, power, aggressiveness and the capacity for or competence around violence predominate (Messerschmidt, 1993; Jones, 2000; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012). Furthermore, this sense of masculinity, from not backing down, in door work, or fighting in the street post transition can be understood as an extension of this form of masculinity (see chapter 6).

Yet in discussing the IPV offence, Phil emphasised his substance misuse was impacting upon his emotional well-being, enhancing levels of anger and feelings of paranoia (ontogenic), which contributed in the offence taking place, however, he offered little else. Minimisation around the commission of violence, particularly the seriousness, as well as a reduction in the levels of responsibility associated therein was evident. Within this context, minimisation can be seen as a mechanism to disavow untraditional forms of violence, namely that which was not 'in keeping' with masculinised forms on conflict towards other men within and immediately outside the military environment. As such, it can be used as a vehicle to disavow any challenge around masculinity that may come through assaulting a female partner or vulnerable family member such as an older parent:

> *"I pushed her over, but she could have hurt herself. Erm, I was actually mortified that I did that ...a lot of that was due to the PTSD, but mixing PTSD with alcohol, you might as well just literally go into a room and pull loads of grenade pins out!" (Peter)*

Peter described his use of alcohol within the context of self-medication and as a coping strategy for symptoms of PTSD, resulting from combat deployment within the military. Nevertheless, he describes his contempt and shame around the commission of violence towards his partner, couching this immediately around his upbringing, in which he highlighted that he did not experience or witness IPV and received clear messages around such a subject:

"I wasn't brought up in a domestic violence (household). I never witnessed it. I never saw my dad raise his hand to my mum. Me dad always drilled it into me from such a young age… you show a women respect; you don't raise your hand to a woman and be a gentleman." (Peter)

Through reiterating that this was not something he witnessed within the family home, as well as referencing his father, who emphasised that violence against women was unacceptable, Peter's awareness of the use of violence against a female partner can be understood as a contravention of a culturally masculinised perspective around violence, particularly one espoused by his father (himself a military veteran) as well as within the military.

Yet masculinity, particularly within the military environment was closely linked to violence. As has been explored within the previous two chapters, the military represented a cultural context in which violence was an accepted form of conflict resolution amongst male soldiers and civilians and where an overt sense of masculinity associated with a fearlessness and willingness to engage in violence was presented. Such conflict was perceived as acceptable and was freely and openly discussed (macrosystem).

Alcohol also provided a further mechanism to reduce the levels of responsibility to be taken for such IPV. This is in the context of 'deviance disavowal' whereupon individuals can redirect responsibility away from themselves, attributing the blame to alcohol (Graham et. al., 1998; Fagan, 1993). Alan committed IPV, following the excessive consumption of alcohol, describing the use of a belt to assault his partner with (subsequently receiving a custodial sentence). He explained that the offence was excessive, in terms of the violence used and expressed concerns that alcohol impacted upon his emotional well-being as well as exacerbating levels of anger, diminishing rational thinking and resulted in serious violence taking place:

"I reckon I would have kept some kind of stability... but (for) the alcohol… that particular incidence come out of the blue. I 'd just lost my father and there's all these er, mitigating circumstances." (Alan)

Luke explained that he threw a glass at his partner's head, causing injury. He elucidated that he felt that his use of alcohol contributed to his use of serious violence, namely through the use of a weapon (the glass) and, faced with similar situation sober, would have walked away:

> *"I probably would have just walked off (if I wasn't drinking)" (Luke)*

Forms around the denial of responsibility (through the use of alcohol) can be seen to act as a mechanism to explain or justify once own digressions, whilst minimising responsibility as per 'techniques of neutralization' (Sykes and Matza, 1957):

> *"You're not yourself are you, when you've had a drink?... It's never me just causing a fight... something's triggered it, and I've just reacted in the wrong way." (Nick)*

Conclusion.

Within this chapter, domestic violence committed by veterans has been explored using a Military Integrated Nested Ecological Model framework adapted from the Nested Ecological Model outlined by Dutton (1995; 2006). Particular focus has been around the commission of IPV, in that the overwhelming majority of Domestic violence offences were committed within this context.

Focus around ontogenic and microsystem level factors contributing to the commission of IPV were initially considered as the focus of the chapter, exploring intimate and familial relationship conflict and individual factors that contributed to violence taking place within the domestic sphere. However, broader aspects across the exosystem and macrosystem, existing across a military life course, were also considered, seeking to integrate these more expansive, social and cultural influences and experiences, to better understand the commission of IPV by veterans within the CJS.

Indeed, as the MINEM approach confers, contributing features leading to violence within relationships can be understood to have stemmed from numerous

sources, and cannot be ascribed to single cause or aspect of behaviour or interaction at any single social level. Rather, a complex and interweaving set of characteristics, spanning the whole model, represents a more accurate representation of influencing factors.

IPV related risk factors and characteristics of IPV which have been well established within the general (civilian) population were present within the current findings and existed across the spectrum or various levels of the MINEM. However, some of these can be seen as augmented or complicated by a military dimension or military history.

Individual or ontological aspects around anger issues and hostility or low self-esteem or self-worth were pertinent issues within veteran related IPV. The loss of positive military qualities of camaraderie, purpose, order and structure alongside the withdrawal of articulated forms of escapism or even anger management strategies, through military training and exercise, represented difficulties in transition and problems within relationships. Furthermore, the resumption of individual levels of responsibility and expectation, which were perceived as having been trained out of the veteran, coupled with the employment of increased levels of alcohol consumption as a military inspired coping strategy, all were alluded to as areas influencing the commission of IPV related offending behaviour. Simply put, many of the perceived positive factors that had existed within the military had been removed following transition, yet some of the more negative aspects of service life remained.

A propensity for former Armed Forces personnel to have an increased capacity for using violence or aggression was evident. This was both within and beyond the domestic setting. Equally, a desensitisation to the consequences of such use even increased levels of serious violence, could be understood as emanating from the inculcation of a mindset around violence within service that was not suitably 'retrained' following transition for those who committed IPV.

The problematic use of alcohol, which was considered an aggravating factor in violence committed by veterans generally, was regularly perceived as a catalyst to conflict within veterans' relationships. Concerns associated with drinking habits and patterns of use as well as behaviour associated with such consumption were

identified as problematic. Absenting oneself from the home and domestic responsibilities therein would also often result in domestic conflict, as would consuming alcohol excessively, and returning home under the influence. Domestic conflict also rose within relationships in which mutual drinking or violence (or often both) was commonplace and was further emphasised through persistence in such relationships.

Alcohol was understood to have increased levels of anger and resentment, despite being employed as a mechanism to ameliorate such emotions. Alcohol simultaneously acted to decrease levels of self-worth and self-perception, again, whilst being used to boost confidence. In the same way, PTSD was articulated as a contributing factor to IPV, whereupon low self-esteem, anger, loss of control and isolation were again addressed by the use of alcohol, yet acting to exacerbate such emotions.

Finally, perspectives around the commission and stigma associated with IPV, coupled with the concerns surrounding a spoilt social identity were identified. The stigma and shame of committing a domestically violent offence, often against a female, can be understood to jar against a more common and often highly masculinised (self) perception of the soldier as hero, or a man 'doing their duty for queen and country'. Minimisation, deviance disavowal and claims of self-defence were mechanisms to disown full responsibility of such an act, aiming to reduce the full dereliction of the military identity, an identity that was held in very high esteem by veterans.

In conclusion, post transition, the veteran can be understood as existing within a liminal space (highlighted within Figure 4) in which various experiences of both civilian and military cultural environments, coupled with social influences therein can conflate. Such a space can be understood within the context of domestic violence offending, and perhaps violent offending more broadly, in which the various experiences of both cultures, the characteristics within these cultures, as well as various communities, relationships and individual experiences and influences combine to create a unique set of risk factors for the military veteran domestic violence offender.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the violence committed across the military life course by the military veteran offender (MVO) and the role of alcohol therein. Developing a greater understanding of the MVO represents an important contemporary issue, as there remains limited insight around this complex population or the range of potential factors that contribute to their offending behaviour (Treadwell, 2016; Murray, 2016). Furthermore, an inconsistency around targeted service provision and effective intervention for MVOs has been articulated within the CJS due to a lack of robust research within this area (Ford et. al., 2016, Murray, 2014). As such a need for a broader research base, to inform effective policy to engender more effective engagement with this population represents a priority at this stage and can be understood as central to this thesis.

Focus is particularly relevant with respect to the violence committed by the veteran, on account of violence being the most common offence committed by the MVO (DASA, 2010; 2011). As outlined in Chapter 2, the experience and role of violence within military service, alongside some broader dimensions of military life, such as masculinity (Wadham, 2016), camaraderie (James and Woods, 2010) hegemony (Connell, 2005) as well as a criminology of war (Jamieson, 2014) all represent important considerations in developing a deeper understanding around violence committed across the military life span. Furthermore, with alcohol being a common correlate of violence within the general population, as well as an important part of military life, even an occupational hazard (HLPR, 2011; Henderson et. al., 2009), the role or link(s) between violence and alcohol across the military life course represented a further key consideration of this thesis.

The MVO within the CJS of England and Wales has attracted significant media and political attention, particularly following the claim in 2008 that around 20,000 veterans were understood to be embroiled within the criminal justice system (NAPO, 2008, 2009; Murray, 2016). Since this time, there has been an increase in research, briefings, reports and growing political capital which has all added momentum to garnering a greater understanding around this population. However, concerns have

been raised around the dominant perception and political framing of the veteran within the CJS, which has, in the main, assumed a psychological and positivistic approach, in which quantitative and statistical methodologies have prevailed. As such, and whilst there have been some exceptions (HLPR, 2011; Murray, 2015, 2016) the prominent direction and intellectual focus around the MVO and their offending behaviour can be understood as being framed around individual welfare and mental health issues (often PTSD) as well as being reinforced, through the weight of the powerful political voice (Murray, 2016). Consequently, this allows the individual, namely the veteran, rather than the State or the military institution, to be held responsible for their problems post transition, and in particular, their offending behaviour.

A challenge to this particular perspective has been assumed by this thesis. By employing a qualitative, criminological approach, this research has provided an opportunity to develop a subjective form of understanding around the impact of the military as well as transitional experiences for veterans within the CJS. It has interrogated and analysed individual biographies and considered how identities can be shaped and reshaped throughout a military experience and beyond, or across a military life course. It also articulated what factors have been understood as contributing to the violence of the veteran within the CJS, in particular, following the use of alcohol. Ultimately, it has provided an opportunity to hear the voices of the veterans, which have been largely absent (Murray, 2016).

Key findings.

During Service

The experience of a military culture and a resultant military identity represent aspects of the MVO's biography that are key to understanding the violence committed by this population within the CJS. During the military phase, MVO's use of violence was found to span a 'legitimacy spectrum'. The military environment embodied a culture in which a fine line between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' forms of violence can be observed, often with blurred lines. Violence was 'legitimately'

inculcated into the soldier as a matter of occupational necessity, conditioning and acclimatising the recruit to the use of violence. This fundamental aspect of the training process taught MVOs to be proficient and confident in the use of violence as well as being desensitised to its use and observance. Beyond this, informal or unsanctioned violence was regularly observed and employed. To maintain discipline, establish hegemony, enact during initiations or within the context of bullying, violence spanned a legitimacy spectrum and was pervasive.

Violence provided opportunities to display masculinity and fearlessness, which were perceived as essential traits of a good soldier. Equally, violence could be understood as a commodity, with the most proficient and able acquiring (informal) power and a higher status within the barracks. As such, a collective meaning and understanding around what it *is* to be a soldier and a *man*, and how violence forms a key part of that meaning, across a range of settings, represents a powerful finding of this research. Such a comprehension of what violence means and represents to the soldier can be seen to have left a lasting impression upon MVOs. The findings of this thesis emphasise that violence learned and inculcated within service as well as the conditioning associated with such violence can be understood as having pervaded across the military life course.

A further finding of this thesis is that alcohol use represented a significant aspect of military life, emanating from what was perceived as an established 'military drinking culture' for participants. Alcohol was institutionally and culturally approved and endorsed, providing an opportunity to bond with fellow soldiers and escape the rigours of work. It was also perceived as a coping strategy for soldiers who felt unable to communicate problems or concerns with colleagues. Equally, it was a way to 'do' masculinity. Binge drinking and nights out were frequent, and masculinised forms of competition around excessive consumption of alcohol, pursuing female company and fighting would take place regularly. Aligning to the violence instilled within the soldier, the use of alcohol and the key messages linked to such use, enhancing masculinity, socialisation and group cohesion can also be understood as aligning to a military culture well established within service, representing and reinforcing a potent and enduring aspect of military life.

Against the backdrop of a perceived alcohol culture, the substance was identified as a common risk or aggravating factor associated with some forms of violence during military life. This can be primarily be understood within the context of the setting, such as that of the NTE (e.g. Leonard et. al., 2003) as well as the set, regarding concepts of group loyalty and masculinity (Tomsen, 1997). However, whilst links between alcohol and violence can be understood within well-established general literature (see Appendix 3a) a key finding of this thesis is that there exists a nuanced link between alcohol, violence and military life for MVO's.

The alcohol related violence that took place was wide-ranging in terms of its setting as well as adversaries. Such violence could take place against civilians' or soldiers of other regiments, usually within the NTE, or soldiers within the same regiment, within the NTE or barrack setting. Alcohol related violence committed by service personnel was understood to include an opportunity to reinforce key aspects of military life. This can be seen above, as concerning a sense of group loyalty and camaraderie, as well as within the context of masculinity, in which drinking excessively and well as displaying violence effectively, provided an opportunity to evidence and reinforce hegemony and bolster reputations.

The NTE is understood as a setting in which alcohol related violence is of increased likelihood, especially due to the high levels of intoxicated males being present (Leonard et. al., 2003; Homel and Clark, 1994). However, this risk was enhanced, particularly within the setting of the garrison town, where Armed Forces personnel regularly consume alcohol. Participants recall being subject to victimisation from civilians seeking to physically challenge soldiers on nights out, to 'test' their capability around violence. Alternatively, acknowledgment of a military or 'squaddie mentality' was articulated, in which, when together, the attitudes and behaviours displayed by military personnel, such as boisterousness or even obnoxiousness, often attracted confrontation. However, on occasion, MVOs recall being targeted for simply being in the military, recalling an absence of overt military displays. Often this would result in wider confrontation, on account of a military and therefore State imbued sense of camaraderie, with a 'one in all in' mentality, akin to

concepts of group loyalty outlined by Tomsen (1997) yet specifically attached to the military cultural and inculcated learnings.

Within the NTE, recollections of the military police responding to violent incidents and soldiers avoiding civilian criminal justice sanctions were prominent. As such, institutional and cultural acceptance around alcohol related violence, through the minimisation around military sanctions and consequences, were articulated and perceived as reinforced. Also, whilst the combination of using violence, following the use of alcohol, whilst in service can be understood as 'Illegitimate', such alcohol related violence was regularly perceived as tacitly sanctioned and tolerated within the military, as well as functional and effective in developing a key military skill associated with aggression and fearlessness. Again, the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate violence can be understood as blurred.

Beyond Service

Beyond the military environment, this thesis emphasised the importance of transition to civilian life, particularly the barriers and difficulties experienced therein, as a key phase within the MVO's biography and experience. Immediately following discharge from the Armed Forces, feelings of rejection, dislocation and loss were common, with veterans recalling how they struggled to reacclimatise or rebuild a purposeful life beyond the military walls. A sense of rejection from an institution they had invested so much of themselves into pervaded and the lack of structure and order that veterans were immediately faced with further accentuated this rejection. This lack of structure and support, left many experiencing feelings of loss and frustration, resulting in increased levels of alcohol use, as well as daytime drinking patterns, engaging in familiar coping strategies established within service.

Central to the MVOs experience of transition was that they experienced particular difficulties and barriers to effective assimilation into civilian life, predominantly in the key areas of employment, accommodation, mental health and relationships. Such areas align with commonly recognised criminogenic risk need factors of the general offending population within the CJS (Canton and Dominey, 2018) and that are accepted as closely aligned to risk of offending as well as the

commission of harm. However, a further and clearly unique dimension of this research, namely that of a military history, can be understood to complicate these risks and need factors for veterans. Specifically, this thesis argues that the cultural aspects of military life and the development and inculcation of a military identity can be understood as a factor that can contribute to shaping a veteran's propensity or risk around committing violence, as well complicating other, common criminogenic risk factors outlined above.

A lack of employment opportunities as well as the unexpected absence of transferrable skills within the civilian workforce resulted in an abundance of free time as well as a lack of structure, purpose and income for veterans. Such experiences contributed to frustration and stress with many participants turning to a common and familiar coping strategy, namely that of alcohol, to block or dispel these feelings. Alternatively, some participants engaged in a profession in which the familiar use of violence and the ubiquity of alcohol coalesced, namely 'doorwork' in the NTE.

Difficulties in acquiring or maintaining suitable accommodation, often associated with relationships breaking down and resulting in homelessness or transient living were experienced post transition. Opportunities to consume alcohol, once again as a coping strategy or sleep-inducing agent, and engage in violence and confrontation availed themselves regularly, particularly when rough sleeping or whilst residing in hostel accommodation, which were described as environments in which substances were ever-present and unavoidable, as were experiences of violence and victimisation.

Alcohol also became a coping strategy to deal with mental health issues, particularly that of PTSD and depression, post transition. Such an approach often exacerbated the symptoms that veterans were seeking to ameliorate, and many described violence ensuing as a result, both directed towards others, including family members, partners as well as themselves. Furthermore, a perceived lack of formal support from the armed services in transition coupled with a reluctance and shame around seeking help around such issues, led to a perpetuation of the problem, which, in some cases, precipitated the commission of the violence for which they were eventually convicted and entered the CJS in respect of.

When focusing specifically upon the nature and type of offending committed by the MVO, domestic violence, in particular IPV, was found to be the most common. This was in direct contrast to the highly masculinised and competitive violence disclosed within the military environment, which was committed against other men. In light of this key finding, the thesis introduced an analytical tool, namely the Military Informed Nested Ecological Model, to provide a broader analytical framework to offer insight into the commission of IPV committed by veterans, by taking into account contributory factors across the military life course.

The cultural and social aspects and experiences of the military environment, around the use of violence and of alcohol, can be found within the macrosystem and exosystem levels of the MINEM (see Chapter 5) with emphasis around the various cultural dimensions and wide-reaching impact that have endured beyond military life. Beyond this, the transitional difficulties that veterans experienced, moving from an all-encompassing, highly masculinised and cohesive culture to a new, unfamiliar and individualised environment, in which barriers, resistance and a lack of opportunities prevailed for veterans can be understood as populating the macrosystem, exosystem and microsystem levels of the model (see Chapter 6). This new and unfamiliar civilian culture and community structure, coupled with employment barriers, mental health and accommodation issues precipitated conditions that, for many could be understood as contributing to offending behaviour taking place.

Beyond this, relationships (microsystem) and individual (ontological) factors then became the key areas of focus. Frequency of confrontation and subsequent violence within relationships were common, with veterans articulating that alcohol related behaviour, such as excessive use, absenting oneself from the family home or failing to fulfil domestic responsibilities contributed to such confrontations. Equally, when partners sought to challenge veterans' excessive drinking habits, such incidents were identified as catalysts for confrontation. Excessive alcohol use, which was perceived as being established and pervasive within the military environment,

remained present beyond transition. Domestic confrontation also occurred within relationships where mutual alcohol consumption was reported. Seeking out likeminded partners as well as persistence in, and over dependence on, such relationships were evidenced, increasing the likelihood for both alcohol use and the commission of violence.

Excessive use of violence within domestic settings were described by some as being resultant of a military experience, through desensitisation to violence or increased levels of violent ideation. Some participants minimised levels of violence used, as both a mechanism to disavow levels of untraditional forms of violence (namely gendered violence) or through denial of responsibility. Equally, alcohol represented an aggravating factor within such offences, as well as a form of deviance disavowal or minimisation of responsibility (Fagan, 1993).

Individual, or ontological issues such as anger and hostility were also identified as contributing factors to IPV. Explanations around the inculcation of such emotions and attitudes within the military, and a lack of effective transition to address such feelings, were articulated. The military represented an environment in which such emotions could be addressed, for example through robust physical activities. However, within civilian life, such opportunities were diminished or removed. Often, alcohol use was employed as a coping strategy for such emotions, resulting in the exacerbation of such feelings, leading to confrontation within the domestic setting.

Mental health issues, particularly that of PTSD, were cited as factors within the commission of IPV. Self-described symptoms around low self-esteem and self-worth associated with PTSD, alongside alcohol use as coping strategy, which acted to aggravate symptoms, were identified by veterans as contributory factors to violence within relationships. Loss of control, increased levels of anger, lack of understanding around where to turn and acquire appropriate support as well as feelings associated with shame were raised within this capacity.

Key within this analysis is the understanding that various aspects across the military life course can be seen to combine in different ways, to be understood as factors that contribute to violence committed by veterans, particularly that of IPV.

Across the macrosystem, veterans experience disparate cultures, namely that of the civilian and the military. Such cultural learnings from both environments can be understood to clash, where messages around violence and alcohol are incongruent as well as being difficult to reconcile for some post transition. Within the exosystem, the opportunities available for veterans' post transition, the difficulties experienced within the aftermath of service, the disadvantages and obstacles to returning to work, to resume a sense of order, as well as reliance on culturally imbued coping strategies, all can be understood as ongoing barriers for the veteran to navigate. Such issues and the responses can be seen to impact at a microlevel as well as an individual stage, resulting in confrontation, violence and ongoing substance misuse within intimate and familial relationships.

Military service is often understood as a positive life experience, which benefits recruits in a variety of different ways. Equally, a majority of ex-service personnel leave the service without incident, and ultimately, do not end up in the criminal Justice system. Ultimately, for most, military service does not represent a contributing factor to future offending. However, for those veterans interviewed within this study, military service *can* be understood as a factor that, in a variety of ways, across a range of interactive levels outlined within the MINEM, contributed to various forms of violence as well as alcohol use across the military life course. Unpicking such complex multi-layered and interactive issues represents the starting point for a better understanding of the veteran within the CJS.

Limitations of the research.

The findings within this research can be understood as being conducted within the specific time and place, within the context of a set of specific circumstances (Silverman, 2017). As such, and on account of the limited numbers of veterans that have taken part within this research, the generalisability of the current findings are considered limited.

As outlined within Chapters 1 and 4, the lack of formal recording of veteran status within the CJS, particularly within probation, impacted upon this research. This

was initially with respect to fulfilling the originally proposed research plan, however, identification of veterans to interview was also restricted as a result. This limitation can also be understood within the context of the TR agenda and devolution of probation services across a range of providers. This was as access to the offending population as a whole was restricted due to the 'silos' that have been created as a result (Senior, 2016). Equally, pressure on case managers and the increased workloads that have resulted in lieu of TR can be understood as likely to have impeded the motivation for the identification and liaison with myself as a researcher.

The current research incorporates the authors own biography, as articulated within the methodology section. Whilst this can be considered a strength as this represents a unique, specific and tailored piece of research, orientated towards a practitioner's perspective, there is also a potential downside in that the focus of the research can be understood as a relatively narrow perspective. Furthermore, the focus on narrow aspects of the MVO offending and the military life span can be perceived as a limitation. Both incorporation of a life course perspective and, expanding the thesis to include participants' experiences of the CJS in particular, would have broadened the appeal of such research. Regrettably, there was limited space within the thesis to do this with respect to the latter findings. Furthermore, on account of only conducting one interview, a lack of depth afforded to pre military status was implemented.

Recommendations for policy and future research.

Nevertheless, despite the above limitations, the research and subsequent findings that have been outlined within this thesis provide important implications around future policy and practice direction concerning ex-service personnel within the CJS. Initially a recommendation that veterans are formally recorded within each stage of the CJS is vital. This is not only for the purposes of clarity around the numbers which have so far evaded the CJS, but also to formally recognise the importance and relevance around a legacy of military service for some MVOs within the CJS as well as its incorporation into future risk and need assessments. Further research around

exploring why some veterans may not wish to volunteer such information may be perceived as important at this time.

A further recommendation is that the biography of the MVO needs to be more prominent when working with this population at any stage of the CJS. This biography has been articulated as a key criminological consideration when seeking to comprehend the violence committed and the role that alcohol played within the use of violence for those seeking to effectively engage with such a population.

Employing the MINEM for veterans convicted of IPV related offences provides a framework to better comprehend and organise such a biography. It allows for a deeper and more holistic approach with respect to assessing the risks and needs of the veteran, particularly as, whilst these can be seen to align to some of the risks and needs of the general offending population, they can also problematise and augment the generic risk and need factors that are understood within the CJS.

The MINEM can also provide insight into protective factors that have existed across the military life course as well as provide an opportunity for veterans to engage with their own past experience, with a view to articulate and comprehend their own military experience and its impact on experiences of transition and offending behaviour. As such, further research around the applicability of the MINEM within practice is required. Developing the MINEM as a useable and effective framework tool for assessing veterans who commit IPV in the first instance should be undertaken. Equally, further research focusing on IPV is required across qualitative and quantitative methodologies and would benefit the development of the MINEM, to strengthen the existing features of the model.

Indeed, beyond this, and because the MINEM focuses around the IPV committed by the MVO, further research around its applicability across various forms of violence committed by the MVO should be considered in future research. Focus around familial DV as well as broader forms of violence such as sexual offences should be undertaken in future research, particularly as sexual offending represents the second most common offence committed by MVOs within the CJS (DASA, 2010). Furthermore, research considering and incorporating broader criminogenic risk factors and exploring this against a military biography within the context would

benefit the development of the MINEM as the basis to inform a more generalisable assessment tool, for MVOs within the CJS.

Limitations articulated around considering the experiences of MVOs within the CJS have been articulated earlier within this chapter, and would benefit from further research, particularly around investigating the institutional similarities between the military and prison life. Within the current research project, discussion with participants took place around this area. However, owing to limited space, this information was omitted from the thesis. Further analysis and exploration around how veterans perceive, engage and cope within the prison environment represents a further area to better comprehend the MVO within the CJS will represent a future output from this data.

Returning to Ford and Colleague's (2016) concern around the lack of research associated with this population, until better research is undertaken to inform best practice and policy around this population, MVOs will continue to be assessed by generic risk assessment tool, potentially without reference to an important, even key aspect of their own biography.

Conclusion.

The current research presents qualitative evidence that militarisation *can* be understood to impact upon certain MVOs at certain points across the military life course, with respect to their use of violence and / or alcohol consumption. Such violence and alcohol use not only occurs within post transition experiences and offending, but also during military service, thereby existing fully across the military life course. The thesis highlights that those veterans who do enter the CJS, particularly where violence represents the index offence and where alcohol is recognised as a risk factor, require their experiences of the military to be explored. Indeed, simply to acknowledge that violence represents a key aspect of military service for many can represent a starting point with a view to better understand veteran offending post transition. Equally, to acknowledge that alcohol represents a cultural aspect of the military that individuals can assimilate and potentially bring back to civilian life, also requires unpacking for some veterans. Such an approach will

allow for a better comprehension of alcohol related offending and setting in motion appropriate and applied forms of rehabilitation and reform. Beyond this, opportunities for veterans to narrate their own life experiences more broadly should be provided to individuals within the CJS. To take into account the military life course within any narrative provides an opportunity to facilitate the desistance journey for the violent veteran within the CJS.

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1 – Glossary

Appendix 3A – Alcohol and Violence general literature.

Appendix 4A – 'Case Manager summary'

Appendix 4B – 'Introduction Letter'

Appendix 4C – 'Participant Information Sheet'

Appendix 4D – 'Consent to Participate in research'

Appendix 4E – Interview Schedule.

Appendix 4F – Support Phone Numbers and Addresses.

Appendix 4G - Original Research Proposal

Appendix 1 – Glossary

- **ARMS** – Active Risk Management System.

- **ASB** – Anti-Social Behaviour.

- **ASPD** – Antisocial Personality Disorder.

- **AUDIT** - Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test

- **AWOL** – Absent Without Leave.

- **CDA** – Criminal Damage Act.

- **CJA** - Criminal Justice Act.

- **CJA, 1988** – Criminal Justice Act, 1988.

- **CJS** - Criminal Justice System.

- **CRC** – Community Rehabilitation Company.

- **CSJ** – Centre for Social Justice.

- **DASA** – Defence Analytical Services and Advice

- **DV** – Domestic Violence

- **EF** – Executive Functioning.

- **EFAN** – Ex-Forces Advice Network.

- **ESL** – Early Service Leaver.

- **FFL** – French Foreign Legion.

- **FIMT** – Forces In Mind Trust.

- **GP** – General Practitioner.

- **GPP** – General Prisoner Population.

- **HLPR** – Howard League for Penal Reform.

- **HMP** – Her Majesty's Prison.

- **HMPPS** - Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Services.

- **INEM** – Integrated Nested Ecological Model.

- **IPV** – Intimate Partner Violence.

- **LJMU** – Liverpool John Moores University.

- **KCL** – King's College London.

- **KCMHR** – Kings Centre for Military Health Research

- **MA** – Master of Arts.

- **MINEM** - Military Informed Nested Ecological Model

- **MOD** – Ministry of Defence.

- **MOJ** – Ministry of Justice.

- **MUP** – Minimum Unit Pricing.

- **MVO** – Military Veteran Offender.

- **NAPO** – National Association of Probation Officers.

- **NCO** – Non-commissioned Officers.

- **NEM** – Nested Ecological Model.

- **NGO** - Non-governmental organisation.

- **NOMS** – National Offender Management Service.

- **NPS** – National Probation Service.

- **NTE** – Nighttime Economy.

- **OAPA, 1861** – Offences Against the Person Act 1861.

- **OASys** – Offender Assessment System.

- **OGRS** – Offender General Reconviction Score.

- **ORA, 2014** – Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014.

- **ORA, 2014** – Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014.

- **PA** – Police Act.

- **PHA, 1997** - Protection from Harassment Act 1997.

- **PIS** – Participant Information Sheet.

- **POW** – Prisoner of War

- **PSS** – Post Sentence Supervision.

- **PTSD** – Posttraumatic Stress Disorder.

- **RAF** – Royal Air Force.

- **RAR** - Rehabilitation Activity Requirement.

- **RBL** – Royal British Legion.

- **REME** - Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.

- **SARA** – Spousal Assault Risk Assessment.

- **SSAFA** – 'SSAFA - The Armed Forces charity' formerly known as; 'Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen and Families Association'.

- **TR** – Transforming Rehabilitation.

- **UK** – United Kingdom.

- **USA** – United States of America.

- **VICS** – Veterans in Custody Scheme.

- **VICSO** - Veterans in Custody Scheme Officer.

- **WHO** – World Health Organisation.

- **WW I/II** – World War I/II.

Appendix 3A - Alcohol and Violence general literature.

Graham, Wells and West (1997) highlight that most explanations around the impact of alcohol on violence have implicit or explicit links to general explanations of aggression and should be considered within this context. Alcohol can impact on some of these aspects, thereby becoming another factor impacting upon the event of aggression.

Despite a fairly extensive theoretical literature having developed exploring the relationship between alcohol and aggression, there remains a relatively limited empirical research base alongside a slim descriptive dataset (Graham et. al., 1997). This perhaps rests upon the fact that causality is difficult to assert. Whilst there can be little doubt that there is a relationship between alcohol and crime (including violence), the nature of the relationship and concept of causality between alcohol and violence is less clear (Lipsey et. al., 1997). Most drinking does not result in a crime (including violence) and even those who are the most criminally inclined do not commit offences on every occasion they use alcohol (Lightowlers, 2015c; Roizen, 1997). Boles and Miotto (2003) refer to evidence conducted in laboratory and empirical studies pointing to the possibility of a causal role between alcohol and violence within their literature review. however, the authors assert that most 'real world studies' observe this relationship as exceedingly complex, involving a range of varying and interacting 'pharmacological, endocrinological, neurobiologic, genetic, situational, environmental, social and cultural determinants' (Miczek et. al., cited in Boles and Miotto, 2003: 163). Indeed, even if causality was evidenced, it would be through a 'loose causal coupling' rather than a causation in which aggression resulted in every circumstance in which alcohol was consumed (Lipsey et. al., 1997).

Equally, notwithstanding the formidable methodological challenges that exist exploring the 'complex relationship' between alcohol and violence outlined above (Lipsey et al, 1997: 248), even the specific variables of what constitutes alcohol use or violence raises questions around difficulties in firmly establishing causality within

previous research (ibid: Fagan, 1990). Lipsey and colleagues (1997) consider the definition of alcohol use, and emphasise that the 'acute' and 'chronic' effects of alcohol on violence is of fundamental importance. The 'acute' effect of alcohol considers a violent incident taking place following the use of alcohol within a timeframe defined by the presence of alcohol in psychoactive form in an individual's system. The chronic effects of alcohol on violence sees the user as the unit of measurement and considers their patterns of alcohol use and violence is considered over time (ibid). Unfortunately, Lipsey and colleagues (1997) indicate that there is a limited definition around what is 'acute' and 'chronic' alcohol use, thereby rendering research findings within their meta-analysis as a 'fuzzy set' of data when referring to the construct of alcohol. This is particularly considered true when referring to 'chronic' alcohol use being referred to as 'alcoholism', 'social drinking' 'abuse' and 'binge drinking' (ibid :249-250).

Furthermore, defining when the excessive use of alcohol becomes problematic for the individual drinker, has been described as difficult by Deegan (1999: 1) who asserts that whilst those who are categorised as 'dependant' drinkers can be, 'without doubt', associated with criminal behaviour, equally, 'binge' drinkers who are not alcohol dependent necessarily, but who cannot control their behaviour through excessive alcohol use, can become involved in crime.

Terms such as 'misuse' and 'abuse' are frequently used in conjunction with excessive alcohol consumption (often interchangeably) in which problems can result. 'Misuse' has been considered to refer to the inappropriate use of alcohol through drinking to get drunk or drinking at work (Bennett and Holloway, 2005). 'Abuse' refers to excessive or harmful levels where alcohol related legal, social or interpersonal problems can exist or major role obligations can be avoided (such as increased work absences through alcohol) (DSM: V, 2013). Bennett and Holloway's (2005) articulate that misuse' is less judgemental and carries less stigma, but still refers to the excessive use of alcohol which can result in violence.

Theory and explanations: Alcohol and violence.

Pernanen (1993) highlights that there exist two very general distinctions between the approaches that seek to explain the relationship between alcohol and aggression. The first is made up of 'alcohol specific conceptual frames' in which some aspect of alcohol is stressed as the causal or main role of the aggression and in which environmental or situational factors do not interact with alcohol to increase the risk of aggression. The second uses 'processive frames' made up of multi-determinant factors which integrate the contributions of one or more alcohol factors with other factors in the aetiology of alcohol-related violent behaviour. Pernanen (1993:39) goes on to concede that the two may converge, however, this would be considered as 'processive in nature.'

Graham and colleagues (1997) outline 52 potential explanations and theories regarding alcohol related violence, which include the physiological, emotional and cognitive effects of the substance ('alcohol specific conceptual frames') as well as drawing attention to important social, situational, environmental factors of the drinking environment as well as characteristics of individual drinkers ('processive frames') all of which have been posited to contribute to violence. They categorise these explanations into three areas of:

1. *The effects of alcohol;*
2. *The drinking set or setting and;*
3. *The expectations and other characteristics of individual drinkers.*

Graham and Homel (2008: 39) refer to this classification as 'the currently accepted understanding of the alcohol-violence link', following formally acknowledging the importance of the process containing an individual who is willing to be aggressive whilst drinking.

1. *The Effects of alcohol.*

When considering the 'effects of alcohol', research and theory considers the areas of the physiological, perceptual and motor, emotional, cognitive and other psychological impacts within the alcohol violence relationship. A basic, Physiologically based, 'alcohol specific' relationship has been referred to within the context of 'the Disinhibition Model' (Bushman, 1997: Giancola, 2013) which contends that alcohol pharmacologically impacts on the brain function of the consumer, which disinhibits brain centres responsible for inhibitory control over behaviour (Graham, 1980; Gincola, 2013). Whilst some support exists for within a laboratory setting, they may not apply to the 'real world' (Boles and Miotto, 2006). Equally, this model has been labelled overly deterministic, and, as not all persons who drink become aggressive, has attracted limited support (Steele and Josephs, 1990; Lightowlers, 2015a).

Developed from the disinhibition model, the 'Indirect Cause model' has been proposed to explain how alcohol can affect psychological (including cognitive and emotional) and physiological processes, which may increase the probability of aggression (Graham, 1980; Bushman, 1997). Bushman (1997) conducted a meta-analytic review of over 60 pieces of research to test the validity of the disinhibition and indirect cause explanations of the alcohol related aggression relationship, finding consistency within results around the 'indirect cause' model. Some aspects of the 'indirect cause' model can be seen contained within the following areas of 'Perceptual and Motor', 'Emotional', 'Cognition' and 'other psychological'.

Perceptual and motor issues have been linked to alcohol and aggression**.** Alcohol has been perceived as increasing levels of sensitivity to pain, increasing the likelihood of intoxicated individuals to respond aggressively to painful stimuli (Pihl and Peterson, 1993). Alternatively, alcohol may reduce pain sensitivity, therefore leading to aggression due to a lack of concern around painful consequences of actions (Cutter et. al., cited in Graham et. al., 1997). Conversely, alcohol consumption can result in unsteadiness and poor spatial awareness, potentially resulting into the

intoxicated individual bumping into people, causing irritation and provoking aggression (Pernanen, 1993).

The emotional effects of alcohol have been suggested as potential contributors to acts of aggression through 'emotional plasticity', in which the individual's response to an event may be stronger than usual (Pliner and Cappell, cited in Graham et. al., 1997), and may result in the drinker overreacting to aggression-provoking situations, resulting in increased aggression (Graham, 1980).

Graham and Homel (2008) refer to heightened emotionality as resulting in increasing the drinkers focus on the present, immediate activities, without consideration of the past, future or day to day responsibilities. They suggest that research (Graham et. al., 2000; Graham and Wells, 2003) recognize alcohol related emotionality resulting in increased levels of stimulation and agitation, which can inevitably lead to aggression. Equally, alcohol reduces inhibitory control of pre-existing emotions/feelings (Pernanen, 1976). As people can use this substance to suppress negative emotions such as rage, guilt and depression (Fagan, 1990), aggression may result, despite an attempt to suppress such feelings.

Certain aspects of cognition have been posited as important areas of consideration. Pernanen (1976) found that alcohol reduces the psychological coping strategies employed in the brain that effectively interpret situations, including various internal and external cues, which may offer clues to the intentions of another individual in precarious situations. This 'narrowing of the perceptual field' (Graham et. al., 1997 cited in Graham, 1980) may result in a random or arbitrary assessment of the situation, which increases the potential to act aggressively. Taylor and Leonard (cited in Giancola, 2013) suggest that the cognitive disruption of alcohol impacts the balance of instigative (e.g. threats and insults) and inhibitory (e.g. anxiety and norms of reciprocity) cues in hostile situations. This then results in a reduction of information being assimilated and processed by the individual, and a likelihood that they will respond to the most dominant cues in the specific and immediate circumstances, i.e. that of aggression.

Steele and Josephs (1990) refer to 'alcohol myopia' or the impairment of perception and thought following alcohol use. The theory considers impelling and inhibitory cues, of which the former signal the instigation of an action and are thought to require relatively little cognitive processing and the latter signalling to a person to refrain from or resist engaging in an action and requires more cognitive attention (Zawacki et. al., 2005). As consideration for the full spectrum of likely outcomes or consequences of one's behaviours are reduced significantly through alcohol myopia, the (impelling) cues are focused upon and impulse driven behaviour is employed (ibid) at the expense of the inhibitory cues, which consist of broader peripheral considerations and embedded meanings within a setting (Steele and Josephs, 1990).

There are overwhelming similarities between Taylor and Leonard (1983) and Steele and Josephs' (1990) theories, with the difference being that Steele and Joseph have 'explicitly posited the hypothetical mechanism of 'inhibition conflict' as a determinant of when alcohol will, and will not, facilitate aggression' (Giancola, 2013: 40-41). 'Inhibition conflict' between a response prompted one set of cues is opposed by another set of cues that seek to inhibit the response, and which signal the negative consequences of such a response. Alcohol can impact on this dynamic, focusing on the most salient of the cues, as described above (Steele and Southwick, 1985).

Pihl, Peterson and Lau (1993) considered a 'biosocial model' regarding alcohol and aggression, citing that acute alcohol consumption impacts upon the functioning of the pre-frontal cortex (linked to executive cognitive functioning) as well as the hippocampus, which assists in the recognition of threat (Giancola, 2013). Their research concluded that alcohol increases aggression by reducing anxiety and fear levels within the perpetrator, reducing the concerns around potential consequences of their actions if aggressive (Graham and Homel, 2008). Equally, they found that aggressive responses are posited to also be enhance through alcohol's psychomotor stimulant properties (Giancola, 2013).

Giancola (2004) highlights that the cognitively linked theories of the alcohol / violence relationship represent components of a more general construct, referred to 'Executive Functioning' (EF). EF influences part of the brain which attends to and appraises situations, allows the perspectives of others to be considered, the consideration of the consequences of one's actions, and an ability to defuse hostile situations (Giancola, 2000; Graham and Homel, 2008). When alcohol is introduced, this process can be altered, and aggression can result. Indeed, alcohol was found to increase aggression in men with lower 'executive functioning' as well as the ability to cognitively self-regulate (Giancola, 2004) however this was not observed in research conducted by Lau, Pihl and Peterson (1995).

Other Psychological dimensions of the alcohol / aggression relationship have been described by Graham and colleagues (1997) as including alcohol use acting to reduce the consequential thinking skills of the drinker as well as increasing the likelihood of impulsive behaviour, including that of aggression (Parker, 1993). Equally, intoxication has the effect of reducing assessing risks effectively, thereby increasing the likelihood of an individual taking greater risks than normal (Dingwall, 2006; Pihl and Peterson, 1993). Alternatively, even if effective risk assessment has been undertaken, drinkers are more willing to take risks (ibid).

2. The Drinking Set and Setting.

2.1. The Drinking Set: The group.

The 'drinking set' can be perceived through Zinberg's (1984) definition of a 'set', which consists of a group and its collective personality (cited in Fagan, 1993). Group mentality, and its ability to shape and uphold (and even enforce) such a collective personality is important to comprehend when considering impact of others around the relationship between alcohol and violence. This is particularly pertinent if a group is normatively oriented towards violence, as drinking sessions may be shaped by this and therefore directed towards such behaviour (ibid).

The alcohol / violence relationship is mediated by social norms and cultural expectancies (Lightowlers, 2015a; Graham, 1980; Evans, 1970) and the extent to which individuals become aggressive following consuming alcohol varies greatly across different cultures (Graham and Homel, 2008; Wells and Graham, 2001). Levinson (1983) found that alcohol related aggression is more likely in cultures in which there was more acceptance of violence and in drinking settings where aggression is expected and perceived as a legitimate part of the drinking occasion (cited in Graham et. al., 1997). Equally, the prevalence of alcohol related violence was highest within countries where drinking leads to intoxication (Bye and Rossow, 2010).

In an ethnographic study around drinking, violence and social disorder, 'group loyalty' and 'fighting for fun' were highlighted to link alcohol and violence (Tomsen, 1997). Similarly, Graham and West (2003) observed some patrons joining in fights on nights out that did not involve them directly (they may have been friends of the fighting party or even strangers who enjoyed fighting). Tomsen (1997: 98) proffered that such drunken violence may also have represented a 'symbolic power contest' between drinkers and authority figures (in this case the door staff and club owners).

Tomsen (1997) further explored the violence within the context of cultural criminology, exploring concepts linked to Presdee's (2000) 'Carnival of Crime'. Presdee refers to the 'carnival' as a 'time out of time' in which excess and behaviours outside the cultural norm can take place and in which transgressions (in this case violence) can act to defy hegemony or social order. The author interpreted that alcohol related violence could represent a liberating and attractive sense of release, group pleasure and carnival. He described such behaviour as a form of cultural resistance, through which the symbolic rejection of middle-class values, leisure habits and lifestyles took place, often resulting in unjust and unprovoked assaults.

Tomsen (1997) also refers to 'power displays' being observed in drinking settings, in which individuals seek to 'assert social power' as well as 'experiencing increased sensitivity to its challenge'. This was perceived within a highly masculinized context, with a 'masculine social identity' and 'male honour' being recognized as key

characteristics that certain individuals would seek to preserve, often through the use of violence and confrontation, following heavy group drinking. Indeed, alcohol, when consumed in large amounts, has been found to result in an increased concern about demonstrating 'personal power' among males (McLelland et. al. cited in Graham and Homel, 2008)., Graham and Wells (2003) also found that male honour and 'face saving' were motivations for barroom aggression. The social context of the bar was perceived to be an environment in which macho concerns could be displayed and that this type of aggressive behaviour was perceived as normative within such a context, whereas in other environments, such as within a university campus, such behaviour would be considered out of place. Graham and Homel (2008) remind us that the effects of alcohol and aggression are likely to be multiplied when the number of intoxicated people are higher and involved within an incident. If this incident takes place within a drinking establishment in which macho power is a central concern, then the effects of alcohol are likely to increase the power concerns for everyone involved within the set thereby potentially increasing escalation and potential seriousness of the outcome (ibid).

Other forms of masculinity are evidenced with respect to the consumption of alcohol. Lemle and Mishkind (1989: 215) suggest that US culture (which is similar to UK culture) perceives heavy drinking as symbolic of masculinity, with alcohol adding 'manliness to any occasion'. De Visser and Smith (2007) conducted research regarding alcohol consumption and masculine Identity among young men, finding a link between the two, with perceptions that real men should be able to drink and hold their drink (i.e. avoiding becoming too inebriated). Other key dimensions of masculinity were found to be linked with drug use, sex and fighting (ibid) as well as; "unconventionality, risk taking, and aggressiveness" (Lemle and Mishkind, 1989: 216), reinforcing masculinity as encompassing alcohol use and violence as expectations of a real man.

2.2 The Drinking setting:

2.2.1   The public setting:

The drinking setting has been highlighted as playing a significant role within the occurrence of aggression, with various beliefs, values and expectations about a drinking setting, being perceived to potentially increase the likelihood of alcohol related aggression (Graham et. al., 1997). Statistics outline that alcohol related violence took most commonly within a pub or club location (with 93% of the violent incidents that took place there being recorded as alcohol related) (ONS, 2015b) Other areas such as 'public spaces' (of which public transport, streets and well as pubs and club grounds) recorded 70% of all incidents involved alcohol, with 'around work' (43%) 'at home' (40%) and 'other' (39%) all returning lower percentages of alcohol related violence. However, it is important to highlight that domestic violence reporting is likely to be underreported therefore read with caution (ibid).

Understanding the impact of alcohol related violence within the bar or club setting, or the NTE, has been deemed of particular importance (Leonard et. al., 2003) especially considering the high levels of alcohol related incidents outlined above. Circumstances in which large groups of individuals are intoxicated have been found to be high risk for aggression (Graham et. al., 1980) particularly males, both as victims and aggressors (Budd, 2003; Finney, 2004) with Homel and Clark (1994) highlighting that the overall level of male intoxication in the bar was significantly associated with the frequency of aggression (Cited in Graham and West, 2003). Furthermore, levels of violent incidents have been discovered to be highest on weekend nights and around pubs and clubs with 70% of violent offences involving alcohol took place on the weekend and/or in the evening/night (ONS 2015b; Finney, 2004a, 2004b; Wells and Graham, 2001).

Alcohol has been posited as being a factor within a majority of violent incidents between strangers, with 64% recorded as alcohol related, compared to 52% acquaintance and 36% DV related incidents (ONS, 2015b). Felson, Burchfield and Teasdale (2007) conducted quantitative, secondary data research into how alcohol impacted upon different types of violence and whether alcohol use was a greater risk

factor for some types of violence above others. They found that offenders who assault strangers were more likely to have been drinking than offenders who assault people they know and offenders who assault partners are the least likely to be drinking. This was reflected in statistics from the CSEW 2013-14 as well as other research (Kantor and Strauss, 1987; Pernanen, 1991).

Physical aspects of the drinking environment have also been highlighted as impacting upon the potential for alcohol related aggression taking place (Tomsen, Homel and Thommeny, 1991). Hughes et. al. (2011) conducted a systematic review of 34 qualitative and quantitative studies around the globe. Most studies were in USA, Canada and Australia, with five from the UK. Whilst some contravening evidence was referred to, it was determined that overall, some physical, social and staffing factors contributed to increased alcohol related problems. Discounted drinks promotions, poor cleanliness (of the drinking environments) crowding and loud music were all highlighted within the study as problematic. Equally 'a permissive environment' including rowdiness and allowing underage patrons, as well as poor staff practice, such as serving alcohol to drunk patrons also contributed to excessive alcohol use and aggression.

Other explanations consider that individuals who experience aggressive tendencies may seek out such establishments to consume alcohol in, with such places being perceived as environments in which violence is permissible and socially acceptable (Boles and Miotto, 2003). Where staff will not seek to intervene, or stop fights (Graham and West, 2003), or contribute to violence by using inadequate responses to violence, such as doormen becoming aggressive or violent themselves (Tomsen et. al., 1991; Homel et. al., 1994) or where violence is common, therefore there is a heightened sense or 'knock on effect' around males needing to defend their 'honour' or maintaining a good impression, usually around their fearlessness regarding confrontation (Graham and West, 2003).

2.2.2   The Domestic Setting (Domestic Violence)

Despite a strong relationship between violence and alcohol within their exploration around the NTE, Bellis and Hughes (2011), urge readers not to overlook DV despite data regarding such offences being difficult to accurately acquire and victims often less willing to disclose details. Alcohol use and DV within families has been described as one of the largest and most harmful social problems in the UK (Forrester and Glynn, 2013). Alcohol use in the home may include regular heavy drinking and/or binges, may involve physical or psychological dependency, however, whilst the involvement of violence does not present as contingent on any specific one of these (ibid), alcohol abuse disorders have been identified as being involved in 40-60% of DV incidents (Easton, 2013). Equally, Gilchrist, Johnson, Takriti, Weston, Beech and Kebbell (2004) found that alcohol was a feature of 62% of the offences of 336 male convicted DV perpetrators subject to probation supervision in England and Wales and almost half the sample (48%) were alcohol dependent.

Alcohol abuse has been found to be linked to DV even when the perpetrator has not consumed alcohol immediately before or during the actual violent event, which reflects that both acute and chronic alcohol exposures are important factors to consider alongside the actual behaviours of aggression and impulsivity as alcohol may co-vary or mediate within such behaviours (Bell et. al., 2006: Bell et. al., 2004).

Klostermann and Fals-Stewart (2006) outline three categories articulating a relationship between alcohol and IPV. The first is the 'Spurious model' in which various characteristics or variables associated with the commission of IPV are simply coincidental. For example, the authors describe a young man, who may both have a tendency to drink alcohol and to fight. Initially a relationship between these two variables may appear to exist whereas, in fact, they are coincidental, and no link exists. The second, or 'Indirect effects' model perceives alcohol as corrosive to relationship quality' (ibid: 590) in that alcohol use can create an environment in which IPV can take place, however alcohol use does not directly cause it. For example, conflict around heavy drinking and / or low relationship satisfaction are highlighted as circumstances in which alcohol could impact on IPV. The third, namely

the 'Proximal effects' model, outlines a direct relationship between alcohol and IPV, perceiving alcohol as a 'causal agent' (ibid). This relationship can be mediated by the psychopharmacological effects of alcohol; alcohol expectancies; impulsivity; alcohol's impact on interpretation of social cues and interactions as well as depleted or impaired information processing (Ibid; Gilchrist et. al.,2014). Indeed, whilst evidence has been found to exist for all three theoretical perspectives, the greatest empirical evidence exists around the proximal effects model (Klostermann and Fals-Stewart, 2006).

Nonetheless, substance misuse has been described as a controversial explanation when linked to DV, with less clarity regarding alcohol use as simply co-varying with DV perpetration, representing a causal role, or simply tendered as an 'excuse' for the commission of such violence (Klostermann and Fals-Stewart, 2010; Galvani, 2010).

3. The expectations and other individual characteristics of the drinkers.

Drawing on social learning theory, the 'expectancy model' presents that the learned beliefs regarding an individual's behaviour may shape their actions following the consumption of alcohol (Lightowlers, 2015a). As such, if an individual anticipates or expects to act aggressively following alcohol, this may increase the possibility of them actually behaving violently (Quigley and Leonard, 2006; Evans, 1970) or those who have a permissive attitude towards violence following the use of alcohol are more likely to be violence when drinking (Taylor and Leonard, cited in Graham et. al., 1997). Whilst some placebo studies indicate a lack of support for such a theory, finding more support for the pharmacological effects of alcohol (Giancola, 2013), a small collection of studies have been found to show 'modest to good support' that expectancies can impact on increased aggression levels (Giancola, 2013; Dingwall, 2006). Developed further, one's expectations around the potential for violence, potentially though association with likeminded peers (set) seeking out known violent hotspots (setting) may lead to alcohol been used in the purposeful preparation for violence (Lightowlers, 2015a) with the substance frequently being perceived as a

mechanism to enhance confidence (Graham and Wells, 2003). Indeed, this is steeped in an historical context of 'Dutch Courage', the origins of which were around English troops using gin to stiffen resolve during the 30 years' war in the Low Countries (Jones and Fear, 2011).

Expectations regarding the role of alcohol within violence can be considered within a cultural and perspective context. MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) highlight that cultural attitudes and expectations are potentially the most important factor to consider in determining whether drinking would result in aggression (cited in Graham et. al., 1998). Alcohol has been determined as holding a 'normative status' within the cultural positioning in modern British society (Broad and Lightowlers, 2015). Furthermore, a culture of intoxication, particularly within the NTE, has led to a 'normalisation' of heavy drinking and drunkenness and represents a phenomenon particularly related to the UK (Bellis and Hughes, 2011). Indeed, Broad and Lightowlers (2015: 260) question whether it is unfair to determine alcohol consumption as a criminogenic risk factor, when drinking is reinforced in many spheres of social life.

Approaches to consumption seen in modern Britain, such as 'binge drinking', which has been expressed as an ongoing concern within government's current alcohol policy in need of urgent address as it contributes to aggression and criminal behaviour (HM Government, 2012) and 'pre-loading' or drinking excessive amounts of (often cheaper at home) alcohol prior to entering the night time environment, increases the potential risks for violence, particularly in or outside pubs and clubs (Bellis and Hughes, 2011). Those who preload were found to consume greater amounts of alcohol over a night out and be more likely to be involved in night-life violence (ibid). Furthermore, Holder and colleagues (2008) found that pre-loaders were three times more likely of being involved in a fight in a public drinking setting.

Alcohol related aggression in more likely in cultures or subcultures in which drinking is considered an excuse for aggressive behaviour (Pernanen, cited in Graham et. al., 1997). Such a perspective leads to a variation of the 'expectancy model' theory outlined above and sees the consumption of alcohol as a mechanism to engage in

conduct that is not usually sanctioned, representing a 'time out' from socially acceptable behaviour (also see Presdee, 2000). 'Deviance-disavowal', is a process through which individuals' can redirect responsibility away from themselves and attribute blame to alcohol (Graham et. al., 1998; Fagan, 1993). This chimes with Sykes and Matza's (1957) 'Techniques of Neutralization' in which the denial of responsibility (through the use of alcohol) can be seen to act as a mechanism to explain or justify once own digressions, whilst minimising responsibility.

Furthermore, the disavowal of deviance can also be perceived to attract less punishment or retaliation as well as allowing behaviour to take place that is easier to engage in than when sober (Quigley and Leonard, 2006). 'Deviance Disavowal' also permits behaviours that violate non-legal social taboos, especially sexual behaviours or revelry (Fagan, 1993). Indeed, intoxication excusing offending has been highlighted regarding sexual offenders, with alcohol use representing a mechanism to deny full responsibility for such an offence (Cohen, 2001). Those individuals who believe that they can use alcohol to justify aggression in this manner are more likely to become aggressive when they drink (Fagan, 1990; Graham et. al., 1997).

Men are generally heavier drinkers than women and they drink more frequently to intoxication (Babor et. al., 2010; Felson et. al., 2007). Heavy drinking has consistently been perceived as a contributory feature of violence (Chermack et. al., 2010). Offenders, as a group, who have been deemed 'heavy drinkers' with hazardous alcohol consumption increasing the likelihood of adverse consequences to either the consumers physical or mental health, or causing harm to others (McMurran, 2013). Wells and Graham (2001) found that heavy drinkers were more likely to experience alcohol-related aggression than non-alcohol related aggression. Greater levels of alcohol consumption have been found to be associated with more severe aggression amongst males in some studies (see Leonard, Collins and Quigley, 2003) however this was not found in other studies (see Pernanen, 1991).

Some people have been categorised as more aggressive than others, which has the potential to carry over following their consuming alcohol i.e. those already predisposed to behave in such a manner in the first place (Graham et. al., 1997;

Pernanen, 1991). Alternatively, heavier drinkers may be generally more aggressive than lighter drinkers, and more likely to drink heavily (White, Brick and Hansell cited in Wells and Graham, 2001).

Dingwall (2006) highlights that many studies focus on the relationship between alcohol and violence (or crime in general) however often omit other variables that may have a contributory or mediatory role within the relationship between alcohol and violence. Bellis and Hughes (2011) highlight that many of the risk factors that predispose individuals to use alcohol and/or commit acts of violence take place in the experiences and environmental factors early within the individual's life, including parental substance misuse as well as exposure to violence. Children who experience parental DV as well as parental alcohol misuse face an increased risk of the same issues negatively affecting them (Cleaver et. al., 1999 cited in Forrester and Glynn, 2013).

Psychosocial factors can impact on the development of individuals at an early age and can continue into adulthood. Circumstances such as an aversive environment, harsh discipline, family aggression, lack of parental supervision and exposure to violence and substance abuse were all considered factors that could contribute to future violence (Chermack and Giancola 1997; Forrester and Glynn, 2013). Young people who are socially disadvantaged, come from dysfunctional families, and whose parents had a history or deviancy, have increased rates of both offending and drinking more than average (Dingwall, 2006). Early childhood aggression has been determined as a predictor of later heavy drinking and combined, an increased risk of adult violence (Roth cited in Boles and Miotto, 2003).

Other risk factors linking alcohol and violence within the individual have been articulated by Jones (2000) who posits that mental health symptoms may be exacerbated by alcohol use. He cites an example of someone who suffers with paranoia, consuming alcohol, becoming extremely paranoid, and resorting to violence in the belief that they are defending themselves against 'some imagined evil' (ibid: 47). Elbogen and Johnson (2009), in their research around the links

between violence and mental disorder, found that violence was higher for people with severe mental illness, and significantly so where co-occurring substance abuse and/or dependence existed.

Equally, outcomes of addiction such as episodes of alcohol withdrawal may cause irritability, thereby representing a cause for aggressive behaviour (Boles and Miotto, 2003). Alcohol has been linked to 'dysphoria' or hostility among individuals who habitually abuse alcohol (Tinklenberg, 1973) especially among episodic alcoholics (Leonard, 1993) potentially increasing the probability of aggression (Graham et. al., 1997). However, in contrast, Chermack and Blow (2002) contend that the acute effects of alcohol, rather that it's chronic effects, have been found to have the largest impact on aggressive behaviour.

Appendix 4A – 'Case Manager summary'

The Role of Alcohol Misuse in Military Veterans Violent offending.

I am a postgraduate research student at Liverpool John Moores University and I am currently seeking to conduct research around military veterans who currently under probation supervision within the community or in custody.

It has been claimed that the most common offence committed by military veterans within the criminal justice system is violence and a recent study found that alcohol can represent a risk factor within this violence. As such, a clearer understanding around the relationship between alcohol and violence is required for this population.

I am looking to invite individuals who have had military experience to take part in a research project around the role of alcohol in their violent offending. Specifically, those ex service personnel who have been convicted of a violent offence and in which alcohol has been identified as a criminogenic risk factor.

Individuals would be required to take part in a one interview with myself to explore their experiences of military service, their offending behaviour and their use of alcohol. Confidentiality will be maintained throughout and participants can withdraw consent at any time.

It is also hoped that this project will contribute to a growing body of knowledge around military personnel within the criminal justice system. It will look to inform and assist practitioners as to engage more effectively with the veteran community post transition from military service, as well as look to offer recommendations to inform future policy within this area.

For further information about the project, to identify and suitable cases or to raise any questions or queries you may have about the project please contact me via the contact details below:

Justin Moorhead. PhD Candidate, School of Law, Liverpool John Moores University, L3 5UG. e-mail: J.A.Moorhead@2015.ljmu.ac.uk .

Appendix 4B – 'Introduction Letter'

Justin Moorhead
School of Law
Liverpool John Moores University
L3 5UG

J.A.Moorhead@2015.LJMU.ac.uk

8th May 2017

Dear participant,

I am a researcher at Liverpool John Moores University and I am researching ex-service personnel who are currently under probation supervision or in custody.

I am looking to invite individuals who have had military experience to take part in a research project around the role of alcohol in their conviction of a violent offence. Individuals would be required to take part in one interview with myself to explore participant's alcohol use and links to violence, as well as exploring experiences of military service and other influences more generally.

I am hopeful that you would be willing to speak to me about your own experiences around alcohol use, your conviction and the influence of the military within your life. Further understanding around the military veteran within the criminal justice system is an important issue and it is hoped that your voice would offer further insight into the needs and risks associated with this group, which has historically been overlooked.

Interviews will be at your probation office and last a maximum of one hour, or until you have had enough! Interviews will be, confidential and represent an opportunity to voice your experiences of criminal justice system, whether they are positive or negative. You can withdraw participation at any time (before, during or after the interview) and your input will not be used. Travel expenses will be reimbursed.

If you are willing to take part in this research, please could you inform your case manager or EFAN team member to make arrangements for an interview.

Yours sincerely,

Justin Moorhead

Appendix 4C – 'Participant Information Sheet'

Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it involves. Please take time to read the following information. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

The current research represents an investigation around the role alcohol has in violent offending, specifically for military veterans within the criminal justice system.

It has been claimed that the most common offence committed by military veterans within the criminal justice system is violence and a recent study found that alcohol has influenced the commission of violence by ex-service personnel. As such, a clearer understanding around the relationship between alcohol and violence is required for ex-service personnel.

The study also seeks to consider the military veterans' journey through the criminal justice system and what difficulties and barriers this group experiences. It is hoped that this study will gain some insight into the needs and risks posed by the veteran specifically through providing a voice to the veteran to offer their own perspectives.

It is also hoped that this project will contribute to a growing body of knowledge around military personnel within the criminal justice system. It will look to inform and assist practitioners as to engage more effectively with the veteran community post transition from military service, as well as look to offer recommendations to inform future policy within this area.

2. Do I have to take part?

No. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part.

If you chose to do so, you will be asked to sign a consent form. However, even after this point, you will remain free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Any decision you make to withdraw will not affect your rights/any future treatment/service you receive.

3. What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part in the research, you would be asked to participate in one, 1 one-hour interview, to explore your perspectives around the role of alcohol within your violent offending as well as discussing your military experience, alcohol use and violence more generally. I would also like to explore your journey through the criminal justice system, and life experiences both before and after military service.

4. Are there any risks / benefits involved?

It is hoped that the matters discussed during the interview will not cause you to feel anxious or unsettled. Nevertheless, should you feel concerned around the content of the interview, you can terminate the interview at any point. Alternatively, we can suspend the interview, discuss your concerns and I will direct you to the appropriate support agencies within the community where possible. Furthermore, you can also approach your case manager or senior management staff from probation for support.

The perceived benefits of taking part in such a study may be outlined as your contributing to a new body of knowledge to further the understanding around ex-military service personnel within the criminal justice system, seeking improve an understanding around the specific needs and risks linked to this population who have been overlooked in the past.

5. Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

You will be expected to sign a consent form to allow me to evidence that you have wilfully participated in the project and that you agree for the interview to be recorded.

The interview, which will be recorded via digital recorder, will be transcribed onto a word document and the digital recording will then be erased. You will not be identified by name in the transcript, but by a participant number such as "Ppt. 35", in an attempt to maintain anonymity. You will also have the opportunity, on request, to read a transcript of the interview, both to confirm that it is a true representation of the discussion that took place, and to remove any information you feel compromises you.

The interviews will be held in your local probation office or custodial establishment. Confidentiality will be maintained throughout and direct information will not be shared with case managers / probation staff. All interviews will be anonymised and then general findings will be reported upon in the form of a dissertation.

The only set of circumstances where confidentiality would be breached, would be in the disclosure of illegal behaviour, in which serious harm either has been, or may be, caused either to yourself or others. In such circumstances, information would be forwarded to the appropriate authorities.

6. Further information

For further information about the project or to raise any questions or queries you may have about the project please do contact me via your case manager.

Appendix 4D – 'Consent to Participate in research'

Consent to participate in research

Title of research: The role of alcohol misuse in military veterans' violent offending.

Focus of the project: The current research represents an investigation around what the role alcohol has in violent offending, specifically for military veterans within the criminal justice system.

- I understand the focus of the current piece of research and am willing to participate.

- I understand that information collected within interviews will be fully anonymised and the transcript of the interview will be securely stored by the researcher.

- I understand that the interview will be recorded digitally. Information will then be transcribed to computer and then deleted from the digital recorder.

- Information will not be disclosed to any third party, unless it has been identified that a serious criminal offence has been committed or is planning on being committed, in which case, information will be passed onto the relevant authority.

- Equally, if concerns around risk to yourself are identified, I am required to disclose these to your supervising officer.

- I understand that Probation records may be accessed about myself.

- I understand that parts of our conversation may be used verbatim either in the current project of in future publications or presentations.

- I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any point.

Participant's name…………………………………………………………….

Signed…………………………………………………………………………

Date……………………………………………………………………………

Researcher's name…………………………………………………………….

Signed………………………………………………………………………..

Date…………………………………………………………………………..

Appendix 4E – Interview Schedule.

Pre military life

- How would you describe your childhood? – area / school / friends / family.

- Describe your family life and members – were they in the services? Substance misusers?

- How was the military portrayed by non-military family members compared to military family members?

- How did military family members use alcohol?

- Did you experience violence within the family (witness or victim) – links to alcohol use?

- Did you or any members of your family have any offending behaviour pre military service / involvement with the CJS?

- Describe your attitudes and behaviour when you were young?

- Did you use alcohol before 18? How much / what /when /where?

- How do you feel your offending behaviour or alcohol use has been shaped by your experiences pre military?

- Why did you join the military?

- How did you go about joining?

Training

- Tell me about your training

- How important is the team / group when you were in the forces – how was this conveyed during training?

- What aspects of violence do you recall from training?

- Did you experience a macho culture?

- Was alcohol available during training period – how was this perceived by squaddies / higher ranks?

Following passing out

- What reg did you join, how long were you in the services for?

- How did professional life change following qualifying?

- When you had leave, what would you tend to do?

- Was there a macho culture in the services following graduation?

- Did you go on any tours of duty?

- What did 'normalisation' (otherwise known as Decompression) consist of?

- Do you consider that the military helped you transition to civilian life?

- What about voluntary charity sector?

Post Transition.

- What difficulties have you experienced post transition?

- Do any of the experiences they have had link to military service in your opinion?

- What are your views of the military post transition?

Involvement in the CJS

- What previous experience of the CJS does you have?

- What previous experiences of perpetrating violence, outside of the military do you have?

- What were the circumstances regarding the index violent offence?

- What were the precipitating factors leading up to the offence and why was violence used?

- Was your military history considered during the court hearing? How?

Alcohol
- How long have you used alcohol? Why?
- What has been your pattern of alcohol? Daily / weekly / monthly? (Dependant / binge?)
- How do you perceive your experiences of the military in shaping your alcohol use / misuse?
- Do you think that there is an alcohol culture within the armed forces?
- How has intervention previously taken place in respect of your own alcohol use?

At PSR Stage;

- Was alcohol use discussed? Was it identified as a cause of offending by the author? (ATR / BSFR referral?)

- Were any links made by the author around alcohol and the military? Did you offer information?

- Have you used any other substances alongside / in the place of alcohol historically or during service?

Violence

- Do you perceive your experience of the military has shaped your use of violence?

- What types of violence were you trained in?

- Do you consider alcohol influenced your decision to use violence?

Perceptions of CJS staff / Voluntary intervention.

- How do you feel the following staff / organisations treated you and considered your military service?

- How has supervision by the probation services been perceived by the veteran?

- What do you think Probation need to do to improve services to support you and prevent future offending?

- What are your views around other organisations such as RBL / SSAFA / Combat Stress?

Political and general perspectives

- What is your perception of the media and political interest in the veteran currently?

- What aspects of the military ex-service personnel is currently important Politically?

Support Phone Numbers and addresses

Big White Wall

Free online service which is free for armed forces, veterans and their families. Options for Access to counsellors 27/7, as well as talking to others who feel like you. There are also self-help programmes, which covers depression and anxiety, weight management, stopping smoking amongst others.

www.bigwhitewall.com

SSAFA

SSAFA provides lifelong support to anyone who is currently serving or has ever served in the Royal Navy, British Army or Royal Air Force.

www.ssafa.org.uk
Tel: 0800 731 4880 (9.00 to 17.30 every weekday)
Cheshire – Cheshire@ssafa.org.uk

The Royal British Legion.

The Royal British Legion supports serving members of the Armed Forces, veterans and their families.

http://www.britishlegion.org.uk/about-us/contact-us/
Tel: 0808 802 8080 (8am to 8pm, 7 days a week – Freephone).

Walking with the Wounded.

Mission Statement: To fund the re-training and re-education of our servicemen and women, both veterans and those leaving The Armed Forces today.

http://walkingwiththewounded.org.uk
Tel: 01263 863900

Combat Stress

A UK veterans' mental health charity, seeking to treat a range of mental health conditions including PTSD, depression and anxiety.

http://www.combatstress.org.uk
Tel: 0800 138 1619 (24 hour)

The Tim Parry and Jonathan Ball Foundation for Peace

The Foundation works nationally to support those affected by terrorism and violent conflict. Covering prevention, resolution and response, our work brings us into contact with a wide range of people, ranging from young people susceptible to extremism, women in diverse communities, veterans of conflict and their families as well as survivors and witnesses to acts of terrorism or violent conflict.

http://foundation4peace.org
Tel: **01925 581 231**
Email: **info@foundation4peace.org**

College for Military Veterans and Emergency Services (CMVES)

CMVES work with the veteran community, emergency services and families to empower and motivate all in reaching their full potential in work, education, business and the transition to civilian life.

http://www.cmves.org.uk
Tel: 01772 894 039

RFEA Ex Forces Programme

Ex-Forces Programme is designed to provide career advice and job opportunities to all military veterans irrespective of when they left the armed forces .

http://www.rfea.org.uk/about/

Other considerations:

Health:

Your GP – provision and support.

Veteran's Champion – referrals take place through GP or other organisations outlined above.

General advice:

Citizens Advice Bureau - https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk

One Stop Shop (Local area) - https://liverpool.gov.uk/one-stop-shops/ (Liverpool Council)

Job Centre Plus (Local)

Samaritans

In custody

Mentors and reps;

- Veterans in Custody Scheme.

- Listeners / Peer mentors / Peer advisers / Buddies .First Nighters.

- Advice and guidance workers / Community help and advice team workers / Housing peer workers / Learning mentors.

- Health champions / Recovery champions / Drug recovery mentors.

- Wing representatives / Lifer representatives / Violence reduction representatives Anti-bullying representatives / Equality representatives / Disability representatives Foreign national representatives / Black and minority ethnic representatives •Gypsy, Romany, Traveller representatives •Older/younger prisoner representatives/ Catering representatives •Prisoner welfare representatives

Staffing:

Medical Staff within the custodial establishment

Offender Supervisors / Personal Officer.

On Probation

Offender Supervisor / Offender Manager.

Ex-Forces Action Network (EFAN) (Cheshire and Greater Manchester Community Rehabilitation Company.) For those veterans who live in Cheshire / Greater Manchester and who are in the Criminal Justice System, EFAN

provides an Opportunity to connect veterans to a wide range of services tailored specially to them.

www.cgm-probation.org.uk

Veterans Peer Mentoring Scheme (Hampshire and Isle of White) provided through Probation Community Rehabilitation Company.

Other useful numbers / Websites:

Liverpool Veterans HQ - 0151 261 9878.

http://www.liverpoolveterans.co.uk

Knowsley Veterans Hub (Everton in the Community)

Funded by the Royal British Legion, (KVH) aims to engage ex-service personnel who are at risk of isolation with sport, training and social activities.

Contact Dave Curtis, via email on; david.curtis@evertonfc.com.

Hampshire veteran links and phone numbers

https://www.hants.gov.uk/community/armedforces/charitysupport

Manchester council:

https://hsm.manchester.gov.uk/kb5/manchester/directory/service.page?id=9F9GxErnIkI

The Military Veterans' Service for Greater Manchester and Lancashire

MVS provides mental health support to ex-service personnel for conditions including depression, alcohol and substance misuse, anger problems and post-traumatic stress disorder.

www.penninecare.nhs.uk/military-veterans
Tel: 0300 323 0707 (Monday to Friday, 9am to 5pm)
online referral form / Email mviapt.enquiries.nw@nhs.net

Project Nova

The East of England, North West, North East and South Yorkshire and Humberside - Supporting veterans who have been arrested or are at risk of arrest.

http://www.rfea.org.uk/our-programmes-partnerships/project-nova/

Appendix 4G - Original Research Proposal

ALCOHOL RESEARCH UK

83 Victoria Street

London SW1H 0HW

020 3585 4159

Studentship Scheme 2014

APPLICATION FORM FOR A POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH STUDENTSHIP

The application must be submitted electronically by Monday, 26th January 2015

1. Applicant	
Institution Liverpool John Moores University	
Academic Supervisor Carly Lightowlers	*Title Dr*
Position held Senior Lecturer in Criminal Justice	
Address	Tel Nos
	0151 231 3254
Liverpool John Moores	
University	Email address
Room 113	c.l.lightowlers@ljmu.ac.uk

Redmonds Building Brownlow Hill Liverpool L3 5UG	
2. Programme of Research	
Title of PhD The role of alcohol misuse in veterans' violent offending.	

Briefly describe the aims of the proposed research and show how it meets Alcohol Research UK's aims and objectives (including current priorities, if relevant)
Word limit – 500 words

Aims:
There is emerging evidence on the use of alcohol in the military and its impact on (mental) health and wellbeing. Understanding is also increasing with regards to armed service personnel in prison [1]. However, to date, little research has sought to examine how these two areas interact, and so the proposed studentship will i) synthesise existing literature; ii) collect new data assessing the role of alcohol in veterans' violent offending, iii) identify ways in which alcohol-related violence amongst this population might be ameliorated. The research aims to:

(1) use secondary and administrative data to investigate the extent to which alcohol is associated with violent offending amongst military veterans, and

(2) use qualitative interviews to explore subjective experiences of alcohol and its relationship with violent behaviour of military veterans' currently supervised by the Probation Service or in contact with alcohol support services.

Meeting ARUK Aims:
This studentship will provide new evidence concerning the extent to which alcohol features in violent offending by ex-military service personnel. It will address **drinking in the lifecourse** by examining the role of alcohol in the lives of military service personnel, in particular during the transition to civilian life. The research will seek to identify i) distinct cultural aspects of veterans' drinking patterns, ii) their attitudes towards, and personal experiences of alcohol consumption (e.g. social bonding, turning to alcohol as a coping mechanism, and/or active service/combat serving as a risk factor for alcohol-related problems) and iii) how these relate to offending behaviour.

The project will provide insights into these aspects of drinking amongst veterans, key transitions and turning points that will identify the nature of support required ('what works') and will evaluate the availability of support and treatment and its 'fitness for purpose'.

In the context of current service provision failing to adequately respond to the complex needs of veterans, the findings will have direct implications for the commissioning of services within military, health and criminal justice sectors (**Identification, treatment and recovery**). The work will potentially inform public health campaigns and educational programmes (**Policy and**

culture change) by raising awareness of a traditionally overlooked population. In conducting the research a number of key data sources will be reviewed and for the first time gaps in knowledge and existing data will be described. In identifying research gaps the PhD will provide evidence to support future funding applications, such as longitudinal research.

Proposed plan of work, including details of the theoretical base of the research design and methodology, including whether the research will have practical application
Word limit – 2,000 words

Background to the project

Whilst alcohol abuse is a known risk factor for violent offending, few studies have explored the association between alcohol use and violent behaviour among veterans. Many veterans returning to civilian environments turn to alcohol as a coping mechanism during this transition. Although accurate data are limited, veterans are increasingly being represented in the criminal justice system for offences after having been discharged, especially in relation to violent and sexual offences [2-5]. Many of these may be alcohol-related, however the extent and mechanisms of the association between alcohol use and violent behaviour in this population remains unknown. Mental health problems, due to circumstances prior to, during, or post military service (such as depression and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) may be an important mediator in the relationship between alcohol and violent offending.

It is recognised that service provision is currently failing to respond adequately to this issue due to a gap in practice knowledge about this population. An insight into the role alcohol plays in veterans' violent offending will help direct decisions about the nature and form of health and criminal justice interventions and service provision.

A previous review of alcohol use in the UK and US military suggested that many service personnel rely on alcohol to mediate the transition from combat to safety in civilian life [6]. Whilst alcohol dependence is considered incompatible with serving in the military, there are different opinions on the role of drinking:

- some view it as harmful to social and occupational health and functioning, whilst others see

- a potential role for alcohol in boosting morale, fostering cohesion and 'protecting soldiers from adjustment disorders' [6].

Young single males in the Armed Forces are more likely to misuse alcohol than those in the general population, as are those who have gone through particularly stressful experiences [6]. Studies of former armed service personnel in prison suggest particular aspects of military culture mean that veterans experiencing problems are less likely to seek help [7]. This is a particular concern in the downscaling of UK involvement in the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts in which young men and women of the Armed Forces were repeatedly deployed in high-risk environments. This may impact on the demand and nature of 'aftercare' and the provision of any help during resettlement into civilian society post-service [7].

Methodology – supervisory support

This inter-disciplinary cross faculty project will be supervised by Professor Harry Sumnall from the Centre for Public Health, Dr Carly Lightowlers and Dr Matthew Millings from the School of Law's Criminal Justice department. Expertise in substance misuse and violence, and conducting research using secondary quantitative data, will be provided by Dr Lightowlers and Professor Sumnall, whilst methodological expertise in qualitative interviewing will be provided by Dr Millings. Expertise in supervising students studying criminal justice matters and health issues affecting veterans is also offered by Dr Millings and Professor Sumnall.

Additional input will be sought on an ad hoc basis from colleague Emma Murray who has worked within the probation service and prison service as a researcher, consultant and mentor for

veteran affairs. Murray's research is focussed on the policy and practice of the Probation and Prison Services in work with veterans [1].

Additional project input will be provided by Kirsteen Waller, the Research and Support Manager for the Forces in Mind Trust (committed to promoting the successful transition of Armed Forces personnel and their families into civilian life) and Tom Harrison House, the only addiction treatment centre for military veterans in the UK. To reciprocate the student will be encouraged to provide a research findings briefing and present their findings to both the Forces in Mind Trust and Tom Harrison House.

Dr Carly Lightowlers will be Director of Studies (DoS) for this application, and the supervision will be shared across all three members of the team. Weekly progress meetings will be scheduled with the DoS. Strategic direction for the PhD will be overseen by the DoS to ensure consistency, and the student will be encouraged to regularly meet with the other two supervisors in order to discuss ideas, identify new areas of work, and to receive guidance on all stages of the research process. Formal quarterly meetings will be held between the full supervisory team and the student.

Methodology - approach

The PhD candidate will independently develop specific parts of the methodology (e.g. sample size, inclusion and exclusion criteria, interview questions) with guidance from supervisors. However, it is likely that the objectives of the research will be achieved as follows:

- **Assessing the knowledge, existing evidence base and available secondary data sources** by conducting a literature review and review of the available quantitative data. (Aim 1)

    o The literature review will be guided by topic-related search parameters, inclusion and exclusion criteria will be developed by the PhD student in accordance with their preferred theoretical framework and with guidance from supervisors.

    o Advice will also be given to the student on suitable secondary and administrative data sources to review and access (including data held by the local Probation Service and Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs), public health boards and/or national data held by the Ministry of Justice). Ideally, an extract of OASys data on the prison and probation veteran population would be obtained as well as a matched control sample (based on age, gender and offence type using Propensity Score Matching) of non-veterans with which to compare variation in the association of alcohol consumption on offending between the two populations (quasi-experimental design) using statistical techniques such as logistic regression modelling. The student is expected to utilise other datasets to supplement this. The review and analysis of the resulting data will be supplemented by an audit of available alcohol treatment and support on offer for veterans in the military, probation service and charitable sector within a North West case study Probation area.

    o If the available administrative data on this population is limited or inaccessible, a survey will be conducted to collect primary data. This would be conducted

amongst veterans accessing support through registered charities and/or through local Probation Services facilitated by known contacts.

- Obtaining veterans' views and experiences. (Aim 2)

  o Around 20 qualitative interviews with veterans who are in contact with charitable and probation services will be undertaken. This will elicit narratives of the role played by alcohol in transitions to civilian life, and how alcohol is associated with violent offending. Previous research by the DoS [8] has identified distinct motivational profiles for drinking amongst young people in the general population that are associated with violent offending. Interviews with veterans will generate further insights into normative perceptions of alcohol and motives for its consumption that may be associated with violent offending.

  o These interviews may be supplemented by practitioner interviews to gain greater understanding of challenges faced by this population and any barriers to working effectively with them. Participants for interviews will be recruited using convenience and snowball sampling methods via local Probation Services/CRCs, local charities and by contacting battalions directly. Contact with local Probation Services as well as through the local charity Tom Harrison House has already been made.

  o The data will be analysed in accordance with the theoretical framework but will involve rigorous thematic coding using multiple steps (e.g. descriptive coding, interpretive coding and identifying overarching themes).

Ethical considerations for this project will be given due consideration (e.g. keeping the data anonymised and securely stored as well as setting up data sharing protocols if required). The analyses of secondary data are likely to pose few concerns. However, the qualitative interviews will be given ongoing consideration throughout the project. Lone worker policies and issues associated with contacting individuals and asking them to disclose sensitive personal information will be discussed with the PhD candidate and appropriate protocols negotiated with supervisors and stakeholders. Supervisors will advise the student on such issues, and ethical approval will be sought from LJMU Research Ethics Committee to ensure the safety, dignity and rights of research participants and the researcher.

Impact and outputs

The research will raise awareness of the role and impact alcohol plays in violent behaviour amongst veterans in order to inform service development. Key outcomes include:

- Establishing the extent of the problem (and thus justify investment decisions within the new commissioning criminal justice landscape as a result of the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda) [9] and inform decisions about the nature and form interventions may take.

- Findings that will be used to inform both national and local level health and criminal justice policy and targeted and tailored service provision specific to this group's needs (including the

charitable sector). These findings will inform a briefing paper (to be developed by the student and supervisors) that summarises information about veterans' alcohol consumption and violent offending and attitudes and experiences thereof amongst this subpopulation. The results will be discussed with Alcohol Research UK and the WHO collaborating Centre for Violence Prevention. Interim findings will be disseminated to practitioners via blog articles for ARUK, articles offered to Criminal Justice Matters (CJM) and the Probation journal. The student will be encouraged to give presentations to local probation services and public health boards to inform best practise and appropriate policy in the arenas of health and criminal justice. In turn this will benefit and protect the public and veterans themselves.

It is expected that the PhD candidate will:

- Attend conferences throughout the course of the PhD working towards delivering a full session (expected to cover emerging narratives from interviews with veterans about the role of alcohol consumption in transitions to civilian life, and how alcohol is associated with violent offending) at an international conference, such as Alcohol Research UK's annual conference or that of the Kettil Bruun Society, in the final stages of the research.

- Produce two first authored papers (expected to cover both the qualitative and quantitative findings), to be targeted at Probation Journal and Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy.

The PhD will be supported by appropriate training as identified in a needs assessment in accordance with the LJMU Postgraduate Research Student Skills Training and Development Guidelines and the guidelines outlined in the Vitae Researcher Development Framework. A skills audit (for example, the Vitae researcher development planner) will be undertaken during the early registration period (<6 months), and through discussion with the supervisory team, the student will be encouraged to identify skills gaps. The skills audit will be reviewed annually, but the student will be encouraged to discuss research training needs throughout the year. The School of Law has a growing and supportive postgraduate environment, which includes a regular research seminar programme and a peer-led PhD in Progress group who organise regular meetings to provide mutual support.

References
[1] Murray E (2014) 'Veteran Offenders in Cheshire: Making Sense of the 'Noise'' Probation Journal 61(3): 251-264

[2] MacManus D; Kimberlie D; Jones M; Rona R; Greenberg N; Hull L, Fahy T; Wessely S & Fear N (2013). Violent offending by UK military personnel deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan: a linkage cohort study. The Lancet 381: 907-17.

[3] The Howard League for Penal Reform (2011). Report of the Inquiry into Former Armed Service Personnel in Prison Available: http://www.howardleague.org/online-publications/

[4] Fossey M (2010). Across the Wire: Veterans, mental health and vulnerability. London: Centre of Mental Health.

[5] NAPO (2009). Ex-Armed Forces Personnel and the Criminal Justice System: A briefing from Napo the trade union and Professional Association for Family Court and Probation Staff.

Available: http://www.revolving-doors.org.uk/documents/napo-report-on-ex-forces-in-criminal-justice-systems/

[6] Jones E and Fear N (2011). Alcohol Use and Misuse within the military: A review. International Review of Psychiatry 23: 166-172.

[7] The Howard League for Penal Reform (2011). Leaving Forces Life: the issue of transition. [Online] Available: http://www.howardleague.org/leavingforces/

[8] Lightowlers C (2012). A study of the development of drinking patterns and violent behaviour amongst young people in England and Wales: secondary analysis of the Offending Crime and Justice Survey. A PhD Thesis submitted to the University of Manchester.

[9] Ministry of Justice (2013) Transforming Rehabilitation: A Revolution in the Way we Manage Offenders. Ministry of Justice: London.

Anticipated timetable

June/July 2015 – Recruitment of PhD student
Sept 2015 – PhD student registers

Year 1
September – December 2015
• PhD student induction
• Commence literature review to establish initial themes, concepts and indicators
• Development of application for ethical approval and proposed methodology

January – April 2016
• Secondary data collection: public health boards, Probation Service and CRC and national sources of data such as MoJ prison records
• Analysis of data, comparison with initial themes and indicators, review of priorities for data collection
• Development of interview schedule and informal approaches made to charities and Probation/CRC.
• Steering meeting to discuss emerging themes and establish contacts in the field (April)

May – August 2016
• Analysis, refining priorities for data collection
• Ethical approval achieved, scheduling of participants for interviews
• Steering meeting – review of initial findings (August)

Year 2
September 2016 – April 2017
• Interviews, transcription and analysis
• Additional data collection as required

May – August 2017
• Analysis of interview data
• Steering meeting – review of findings (August)
• Commence writing up findings

Year 3
Sept 2017 – April 2018
• Drafting thesis
• Submit draft papers for (to get invite to present at conference)

• Steering meeting – contacts for dissemination and refinement of dissemination plan (April)

May – August 2018
• Re-drafting thesis, submission
• Preparation of findings for dissemination

3. Details of joint funding

Matched funds for other half of the stipend (£13,726 annually for 3 years) have been agreed in principle from institution (Liverpool John Moores University) via an internal funding scheme.

Subject to ARUK award, LJMU's School of Law will also support the PhD by covering the cost of the fees (£11,196 over three years) which includes assistance towards: student development, training and conference travel.

LJMU also offer a dedicated PhD travel award (of up to £350 annually) to enable students to speak at conferences.

Total LJMU contribution: £31,785