

**‘Good Soldiers’, ‘Bad Apples’ and the ‘Boys’ Club’: Media Representations of Military
Sex Scandals and Militarized Masculinities**

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Abstract

This thesis examines news representations of Canadian, American and Australian military personnel involved in military 'sex scandals'. I explore what the representations of military personnel involved in well-publicized sex scandals reveal about scripts of soldiering and militarized masculinities. Despite a history of systemic violence in the military, I ask how and why the systemic nature of militarized masculinities are able to remain invisible, driving representations to focus on the 'bad' behaviour of individuals? By engaging with feminist scholarship in International Relations, I present the longstanding culture of misogyny, racism, homophobia and ableism in the Canadian, American and Australian militaries, focusing on the ways in which militarized masculinities are guided by these violent structures, and fundamental to the military's creation of soldiers. My dissertation uses the tools of critical discourse analysis to unpack the ways blame is individualised in cases of sexual and racist violence involving military personnel, while the military's ableism, rape culture and imperial militarized masculinities are commonly naturalized or celebrated without regard for how they are fundamentally violent. My thesis presents an intersectional feminist project that intervenes in emerging questions in the field of transnational disability studies, tracing how militarism, hegemonic militarized masculinities and imperial soldiering (re)produce categories of ability and disability.

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Introduction: Military Scandals, Militarized Masculinities and Systemic Responsibility

Reports of violence, aggression and abuse committed by Western military personnel were among the biggest news stories of the 1990s. The United States, Australia and Canada faced a number of military scandals, the most notorious being the Tailhook Affair of 1991, the HMAS Swan scandal of 1992, and the Somalia Affair of 1993. Whistleblower stories of military cover-ups generated public concern in each country, prompting costly national inquiries to identify the scope of misconduct and the root causes of the violence¹. Overall, these inquiries discovered a variety of systemic problems in the military that went far beyond blaming individuals. National inquiries made clear that sexist violence, racist violence, aggressive competitions and widespread cover-ups were not anomalies. They made clear that sexist and racist violence could not be resolved by culling out a few rogue soldiers, as this type of misconduct was part of longstanding systemic traditions, attitudes and problems in these three national militaries. As we will see, despite these scandals and the national inquiries called to respond to them, military personnel in these three militaries continued to commit violent, aggressive and abusive acts. This dissertation will begin to unpack why this violence persists, and will find its answer in the construction and performance of militarized masculinities.

The 1991 “Tailhook Affair”

What has come to be known as the “Tailhook Affair” was the result of sexual violence at the 35th Annual Tailhook Symposium, an annual convention for American naval aviators. Despite its official purpose to discuss historical and current events related to naval aviation,

¹ The United States published two inquiry reports in 1992 and 1993, Australia published five reports between 1993 and 1998, and Canada published a five volume report in 1997.

nearly one hundred sexual assaults were reported. As a result of three inquiries, one hundred and forty navy personnel were referred for court-martial or disciplinary actions. Several high ranking officials were also demoted, transferred or resigned because they participated in, condoned and/or tried to protect the violent perpetrators via cover-ups and other violations of law and regulation. The reports found they demonstrated failures in leadership (Department of Defense, 1993). Lieutenant Paula Coughlin was sexually assaulted at the Symposium and decided to report the incident to Rear Admiral John Snyder (former Tailhook president) (Department of Defense, 1992). Dismayed by weeks of inaction from Rear Adm. Snyder, she wrote Vice Admiral Richard Dunleavy and an investigation related to 'indecent assaults' at Tailhook was initiated, through the Commander of the Naval Investigative Service (NIS) Rear Admiral Duvall Williams (Department of Defense, 1992).

The number of reported sexual assaults grew as the NIS investigation unfolded. But only two low ranking officers were named as possible suspects. The Navy's Assistant Secretary Barbara Pope (who sat on the committee overseeing the investigation) grew suspicious of the investigation. She soon discovered that the Commander of the NIS was reluctant in interviewing senior officials, held sexist attitudes and repeatedly expressed his desire to terminate the investigation. In light of these discoveries Pope believed there were clear deficiencies in the investigation and that the NIS was attempting to limit criticism on the Navy and senior officials (Bond, 1993, 16 May; Department of Defense, 1992). Bothered by her findings, the Assistant Secretary refused to support the investigation and offered her resignation to the Navy Secretary if her concerns were not addressed (Bond, 1993, 16 May). With this pressure from Pope and rising reports of sexual violence, Navy Secretary Henry L. Garrett III called for two reviews through the Inspector General's Office. One review looked into the NIS investigation and the other

reviewed events at the Tailhook Symposium. Unlike the initial NIS investigation, Navy Secretary Garrett decided to extend the terms of reference into Tailhook to include all other violations of law and regulations. The scope of the Inspector General's investigation into Tailhook encompassed five specific areas; "1) Indecent assault 2) Indecent exposure 3) Conduct unbecoming an officer 4) Dereliction of duty, as well as failure to act in a proper leadership capacity, and 5) False statements and false swearing during the course of our investigation" (Department of Defense, 1993, p. 5). Unlike the NIS's investigation, the Inspector General's team interviewed a wide range of people at the conference including senior officials that confirmed Ms. Pope's initial concern of systemic sexual harassment, cover-ups and deficiencies in the NIS investigation (Department of Defense, 1992)².

The Inspector General's review concluded that the number of officers involved or complicit in the sexual violence was far more "widespread" than official statistics suggested. The investigation discovered that the Tailhook Symposium was an event where hundreds of military men worked together to trap women and collectively assault them, in what came to be known as the hallway "gauntlet" of horror. In addition, it found that military men participated in wild "cruise parties" (Department of Defense, 1993, p. 33) in hotel suites that facilitated a glorified "gang mentality", where public sex, televised pornography, "strippers", "escorts", and sexual assaults were common place (1993, p.2)³. The review found that several hundred officers

² Part one of the Tailhook review looked into the initial NIS investigation and discovered that Rear Adm. Williams held attitudes that should have raised questions about his suitability in commanding the NIS investigation. For instance, while investigating a report of sexual assault where a survivor claimed, "I was practically gang banged by a group of fucking F-18 pilots", Williams inappropriately interjected by saying "any woman that would use the F word on a regular basis would welcome this type of activity". Rear Adm. Williams' interjection indicates an attitude of blaming sexual violence on the victim (who was asking for it), underscoring not only his lack of suitability to lead the investigation but also his complicity in rape culture and the actions at Tailhook 1991.

³ The report found that hotel security at the symposium interrupted and tamed the extent of sexual violence, however, many witnesses confirmed to the Inspector General's office that many security guards participated in watching and laughing alongside the events that took place in the suites and hallway gauntlet. Further, the Report

were “aware” of the misconduct and chose to “ignore it” (1993, p.2). The investigation also found that at least fifty false statements were made to the Inspector General to protect colleagues from persecution (1993, p. 2)⁴. The report discovered that this “gauntlet” and “gang mentality” did not exist in a historical vacuum; rather sexist violence was a known and accepted tradition of the annual Symposium, supported and covered-up through the chain of command for years. This tradition of accepted sexual violence and debauchery created an atmosphere where officers felt safe to act inappropriately and assumed the Symposium to be a “free fire zone” where sexual assaults and drunkenness did not need to be censored but could be performed publically and indiscriminately without fear of retribution (1993, pp. 1-2).

At the Tailhook Symposium objectifying, harassing and assaulting women resembled a sporting event where men competed to out-perform one another via aggressive and sexually charged acts almost exclusively against women. The competitions included; butt-biting (“sharking”) women, walking around fully exposed (“ball walking”), groping, fondling, exposing and sexually assaulting women in the “gauntlet”, slapping squadron logo stickers on female body parts (“zapping”), chicken fights in the pool, heavy drinking, and other sexualized activities (Department of Defense, 1993). The hallway “gauntlet” was one of the most notorious competitions where officers and squadrons made their mark by “zapping”, “sharking” and sexually assaulting women in an effort to show which squadrons and officers were the strongest, bravest and most ruthless. Photos memorialized many of these competitions and celebratory activities from excessive drinking to sexual assault.

found that young women recruited from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV), female hotel workers, female military personnel, military wives and sex workers were all vulnerable to sexual assault at the Hilton.

⁴ The Inspector General’ investigation team heard over fifty false statements during the investigation alone. They found many Navy officers could not identify colleagues in grainy photographs, yet had little problem identifying Marines (and vice versa with Marines naming Navy officers but not Marines). This suggested that colleagues were protecting perpetrators with whom they worked.

According to the Inspector General's review into the events at Tailhook, the sexual harassment and assaults at the Symposium were not unforeseeable anomalies. The review discovered several officers wore personalized T-shirts or pins saying, "Women are Property" or "Not in My Squadron"⁵ which demonstrated a norm of sexism in the military (Department of Defense, 1993, p. 85). The inquiry heard a variety of rationalizations for the sexual misconduct such as; women in combat roles threaten job security (1993, p. 83), the symposium was an event to celebrate American victory in Iraq (1993, p. 82), and there was a "Top Gun" mentality (1993, p.83). The report dismissed these rationalizations and focused on the longstanding failure of leadership (extending well beyond Tailhook 1991) and the structural lack of accountability related to sexual assaults. The Tailhook inquiry found that a few deviant individuals did not cause the misconduct. Rather, it was the result of longstanding systemic problems. The report indicated that systemic problems related to sexual assault were caused by a culture that valued sexism, misogyny and sexual violence over respect and compassion.

The 1992 HMAS Swan Scandal

During the time of the American Tailhook inquiry, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) faced similar allegations of systemic sexual harassment, gender discrimination and subsequent cover-ups. What had come to be known as the HMAS Swan scandal was triggered by incidents occurring on board a RAN destroyer vessel named HMAS Swan in 1992. The scandal involved all five women on board being sexually harassed or assaulted (*Senate Standing Committee Inquiry*, 1994)⁶. The central whistleblower in the affair was Dr. Carole Wheat who reported to the HMAS Swan Captain that she was sexually harassed and assaulted. An internal investigation

⁵ Phrase used to express the desire to not have women in the military and in squadrons that have historically been male bastions.

⁶ HMAS stands for Her Majesty's Australian Ship and is used to designate Australian warships. As such, the HMAS Swan scandal should not be confused with a more recent sexual violence scandal on board HMAS Success in 2011.

was launched but Dr. Wheat alleged it was being conducted in an unprofessional manner because the RAN Investigating Officer was a friend of the offender. The RAN investigating team pressured her to withdraw her allegations, and she concluded that it was not coincidental that she received a terrible performance report shortly following her complaints of abuse. In response, she wrote the Minister of Defence, Science and Personnel in November 1992. She described her horrifying working and living conditions, sexual harassment, sexual assault and her dissatisfaction with the RAN's investigation. Weeks later her assailant was dismissed in the RAN's court-martial, but a Board of Inquiry was appointed by the Minister to review the matters of concern raised in her letter. In September 1993, the Board of Inquiry's findings were leaked to the media and exposed the navy's questionable investigation and revealed that the other four women on board HMAS Swan also experienced sexual harassment. In addition to Dr. Wheat's story, the media focused on Leading Seaman Wendy Flannery's report of how, while docked in Hong Kong, she asked a British soldier to jump on her leg thirty times in an effort to break it and escape harassment on board (*Senate Standing Committee Inquiry*, 1994; Daly, 1993, 15 December). Amidst public concerns related to the treatment of women in the navy, the Minister of Defence, Science and Personnel announced a Senate Inquiry into sexual harassment in the Australian Defence Force (ADF), with terms of reference focusing on the navy.

During the course of the 1993/1994 Senate Inquiry a hundred and twenty-two complaints of sexual harassment and assault were lodged against the ADF from past and present service personnel (*Senate Standing Committee*, 1994, p. ii). These stories were widely featured in the news and tarnished the reputation of the ADF. Following the Senate Inquiry report, the Minister of Defence, Science and Personnel announced four major reviews in the summer of 1994 designed to ensure that women in the ADF had the opportunity to achieve their potential (Burton,

1996, p. xiii). These reviews were published through 1998 and investigated; the barriers confronting women in the Australian Defence Force, policies and practices related sexual harassment, reasons why women were not making the ADF a career, and the culture at the Australian Defence Force Academy⁷.

The 1998 report entitled “Report of the Review into the policies and practices dealing with sexual harassment and offenses at the Australian Defence Force Academy” (also known as the “Grey Review”) was the last of four reviews exploring the treatment and environment women encounter in the ADF⁸. Like previous reviews, this review found a ‘high level’ of inappropriate sexual behaviour and a high tolerance of these actions among cadets and military staff⁹. It revealed an environment where sexual harassment, bullying and violence were prevalent and accepted. In addition to the normalization of abuse, the review discovered that not reporting violent behaviours was valorized and superior officers discouraged standing up for survivors of abuse. The review found that this created an atmosphere where survivors often kept their trauma a secret, fearing their careers would be jeopardized as occurred in the case of Dr. Wheat who was sexually assaulted, harassed and punished for coming forward with allegations of abuse. Further, it was disclosed that the ADFA had cultural codes of silence and mantras of ‘don’t jack on your mates’. These cultural codes and mantras played a significant role in the

⁷ The first review was named “The Cultural, Social and Institutional Barrier Impeding the Merit Based Progression of Women”. The second review was named “The reasons why more women are not making the Australian Defence Force a Long Term Career”. These two reviews were published together in a 1996 Report called “Women in the Australian Defence Force: Two Studies” commissioned by Dr. Burton. During the course of these reviews a Defence Equity Organization was created to promote equity and eradicate discrimination in the ADF. It became part the Alternative Resolutions and Equity division at the Values, Behaviours and Resolutions Branch in Australia’s Department of Defence. The third review published in 1995 looked at Sexual Harassment in the ADF comparing the level of sexual harassment between 1987 and 1995.

⁸ This report is popularly known as the “Grey Review”. Other reviews in the series looked at women’s integration into the ADF as a whole.

⁹ The review also found and discussed aggressive homophobia and racism at the ADFA, in a similar way as sexual violence.

pervasiveness of a *do nothing* attitude related to harassment, bullying, and sexual violence. The report concluded that sexism, sexual harassment and bullying based on physical injury, mental weakness or other differences (i.e. sexual orientation, culture or race) were prevalent and often precipitated by its culture, norms, and structures¹⁰. Since the ADFA's culture was seen as a contributing factor to harassment on campus, the review explored the dominant features of this culture and found that it centred on exaggerated masculine ideals. They found that these masculine ideals valorized physicality, toughness, and dominance, while degrading women and feminized attributes like empathy, expressive support, and the communication of feelings (*Report of the Review*, 1998, p. 2.12). The review found masculine qualities were not only exaggerated in cadet culture but were central in the academy's training regiments, models of leadership and informal lessons from staff to cadets. In informal lessons drill sergeants ostracized female cadets with statements like "this is not a girly institution" and taught male cadets they ought to be ashamed if they were beaten by "ladies" (*Report of the Review*, 1998, p. 1.22)

In conjunction with sexist abuse at the academy, the review discovered that developing a medical issue or seeking emotional support also made cadets vulnerable to abuse like name calling, humiliation, social isolation and being labeled an outsider. The review found that the militarized culture glorified physical prowess and the ability to meet or exceed physical standards. It found academy culture showed little compassion for bodily differences, limitations, injuries, or emotional struggles. The academy's culture was found to encourage cadets to overcome injury, pain or trauma by toughening up, controlling emotions and not seeking support. The report described how an injured female cadet was ostracized and punished following her sports related injury. In addition to this abuse, she received a terrible performance report by

¹⁰ The review also discussed the homophobia and racism present in ADFA culture, but seemed to focus on sexism, sexual harassment and bullying based on keeping up with physical and emotional expectations and norms.

colleagues who did not take her medical status into proper consideration (*Report of the Review*, 1998). Interestingly, the review found that female cadets were most vulnerable to this type of bullying and abuse and that they were most likely to suffer from chronic injuries by trying to keep up with unrealistic male standards. The report found that these standards were cultural requirements to fit in or at least be tolerated in the academy.

The review discovered that the culture at the ADF and ADFA was very similar to other Western nations like the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, that also had widespread issues of sexual violence against women, homophobia, and racism (*Report of the Review*, 1998, p. ix). The Grey Report found that the ADFA had a culture similar to other Western militaries and academies where sexism and misogyny are common. When it came to the Grey Report's concluding recommendations, the report argued that:

Changing the culture of the Defence Academy will not be easy. In terms of wider ADF culture and psychological comfort, it may be that people will prefer to insist that the Defence Academy as a system is fine, even if there are a few bad people in it. In other words, remove the rotten apples and the rest of the barrel will be saved. However, the analysis of this review is that it is the barrel which is the problem. It is saturated with a 'rot virus' which takes decent young people and starts to rot their judgement and morals from the very start. For some the rotting process is complete within days. Others may take some weeks or even months to rot beyond recognition. Unless the barrel is changed, the process of rotting will easily survive the culling out of the more obviously rotten members it contains (*Report of the Review*, 1998, pp. 2.17-2.18).

According to the review's conclusion, harassment and bullying was not caused by a few rogue cadets, but rather cadets were driven astray by the military's culture and system (1998, p. 2.18).

The review found that the culture and models of behaviour at the ADFA operated like a 'rot virus' which created a climate where cadets (and staff) viewed physical prowess, power, control, and fitting into the highly masculine social in-group as essential; and more important than empathy, admissions of weakness, vulnerability, or care (which mark the feminized low status

social “out-group” referred to as “squeezers”, “div mums”, and so forth)¹¹. The Grey Review found the academy’s hierarchical power structure and culture to be culpable for the under-reporting of sexual violence, the mismanagement of incidents, and much of the bullying at the academy. The Grey Review and other reports triggered by the HMAS Swan scandal revealed how the sexual violence on board HMAS Swan was widespread and accepted throughout the Australian Defence Force. Overall, the Australian reviews in the 1990s found that dominant Australian military values were based on exaggerated masculine norms that valued competition, misogyny and physicality.

The 1993 Somalia Affair

In the summer of 1992, Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney committed Canadian troops to the United Nation’s operation in Somalia. In the spring of 1993, Canada reported that two Somali rebels entered their compound, posed a threat to Canadian troops and were shot in the abdomen from close range ¹²(*Dishonoured Legacy*, 1997, p. 1093). These reports reinforced the narrative that Canadian peacekeepers were heroes in *Operation Deliverance*. Whistleblower Dr. Barry Armstrong’s autopsy report into this story revealed that official reports had been fabricated to cover-up misconduct. Armed with the autopsy report, Armstrong challenged the statements of his superiors and demanded an internal investigation. He claimed that evidence from the autopsy revealed that the Somali civilians were shot from behind and were likely running away from Canadian troops. His autopsy was evidence of serious violations to international laws of

¹¹ Cadets identified by other cadets who cannot reach acceptable standards, academic, military and social performance, are labelled squeezers “...and will become subject to harassment...lack of physical prowess is the principal reason for labelling a cadet a squeezer. Cadets subject to longer term medical limitations are also prone to be labelled as squeezers” (1998, p.1.32). Cadets who took a more caring or empathetic leadership approach were labelled “Div mums”.

¹² The Commission Inquiry found that the fleeing men, posed no threat and committed no hostile act precipitating Canadian fire (1997, p. ES-35)

engagement and a military cover-up. However, the Canadian public remained largely unaware of Dr. Armstrong's autopsy findings and other violent events in Somalia that would later disrupt prevailing myths about Canadian peacekeepers.

In the fall of 1994, troop trophy photographs of torture and murder, troop videos of racist hazing activities prior to deployment, and Dr. Armstrong's allegations of wrongdoing and cover-up were revealed to the media. Disturbed by the misconduct revealed in photos, videos and stories of military cover-up, the Canadian public had questions about the scope of the violence and how such violence occurred. As a result of public pressure, in November of 1994 the federal government announced a public inquiry reviewing incidents in Somalia. The inquiry's terms of reference focused on matters from pre-deployment to post-deployment, and investigated "whether structural and organizational deficiencies lay behind the controversial incidents involving Canadian soldiers in Somalia" (*Dishonoured Legacy*, 1997, para. 1).

In 1997, the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia finalized its review and confirmed fears of military dishonour. The report confirmed that the flow of information and internal investigation was being manipulated through the chain of command and at National Defence Headquarters¹³. These tactics were used to cover-up the violence and keep the public in the dark about Canada's violence in Somalia. The review confirmed allegations of cover-up and wrongdoing up the chain of command in the murders of two Somali civilians. The Inquiry discovered that Canadian peacekeepers placed bait (food and water) to entice hungry Somalis into or near the compound so that the Platoon could engage

¹³ The Inquiry found the military chain of command was trying to keep whatever "dirty laundry" it had from exposure to the press and public (1997, p. 1129). For instance, the Commission's examination of the initial investigation found numerous procedural failures; co-operation with military police failed, that military police questioning of their superiors failed, reports of wrongdoing in medical autopsy were ignored and silenced by those in power (as they shed light on false statements), and that the crime scene itself was not investigated until days later, with convenient disregard for proper procedures.

them (1997, p.1076). The inquiry found this questionable tactic was embraced by senior staff like Captain Rainville who colleagues claimed encouraged personnel to commit violent acts against Somalis, with rewards of beer based on the severity of violence (1997, p. 1107)¹⁴. The Commission of Inquiry confirmed that Dr. Armstrong allegations of false statements to cover-up the shooting of two Somali civilians and Canadian personnel involvement in abuse against prisoners. It found that the abuse of prisoners was celebrated and memorialized in trophy style photographs, one of which showcased the torture and murder of sixteen-year-old Somalia civilian, Shidane Arone. The inquiry discovered that these actions of violence against prisoners went unpunished (1997, p. ES-35). Much like the racist hazing activities caught on video prior to deployment, the inquiry found that racially motivated violence was normalized and celebrated as appropriate in the Canadian Airborne Regiment.

The principal conclusion of Canada's Commission of Inquiry into Somalia (1997) was that the mission went badly wrong, systems broke down and organizational failure ensued. The report found breakdowns in leadership, accountability, the chain of command, discipline, training, rules of engagement, operational readiness, the military planning system, openness, disclosure, and military justice. The Commission of Inquiry did not feel it was simply a question of individual blame. The report found the violence stemmed from systemic problems up the chain of command and organizational issues prior to deployment where military violence was glorified instead of discussed in the context of rules of engagement, accountability or cultural training. The report was limited by its terms of reference and lack of a theoretically informed

¹⁴ Interestingly, Captain Rainville was part of the all male regiment involved in the "tree incident" of 1992. The incident was captured on camera and involved a female Captain being tied to a tree. The female Captain was tortured for hours and nearly left for dead in below zero temperatures, with her bare feet submerged in the snow. See Simao (1997) ("Army officer", 1998, 5 January) for details around the incident and Captain Sandra Perron's decision to leave the military. Interestingly, Perron decided to leave the military due to systemic harassment, not the tree incident. Perron never filed an official complaint.

analysis. Despite these systemic deficiencies, the incidents it revealed illustrated the racism and culture of celebrated aggression in Canada's Armed Forces.

These cases and inquiries from the 1990s demonstrate how gendered violence, racist violence and ableism are more than acts by individual American naval aviators and marines, Australian navy officers, or the Canada's Airborne Regiment. In all of these cases the investigations found that perpetrators in these three countries' militaries were protected by a culture up the chain of command and within investigative agencies that normalized gendered violence, racist violence, aggression and bullying against injured colleagues. Militaries were shown to have punished, ignored, silenced and discouraged survivors of assault and whistleblowers of wrongdoing. From the stories of Lieutenant Paula Coughlin at Tailhook 91', Dr. Carole Wheat on HMAS Swan and Dr. Barry Armstrong in Somalia, it is clear that individuals who came forward with allegations of abuse were ignored, punished or discouraged. The reviews that these cases prompted reveal the military as an institution whose investigations and reviews failed to scrutinize their own norms, traditions and high-ranking perpetrators. We see this repeatedly; in the initial Tailhook investigation by Rear Admiral Williams and the NIS investigation team; in the initial investigation by Lieutenant Commander Flynn and the RAN into Dr. Wheat's HMAS Swan allegations, to the unprofessional investigation in Somalia conducted by Canadian military police. It is clear that the gendered and racist violence of troops was not scrutinized. Instead it was treated with impunity and dismissed as acceptable.

The reviews into Tailhook, HMAS Swan and Somalia helped reveal how sexism, ableism, racism and competitions measuring aggression were systemic problems in Western militaries. I argue frameworks of soldiering and militarized masculinities that undermine differences and celebrate violence provided the context to these incidents. Initially news reports

of these incidents framed them as anomalous scandals perpetrated by deviant individuals. Subsequent inquiries into these cases revealed much more was at play. All of these incidents occurred within militarized institutions with a particular masculine culture that created conditions for the violence. Inquiries suggested that the soldiers involved in these incidents were part of a broader militarized culture where difference based on gender, race and ability were regarded as markers of inferiority. Inquiries from the 1990s found that the violence in their respective cases were embedded within a militarized and masculinist culture that normalized violent competitions, sexual assault, racist violence and ableism.

This dissertation explores three new military scandals in the same three countries – Canada, Australia and the United States of America. Like the cases a decade and a half earlier, these new military scandals exposed sexual violence, harassment, racist violence and torture and garnered an enormous amount of national and international media attention. These three cases, in three different countries have been selected because they allow me to identify and compare patterns of militarized masculinities in three allied Anglo-Saxon countries with a history of colonization. Scholars of militarized masculinity/ies have never conducted a thorough discursive analysis of how militarized masculinities are represented and reproduced. My use of the term militarized masculinity/ies to present the literature is inspired by the work of Parpart and Partridge (2014). News coverage of military personnel involved in military sex scandals provides ample empirical data to explore and analyse contemporary understandings of militarized masculinities.

For the United States, I focus on the Abu Ghraib story of 2004 that showcased degrading pictures of prisoner abuse in Iraq with a number of U.S. military personnel identified as participants in the violence. News representations of Abu Ghraib focused on: 1) the deviancy of

Specialist Graner's trophy photographs which celebrated prisoner abuse, 2) Specialist Graner's girlfriend Private Lynndie England who was featured in many headlines as the girl with the leash, and 3) the contaminating circumstance of the "dirty" and dangerous prison and prisoners. My project focuses on representations of Abu Ghraib 'ring leader' Specialist Charles Graner, who was a central character in the prison abuse scandal due to his collection of trophy photographs that were the feature of public debate. In particular, I explore and unpack news representations that depicted him as a sadistic monster with a history of cruelty, rule breaking and sexualized pranks.

In Canada, I focus on the case of Colonel Russell Williams in 2010 that received significant media attention. The air force commander was found guilty in two murders, three sexual assaults and over eighty fetish trophy break-ins which targeted and terrorized women. Williams was quickly overlooked in the police's initial manhunt that found it inconceivable a successful colonel could be involved in sexual violence despite one of the victims being a colleague and much of the violence committed close to his military base. News representations of Williams framed him to be weird and perverted with a fetish obsession and psychotic pathology beyond control. News stories described Williams as a modern day Jekyll and Hyde monster that wore a decorated military uniform by day and women's underwear by night. My dissertation focuses on representations of Colonel Williams and unpacks how the media depoliticized the gendered nature of his attacks, distanced his sexual violence from the systemic sexual abuse in the military, and blamed his violence on mental illness.

In Australia there are several contemporary military scandals, the most infamous being the 2011 Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) sex scandal often referred to as the "Skype sex scandal". The Skype sex scandal is the third case I focus on. In this case, ADFA cadet

Daniel McDonald videotaped and streamed a sexual encounter, unbeknownst to the female involved (referred to as “Kate” to protect her identity), to a roomful of cadets who watched, took photographs and distributed them around campus. After Kate came forward with allegations of sexual misconduct, ADFA Commodore Bruce Kafer authorized an unrelated disciplinary hearing against Kate and protected the young men involved from appropriate disciplinary action.

Defence Minister Smith scrutinized Commodore Kafer’s backlash against whistleblower Kate and publically criticized the Commodore’s actions as “insensitive” and “stupid”. Minister Smith removed Kafer from his post and launched a series of inquiries into and surrounding the scandal. In late 2012, Kafer was reinstated after an inquiry mostly exonerated his actions, but Defence Minister Smith refused to apologize and faced widespread public scrutiny. In the news coverage, Kate was represented as a reckless girl who broke the rules of fraternization, participated in under-age drinking and was partially responsible for her misfortune. My dissertation focuses on representations of cadet Daniel McDonald who was framed as a healthy young man and one of the boys, whose actions were relatively normal and expected from boys his age who inevitably objectify women.

What feminist scholars should find striking about my dissertation’s three cases are that the dominant representations focused on the behaviour of individuals despite a historical and political context of violence as part of a broader cultural and structural story of soldiering and militarized masculinities based on racism, sexism and ableism. These depoliticized news stories allowed “prevailing national myths” about the civility and appropriateness of militarization, soldiering and militarized masculinities (Whitworth, 2004; 2005) to remain undisputed. These liberal “discourses of denial” (Jiwani, 2006) obscured the ways competition, racism, misogyny, and ableism are fundamental to militarized ideas, institutions and frameworks of soldiering based

on militarized masculinities. Contemporary representations of the men in three modern military scandals ignored costly lessons from the 1990s and represented militarized violence as individualized stories that resulted from individual deviancy. These liberal narratives depoliticized the violence and distanced explanations that would challenge prevailing myths around the appropriateness of current frameworks of soldiering grounded in scripts of militarized masculinities.

My thesis is best understood as intervening in emerging questions in the field of transnational disability studies marked out by McReur (2010) and Puar (2009) by helping to re-think how militarism, masculinities and imperial soldiering shape categories of ability and disability. This thesis considers the ways in which the binary of able-bodiedness and disability are shaped by the intersecting material and ideological processes of militarization, global capitalism, sexual aggression and white imperial masculinities. More specifically, this thesis unpacks the ableist representations of monstrosity and trophy collecting, emphasizes the “instability of the division between capacity endowed and debility-laden bodies” (Puar, 2009, p. 169) and demonstrates the ways that these divisions help make up militarized masculinities.

Militarized masculinities are types of hegemonic masculinities that tend to centre the gendered body, the white imperial body, the sexually aggressive body, and the able body. My dissertation explores news representations of three cases of Western military personnel involved in military ‘sex scandals’ in order to unpack the meanings of militarized masculinities. The central question I ask in this dissertation is: What do representations of military men involved in military scandals reveal about scripts of soldiering and militarized masculinities? More specifically, what are the consequences of these scripts? Why are societies so resistant to understanding that violence is a product of militarized masculinities? Why, despite a history of

systemic violence in the military is the systemic nature of militarized masculinities able to remain invisible, driving representations to focus on the “bad” behaviour of individuals?

Throughout this thesis I will make clear how representations of the military men in my three cases reveal scripts of militarized masculinities based on compulsory able-bodiedness, the white imperial body, sexual aggression and misogyny. I argue that the militarized qualification of masculinities is significant because militarized ideologies (re)produce a gendered, racialized and able-bodied order that view differences as threatening or undesirable while placing whiteness, masculinities and able-bodiedness as orderly. In this dissertation I argue that news representations of my three cases allow us to trace the contemporary (re)production of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries as based on misogyny, racism and ableism. These scripts have pivotal importance to cultural norms in the military because soldiering is based on scripts of militarized masculinities. In this thesis I maintain that scripts of militarized masculinities are fundamentally violent and based on notions of superiority, difference, aggression and dominance, where performances and support of misogyny, rape culture and sexual aggression are requirements for inclusion in the masculine boys club. Societies tend to be resistant to understanding militarized masculinities as violent, because doing so would disrupt prevailing myths that our militaries, their culture and our militarized society at large is civilized, inclusive, race-neutral and exceptional. The systemic nature of violent militarized masculinities remains invisible because 1) the predominant militarized paradigm views Western military violence as civilized and race-neutral, and 2) violent masculinities are understood as a norm rather than a gendered problem. As such, societies find it much easier to focus on the “bad” behaviour of individuals, than to consider the possibility that celebrated

norms and structures of our militarized society are fundamentally based on dehumanization and aggression toward difference.

Representations and Militarized Masculinities

In this dissertation I found that the discursive (re)production of militarized masculinities in the United States, Canada and Australia were present but silenced in representations of 1) sexual violence, 2) trophy collecting, 3) racist imperial violence, and 4) the ‘normal’ or idealized body. Representations insisted on either a binary between good soldiers and bad apples, or simplified the nature of the crimes as being the result of boys being boys. I unpack how all of these constructions are part of an overarching system of militarized masculinities that serves to sustain status quo hierarchal structures based on misogyny, racism, and ableism. Through my critical discourses analysis, I find that news stories functioned to conceal systemic questions about the violent nature of soldiering (based on militarized masculinities) through structural oppositions, abstraction, rhetorical devices like metaphors, presupposition, referential naming strategies, etc.

Grounded in the empirical evidence of my three cases, I find that militarized masculinities reflect the exaggeration of societal norms of ableism, racism, competition and sexism, deemed necessary in protecting the nation and winning at warfare. I argue that militarized masculinities are embedded in and illustrative of social structures and militarized hierarchies of difference based on race, gender and ability. These hierarchies of difference constructed in part by ideologies of militarism, play a central role in the training of soldiers and the maintenance of national myths around the legitimacy, value and appropriateness of militarized violence and militarized masculinities.

Each of these four intersecting axes of militarized masculinities - 1) sexual violence, 2) trophy collecting 3) racist imperial violence, and 4) monstrosity and ableism - will be discussed in separate theme chapters in this dissertation. These chapters present my analysis of a large volume of discursive data, namely newspapers and transcripts of television and radio reporting, in order to better understand how militarized masculinities get constructed around events of sexual and imperial violence. The news stories were read and contextualized with an analytical framework that will be described in greater detail in Chapter 2. Through a thematic analysis of media representations of Colonel Williams, Specialist Graner and Cadet McDonald, I identified four discursive themes that I argue give insight into intersecting elements or entry points of militarized masculinities.

Unpacking the media's representations of military personnel in four intersecting theme chapters reveals how militarized masculinities are based on differentiation and the acceptance of violence intersecting with hierarchies of gender, race, class and ability. Overall, my analysis found that discourses about militarized masculinities were based on aggression and the violent degradation of women, people of colour, and people with mental illness. Through my critical discourse analysis of representations I conclude that militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries are best understood as a version of hegemonic masculinity that sustains inequalities. The militarized masculinities encouraged in predominantly white Western countries are based on hegemonic, gendered notions of a patriarchal, racialized and ableist order that is widely accepted, misunderstood and celebrated. My analysis of the way the media constructs gendered meaning helps to demonstrate how militarized masculinities are celebrated and not likely to lose hegemony unless we start changing our perspective on the international system and militarization.

Sexual Violence

The topic of sexual violence silently weaves its way through representations of all three cases, while news stories explicitly talk about the male perpetrators as boys being boys and/or conflate sexual violence as sex or kink. Chapter 3 explores how stories of boys being boys are part of our militarized culture, where sexual and gendered violence and the protection of perpetrators is a norm of militarized masculinities. News representations of ADFA Cadet McDonald will be relied upon as the principle case for this chapter since narratives focus most on militarized sexual and gendered violence. Representations of Specialist Graner and Colonel Williams will also be taken up and integrated as supporting evidence to my argument. In this chapter I argue that representations teach us about militarized masculinities as based on sexual violence, sexual aggression and support for perpetrators. I explore the relationship between representations of sexual violence, military culture, and militarized masculinities¹⁵. In this first theme chapter I start by mapping the material reality of systemic sexual and gendered violence in the military. After this review of the facts, I present a close reading of dominant news representations of McDonald, Williams and Graner, exploring the themes and linguistic choices used to talk about the sexual and gendered violence of military personnel. I found that news representations frequently conflated the sexual violence of military men with sex or kink. Within dominant narratives sexual aggression and violence were portrayed as expected of men and a by-product of sexuality. I maintain that the idea of sexual violence being a male performance is widespread in discourses and becomes particularly obvious through my close reading of Cadet

¹⁵ In this thesis sexual violence includes any form of unwanted sexual violation, touching or behaviour. Sexual harassment is a form of sexual violence that is often viewed as less significant or physically serious (i.e. name calling, stalking, etc.), I prefer to not consistently distinguish between the two since they are both violent and traumatizing. In this thesis I refer to gendered violence as any violent action specifically targeting women, which frequently incorporates sexual violence, emotional violence and physical abuse.

McDonald's story. Representations of McDonald being one of the boys, as different from female cadets, or as an example of the dark side of male bonding and mateship latently reveal silent discourses of militarized masculinities.

The two discursive themes explored in this chapter were derived mostly at the latent level from the work of Enloe (1990), Price (2001), Harrison and Laliberté (2002), Whitworth (2004), Parpart (2010), Shefer and Mankayi (2007), and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009). The discursive themes are: 1) Gender, Sexuality and Difference, as well as 2) Bonding and Loyalty. Unpacking these discursive themes of explanation helps reveal how militarized masculinities are informed by rape culture and based on the perpetration and support of sexual and gendered violence. This chapter focuses on contextualizing representations and interrogating the assumptions and linguistic choices that make concealed overarching discourses on militarized masculinities function. Overall, my analysis of news discourses confirms and extends insights from feminist international relations (IR) literature and contextualizes representations of sexual and gendered violence perpetrated by military personnel. Stories about sexual violence at the ADFA are part of its military culture and its norms of masculinities rather than simply a “manly” act facilitated by a wild girl¹⁶. The most significant take away from this chapter is that sexual violence, as well as condoning such behaviour, informs scripts of militarized masculinities.

¹⁶ Insights from the literature on militarized sexual violence suggest that the current crisis of sexual and gendered violence committed by military personnel in Australia, the United States and Canada is part of a longstanding political and systemic act precipitated by its culture, training practices and ideals of soldiering (Harrison and Laliberté, 1994, 2002; Whitworth, 2004). Misogyny is explained as playing a pivotal role in the training of soldiers where the denigration of women and other marginalized groups (namely people of colour and the LGBTQ community) is seen as important for group cohesion and preparedness of war (Harrison and Laliberté, 1994, 2002), which necessarily involves de-humanization of the enemy and unit loyalty (Price, 2001). The literature also finds that militarized sexual violence is used as a political strategy to strengthen unit cohesion (Price, 2001; Harrison and Laliberté, 1994, 2002; Parpart, 2011), secure the nation from internal and external threats (Enloe, 2000), reward soldiers (Enloe, 2000), and defeat the enemy using the body as a battlefield (Seifurt, 1994; Alison, 2007). Insights from the literature also suggest that acts of sexual and gendered violence are often conducted in public settings and celebrated by groups of soldiers (Price, 2001; Parpart, 2011). Gang rapes and sexual violence are described in the literature as methods to assert an aggressive masculinity and sexuality (in contrast to the passive enemy) in order to

Trophies

Chapter 4 analyses and contextualizes representations of Colonel Williams, cadet McDonald and Specialist Graner assessing how they were presented as trophy capturers. I explore the constructed binary between good soldiers and bad apples in this chapter through representations of trophy collecting. Military medals are represented as symbols or metaphors of ideal soldiering, while representations of panties or trophy photos of violence are associated with being a deviant or rogue soldier. This chapter explores how trophy collecting was represented and how contextualizing these representations illuminate a connection between trophies and militarized masculinities.. Overall, this theme chapter will explain how representations of trophy collecting were embedded in broader discourses of militarized masculinities. While representations of all three cases will be discussed in this chapter, representations of Colonel Williams and Charles Graner will be the primary focus since media representations of them consistently focused on trophies, trophy collecting, conquests and competition.

In Chapter 4, I rely on the literature on militarization and militarized masculinity/ies as well as the research linking trophy collecting to masculinities, to argue that representations of Williams', Graner's and McDonald's trophies (re)produced theorized norms of militarized masculinities based on sexual aggression, ableism and dehumanization. By contextualizing representations of these practices via my analytical lens and unpacking representations via critical discourse tools of analysis, I found that the discursive shadow behind representations of trophy collecting depicting sexual and racist violence was militarized masculinities and its scripts of misogyny, ableism and excessive violence. While military medals and sexualized trophies

show solidarity with the identities of fellow soldiers, affirm a superior national identity and loyalty to the nation (Alison, 2007; Price, 2001).

were explicitly and implicitly presented as different, my close reading of representations unpacks how they are similar in their logic and both reproduce militarized masculinities.

Overall, this chapter explores how military medals and sexualized trophies are similar in their logic and both reproduce militarized masculinities. Through my close reading, I argue that representations of the fetish trophy collections can be contextualized as part of a broader underlying discourse of militarized masculinities based on 1) misogyny, sexualized aggression and ableism, as well as 2) dehumanizing violence and racism. These discursive themes of trophy collecting will be the two axes upon which this chapter will be explored. By unpacking representations of the trophies in my cases, I found they help reveal the assumptions, meanings and ideologies of militarized masculinities.

Racist Imperial Violence

In Chapter 5, I explore the implicit theme of racist imperial violence in the stories of Specialist Charles Graner and Colonel Williams¹⁷. Since this theme was most pronounced in representations of Specialist Graner, his story will be focused on. Reporting on Charles Graner and Colonel Williams characterized them as anomalies, whose violence was an aberration in an otherwise exceptional modern nation with honourable military personnel. From my analytical lens I understand how idealized soldiering is based on scripts of militarized masculinities that promote racialized violence, aggression and the degradation of “Others” (Whitworth, 2004).

Here I argue that although the media insists on a binary approach, distinguishing good soldiers

¹⁷ When talking about imperial violence in this thesis I will be focusing on one of its most tangible and visible aspects often enforced by military personnel; the physical subjugation, control, occupation, incarceration and violation of “Others”, most often people of colour (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, p. 21). The imperial violence of economic expansion relies on the enforcement of ‘Western’/Eurocentric ways of knowing, as essential in the national securing of new markets and the control of people and lands. This involves the teaching of epistemological and cultural inferiority, which through the extermination and displacement of populations helps to destroy alternative histories, ways of knowing, culture and language. These are understood by military personnel and projected onto occupied populations as different, dangerous, pre-modern, and inferior.

from rogue soldiers, both are still based on norms of militarized masculinities. I contextualize representations of Charles Graner's rogue soldiering in this chapter as the logical extension of idealized soldiering, since both are based on the violent, dehumanizing, racialized scripts of militarized masculinities.

Chapter 5 is divided into two thematic sections derived from the theoretical insights of Puar (2007), Shigematsu and Camacho (2010), Whitworth (2004), Eichler (2012) and other theorists discussed in Chapter 1 who help define militarization, militarized masculinity/ies and racist imperial violence. The two themes I explore in Chapter 5 are 1) exception and exceptionalism and 2) dehumanization and difference. This chapter explores the ways in which discourses were militarized and functioned to portray militarized dehumanization, racial difference and incarceration as legitimate and nonviolent. I conclude in this chapter that representations of Charles Graner expose manifestations and patterns of militarized masculinities related to racist violence. By reading for militarized silences that produce race I discovered that characterizations of Graner relied on a liberal framework that individualized blame, depoliticized violence, and helped maintain myths that current frameworks for soldiering based militarized masculinities are valuable for national security.

Monstrosity and Ableism

Chapter 6 on monstrosity and ableism was derived from news discourses about Williams and Graner at the manifest and latent level from the theoretical insights of Smith (2011), Halberstam (1995), Whitworth (2004, 2008), Howell (2011), Hooper (2001), Bourke (1996), Serlin (2003), and Garland-Thompson (1999, 2013). I explore how elements of monstrosity

based on hierarchies of ability, sexuality, class, race and gender are proliferated and produce knowledge about militarized masculinities as an able-bodied construct. I will be unpacking how representations of ideal soldiers and bad apples are part of a network of meanings related to militarized masculinities. Since ableist representations of monstrosity were most explicit in the Colonel Williams case, his representations will be the primary focus of this chapter, however, representations of Charles Graner will also be discussed. Overall, this chapter analyses narrative representations of Williams and Graner, finding that they were predominantly framed as monsters and represented as mentally broken or different from normal soldiers, people and hegemonic norms of masculinities.

In Chapter 6, I demonstrate that the media's presentation of soldiering is related to norms of militarized masculinities and depends on assumptions about normalcy. In this chapter, I find that news representations named Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner as monsters and figures of difference based on (dis)ability, class, sexuality and gender. My chapter maintains that discourses around Williams and Graner's monstrosity are placed in contrast to successful soldiering and unspoken assumptions about what type of bodies are dangerous and what type of bodies keep us safe. The central argument of this chapter is that the discursive naming of Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner as monsters reveals normative elements of militarized masculinities. Representations of the mental illnesses of rogue soldiers are part of an overarching discourse on militarized masculinities and its effect is to suggest militarized masculinities are not disability. This chapter is divided into two thematic sections derived at the latent level from the work of Smith (2011), Halberstam (1995), Serlin (2003), Howell (2011), Whitworth (2004) and others discussed in Chapter 1 related to militarized masculinities and ableism. The thematic sections are 1) the 'normal' white body, and 2) gender, sexuality and class.

Axes of Militarized Masculinities

I began by exploring military scandals in the Canadian, American and Australian armed forces from the 1990s and explained how sexual violence, racist violence and ableism have long been embedded within the militarized and masculine culture of Western militaries. Inquiries triggered by these military scandals found that sexism, ableism, racism and competitions measuring aggression were systemic problems in militaries. What I found striking about more recent military scandals were that dominant representations continued to focus on the behaviour of individuals, despite the findings of inquiries a decade earlier that should have caused this violence to be seen as part of a broader historical culture and structural story based on racism, misogyny and ableism. Earlier, I introduced the concept of militarized masculinities and explained how systemic problems of violent misconduct do not exist in a vacuum, but were contextualized by frameworks of soldiering and militarized masculinities, that celebrate violence and undermine differences based on gender, race and ability. Subsequent chapters of this thesis will explore what representations of military men in new military scandals reveal about soldiering and militarized masculinities. I argue that there are four overarching patterns of militarized masculinities, based on sexual violence and rape culture, competitiveness and trophy collecting, racist imperial violence and ableism. Moreover, I argue that the militarized qualification in the concept militarized masculinities is significant because militarized ideologies (re)produce a gendered, racialized and able-bodied order of things that centre differences as threatening or undesirable, while placing whiteness, masculinities and able-bodiedness as orderly. As will be explored at greater length throughout this dissertation, I found that there were discursive patterns of militarized masculinities that suggest it is more of an overarching

concept, than a distinct national narrative. While there are always multiple, nuanced versions of militarized masculinities in any given context, culture and institution, I found that there were four prevalent intersecting axes of militarized masculinities in the Anglo-Saxon discourses that I reviewed.

Chapter 1: Men, Hegemonic Masculinities and Militarized Masculinities

The genesis of this dissertation is a curiosity about masculinities and the ways militarism shapes masculinities, gender, race, and ability. More specifically, my dissertation focuses on how the violence of military personnel, discussed in the Introduction, went from being understood as systemic in the 1990s to normal or exceptional in the new millennium. Since my thesis is situated within feminist conversations about masculinities, I will start this chapter by mapping major developments in the understanding of masculinities. More specifically, I will frame the evolution of the concept hegemonic masculinities over the last thirty years, with particular attention to the work of Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). Exploring the evolution of the concepts masculinities and hegemonic masculinities is pivotal to this thesis, because they are core concepts which help to better situate and understand militarized masculinities. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) are two pioneering scholars of masculinities, who conducted a thorough review of masculinities scholarship and reformulated initial conceptualizations of hegemonic masculinity, now commonly referred to and understood as hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2010; 2012; 2013). Like Connell (1987) and the vast array of constructivist thinkers, I start this thesis from the assumption that masculinity is not what one has or is. In other words, masculinity is not a biological reality, attached to sexed bodies, nor is it an essential quality of men or testosterone. The first part of this chapter, presents my ontological perspective as a constructivist who understands gender as both a discursive and material construction embedded in social structures. I understand gender as being constantly created, performed and reproduced, not only through discourse, but also by material bodies and practices. Discursive and material practices are both socially embedded and have a reciprocal relationship to one another, meaning gender is both a discursive and material phenomena.

After discussing developments in the field of masculinity/ies (focusing primarily on developments in hegemonic masculinity/ies scholarship), I move on to explore this thesis' key concepts, most notably militarization, militarism and militarized masculinities. In the section Militarization and Militarism, I review discursive and non-discursive understandings of these concepts, via the work of Enloe (2000), Turenne Sjolander (2011), Beier (2011) and Alderman (2003). What follows, is a more specific examination of the relationship between gender and militarization, focusing on the ways in which militarization has a reciprocal relationship to hegemonic masculinities. From there, I explore the literature on militarized masculinity/ies through the mapping of three dominant ideological themes 1) strength and economic independence, 2) excessive violence, aggression, and sexual violence, and 3) practices of imperial and racialized constructions of the enemy and soldier. I then present some of the gaps in the literature on militarized masculinity/ies and conclude with an exploration of feminist communications scholarship on violent masculinity in the news.

Since the 1970's scholarship on masculinity/ies has evolved from using the term masculinity in the singular to masculinities in the plural. Early role model scholarship on masculinity was not focussed on unpacking the plurality of masculinities. As masculinity/ies research evolved, scholars have shifted from using the concept masculinity to masculinities to make their appreciation for the plurality of the concept more explicit., despite the fact that many scholars who used the term masculinity often understood that it is not a fixed concept and can take on many nuanced forms across time and place. For my project, I use the term masculinities to make clear my appreciation for the plural forms and representations of masculinity. When referencing the scholarship on militarized masculinities I often use the term militarized

masculinity/ies to be clear that some scholars have used, and continue to use, masculinity in the singular¹⁸.

In the 1970s, literature on men and masculinity developed in sociology and social psychology. The social nature of masculinity became recognized via role theories, which modeled idealized traits of gendered behaviour. The collection by Robert Brannon and Deborah David (1976) was a significant contribution to critical role theories during this time and mapped a “Blueprint for Manhood”, that was instrumental in modeling common traits of manhood and masculinity. The collection included excerpts from a variety of authors discussing a range of masculine roles as husbands, U.S. Presidents, business managers and soldiers fighting in Vietnam. All were framed as embodying at least one overarching trait of manhood. The traits were presented as 1) no sissy stuff, 2) the big wheel, 3) the sturdy oak, and 4) give them hell. The model’s first component “no sissy stuff” suggested that the stigmatization of feminine characteristics, behaviours and activities is a requirement of idealized manhood and masculinity. “Sissy” activities and behaviours like ballet were positioned as inferior activities, reserved for women and gay men. The “big wheel” role emphasized economic success and social status as an important part of masculinity and manhood, valorizing ambition, power and superiority. The “sturdy oak” component, suggested that in order to be considered masculine, real men must have tough bodies and minds which are self-reliant, confident and can assert complete control over their emotions. The “give them hell” axis, suggested that manhood is about the ability to exercise physical aggression and violence, along with a willingness to compete and present images of self that are courageous, aggressive and willing to take risks.

While few men could live up to these norms, it was presented as unacceptable (gay, feminine, socially devalued and punishable) to noticeably step outside of these roles. During this

¹⁸ The use of the term militarized masculinity/ies was inspired by the work of Parpart and Partridge (2014).

time period, critical role theorists believed that gender role norms needed to be challenged and changed in order to combat oppression and delegitimize men's oppressive behaviour (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 831). However, feminists like bell hooks (1984) and Angela Davis (1983) challenged these ideas, exploring differences between women. These feminists (often feminists of colour) criticized the race and class biases that occur "when power is solely conceptualized in terms of sex or gender difference". These scholars argued that resistance against oppression always needs to take differences into account and emphasized how oppression is best understood as a "network of systemically related barriers", not just related to gender, but race, class, and sexuality (Frye, 1983).

With an acknowledgement of "differences" between groups of men and masculinities, the term hegemonic masculinity began to be used in the 1980s. The concept was most developed by Connell (1987), who synthesized feminist and constructivist views on 'doing gender' with Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Gramsci's concept of hegemony refers to ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions and persuasion (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p. 83), centred on class relations. For Gramsci, hegemony included the process and cultural dynamic in which groups claim and sustain "a leading position in social life" (2005, p. 77). Further, hegemony is a complex process where expressions of superiority become normalized and taken for granted. Connell's (1987) work applied Gramsci's term hegemony to better conceptualize and explore gender relations, specifically leading forms of masculinities in different contexts. In her formulation of hegemonic masculinity, she focused on idealized forms of masculinity that she presented as being produced in hierarchical relation to femininity and subordinated masculinities (Barrett, 1996, p. 130). Overall, hegemonic masculinity was a term created to understand hierarchical and normative ideals of masculinity in a given society and historical

context (Connell, 1987; 2005). For Connell (1987) it was not a static set of role expectations that allowed men's dominance over women to continue, but rather a gendered pattern of material and discursive practices (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In order to understand the concept of militarized masculinities we first need to explore the meaning and applications of masculinities, hegemony and hegemonic masculinity. A more developed understanding of these key concepts contextualizes the scholarship on militarized masculinity/ies.

From the 1990s onward, a significant volume of ethnographic research on masculinities was conducted using hegemonic masculinity as an analytical concept (Messner, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1992, 1995; Newburn and Stanko, 1994; Gerschick and Miler, 1994; Cheng, 1996; Cockburn, 1991; Skelton, 1993; Barrett, 1996). Early masculinities research found that the preceding critical role theory had a homogenizing/essentialist effect which led to significant difficulties in accounting for power (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 831, Kimmel, 1987; Messner, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1993). This research found that there are various differences in how masculinities are conceptualized, represented and idealized across time and place. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), ethnographic research helped push masculinity and men's studies beyond more fixed models of masculinity and manhood (based on biology and sex roles), towards the application of more useful analytical concepts like hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, they argue, was a concept that provided a flexibility to study the ways masculinities were normatively produced.

Studies on hegemonic masculinity found that hegemonic versions of masculinity achieve meaning within patterns of difference (Barrett, 1996, p. 130). Connell explained that in most communities there is a pattern and hierarchy of masculinity that outlines what forms are more respected than others, with hegemonic masculinity as the normative ideal at the top of the gender

hierarchy (2003). According to Connell's initial understanding, hegemonic masculinity was the dominant and central type of masculinity in a society, often associated with national identity, the military, and sports (2003). Hegemonic masculinity was originally conceptualized as a standard, perpetuated and glorified at the institutional and social levels, and as the norm against which alternative/subordinate masculinities and femininities got measured (Messerchmidt 2005, p. 198). Connell (2003) positioned hegemonic masculinity as the dominant form of masculinity in contemporary Australia based most often on aggression, heterosexuality, and bravery. As I will discuss in the second part of this chapter, much of the scholarship on militarized masculinity/ies grew out of this original conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity, often taking a relatively simplistic application of Connell's model or even employing a model similar to Brannon and David's traits framework of masculinity.

In 2005, Connell and Messerchmidt made important revisions to their theory of hegemonic masculinity to clarify and respond to concerns. I will discuss Connell and Messerchmidt's reformulation and response to criticism since it has a bearing on militarized masculinity/ies scholarship. Connell and Messerchmidt (2005) explain that criticisms of the concept of hegemonic masculinity revolved around the erasure of the subject, the underlying concept of masculinity, the concept's ability to embrace differences and the conflation of hegemony with dominance. In their reformulation they agree with critiques that the concept has often been employed in simplified forms, locating all masculinities in a single pattern of power or positioning hegemonic masculinity as a fixed character type. Connell and Messerchmidt (2005) suggest this work has problematically slipped back into critical role theories of the 1970s and can be justifiably criticized. This is relevant to the literature on militarized masculinity/ies

because authors like Brown (2012) tend to slip back into critical role theories and problematically conflate hegemony with dominance.

Their reformulation emphasized the plurality of hegemonic masculinities and emphasized that they are in full support of discursive research, which they explain has helped the field to better understand how hegemonic masculinities are constructed and perpetuated. They also support research that explores ways in which material practices produce hegemonic masculinities. This dual stance clarifies and re-affirms their initial “multidimensional understanding of gender”, demonstrating their appreciation for how both discursive and non-discursive (material) practices are involved simultaneously in the constitution of gender relations. By recognizing both discursive and material practices, they claim that concerns about the erasure of the subject should be resolved because studies on hegemonic masculinities have a responsibility to acknowledge the way material subjects are massively constrained by “embodiment, economic forces, institutional histories and [personal/familiar] relationships” (2005, pp. 842-843). Wage labour, domestic labour, violence, sexuality, and childcare are some of the material practices that help constitute gender relations in modern times (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 842). Feminists in the field of critical geopolitics like Dowler and Sharp (2001) seem to agree with Connell and Messerschmidt’s assertions that discourses cannot be conceptualized as independent from spaces and bodies. Dowler and Sharp argue that there is a “need to think of bodies as sites of performance in their own right, rather than nothing more than surfaces for discursive inscription” (2001, p. 169), because they think researchers need to ground discourses in material practices and places. They maintain “discourses do not simply write themselves directly onto bodies as if these bodies offered blank surfaces of equal topography” (p.160). Like Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), Dowler and Sharp (2001) emphasize the

importance of the discursive and how it structures spaces. They encourage researchers to always remain attuned to material practices and the ways that material bodies make meaning in different contexts (p.169). The key point is that both material and discursive practices are fundamental to hegemonic masculinities.

Jan Jindy Pettman's (1996) book *Worlding Women* strengthens our understanding of the material processes involved in the production of masculinities. It traces the emergence of the free male citizen through violent state-making processes to demonstrate how gender has been shaped not simply by discourse but by material practices of institutionalized control. Pettman (1996, p.6) found that the Athenian polis in early Greek city-states, non-western political economies, and European colonization were made possible by state-making processes, based on patriarchal norms of hierarchy and notions of difference that became entrenched. Through state-making processes in the early Greek city-states, state subjects and public spaces were gendered and constructed as male (enforced as the rightful place of male-citizens, soldiers, workers and reasonable men). These state-making practices violently excluded women and defined them relationally to men as passive, dependent and feminine. Women, children and slaves were non-citizens relegated to private spaces of the home through material practices of institutionalized control entrenched in law. They were understood and treated as property of male citizens who had rights to their bodies, to their unpaid labour, and to their sexual services (Pettman, 1996).

Similarly, state-making processes during European colonialism were material processes experienced by bodies that worked to create and sustain a gender order and hierarchies of difference (Lugones, 2007). Constructed hierarchies did not simply exist between men and women, but also between colonizers and colonized, where white European men were constructed as masculine, reasoned and civilized. Research from feminists like Lugones (2007) and

Pettmann (1996) trace the history of the multidimensional materiality of gender and speak to contemporary intersectional understandings of hegemonic masculinities.

The reformulation of hegemonic masculinities emphasized the need to theorize gender not simply as a by-product of a gender-sex order of men over women, but an intersectional gender order constructed through violent material and discursive practices infused with race, class and sexuality. When exploring militarized masculinities in this thesis, I recognize it is not a phenomenon produced in and of itself, but rather through a matrix of social, cultural and historical frameworks. Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) new intersectional research helps situate my understanding of masculinities as constructed by discursive and material practices.

The next key element addressed in Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) reformulation is the relational character of hegemonic masculinities, which was central to Connell's (1987) initial argument. Hegemonic masculinities were described as having no meaning outside of its relationship to emphasized femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities. Their reformulation explained, masculinities could only be considered hegemonic if they succeed in legitimating unequal gender relations (Messerschmidt, 2013, p. 29). In other words, hegemonic masculinities should no longer be understood as being about dominant status. For Connell and Messerschmidt there is an important distinction between a pattern of hegemony versus a simple pattern of dominance. Their reformulation asks researchers to direct their focus on hegemony in gender relations and pay close attention to conditions that allow for the achievement of hegemonic versions of masculinities. This focus on hegemony in gender relations is significant for scholars studying hegemonic masculinities to appreciate how the achievement of a version of hegemonic masculinity requires cultural, institutional and discursive ascendancy, where the masses consent

to embodying unequal gender relations (Connell and Messerchmidt, 2005, p. 832; Messerchmidt, 2013, p. 29)

The most significant change to hegemonic masculinities was recognizing the need to incorporate a more intersectional understanding of gender. Messerchmidt (2013) explains that hegemonic masculinities need to acquire a more “holistic grasp of gender hierarchy, that recognizes the agency of subordinated groups, as much as the power of hegemonic groups, and appreciates the mutual conditioning [intersectionality] of gender with such social dynamics as class, race, age, sexuality and nation” (2013, p. 30). In other words, the new conceptualization of hegemonic masculinities rejects a single pattern of hierarchy and simplified models of global dominance of men over women. Hegemonic masculinities must be understood as an analytical concept that has as much to do with legitimizing unequal hierarchies of class, race and sexuality as it does with legitimizing unequal relations between white men and white women. In order for a type of masculinity to be considered hegemonic it needs to sustain an order that normalizes the degradation of difference. That is to say, hegemony is sustained through a celebration of misogyny, whiteness, able-bodiedness and class hierarchies¹⁹.

Grounded in this contemporary literature on masculinities, my thesis employs a constructivist approach which emphasizes “doing gender” (West and Zimmerman, 1987), the social performance of gender (Goffman, 1959), and acknowledges in part the discursive performativity of gender (Butler, 1988). Like Connell and Messerchmidt (2005), I appreciate multidimensional understandings of gender based on discursive and material practices and embodiment. My ontological approach rejects fixed trans-historical models of gender based on

¹⁹ This has bearing on militarized masculinity/ies scholarship which needs to be strengthened to include a more intersectional understanding of gender and power. New understandings and applications of hegemonic masculinities and militarized masculinities ought to understand hierarchy and gender order as not simply men over women, but hierarchies of race, class, sexuality and ability.

stable roles, traits or ‘genetics’ (Connell and Mersserchmidt, 2005; Scott, 1986; Connell, 1987 Barrett, 1996). Masculinities are material and discursive constructions that shape dynamic social institutions and relations alongside rules and patterns of expectation. From my constructivist perspective the meaning of masculinities are unstable and often in flux, changing and re-formulating its meaning through discourses, institutions, cultures and contexts at local, national and international levels. The concept ‘masculinities’ is a dynamic ideology embedded in power relations and practices, taking on multiple nuances with sometimes contradictory forms over various times in history and across different cultures, sub-cultures and geographic settings (Collingson and Hearn, 1994; Barrett, 1996).

Because masculinities denote qualities that can and should be ascribed to both men and women, it is important not to conflate masculinities with men in a positivist sense (Halberstam, 1998). Moreover, it is important to appreciate the role women play in constructing masculinities. Masculinities are not something that men inherently have, rather it is a discursively regulated and prescribed social behaviour that ‘real men’ are assumed to inherently perform in Western/European culture. Theorists like Jack Halberstam (1995)²⁰, Jeffery Jerome Cohen (1996), Angela Smith (2011) and Maria Bucur (2007) found that monstrosity is set up in opposition to the idealized masculine body, which is assumed to be healthy (2007), respectable, heterosexual, (1995) white, civilized (1996) and able-bodied (2011)²¹. Therefore, masculinities are not something regulated by sex, but rather are constructed in part through intersecting structures of difference. In general, this thesis analyses masculinities as a historical concept that fluctuates across time and place. Insights into monstrosity will be raised in my last theme

²⁰ Jack Halberstam also goes by the name Judith Halberstam.

²¹ Buccuur’s work is not focused on monsters but does provide insight into their construction against healthy bodies. The three other authors mentioned are specifically interested in theorizing monstrosity.

chapter on monstrosity and ableism. This next section will be discussing the militarized qualification in order to better understand militarized masculinities.

Militarization and Militarism

Conventional definitions of militarization describe it as a state's preparation for war, looking primarily at military institutions, bureaucratic mobilization, training, recruitment, the acquisition of weapons, and the teaching of a soldierly disposition (that is not only capable but willing to kill). Recent articulations have explored the role of culture, ideologies and social structures in the preparation for and conduct of war (Macmillan, 2011, p. 63), along with organized political violence more generally (Stavrianakis and Selby, 2012, p. 3). A more expansive description of militarization and militarism was introduced by Cynthia Enloe (2000, p. 3). She described militarism as a pervasive socio-political process in which individuals, nations and societies begin to imagine militarization, dehumanization and militarized presumptions as valuable, normal and needed on the local, national and international stage, rather than for what they really are,- material acts, processes and ideologies of violence. Though both concepts are used interchangeably and feed into one another, I refer to and understand militarism as an ideology or set of ideas, and militarization as a material and discursive practice or process. Militarism is a violent set of ideas where hierarchy, obedience, and the use of force are considered appropriate because the world is a 'dangerous place best approached with militaristic attitudes (Enloe, 2007, p. 4 in Chrisholm, 2007, p. 86). In Enloe's (2000) classic chapter on the militarization of a can of soup, she described the process of militarization as follows:

Militarization is a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its wellbeing on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or a society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only

valuable but normal. Militarization, that is, involves cultural as well as institutional, ideological, and economic transformations (Enloe, 2000, p.3)²².

In the above passage Enloe argues that militarization is so pervasive it can be read through cans of Heinz tomato soup which feature pasta shaped Star Wars satellites. According to Enloe, this special edition pasta not only normalizes space-based weapons for children, it naturalizes the idea that weapon technology is exciting and needed for protection in a world of imminent threats. Enloe's description of militarization (and militarism) emphasizes that it weaves its way into the minds and daily lives of both civilians and military personnel, producing subtle social conventions that develop without military training.

Recent scholarship explores how militarization is a material and discursive process, involving shifts in societal beliefs and values, which not only legitimates force but reinforce hierarchies of race, class, gender and sexuality (Lutz, 2002, p. 723, cited in Alderman, 2003, p.1122). According to Lutz and Alderman militarization “draws attention to the simultaneous material and discursive nature of military dominance” (Alderman, 2003, p.1123 with quote from Lutz, 2002, p.725). This description of militarization is echoed by Turenne Sjolander (2011), who explains how “militarization is not only a set of material conditions related to the presence of the military in a given society...[it is also] a set of discursive practices (with significant material consequences) that, over time, embed military assumptions and values into the very definition of what is “normal” in everyday life” (p. 220). Thus discursive practices should be understood as doing some of the work of militarization, by sustaining a militarized worldview that over time forecloses anti-militaristic imaginings questioning the necessity of military action.

Unpacking everyday pedagogies and discourses that normalize militarization helps to reveal how these ideologies work to shut down other possibilities (Beier, 2011, p. 97). The

²² Enloe uses the term militarization here but the word militarism could be used when specifically talking about an ideology.

normalization of militarization allows militarized logics to become the “prism” (Turenne Sjolander, 2011, p. 229) through which we understand the world, people and events. For Beier (2011) “it is in a myriad [of] organic pedagogies of everyday life that ideas and commitments that may seem unrelated or even opposed to militarization function nonetheless to produce common senses that sustain and impel it” (p.107). Through critical readings of children’s war stories, Beier explores the “powerful pedagogies that work to foreclose imagining non-militarist responses to conflict” (p. 96). Beier traces the foundation of militaristic thinking as departing from a Hobbesian-inspired ontology, based on the idea of predatory states that naturally imagine the world as nasty, brutish and short. He explains that this realist/neorealist perspective appeals to deeply embedded “common senses”, that assume it is safer to bear arms than to bear one’s throat in the zero-sum game of global politics where the need for militarized security is assumed as rational. In his reading of *The Tin-Pot Foreign General and the Old Iron Woman*, Beier finds that military force is often represented as the instrument of callous central characters who misused military power, rather than actions demonstrative of their militarized origins or the military as an institution. Beier suggests that representations in *The Tin-Pot Foreign General and the Old Iron Woman* individualize blame on the conduct of “unreal” characters, rather than deeper circulations of militarized worldviews. Beier (2011) argues this story has the pedagogical effect of insulating militarism from critique, thereby absolving and reaffirming it (p.101). This view is important because it highlights the way militarized ideas and processes become naturalized as common sense, rather than critiqued as legitimizing violence, aggression and hierarchies of gender, race, ability, sexuality and class. In the children’s stories taken up by Beier, we learn that militarized structures are typically sheltered from critique so that the soldier’s killing is thought to be civilized, honourable and acceptable to teach to young children.

Like Beier (2011), I am interested in militarized narratives and stories. My research and analysis focus specifically on dominant news stories and how these narratives tend to shield militarism from critique. Situating discourse as a key factor in the processes of militarization is central to my broader thesis, because it makes visible the deeply militarized narrative of dominant news discourses that are involved in the process of making violent versions of militarized masculinities appear normal and desirable. Since discourses (re)produce gender and militarization, the news is a good data source for my investigation of militarized masculinities.

Realist political discourse positions militarization as necessary for state security²³. These discourses on security frequently frame violence as necessary, rather than as violent material actions experienced by bodies and in spaces with irreversible effects. These dominant discourses encourage civil society to consent to militarized norms of weapon collecting, war making, and honouring troops. Implicit in these discourses is the idea it is necessary to imagine people from different places as not simply “different”, but “threatening”, and “expendable” (Lee, 2008, p.58). Militarization requires not simply an imagining of difference, but an acceptance of violent dehumanization and hierarchies (Lee, 2008, p. 58) of race, gender, sexuality and ability.

Militarization is the process in which violence is popularly accepted as necessary and framed in terms of national security. Shigematsu and Camacho’s (2010) collection entitled *Militarized Currents* takes off from Lee (2008) and maintains that studies of militarization need to engage with colonization, along with the gendered and racialized structures of today’s neocolonial practices (Shigematsu and Camacho, 2010, p. xxvii). They explain that processes of militarization

²³ The founders of realist thought in International Relations were Thomas Hobbes and Niccolo Machiavelli. The foundation of realist thought is that the international system is anarchical with states acting on their interests and survival needs in a world (state of nature) that is assumed to be naturally ‘nasty, brutish and short’. From a realist perspective bearing arms and militarizing is the only rational choice for security in a state of nature that is always already dangerous and motivated by national interests. While there are variations between contemporary realists, realist thinkers are principally driven by the above principles and the idea that nation states are the most important international actors.

are linked with residual and ongoing effects of colonial subordination (Shigmatsu and Camacho, 2010, p. xv). In saying that militarization is connected to the ideologies that legitimized colonization, Shigmatsu and Camcho (2010) are arguing that militarization is a racialized system and process that is fundamentally based on dehumanization and hierarchies of humanity. For Shigmatsu and Camcho (2010), militarization, colonization and racism are intimately interconnected, in a way that makes it impossible to dismantle the system of racism or colonization while leaving the system of militarization intact. In order for feminist scholars to combat racism, imperialism and neocolonial practices we must always seek to disrupt the “death ethic” logic of militarization, militarism and the myth of just-wars (Maldonado-Torres, 2008). When realist discourses or even liberal feminist discourses proclaim that militarization or war-making is a necessary good for national security, human rights, or democracy promotion, they are implicitly justifying empire building, colonization and mass genocides, under the racialized logic that the deadly atrocities of war-making are natural or inevitable in a world where the Occident knows best and only the strong survive. Shigmatsu and Camacho present demilitarization as a crucial part of larger decolonization movements (2010, p. xvi). By shifting our gaze towards how militarization is fundamental to the residual and ongoing legacy of colonialism and the violent construction of modern day states, it becomes clear that militarization is a violent racialized process that needs to be denaturalized. Connecting militarization to colonization adds to the critique of militarization by demonstrating how militarization has produced and continues to reproduce hierarchies of race. By examining the connection between militarization and colonization, it becomes clear that militarization needs to be presented for what it truly is; violent and based on a colonial logic of death ethics, dehumanization and hierarchy.

Puar (2007, pp. 156-157) explores how violent militarized ideas proliferate in the everyday, how militarized bodies contribute to a military complex and how militarized practices and ideas become normalized and insulated from critique. Puar (2007) focuses on representations surrounding the United States' occupation of Iraq and its violent actions at the Abu Ghraib detention centre. She argues that the United States came to believe in its own superiority and national excellence, using its perceived superiority to justify pre-emptive occupation, illegal incarceration and exceptional brutality in Iraq, presenting these actions as taking place in a 'state of exception'. In Riley, Mohanty and Pratt's (2008, p. 11) book *Feminism and War*, they highlight how Fluri, Philopse, Nusair and Puar's chapters, trace "continuities between ideologies of orientalism, colonialism and the US imperial project". Riley, Mohanty and Pratt (2008) discuss how it is important to make visible the United States' militarized rhetoric that frames their imperial project as a "civilizing mission". Moreover, they emphasize how discourses about United States' modernity works to create gendered, racialized and sexualized peoples who "cannot govern themselves" and thus require militarized intervention (Riley, Mohanty and Pratt, 2008, p. 11). This rationalizes militarized force as necessary. Similarly, Puar (2007) and Razack (2008) argue that the United States presented their imperial aggression and militarized presence in Iraq as a state of exception where extreme brutality and terror was necessary for Western security and Iraq's own good. Within this mind-set of national excellence and denial, Anne McClintock (2013) argues that circuits of imperial violence can be ghosted and made invisible. This mind-set of national excellence and process of denial is made possible by dominant pedagogies of militarization that overlook the racialized nature of militarization and imagine militarized violence as normal, necessary and civilized. The key point here is that militarization is racialized and legitimizes neocolonial violence.

Militarization, Gender and Masculinities

Tracing the links between militarism and gender is crucial. Cynthia Enloe's research not only explores how nations and people within nations become militarized, she explores how militarization is gendered and produces gender (1993, 2000). More specifically, her work looks at how militarization and gender intersect in everyday life (2000). For Enloe (2000) militarization shapes gendered norms and relations and helps to produce and regulate gender in not only overt institutional ways, but in subtle ways by centring difference as threatening and undesirable, in contrast to 'normality' that is safe.

Amina Mama (2013) suggests that gender is not only shaped by militarization, but is at the centre of modern Western statecraft itself, where the definition of the state includes the existence of a standing army and requires a militarized worldview. Mama's argument extends Pettman's (1996) by pointing more directly to the material role militarization played in the ordering of citizenship, gender and difference. Mama (2013) explains that societies who did not maintain a standing army were regarded as primitive and in need of patriarchal control and vulnerable to militarized conquest. Thus statehood is tied to militarization and is fundamentally involved in the process of creating and ordering gendered lives along hierarchies of difference. These ideas are echoed in part by Alderman (2003) who describes how the "military is part and parcel to nation-state building, the construction of scientific knowledge, and the political economy of gender and race" (pp.1121-1122). Put simply, Alderman suggests that there is a connection between state building, gender, race, military force and militarized ideas²⁴. If Alderman (2003) and Mama (2013) are correct that militarism and militarization are linked to the creation of nation states, and militarism is an ideology based on gendered hierarchies, scholarship on

²⁴ Alderman uses the case of increased domestic violence in Israel to illustrate how militarized ideas feed into gendered ideas of misogyny and patriarchy.

hegemonic masculinities that fails to take militarism and militarization into account misses central ideological pillars of hegemony and hegemonic versions of masculinity. Scholarship on hegemonic masculinities needs to further consider the role militarization has in sustaining the hegemony of unequal intersecting gendered relations. Intersectional theorizing attentive to the interlocking relationships between gender, race, class, disability and sexuality, has to further incorporate an analysis of militarization and its relationship to discursive and material processes shaping and reproducing intersecting social hierarchies and identities.

Looking more directly at constructions of masculinities, Goldstein (2001) maintains “militarism feeds into ideologies of masculinities through the eroticism of stoicism, risk-taking, and even lethal violence” (Higate and Hopton, 2005, p. 434). Like Goldstein (2001), Hearn (2003) maintains that men, militarism and the military are interconnected in a variety of ways that create what he calls military masculinities. Higate and Hopton’s (2005) work extends from both Goldstein (2001) and Hearn (2003) when they claim that there is a “nexus linking war, militarism and masculinities” and that the relationship between militarism and masculinities is best understood as reciprocal one (p. 434). This reciprocal relationship implies that militarism and hegemonic masculinities inform one another. Higate and Hopton illustrate this relationship through their own exploration of war propaganda during WWI recruitment. This propaganda relied on Victorian ideologies defining masculinity in glamorized militarized terms (like exerting strength, courage and determination). Higate and Hopton (2005) maintain that the relationship between militarism and masculinities goes well beyond the glamorization of militarism or the eroticization of masculinities. They argue that this relationship can be traced in contemporary law and order policies. In the British context of the 1980s and 1990s they highlight how there was an increase in the use and normalization of paramilitary tactics by police (Jefferson, 1990),

where militarized control and patriarchal authority were not only viewed as legitimate but positioned as the solution for rioting and rehabilitating young offenders (Higate and Hopton, 2005, p. 435). I argue that this is an insight that becomes critical in understanding Abu Ghriab. Higate and Hopton (2005) explain that in this militarized imaginary, militarized drills and physical training in the penal justice system are framed as important in allowing for the achievement of the ultimate form of disciplined masculinity (p. 435). Within this framework, militarism and militarization help young men become law-abiding citizens and facilitate the control of “antisocial behaviour” and “biological urges” (Higate and Hopton, 2005, p. 435). This prism of denial that projects militarization as a social good obstructs the ability of policy makers to see how militarization and its ideals ultimately celebrate the most extreme forms of violence. In other words, societies are so profoundly militarized that we begin to see militarization as a solution to violence, rather than the toxic catalyst for violence.

On the whole, Higate and Hopton (2005) argue that characteristics of hegemonic masculinities have been explicitly and unambiguously reflected in military culture. They explain that militarization is the major “means by which the values and beliefs associated with ideologies of hegemonic masculinity are eroticized and institutionalized” (p.156). In other words, the violent values of militarization are associated with hegemonic masculinities. It is important to remember that militarization helps institutionalize hegemonic masculinities (Higate and Hopton, 2005, p. 156) and has had a pivotal role in shaping gender. Eichler’s (2012) book *Militarizing Men* explains that feminists use the term militarized masculinity to challenge us to think about how masculinity (and men) becomes militarized and about the ways masculinity and the military become linked, rather than to assume that men and masculinity are essentially militarized. While

Eichler's work sometimes conflates men with masculinity in a simplistic way²⁵, her insights into why exploring militarized masculinity is important (rather than simply looking at hegemonic masculinity) points to the importance of exploring the ways in which masculinities are militarized, rather than taking militarized masculinities for granted or as inherently connected. Masculinities and femininities can be militarized, but it is crucial to not conflate gendered performances with sexed bodies. Female military personnel more often than not are performing militarized masculinities not militarized femininities. The jobs female military personnel perform are not passive jobs. Their work is both active and physical in ways that reaffirm their power, control, mastery and dominance. For instance, female military personnel engage in combat missions, operate militarized vehicles, show resiliency while deployed and guard prisoners of war. All are roles that should be understood as masculine enactments. We should understand militarized femininities as being more about the supportive and passive militarized role military moms, fathers, wives, husbands and children play in encouraging family members towards military service, legitimizing military spending, supporting the household when family members are deployed, or legitimizing the military missions that their family members are a part of without critiquing the racialized and violent system of militarization itself.

The following section will explore literature describing the construction of militarized masculinities. How do masculinities become militarized? What do militarized masculinities look like? What is the significance of this gendered militarization? Do militarized masculinities differ from hegemonic masculinities? All of these questions will be explored in the following section and thesis as a whole. Because militarized masculinities is the central concept of my

²⁵ Eichler conflates men with masculinity in part through her definition of masculinity. She argues that in order to understand masculinity researchers must focus on femininity and women, and men and masculinity (p.6). Eichler also conflates the military promotion of masculinity with a promotion of manhood (p.115) when she explains that exaggerated ideals of manhood are inculcated through military training (p.115). Eichler's assertions assume that there is an inherent connection between manhood and masculinity, femininity and womanhood.

thesis it is crucial to review the research on militarized masculinity/ies. Having a clear understanding of contemporary understandings of militarized masculinities will allow me to showcase what is missing in conceptualizations as well as how my thesis bridges these gaps and pushes the concept forward.

The Construction of Militarized Masculinities

Militarized masculinities can and should be understood as a type of hegemonic masculinity. Research looking specifically at militarized masculinities should be seen as similar to and embedded within the scholarship on hegemonic masculinities. Both are dedicated to sustaining difference, inequality and hierarchy. Most parts of the world are deeply influenced by processes of militarization which, as we have seen earlier, have a role in shaping gender via hierarchy and difference. The work on militarized masculinity/ies directly explores the role that militarized ideas, practices and institutions have in the construction and reproduction of particular types of masculinities. Hegemonic militarized masculinities are particular masculinities that sustain a complex gendered system of men over women, of rich over poor, of white occidental superiority over racialized others, and of fit, able bodies over disabled bodies. Like hegemonic masculinities, militarized masculinities tend to reinforce many dominant and intersecting cultural ideals related to sexuality, race, class, disability, citizenship, nationalism and militarism.

The term militarized masculinity was explored by Cynthia Enloe in the 1980s around the time the concept hegemonic masculinity was emerging. Despite the plurality of the concept “militarized masculinities”, influential feminist Cynthia Enloe (1988) encourages scholars that this should not “stop us [theorists/scholars] in our tracks” or stop us from taking it seriously (p.84). Although Enloe cautions against positivist definitions of militarized masculinities that are fixed and generalized across time and space, she encourages researchers to consider the

processes and ideologies instrumental to its production. Today, much of the scholarship on militarized masculinity/ies has been inconsistent in its application and often fails at providing an accurate or consistent definition. From my review of the literature, scholars tend to provide a description of militarized masculinities by listing common traits or performances the military instils in its troops.

Literature on militarized masculinity/ies focuses on exploring its performances, finding that it often reflects national ideals of hetero-normativity, white supremacy, physical and economic power, fit healthy bodies, emotional discipline, control and reason. The literature generally describes militarized masculinity/ies as related to male role norms like 1) strength and economic independence, 2) excessive violence, aggression and sexual violence, and 3) imperial practices and racialized constructions of the enemy and soldier. Summarizing and breaking down the material by themes is important because it makes a large volume of incoherent literature understandable and illustrates how descriptions of militarized masculinity/ies are often similar to critical role models of masculinity from the 1970s.

The following three sub-sections will briefly explore the literature of militarized masculinity/ies. This supports my theme chapters by exploring the deployment of ableism, class, misogyny, rape culture and racism in frameworks of soldiering. The following three sections will look at how militarized masculinities have been produced alongside the valorization of strength, the condoning of sexual aggression and the militarized structure of racist violence. These three sections will also help anchor my thesis in a broader international conversation related to militarized masculinities, which affirms my argument that intersecting patterns of militarized masculinities tend to be more overarching than nationally specific. While cultural

differences have a role in shaping specific nuanced versions of militarized masculinities, there tend to be overarching themes related to corporeal strength, status, misogyny and/or race.

Strength and Economic Independence

In this section I explore literature that connects militarized masculinities to physical and mental strength, corporeal ability, and economic independence to explain how militarized masculinities have been theorized as connected to notions of physical and mental strength as well as reflective of eugenic ideas about monstrosity that have been used to define enemies of militarized masculinities. This section begins by looking at how eugenic ideas have defined the militarized body as masculine, muscular and the opposite of monstrosity. I then unpack a wide range of literature on militarized masculinity/ies most notably Serlin (2003), Brown (2012), Barrett (1996), Whitworth (2004), Howell (2011), Hooper (1999), Burke (1996), Kilshaw (2009), Harrison and Laliberté (1994,2002), and Eichler (2012), to demonstrate how militarized masculinities are deeply tied to normative ideals about the body. In this section I explore how militarized masculinities are profoundly connected to ableist corporeal ideals and neoliberal structures. I find that the legacy of eugenic thinking has and continues to effect understandings of militarized masculinities.

Eugenic thought has long played a role in defining the idealized masculine body and soldier. The masculine body from a eugenic perspective is healthy, physical, sexual, muscular and has a “look of determination in one’s eye” (Bucur, 2007, p. 338). According to White (2006), eugenic ideals related to fitness, strength, muscularity, toughness and whiteness have been long understood as desirable ideals of masculinities, for athletes, soldiers and schoolboys. Eugenic thought has not only played a role in legitimizing militarization, it played a central role in the construction of the “racially pure” Nazi warrior who was imagined to be fit, healthy, muscular

and white (Sussman, 2012, p. 25). These Nazi norms inspired by eugenic thinking mirror many of today's militarized masculinities. This section will demonstrate how the masculine ideals in the Canadian, American, Australian and British armed forces are similar to those in Nazi Germany²⁶. In all of these national contexts soldiers are still rewarded and celebrated for their embodiments of the idealized eugenic body that has proven itself to tough. A prime example of how Western societies celebrate the superiority of the idealized eugenic body is through the rewarding of military medals. Teaiwa (2008) argues that military medals and honours tell us something about both idealized masculinity and citizenship (2008, p. 122) and the ways in which military decorations operate as masculine badges of proven corporeal strength, vigor and heroism.

Eugenic thought has had a longstanding role in measuring which lives had value and which did not (Mooney, 2007, pp.125-128). It also had a place in normalizing militarized ideas since the late nineteenth century, most explicitly in Nazi war propaganda. In Smith's (2011) book *Hideous Progeny*, she traces how from a eugenicist perspective criminality, immorality and difference can be read from the body and explained anatomically. According to Smith (2011), eugenic thought helped to normalize certain populations as safe and civilized, while dehumanizing other populations as threatening, prone to criminality and needing containment (Smith, 2011, p. 8). Similarly, Harper's (2009) book *Madness, Blame and Violence* discusses how the legacy of eugenic thinking has perpetuated the idea that violence can be blamed on bodies. He argues that by blaming violence on 'mad' minds our social configuration [which includes growing militarization] can be viewed as civilized, peaceful and not needing help.

²⁶ The selection of idealized soldiers for their corporeal bodies is grounded by eugenic thought. While the Armed Forces in Canada, the United States, Australia and Britain do not abide by racist and xenophobic selection criteria like the Nazi's notion of the Aryan race, they maintain many other eugenically driven criteria around health, size, physicality and mental disposition.

Paradoxically, our society has a longstanding tradition of celebrating the imperial violence of healthy soldiers through the awarding of military medals. These medals highlight how imperial violence is thought to be civilized in Western societies, rather for what it really is; aggressive and dehumanizing. These symbolic honours legitimize war and reward successful militarized masculinities, reinforcing systems of ableism that frame the violence of healthy soldiers as civilized and honourable.

As discussed above, constructions of militarized masculinities have long been related to the body and specifically to notions of physical and mental strength. Goldstein's book *War and Gender* (2001) has an entire chapter dedicated to the making of "militarized masculinity". In this chapter he looks at how characteristics of masculinity become attached to notions of warriorhood and one's ability to function as a combatant. He explains how "the military provides the main remnant of traditional manhood making rituals, especially in boot camp and military academies where young men endure tests of psychological or physical endurance" (2001, p. 265). During this training, recruits and cadets learn that not becoming a soldier means failing to be a man, and being a "faggot", pussy or woman (2001, p. 265). Warriors are described as requiring physical courage (someone who enjoys a fight), endurance (someone who can withstand pain), strength and skill (someone who is physically robust, fit and proficient), the ability to suppress emotions (someone who can suppress fear/grief and has self-control), and honour (someone who keeps his word) (2001, pp. 266-27). Interestingly nearly all of these qualities depend on the ability of minds and bodies. Therefore, in order to be a warrior one must have a specific type of body and mind that proves its masculine capability, strength and proficiency via strenuous physical testing. In Goldstein's chapter, militarized masculinity is constructed in large part by the military and is attached to being fit for combat. For Goldstein, becoming a warrior or embodying militarized

masculinity is largely dependent on one's ability to pass tests designed to measure mental and physical strength and ability. On the whole, Goldstein's work finds that myths of militarized masculinity taught in boot camp depend on performances of strength, endurance and toughness. Though Goldstein (2001) does not use the analytical vocabulary of critical disability scholars, the qualities he described as being related to militarized masculinity are very much dependent on ableist ideas.

In a more complex way than Goldstein (2001), David Serlin's (2003) article "*Crippling Masculinity, Queerness and Disability in U.S. Military Culture*", investigates how hetero-normativity and able-bodiedness are masculine ideals in the military, finding that "military culture in the United States has exploited and reinforced conceptions of both hetero-normative masculinity and able-bodiedness from the late eighteenth century through the mid-1940s" (p. 151). Serlin argues that: "By looking at the rise of certain types of bodies deemed worthy of military investment, we can see how normative concepts of male behaviour and able-bodied activity form the invisible thread-work that protects homosocial institutions like the military" (Serlin, 2003, p.151). What Serlin is suggesting is that bodies considered valuable and worthy of military recruitment and investment in our militarized landscape are those considered 'normal', able-bodied, heterosexual and masculine. Serlin's work unpacking militarized masculinity helps support Chapter 6 which finds that contemporary discourses on militarized masculinities frame soldiering as tied to social ideals of normality and success, connected to sexuality, gender and ability.

Melissa Brown's recent book *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in U.S Military Recruiting and Advertising during the All Volunteer Force* (2012), presents characteristics like physical strength, toughness, willingness to sacrifice and courage as desirable

masculine traits in the United States military. Brown finds that masculine traits have been presented in U.S. Armed Forces advertisements over the past forty years for recruitment. Her work looking at U.S. Armed Forces advertisement reveals how branches of the Armed Forces understand and recruit for masculinities and militarized masculinities in contemporary times. Serlin's (2003) historical analysis is limited to before the 1940s. Brown's analysis explores recruitment campaigns from the 1970s until 2012, allowing us to better understand what bodies the U.S. Armed Forces seeks to recruit and invest in over the past four decades.

In the 1970s Brown found that U.S. Armed Forces ads promoted a warrior masculinity across all services, often referencing ruggedness and the ability to endure physical challenges (2012, p.48). In the 1980s advertisement slogans like "*be all you can be*" were introduced. They focused not simply on character development and transformation into manhood (p. 50), but also on ways that joining the U.S. Armed Forces provided recruits with a venue for upward mobility and a college fund (p. 51). In the 1990s there was an even more deliberate shift toward material appeals and upward mobility in military advertising. Recruiting advertisements still relied upon traditional notions of a warrior masculinity via slogans like, "*swim in the deep end*" which presented soldiering as based on adventure, pride and confidence (p. 52). However advertisements also emphasized the financial incentives of joining the U.S. Armed Forces via slogans like "*the place to start a business career isn't always in business*".

In the new millennium, Brown found that the U.S Armed Forces retired the slogan "*be all you can be*" and shifted into its "*Army of One*" campaign. The aim of this campaign was to present the U.S. Armed Forces as an institution that gives young people the chance to be a part of something larger, while allowing them to still retain their individuality. During this post 9/11 time period noticeable differences emerged between the ads of branches of the American

military. The U.S. Marine advertisements continued to market around a traditional warrior masculinity based on physicality and mental toughness. In contrast, advertisements of the U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy focused on their ability to develop and give select young people the chance of achieving economic independence, adventure and upward mobility (by developing skills for a high tech career and being immersed in the modern world of machines and technology)²⁷. The Army's strategy fell in between the two approaches, appealing to a warrior masculinity like the Marine Corps, while simultaneously emphasizing opportunities for upward mobility, skill development and career opportunities.

Advertisements discussed in Brown (2012) rely on ableist ideas around masculinity and appropriately rugged heterosexuality. U.S. Armed Forces advertisement campaigns showcase the ways the globalized system of neoliberal capitalism has imagined populations as fit and capable of working within the capitalist machine, which makes able-bodiedness not simply desirable but compulsory for individual success²⁸. Brown's work traces the dual deployment of recruiting messages, one for a traditional warrior masculinity (clearly based on ableist ideas), and the second designed to subtly lure individual able-bodied youth towards neoliberal capitalism, privilege and upward mobility. Brown's work is important to my thesis because it grounds my framework of militarized masculinities based in part on the interlocking ideals of corporeal ability and neoliberal whiteness. Brown's insights anchor my reading and analysis in Chapter 6, which explores how militarized masculinities are discursively constructed via ableist ideals and the lure of upward economic mobility. This will be most obvious in representations of Colonel

²⁷ The distinction between the Marine and Air Force/Navy advertisements were described in part as being attributed to the fact that the Marines have a history of being known for their high physical standards and as a prestigious elite force which has little difficulty recruiting high performing athletic recruits who typically seek to join the Marines to perform a more traditional warrior masculinity.

²⁸ The term neo-liberalism refers here to globalized economic liberalism, the opening of global and free-market economies where privatization, individualism and independence is valued over interdependence, social security and social support. Under global neoliberal frameworks, people with disability are typically de-valued and left behind.

Williams, which deployed class status as a marker of masculine respectability and mental illness as a marker of monstrosity, the antithesis of soldiering.

Brown's work confirms many of the findings of Frank Barrett (1996), who explored versions of hegemonic masculinity in the U.S. Navy. Barrett's work interviewing U.S. Navy men found that its glorified image of masculinity involved "physical toughness, the endurance of hardships, aggressiveness, rugged heterosexuality, unemotional logic and a refusal to complain" (1996, p. 132). Barrett (1996) argues that the U.S. Navy continually tests the above listed masculine qualities, designed to separate the "weak" from the rest, with quitting and failure positioned as feminine and reserved for women or sub-standard men (p. 133). In his study he compares the masculinities of naval aviators, naval officers and supply officers. His work finds that there is a hierarchy between these positions, with naval aviators at the top and supply officers at the bottom. All three positions affirm their masculinities in different ways. Naval aviators, commonly called the "fly boys", are described in Barrett's interviews as having the highest status in the U.S. Navy. "Fly boys" need to maintain their status by passing challenging fly tests designed to evaluate boldness, technical mastery, and ability to endure stress. For this reason they are perceived by navy colleagues as the closest embodiment of an idealized hegemonic masculinity (p. 134) according to Barrett's interviews. Like naval aviators, naval officers pride themselves and are respected by colleagues for being able to withstand long hours of physically and mentally exhausting work, understood as men's work. Supply officers on the other hand, are often referred to as "supply pussies". These jobs are represented as without glory, perseverance, and courage, (the "hallmark of the hegemonic ideal in this culture") (p. 138). Supply officers challenge their negative representations by displaying their business competence, rationality and responsibility as a source of masculine identity, and remain motivated by notions of economic

upward mobility (p.139). Barrett's work demonstrates how rational minds and fit bodies are central to performances of masculinities in the military, and that these characteristics of masculinities are placed in contrast to femininities and the "weak". Barratt's insights highlights how there are various nuanced version of militarized masculinities that exist in the same institution. However, his work also demonstrates how militarized masculinities are constructed alongside ableist and/or class driven notions. His insights support my analysis in Chapter 6 and overarching intersectional argument that there are various nuanced versions of militarized masculinities but they tend to be constructed alongside ableist corporeal ideals and/or rooted in neoliberal systems of capital, constructed for compulsory able-bodiedness.

The work of Sandra Whitworth (2004, 2007), Allison Howell (2011), Charlotte Hooper (1999), Joanna Bourke (1996), Susie Kilshaw (2009) and Maya Eichler (2012) explore connections and disconnections between scripts of militarized masculinity, mental illness, physical impairments and post-traumatic stress disorder. Sandra Whitworth (2004) examines militarized masculinity in Canada, specifically the masculinity of soldiers in peacekeeping missions, along with military perceptions towards post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Her work highlights how physical and emotional strength is used in constructing militarized masculinity. Whitworth argues that negative reactions to PTSD in the military demonstrate how mental illness is perceived and stigmatized as a choice that weak soldiers make when they allow "traces of femininity to re-emerge" (2004, p.174). Her work is like Goldstein's (2001) in that she explores how basic training teaches recruits that there is a direct connection between strength, masculinity and soldiering (p.160). Whitworth describes how in basic training new soldiers are inculcated in myths of manhood that privilege characteristics such as physical and psychological strength, rationality, avoidance of certain emotions such as fear, sadness, uncertainty, guilt

remorse or grief, toughness, etc. Whitworth (2004) explains that the process of basic training is designed to make boys into men, by teaching young soldiers to deny all that is feminine (p. 161). Whitworth describes the militarized process of becoming a soldier as requiring new recruits to demonstrate to drill sergeants, superiors and comrades an absence of emotion and a willingness to use violence (2004, p. 166).

Whitworth (2004) finds that when traces of femininity re-emerge via feelings of depression, remorse and thoughts of suicide, even established soldiers in the Canadian Armed Forces could be ostracized by their comrades and treated as though they are “fakers” (p. 167). She argues that until recently, most militaries are like Canada’s in that they largely dismiss and ignore the psychological impact of combat and combat-like situations (p. 167). In *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping* Whitworth recounts the history of post-traumatic stress, starting by describing how British soldiers with “shell shock” after World War One were treated as though they had a male form of female hysteria. Whitworth suggests that while shell shock is now known as PTSD, not much has changed as it is still dismissed as merely excessive feminine emotions. Whitworth points out that it was indeed a tragic paradox that the war which men had participated in to become heroes, ended up emasculating them. Whitworth explains that soldiers who gave expression to their pain, fear and doubt were not only failing to live up to the ideals of soldiering, based on scripts of militarized masculinity, but were seen as acting like the culturally discredited and despised “other” of femininity. Whitworth is like many other authors in this section who describe militarized masculinity/ies as constructed in opposition to femininity and placed in contrast to mental illness. Whitworth’s insights into PTSD help support Chapter 6, which unpacks how news narratives naturalize ableism and valorize healthy bodies as a civilized and trustworthy requirement for soldiering.

Like Whitworth, Alison Howell (2011) further describes the contemporary way Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) members diagnosed with PTSD are ostracized and abandoned by their units, viewed as fakers who are undeserving of paid leave. Her descriptions are based in part from the Canadian government report entitled “*Special Report: Systemic Treatment of CF Member with PTSD*” (p. 117). The report from 2002 interviewed over one hundred CAF member with PTSD and their families, finding that there is a culture of negative attitudes towards PTSD. Howell describes the military community’s resistance to the report’s recommendation to work on changing cultural attitudes towards mental health, revealing the seriousness of PTSD stigmatization in the military. She uses the Grey Cup “crazy train” incident (where a male CAF member was on a float dressed in women’s lingerie in a pink cage reportedly acting “crazy”) and letters from the CAF community to national newspapers as evidence of a stubborn culture of stigma in the military. She describes the letter of retired Major General Lewis MacKenzie in detail, who is quoted as describing the stigma of PTSD as “understandable” because the military has no room for “handicapped” soldiers, and that only a minority of soldier “genuinely have problems” (p.119). Howell explains how “these kind of sentiments reflect a long held and widespread view within the military that soldiers claiming to be suffering with PTSD” are most often fakers who force others to pick up the slack and who are “insufficiently stoic, and lack the manly virtues of hard work and toughness” (p. 120). According to Howell, soldiers who are diagnosed with mental disorders are perceived in military culture as not fit to serve. It is important to note that this “not fit” label is not attributed with compassion, but rather with scorn. Colleagues and the community perceive these soldiers as lacking manly stoicism and the ability to work hard for their money because they cannot overcome challenges with masculine toughness. Letters to the editor and comments to newspapers are examples of how

PTSD is feminized and stigmatized by CAF personnel and the Canadian community at large, despite recommendations for change. They also demonstrate how militarized masculinities are constructed in relation to femininities, via ableist and neoliberal ideas about the mind/body as independent, strong and competitive. Howell's insights help support Chapter 6, which explores how mental illness is framed as monstrous and as inconsistent with the able-bodied norms of militarized masculinities.

On the flip side of ableism structuring ideals of soldiering, Howell's book *Madness in International Relations* traces how discourses of madness have been deployed in contemporary times to construct the terrorist enemy and justify imperial violence. She highlights how during the George W. Bush administration the story of irrational, un-civilized and crazed terrorist madmen proliferated. In her book she claims that the process of pathologization played a role not only in justifying pre-emptive war, but made the United States' illegal and indefinite detention of 'terrorist' detainees at Guantanamo Bay possible. Her research explains how notions of stable mental health work in constructing citizen bodies that are safe, strong and civilized, while mental disorders are pathologized as prone to violence and accompanied by notions of insecurity, danger and unpredictability. In this thesis the use of monstrosity in cultural discourse is best understood as the embodiment of difference (Cohen, 1996), set up in opposition to the idealized masculine body (Halberstam, 1995) that is celebrated and assumed to be healthy, able-bodied, white, heterosexual, respectable and in control of their emotions. As such, discursively diagnosing terrorists as madmen creates an image of what is inherently violent, different and to be feared, while simultaneously framing the healthy bodies of soldiers as embodiments of excellence and civility. An understanding of how technologies of monstrosity construct both enemies and masculine soldiers ground my analysis of militarized masculinities in Chapter 6 and

allows me to critique how blame in military sex scandals is deflected away from militarism and militarization via ableist representation of monstrosity which shelter social norms like militarization from critique.

Hooper's book *Manly States* suggests that the majority of veterans with mental illness, severe physical impairments or disfigurements have been cast out of the valorized myth of militarized masculinity in which they were indoctrinated. Like Whitworth (2004) and Howell (2011), she makes note of the high volumes of PTSD in militaries and the feminized stigma associated with it. Hooper does concede that some veterans with disabilities can be temporarily included within scripts of militarized masculinity, but that their inclusion is dependent on the severity of their injury, their mental stability and mental toughness. Hooper's research is guided by Joanna Bourke's (1996) study on disfigured and impaired veterans in Britain that found disabled veterans most likely to be honoured and respected are those with minor impairment visible on the body. These are symbols of courage, in contrast to mental disorders, which are commonly interpreted as invisible burdens and markers of individual weakness. In Bourke's work she explained that veterans with severe disfigurements and impairments tend to be perceived as failed masculine bodies, cast as different, defective and no longer valuable in our militarized neoliberal society based on individual responsibility. Veterans who can no longer work due to severe combat-related disabilities were cast as tragic bodies that no longer have value or use. Some impaired veterans have been perceived as emblematic of brave soldiering. However, Bourke's study found that as time passed they were ultimately perceived as no longer valuable or productive citizens, but rather financial drains to our social system that celebrates independence rather than the value of inter-dependence. For instance, losing a limb in duty may initially be presented as a marker of bravery, but over time this impairment becomes a symbol of individual

tragedy. In general, Hooper's (1999) work found the masculine warriorhood was constructed with normative bodies in mind. It was set up in opposition to the disabled who are rarely included within ideals of masculinities, which revolve around neoliberal ideas of financial independence and corporeal ability. Hooper's insights support Chapter 6 that explores how discourses of militarized masculinities are dependent on ableist notions of the body.

Kilshaw's (2009) book *Impotent Warriors: Gulf War Syndrome, Vulnerability and Masculinity*, features relevant evidence on how sexuality and disability intersect with notions of militarized masculinities. Through interviews with U.K. veterans of the Gulf War she finds that masculinity is constantly judged in the British military. One of her veteran participants explains "the worst, most embarrassing thing that could happen would be to fail a fitness test, with its accompanying insults of being referred to as women and homosexuals" (Kilshaw, 2009, p. 187). This veteran testimony highlights not simply how masculinities are judged in the British Armed Forces (BAF), but how physical strength is at the centre of this judgement. Moreover, this testimony links heterosexuality, physical fitness and masculinities. This veteran testimony reveals how masculinities are regulated and coerced in the BAF with not only physical tests and standards, but the threat of gendered and sexual insults upon failure. Through the veteran testimonies in Kilshaw (2009), it becomes apparent that physical success in the BAF is coded masculine (manly) while physical weakness is womanly, feminine, and gay. The above testimony reveals the way military culture disciplines soldiers into celebrating able-bodiedness and heterosexuality as inherent norms of militarized masculinities. Overall, Kilshaw's interviews with Gulf War veterans found that they felt pressure to meet masculine ideals tied to the body (2009, p. 184). Like Whitworth (2004) and Howell (2011), Kilshaw's interviews highlight how mental illness and militarized masculinities are perceived as contradictory. These

insights help ground my analysis and definition of militarized masculinities as constructed in opposition to mental illness. Veteran perspectives on mental illness in Kilshaw's study were generally negative and revealed not only the stigma associated with mental illness in the BAF, but how soldiering and notions of militarized masculinities are tied to both mental stability and its perceived productivity. British military personnel in her study felt a profound pressure to live up to certain physical and mental standards of masculinities, emphasizing the importance of maintaining these standards for their military employment and career development. Kilshaw maintains that throughout her interviews with veterans psychological problems were associated with weakness, failure and madness. Kilshaw's interviews found that Gulf War veterans had a fear of being viewed as "psychotic" and no longer qualified to fulfill their military job requirements or carry a gun (pp. 152, 187). Understanding how militarized masculinities are perceived as requiring mental stability supports Chapter 6 and the overarching framework of militarized masculinities, which suggests that ableism is an ideology of militarized masculinities.

In Harrison and Laliberté's book *No Life like It: Military Wives in Canada* (1994, p. 37) they explain that the CAF is fixated on having what they call "perfect specimens". Through their research they find that the military has a longstanding inflexibility as it concerns accommodating newly disabled members. They describe CAF attitudes as follows:

The military stands by and normally exercises its right not to bend in any way to accommodate a member who has become unable to perform the work for which he or she was originally recruited. Those who become disabled and often released, even when their disabilities would not prevent them from remustering to other trades. The military's need for "perfect specimens" who are free to meet any kind of operational demand, overrides its obligation to assume responsibility for those, who after many years of service, have suddenly happened upon bad luck (1994, p.37).

With a longstanding cultural norm of intolerance and discrimination it is not surprising that there remain poor attitudes in the CAF towards PTSD and those seeking help or re-assignment due to

health needs. Understanding the way ableism is at the core of CAF culture is central to this dissertation because it allows me to unpack how soldiering, militarized masculinities and corporeal normality are interconnected. Like Harrison and Laliberté (1994) who found that disability was stigmatized and discriminated against in the military, my analysis of Canadian news narratives will show how poor attitudes persist towards mental illness and that these discriminatory attitudes play a role in determining who we imagine as violent.

Like Kilshaw and Whitworth's work, Eichler's (2012) research interviewing Russian soldiers, mothers, draft evaders and veterans of the Chechen wars finds that Chechen war veterans are seen by the general population as "grenades waiting to explode" (p.125) and labeled as being psychologically sick. Chechen war veterans are described as suffering from the "Chechen syndrome" which is like PTSD in that it is marked by psychological and medical problems - mainly depression, anxiety, insomnia, along with alcohol and drug abuse (p.121). Those suffering are represented as bad apples, feminine and seen as not being what tough, independent military men should be or should have become. Because of uncensored television journalism of the first Chechen War in Russia, common societal perceptions of Chechen war veterans are that they are murders, rapists, looters, sexual perverts, and psychologically abnormal (p.127). Despite the prevalence of mental illness, Eichler (2012) finds that Russia lacks state sponsored medical and psychological rehabilitation. She explains how wives typically have to provide care needs to their veteran husbands as the Russian state and military denies responsibility. According to Eichler's interviews, these veterans are perceived as being unable to live up to prevailing norms of masculinity based on economic independence and success. Eichler finds that Chechen veterans have a difficult time finding a job and a female partner who will support their mental illness and outbursts of aggression. Chechen veterans are perceived in

Russia as defective bodies that cannot live up to neoliberal notions of masculinity that idealize the male breadwinner. Eichler finds that because of unintended negative representations of Chechen war veterans in the Russian news, the idea that military service is a key component of male socialization and citizenship has started to lose currency for many young Russians (p.109). Some of Eichler's interviewees were starting to interpret military service as conflicting with the demands of the market economy and a disruption to career opportunities²⁹. However, the scope of these sentiments could be limited in that they may only reflect the perspectives of more critical draft evaders. Eichler is careful to note that all the male veterans interviewed considered military service to be central to their identities as real men (p. 109). For the veterans interviewed, military services taught them to grow up, take on life's challenges, and gave them the skills to embody ideals of male independence and responsibility (p. 109). Overall, Eichler's work traces how militarized masculinity in Russia has long been characterized by ideals of strength, courage and corporeal ability. Much of Eichler's work will be extended in my thesis that seeks to make visible how militarized masculinities, ability and neoliberal promise intersect in a variety of national contexts. The fact that ableism is a consistent theme in a variety of countries' militarized masculinities is significant and suggests that my framework could be applicable to several national contexts. Eichler's work helps to support Chapter 6, which unpacks how mental stability, white heterosexuality and neoliberal success are presented as nonthreatening qualities of militarized masculinities.

²⁹ According to some interviewees, young Russians are starting to fear the effects of military service on their mental health and development, which they believe will impair their future ability to reintegrate into the labor market. In other words, they fear the military will no longer make them strong and masculine as it should, but could paradoxically lead to mental instability, dependence and socially de-valued male femininity. The presented fear among the younger generation is that military combat breaks bodies and makes them feminine, leaving these bodies incapable of living up to future socio-economic demands, having heterosexual desirability, and becoming masculine breadwinners.

Excessive Violence, Aggression and Sexual Violence

In order to support my theme chapter on militarized sexual violence it is important to understand how excessive violence, aggression, misogyny and rape culture are normalized in military culture and its norms of masculine soldiering. Therefore, in this section I will explore the literature on militarized masculinity/ies that explains how violence, aggression, a willingness to use sexual violence and a tendency to conflate sex with rape have been positioned as norms of soldiering and militarized masculinities. This section explores the work of feminist IR scholars like Whitworth (2004), Higate (2007), Harrison and Laliberté (1994, 2002), Price (2001), Allison (2007), Chew (2008), Parpart (2010), Enloe (1990) and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009).

Barrett's (1996) work interviewing U.S. Navy men found that the most celebrated characteristics of masculinity in the U.S. Navy were those attached to the naval aviators, whose positions were viewed as being based on violence and risk-taking. Unlike supply officers whose jobs were mostly administrative, the warrior-like role and ability of naval aviators to fly fighter jets, perform dangerous manoeuvres and jump out of planes were perceived as the most desirable skills and characteristics of masculinity available in the U.S. Navy. Whitworth's (2004) research on militarized masculinity exploring the CAF (peacekeepers) described many characteristics of militarized masculinity that coincide with those found by Barrett (1996). Whitworth explains at the forefront of her book that "the ideology of manliness required by militaries is premised on violence and aggression, individual conformity to military discipline and aggressive heterosexism and homophobia, as well as racism" (2004, p. 16). When exploring the militarized masculinity of peacekeepers Whitworth concludes that the idealized behaviour of masculine soldiering is at odds with what is expected in peace operations. For Whitworth, creating soldiers

depends on the celebration and reinforcement of an aggressive masculinity that promotes violence, misogyny, homophobia and racism (2004, p. 3). Whitworth positions the Canadian military's reinforcement of aggressive masculinity as fundamentally at odds with the demands of promoting and sustaining peace. She explains that not all peacekeepers or soldiers are violent or violently homophobic, racist or sexist, but that all Canadian soldiers (peacekeepers) have been subjected to the message that they have license to express these things, to act upon them, especially if that is what it takes to perform their duties as soldiers (2004, p. 3).

Throughout Whitworth's book she emphasizes that violence is modeled in Canadian military culture and training to the extent that repugnant/violent acts are normalized, made routine and portrayed as naturally masculine (2004, p. 161). She gives the example of chants that soldiers sing while marching that declare their poor attitudes towards women and link their militarized masculinity to an aggressive and violent heterosexuality, to demonstrate how violence is constructed as fun and pleasurable (2004, p. 162). She explains that common military chants like "This is my rifle. This is my gun [penis]. This is for pleasure, this is for fun" highlight how violent militarized masculinity is discursively normalized. The above military chants illustrates a culture where a soldier's enjoyment of violence, aggression and sexuality are explicitly connected and celebrated. Whitworth's book describes a clear connection between masculinity and violence, specifically the masculinity perpetuated in the Canadian military (2004, p. 160). To be a soldier and perform militarized masculinity, soldiers must not only demonstrate an absence of emotion (as described in the last section), but a willingness to use violence (2004, p. 166). Within scripts of militarized masculinity warriors are expected to be capable and willing to employ violence to achieve whatever ends he (or she) is ordered to perform (2004, p. 172).

Whitworth's 2004 book examines the indoctrination of racist, sexist, and homophobic ideals in the CAF and how this indoctrination is about removing all feminized aspects of self in favour of the idealized version of militarized masculinity that promotes control and aggression. She discovers that new recruits are verbally assaulted and face "a variety of gendered and raced" insults that are quite telling of the militarized ideologies and norms within the military (2004, p. 156). Insults include being called, "you woman", "sissies", "ladies", "pussies", "faggot", "nigger", "Indian", "cunt" and "whore" (2004, p. 156). These "insults" she explains underscore the ideologies of the military, and the kind of masculinity national armies are trying to promote in their troops. Whitworth's research highlights how sexist, racist, and homophobic ideologies shape the production of masculine soldiers in Canada where violence and aggression are encouraged. Brown (n.d) extends Whitworth's arguments in her working paper that finds it is normal for male soldiers in the CAF to feel "required to prove their masculinity by committing violent acts, frequently against women" (p. 298).

Higate (2007) is critical of work like Whitworth's which he feels problematically conflates militarized masculinity with exploitation. He explains that this type of conflation fails to explain "military men - even those associated with the more extreme elements of hypermasculinity in the combat arms - who have never been involved in the sexual exploitation of others" (p. 114). Higate (2007), however, fails to consider how militarized masculinities do not need to be related to sexual violence, though they often are. Suggesting that militarized masculinities are associated with sexual violence does not mean that they require sexual violence. Higate's 2007 work fails to consider how being a sexual aggressor is just one component of sexual aggression and rape culture. Supporting rape culture is an important way of contributing to sexual aggression and performing a version of militarized masculinity; women can support rape culture

and perform militarized masculinity. As we will see in Chapter 3, some female ADFA cadets gave testimony to the AHRC about why they do not get sexually assaulted and in so doing, they performed a version of militarized masculinity. Militarized masculinities related to sexual violence can be about silence, denying sexual violence as a systemic cultural problem, supporting perpetrators, being a bystander, being aggressive towards survivors, not believing survivors, asking questions about what survivors were wearing or their sexual history, or making comments about how much they drank. As such, female and male military personnel who do not speak out against sexual harassment, trivialize the systemic nature of abuse, or perpetuate narratives of shared responsibility are performing a version of militarized masculinity.

While I challenge some of the assumptions in Higate (2007) that fail to understand how perpetrating sexual violence is only one part of rape culture, his work rightly emphasizes the need to consider the plurality of militarized masculinities. Higate's critique of the ways in which militarized masculinities have been analysed in a homogenizing way is reflected in my conceptualization of militarized masculinities. My project appreciates the variance between versions of militarized masculinities and functions to establish intersectional entry points into conceptualizing militarized masculinities.

In Harrison and Laliberté's books *The First Casualty: Violence Against Women in the Canadian Military* (2002) and *A Life Like no Other* (1994) they interviewed Canadian military personnel and families of the CAF, finding like many other researchers that "the military uses masculinity as the cementing principle to unite "real" military men and distinguish them from non-masculine men and women" (2002, p.23). Like Whitworth (2004) and Goldstein (2001),

their research finds that during basic training, instructors encourage stereotypically masculine behaviours from recruits by using female associated words to degrade them under the logic that this will encourage male recruits to toughen up and become “real men”. Harrison and Laliberté found that even teaching tools like weapon training films could reinforce male objectification of women as they often feature women as targets (1994, p. 40)³⁰. Male recruits who perform well in basic training gradually earn the right to be addressed as “men” (2002, p. 23). Under this logic female recruits are devalued based on their sex not necessarily their gender performance. According to Harrison and Laliberté, unit cohesion and bonding has a longstanding tradition of celebrating a member’s masculinity, while excluding and degrading women (2002, pp. 24,105). From their interviews they found that ‘real men’ according to Canadian military culture are those who wage wars and are capable and willing to express a violent and tough masculinity. Harrison and Laliberté present these idealized characteristics of masculinity as deeply connected to the domestic violence soldiers commit against their wives and children, often to maintain a sense of militarized and masculine control (2002, pp. 45-46).

In Chew’s chapter in *Feminism and War* (2008) she details the volumes of physical and sexual assaults in detention centres, at checkpoints, in house searches and against female military personnel themselves. She describes these systemic events of aggression and violence as related to the violent masculinity that soldiers are directed towards in military culture and training, which glorifies domination. She explains that “internalizing a misogynist, violent sexuality becomes embedded in soldiers training to function psychologically as killers. The widespread sexual abuse of female soldiers by male colleagues, with overwhelming impunity, is a symptom of the institution modus operandi” (Chew, 2008, pp. 79-80). From an interview with a soldier

³⁰ These films do not appear to be only shown to male service members so it is reasonable to assume that female personnel are subjected to watching and learning from these videos. The message from these videos presumes that women are objects whose lives and bodies are expendable and inferior.

she finds that boot camp training is very explicit in its attempt to shape soldiers into aggressive killers. She explains that recruits can be asked:

[Instructors:] *“Who are you?”*

[Recruits:] *“Killers!”*

[Instructor:] *What do you do?*

[Recruits:] *We Kill! We kill!! We Kill!*

From Chew’s research, we learn that the U.S. military prescribes violent masculinities that encourage characteristics like aggression, dominance and violence, attaching these behaviours as masculine characteristics of soldiering. These insights are important to keep in mind when I unpack how the Canadian, American and Australian media represents the violence of military personnel. Chew (2008) explores how scripts of militarized masculinity glorify killing and condone sexual violence in military training and culture. Her work supports my argument in Chapter 3 which unpacks how news stories naively present rape culture, dominance and sexual aggression as distinct from soldiering, when in reality they are core values harnessed in training and military culture.

In Price (2001) and Alison’s (2007) articles on rape, war and masculinity, they emphasize how rape can function as a performance of masculinity within a group of military men. They explain that women and other ethnic groups are the overwhelming targets of sexual violence and that these attacks are not simply the workings of a few rogue soldiers, but a systemic phenomenon. Both Price (2001) and Alison (2007) assert that gang rapes and sexual violence have been widely used by numerous national militaries to demonstrate an aggressive masculinity and sexuality, in contrast to the passive enemy. This is meant to affirm a superior national identity, loyalty to the nation and solidarity with the identities of fellow soldiers. Their work demonstrates how the misogynistic masculinities that soldiers are molded into fosters excessive violence and aggression on women’s bodies. Female military personnel are not always the

victims, they can also enact their own versions of misogynistic militarized masculinities by supporting rape culture and ideas that sexual violence is inevitable, that boys will be boys, that sexual violence is joke, or that victims deserved it. In some cases women might even participate or facilitate the sexual violence. At Abu Ghraib there were a number of female military police involved in the sexual assaults on detainees. These women were like their male colleagues performing a type of militarized masculinity. The sexual violence of prison guards like Lynndie England, shown in trophy photographs, highlight their enactments of power as well as a norm of celebrating militarism and superiority. Price (2001) and Alison's (2007) positioning of sexual violence as an integral part of militarized masculinity supports my sexual violence theme chapter that finds that sexual violence is largely naturalized in militarized rape culture as boys being boys.

The feminist work of Cynthia Enloe (1990), Jane Parpart (2010), and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009) characterize scripts of militarized masculinity/ies as based on the promotion of violence, aggression and sexual control on women's bodies (often with reference to the extreme violence inflicted on women of colour). Enloe (1990) and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009) find that rape, sexual violence and sexual harassment is not simply an individual act, but rather a political act and norm of masculinity in the military and our militarized landscape. Parpart (2010) explains that sexual violence and gang rapes have been widely used to prove one's masculinity in contemporary conflicts in Africa and that performances of sexual violence are observed to be globalized with violent performances studied in countries around the world. Parpart's most recent work now uses the term militarized masculinities (Parpart and Partridge, 2014). My sexual violence theme chapter is specifically grounded by this research on rape as a norm of masculinity and will explore how the media constructs sexual violence as normal or

expected of boys being boys. My work confirms the research of Price (2001), Enloe (2007) and Parpart (2010) who explain that there is significant pressure in military cultures around the world to prove one's masculinity, where sexual violence (or condoning sexual violence) is the means to that end. Throughout this dissertation, I explain how because we live in a militarized global paradigm and culture where militarization is an international norm, discourses on militarized masculinities tend to be more overarching than culturally specific. This is not to say that there are no cultural nuances or that militarized masculinities have static scripts without variety across time and space. Rather, my work simply respects the work of feminist scholars of militarized masculinity/ies who have found that there are patterns of militarized masculinities, specifically as it relates to sexual violence, that are not nationally specific.

Shefer and Mankayi's (2007) article investigates the practices and perspectives of South African military men who find that they feel pressure to prove their masculinity and active heterosexuality through having multiple sex partners. Their interviews revealed that military men in South Africa often wish to demonstrate that they are masculine through showing they have biological needs for sex, the ability to control and conquer others (women's bodies), and a willingness to engage in risky sexual activity. Overall, the research of Shefer and Mankayi (2007) coincides with the work of Parpart (2010), Kilshaw (2009) and others who find that sexuality, sexual performance and sexual violence help construct hegemonic militarized masculinity/ies. The insights from Shefer and Mankayi (2007) which found that sexual violence is considered by military personnel as a biological need of masculine soldiers help unpack the pervasiveness and normality of rape culture in military culture and supports my sexual violence theme chapter which demonstrates that sexual violence is conflated with sex and considered

normal behaviour of masculine soldiers, who are imagined to naturally objectify women and need sex as an outlet.

Sexual violence is not just explored in the literature as a tool soldiers use against female victims. In Insook Kwon's (2010) chapter "*Masculinity and Male on Male Sexual Violence in the Military*" she looks at the gendering of sexual violence in the Korean military, finding that the ways male survivors and aggressors understand their experiences of sexual violence are wholly connected to masculinity, military hierarchy and discipline. According to Korean military interviewees, survivors of sexual attacks are feminized and portrayed as not being able to defend themselves. Interviewees explained that sexual aggressors are masculinised in Korean military culture that perceives sexual violence as an expression of physical strength, dominance, manhood and superior rank. Kwon argues that there is a connection between militarized masculinity and sexual violence based on interviews with Korean military personnel. She describes sexual violence as a tool corporals use to affirm and secure their militarized masculinity. Kwon's research findings are significant and confirmed in media representations discussed in Chapter 3, specifically the sexual violence at Abu Ghraib which was committed against male and female detainees. Kwon's insights suggest that sexual violence is about asserting power, control and superiority. My analysis is consistent with Kwon's in that sexual violence is not about sex as it is popularly represented, but about power, control and asserting militarized masculinities. In this sense it is not simply the objectification of women that is at play in sexual violence. It is about assertions of an aggressive and violent sexuality. This understanding of sexual violence as a performance of power, control and gender, supports my sexual violence theme chapter that concludes that sexual violence is a norm of militarized masculinities.

Jane Parpart (2010) explains that while proving masculinity through rape or risky sexual activity is an important phenomenon, militarized language and practices must also be critiqued as fuelling the epidemic of militarized sexual violence. Whitworth (2004) and Chew's research discussed earlier are prime examples of how militarized practices and training encourages sexual violence. In Chapter 3, ideas that masculine men have biological needs for sex is a common idea and linked explicitly to cadet McDonald's actions. Because sexual violence is frequently represented as an extension of sex, in our rape culture that trivializes and denies sexual violence, it is not surprising that sexually aggressive military chants like "this is my rifle, this is my gun..." are not taken up in news as relevant to the sexual violence committed by soldiers. In this chapter, I explore how sexual violence and rape culture are normalized in the news and silenced as just boys being boys, rather than a more disturbing cultural phenomenon that deserves investigation and reform. It is not simply about the number of sexual assaults and the individual perpetrators, it is also about how the behaviour of perpetrators is condoned and how perpetrators are protected in a militarized rape culture that naturalizes sexual violence and harassment as a masculine practice of soldiering.

Burstyn's (1999) book *The Rites of Men*, looks at how military and sports cultures are believed to be valuable in keeping the masculine, aggressive and sexual beast alive (p. 97). Burstyn explains that women's bodies in war are sexually objectified as trophies or prizes to be captured and claimed, helping soldiers prove their power and masculinity much like how athletes strive to win trophies in competitions (p. 88). Burstyn explains that dominance and aggression are important expressions for soldiers to prove to colleagues because they are perceived as necessary for victory. In Messner's (1992) book *Power at Play*, he argues that success in sports can help build masculine status for American men, with athletic trophies and medals being

markers of their athletic skill, strength and masculine success over competitors. According to Peralta's (2007) study of European American men attending university, not only athletic accomplishments but also alcohol consumption was described as proving and embodying masculinity. Peralta found that in order for some university men to showcase their masculinity they collected alcohol bottles as trophies and identity objects that proved their stamina and willingness to take risks. In Brandth and Haugen's (2006) study of rural American men, it was not sports trophies or alcohol bottles that symbolized rural hegemonic masculinity accomplishments. Instead it was displays of antlers and taxidermy. Brandth and Haugen (2006) explain that these trophies tend to be collected to showcase hunting and fishing skills, proficiency with equipment and dominance over wildlife. The above scholars of masculinities demonstrate how embodying a "tough guise" (Katz, 1999) of hegemonic militarized masculinities often requires asserting dominance, proving your power over objectified others, and a willingness to use or condone aggression or even violence. The above literature frames trophy collecting as a masculine activity that is commonly valorized in society. These insights help support Chapter 4 as it explains how symbolic objects and bodies are used to mark superiority and masculinities. Perspectives from the literature on trophies allow me to interrogate the naturalized celebration of trophy collecting as not simply a benign activity but one that is profoundly gendered and militarized. As will be explored in Chapter 4, Colonel Williams' "fetish trophies" are not symbols of deviancy but identity objects of a militarized masculinities based on misogyny, rape culture and aggression.

Practices of Imperial Violence and Racialized Constructions of Enemies and Soldiers

Militarization and militarized violence were discussed in the first part of this chapter as profoundly racialized. Scholars of militarized masculinity/ies add to these insights and explain

how the degradation of differences has been an integral element in the production of soldiers and military culture (Whitworth, 2004; Razack, 2004). In order to support my analysis and chapter on racist imperial violence, I need to understand how militarized masculinities are racialized in ways that make extreme forms of violence appear civilized. Therefore, this section explores and unpacks the research of Whitworth (2004), Duncanson (2007), Parpart and Partridge (2014), Eichler (2012), Razack (2004), Shigematu et al (2008) Cenidoza Suarez (2010), Mirzoeff (2006), Richter-Montpetit (2007), and McClintock (2009) who explore the connections between militarized masculinity/ies, racism, imperial violence³¹ and constructions of soldiers and enemies. Overall, the majority of scholars found that militarized masculinity/ies in Canada, the United States, and Russia are informed by whiteness and commonly expressed abroad through violence, rape and torture against people of colour. I will describe Sandra Whitworth's work at length in this section and explain how military training strategically indoctrinates soldiers to no longer identify as individuals, but as part of the military machine which views enemies as inferior "Others" who are less than human (Whitworth, 2004). This racialized militarized transformation is essential in understanding how imperial violence is a means for soldiers to prove the superiority of the white imperial body over the racialized and feminized "Other" (Mirzoeff, 2006; Richter-Montpetit, 2007; McClintock, 2009), regardless of their individual race.

As briefly discussed in the last section, Whitworth's (2004) work demonstrates how the creation of soldiers is dependent on rituals and national myths about masculinity, race, sexuality and the idealized body. While differences like race and culture can be accommodated, this accommodation involves the erasure of difference (Whitworth 2004, p. 159) where "the uniform absorbs individualities into a generalized and timeless masculinity" (Morgan 1994, p. 165).

³¹ Put simply, imperial violence is about impositions of power and control at the political, economic and cultural level.

From Whitworth (2004) and Razack's (2004) research we learn that part of the process of transforming young men into warriors involves the lure of masculinities and white masculinities in particular. Whitworth (2004) explains that discursive practices help construct soldiers' notions of self vis à vis the racialized "Other", a process where self (the whiteness of soldiering) and other (the radicalized enemy) must remain distinct and separate³². It is for this reason that militaries have long been so resistant to the inclusion of the "Other" within their ranks. Harrison and Laliberté's research found that racial and cultural differences have widely been considered a barrier to the objectives of Canadian combat units (1994, p. 36). The logic is that the presence of the "Other" makes the strategies of recruitment, basic training and teaching of appropriate militarized masculinities all the more difficult to accomplish, because idealized militarized masculinities are a racialized idea tied to whiteness and superiority (p. 104). Whitworth explains that masculinity and ideals of manhood from the military's perspective are most effectively accomplished through the degradation of everything marked by difference, whether it is women, people of colour or homosexuality (2004, p. 161). According to Whitworth (2004) it is "no coincidence that insults new recruits face are gendered, raced, and homophobic" (p. 161). Whitworth (2004) concludes that if we were to consider the ways ideas around race are fundamental to the creation of soldiers (and enemies), we might be less surprised about racist hazing rituals testing "loyalty" in the Canadian Airborne Regiments and racist violence in Somalia. Whitworth's definition of militarized masculinity as constructed alongside whiteness and racism is something that I also find in my own work. My analysis of news stories asserts that our understanding of militarization and war is based on an Orientalist knowledge that frames the Orient as a dangerous place in need of civilizing by force, while our military personnel get

³² During training camp in the CAF recruits are commonly verbally assaulted with racialized insults like "Indian" and "nigger".

framed as model citizens and heroes who deserve our continued support and celebration. Chapter 5 will explain how racist violence is discussed in the media as an individual act, while incarceration, occupation and ordered violence is framed as race-neutral. Everyday militarized pedagogies and structures allow militarized dehumanization, racial difference and incarceration to be understood as legitimate and nonviolent. My reading of news stories found that dominant discourses in the media are militarized and tend to position violence committed by military personnel as either the by-product of rogue soldiers or necessary exceptions to otherwise civilized missions, orchestrated by exceptional nation states and militaries.

Duncanson's (2007) work *Forces for Good* is similar to Higate's 2007 work discussed above, in that she challenges the idea that militarized masculinities are necessarily exploitative. She uses the autobiographies of four peacekeepers to conclude that these tell a more positive story of militarized masculinities, moving beyond traditional warrior models of masculinity. The accounts of these peacekeepers demonstrate how assertions of masculinities are linked to rationality, civility, professionalism, conflict resolution, and aid. It is, however, important to consider how aid narratives that emphasize Western rationality and civility are racialized, able-bodied masculine discourses that are indebted to and re-inscribe ableist and racialized norms of whiteness and civility. Duncanson's work fails to dismantle intersecting systems of oppression and her argument that peacekeeping militarized masculinities have redeeming qualities fails to appreciate how practices of peacekeeping masculinities are simply performing militarized masculinities differently, and perpetuating violent militarized myths about white able-bodied militarized masculinities.

Parpart and Partridge (2014) rightly emphasize that the destructive impact of militarized masculinities are well known. Their work borrows insights from Higate (2007) and Duncanson

(2007; 2011) to suggest that because there are different masculinities within the military, there are possibilities for alternative and non-hegemonic masculinities in the military. It is important to emphasize that there is a difference between exploring masculinities in the military and militarized masculinities. Looking at the ways military personnel, veterans or peacekeepers interpret, embody, assert or fail to perform masculinities is different than critiquing the racialized system of militarization that structures militarized masculinities.

Militarized masculinities cannot be challenged or uprooted simply based on the existence of ‘alternative’ versions of militarized masculinities practiced by peacekeepers, women, people of colour and queers. The suggestion of such alternatives fails to appreciate practices of being complicit with the ascendancy of whiteness, heterosexual nationalist formations, patriarchal violence and interlocking systems of power. Given the fact that militarization and militarism are based on intersecting hierarchies of difference and violence, militarized masculinities are by definition exploitative and based on sustaining intersecting hegemonic relations of power. Since militarized masculinities are shaped by de-humanizing, racialized, and systemic militarization, militarized masculinities are by definition exploitative. This of course does not mean that military personnel themselves are necessarily evil, always exploitative and do not face internal conflicts, but that they are part of a racialized and ableist system that oppresses.

My work challenges the notion that militarized masculinities can be a force for good while leaving the racialized and ableist system of militarization intact. Unlike Parpart and Partridge (2014), I suggest there is “nothing of value to militarized masculinities”, unless we race to innocence in the oppression of others, ignore privilege and the fundamentally ableist and racialized structures of militarization. While I challenge some of the assumptions in Duncanson (2007) and Parpart and Partridge (2014), their research has utility in that they rightly encourage

scholars to consider and explicitly acknowledge the plurality and nuances of militarized masculinities. While my work does not find that militarized masculinities have positive potential, I appreciate that militarized masculinities do not need to be performed in a specific way and that there are differences between versions of militarized masculinities.

In Eichler's 2012 book *Militarizing Men* she discovers that there is a purposeful connection made between militarized masculinity and the construction of the enemy in Russia. Eichler explains that the racialized "Other" is central not only to the making but also for the reproduction of militarized masculinity in Russia (2012, p. 115). Her research reinforces Whitworth's (2004) work that describes how the making of soldiers is dependent on constructions of self, vis à vis the "Other", and excessive violence towards this racialized "Other". In Eichler (2012) she explains that there is indeed a close connection between militarized masculinity and excessive violence, specifically excessive violence vis à vis the "Other". Eichler relies on Whitworth (2004) to describe how in the context of the Chechen Wars excessive violence perpetuated by soldiers was not incidental but grew out of the very process that helped to construct militarized masculinity (2012, p. 115). According to Eichler the excessive violence Russian citizens became aware of via uncensored television broadcasts were not reflections of questionable warriors, but a specific model of militarized masculinity based on excessive violence. For Eichler, militaries by definition valorize racialized aggression and violence and these values are instilled in soldiers who develop the skills and desire to use weapons designed to kill and cause destruction. Eichler's book exploring the Russian case helps to demonstrate how race is an integral part of militarized masculinities. Eichler's insights support my racist violence theme chapter which finds that discourses of race and racism define militarized masculinities in white settler societies, like Canada, the United States and Australia.

Authors like Shigematu et al (2008) and Cenidoza Suarez (2010) demonstrate how the U.S. Armed Forces (like the CAF and the Russian military) was and remains a fundamentally white male institution. No matter how much the military tells military personnel of colour that their “service matters”, they are constantly reminded that they “do not quite belong or are not wanted” (Shigematu et al, 2008, p. 96). Cenidoza Suarez’s chapter related to Filipino militarized masculinity demonstrates a longstanding tradition of white supremacy in the U.S. Navy where colonized Filipino men in the 1930s and 1940s were exclusively recruited for feminized clean up of radioactive material as U.S. Navy Stewards. These steward positions were feminized in that cleaning is typically a devalued domestic chore women are expected to perform even though it involved working with toxic materials. Steward positions were also racialized in that they were created to permanently keep Filipino men at the bottom of the military hierarchy, doing the military’s dangerous and feminized dirty work. In Cenidoz Suarez’s (2010) chapter he explains that the more masculine and lucrative positions and paths for advancement were purposefully reserved for white military men. Cendoza Suarez’s chapter demonstrates how race has long played a pivotal role in structuring the U.S. Armed Forces where white men had more value and were purposefully placed on top of the hierarchy.

Shigematu et al’s (2008) chapter featuring reflections from U.S. veterans of colour reveals how even today the U.S. Armed Forces is a racialized institution where whiteness remains the imagined norm and ideal of soldiering. In the U.S. Marine Corps there are racialized terms for personnel of colour. Marines who are black are called “dark green”. Similarly, marines who are women are called “WMs” or women marines. This practice of differentiating “real” marines or white male marines from “Other” marines is an example of how the creation of U.S. marines is a fundamentally gendered and racialized practice where full status marines are

always already white men (Shigematu et al, 2008). Shigematu et al's chapter of reflections also emphasizes how after 9/11 issues of race became much more obvious across the armed forces making many personnel of colour realize they never belonged. The racist term "Raghead" became common (like "Gook" was during the Vietnam War era), where it was not unusual to frequently hear colleagues proclaim they wanted to kill Arabs. The reflections from veterans of colour describe how the U.S. Armed Forces has a real skill for "nurturing racial epithets for the enemy", and for "summoning the worst filth out of soldiers" (p. 96). These testimonies describe how the U.S. Armed Forces encourages soldiers to draw links between "the enemy" and the racialized "Other". These veteran testimonies from the United States help attest to how both enemy and the soldier are racialized constructions (in a way that Whitworth (2004) describes in the Canadian boot camp and hazing context). From Shigematu et al's chapter we learn that performances and affirmations of militarized masculinities in the U.S. Armed Forces are tied to a desire and willingness to kill and dominate racialized "Others" that are understood as enemies of the imagined white nation and military.

In Sherene Razack's (2004) book *Dark Threats and White Knights*, she argues that imperial violence makes both the man and nation. According to Razack, imperial violence is an important part of white imperial journeys of personhood because imperial soldiers mark their courage and masculinity through surviving encounters with those who are most feared, the racialized "Other"/enemy. For Razack (2004) the masculinity of the nation and its citizens rests on establishing racial dominance over "Others", requiring both the nation and its imagined citizens to be white, civilized and superior. Razack's research finds racial domination over "Others"/enemies of colour allows imperial soldiers and nations to feel powerful and in control.

Using Theweleit's (1989) book *Male Fantasies*, Razack argues that military men understand themselves as a "race" and an organizational form that is opposite to the "mass" (which is women and racialized "Others" in particular). Male soldiers she argues are taught to understand themselves as a nation, not in the sense of government or national borders, but a male community of soldiers where nationalism is an expression of maleness (Razack, 2004, p. 61). In her book *Dark Threats, White Knights*, Razack argues that violence allows male soldiers to affirm a racialized national masculinity. Relying on Dana Nelson, Razack explains that stabilizing both the soldier's identity and 'our' national identity is achieved through racial domination. Through imperial violence, Canadian military men are defending a particular racial, gendered and sexual conception of self and nation. This conception of self and nationality centres a white, male, heterosexual self and imagines a white nation (p. 62). Mirzeoff (2006) and Richter-Montpetit (2007), like Razack (2004), explain how the imperial body is white, masculine and asserted through negative differentiation that often comes in the form of violence. For them the acts of torture committed by military personnel at Abu Ghraib were in part an enactment of whiteness and racial superiority. These descriptions of Western soldiers on imperial missions as performers of a particular type of white masculinity are important in Chapter 5 where I analyse representations of Charles Graner at Abu Ghraib and explore how whiteness and racialized violence were normalized as performances of militarized masculinities. In fact, I argue that our society has a longstanding tradition of celebrating the racist violence of soldiers through the awarding of military medals for imperial missions abroad. These medals highlight how imperial violence is thought to be civilized in Western societies, rather for what is really is: aggressive, dehumanizing and fundamentally structured by race. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 these symbolic honours legitimize war and reward successful militarized masculinities. Soldiers of

colour participate in these racialized conflicts as representatives of the imagined “white” nations of Canada, the United States and Australia (Razack, 2004). My work understands racism as less about individual prejudices and more about systemic structures of violence, which allows for the critique of people like U.S. President Barack Obama as a facilitator of racist violence abroad. Overall, my contribution to the literature discussed in this section is that I provide more of a conceptual framework of overarching intersectional patterns of militarized masculinities. The following section will explore in greater depth what is missing in the literature and explore how my research advances the theorization of militarized masculinities.

Intersectionality, Hegemony and Militarized Masculinities without Men

By scrutinizing specific gaps in the literature, I will be able to explore ways my project on militarized masculinities advances a more coherent, nuanced and intersectional understanding of militarized masculinities. This section will explore how the literature on militarized masculinity/ies falls short in three main areas.

First, the literature on militarized masculinity/ies lacks a cohesive definition and intersectional framework. Scholars do not explore how militarized masculinities contribute to or differ from hegemonic masculinities. Without a reference point as to where militarized masculinities fits in with masculinities scholarship it is not surprising that some authors use the term militarized masculinity/ies while other use military masculinity/ies or just military men. This is significant because in the absence of a common language in the literature to speak about militarized masculinities, blame is being placed solely on the military institution rather than the social structures of militarization and violent masculinities. Much of the literature remains confined to the field of international relations and relies on an imagined “common knowledge” of what militarized masculinity/ies is, at best listing recognizable yet arbitrary characteristics

often without regard for how characteristics are socially and discursively embedded and produced. The literature I analyzed in the last three sections tends to focus on characteristics of militarized masculinity/ies. Scholarship lacked a clear understanding of how the concept of hegemonic masculinity developed out of a need to move beyond explanations rooted in role models of masculinity that focused on listing masculine traits. An example in the literature of theorists' unknowing/unconscious adoption of trait models of masculinity is most clear in Brown (2012) who explicitly described masculinity as "the traits, behaviours, images, values and interests associated with being a man" (p.18). As it concerns militarized masculinity more specifically Brown (2012) simply talks about "characteristics" like "physical aggression, courage, toughness and a willingness to sacrifice for Others" (p. 40).

Brown (2012) engages with R.W. Connell's (1987) early work on hegemonic masculinity. She focuses on elements of the original conceptualization that wrongly simplified hegemonic masculinity as the social dominance of some forms of masculinity over others (p. 19). Brown (2012) is not alone. Many authors lack a contemporary and complete understanding of hegemonic masculinities, moving beyond listing masculine traits, to understand gender as a social and material construct. Often, militarized masculinity/ies scholars like Brown (2012) conflate hegemonic masculinity with dominance or popularity. The literature on militarized masculinity/ies fails to analyse how hegemonic masculinities sustain an asymmetrical gender order based on gender, race, ability, class and sexuality. The consequence of focusing on dominance rather than hegemony is that too much emphasis is put on blaming masculine role traits or men, rather than intersectional social processes like militarization, racism, and misogyny that sustain hegemony and the accepted devaluation of "others". The theorizing of militarized masculinities needs to explain the specificities of militarized masculinities and also how it fits

into the larger framework of hegemonic masculinities. As it stands, much of the current literature relies on interviews with veterans or an analysis of military chants, training techniques and hazing rituals. Analysing the ways the news media represents militarized masculinities would advance the understanding of militarized masculinities as more than prescribed characteristics, to include the militarized social scripts and processes that need to be challenged as violent. Military institutions are not solely responsible for the production of militarized masculinities. We need to look at representations of military personnel to better understand how militarized masculinities are produced.

Second, the literature often conflates masculinities with men without an understanding that there can be masculinities without men. My survey of the literature did not find a clear conversation and understanding about how masculinity is “not what one has or what one is” (Butler, 1999). An implicit assumption in the literature inherently connected masculinity to the “biology” of bodies. The possibility of female masculinities was absent from the understanding and discussion in the literature. Masculinities were reserved solely for men (Halberstam, 1999, p. xii). Jack Halberstam’s (1999) book *Female Masculinities* is ground breaking in highlighting how there can be masculinities without men. He argues that female masculinities are ignored in culture and the academy (1999, p. 2). The literature on militarized masculinity/ies is no exception to this broader trend. My research seeks to understand masculinities as a social script anybody can perform and produce. In terms of news narratives on military personnel that are analysed in following sections, there is a tendency to automatically present male soldiers as the only genuine performers of militarized masculinities. These representations work to conflate gender with “biological sex” and frame violence as un-attached to gender. Challenging the way

masculinities are problematically reserved for men allows me to better present male and female soldiering as an identity comprised of masculine and militarized ideals.

While some authors like Eichler (2012) and Brown (2012) mention that gender is a social construct, their application of masculinity frequently fails to appreciate how conversations on masculinities are not synonymous with men. In their work they frequently alternate between men and masculinity and never address the possibility of masculinities for women³³. The consequence of conflating masculinity with men is that this generalization helps insulate masculinities from political critique. When we talk about scripts of masculinities we are talking about a social construct that men and women participate in, rather than simply the actions of male bodies. Insulating masculinities from critique makes cases involving sexual violence appear as though they are really about boys being boys or monstrous women rather than the more complex process of militarized masculinities. Blame is wrongly placed on bodies as opposed to hegemonic militarized ideals when we fail to appreciate how women help make masculinities, misogyny, racism and ableism. While my cases do centre on representations of men, I am careful not to assume that because they are men they must be masculine, or because their female colleagues are women they must be feminine. Chapter 5 discusses how the violence of female military personnel at Abu Ghraib reflected militarized norms of masculinities that celebrate racialized aggression and violence.

Third, greater engagement with critical disability studies (CDS) could better situate militarized masculinities by examining the ways characteristics like strength, mental fitness and toughness reflect the social norm of ableism. Currently, authors seemingly arbitrarily prescribe certain characteristics like strength as masculine ideals in the military. More work is needed

³³ For Brown, “masculinity, very simply put, is the traits, behaviors, images, values and interests associated with being a man within a given culture (p.18). For Eichler (2012) “to make sense of masculinity and men, one must examine femininity and women, and vice versa (p.6).

unpacking how disability, ableism and ideologies of normative bodies work to produce militarized masculinities and bodies we imagine as dangerous. Outside of Serlin (2003), none of the literature on militarized masculinity/ies links characteristics like strength, toughness and mental disorders to political and social constructions of ableism, the literature does not appreciate how disability is a political category and social construction. The literature is stuck in the medical model of disability positing non-normative bodies as tragic and ultimately oppressed by their bodies. The literature seems to be ambivalent as to how ableism as a discourse is embedded within constructions of gender, race, soldiers, enemies and the nation. In the literature on militarized masculinity/ies compulsory able-bodiedness is presented as if it were a natural feature of militarized masculinities. Howell's (2011, p. 15) research is one of the only texts that is "disrupting the authority of medical pathologizations". My research extends this work to explore how non-normative bodies are cast as monstrous, feminine and pathologized as violent. The following section will explore feminist communications scholarship, to anchor my work to broader feminist conversations in media studies that explore the discursive invisibility of violent masculinities, racist and gendered violence and the way madness is criminalized in the news media.

Representations of Masculinities, Madness and Violence in the News

My research seeks to analyse discursive silences related to violent militarized masculinities. It is important to understand how violent masculinities, racist violence and gendered violence are silenced in the news. Since discourses that pathologize blame are significant to my analysis in Chapter 6, it is crucial to appreciate how violence tends to be blamed on the bodies of people with mental illness. In this section, I will explore feminist communications scholarship related to gendered violence, racist violence and sexual violence. The three main themes that I will be

discussing in this section are a) Violent Masculinities as a Silent Norm, b) The Denial of Racism and Gender Violence and c) Blame, Madness and Criminality in Sexual Violence. Feminist communications scholarship on discursive silences helps support all four of my theme chapters. It also helps to explain how reading for silences works. This scholarship inspired my own work and methods which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

Violent Masculinities as a Silent Norm

This section explores how because masculinity and whiteness are understood as norms, they are silenced in the news, allowing patterns of violence to appear like a gender and race-neutral phenomena, rather than related to broader social scripts of white masculinities. In order to explore this idea further, I will discuss the works of Kronsell (2006), Katz (2003), Jiwani (2006) and Consaval (2003) and Meyer (2010).

In Kronsell's (2006) chapter "Methods for Studying Silences: Gender analysis in Institutions of Hegemonic Masculinity", she uses the work of Butler (1990) as well as Peterson and True (1998) to argue that hegemonic masculinity is understood as a norm rather than a gender. Kronsell explains that hegemonic masculinity 'naturalized the everyday practices of gendered identities' (Peterson and True, 1998, p. 21). This has led to the rather perplexing situation where 'men are persons' and there is no gender but the feminine (Butler 1999, p.90). Hence, masculinity is not a gender; it is the norm (Kronsell, 2006, p. 109). Scholars like Consaval (2003), Katz (2003) and Jiwani (2006) take Kronsell's argument one step further to argue that whiteness and masculinity (both dominant gender and racialized categories of identity) tend to be silenced in the news and assumed as taken for granted norms, with little relevancy. Feminist communications scholars maintain that dominant narratives in the news, advertisements and elsewhere assume both masculinity and whiteness are neutral markers that do not need

identifying. While media narratives are always gendered and racialized, they often only become explicitly gendered and racialized when the topics or subjects of conversation are women, people of colour or people femininized by class status or disability. When white, middle class, able-bodied men kill or commit crimes, news stories rarely frame the crime in gendered or racialized terms. By contrast, when people of colour, people with disabilities or white women commit crimes discourses almost automatically become concerned with naming their race, culture and gendered body in contrast to the norm of whiteness, masculinity or able-bodiedness (Jiwani, 2006).

Katz's (2003) chapter "Advertising and the Construction of Violent White Masculinity: From Eminem to Clinique for Men" looks at how in patriarchal culture violent behaviour is typically gendered male [or masculine]. He argues that through his analysis of mainstream media discourses it is clear that violent masculinity is an accepted cultural norm in mainstream American society, which often celebrates and affirms a connection between being a man and being violent (2003, p.240). Katz finds that advertisements directed at men play a discursive role in normalizing male violence and in valorizing scripts of violent masculinity³⁴. Katz (2003) argues that although a staggering amount of violent crimes are committed by men and boys, "newspaper and magazine headline writers continue to use degendered language to talk about the perpetrators of violence (i.e. 'kids killing kids')" (p. 349). Overall, Katz's (2003) conclusion that

³⁴ Katz (2003) maintains that by looking at American movies, news media and video games we can see how male violence is a celebrated and consumed norm of hegemonic masculinity (240). Katz (2003) and his 1999 documentary "Tough Guise" feature a variety of statistics concerning the disproportionate number of male perpetrators of violence on women and other men. Katz highlights how in the United States men commit 85% of murders, 90% of assaults, 95% of domestic violence, 95% of dating violence, 95% of child sexual abuse and 99.8% of rapes. Katz is not insisting that men are inherently or "biologically" more violent but draws on these statistics to call attention to how hegemonic scripts of masculinity that value violence, aggression, heterosexuality, power and control as a natural part of being a man, are connected to male violence. He argues that the current crisis of masculinity encourages men to put on a tough masculine guise at the expense of their emotional well-being and the physical well-being of women and other men who are the victims/survivors of their violent performance of masculinity.

there are broad discursive silences in the media related to the role of masculinity and whiteness in violence, helps support my analysis of representations of militarized masculinities, which pays particular attention to what discursive silences reveal about militarized social conventions related to gender and race.

Consalvo's (2003) article "Monsters Next Door: Media Constructions of Boys and Masculinity" builds on Katz's work (1999, 2003) to investigate representations surrounding the Columbine school shooting. She concludes that the gender identity of the men involved was silenced. Consalvo (2003) maintains that an analysis of masculinity was relevant to the actions of Klebold and Harris in the school shooting but remained concealed from view in news reports due to the media's tendency to imagine violent masculinity and violence enacted by white bodies as irrelevant factors. Consalvo explains "when news reports explore the 'factors' that led Klebold and Harris to their actions...this coverage is constructing... elements considered relevant to the crime, and through omission, those that are irrelevant. Inattention by media researchers [or journalists] is especially evident concerning news representations of white men" (Consalvo, 2003, p. 28). Consalvo's work highlights the importance of reading against texts to pinpoint discursive silences that help identify social conventions around talking about male violence. Her work is relevant to my thesis because it helps support the rationale for why I chose a critical discourse method that reads not only "with" but also "against" texts with a particular sensitivity for revealing discursive omissions. I will discuss this at greater length in Chapter 2. Consalvo's conclusion that violent white masculinity was imagined to be irrelevant factors in the crimes in the Columbine school shooting parallel representations of Williams, Graner and McDonald which understand the masculinities and whiteness of Western soldiering as civilized rather than based on notions of superiority, dehumanization and violence.

In Anneke Meyer's article "Too Drunk to say No': Binge drinking, rape and the Daily Mail", she conducts a discourse analysis relying on forty eight Daily Mail articles to identify and critically examine the major discursive themes produced around contemporary U.K. rape cases involving alcohol (2010, p. 19). Relying on Hall (1997), Meyer explains that systems of representation present in the news media produce particular ways of thinking and talking about rape involving alcohol, blame and responsibility³⁵. Myers found that binge drinking gets presented in the news as making women vulnerable and is described as an unwise behaviour for women, as rape is the natural consequence of this behaviour (Meyers, 2010, p. 31). Overall, Meyer demonstrates how news discourses focused on the women who binge drink rather than the men who target them. Within the dominant narratives of the Daily Mail women got blamed for their drinking and presented as putting themselves at great risk of being assaulted. Discourses position rape involving alcohol, as situations smart women can avoid or as a consequence of bad girls who open themselves up to being taken advantage of. These narratives trivialize rape. They suggest that women who drink are asking to be raped and that rape is a naturally occurring phenomenon that can be avoided when women make smart choices. In Meyer's article it is clear that male sexual violence against women is normalized. A discussion about gender, masculinities and violence is largely missing in narratives on male sexual violence against women as a consequence. In U.K. rape cases that involved alcohol the female survivors were blamed and considered responsible for their actions because they chose to ignore the purported natural risks and ultimately gave up their own right to say no. Nowhere in dominant discourse

³⁵ Meyer finds that the media and the government in the U.K. have been increasingly preoccupied with the problem of rape involving alcohol with news outlets deprecating and delegitimizing female victims. Meyer identifies three dominant narratives in the Daily Mail, 1) the refashioning of old rape myths that assume rape is done by strangers, has visible injuries and typically involves a weapon, 2) the presentation of rape involving alcohol as a problem of female drinking rather than male sexual violence, and 3) the framing of women as those who put themselves at risk (with a discursive silence around men as the risk) suggesting that in cases involving alcohol both perpetrator and survivor should share responsibility (p. 19).

were there critical questions related to mainstream misogynistic culture where men's objectification of women is normal. Nowhere was the risk men pose to women questioned. Nowhere in the discourse were there questions related to how sexual violence is a performance of masculinity. Overall, Meyer's work explores rape culture narratives of blame that naturalize sexual violence and displace blame away from norms of masculinity. Her work helps support my sexual violence theme chapter where I analyse representations of perpetrators and how scripts of militarized masculinities are grounded in rape culture.

While on the topic of sexual violence and drinking, it is important to briefly consider the connection between sexual violence and the culture of drinking. In the 2004 documentary *Spin the Bottle: Sex, Lies & Alcohol*, feminist communications scholars Jean Kilbourne and Jackson Katz explain that it is important to consider the role popular culture has in creating sets of expectations ascribed to drinking that are conducive to sexual assault. Kilbourne explains that media messages sustain gendered ideas that "real men should drink heavily and score as possible, that women should make themselves sexually available to men, and that everyone should use alcohol as the root to wild uninhibited sex". These cultural messages associated with drinking give men the idea that they have the right to women's bodies. Katz and Kilbourne emphasize how some men use alcohol to get women drunk so that they can rape them, especially on college campuses where upper class men commonly target young female students, offering them alcohol with the intent of taking advantage of them. They reference how alcohol was involved in over half of date rapes on college campuses to emphasize how alcohol ought to be understood as the number one date rape drug. The gendered double standard related to drinking and sexual assault is particularly important for my analysis of representations of sexual violence at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA). Katz and Kilbourne argue that if a man is

drinking and commits sexual assault he is considered and represented as less responsible. Whereas if a women was at a bar, party or drinking she is considered more responsible and as Myers (2010) suggests, more likely to be either blamed for being sexually assaulted or understood as sharing responsibility for her misfortune. It is particularly unfortunate that narratives focus on female responsibility for being assaulted instead of focusing on a culture of drinking which rapists use to facilitate their assault and protect them from bearing responsibility. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, representations surrounding the Skype scandal frequently normalized the culture of drinking and the sexual violence it facilitates, focusing on Kate's history of drinking as context for her objectification. There was no consideration for how the culture of drinking is intimately connected to broader rape culture ideas that function to protect perpetrators and normalize their actions.

The notion of violent masculinities as an unnamed norm in the news media is a relevant discursive omission that relates to how the cases in my research were explained and represented to the public. The coverage of my three cases were often degendered with headlines like "Cadet on sex video charges". They echoed the degendered headlines of "kids killing kids" (McPhedran, 2011, 6 April, p.13) or "Queen's Pilot: I am a sex killer" (Smith, 2011, 8 October, p. 1). These headlines showcase how news narratives frame white, male, able bodies as the unnamed norm. There are a number of discursive ideologies proliferating in the above headlines that will be unpacked at length in Chapter 3. What is important to note for this section on violent masculinities in the media is how the media frames the gender of the perpetrators as irrelevant to the telling of the story. Masculinities in dominant news representations of the Williams, McDonald and Graner got silenced as an irrelevant norm. Gender was only presented as relevant when femininity, queerness or deviancy was at work. The way militarized masculinities are a

violent embodiment was consistently silenced in news headlines and full text news stories. This thesis seeks to understand and explain the ways masculinities are silenced in stories about military scandals.

The Denial or Acceptance of Gender Violence and Racism

In this section I explore the normalization of gender violence and racist violence in the media. In military scandals the systemic nature of gendered and racist violence has been denied or trivialized. Understanding why there are discourses of denial related to gender violence and racist violence is important in my theme chapters on sexual violence and racist violence. This section will examine the work of Jones (2012) and Jiwani (2006) who explore how gender violence and racist violence come to be accepted or denied.

Steve Jones's (2013) recent article "Gender Monstrosity: Deadgirl and the sexual politics of zombie-rape" examines gendered representations in the horror film *Deadgirl* (2008), which "revolves around a group of male adolescents (JT, Rickie and Wheeler) who find a naked "undead" woman [in a zombie like state] in an abandoned asylum and keep her as their "personal sex object" (2008, p. 525). Jones argues that despite being offensive the gendered sexual violence in *Deadgirl* is "indicative of what is representationally acceptable within contemporary popular culture", where sexual violence against women is normalized (2008, p. 525)³⁶. In his analysis Jones explains that *Deadgirl* presents male teenage rape against a female zombie as acting like the sexual brutes men are supposed to be and a performance of normal male sexual fantasies based on gendered violence and inequality (2008, p. 533). In the film, rape was

³⁶ Jones highlights that the lack of censorship of *Deadgirl* (2010) suggests that zombie torture porn is acceptable unlike other torture porn movies such as *Serbian Film* (2010), *I Spit on Your Grave* (2010), *The Human Centipede II* (2011) and *The Bunny Game* (2010), which have all been censored in the UK because of their graphic depiction of sexual violence..

represented as a decision the group of adolescent men took to “man up”. Jones explains that the teenage boys positively reinforced their own masculinity by declaring, “you’re the man Johnny” while Johnny raped the zombie girl (p. 534). Jones finds that the film mobilized zombiedom to make the explicit rendering of women as passive “fuck holes” and sexual resources for men culturally acceptable (2008, p. 527). Jones relies on Messerschmidt’s (2000) study of adolescent male sexual perpetrators to argue that the teenage boys in this film were motivated to rape from social pressures associated with masculinity. According to Jones, manhood and becoming masculine to the teenage boys in the film *Deadgirl* was about performing patriarchal domination and sexual violence in order to prove that they would rather be real men who dominate women than boys who seek love and companionship³⁷. It is not surprising that violent masculinities are not typically mentioned in news reporting if this type of gendered sexual violence is a normal part of being a man. For instance, if men are expected to be sexual brutes it makes logical sense that the news stories following the Skype sex scandal would represent the sexual objectification of female cadets as an expected behaviour of young boys, whose sexual aggression towards women was a natural reality women must diligently avoid.

Jones’ (2013) work focuses primarily on the acceptance of gender violence in popular culture and news reporting. The work of Jiwani (2006) focuses on the naturalization of gendered and racialized violence together in order to provide a more intersectional understanding of gendered violence. Jiwani (2006) explores discursive silences in the news media and argues that news frames often perpetuate the status quo denial of gendered and racialized violence. Jiwani’s book

³⁷ At the end of the film the boys capture a female classmate (who Rickie unsuccessfully asked out on a date), bring her to the basement and turn her into a new deadgirl; a fresh body they can use as a sexual object. Although the actions of the boys are callous and depraved, the teens are represented in the movie as “everyday boys” with normal sexual desires that “should have been [theirs] a long time ago” (p. 533). This movie demonstrates how the gendered violence performed by white adolescent men is not named as a problem, but accepted as a natural feature of biological bodies where gendered violence is considered human nature and reflects the natural order of men over women.

Discourses of Denial: Mediations of Race, Gender, and Violence looks at how discourses of denial found in the Canadian media to trivialize or dismiss racism and gender violence. Her discursive analysis of silences in domestic violence news coverage in Canada explores two cases, the 1995 Vernon Massacre and the 1995 Sharon Velisek story. Both cases of domestic violence occur in the British Columbia city of Vernon³⁸. Jiawani highlights how in the Vernon Massacre news coverage the main focus of the narratives was on the family's ethnicity, religious background and immigrant origins. This placed culturalized interpretations of the tragedies and ignored the global epidemic of domestic/patriarchal violence. By contrast, in the Sharon Velisek narrative cultural background, ethnic and religious affiliations were never mentioned as news frames. This helped to individualize blame and frame the story as an anomaly based on the twisted psychology of the perpetrator Larry Scott. Jiawani's analysis of the coverage surrounding these two news stories demonstrates how whiteness and violent patriarchal masculinities are naturalized by the Canadian mainstream media allowing for discursive frames of denial relating to gendered violence. She argues that both cases illustrate the media's tendency to pathologize racialized communities and male abusers, helping to produce a discourse of denial related to gendered violence and patterns of racial domination (2006, p. 91). News discourses in the Williams, Graner and McDonald cases follow along the same trajectory as the

³⁸ Domestic violence is a universal phenomenon yet in Canadian news it is seen as the by-product of traditional cultural values of immigrants as opposed to Canada's modern Anglo-Saxon values based on patriarchy. Jiawani (2006) compare the news coverage of two cases of domestic violence to see how culture and race were deployed or blamed for domestic violence. The first case (the Vernon Massacre) involved an East Indian Sikh family. The second case involved an Anglo-Saxon couple (Sharon Velisek and Larry Scott) whose religious beliefs were not discussed. The Vernon Massacre involved Mark Chahal's executing a murder-suicide where he shot and killed his estranged wife and eight members of her family. This tragedy led to national news coverage that questioned the link between culture, ethnicity, religion and domestic violence. Unlike Rajwar Gakhal in the Vernon Massacre, Sharon Valisek was a rare survivor of her ex-partner's murder-suicide plans. Larry Scott thought his close range gun shots killed Sharon so he turned the gun on himself. Jiawani (2006) explain that the 1995 Sharon Velisek story of domestic/patriarchal violence was much like Rajwar Gakhal's experience (in the Vernon Massacre) in that both women were mothers who went to the police numerous times about the menacing behavior of their ex husbands. Despite calls to police little was done. Both men were given legal access to the guns they ultimately used in their murder-suicide plans despite repeated complaints and warning to authorities about their threatening behaviors.

Larry Scott case. Race, culture and masculinities are silent in representations, while the gendered nature of the violence is silenced or spoken of in individualized ways. Within these discourses the systemic problem of gendered violence inside the military and around the world is hidden and the racialized pedagogies of militarization remain sheltered from critique.

Jiwani explains:

These news accounts demonstrate how the media works to degender gendered violence by decontextualizing it and personalizing it (Berns, 2000). By culturalizing the focus in the first instance, the media in effect equate gendered violence with a cultural pattern of behaviour, implying that Indian cultural traditions of the Gakhal and Saran Families are responsible for the gendered violence committed against Rajwar Gakhal and her family. In the Velisek case, gendered violence is degendered by the focus on Larry Scott's psychopathology rather than contextualizing his behaviour within an analysis of the systemic and structural patterns of gendered violence (p. 100).

Jiwani's analysis does not push through the pathologization of mental illness in sexual violence news coverage like I do in Chapter 6. However the general tenants of Jiwani's discursive analysis of silences (or denial) in Canadian news coverage aids the analysis in the three theme chapters of this thesis that explore how the media's representation of military men obscures patterns of violent white militarized masculinities.

Jiwani (2006) also analyzes the murder of fourteen year old Reena Virk from Victoria, British Columbia and the discourses of denial surrounding the racist violence³⁹. The Reena Virk case triggered a discourse related to girl-on-girl violence, which focused on how girls are not immune to committing acts of violence and are just as dangerous as boys (p. 70). This was unlike other cases of violence that never mention the gender of perpetrators. Jiwani (2006) points out that "issues such as racism, sexism, the pressure to assimilate and the social construction of Reena

³⁹ Classmates accused Reena of stealing one of their boyfriends and spreading rumors. Reena was initially beaten by a group of seven girls and one boy. While attempting to flee, she was followed by Warren Glowatski and Kelly Ellard who continued to viciously beat her until she became unconscious. They then drowned her.

Virk as an outcast were rarely addressed” in news narratives (2006, p. 68)⁴⁰. In Jiwani’s reading for silences around issues of race and gender against the dominant Reena Virk narrative she questions why the targeted racist and sexist nature of the violence was erased in news narratives, despite courtroom evidence which suggested that race did in fact play a role in the attack. She concludes that racism and sexism were suppressed in the narrative because Canadian society has a very limited understanding of what racist violence includes. She explains “ the murder of Reena Virk...needs to be located within...a context governed by structural forms of violence and dominance as in the power of whiteness, the coercive pressures of assimilation, and the rejection from and marginalization by dominant others” (p. 68). Like Jiwani’s work that revealed the silences in the Reena Virk news narrative, my analysis of representations of Charles Graner explores how his racist violence is individualized and silently disconnected from racialized ideologies of militarism as well as racist imperial structures of U.S. occupation and incarceration in which he was located.

Blame, Madness and Criminality in Sexual Violence

Able bodies are almost always imagined as the natural way of existing in the world, in the same way that whiteness and hegemonic masculinities are centred and naturalized in the media. In this section I explore how the media is silent about the able-bodied identity of people, while people with mental illness (or perceived mental illness) are frequently named in the reporting of criminal cases. Understanding how sexual violence gets blamed on madness is important to my ableism theme chapter where I explore how the violence of Graner and Williams got to be

⁴⁰ Jiwani (2006) explains that because Canadian society does not see how beauty standards are racialized structures, the racialized assumption regarding the validity of normative standards of beauty and appearance is not questioned..

understood as the result of madness. In order to better understand how this works, I will examine the research of Harper (2011), Greer (2003) and Clark (1992) in this section.

In Harper's book *Madness, Power and the Media: Class, Gender, Race in Popular Representations of Mental Distress*, he shows through various examples how madness in particular has and continues to have a popular appeal as a visual spectacle (2009, p. 59). Relying on Foucault, Harper reminds us that 'up until the nineteenth century, mentally distressed people were considered and represented as 'monsters'' in popular discourse (2009, p. 59). Disability scholars relying on statistical studies aggressively argue against links between disability, madness and criminality (Harper, 2011). The news media, however, continues to sustain inaccurate and sensationalised representations, distancing 'us' (normal bodies) from 'them' (unnatural, deviant and unpredictable monster/fiend bodies). Harper's analysis of how madness gets linked to violence and criminality will play a central role in my analysis of the Colonel Williams story. In Chapter 6 I will explore how Williams' violence was explained via ableist ideas that understand people with mental illness as dangerous and different from the mentally sound personnel of the military, who are positioned as civilized.

In his 2003 book *Sex Crime and the Media: Sex Offending and the Press in a Divided Society* Chris Greer highlights how sensationalist and reductionist language in the construction of sex crime narratives can be used to generate inaccurate and misleading stereotypes of offenders. Greer's work is important to my thesis because I am concerned with how the media frames military men involved in "sex crimes". Greer's work reminds us that although "sex offenders cannot be easily identified and picked out of a crowd... media portrayals often imply that child sex offenders [or other offenders] are or should be somehow identifiably different" (p. 128). Greer's (2003) analyses the way the terms "sicko", "monster", "beast", "fiend", and "evil sex

beast” are used to characterize offenders as outcasts, rather than friends, relatives and members of the community (pp. 136-138). Greer argues that this naming works to reinforce the ideology that “ordinary men” or legitimate citizens of the nation do not commit these crimes and if they do it must be understood as an anomaly (Clark, 1992, p. 220). This idea of monster naming is particularly relevant to Chapter 6 where I analyse how perpetrators like Colonel Williams were consistently distanced from the military and represented in headlines and main text stories as a mentally deranged monster.

In Kate Clark’s (1992) chapter “The linguistics of blame: Representations of women in The Sun’s reporting of crimes of sexual violence” she looks at how language is used to convey blame. Clark discusses how headlines lessen the awareness of a man’s guilt by making him invisible or by blaming someone else. For instance, “Girl 7 Murdered while Mum Drank at the Pub” (1992, p. 213). In this example the murder clause is passive and the murderer is made invisible. Clark also describes how headlines often frame women as responsible for the actions of their husbands or boyfriends. Clark gives the examples “Hubby Kicked no-Sex wife out of bed” and “Sex-starved Squaddie strangled Blond, 16” to show how the naming of the victim, attacker and circumstance is important (1992, p. 218) and I would argue demonstrate society’s misogynistic perspective.

Clark also discusses the use of fiend naming like “Crazed wife Killer” (1992, p. 219) and “Fiend Strangles only Child”. She uses the linguistic tools of naming and transitivity to analyse in part how news headlines posit blame on the sensationalized bodies of “evil”, “alien”, “monstrous” “fiends” instead of a human community member. Clark explains:

Fiend naming suggests that the attacker is so evil and so alien that he is utterly outside human kind and society. This is in effect an excuse for his crime because a fiend or a monster or a beast cannot be held responsible for his actions. By implying that these men are extra societal, this naming also excuses our society which produces them. By creating a false

dichotomy between fiend and non fiends, *The Sun* blurs the wider continuum of male violence against females (Clark, 1992, p.224).

Clark finds monster naming rarely exists in news reporting when husbands are responsible for violence. Clark argues that men are presented as anomalies in instances involving violent husbands because it is difficult to frame them as monstrous because their position is justified by the social institutions of marriage (1992, p. 220). In many cases Clark suggests that these married men are actually represented as suffering themselves with excuses like “debt-ridden”, “tormented” or “spurned” built into the representation (1992, p. 220). In her cases she found that representing perpetrators as members of the community who are suffering themselves typically shifts blame to wives and victims who are represented as the cause of their husband’s suffering (1992, p. 220). This victim blaming allows the ideology that normal and respectable men do not beat, rape or kill their wives or women, to remain uncontested, confirming popular narratives of ‘stranger danger’ and ‘Jack the Ripper’ (Warkentin, 2010). As discussed at greater length in Chapter 2, Clark’s work is relevant to my own analysis of representations of Charles Graner, which explores the significance of his dominant representation as a divorced and classless monster whose rage and violence issues did not allow him to keep a wife or job in good standing. Likewise in the Williams narrative, I argue in Chapter 6 that stories that referenced his perfect marriage and class success worked to frame him as a non-traditional Jekyll and Hyde monster that was normal by day but was a cross-dressing fetishist monster by night. In both cases, monster naming worked to frame these men and their violence as individual exceptions and not representative of idealized military personnel, whose participation in military occupations are presented as civilized and honourable performances of citizenship.

Deconstructing the Intersections of Militarization and Militarized Masculinities

In conclusion, this chapter laid the theoretical foundation for this dissertation and explored a great deal of interdisciplinary literature to better understand a variety of key concepts that are central to this dissertation. I began by briefly discussing my constructivist perspective on gender and exploring a wide range of literature on masculinities, starting with the evolution of the concept hegemonic masculinity and how recent reformulations have begun to appreciate its plurality and intersectionality. Of particular importance, I explained how hegemony is not about dominance or prevalence but about the sustaining of unequal relations of gender, race, class, ability and sexuality.

Next, I unpacked a variety of literature on militarization and explained that while militarization has been traditionally understood as a state's preparations for war, the ground breaking work of Cynthia Enloe helps us understand how militarization is actually a socio-political process that reinforces hierarchies of race, class, gender and sexuality (Lutz 2002 cited in Alderman, 2003, p. 1122). In order to better understand the normalization of militarized pedagogies and how militarized presumptions have become the prism through which we understand international politics I explored the work of Beier (2011) and Turenne Sjolander (2011). Their works helps us better understand how militarized violence is not only insulated from critique but also actively celebrated. My project extends this work and finds that an insulated understanding of militarization allows for the proliferation of discourses of national excellence, where military medals symbolize both individual and national merit. I then looked at the work of Lee (2008) and Shigmatsu and Camacho (2010) to explain how militarization is productive in and reflective of a dehumanizing racialized system that continues to justify neocolonial atrocities where people of colour are imagined as different, threatening or

expendable (Lee 2008, p. 58). Finally, I discussed how militarization produces and reproduces both gender and race via the work of Enloe (1993, 2000) and Mama (2013). By unpacking how militarization is a material and discursive phenomenon we can better understand and contextualize the meanings of militarized masculinities.

Next, I mapped the literature on militarized masculinity/ies, looking at how race, sexual violence and ability are at the core of how militarized masculinities are constructed. I then explained how the literature was disjointed in its descriptions of militarized masculinity/ies and often carelessly conflated men with masculinities. I also discussed how a greater engagement with critical disability studies literature would help contextualize and complement the existing literature that overlooks the significance of ableist scripts of militarized masculinities. Finally, I looked at feminist communications scholarship and the ways violent masculinities are naturalized in the news at the same time that gendered violence and racist violence are denied or blamed on deviancy or madness, as opposed to violent societal structures. The International Relations feminist literature on militarized masculinity/ies and the feminist communications scholarship on representations of violence contribute important insights that influenced my dissertation's four theme chapters related to trophy collecting, racist imperial violence, sexual violence and ableism, as well as my argument that these four intersecting axes are components of militarized masculinities.

Chapter 2: News Representations, Silences, Case Studies and a Thematic Critical Discourse Analysis

Before moving into my theme chapters, it is important to discuss my methodological choices related to critical discourses analysis, representations of violence, and reading for silences. This critical research project is based on three empirical data samples from three national case studies, looking specifically at news representations of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries. While a great deal of empirical research relies on statistical or numerical data, discourses, documents and practices are also examples of empirical material (Neal, 2013). Overall, empirical researchers rely on their “observations and experiments” to make “truth” claims about the world we live in. Empiricism is based on an epistemology that “offers rules on how to move from the evidence of our senses, and private experiences, to general and certain knowledge of what is really there” (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2008, p. 12). My epistemology and approach to critical security scholarship is inspired by Neal’s (2013) chapter “Empiricism without positivism: King Lear and critical security studies”. In this chapter Neal argues that there is “no view from nowhere”, that “we can never free ourselves from the assumptions, lenses, or dispositions that shape our view of the world” and that “the empirical world does not speak directly to us or reveal a legible face” (Foucault, 1981, p. 67 quoted in Neal, 2013, p.123). Critical security scholars should nevertheless seek to “describe rich empirical landscapes, unseen practices, and diverse knowledge systems...in an effort to make sense of things that are strange or that do not fit neatly into existing theoretical explanations” (p.123). Neal is suggesting in this passage and chapter that critical scholars ought to “take our theory hats off”, that there can be empiricism without positivism where we “elevate the empirical above the theoretical” (p. 123)⁴¹.

⁴¹ According to Neal (2013), “in contrast to empiricism, positivism is the positive creation of laws, models, concepts, and most importantly theories for the explanation and sometimes the testing of date...”(p. 120).

In my project, I am not seeking a singular truth and do not assume that researchers can embody a neutral or objective position. Rather researchers are inextricably influenced by their identities, experiences and relationships to power (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Since I have never been in the military, my research does not assume to provide insider knowledge into the culture, training or everyday life of being in the military. However my perspective is critical to understanding militarization as a violent system and does provide important outsider insight into the myths and systems of militarized masculinities. In Ramazanoglu and Holland's book *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices* (2002), they discuss how it is important to think reflexively about the power relations in research projects as well as the impact researcher's world view and standpoint might have on their respective research projects. They argue that knowledge and the knower are socially constituted and situated and that there is a need to identify and deconstruct the power relations that shape knowledge production (2002, pp. 74, 155). As such, I will briefly reflect on my conscious assumptions and positions of privilege that have influenced the research process of this project. My embodiment of whiteness has put me in a position of privilege and power in Canada where it is commonplace to deny racism, "racing to innocence" (focusing on your own forms of oppression while disregarding others) and to overlook the material violence of discursive silences around structures of racist imperial violence. I position myself as a critical feminist scholar who presumes that oppressions are multiple and intertwined alongside social hierarchies of difference based on race, gender, disability, class, and sexuality. I am equally dedicated to dismantling the structures and practices of racism and imperialism as I am with taking down the institutions and discourses of homophobia, misogyny, sexual violence and ableism that I have materially experienced (Fellows

According to Tuhiwai Smith (1999) "positivism takes a position that applies view about how the natural world can be examined and understood to the social world of human beings and human societies" (p. 42).

and Razack, 1998). We cannot fully understand racism without an analysis of militarism, militarized violence, imperial violence and colonization. We cannot speak against patriarchy, misogyny and gendered violence without also thinking about how racism, homophobia, ableism, and hegemonic gender practices might help legitimize, facilitate and reinforce patriarchal views and actions. Oppressions need to be talked about together, understood as interlocking and of equal importance because “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (Lorde, 1984).

While many empiricist researchers make positivist claims, my empirical research project moves “beyond positivism” and realist thinking that views states as the most important actors and discourse analysis as existing outside of real world research questions (Turenne Sjolander and Cox, 1997). Mainstream methodologies in international politics tend to wrongly discount discursive analysis of texts as existing outside of real world research and events. Like Hansen (2006) and Multu and Salter (2013), I maintain that discourse analysis does not ignore “material facts” but studies how these realities are “produced”, “prioritized” and embedded in social practices. Analysing news narratives can reveal particular gendered scripts, and as such is an appropriate research methodology. My research methodology will principally employ methodological tools of critical discourse analysis to unpack the meanings and constructions of militarized masculinities.

In my research project, I employ qualitative research methodologies embraced by post-structuralist thinking and some of the methods of critical discourse analysis. Like Hansen (2006), I believe that international politics “do not take place in abstract disembodied neorealist space, but through the mobilization of particular cultural, racial and political identities (Shapiro,

1988, Hansen, 2006). Research that analyses political discourse can be significant and engaged in an analysis of politics and power. Hansen (2006) submits that:

Post structuralism has strengths and weaknesses, as do all theoretical approaches. No theory can pursue all relevant research questions simultaneously-but it can be drawn upon to show not only that identities matter for foreign policy [or feminist international relations in this case] but also to how they can be studied systematically through the adoption of a theory of discourse (p. 4).

All theoretical perspectives and methodologies have their strengths and weaknesses. What is important is that a researcher selects a methodology that is appropriate in answering their particular research questions. Reading and unpacking the ideologies and meanings created through discourse is a way of exploring social representations and identities. This is relevant to my project interested in studying representations. My research builds on the work of qualitative discourse analysis in international relations explored by Ackerly, Stern and True (2006) and Hansen (2006) by analysing the news representations of Colonel Williams, Charles Graner and cadet McDonald through an intersectional and post-colonial feminist lens. Hall (2001, p. 45) suggests subjects like masculinities, militarism, deviance and sexuality only exist meaningfully within the discourses about them. News is a prominent public space for social discourse that has helped to shape public dialogue and opinion for decades. Due to the significance of news as a discursive text, I will use the news as my primary text of analysis. Throughout this chapter I explore how a thematic analysis of news texts and headlines is an ideal method to better conceptualize militarized masculinities.

The Media and Discourse

In Stuart Hall's book *Representation* he explains how meaning is created by language (1997, p. 15). If we see an object we process the visual information and represent that image/form (the signifier) via a linguistic concept (the signified) and re-express knowledge and

meaning of the object via a sign/language. Put simply, we form concepts for things we perceive (1997, p.17). Hall explains that these concepts are arranged into different classifying systems such as distinctions, sequences, causality, etc. (1997, p. 18). So, we understand lamps as similar to candles in that they are both objects used to emit light, but different in that one requires electricity and the other fire. We use this classifying system to understand things, people and events, by classifying concepts into groups. It is important to remember that meaning depends on our conceptual map that allows us to establish representations of things, people and events via their relationship to other things in the world (1997, p. 22). While many individuals have different conceptual maps that allow them to have their own distinct perspective on people, events and things, the fact that we communicate with one another demonstrates in part how we share conceptual systems and signs (language) with others. Commonalities in conceptual maps allow us to similarly represent and understand concepts and their relationship with other concepts, which in turn allow us to produce and reproduce a system of meaning in a given society and culture.

The work of Michel Foucault (1978) broadens and departs from the semiotic approach of representations to focus not so specifically on language and meaning but on discourse and knowledge. Foucault positions discourse as a broad system of representations and a way of talking about and coming to know a particular thing, person or event. Foucault defines discourse as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about [and] a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment”. Put simply, discourse is about “the production of knowledge through languages” (Hall, 1997, p.44). For Foucault discourse produces how we understand, conceptualize and talk about an event, subject or thing. Our task is “no longer treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to

contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects which they speak” (1972, p. 49; cited in Mutlu and Salter, 2013, p. 264). Overall, Mutlu and Salter (2013) explain that discourse analysis is a method to analyse “spoken, sign based, or any other significant semiotic markers that provide meaning to the social world surrounding us” (2013, p. 263). A key assumption of discourse analysis pointed out by Mutlu and Salter (2013) is that it assumes that “language is constitutive of the social world surrounding us” (p. 275). In this thesis I start from the assumption that news narratives are constitutive of the social world surrounding us and cannot be understood separate from social and political contexts.

With a basic knowledge of culture and representational systems in mind we can begin to understand how “physical things and actions exist, but only take on meaning and become objects of knowledge within discourse...[therefore] it is discourse - not the things in themselves - which produces knowledge” (p. 45). Consequently, events of sexual violence, torture and degradation in the three cases analysed in this thesis existed but were never spoken about as such. Rather, these actions of violence were given meaning and were reflective of pre-existing conceptual relationships and meaning systems. In other words, actions of sexual violence took place but were conceptualized and given meaning within a particular context, discourse and conceptual system that allowed the events to be talked about and understood in a particular way. It is this discursive system of representations (more specifically the media’s role within this system of representing) that I am most interested in examining.

The news media is one of many discursive texts and arenas that reflects and expresses already existing meaning of objects, subjects and events. News stories are publically available and popularly consumed and thus have been described as a “natural data source” for researchers interested in examining discourse and culture (Cotter, 2001, p. 423). The media is

considered a major ideological institution that helps to sustain “the dominant social order - not simply by reflection or expressing an already existing meaning” but by actively constructing reality through its narratives which frame and structure the meanings of actions, events and topics, shaping our thoughts and emotional reactions to events and subjects (Kim, 2008, p. 392). Newspapers and written news media in particular are “convenient repositories” of a large body of this data that provides researchers with a rich evidence base for analysis (Cotter, 2001, p. 423). Feminist scholars have often relied on newspaper discourses to better understand how gendered meaning gets constructed-around events of sexual and racist violence. My research will focus on this large body of discursive data (namely newspapers and transcripts of television and radio reporting) to see how gendered meanings get constructed around events of sexual and imperial violence perpetrated by soldiers and cadets. I will be looking at representations of Canada’s Colonel Williams, the United States’ Specialist Graner, and Australia’s Cadet Daniel McDonald.

With Hall’s insights on the importance of discourse discussed above, we can better appreciate how the actions of Williams, Graner and the Australian cadets exist within a particular discourse that give meaning to them. The news media is one of those discursive arenas and is my main text of study. Feminist communications scholar Kim (2008, p. 392) explains that the mainstream media is a major ideological institution that helps to sustain “the dominant social order—not simply by reflecting or expressing an already existing meaning, but by constructing reality through” what Hall (1980, pp. 63-64 cited in Kim 2008, p. 392) describes as “the active work of selecting and presenting, or structuring and shaping.” Like Kim (2008, p. 392), my analysis seeks to explain what kinds of meanings get systematically constructed in the news media around particular news events, in a specific historical moment. I am interested in what

meanings get constructed around military sex “scandal” cases in this hyper-militarized, macho, post 9/11 historical context.

The Media, Discourse and Gender Constructions

As discussed in Chapter 1, feminists and communications scholars have highlighted how the media is a discursive text that can be relied upon to unpack what gendered meanings get constructed and prioritized (Consalvo, 2003; Turenne Sjolander and Trevenen, 2010).

Just as gender is enacted and constructed by individuals [see Butler and Connell], it is also constructed in media content. In both cases, the constructions are fluid and inconstant, changing over time in response to (and also in challenge to) changing societal mores. Media scholars can analyze how media outlets construct masculinity in a particular time and place, and how these outlets differentiate between various forms of the masculine. (Consalvo, 2003, p. 29)

The above quote highlights three important points. 1) The media as a discursive text helps construct masculinities, 2) Individuals are not solely responsible for the construction, enactment and representation of masculinities, and 3) Analysing the media as a productive gendered text, is a source of knowledge about various forms of masculinities.

Unpacking how militarized masculinities are constructed and represented in the media is ideal for uncovering particularities about the (re)production of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon nations. I sought to discover empirical data that talks about what we imagine militarized masculinities as being and embodying in Canada, the United States and Australia. For instance, how are military personnel represented both explicitly and implicitly in the news? This analysis of representations brings a more nuanced and intersectional understanding to militarized masculinities which is context specific and based on empirical evidence rather than generalized theoretical assumptions about what militarized masculinities means. I am able to show through evidence from discursive texts how militarized masculinities in Canada, the United

States and Australia is constructed alongside similar notions of imperial whiteness, class status, violent heterosexuality and able-bodiedness.

Case Studies

Single and multiple case studies are commonly used in the social sciences, where understanding complex social phenomena is the goal (Yin 2009, p. 4). Choosing to do multiple case studies in particular allows for juxtapositions between cases to be made, facilitating the identification of patterns between the cases. This methodological choice allows me to isolate patterns between news narratives that would be otherwise inaccessible if choosing a methodology that simply describes one single case. Discursive analysis using case studies is a good fit for my topic because the intersectional complexity of militarized masculinities can be unpacked in discursive representations. Moreover, multiple cases allow me to make broader claims about overarching patterns of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon nations. The aim of my project is to produce rich theoretical findings from observed empirical patterns about militarized masculinities that appreciate its fluid, dynamic and ever changing nature, as well as the Western contexts in which it is produced.

In terms of contexts, Canada, the United States and Australia share a number of similarities concerning common histories and identities that make comparisons between them more appropriate than comparison with other nations. They are all rooted in a white Anglo-Saxon tradition with a history of colonialism and they are often referred to in political speeches as sharing common values, ideals and ambitions. In Sherene Razack's (2002) book *Race, Space and the Law* she refers to Canada, the United States and Australia as "white settler societies" founded on violence and racial hierarchies (pp. 1, 5).

There are a number of different news stories that can be selected to analyse militarized masculinities but I chose three military sex scandal cases in three white Anglo-Saxon countries in the past decade. The cases I selected all received a large amount of news coverage at the national and international level and dealt with military personnel. The three selected cases involve stories about military personnel who committed sexual violence against feminized bodies, went to trial for such crimes and were found guilty.

Data Collection and Media as Discursive Text

News narratives from newspaper stories, newswire stories, television and radio transcripts, news journals, online news, blogs and Op-Ed stories are the empirical data used for my thesis. As discussed earlier, the news media is an ideological institution and predominant discursive texts reflect existing meanings and actively construct the reality of objects, subjects and events. My work follows in the tradition of feminist scholarship that relies on newspaper discourses to better understand how gendered meaning gets constructed-around events of sexual and racist violence.

I used Factiva and Eureka, two scholarly databases recommended for international news in English, and French Canadian news respectively to collect a large volume of international newspaper articles, television transcripts and radio transcripts. They are both large databases and Factiva is considered one of the biggest international news databases available⁴². I collected

⁴² An A-Z list of news sources screened for by my databases can be found on the Factiva and Eureka databases respectively. Here is a list of most of the news sources that were relied upon in my study to indicate the depth of news outlets analyzed: The Associated Press, Reuters News, The Australian Associated Press, The Canadian Press, Agence France Presse, The Globe and Mail, The National Post, The Montreal Gazette, The Huffington Post, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Sydney Morning Herald, CNN, ABC News, Winnipeg Free Press, Windsor Star, The Western Mail, Waterloo Region Record, Victoria Times Colonist, Vancouver Sun, Vancouver Province, UPI News Track, Townsville Bulletin, The Toronto Star, Sunday Tribune, Sunday Mercury, Star-News, The Star, St. Petersburg Times, Scottish Daily Record, Saskatoon Star Phoenix, Resource News International, Ottawa Citizen, Regina Leader Post, CTV News, Northern Territory News, New York Post, NBC News, Metro, International Herald Tribune, The Independent, Hobart Mercury, The Hamilton Spectator, Guelph Mercury, The Express on Sunday, Edmonton Journal, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Post, The Daily Mirror, Canwest News Service, The Courier-Mail, Calgary Herald, Birmingham Mail, The Australian, The Advertiser, Al Jazeera, York Daily

over a thousand news stories for each case. In order to get a full range of the news coverage, the databases retrieved news stories from Canada, the United States, Australian and the United Kingdom. I chose to also analyse news coverage from the United Kingdom because it is among the leading English news authorities that closely covered the Charles Graner and Colonel Williams cases. Overall, both databases have access to a wide range of news sources that represent a broad range of political perspectives on both the left and right of the political spectrum. While both databases allowed me to analyse a large volume of news, they both have limitations. Only two hundred and fifty news articles can be accessed at a time in the Eureka database. This meant searches for French Canadian news related to Colonel Williams had to be done in three parts since 536 news sources were retrieved. Moreover, Eureka does not offer filters for duplicate stories. The Factiva database does offer duplicate story detection and similar story detection. Since I was interested in full text stories and news headlines it only made sense to automatically remove stories with identical headlines in Factiva since similar stories can use different linguistic strategies that can be significant in terms of representations.

I analyzed news representations from major newspapers, television networks and radio networks for the Colonel Williams, Charles Graner and Australian cadet cases. While national news coverage accounts for the majority of stories collected, international news coverage was included as well, to allow for a more comprehensive understanding of how representations work

Record, Western Morning News, Western Daily Press, The Western Mail, The West Australian, Washington Post, Houston Chronicle, The Washington Post, U-Wire, USA Today, US Fed News, The Times, Texarkana Gazette, Sunday Tribune, The Sunday Telegraph, Sunday Tasmanian, The Sunday Mirror, Sunday Mail, Sunday Herald, Sunday Business Post, The Sun, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The San Francisco Chronicle, The Record, PR Newswire, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, The Palm Beach Post, The Observer, NPR, Newsweek, New York Daily News, The Newcastle Herald, New Statesman, MX Australia, MSNBC, Mirror, Los Angeles Times, The Liverpool Daily Post, The Journal, The Irish Examiner, The Independent-London, Illawarra Mercury, Herald Sun, The Guardian, The Gold Coast Bulletin, Fox News, Geelong Advertiser, Financial Times, The Express, The Evening Standard, Evening Mail, Dow Jones International News, Evening Gazette, Denver Post, Daily Post, Daily Post, Commercial Appeal, CNBC, The Cincinnati Post, CBS News, Canberra Times, The Boston Globe, Birmingham Post, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, The Australian, Austin American-Statesman, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, The Age, AFX Asia, and The Advertiser.

on the larger scale. This allowed me to identify patterns of difference. All Factiva searches retrieved only English language stories from Canada, the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom. Under Factiva's duplicate filter, the "duplicate" option was selected in an effort to remove only duplicate stories. Under Factiva's filter entitled "source", all sources were selected. Under Factiva's filter "subjects", all subjects were selected. Under Factiva's filter "industry", all industries were selected. For Eureka news stories were filtered for French language stories in Canada. Eureka does not have the same scope of filter options as Factiva so I was only able to filter news by keywords, date range, language and country.

While Factiva and Eureka have large-scale access to news stories, it should be noted that one weakness of both Factiva and Eureka is that neither database had access to the strong majority of photographs that accompanied news stories. For instance, when searching for "all photos" in the Williams case, Factiva only retrieved forty-nine pictures out of over a thousand news stories. Therefore the strong majority of news stories collected via Factiva and Eureka were read without photographs, so an analysis of photographs did not take place. I focused nearly exclusively on the written text of news headlines and full text stories to analyse how we talk and use language to represent militarized masculinities.

The search parameters used to collect the news stories on the Colonel Williams case in English were sex* and ("Colonel Williams" or "Russell Williams")⁴³. In French the search parameters were sexu* and ("Colonel Williams" or "Russell Williams")⁴⁴. Since Williams was often referred to as Colonel Williams or Russell Williams these search parameters were selected.

⁴³ Parentheses or brackets are important connector in Factiva searches. The asterisk is also important to this search as it finds all words with the root of the word being sex. In other words, the asterisk finds articles with words that contain the root word sex, which includes sex, sexuality, sexual.

⁴⁴ Eureka requires root word searches with an asterisk to have four letters. Since the word "sex" is not used in French like it is in English sexu* worked well as a root word. In French the term sexu* was used in order to get stories that talked about Williams' sexual violence, aggression and deviant sexuality (seeking stories with the French words: sexuelle(s)"/"sexualité", "sexuellement", sexuel).

I used the root word sex* with an asterisk to narrow the search to stories that talked specifically about the sexual violence of Colonel Williams because there was an American colonel with the last name Williams who was referenced a great deal in the news during this time period. In English news stories, Williams was popularly known as a sex killer or sex fiend with a perverse sexuality that committed sexual assaults and sex crimes. Therefore, the key word sex* was used in order to pinpoint stories about the Canadian colonel and explore representations that discussed his sexual violence, perversion or fetish more directly. Like in the English search, sexu* allowed me to pinpoint stories about the Canadian Colonel Russell Williams and get all of the news stories that discussed his sexual violence and sexuality. The sample of news stories collected were those published between February 9, 2010 when the story broke to March 25, 2011 following Williams' sentencing and burning of his military clothing. I analysed 2,285 news stories, (1,749 stories in English and 536 stories in French). Using Factiva, 2,455 English news stories were found with 507 identical duplicate stories automatically detected and removed, leaving 1,749 stories (of these 1,749 stories, only 49 were viewed with pictures).

The search parameters for representations of Charles Graner were "Charles Graner" or "Specialist Graner". These search parameters were chosen because they allowed me to retrieve stories that talked about Charles Graner only rather than the Abu Ghraib scandal at large which largely focused on Lynndie England. The sample included news stories published between May 4, 2004 when the story broke to February 1, 2005 following Graner's trial and sentencing. Factiva retrieved 1,523 stories. (No stories were automatically removed when the identical duplicate filter was selected.) In addition to the 1,523 stories analysed there were 35 additional stories with pictures. In total, 1,558 stories were analysed via Factiva.

For representations of McDonald in the ADFA Skype sex scandal I conducted two sets of searches. As the scandal broke I conducted a broad initial search using the search terms “ADFA” and sex*. This first search covered the first two weeks of coverage (April 4 to April 17, 2011) and was initiated to collect news stories about the cadets in the scandal before it was referred to nearly exclusively as the Skype sex scandal. The abbreviation ADFA was chosen as a search term because it was widely used to refer to the academy, its cadets and staff. Like in the Williams case, the search term “sex*” was used to get all words with the root word sex, because the incident was described as a sex scandal featuring sexual misconduct that was the result of ‘frisky’ male sexuality (Maiden, 2011, 17 April). Early news stories often referenced Cadet Daniel McDonald indirectly as one of the cadets involved. Therefore a search for his name would not yield relevant breaking news stories that were central to his representation. The second search used the search parameters "ADFA" and ("Skype sex scandal" or "Skype scandal" or "Daniel McDonald") because I wanted to remain focused on representations of McDonald in the Skype incident rather than the handful of other ADF and ADFA sex scandals that occurred shortly following the Skype scandal. Searching only for stories about Daniel McDonald was not appropriate because Daniel McDonald is a common name. My search needed to find stories that made reference to his affiliation with the ADFA. I wanted to review stories about the ADFA Skype sex scandal, typically referred to as either the “Skype scandal” or “Skype sex scandal” because many stories do not refer to McDonald directly. This second search was conducted from April 18, 2011 to October 31, 2013. News stories and transcripts were collected between April 4, 2011, when Kate first leaked her story to the media, to October 31, 2013, shortly following the guilty court verdict for McDonald and Deblaquiere. My first broad Factiva search retrieved 819 breaking news stories from April 4 - April 17. Of these stories, 103 were identical duplicates and

automatically screened out via Factiva, leaving 716 stories for review. My second search looking for stories focusing on the ADFA Skype sex scandal and Cadet Daniel McDonald retrieved 957 stories, with 191 identical duplicates automatically removed, leaving 766 news stories for review. Therefore, 1,482 news stories were collected and reviewed looking at representations of cadet Daniel McDonald in the Skype sex scandal. No pictures were found in either search on McDonald in ADFA sex scandal via Factiva.

Masculinities, Race, and Madness in Sexual Violence News Media

News is a complex of culture and commodity. It has to be intelligible to make sense, and it has to have an inherent structure of appeal in order to capture a market. Hence, through the selection of stories presented and the manner in which they are communicated, the news draws from and reinforces common sense stock knowledge...Through the deployment of frames, filters and stereotypes, the mass media, and particularly the news media, communicate a constructed social reality...In framing stories, the media utilize persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion which again draw on the stock of common sense knowledge (Jiwani, 2006 p. 38).⁴⁵

In the above quote Jiwani argues that the stories we read in the newspaper or see in the news follow a particular structure that produces and reinforces the status quo in order to be intelligible to the dominant culture. Jiwani argues that newspapers have a certain framework in which stories can be told, based on particular dominant stereotypes and ideologies that communicate, reproduce and participate in the construction of a social reality.

Persistent patterns in mainstream criminal news reporting have been identified through the works of feminist communications scholars like Jiwani (2006), discussed at length in Chapter 1. These insights are important to my research because they highlight the ways Western media participates in a discourse that naturalizes violent masculinities, silences the targeting of gendered and raced bodies, and places blame on deviant or broken bodies. My work, like feminist communications scholars, maintains that within dominant news stories on sexual

⁴⁵ Jiwani's quote relies heavily on Gitlin (1980).

violence, discursive ideologies of misogyny, racism and ableism are common. They work to silence social critiques about how sexual violence is part of a broader societal story where violent militarized masculinities are celebrated, women are devalued, people of colour are dehumanized, and the mentally ill are criminalized. This is illustrated later in this chapter by reading “with” and “against” representations of Colonel Williams, Specialist Graner and Cadet McDonald to pinpoint the dominant framework of the narrative as well as the discursive silences these representations sustain (Neal, 2013). Identifying discursive patterns of silence is an important part of my research method. It is sustained through an analytical lens that contextualizes news representations and is attuned to the systemic denial of violent masculinities, militarization, racial and gender violence, and the pathologization of violence in the media. The following four theme chapters that discuss discursive silences in headlines and full text news stories illustrate the broader meta-narrative of the stories and the meaning of militarized masculinities. In the next section of this Chapter I will discuss my reading of news stories that does not simply seek to find stories that talk about violent militarized masculinities, but reads between the lines for silent discourses where violent masculinities are deployed as a silent norm.

Feminist communications scholars discussed at length in Chapter 1 teach us that we need to pay attention to discursive silences around male violence against women, the systemic nature of sexist and racist violence, along with the ableist naming of criminality. These insights help inform my analytic lens and are important discursive omissions that I was attentive to when reading representations of Colonel Williams, Specialist Graner and cadet McDonald. These feminist communications scholars have set the foundation for the types of dominant discourses I should come to expect in cases involving sexual and racist violence and shed light on what types

of discourses are unspeakable. Unspeakable discourses related to whiteness, violent militarized masculinities and ableism are of particular importance for my research.

The analytical lens that informs my close readings of news stories sees 1) Militarization as a violent, dehumanizing racialized structure (Lee, 2008), that is normalized as civilized, necessary and race-neutral in everyday discourses and news reporting (Beier, 2012, Turenne Sjolander, 2012), 2) Militarized masculinities as gendered ideals of soldiering based on aggression, dominance, excessive violence (Eichler, 2012; Chew, 2008), sexual violence, an aggressive sexuality (Enloe, 1990; Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2009; Whitworth, 2004; Parpart, 2010; Price, 2001; Alison, 2007), ableism (Serlin, 2003; Brown, 2012, Goldstein, 2001), and racism (Whitworth, 2004, p. 161; Shigematu et al, 2008; Eichler, 2012), 3) Trophy collecting as a performance of masculinities in the military and society at large (Teiawa, 2008; Arking and Dobrofski, 1978; Messner, 1992; Burstyn, 1999; Peralta, 2007; Branth and Haugen, 2004), 4) White masculinities as a silenced norm in Western news representations (Jiwani, 2006), 5) That there is a widespread denial of racism and gender violence in Western news reporting (Jiwani, 2006), and 6) That criminality is often blamed in the news on physical bodies rather than social structures and norms (Greer, 2004; Harper, 2011).

Thematic Critical Discourse Analysis: Reading for Ideologies, Assumptions and Silences

Inspired by the feminist analysis of soldier Jessica Lynch conducted by Turenne Sjolander and Trevenen (2010), my work conducts a critical analysis of discourse that “deliberately focuses on the story” of these individual men in order to “highlight the discourses being constructed” (p. 160). The Turenne Sjolander and Trevenen (2010) study resembles my research project in that both are less interested in discovering an ‘objective truth’ and are more concerned with how the media framed events to make the story comprehensible to the public (p. 160). I am interested in

how the media conveys the meanings of militarized masculinities and explore those meanings through a close contextualized reading of news stories, paying particular attention to discursive silences, themes and representational strategies used to shape our understanding of militarized masculinities.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) emerged in the late 1980s and was popularized by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992), Ruth Wodak (1989, 1996), Teun van Dijk (1985, 1993, 1997), and others such as Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000, p. 447). Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) argue that the critical turn in discourse analysis and the study of language is “by no means restricted to any single approach but represents a more general process” (p. 447). Critical discourse analysis departed “from the more descriptive goals of linguistics and discourse analysis, where the focus has been more on describing and detailing linguistic features than about why and how these feature are produce and what possible ideological goals they might serve” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 5). Discourse is understood as socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned by CDA scholars (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000, p. 448). Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that the term “critical” in critical discourse analysis means “denaturalizing the language to reveal the kinds of ideas, absences and taken for granted assumptions in texts” (p. 5). Scholars like Fairclough (1989, p. 5) found that connections between language, power and ideology that are hidden from people could be revealed through the analysis of linguistic elements (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 5). The purpose of CDA is to analyse “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language”, according to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000, p. 448) quoting the work of Wodak (1995, p. 204). Overall, critical discourse analysis of texts is about exploring their “power to shape situations,

objects of knowledge, and social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people” (Fairclough and Wodack, 1997, p. 258; Anais, 2013, p. 434).

A thematic analysis is a specific type of discourse analysis that seeks to identify and analyse patterns within discursive data. It is described as a “process for encoding qualitative information” (Boyatzis, 1998, p.4) that sorts discursive meanings, topics and themes into categories. Van Dijk (1988) explains that a theme is what discourses are about, globally speaking (1988, p. 30) and is related to large stretches of talk or text (van Dijk, 1985, p.76). So, a thematic analysis explores the overarching themes and structures of discourses. By thematic discourse analysis I refer to a process that seeks to identify a set of organizing principles and themes through which an overarching narrative is proliferated and understood. A thematic analysis is a way of making sense of discourses. My research revolves around trying to better understand discursive patterns and omissions related to militarized masculinities.

Van Dijk (1988) emphasizes that discursive themes ought to be reflective of global meaning across various texts and that analysts should focus on discursive schemata or superstructures rather than isolated sentences (p. 26). However, in order to understand what texts are generally about we often need complex social and political knowledge of discursive scripts and structures (van Dijk, 1985, p.77). Van Dijk (1985) explains that news audiences and analysts are able with subjective and social variation, to say what the topic of a discourse is about (p.74). Therefore, the identification of themes or topics in discourse may be subjective and have variance (van Dijk, 1988, p.33) as “knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and ideologies may operate in the cognitive construction and representation of macrostructures or broad thematic structures” (van Dijk 1985, p.74). Headlines have a very specific thematic function, usually expressing the most important topics or themes (van Dijk, 1985, p. 69). Teo (2000, p. 14) explains that headlines and leads are

a form of macro-structure that helps readers identify topics and themes. My reading for discursive themes paid particular attention to news headlines and leads, however I relied on both headlines and full text stories to identify discursive themes.

Themes derived from a thematic analysis can be identified at the manifest or latent level and generated either inductively or deductively (Boyatzis, 1998, p.4) Theme identified on the manifest level can usually be directly observable in the information. Themes identified on the latent level highlight topics that are present but not visible, exploring what is underlying the phenomenon. Themes can be generated inductively from the raw information and/or deductively from theory and prior research. For my research, themes are identified at both levels, but mostly at the latent level, generated deductively from feminist theory and literature discussed at length in Chapter one. For instance, the theme of racist imperial violence is present in representations of Charles Graner but it was not explicit. It was generated deductively from the literature on militarized masculinity/ies and racist violence discussed in the last chapter. The themes that I identified through a thematic analysis of news discourses are discussed extensively in my four theme chapters. Each chapter focuses on a dominant theme in the news representations, divided by sub-themes. For instance, the theme of sexual violence was a discursive theme that I identified at the manifest and latent level. Within this chapter I identified two more themes at the manifest and latent level with help from the feminist literature on militarized masculinity/ies and sexual violence. These themes were 1) Gender, Sexuality and Difference, and 2) Bonding and Loyalty. The close reading method in which these themes were generated will be discussed at greater length in the following subsection.

I also used critical discourse approaches presented by Machin and Mayr (2012), Schroeter (2013) and Consalvo (2003) in order to thoroughly unpack ruptures, silences and breaks in the

discourse. In this thesis I focus on the breaks, silences and disruptions in discourses, rather than a “quest for the pure originary moment of origin of a particular discourse” (Mutlu and Salter 2013, 42-42). My analysis of news discourses is “a genre of critique....showing that things are not as obvious as people believe, making it so that what is taken for granted is not longer taken for granted” (Mutlu and Salter, 2013, p. 44). In other words, just because a news story fail to talk about masculinities or race does not mean the story fails to teach us about societal understandings of masculinities or race. I am interested in how “a set of discursive and non-discursive practices come into being and interact to form a set of political, economic, moral, cultural, and social institutions which define the limits of acceptable speaking, knowing and acting” (Anais 2013, p. 434).

Melani Schroter (2013) explores the analysis of discursive silences and explains that because discursive silences are, in a sense, non-occurrences without an overt linguistic form they are difficult to observe and there are methodological challenges related to how to identify something that is absent. She explains that silences are present in discourses like shadows and can be traced by analysing the given data in its context (p.44). Schroter (2013) explains that the meaning and interpretation of silence is context dependent. While Schroter’s work emphasizes intention, expectation and relevance⁴⁶, I am more concerned with the implicit effects of silences based on my post-structuralist approach.

I am interested in investigating underlying silences and the limits of acceptable speaking. I do not simply focus on explicit news messages, topics or themes, but also implicit patterns of representations and silences that shadow the discourse. I explore what de-constructing and contextualizing these shadows behind the news stories reveals about militarized masculinities.

⁴⁶ For Schroter (2013) perceptions of silence draw on expectations of speech and that the interpretation of silence draw on possible intentions underlying silence as well as the relevance of the topic (p.70).

By making sense of the context behind the discourses, I analyze news stories that described or remained silent about the systemic nature of militarized misogyny, racism and ableism. I argue that the silencing of the violent structures underlying militarization is contextualized by a pervasive militarized pedagogy of denial. My analysis traces what is unspeakable about militarization and gender norms in the military, and explores what these shadows teach us about militarized masculinities as a plural principle through which our militarized culture is organized. Reading discourses from my critical feminist perspective supported by the feminist literature explored in chapter one, helps me contextualize representations and unpack implicit patterns of representations and silences that construct overarching discourses of militarized masculinities. Because my thesis focuses on interrogating what disappears and what stays in discourses, my close reading investigates lexical choices, strategies of persuasion, rhetorical tropes, naming practices and transitivity (Machin and Mayr, 2012). My thesis uses critical discourse analysis, specifically the methods described by Machin and Mayr (2012) who outline a variety of different linguistic strategies related to reading for silences. Machin and Mayr's (2012) specific methods will be described in the later part of this section that further explains my close reading.

Close Reading and Identification of Themes

My thematic analysis was done through a close reading of full text news stories and headlines. The first reading was passive in order to acquaint myself with the discursive constructions. I refer to this as reading along or reading with the text (Anais 2013, p. 438). This first reading pays attention to how the text is organized, how the language is deployed and its face value meaning. The second, close reading involved an active resistance to the forces in a text that serve to captivate audiences. This second, close reading takes a critical stance towards discursive claims and looks for discursive silences investigating what these moments reveal

about themes of militarized masculinities. In the second reading news stories were read through an analytical prism that contextualizes representations and interrogates abstractions, assumptions, linguistic structures and choices that help “connote a set of ideas and values”. Theses may not be “overtly articulated” but function to define the nature of the people and events, obscuring more systemic stories and systems at play (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p 103). Reading for silences is to read for the wider historical discourse and identify structures which suppress voices and ideas that have been forgotten (Anais, 2013b, p. 133).

I read the news narratives of the three cases through an intersectional feminist lens heavily influenced by post-colonial feminist thinking and scholars discussed at length in Chapter one. This perspective is attentive to how gender, race, ableism, and imperialism intersect with one another and filters the themes that are pulled from the narratives. Like the feminist communications scholars discussed in Chapter 1, my close readings paid particular attention to how violent masculinities are a silent norm (Katz, 1999; Consaval, 2003; Kronsell, 2006; Meyer, 2010), how violence is presented as race and gender neutral (Jones 2013; Jiwani 2011; Meyer 2010;), and how fiend naming plays a pivotal role in naturalizing violence and distancing perpetrators from societal norms (Clark 1992; Greer 2003; Harper 2011).

In order to read for silences I started with a handful of basic questions inspired by Schroeter (2013) and Consalvo (2003). Schroeter’s (2013) discussion on reading for silences places emphasis on understanding the context where representations operate. Consalvo’s discourse analysis pays close attention to how white masculinity is removed from discourses on school shootings. My close reading asked questions to unpack the underlying context in order to explore which discourses were silenced. These are the guiding questions I asked during my close readings of headlines and full text news stories.

- 1) What are the broader contexts surrounding representations of Williams, Graner and McDonald?
- 2) Do representations of Williams, Graner and McDonald fit into the scene set by feminist scholars of militarized masculinity/ies?
- 3) Guided by my analytical lens, what are some examples of speech that I expect or hope for in representations but do not find explicit in news reporting?
- 4) What explanations or factors are erased or concealed within the news stories and headlines?
- 5) How are social status, military status, class and embodiments deployed in representations of military men? To what end?
- 6) To what extent are race, madness, sexuality, gender and class deployed or silenced in explanations of their violence?

Overall, these questions helped guide my analysis and identification of themes. Because perceptions of discursive silences can be traced through analysing representation in context, it is important to be explicit with how my reading questions relied on my analytical lens.

My close reading of full text stories and headlines focused on how representations functioned to connote, suppress and conceal meaning. This was inspired by CDA linguistics techniques of analysis related to unpacking lexical choices, strategies of persuasion, rhetorical tropes, naming practices and transitivity. Structural oppositions is one of the central semiotic choices I explore because words are “part of a network of meanings”(Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 39). Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that structural oppositions are opposing concepts such as good and bad, or young and old. While only one of these concepts may be mentioned in representations, they

imply differences from qualities of its opposites and can bring with it association from its related clusters of concepts (p. 39). Machin and Mayr (2012) give an example of how if a participant in the news is named as an “extremist” we can understand such a person to act in the opposite manner expected of a “citizen” (p. 39-40). Van Dijk (1997) refers to more overt forms of structural oppositions as ideological squaring, when oppositions are more overtly included in a text either explicitly or implied through the structuring of concepts (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 40). For instance, when the news aligns us alongside or against people, or uses referential choices to create opposites, this can be thought of as ideological squaring. This does not mean that participants are labeled good or bad, but rather that this is implied through the structuring of concepts (p. 40). In texts we do not need to be told why events took place or presented with an explicit evaluation of participants, because evaluation takes place through oppositions. My research explores the structural oppositions and/or ideological squaring that takes places between bad apples and good soldiers. I am interested in how this binary made events and issues appear simplified, while obscuring and silencing how both of these concepts are part of a broader system of militarized masculinities based on dehumanization, excessive violence, misogyny, racism and sexual violence.

I pay particular attention to naming or more specifically to patterns in referential strategies because I am exploring representations of military personnel. The way people are named is important because classifications have ideological effects that can help define the nature of the crime, guilt and consequences to the reader (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 79). There is no neutral way to represent a person and all choices draw attention towards or away from certain aspects of identity (p. 77). Certain classifications will be associated with certain kinds of discourses and can “have the effect of connoting sets of ideas, values and sequences of activity that are not

necessarily overtly articulated” (p. 77). In CDA these semiotic choices are referred to as representational or referential strategies (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2003, p 145; Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 77, 79). Van Leeuwen (1996) established an inventory of how people can be classified and the types of ideological effects these classifications can have (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 79). The classifications of individualization and collectivization considers how participants are described as individuals or as part of a collective (p. 80) and is of particular value for my research. This classification can have an effect on how participants are humanized and the degree of empathy we are supposed to feel. For instance, in the Graner case, prisoner are rarely named so we do not feel close to them and feel less empathy than we might if they are classified by their actual names. Nomination and functionalization are other important classifications for my thesis. These classifications are where participants are classified in terms of who they are or functionalized by what they do (p. 81). This classification strategy can function to connote legitimacy. For example, in the Graner case, Graner was represented in an individual and personal way, which worked to perpetuate the binary between bad apples and good soldiers. More respect might have been given to Graner’s claims that he was just following orders had honourifics related to his military title been more widely used to represent him. My research also pays attention to naming specification versus generalization. This classification can give newspapers a specific slant. For instance, in the ADFA case, cadets were mostly referred to in general as cadets. If news stories were to specify male cadets, stories might have had a more explicitly gendered slant. Like CDA scholar Kate Clark, I understand “naming” as “a powerful ideological tool” which allows me to better understand the “ideology of the namer”, the ways subjects and objects are perceived (1992, p. 209), and how naming functions to obscure, silence or perpetuate certain discourses.

My close reading also pays attention to what is concealed or taken for granted in discourses though linguistic strategies of nominalization and presupposition. “Nominalization typically replaces verb processes with noun construction, which can obscure agency and responsibility for an action, as well as what exactly happened” (p. 137). Presupposition is when authors “imply meaning without overtly stating them, or present things as taken for granted and stable when in fact they may be contestable of ideological” (p. 137). For instance, the discourse that suggested that Colonel Williams looked “normal” requires a prior understanding of what is normal. Similarly, in order to understand the violence at Abu Ghraib as “shocking”, we need to first believe that soldiers are not violent, which Chapter 1 demonstrates is contestable and ideological. Overall, nominalization and presupposition are important tools where authors wish to persuade without stating ideologies overtly. Strategies of nominalization and presupposition are particularly important for my analysis of discourses and reading for silences.

My analysis also focuses on techniques of persuasion and abstraction looking at rhetoric and metaphors. Machin and Mayr (2012) explain in their chapter “Persuading with Abstraction: Rhetoric and Metaphor”, how “rhetorical tropes are excellent tools for abstraction, for glossing over micro details, they can drive our understanding of one thing by another that can be much more emotive or simplistic” (p. 185). They describe how metaphors are not simply “flowery language” reserved for poems and creative writing, but have ideological significance in the news (p. 163) Metaphors are explained by Machin and Mayr (2012) to be “fundamental to human thought” since “metaphorical thinking underlies all of our statements about the world” and we “continually think of things by reference of others in order to understand them” (p. 163). While metaphors can “help us make sense of things”, “they can also be used strategically as a tool for abstracting processes and agents in order to re-contextualize practices” and backgrounds (p.

185). They explain that we understand the world through a network of culturally established metaphors and that people “tap into these metaphors in order to make argument seem more plausible or to delegitimize others” (p. 164). “When metaphors become the dominant way of thinking about a phenomenon it may be difficult to challenge the metaphors used to describe it, since these become a common sense or naturalized way of understanding of the world” (p.165). This was the case in representations of Colonel Williams that framed him as a monster. This metaphor of monster made bad apple justifications for his violence more plausible, concealing the ways in which soldiering is based on militarized masculinities and connected to misogyny, sexual aggression, excessive violence, etc.

My close reading also looks at the representations of actions via transitivity and verb process in order to explore how agency and responsibility can be systematically omitted, individualized or left implicit. I am interested in how actions can be represented via abstraction, where what was actually done is obscured through generalization (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 115). According to M.A.K. Halliday (1975), transitivity “is the way the clause is used to analyze events and situations”, indicating our point of view and has ideological significance since transitivity “makes options available” while suppressing other possibilities (Fowler 1991, p. 71). A more simple understanding of transitivity is that it is the study of “what people are depicted as doing and refers broadly to who does what to whom and how” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 104). Transitivity is important because the way we perceive people can be shaped by the representation of transitivity or how they are presented as acting or not acting. (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 104). Clark (1992) explains that “blame or lack of responsibility, absence, emphasis or prominence of a participant can all be encoded” through journalists’ “choice of transitivity” (p.

212). Transitivity she explains is concerned with language at the level of clauses and is potentially made up of three components: 1) The process, 2) The participants in the process, and 3) The circumstances of the process (p. 212). Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that when analysing agency (who does what to whom) and action (what gets done) we are interested in describing three aspects of meaning; participants, processes and circumstances (p. 105). Halliday (1975) distinguishes six process types; material, mental, behavioural, verbal, relational and existential (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 105). My research looks closely at the behavioural process type since actions like grins in pictures at Abu Ghraib were frequently mentioned and help to denote the sadistic psychological behaviour of guards. Overall, transitivity has an ideational function and has been described as an essential tool in the analysis of representations (Fowler, 1991, p. 70), because it has a “key role in meaning making” (Machin and Myer, 2012, p. 104).

In Fowler’s (1991) chapter “Analytic Tools: Critical Linguistics” he emphasizes the importance of naming, as well as asking who is being erased and who is doing what to whom. Naming and transitivity is foundational to my discourse analysis and plays a significant role in my reading for silences and identification of broad discursive themes. Like my own work, Clark’s (1992) methodology focuses on naming and transitivity in news discourses. He found that news reporting in *The Sun* ensured that the attackers in sexual violence cases were largely not shown in their role as agents or members of society. There are several strategies in which blame can be deflected away from perpetrators in the news. By examining the representations of Daniel McDonald in the Skype sex scandal I will show that the ways in which the case and circumstance were discussed was always as a scandal involving teenagers having sex, rather than demonstrative of the ADF and ADFA’s systemic problem with sexual violence, misogyny and

rape culture. Through a focus on linguistic naming and transitivity, I found that representations of Daniel McDonald in the Skype sex scandal reaffirm some of Clark's findings and are likely demonstrative of the misogynistic rape culture paradigm in modern day Australia and its defense force.

By looking at processes and tools of naming, erasing and the grammar of transitivity it is easier to understand how news narratives are embedded within a particular liberal ideology and white settler location. The questions listed below simplify some of the common questions CDA scholars ask in an analysis related to topics such as violence against women, masculinities and racism. They were developed considering discussions and examples in Fowler (1991, pp. 70-76), Clark (1992, pp. 212-222) and Talbot (1997, p.180). These are my guiding questions used in the analysis of news headlines and full text stories:

- 1) Who are the participants? How are they named or erased?
- 2) Who or what actions are being erased or concealed from view?
- 3) Who is doing what to whom?
- 4) What is the action? Is it being named or erased?
- 5) What is the circumstance?

These questions helped me understand relations of power and identify the themes and ideologies that guides the narratives, which CDA scholars like Teo (2000) maintain can be encapsulated in news headlines. Overall my reading of newspaper texts and headlines is concerned with identifying broad patterns and themes across the discourse.

Reading the Silent Discourses of Militarized Masculinities in the News

My methodological choices and my post-positivist research project was positioned as one that is less interested in discovering an objective truth and more concerned with how news

representations of Williams, Graner and McDonald reveal themes of militarized masculinities. In this chapter I outlined a variety of critical discourse techniques of analysis through the work of CDA theorists like Machin and Mayr (2012) that will be applied in this thesis. Through my discussion of thematic analysis, I explained how the themes identified in my research have been interpreted on the latent level and generated deductively. My themes are less about directly observable information and more about what is underlying the representations of these military men. In other words, I am interested in what is present in representations but not explicit or visible. I have identified four overarching themes from news stories representing Williams, Graner and McDonald, related to sexual violence, racist imperial violence, ableism and trophy collecting. While some of these themes are visible in the news narrative, they were mostly deductively developed from feminist research and theory discussed in Chapter 1, which explains the importance of trophies, sexual violence, racist violence and ableism as reflections, performances or embodiments of soldiering and militarized masculinities.

Chapter 3: Sexual Violence, Militarized Masculinities and the ‘Boys’ Club’

The topic of sexual violence silently weaved its way through representations of all three military cases while news stories explicitly reported on male perpetrators as boys being boys and/or conflated sexual violence as sex or kink. We need to talk about these stories of boys being boys as part and parcel to our militarized culture where sexual and gendered violence and the protection of perpetrators is a norm of militarized masculinities. News representations of ADFA Cadet Daniel McDonald will be relied upon as the principle case for this chapter since narratives in this case talked most explicitly about militarized sexual and gendered violence. Representations of Specialist Charles Graner and Colonel Russell Williams will also be discussed as supporting evidence to my argument. I argue that representations teach us about militarized masculinities as based on sexual violence, sexualized aggression and support for perpetrators. This chapter will explore the relationship between representations of sexual violence, military culture, and militarized masculinities⁴⁷. I will begin this chapter by briefly contextualizing the material reality of sexual violence in the Australian, American and Canadian militaries. From there I will present my analysis of news representations and my argument that representations of military men reveal how militarized culture is integrally related to rape culture. My analysis of silences in representations highlights how military culture normalized misogynistic militarized masculinities where victim blaming and harassment was acceptable and sexual violence was celebrated as masculine.

⁴⁷ In this chapter sexual violence includes any form of unwanted sexual violation, touching or behavior. Sexual harassment is a form of sexual violence that is often viewed as less significant or physically serious (i.e. name calling, stalking, etc.). I prefer not to distinguish consistently between the two since they are both violent and traumatizing. In this chapter I refer to gendered violence as any violent action specifically targeting women, which frequently incorporates sexual violence, emotional violence and physical abuse.

The Material Realities of Sexual Violence in Militaries

Sexual violence has been a longstanding systemic problem in Western militaries as demonstrated in the discussion of the Tailhook Affair and the HMAS Swan scandal of the 1990s in the Introduction. Two decades later sexual violence has not been resolved and the number of military personnel who experience sexual assault is growing. In 2013 the United States Pentagon estimated 26,000 service men and women experienced some form of sexual assault in the United States Armed Forces over the last year with some 70 sexual assaults occurring every day and 1 in 5 service women being affected (Biron, 2013, 8 May)⁴⁸. Furthermore, 62 percent of military personnel who have reported sexual abuse have experienced retaliation (Biron, 2013, 8 May). Following the U.S. Air Force sexual assault scandal of 2012 Service Women's Action Network (SWAN) director and former U.S. Marine Corps Captain Anu Bhagwati claimed that “for every instructor that assaults a recruit, there are usually dozens of others who have known about the problem” (Whitlock, 2012, 28 June). Overall, military sex scandals tend to demonstrate how perpetrators (especially those who are higher up the chain of command) are protected by their colleagues who are entrenched in a culture that celebrates the subordination of women, condones violence and views protecting male colleagues as looking out for the male majority.

According to United States Representative Jane Harman, “Women serving in the U.S. military are more likely to be raped by a fellow soldier than killed by enemy fire in Iraq” (Harman, 2008, 10 September). Women serving in the United States military are threatened more by their male colleagues than the purported enemies overseas. Army General Martin E. Dempsey made the statement that the U.S. military is “losing the confidence of the women who

⁴⁸ These numbers far exceed the already alarming estimates from 2011 where 19,000 sexual assaults were believed to have taken place in the United States Armed Forces.

serve that [they] can solve this problem...that's a crisis.”(Garamone, 2013, 15 May).

Anu Bhagwati told IPS News Agency:

“Every American should be outraged by the disturbing numbers from this year’s [2013] Defense Department sexual assault report, but no one should be surprised. Today we still have a military justice system in which commanding officers are granted the authority over the entire criminal justice process – instead of trained, impartial attorneys and judges”. (Biron 2013, 8 May).

Sexual violence has become a major public topic that triggered Bill S. 1752 (a Military Justice Improvement Act) because of alarming statistics, political statements of alarm and countless well-publicized military sexual assault scandals in the United States. The Military Justice Improvement Act proposed a change to laws that allow Commanders to decide whether serious cases (related to rape and murder) move forward and what serious cases can be dismissed. Unfortunately, Senator Gillibrand’s Military Justice Improvement Act (MIJA) fell five votes short of passing in the spring of 2014.

Widespread sexual harassment in the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and its academies was reported in the Australian Human Rights Commission’s 2011 report. The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) reports from 2011, 2013 and 2014 found that victims of abuse in the ADF did not report it because of personal trauma and fear that they would be victimized, their career would be jeopardized, they would not be believed or they would be subjected to an unresponsive chain of command. The AHRC 2011 report found it difficult to obtain accurate statistics for sexual harassment and abuse claims due to inconsistent reporting and record keeping in the Australian Defence Force (ADF)⁴⁹. In the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) over 90 percent of cadets experience some level of sexual harassment that ranged from name calling, unwanted touching, aggressive sexual violations, to rape (AHRC, 2011). This is

⁴⁹ The 2011 AHRC report found that at least one in four ADF service women faced sexual harassment

not a new phenomenon in the Australian context. There was a comprehensive review of the ADFA's Policies and Practices to Deal with Sexual Harassment and Sexual Offences in 1998 (the Grey Review) which found high rates of sexual assault targeting women, sometimes involving more than one offender. The table below highlights alarming statistics from the 2011 AHRC survey charting the behaviour at the ADFA within the previous twelve months. The statistics suggest that, like in the United States, sexual and gendered violence are major issues in the ADF and ADFA in particular.

ADFA Unacceptable Behaviour Survey			
Behaviour	Female (%)	Male (%)	Difference (%)
Experiencing an unacceptable gender or sex-related harassment behaviour	74.1	30.3	43.8
Unacceptable general harassment or discrimination behaviour	53.7	33.4	20.3
Whistled, called or hooted at in a sexual way	40.3	15	25.3
Experienced unwanted attempts to draw them into a discussion of sexual matters	37.6	23.5	14.1
Treated differently because of their gender	34	5.9	28.1
Experienced offensive sexist remarks	31.9	9	22.9
Put down or condescended because of their gender	25.2	1.4	23.8
Been stared, leered or ogled at in a way that made them feel uncomfortable	22.2	2.9	19.3
Experienced offensive remarks about their appearance, body or sexual activities	22.2	14.6	7.6
Experienced unwanted attempts to establish a romantic sexual relationship despite making efforts to discourage it	19.4	4.5	14.9
Been continually asked out after they had said "no"	13.9	2.4	11.5
Reported being forced into sex without their consent or against their will	2.1	0.2	1.9
Reported being treated badly for refusing to have sex	4.3	1.9	2.4
Reported being touched in a way that made them feel uncomfortable	6.9	3.6	3.3

Experienced the spread of malicious rumours or public statement of derogatory nature about themselves or another person	55.5	12.2	43.3
Been treated differently, victimised or harassed on account of their medical status	45.5	17.9	27.6
Been excluded from a normal conversation or workplace activities and work-related social activities	21.9	12.2	9.7
Been treated differently, victimised or harassed on account of an impairment, medical condition or disability	11.7	5.6	6.1
Being treated differently, victimised or harassed on account of their pregnancy or potential pregnancy	3.4	n/a	n/a

Unlike in the United States and Australia, there have been no comprehensive internal or external investigations into sexual violence in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). In fact, in the spring of 2014 the CAF was criticized as being “three years behind in reporting military data and criminal statistics -- including alleged sexual assaults reports -- to the defence minister” (“Lawson vows action”, 2014, 27 May). A 2013 survey by Statistics Canada found that approximately 16 percent of female personnel in the Regular Forces (excluding reserve members) experienced sexual assault (Statistics Canada, 2014)⁵⁰. Following damaging reports in the Maclean’s and L’actualité magazines in early May 2014, based on an eight-month investigation into military sexual violence, the Department of National Defence launched an internal and external investigation⁵¹. L’actualité and Maclean’s found that in 2014 there were

⁵⁰ Statistics Canada’s Canadian Forces Mental Health Survey (2014) used an outdated understanding of sexual assault which did not include unwanted sexual touching or coercion, and defined sexual assault as requiring the use of physical force and victim resistance. Despite a narrow understanding of sexual assault, 7.6 % of female personnel came forward saying they experienced these types of assaults. Statistics Canada did collect data on unwanted sexual touching finding that 14.7 % of women experienced this form of sexual assault and found that 15.6 % of women experienced what they defined as either sexual assault or unwanted touch. Since sexual assault includes all forms of unwanted sexual touching, it is best to conclude that at least 16% of female personnel have experienced sexual assault.

⁵¹ The external investigation is being conducted by former Supreme Court Justice Mme Deschamps. Her findings are to be released in the spring of 2015. Maj.-Gen Christine Whitecross will lead the military team in charge of developing a plan to deal with the issues identified in Deschamps’ report (Pugliese, 2015, 3 March).

likely five sexual assaults every five days in the CAF. Their estimates found that there are likely 1,780 unreported sexual assaults per year (Mercier and Alec Castonguay, 2014, 16 May)⁵².

The investigation found a culture of fear where survivors of abuse were scared to file a complaint or ultimately decided to drop allegations amidst pressure. Mercier and Castonguay (2014, 16 May) explain:

Although the military claims to be doing everything it can to protect its soldiers, it sometimes still closes its eyes to victims of sexual assault, and even punishes the women who denounce their rapists, rejecting them the very moment they start heading down the spiral of trauma. The military milieu is a tight one. The hierarchy, all-powerful. It's an organization built for war, where the success of the mission comes first. And it has its own parallel justice system, with its own rules.

Mercier and Castonguay (2014) found that victims are being ignored or punished and that a culture of accepted abuse continues in the CAF in much of the same way as was described in Maclean's 1998 investigation. The earlier 1998 investigation found a military culture that trivialized and condoned sexual violence and aggression. Interviews of current and former members of the CAF and alarming testimonies highlighted the trivialization and acceptability of sexual assault in the Armed Forces.

After the assault, a female friend took her (sexually assaulted female military personnel) to the medical warrant officer - who first joked that Piché should keep her underwear in a plastic bag and advised her to make the report when she ended her six-month tour and returned south in February. He then convinced her not to report the incident higher up the chain of command, warning her about the perils of going before court martials with panels of generals (O'Hara et al, 1998, sourced in Brown n.d., p. 7).

The 1998 Maclean's investigation found that not only were female survivors encouraged not to file complaints up the chain of command, but that the chain of command encouraged male

⁵² Estimates are based on Statistics Canada data about the percentage of women who do not report sexual assault in society at large. Hillman's study of American sexual violence in the military finds that many sexual assaults are not reported, that fellow cadets did the strong majority of these sexual assaults, and that rates of sexual assault are higher for female veterans than civilians (2009, 108). Hillman's work finds that sexual violence is more prevalent in the military than in civil society at large and is reported at even lower rates Hillman's research, applied to the Canadian context, indicates that the L'actualité and Maclean's estimates are lower than the actual number of incidents.

witnesses to ignore sexual violence and harassment. A former reserve member of the military told Maclean's that he quit the military in disgust as he was systemically told by superior officers to remain silent about and not intervene in the two dozen cases of sexual assault, rape and molestation he witnessed from 1991 to 1994. "We stood around like idiots watching terrible things happen" (O'Hara et al., 1998 sourced in Brown n.d., p. 3). This testimony demonstrates how sexual violence in the CAF was widely known and condoned as acceptable by the CAF chain of command. This testimony echoes many of Harrison and Laliberté's (1994, 2002) insights describing sexual violence as a widely known, naturalized and condoned activity in the CAF where women in military communities facing abuse were aggressively dismissed as complainers by the chain of command and viewed as sexual objects and/or male property. When sexual violence is committed, there are usually several people who are witness to or aware of the violence. Why is it accepted? Harrison and Laliberté point to a number of factors; the structural condoning of domestic violence through lack of independent support, networks of loyalty up the chain of command for many perpetrators of abuse and the acceptance of stalking colleagues' girlfriends and wives when husbands are away under the patriarchal logic that women who stray deserved to be punished (2002, p. 26)⁵³.

Harrison and Laliberté's interviews reveal "the support that some military perpetrators receive at work encourages them to wreak renewed abuse at home" (p. 109). One testimony from a survivor of militarized domestic abuse explained that when seeking help with her husband's violence at home his high-ranking military officials told her, her husband's abuse was "not our problem. Don't worry about. He is a good man" (p 109). This testimony revealed not

⁵³ "Since female partners are regarded as property within these male subcultures, some members consider it legitimate to spy on women whose military partners have left home...wives and girlfriends are regarded as capricious creatures who, if they are not watched carefully, may stray. In subtle and not-so-subtle ways, this culture fosters the expectation that female partners who stray (or appear to have strayed) deserve to be punished" (p. 26).

only a lack of responsibility but disdain for her complaint and loyalty to their colleague who was “told...every time I called”. Not surprisingly she was “beat up for it every time” (p. 109).

Harrison and Laliberté found that those in the chain of command not only refused to confront violence against women, in some cases they actually called the police and claimed harassment from survivors of domestic abuse who were calling them for support (p. 109)⁵⁴. These testimonies reveal how the Canadian Forces and its chain of command not only fail to acknowledge a problem and demonstrate lack of sensitivity to violence against women but also seemingly condone its personnel’s violence taking aggressive courses of actions towards complainants. These testimonies reveal how the Canadian Armed Forces chain of command seeks to shut down complaints of domestic violence, discredit survivor complaints and isolate them from formal mechanisms of protection like the police. Harrison and Laliberté’s research demonstrates the misogynistic underbelly of military culture and chain of command; often failing to support military wives and girlfriends dealing with domestic violence, dismissing their complaints of violence against their colleagues and encouraging renewed violence. Harrison and Laliberté’s research shows how husbands used their military status in an effort to isolate their partners from seeking help as in this example: “I’m a warrant officer in the CAF—who do you think’s gonna frig-gin believe you?” (p. 109). This testimony, like the others discussed above, demonstrates a general belief among soldiers that their colleagues will remain loyal to them and dismiss claims of sexual assault as fabrications.

Testimonies highlighted in the Maclean’s 1998 investigation also explained how some military personnel made a game out of how many new recruits they could have sex with. “I knew male military police who made a game out of seeing how many new recruits they could nail in bed. They’d talk about it right at the front counter. What if they got caught? They didn’t care”

⁵⁴ “...they called police [and] told them I was harassing them” p. 109.

(O'Hara et al, 1998 sourced in Brown n.d., p.7). This testimony highlights how women were treated as sexual objects that could be assaulted without fear of consequence. Sexist behaviour was found in CAF training itself where gendered violence reached sadistic extremes. A female officer told Maclean's "One [commanding officer] urinated in our gas masks...and then made the women put them on. Another took a can of cigarette butts, threw them on the ground and made us pick them up with our teeth" (O'Hara et al, 1998 sourced in Brown n.d., p.5). This demonstration of violence and aggression targeted specifically at women in CAF training appears to be part of a larger systemic problem regarding violent training activities targeting women. Harrison and Laliberté's research found that military personnel are unable to simply turn on and off militarized training to diminish, dehumanize, dominate and kill. They explore the ways training, bonding and the culture in the Canadian military rely on notions of becoming real men, which reinforce the misogynistic subordination of women, legitimizing dangerous beliefs that women are inferior and property of men who yield power, status and control. They find that "the military uses masculinity as the cementing principle to unite "real" military men and distinguish them from nonmasculine men and women" (p. 23). Much like Sandra Whitworth's (2004) work described in Chapter 1, Harrison and Laliberté (2002) found that "during basic training, male recruits are challenged to become "real men" by proving that they are not women" (p. 23). They explain how "instructors encourage stereotypically masculine behaviour from recruits by using female associated words to insult them. Male recruits who perform well gradually earn their right to be addressed as "men" and the relief they feel at having earned this right often crystallizes their organizational loyalty" (p. 23). Like other gendered organizations, Harrison and Laliberté (2002) found that the "military community takes for granted the notion that men and women are fundamentally different", finding through their research that relatively

few member of the Canadian Forces community question the patriarchal dichotomy between “tough warrior” men and supportive “dependent” women” (p. 23). Harrison and Laliberté explain:

Although military authorities state otherwise when describing official policy, almost any practice is unofficially considered acceptable whose likely outcome is the solidification of bonds among combat unit members, the enhancement of their collective motivation to annihilate a foe, and the increased likelihood that under combat conditions they will stick together sufficiently to survive. Militaries all over the world have resisted integrating gays and women into their combat units because they have been afraid of the destabilizing effect that such integrations might have on the exclusivity that is the essence of combat bonding...Excluding and denigrating women are important aspects of combat unit bonding. The members of especially “macho” units celebrate their shared maleness by objectifying women, viewing pornographic films, joking about making women the targets of violence, and giving weapons female names. Despite recent heightened efforts by the CF to promote gender integration in their ranks, many male military members continue to exclude and denigrate women, whether they are military members or spouses. Some commentators continue to argue that the participation of women in combat precludes successful unit bonding (p. 24).

Like the feminist work on sexual violence in war, which finds that gang rape is used as a means to promote unit bonding (Price, 2001; Alison, 2007; Parpart, 2010), Harrison and Laliberté (2002) found that the subordination of women plays an important role at home in the initial training and bonding of soldiers. Through testimonies with women in the military community, they found that sexism and misogyny are prominent cultural features of the Canadian military that are celebrated, tacitly legitimize male violence against women and function to push female personnel out of the Canadian Forces.

The CAF was exposed in 1992 for torturing a female colleague (Sandra Perron) for hours in a training exercise, tying her to a tree in the middle of the winter with her bare feet submerged in the snow and leaving her nearly for dead. Interestingly, Perron never filed an official complaint against her Captain and male colleagues involved in the torture. She claimed that she chose to leave the military due to systemic harassment but not this incident. (Simao, 1997;

“Army officer”, 1998, 5 January). Mercier and Castonguay (2014) found that there was no way victims could come forward with abuse without going through superiors and that those who did come forward were punished, mocked, ostracized and felt a sense of guilt that they had betrayed colleagues. Overall, evidence suggests that survivors do not trust Canada’s military chain of command to deal with sexual harassment and gendered violence since they are embedded within a culture that condones this behaviour and may be perpetrators themselves. This story of systemic violence and support for perpetrators rather than survivors in the institution of the CAF was found in the 2014 Maclean’s/L’actualité investigation where female personnel describe years of sexual violence where they were not given the support or justice they deserve from the CAF.

Sexual violence in defence communities can be described as both systemic and condoned, since the majority of survivors reporting abuse, fear and face backlash against them from colleagues and/or the chain of command (Biron, 2013, 8 May). I argue this community backlash is a by-product of militarized rape culture and militarized masculinities that naturalize sexual assault and encourages support for male perpetrators as an act of loyalty that solidifies the goals of militarized male bonding. Rape culture sustains militarized societies and institutions where sexual violence is pervasive and normalized by patriarchal stereotypes of gender, race, disability, class and sexuality. Rape culture is most apparent in societal discourses of victim blaming, narratives of shared responsibility, rationales that trivialize sexual and gendered violence, stranger danger narratives, discourses of denial (Jiwani, 2006) of sexual and gendered violence as a systemic problem, sexual objectification, sexual conquest competitions, etc. Overall, I believe that sexualized violence is embedded within a rape culture that normalizes intersectional patriarchal stereotypes.

Militarized Masculinities, Sexual Violence and the Protection of Perpetrators

What do news representations of the three cases teach us about rationales, motives and meanings of sexual violence committed by military personnel? What might narrative themes reveal about militarized masculinities? More specifically: What do news narratives that explained McDonald's sexual humiliation of Kate as boyish behaviour, an inevitability of young people or a reflection of the ADF boys club culture, expose about understandings of militarized masculinities?

What I found was that news representations frequently conflated the sexual violence of military men with sex or kink. Within dominant narratives, sexualized aggression and violence were portrayed as expected of men and a by-product of sexuality. I maintain that the idea of sexual violence being a male performance/activity is widespread in discourses and becomes particularly obvious through my close reading of Cadet McDonald's story. While discourses are not explicitly talking about militarization and masculinities, misogynistic practices becomes visible by contextualizing the stories and the meaning and acceptance of militarized masculinities as violent and hyper-sexualized. Representations of McDonald being one of the boys, as different from female cadets, or as an example of the dark side of male bonding and "mateship" latently reveal silent discourses of militarized masculinities.

The two discursive themes explored in this chapter were derived from the work of Enloe (1990), Price (2001), Harrison and Laliberté (2002), Whitworth (2004), Parpart (2010), Shefer and Mankayi (2007), and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009). The themes are 1) Gender, Sexuality and Difference as well as 2) Bonding and Loyalty. My unpacking of these themes concerning the perpetration and support of sexual and gendered violence helps reveal how militarized masculinities are informed by rape culture. This chapter focuses on contextualizing

representations and interrogating the assumptions and linguistic choices that facilitate the concealed, overarching discourses on militarized masculinities. My analysis of news discourses confirms insights from feminist International Relations literature and finds that militarized masculinities contextualize representations of sexual and gendered violence perpetrated by military personnel.

Insights from Enloe (1990), Price (2001), Alison (2007), Kwon (2010), Parpart (2010), Burstyn (1999), Shefer and Mankayi (2007), and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009) inform my analytical lens and are relied upon to contextualize how stories about sexual violence at the ADFA are part and parcel to military culture and its norms of masculinities, rather than simply a “manly” act facilitated by a wild girl⁵⁵. Feminist IR literature explains how there is a prevalent militarized ideology that women are sexual objects to be conquered and used as tokens of masculinity/ies. My chapter adds to the above feminist research by finding that sexual violence⁵⁶ and condoning sexual violence (re)produces militarized masculinities.

Gender, Sexuality and Difference

A former cadet provided the following comment regarding a staff member’s response to issues of sexual harassment “He smirked at us and told us that it was just boys having

⁵⁵ Insights from the earlier review of literature on militarized sexual violence suggest that the current crisis of sexual and gendered violence committed by military personnel in Australia, the United States and Canada is part of a longstanding political and systemic act precipitated by its culture, training practices and ideals of soldiering (Harrison and Laliberté 1994, 2002; Whitworth 2004). Misogyny is explained as playing a pivotal role in the training of soldiers where the denigration of women and other marginalized groups (namely people of colour and the LGBTQ community) is seen as important for group cohesion and preparedness of war (Harrison and Laliberté 1994, 2002), which necessarily involves de-humanization the enemy and unit loyalty (Price 2001). The literature also shows how militarized sexual violence is used as a political strategy to strengthen unit cohesion (Price 2001, Harrison and Laliberté 1994, 2002; Parpart 2011), secure the nation from internal and external threats, reward soldiers (Enloe 2000) and defeat the enemy using the body as a battlefield (Seifurt 1994; Alison 2007). Insights from the literature also suggest that acts of sexual and gendered violence are often conducted in public settings and celebrated by groups of soldiers (Price 2001; Parpart 2011). Gang rapes and sexual violence are described in the literature as methods to assert an aggressive masculinity and sexuality (in contrast to the passive enemy) in order to show solidarity with the identities of fellow soldiers, affirm a superior national identity and loyalty to the nation (Alison 2007; Price 2001).

⁵⁶ Reminder: I am referring to sexual violence as an umbrella term for anything from sexual harassment to unwanted/un-consensual sexual touch or behavior.

fun. When he was at ADFA they did the same thing to the girls and it is just a joke, nobody is getting hurt. We joined the defence force; we can't expect them to treat us like dainty females.” (AHRC, 2011, former ADFA cadet, p. 45).

“I have not been sexually harassed because I don't put myself in a situation to be harassed. Women who get drunk to the point they have no idea are women who wish to be taken advantage of” (AHRC, 2011, female ADFA cadet, second year, p. 37).

“As [I was] talking [with a male colleague], he opened his pants and exposed himself at my desk, and asked me to perform oral sex. I declined, but he was very persistent and it took a significant effort to get the Cadet to leave my room” (AHRC, 2011 former ADFA cadet, p. 44)⁵⁷.

Violent sexual aggression and victim blaming is a normalized cultural belief and practice on military campuses like the ADFA. This context helps frame my analysis in this section about the discursive naturalization of violent male sexuality, more accurately referred to as sexual aggression.

On April 5, 2011 ADFA cadet “Kate” went to Network Ten News with her story of sexual abuse because she was scared her story would be swept under the rug at the ADFA. The abuse was perpetrated by Daniel McDonald who “lured” (Ellery, 2011, 6 April, p. 3) her into his dorm room in late March with the intent of sexually humiliating and objectifying her in front of colleagues through live video streaming. McDonald streamed video of their sexual encounter without her knowledge to a room full of cadets on Skype and bragged about it via social media.

⁵⁷ The testimonies featured from the 2011 AHRC report underscore the everyday attitudes and response of staff to issues of sexual harassment at the ADFA. They indicate the ideology of gender differences and the dominant discourse that sexual harassment is the result of boys being boys and girls putting themselves in risky situations or needing to toughen up and accept sexual violence and harassment. Sexual violence is condoned in the report and the news as part of what soldiering is about. Testimonies from the AHRC report demonstrate how women are objectified as sexual objects that should act as a sexual outlet for men. From these testimonies it is clear that in ADFA culture aggressive male sexuality is perceived as natural and it is the responsibility of women not to put themselves in danger unless they want to be assaulted. Poignant testimony from the report includes: “The ladies in my [ADFA] division have so far demonstrated that they respect the differences between the sexes, recognise that, in general, men are stronger and fitter than women and therefore better suited to some roles than the majority of women” (AHRC, 2011, current ADFA staff, p. 45); “Both male [ADFA] staff and male [ADFA] cadets would regularly make disparaging comments regarding women's ability to succeed in some areas of military training, especially physical training and shooting. When male cadets made comments of this nature in front of staff, they were never reprimanded for doing so, with staff often joining in with the “jokes”” (AHRC, 2011, Confidential Submission, p. 4).

The plan took shape after Daniel McDonald's colleague Dylan DeBlaquiere texted him with an idea of how to sexually humiliate Kate. The text message he sent said, "f—ing sick idea pop[ped] into [my] head. "F—her and film" (Knaus, 2013, 26 October, p. 14). Following that text message, McDonald, Deblaquiere and other male cadets executed their misogynistic strategy to get Kate in front of a running webcam and stream her having "casual sex" (Rudra, 2011, 30 April, p. 7).

Shortly after coming forward to the press, Kate met with ADFA commandant Bruce Kafer. Breaking news stories reported that during this meeting, Kate "was offered no counseling and told she would have to give a speech to her colleagues apologizing for humiliating them by going to the media" ("Australian cadet sex scandal", 2011, 6 April). Stories explained that Kafer's request for Kate to give a speech was "cancelled at the last minute for fear it would fuel the anger directed at the woman by fellow cadets" ("Australian cadet sex scandal", 2011, 6 April)⁵⁸. However the ADFA chain of command elected to proceed with a disciplinary hearing against Kate the following day. Defence Minister Smith quickly criticized this hearing as being "stupid" and "insensitive" ("Academy cadets knew", 2011, 8 April). Despite statements of concern from the Minister of Defence, early news stories on the "Skype sex scandal" commonly presented the actions of the boys and up the chain of command as relatively ordinary. News stories reported that in March of 2011 Kate had agreed to enter into a "friends with benefits" relationship (McPhedran, 2011y, 30 April, p. 15; Dodd and Wilson, 2011, 30 April, p. 2) with McDonald and frequently labeled the sexual relations between them as "consensual" (Hall, 2011c, 2 May, p. 1) or "casual sex" (Rudra, 2011, 30 April, p. 7).

⁵⁸ Later news stories reported that there was no actual order asking Kate to apologize to fellow cadet (Gratton, 2011, 11 April, p. 3).

[S]o far, so ordinary. You could swap the institution for a football club, another arm of the defence forces, or a men's university college, and expect a similar reaction. A closing of ranks, a hush-up, and minimal or no sanctions for the men involved. The extraordinary part of this story is not the base behaviour of the male cadets. It is the brassiness of the victim in using the media to tell her story... (Grant, 2011, 8 April, p 15).

This type of defensive narrative was pervasive and perpetuated the idea that rape culture is normal for men and not cause for concern. These discourses worked to spread the assumption that sexual aggression and supporting perpetrators is expected of military institutions, athletic organizations, male colleges and men. Dominant representation of Daniel McDonald's actions focused on how it was ordinary for boys to act out base behaviour and male institutions to condone this behaviour. News narratives rarely referenced the case explicitly as an example of sexual violence, choosing instead to sexualize the incident. When stories suggested that the actions of the cadets were relatively "ordinary", narratives used the linguistic strategy of concealment called presupposition, where authors "imply meaning without overtly stating them, or present things as taken for granted and stable when in fact they may be contestable and ideological" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.137). The sexual aggression, sexism, misogyny and rape culture which make this gendered norm function were concealed from view by suggesting the cadets actions and the cover-up attitude of the chain of command were relatively normal for men. While narratives may not explicitly talk about militarized masculinities, their linguistic choices had the effect of connoting sets of ideas and meanings about how militarized masculinities are naturally about sexism, misogyny, silence, discretion and supporting perpetrators.

In early news coverage, rape culture assumptions were relied upon to conceal the nature of McDonald's actions in the "Skype sex scandal". News stories were careful to emphasize the sexual act was "consensual" and the reflection of fraternization between cadets. These dominant

narratives disregarded how the boys objectified Kate and disrespected her sexual autonomy and privacy. News stories often explained that Kate had broken the ADFA's rule forbidding fraternization. This focus implied that the actions of male cadets were triggered by fraternization within the ranks, where female recklessness was partially to blame since Kate should have realized that boys will be boys and sexual abuse is inevitable. Interestingly, news stories never focused on McDonald's breaking of the fraternization rule. These narratives suggested that the fraternization rule is only for women to discourage them from putting themselves in harm's way. Senator Minchin's statements were widely reported on. They deflected attention from McDonald's actions as an act of rule breaking by focusing instead on how the fraternization rule is designed to protect female cadets (like Kate) from sexual harassment and dangerous situations.

..Senator Minchin said "Kate", the female cadet, and the seven male cadets implicated in the sex Skyping scandal, had contributed to a difficult situation for ADFA. "He [Commodore Kafer] has here a first year female officer cadet who has apparently gone AWOL, apparently been drinking contrary to the rules, who has engaged in fraternisation when she shouldn't have, but then appallingly has been apparently filmed in a consensual sex act," he said... (Ellery, 2011b, 9 April p. 4)

Senator Minchin's statements reinforced rape culture and legitimized society's double standard related to male and female sexuality. His statements were based largely on the belief of gender differences where women are sluts if they seek intimate relationships and men are heroes if they get a girl in bed with them. The Senator's statements like many other news narratives presented the boys as being good enough to engage in consensual sex. The actions of the boys were not presented as actions of going AWOL but implied biological needs which were practiced paradoxically in an immature but responsible way. Minchin presented Kate's gender transgressions of drinking and seeking an intimate relationship as the true breach of the rules. According to Minchin the videotape and pictures taken without her knowledge were the result of

her rule breaking rather than a reflection of sexual violence. In Senator Minchin's statements and news narrative more broadly, McDonald's breaking of the fraternization rule was implied to have been inevitable. The assumption that male sexism and aggression was normal and it was Kate's responsibility to be ever vigilant naturalized male sexual aggression in the military as the by-product of an innate masculinity. This narrative is part of a broader silent discourse on militarized masculinities based on sexual aggression.

Within Senator Minchin's statements a linguistic referential naming strategy was deployed where Kate was represented as a rule breaker and promiscuous female. This naming of Kate as a rule breaker was pervasive in the news narrative and worked to suggest that McDonald was ultimately provoked by an out of control female cadet. The deployment of this type of referential naming strategy in regards to Kate helped to define the nature of McDonald's crime as avoidable and helped to obscure the context and systems of militarized misogyny and violent masculine aggression, which we know from the literature explored in Chapter 1, reflects ideals of soldiering and militarized masculinities. By presenting Kate as a rule breaker, the rape culture trope of shared responsibility was deployed, demonstrating how sexual violence and male misogyny was assumed to be a naturally occurring phenomenon. This genre of naming draws our attention towards a rape culture discourse of shared responsibility and away from McDonald's identity as a male misogynist reflective of a broader system and norms of militarized masculinities in the military. While news stories do not explicitly talk about militarized masculinities, referential naming strategies that framed Kate as a rule breaker who contributed to her own objectification connote the idea that misogynistic militarized masculinities are fixed, natural and should be avoided. News stories spread the idea that Kate knowingly asked for sexual humiliation. I contextualize this discourse as a reflection of a rape

culture ideology of shared responsibility. Common discourses like these proliferated the knowledge that placing criticism squarely on Commodore Kafer, Daniel McDonald and the other male cadets was not appropriate. A more appropriate explanation was that the incident was triggered by an AWOL female cadet who broke the rules that were in place to protect her against the everyday sexual needs and natural misogyny of military men, who inevitably act out militarized masculinities.

After receiving “numerous emails, faxes and phone calls of abuse” following the wide publicity of Kate’s story at the ADFA, Defence Minister Smith announced that there would be six inquiries directed at the ADFA and ADF (Thompson, 2011, 12 April). The inquiries were to investigate the ADFA and ADF, their legal arrangements and management of incidents, the Skype incident itself, all other allegations and binge drinking. The Herald Sun quoted Air Chief Marshal Houston’s remarks about the inquiries, new allegations of sexual misconduct and the Skype incident. Like dominant early discourses he suggested that misconduct was inevitable for young people.

Military faces six sex probes

....“Are we perfect? No we're not," he said. Air Chief Marshal Houston stressed that with 50,000 staff members under the age of 25, it was inevitable there would be incidents”. “I think they're the exception rather than the rule”, he said... (McPhedran, 2011s, 12 April, p.5).

In this story and many other news stories, McDonald’s actions of sexual misconduct were represented via abstraction and generalized in ways that removed the gender of perpetrators, the misogynistic targeting of women, the systemic context of militarized sexual aggression, McDonald’s action of video streaming as well as the misconduct of on-looking cadets who condoned his behaviour. This made it appear like sexual misconduct was the by-product of isolated incidents that would occur in any organization with young people as an

exception, rather than reflective of celebrated systemic norms or militarized rules of gendered behaviour. Instead of McDonald being represented as an active agent it was often unclear who was doing what to whom in the “Skype scandal” and who or what was to blame. For instance, in the above quote there were only passive verb processes used in representations of Houston’s statements. Incidents and actions of sexual misconduct and Skyping the misconduct to a roomful of approving colleagues was presented not as an action but the by-product of nature and effect of a statistical absolute in any organization, where young people binge drink and get into mischief. This discourse is a rape culture discourse that denies the systemic problem of sexual and gendered violence and functions to distance perpetrators from their militarized culture and shield the status quo system of gendered soldiering, which we know from the literature discussed in Chapter 1 is based on hierarchies of gender, race and ability. It becomes clear how discourses about McDonald’s sexual misconduct were actually part of a broader silent discourse on militarized masculinities when we contextualize the military as an institution with systemic issues around misogyny, gendered violence and sexual violence (Whitworth, 2004) with gendered norms of masculinities that promote sexualized aggression and the devaluation of women (Price, 2001).

On April 17, 2011, an anonymous federal MP went public on a brutal campaign within Defence to smear the woman at the centre of the sex scandal as a “promiscuous slut” (Maiden 2011b, 17 April). Defence representative Neil James quickly made a well publicized public statement denying the existence of such a smear campaign but paradoxically capitalized on his interview with the press to smear Kate as a “wild lass” and problem who needed to leave the ADFA. Early news headlines toyed with Neil James’s idea that “Cadets ‘need sex as outlet’” (Maiden, 2011b, 17 April). By unpacking the transitivity of this headline we can see what cadets

were depicted as doing and I find that this headline is like many others in the way it portrays the cadets. It aligns the readers to be more sympathetic to their actions. First, the actions of cadets were described as related to sex rather than sexual or gendered violence. Second, the gender of the cadets and the gendered nature of the attack were concealed as participants were simply named as cadets. Third, there was no distinction drawn between perpetrators and survivor suggesting all the cadets involved shared responsibility. Finally, the incident was presented by the headline as one of necessity and biology. We gain insight into sex, stress and desire as the prevailing types of ideas being connoted around militarized sexual misconduct by unpacking the transitivity of this headline. This headline concealed cadet actions of gendered violence as well as their celebration of misogyny and female objectification. This headline framed sexual misconduct as valuable to cadets seeking an outlet for their biological needs. The research that found that sexual violence is a part of militarized masculinity/ies (Whitworth, 2004; Enloe, 2000) helps to contextualize this headline, and others like this, as reflective of scripts of militarized masculinities that naturalize sexual aggression, the objectification of women and conflation of sex with sexual violence. We should contextualize headlines that claim, “cadets need sex as outlet” as part of an overarching discourse on militarized masculinities. This approach of representing cadet actions draws our attention towards a rape culture discourse that denies sexual violence and shifts our attention away from McDonald’s identity as a male misogynist, reflective of a widespread system and norms of militarized masculinities in the military. While news stories did not explicitly talk about militarized masculinities, representations of McDonald’s actions implied that misogynistic militarized masculinities are fixed, natural and should be avoided by women, rather than stopped or confronted by male staff or cadets.

In Maiden's full text article, Defence Association director Neil James was reported as suggesting that sexual misconduct at the ADFA can be attributed to natural realities of biology and inherent sexual needs of cadets who are fit, young and virile. He also denied rumours of an official whispering campaign against Kate by the Defence Association.

The Australian Defence Association director Neil James has claimed young cadets at the Australian Defence Force Academy are as "fit as mallee bulls" and look for a sexual outlet in their high-pressure environment. His comments come as a federal MP goes public on a brutal campaign within Defence to smear the woman at the centre of the sex scandal as a "promiscuous slut". Mr James said he had contacted Defence Minister Stephen Smith's office to strongly deny any role in the whispering campaign, and said he did not excuse the behaviour of recruits who filmed a female cadet having sex. He told The Sunday Telegraph, "The reason they have the no fraternisation rule is to try to stop any form of sexual harassment. They're also as fit as mallee bulls". Asked to explain what he meant, Mr. James said, "Well, they are all physically fit. It's not like your average university. So, the more physically fit you are, as a rough rule of thumb, well frisky is the wrong word but because it's a high-pressure environment there's a bit more pressure for an outlet". Mr. James said he was unaware of allegations the woman's previous sexual history was being raised to discredit her "...But it's my understanding she's a little bit of a troubled lass", he said. "(But) it's very hard to tell people the facts, without being accused of being a sexist troglodyte..." (Maiden, 2011b, 17 April)

Actions in the "sex scandal" were presented in this article as the by-product of an out of control female and fit mallee bulls looking for a sexual outlet. Representations compared cadets (presumably male cadets) to fit mallee bulls, which used the hyperbolic metaphor of fit mallee bulls as a tool for abstraction to conceal systemic militarized gender processes and male agents involved. This served to re-contextualize militarized practices and bring biology to the foreground to explain McDonald and the Skype incident. This type of rhetorical trope worked to gloss over the details of videotaping, directing readers to think of misogynistic male sexual violence as a natural phenomenon, rather than a systemic, social, gendered or militarized matter. In news stories, McDonald's actions of targeted sexual aggression were presented as normal heterosexual relations and behaviour of boys being boys, and specifically as cadets under stress

and needing more of an outlet than civilians. Like Senator Minchin, the Defence Director's statements to the media reiterated the idea that sexual harassment can be stopped if cadets (female cadets in particular) follow the no fraternization rule. Women who break these rules were presented by the media as knowing the danger that sexual relations can lead to sexual humiliation, harassment and incidents of sexual violence. These statements relied on the assumption that sexual harassment and violence should be expected between male cadets and their female partners, suggesting that sexual relations between men and women are necessarily unequal and violent, with men exerting their naturally aggressive desires and physicality over women. Early narratives tended to trivialize the sexual humiliation of Kate and obscured McDonald's actions as relatively normal for boys. The Defence Director's comments positioned the devaluation of women and aggressive heterosexuality as an inherent in the sexuality of young militarized men in the ADFA. McDonald's actions were represented as the by-product of young men who were ultimately influenced by their hormones, militarized stress and a "wild" girl who gave them an outlet to let loose and express their sexuality. The boys involved were represented as suffering from a high stress militarized environment that was presented as prompting an increased need for sex (or sexual violence), an outlet their "troubled" colleague provided. Interestingly, the act of videotaping remained mostly unexplained and fused with the idea of cadets looking for sex. This functioned to obscure the underlying system that made videotaping and streaming an accepted and celebrated practice at the ADFA.

While not explicitly talking about sexual violence and militarized masculinities, these discourses reproduced scripts of militarized masculinities based on sexual violence and teach us about its broader meaning and acceptance. The work of Parpart (2010), Price (2001) and Alison (2007) demonstrate how gang rape or rape in front of a group of onlookers has been used in the

military as a means for soldiers to affirm to one another that they are real men who are masculine, superior to women and loyal to the militarized cult of masculinity/ies. Representation of McDonald's video broadcast as simply a prank or part of cadets looking for sex obscured how the online Skype broadcast functioned like public sexual violence and in a sense a co-operative celebration and action of misogyny, female devaluation and sexual aggression. As discussed in Chapter 1, the idea that military men need sex and naturally pursue sexual conquests is pervasive and has been explored in Shefer and Nyameka's (2007) work⁵⁹. They found it is often an imperative in the military to prove one's active (hetero)sexuality since "homosexuality" and "celibacy" are viewed with disdain (p. 192). This suggests that if military men or cadets did not condone or practice an active and/or aggressive sexuality they would be viewed with suspicion, as gendered and sexual anomalies or traitors who are not one of the boys. By contextualizing representations of McDonald's video it becomes clear that it was part of a silent discourse about the rape culture ideas associated with militarized masculinities.

Eriksson Baaz and Stern's (2009) study found that joining the military was viewed by men as promising access to women and a wife where sexual violence and heterosexual promiscuity were normal and valorized as masculine behaviours (p. 510). Cynthia Enloe (2000) also discovered this militarized understanding of sexual violence as normal in her analysis of reactions to the sexual violence of U.S. military personnel around their bases in Okinawa, Japan. Enloe discovered that U.S. military officials often conflated sex with rape. For example, they funded sex workers to provide troops with greater access to sex in order to help prevent sexual violence (Enloe, 2000). Enloe explained that the sexual violence of U.S. military men in Okinawa was explained as recreational rapes and individual crimes that reflected normal "male

⁵⁹ On the South African military

violence towards women” and biological needs⁶⁰. From the work of Enloe (2000) and Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009), we learn that military men have been imbedded in a culture that often conflates sex, sexual violence and heterosexuality, where women are sexual objects men are entitled to use as sexual outlets. We see this militarized logic reiterated in Defence Director James’ comments regarding the Australian “Skype sex scandal” that makes explicit how sexual violence remains conflated with sex and normalized as normal masculine behaviours in the military setting. James presented the actions of the men involved in sexually humiliating a female colleague, as the reflection of natural sexual needs of young men. This is consistent with the military men interviewed by Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009) who believed that sexual violence, sex and heterosexuality are normal or expected masculine behaviours in the military setting and with U.S. Admiral Macke who conflated sex with gang rape. When we understand how sexual violence is a systemic militarized gender practice, as the data at the beginning of this chapter shows, it becomes clear how discourses about McDonald need to be understood and contextualized as part of a broader discourse on militarized masculinities.

Throughout representations of cadet McDonald the system of sexist inequality at the ADFA was represented as stemming from a “boys’ club” mentality or culture in the military (Hutchinson, 2011, 15 April, p. 19; McPhedran, 2011ae, 29 June, p. 17; Nicholson, 2012f, 8 March, p. 1). Representations suggested that McDonald and the other male cadets were performing actions consistent with common attitudes and behaviours deemed expected in a

⁶⁰ Most notably U.S. Admiral Richard Macke explained that the 1995 case of abduction and rape of twelve school girl by three U.S. military personnel “was absolutely stupid” not because the behavior was inappropriate or shocking but because “for the price they paid to rent the car, they could have had a girl [sex worker]” at one of the many brothels on the island catering to military personnel (Enloe 2000, 117). These statements demonstrate how sex workers are believed to fulfill male biological need for sex, demonstrating how sex and rape were conflated and normalized.

majority male institution like the ADFA. In order to solve this problem Minister Smith suggested the appointment of a female service member to disrupt the status quo male leadership.

Mr Smith is determined to breakdown the boys club culture in defence and News Limited has been told that the Government is considering the army's former most senior female officer, retired Major General Liz Cosson, as a possible Deputy Chief of the army (McPhedran 2011z, 20 May, p. 36).

In this statement the assumption is that men are the biological problem and that the cultural problem in the military is a biological one that can be solved by the addition of women. From Smith's logic placing a female officer as a Deputy Chief appears to be the solution to male sexual violence and rape culture. However, these actions ultimately naturalize rape culture onto male bodies and fail to uproot the hegemony of rape culture and misogyny. This simple solution to sexual harassment present women as universal and/or natural victims and fighters against sexual violence and harassment, with men positioned as natural perpetrators, facilitators and victim blamers. It ignores the way misogynistic rape culture is a script which both men and women help sustain as cultural ideals. Within this "boys club" narrative of blaming biological bodies, sexual harassment is positioned as an inherent tendency of men specifically in institutions where men outnumber women and hold positions of authority. The militarized gender system and status quo hierarchal ideals of soldiering based on ableism, racism and misogyny remain undisturbed by suggesting that the solution is simply to add women. From my analytical lens I situate the problem of sexual violence and misogyny in the military as one based on a pervasive rape culture sustained by both men and women.

Female cadets were warned about male cadets trying to sleep with them through news coverage in the summer and fall of 2011 (shortly before and following the publication of Phase 1

of the AHRC report). The news discourse emphasized that “most submissions” to the AHRC felt briefing female students on the fragility of their reputations was perfectly appropriate.

Submissions mostly back treatment at ADFA

More than three-quarters of the open submissions to an inquiry into the treatment of women at the Australian Defence Force Academy reject claims it handles gender issues badly. One respondent said while there were unsavoury cultural practices, including male cadets trying to score a "trifecta" by sleeping with a woman from each service, measures were in place to protect women...Alyssa Burnham, a 2008 graduate, said while the current measures were “adequate and appropriate”, female cadets were warned against unsavoury cultural practices. "Practices such as Dully hunting [older students competing to sleep with female Dullies, the name for first year cadets], and boys seeking to 'win a trifecta' [sleeping with a female from each service] were mentioned," she wrote. "Advice was given to females they should be wary of male intentions and also aware of their actions so as not to bring their reputations into disrepute." (Ellerly, 2011n, 23 July, p.7)

These types of stories had the effect of affirming that female cadets need to be protected, ever vigilant and cautious about the inevitable motives of their male peers. Stories explained that the majority of female cadets felt the ADFA's measures were reasonable as they accepted the notion that it was their responsibility to protect themselves and their reputations from the games some male cadets will inevitably play. Using a feminist analytical lens to ask who is doing what to whom in these stories, I noticed that male cadets and perpetrators of abuse who triggered these inquiries in the first place were mostly written out of the stories related to inquiry findings as the actions of assaulted women, staff briefings and the circumstance of universal female responsibility, shame and vigilance became the focus. What this type of discourse does is draw our attention away from the systemic nature of misogynistic male gender violence and sexual aggression, towards more comfortable liberal narratives of individual responsibility that foreclose more systemic and structural questions.

What I found most revealing from these articles about ADFA staff knowing about male predator competitions targeting young female cadets with sexual aggression, was the ADFA's

strategy of only briefing young female cadets about needing to protect themselves and their reputations. While not explicit, apparently the ADFA did not feel it would be productive to talk to men at the ADFA who were the perpetrators of misogynistic assaults.

Female cadets warned over sex

Female first year cadets at the Australian Defence Force Academy are told their reputations are fragile and are cautioned their male peers could be competing to sleep with them. ...[F]irst year female students received a separate briefing from their male peers about practices such as “Dully hunting” -- where older students compete to sleep with female first years, or Dullies. According to the submission, the first year students can also be warned about male students seeking “to win a trifecta” -- or sleep with a female from each service”. Many of the 24 submissions received to date praise the Defence Force for taking steps to make its culture more inclusive.... (Wilson 2011b, 29 September, p. 8)

The headline and story “Female cadets warned over sex” was an example of a rape culture headline that drew our attention towards the responsibility of female cadets who were warned about “sex”. Interestingly, male sexual aggression was conflated with “sex” in this headline: This lexical choice focused our attention on sex rather than sexual violence and suggests that sexual violence is about sex. These narratives parallel those found by Meyers (2010) discussed in Chapter 1. Overall, they shifted our attention away from male perpetrators, norms of militarized masculinities and the systemic condoning of abuse toward more simple blame narratives of female responsibility and avoidance. Apparently, briefing older male students about not targeting young female cadets in competitions of sexual aggression was not perceived as important. Articles demonstrate how female sexual objectification and predation were gendered expectations of men and male cadets.

While the media framed warnings to female cadets as evidence that the ADFA was trying to protect women, these discourses ultimately legitimized beliefs of inherent gender differences, aggressive male sexuality as well as rape culture ideas that women need protecting and men are prone to misogynistic attitudes that can lead to sexual violence. Competitions that objectified

women were presented as uncontrollable in staff and cadet culture and natural for young men like McDonald who inevitably get into mischief and act out natural sexual needs. My analytical lens sees these as implicit representations of McDonald presumed innocence and reproduced norms of militarized masculinities where sexual aggression was a normal part of soldiering.

High levels of sexism were reported on in light of the AHRC's findings of poor behaviour at the ADFA:

The Sex Discrimination Commissioner, Elizabeth Broderick, has found widespread low level sexual harassment exists at the Defence Force Academy in Canberra. Broderick says the telling of sexually explicit jokes is prevalent and there is inadequate supervision of shared accommodation and bathrooms. Broderick was asked to investigate conduct following the 'Skype-sex scandal'. The Commissioner says there is a serious culture of gender-based inequality and notes that there is a high level of staff turnover which implies staff are not happy in their jobs... ('The Sex Discrimination Commissioner', 2011, 3 November)

A culture of gender-based inequality was presented in autumn news stories as one of the causes of the "Skype sex scandal". In later representations of McDonald, the culture at the ADFA was contextualized as one based on sexist inequality where sexually explicit jokes and misogynistic attitudes were commonplace. In these stories, ADFA staff was commonly presented as disgruntled and not likely to take action against the entrenched system since they were likely to leave. Inadequate supervision of mixed gender accommodation and bathrooms were discussed as additional context to the environment that led to the incident involving McDonald, Kate and half a dozen other cadets. News representations of the report triggered in part by the "Skype sex scandal" worked to shift responsibility away from McDonald, towards disgruntled staff and surveillance structures at the ADFA rather than rape culture ideologies on campus. Sexual violence was represented as normal if men are given the opportunity and proper surveillance is not in effect. By emphasizing the lack of supervision in place for shared accommodation and bathrooms, surveillance was positioned as the solution to violence against women on campus

rather than teaching men not to sexually harass, objectify or sexually assault women. While lack of supervision might suggest that the ADFA administration did not prioritize reducing sexual violence, adding surveillance will not dismantle militarized norms of militarized masculinities that encourage and naturalize sexual violence. If misogynistic staff is “supervising” common areas, gendered violence will not necessarily improve since rape culture and militarized norms of masculinities need to be uprooted. How representations of McDonald function within a broader discourse on militarized masculinities becomes visible when contextualizing representations of militarized sexual violence and violence against women as embedded in a broader militarized rape culture where misogyny and sexual aggression are normalized as masculine.

In early November of 2011 many news narratives summarized comments from AHRC’s Ms. Broderick along with the official statistics from the AHRC report.

The report found 74 per cent of female cadets and 30 per cent of men had endured unacceptable gender or sex-based harassment... While behaviour had improved since a 1998 review into ADFA [the Grey Review discussed in the Introduction] the sex discrimination commissioner said harassment was still under-reported as victims feared reprisals in a system where the complaints process was “cumbersome”. “People talk to us about a fear that they may be victimised if they did bring a complaint,” she said. She also criticised the male dominated military culture, where only 20 per cent of ADFA cadets are female. “It is what some people describe as the warrior culture,” she said. (“Fed: Three in Four”, 2011, 3 November)

Like earlier news stories, articles reporting on the findings from the AHRC report presented the issue of sexual harassment and gendered violence as a problem caused by men and their dominance in the military inevitably leading to a warrior style culture. The ADFA’s male-dominated warrior culture of condoning sexual violence was presumed to be the by-product of male biology that is incapable of cultural change, prone to sexually harass and lacking compassion. Embedded within these statements was the presupposition that sexism and compassion are biological and men are perpetrators who cannot create safer spaces. When

unpacking and contextualizing these discursive assumptions via the work of Harrison and Laliberté (2002) discussed earlier, I find that representations of sexual violence are part of a broader silent discourses on militarized masculinities where sexual violence, violence against women and supporting perpetrators are gendered norms of masculinities in the military. For instance, while not talking about militarized masculinities, reporting on Broderick's statement silently revealed how sexual violence and condoning sexual violence is a gendered norm of militarized masculinities. When we contextualize the ideological pillars of warriorhood as being based on the military's masculine gender norms of misogyny, sexualized aggression and violence, it becomes clear how indirect representations about McDonald functioned in ways that affirmed and naturalized the connection between militarized masculinities and sexual violence. News stories suggested introducing more women into the Defence Force as a simple solution to campus sexual harassment, McDonald's behaviour and the campus's warrior culture. From my analytical lens, warriorhood is not dependent on sexed bodies but on gendered scripts of soldiering and militarized masculinities which valorize sexual aggression, misogyny and violence. Discourses that present adding more women into the ADFA distanced agency and responsibility away from the cultural and gendered structures of idealized soldiering.

News stories reported on the fear survivors experienced when considering bringing a complaint of sexual violence. Stories presented a "cumbersome" ("Fed: Three in Four", 2011, 3 November) process and fear of being re-victimized as factors that discouraged victims from filing complaints. My close reading suggests that the system of militarized masculinities that seeks to support and protect perpetrators also produces reporting mechanisms that fail to consider the needs of survivors. Dominant discourses shifted responsibility and blame away from male perpetrators and gendered structures of militarized masculinities, towards failed strategies

of prevention, bureaucratic processes and “alcohol abuse” (Nicholson and Dodd 2011, 4 November, p. 3). In an effort to explain why “women disproportionately experience...whistling, sexist and offensive remarks, put down and unwanted attempts to establish a sexual relationship” (Nicholson and Dodd 2011, 4 November, p. 3) it was explained that:

The [AHRC] report found strict rules against fraternisation at ADFA were routinely ignored by senior staff. It was common practice for cadets to engage in romances and casual sexual relationships. The ADFA probe found widespread alcohol abuse by cadets, with women encouraged to take part in prolonged drinking sessions with their male counterparts. But the report said this probably reflected society's standards for Australian youth generally (Nicholson and Dodd 2011d, 4 November, pp. 3)

These representations implied that female cadets shared responsibility for the harassment and violence inflicted against them since they routinely participated in prolonged drinking sessions with their male peers and broke the poorly enforced rules of fraternization by engaging in “romances and casual sexual relationships”. Within this rape culture logic, sexual violence is prompted by sexual relationships between cadets on campus suggesting that women who begin romances, sexual relationships or abuse alcohol with men knowingly disregard rules they know protect them and leave themselves vulnerable to harassment and assault. These findings presented sexual assault as an act about sex and normal male sexual desires, obscuring the ways in which encouraging women to get drunk is a common practice college rapists use to sexually assault their younger female peers in a drinking culture that gives men the idea that they have the right to women’s bodies (Katz and Kilborne, 2004). Articles presented fraternization as a problem, rather than a systemic gendered and militarized script of misogynistic militarized masculinities. With sexual harassment presented as a common by-product of drinking it was implied that both men and women share responsibility for sexual violence, obscuring the role of gendered norms. This type of narrative is based in a double standard where men who abuse

alcohol and commit sexual assault are represented as less responsible, whereas women who drink and are sexually assaulted are represented as more responsible or sharing responsibility with the men who objectify and assault them (Katz and Kilborne, 2004). By contextualizing representations of sexual violence as reflective of militarized gender norms of masculinities, the broader silent story surrounding the Skype case can be traced to a system of militarized masculinities.

The reliance on sex differences as a dominant explanation for sexual violence is not simply presented in the ADFA narrative but also in stories surrounding representations of the Abu Ghraib case, which reported on the sadistic sexualized aggression from prison guards like Specialist Graner and Private England on Iraqi prisoners. Charles Graner was a U.S. military guard in Tier one of the Iraq prison named Abu Ghraib in the second Iraq war. During his time as a military guard at Abu Ghraib he abused and sexual assaulted detainees and collected what has been described as trophies of the abuse him and his colleagues inflicted on detainees. Stories represented the sexualized violence at Abu Ghraib as particularly shocking because it involved a female, Private Lynndie England, (Graner's girlfriend) abusing male prisoners, as this opinion piece excerpt from The Times indicates.

If equality looks like Lynndie, why would we want it?

...[W]hat awful transgression has occurred to make a woman do this. In wars, as in civilian life, the overwhelming majority of sexual violence is committed by men against women. So that England, with her arm around her lover Charles Graner, thumbs-up beside bodies kicked into obscene poses, is all the more shocking: a traitor, a collaborator, Rose West to his Fred... whatever the courage and skill of female troops, they cannot beat biology. Women are smaller and physically less strong than men. Therefore, their presence in the military will always be contingent upon male approval. And how do they obtain that if they can't hump the same weight of kit or run as fast? They adopt the tough, unemotional male military mind-set and, as Lynndie England proves, in this at least they can beat the big boys...(Turner 2004, 8 May, pp. 25).

The idea of sexual violence being a militarized activity for masculine men was an insight explored in the IR feminist literature on sexual violence in war which found that male sexual violence has been normalized as not only an act of masculinity/ies but also as a militarized expectation of the sexuality of soldiers (Price, 2001). Miranda Alison's (2007) work acknowledged the reality of male victims and female agents of sexual violence, finding that "sexual humiliation of a man from another ethnicity is perceived by soldiers as proof not only that he is a lesser man but also that his ethnicity is a lesser ethnicity" (p. 87). Insights from Price (2001) and Alison (2007) inform my analytical lens that contextualizes the above representation of Graner and England as relying on the assumption that sexual violence functioned as performances of masculinities. Furthermore, by contextualizing these representations through the work of Harrison and Laliberté (2002), Whitworth (2004) and Halberstam (1995) I maintain that it become more apparent how these narratives reflected discursive and material norms of white militarized masculinities, where sexual violence and aggression were performances of militarized masculinities which can be deployed by both men and women.

This story assumes that sexual violence is for men and an act we expect some men to commit against women, not the other way around. The main cause for concern in many articles was gender "transgression" rather than racist imperial violence expressed via sexual aggression. By presenting Lynndie England's violence at Abu Ghraib as an example of an "awful" gender "transgression" or an effort to keep up or "beat the big boys", the implicit assumption is that male sexual aggression is not a transgression but an expected gendered activity some men will perform in order to affirm their manhood. While news representations explicitly presented Graner as a bad apple at home and abroad, the media's focus on Lynndie England's story paradoxically implied that Graner's actions were what we should at some level expect of men.

The “all the more shocking” narrative requires a particular naturalized understanding of sexual aggression as masculine or manly and helps reveal how representations related to Graner showcasesilent discourses about militarized masculinities.

Colonel Williams, introduced earlier, was the commander of Canada’s largest military base. He was charged and found guilty in the murders of two women (one a female military colleague), two sexual assaults targeting women and eighty-two home invasions where he collected the intimate belonging of women and girls in the homes he invaded. During his crimes he took numerous pictures and videos in order to catalogue his break-ins and assaults, which were represented in the media as “trophies”. The reported purpose of his home invasions was to steal and collect the bras and panties of his female victims as trophies until his obsession escalated into taking pictures and videos of his sexual assaults and murders. News narratives framed Williams as a sex killer with a panty fetish who broke into homes to satisfy his fetish until his obsession escalated into sexual assaults and murder. Representations of Williams will be discussed at length in the following chapters. In this chapter on sexual violence it is important to note that narratives about Williams functioned to attach his violence and targeted aggression towards women as related to kinky sex rather than associated with militarized norms of sexual aggression, misogyny and excessive violence. While narratives about McDonald, Graner and Williams differ greatly, reporting on the nature and causes for their violence in each case was framed largely in terms of sex and biology.

Headlines functioned to naturalize Williams’ violence and individualize blame on his body through the metaphor of monster: “Colonel in court for sex killing charges” (Hurley, 2010f, 23 July, p. 11), “Can any treatment rehabilitate a sex depraved monster?” (Kirkey, 2010, 23 October, p. B3), “Sex-tainted top Canadian Commander quits” (“Sex-tainted,” 2010, 26 November) and

“Military cuts final ties to sex killer” (“Military cuts,” 2010, 11 December). This rhetorical strategy worked to simplify the nature of his sexual violence and obscured systemic questions related to gender violence and norms of militarized sexual aggression. The systemic problem of misogyny and sexual aggression in the military was concealed from view by conflating sexual violence with sex and blaming his sex-tainted body for sexual violence. I argue that representations of Williams ought to be read as extended scripts of militarized masculinities based in a militarized rape culture where sex is conflated with sexual violence and responsibility for sexual violence is individualized on bad apples.

Former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) profiler Craig Ackley explained to NBC News that Williams’ videos were like a “pornography collection, in which he was the star” (“NBC News Today”, 2011, 18 February). These statements presumed that Williams’ torture, humiliation and rape of women was simply born out of a desire for kinky sex and a pornography collection. This idea of Williams simply creating a pornography collection in which he was the star works to normalize and conflate sexual violence with sex in a similar way we see sexual violence being conflated with sex in the ADFA case. I situate these assumptions and representations of sexual violence in a context where misogyny, sexual aggression and excessive violence were norms of masculine soldiering. By situating representations of sexual violence in context it becomes evident from my analytical lens that discourses that normalized the sexual violence of military men expose scripts of militarized masculinities.

In this section we learned that sexual aggression was naturalized and positioned as masculine behaviours we ought to teach women to expect and protect themselves against. Through a close reading of news narratives on McDonald, Graner and Williams, we see how sexual violence was conflated with sex and how discourses presumed that part of being a masculine soldier was

having a tendency to express or condone sexual aggression and the devaluation of femininity.

Relying on theoretical insights discussed in Chapter 1 which link militarized masculinity/ies with sexual violence, I situated representations of military sexual violence as perpetuating status quo scripts of militarized masculinities based on gendered hierarchies, race and excessive violence.

Bonding and Loyalty

The [ADFA] guys in one div stole one of the girls' underwear from her dryer and hung it up in the common room. In another div, guys were getting naked and knocking on the girls doors and dancing round in front of them thinking it was funny. [AHRC, 2011, former cadet, p. 44)

Second and third year [ADFA] guys used to knock on the first-year div doors late at night looking for sex. They used to ask the person who opened the door to take them to the easiest and hottest girl in the div's room. [AHRC, 2011, former cadet, p. 44]⁶¹

Bonding and loyalty were themes in the literature on militarized masculinity/ies and sexual violence. Authors like Price (2001) and Alison (2007) talked about how bonding and loyalty helped to justify militarized sexual violence. The theoretical point I want to make in this section is that representations of bonding and loyalty in the McDonald narrative showcase discourses of militarized masculinities. This section explores how militarized bonding and loyalty was presented in the news as an explanation for the "Skype sex scandal" and the ways in which McDonald's planned sexual violation was explained as a celebrated group activity that reflected expected male behaviour in the military. These violent male norms among male ADFA cadets were discussed in the news as being made permissible by a chain of command that trivialized their aggressive actions and remained loyal to male cadets whose behaviour was talked about as part of normal male bonding activities. I contextualize representations that

⁶¹ These quotes from the AHRC report featuring female cadet testimonies highlight how sexual violence and harassment is a celebrated group activity among many male ADFA cadets.

trivialized and normalized sexual violence as part of a longstanding militarized tradition and discourse where militarized masculinities are about the approval of sexual aggression. As discussed in the last section, when Kate came forward with her story the news represented McDonald's actions as ordinary. Extending from this logic that McDonald's actions were ordinary, news stories presented McDonald's actions as unfortunate but at some level necessary for Australian soldiering and defence as seen in the following example:

The dark side of mateship in Australian military ranks

This culture is established around men and their ideas of manhood. Warfare is almost an exclusively male enterprise. The ADF is a predominantly male domain. When men seek to close ranks they exclude others and they use language and practices that marginalise, and subordinate those others. Perverse sexuality, racist terms, bullying and intimidation consolidate the boundary between a group of mates and "the enemy". Binge drinking and sharing sexual adventures intensify the sense of being one. It is the dark side of mateship. We are left with an inherent paradox of militarism. Military personnel, largely men, must work closely together to endure the hardships of combat and warfare. Mateship motivates bravery, courage and sacrifice, the stuff our national legends are built upon. But the flip side is an unrestrained potential for violation, exclusion and hostility that includes sexual predation, excessive alcoholism, racism and intimidation..." (Wadham 2011, 5 April)

Wadham presents the culture of the ADFA as established around white men and their sexualized ideas about what being a man is about. The process of creating unified national warriors is presented as indebted in part to exclusionary practices of racist language, sexual harassment and bullying. McDonald's behaviour was presented as a part of this "mateship" and was talked about as a productive practice that allows white military men to feel they belong to an exclusive group. According to Wadham, sharing sexual adventures, bullying, racism, intimidation and binge drinking are an unfortunate militarized means to a desirable militarized end. In this article Kate was presented as collateral damage from a valuable practice of male bonding that intensifies the majority of soldier's sense of solidarity and helps to mark the boundaries between loyal male mates in a unit and the enemy. Wadham's comments functioned to align our sympathies with

Australian militarism and misogynistic/racist soldiering as a necessary evil that contextualizes male cadet behaviours at the ADFA. My analytical lens helps explain how bonding and loyalty fuel sexual violence in the military, at war and as a means to prove masculinities in the military⁶². I argue that comments suggesting sexual violence, bonding and loyalty are necessary, rely on the assumption that sexual violence is biological or a reflection of male norms, when in reality it is a reflection of social scripts of militarized masculinities where participating in or condoning sexual violence is considered masculine and valuable.

In the Skype case, the chain of command at the ADFA quickly decided not to suspend or expel McDonald and the other boys involved in the scandal⁶³. Loyalty to McDonald was displayed despite the fact that McDonald's plan and actions were well documented and distributed around campus for all to see. Much of the news reporting on the "Skype sex scandal" was not how the male cadets showed lack of loyalty to Kate, or how Commodore Kafer demonstrated a lack of loyalty to female cadets, but how Minister Smith showed lack of loyalty to the ADF. Smith's criticism of the ADFA leadership and quick suspension of ADFA Commodore Kafer was heavily critiqued in the news as based on faulty information and as going contrary to a long-standing convention where expressing faith in the chain of command is necessary. These next excerpts quoting Senator Minchin, former Special Air Service (SAS) Commander Jim Wallace, Minister Smith himself and reporter Chris Uhlmann make clear the

⁶² Theoretical insights from Harrison and Laliberté (2002) explain that harassing and asserting dominance over people considered different is an important way bonding takes place in the military and how bonding and proving loyalty are integral to the militarized gender system and its norms of sexual violence within the ranks, military communities and at war.

⁶³ Interestingly, in the summer of 2013 it was reported that one of the men in the "Skype sex scandal" who remained at the ADFA has been involved in sexual initiation rituals forcing junior cadets to kiss the genitals of senior cadets. This occurred days after the discovery of a Jedi Council Sex Email scandal involving more than 200 in an email chain with sexist and degrading photos of women, service women and female cadets, which included ADF members up the chain of command to level of Lieutenant Colonel.

persistent attack on Minister Smith. These male leaders presented standing up for a female cadet whistleblower as an act that highlighted a lack of loyalty to the ADF and the Chief of the ADF in particular.

Smith should apologise to commandant: Minchin

... "I think politicians should butt out at this point, they should leave it to Chief of the Defence Force to properly investigate at this point." Senator Minchin said if an independent review were to be conducted it would need to address the minister's intervention. Mr. James agreed. "The minister has dug himself into this hole and he should stop digging," he said. "He publicly interfered in on-going Defence Force disciplinary proceedings contrary to long-standing conventions and probably the law." (Ellerly 2011b, 9 April p. 4)

The comments from Senator Minchin demonstrate how the chain of command was talked about as an honourable structure of merit which should not be questioned or disrespected, especially by civilians who should always remain loyal to their military servicemen. Minister Stephen Smith responded by saying in an interview "...Some people in public, public commentators, have said that I should be hung, drawn and quartered for having the temerity to say that dealing with the other disciplinary matters at the same time was wrong. And I've made my view about that absolutely crystal clear" (Woodley, 11 April). The following day ABC News presented the views of senior officers who explained how standing up and speaking out against the chain of command, no matter the circumstance, is an act that shows a lack of loyalty to the ADF.

Chris Uhlmann: Most of the serving and former senior officers contacted by 7.30 say the Defence Minister has overstepped in his determination to bring his military advisers to heel. They say they're angry and dismayed at the way Stephen Smith has conducted himself. One retired General said the Minister had shown a lack of loyalty to Defence. A sentiment repeated by many others. But almost none were prepared to speak about the conflict on camera. Jim Wallace is a former commander of the elite Special Air Service.

Jim Wallace, Former SAS Commander: I think clearly the Minister has every right to hold people accountable, but in this particular occasion he's acted pre-emptively and has

not shown loyalty to Commodore Kafer and really that is my major objection to what's happened and the way it's been handled. (Uhlmann 2011a, 12 April)

My contextualized reading of political comments against Minister Smith's outspoken critique of ADFA leadership finds that they are in part demonstrative of why sexual violence is condoned and tolerated in the military. By calling out protectors of perpetrators, even Defence Minister Smith's loyalty to the military can be put into question. Representations suggested that soldiers learn in the military that sexual violence and protecting perpetrators is about loyalty to male colleagues, traditions and norms of militarized masculinities, not loyalty to female colleagues or victims of assault.

Some critical opinions were expressed in the news. For instance, former defence head Paul Barrett called for the expulsion of the male cadets and Defence Minister Smith made numerous critical statements and stood behind his suspension of Commodore Kafer who he argued wrongly went ahead with disciplinary actions against Kate. Most of the reporting on the ADFA's decision not to suspend the boys involved, suggested that their behaviour of sexually humiliating a female cadet was still an alleged incident and quoted Defence Director James, who claimed that there was no need to get sucked into "hysteria" based on "confusion" and faulty information (Gratton, 2011, 11 April, p.3). News stories suggested that while the allegations were unfortunate there was no cause for automatic suspension or assumed guilt of both Commodore Kafer and the male cadets involved.

Julia Gillard, Australian Prime Minister, supports the decision not to suspend a group of male Defence recruits who are accused of being involved in the Skype sex scandal. Federal police are continuing to investigate claims that an 18-year-old female cadet was secretly broadcast online having sex... ("Julia Gillard", 2011, 12 April)

Emphasis was placed on the presumption of innocence and the police investigation that was underway. Discourses surrounding the decision not to suspend the boys involved, demonstrated

how the chain of command remained publically loyal to male cadets over female cadets even though they obviously humiliated a colleague and broke campus rules.

Defence...said that the seven cadets at the centre of the so-called ``Skype sex scandal" were entitled to the presumption of innocence and that was why they had not been suspended from the academy campus. (McPhedran, 2011w, 14 April, p. 10)

Going ahead with disciplinary actions against Kate so quickly after going public with her story, and chastising Minister Smith for critiquing the ADFA's protection of perpetrators, confirms how women and sexual assault allies were not treated with the same loyalty, respect or value as misogynistic male members both within and outside of the ADF and ADFA. My close reading found that sexual violence came to be defensible in the news and by the ADF and ADFA not simply because the actions were still "alleged" but also because sexual aggression targeting women is a norm of militarized masculinities and because responsibility for the incident was framed as being partially Kate's fault.

Defence Director James' comments reported in Maiden's (2011b, 17 April) news article framed Kate as a "troubled lass" who should be kicked out of the ADFA for at least a semester. The rationale for wanting to remove Kate from the ADFA for at least a semester was not so she can heal from the trauma she experienced, but so that her return would not disrupt "group dynamics". Reporting on Mr. James's statement highlights the ways in which group dynamics disregard women in favor of the majority (white men), positioning women as second-class service members or guests of the group rather than real members. From Mr. James' statements the group dynamics of male cadets came before female rights to be in the service. Comments suggesting Kate should be suspended from campus were reported on and justified because she was presented as the true enemy and trouble maker who breached the rules of drinking,

fraternization and wrongly went to the public with complaints of abuse (which the ADFA has a rule against). Framing Kate as the cadet who disrupted group dynamics infers that misogyny, sexual aggression and loyalty to perpetrators do not disrupt group dynamics because they are the norm. The underlying assumption in these types of comments was that misogynistic male group dynamics were more important than gendered abuse. While the boys should logically be the true enemies to group cohesion and loyalty between all cadets, male and female, these statements deflect our attention away from the actions of the cadet and towards the image of Kate as an enemy who needs to be displaced. The Defence Director naturalized male sexual violence and demonstrated how women were understood as guests in the ADFA who ought to leave the Armed Forces if they do not follow the rules in place to protect them against normal male aggression. By framing Kate as a traitor who was not loyal to the chain of command or fellow male cadets (who were humiliated when she told her story to the media) we learn how the ADFA and its cadet culture remain loyal to the male majority and show disdain for violence against women and the trauma associated with being sexually objectified, antagonized and violated. I argue that the discursive backlash against whistleblowers of sexual violence was in part due to their gender transgression against the norms of militarized masculinities that celebrate, normalize or condone this type of aggression. Within this militarized rape culture I argue that women and men are not likely to come forward with complaints of sexual harassment and assault not simply out of fear that they will be punished for coming forward but also out of fear they will be singled out for not performing militarized masculinities.

Through representations of the Skype scandal, news narratives explained that McDonald's male colleagues involved in the Skype scandal watched the secret event with approval and joined in by taking and distributing their own collection of photographs that

sexually antagonized Kate and made McDonald into a hero. However, news stories tended to obscure the culpability of the male onlookers whose names were suppressed and actions trivialized. IR feminists explain that scripts of militarized masculinity/ies normalize sexual violence, misogyny and aggression as biological and normal. This may explain why no news stories asked why a group of male cadets watched the event with such approval, or why they chose to sexually antagonize Kate after the event via photographs taken during the live Skype screening⁶⁴. News representations never asked why none of the men watching the Skype broadcast chose to spoil the plan. By failing to ask these types of questions their actions were implied in the discourse to be natural or inevitable. This helped to conceal the ways in which spoiling a fellow cadet's plan would have transgressed expected militarized gender norms of masculinities that normalize and condone sexual violence and aggression. I argue that news representations did not question the actions of voyeur cadets because doing so would have challenged the entire status quo system of militarized masculinities. Performances of militarized masculinities exist in a militarized setting where sexual violence and remaining loyal to militarized perpetrators is normalized. Within the ADFA's rape culture, where sexual objectification is celebrated, McDonald's colleagues would have singled themselves out as wimps or traitors who were not one of the boys and not part of the military brotherhood by disrupting the plan. By framing these cadets as simply "voyeurs" who should continue at the ADFA we learn their actions were perceived as normal, biological, and fit for service. My contextualized reading argues that news representations of the male cadets as voyeurs were part of a broader silent discourse on militarized masculinities that occluded how they too performed militarized masculinities, by the acceptance and celebration of McDonald's sexual violence.

⁶⁴ "...a young female cadet's sexual tryst had been allegedly broadcast, without her knowledge, to a room of voyeurs sitting nearby" (Stuart 2011, 3 May, p. 4).

Representations teach us how discourses of militarized masculinities are not simply about performing sexual violence or harassment, they are also about accepting, normalizing or celebrating sexual aggression, often against women. Representations of male cadets who remained loyal to one another reflect militarized norms of masculinities which revolve around not breaking male mateship or trust and supporting the sexual objectification of women.

The appeals and testimonies from ADFA staff like Lieutenant Brennan received media attention during the early court coverage and helped to present McDonald as a good guy and “not a threat to himself or anyone else” (Rout and Dodd, 2011, 21 May, p. 3). Members of the ADF’s chain of command publicly testified that McDonald was a respectable young cadet who should be able to move on with his service at the ADFA. Support from ADFA staff allowed the original restraining order against McDonald to be reduced to only five meters so that McDonald could resume his studies and military career. Public statements made by ADF officials continued to teach cadets that McDonald’s sexual objectification of women was acceptable and that perpetrators will be protected by the chain of command. Statements made by Lieutenant Brennan, Defence Director James, Commodore Kafer and Senator Minchin in reaction to militarized sexual violence as just boys being boys, demonstrated how discourses of militarized masculinities were informed by rape culture and associated with willingness to use or support misogyny, aggression and sexual violence.

In October 2013 both McDonald and DeBlaquire were found guilty in the Skype scandal but avoided jail time. During the coverage of these final court proceedings it came out that Kate had not received support from peers at the ADFA as had McDonald and DeBlaquire. Instead colleagues “bullied and ostracized her across the ADF” and referred to her as the “Skype slut”

(Knas and Inmand, 2013, 23 October). These behaviours were framed as relatively expected reactions in the news. From my close reading of these representations, I argue that stories about McDonald and cadet culture were indebted to the norms of militarized masculinities that naturalize rape culture, perpetrators of sexual violence and normalize antagonizing victims of sexual violence. Sexual violence and aggression are integral parts of idealized soldiering and militarized masculinities. If cadets were to wilfully show support for Kate via actions of empathy and care they would be performing an act of gender transgression in the ADF which goes against entrenched norms of militarized masculinities that naturalize sexual violence.

In closing, representations which presented sexual violence and the condoning of sexual violence as an activity military personnel are expected to partake in if given the opportunity, assumed that sexual violence was a natural behaviour of male warriors, loyalty and bonding. My reading of news narratives found representations which justified sexual violence as part of sexual differences, bonding and loyalty were part of a broader discursive system producing knowledge about militarized masculinities as violent, misogynistic and based on sexual aggression and loyalty to perpetrators. In the Skype scandal these activities were presented as not all bad and necessary for militarization and our security. In the ADFA case the bonding of male cadets was framed as an important exclusive activity that involves a closing of the ranks. While the incidents themselves were presented as unfortunate they were justified as normal activities of men preparing for war, where establishing bonds with one another and proving their loyalty to the group is essential in combat situations where self sacrifice is expected for the betterment of the group. Questioning the sexual violence and misogyny of colleagues and the chain of command was presented as an expression of being a traitor and showing disrespect to the group because sexual violence I argue is a cornerstone of soldiering and militarized masculinities.

What is important to take from this section is an understanding of how representations of participating in, normalizing or condoning sexual violence was presented as a performance of loyalty and militarized masculinities. Speaking up against sexual violence was implied in discourses to be an act of gender transgression because sexual violence is understood as masculine.

Perpetrating or Condoning Sexual Violence

Militarized sexual violence has been explained through feminist research as being prompted in part by men wishing to assert and/or prove their masculinity/ies and loyalty to one another. Price (2001) presents gang rape as a practice of bonding which brings soldiers together as virile and heterosexual comrades, much like in fraternities. According to Price (2001) sexual violence in a militarized context allows men to demonstrate to one another that they are “real men” and worthy of inclusion in the brotherhood. In the case of Yugoslavia, Price (2001) argues that sexual violence allowed soldiers to prove to one another that they were real Serbs who are loyal to the masculine nation. As such, sexual violence acted as a way of maintaining masculine rank among colleagues and protected against humiliation and domination by other men (Kimmel, 1990 cited in Price, 2001). In other words, sexual violence is about asserting a type of masculinity and is viewed as a sexualized performance that wards off threats of being labeled un-loyal, suspicious, feminine, weak, or different.

My contextualized reading of narratives on military sexual violence and condoning sexual aggression found that these activities were assumed to be a marker or impulse of masculine soldiering and bodies. In news narratives the sexual violence of military personnel was often presented or assumed to be a male activity reflecting an expected male sexuality. The themes presented throughout this chapter are of dominant discourses that surround militarized

sexual violence and help highlight the types of gendered knowledge proliferated around militarized sexual violence. My analysis of representations of sexual violence and condoning sexual predation underscores how this behaviour is part of a broader obscured discourse about militarized masculinities.

This chapter extends Price's (2001) work and others discussed at length in Chapter 1, by finding that it is not just participation in sexual violence that allows military men (and some women) to affirm their masculinity but also the acceptance and condoning of sexual violence as a prevalent feature of militarized masculinities. Sexually antagonizing colleagues who have been sexually harassed and supporting perpetrators of sexual violence are all performances of militarized masculinities. By blowing the whistle on sexual violence and gendered harassment both male and female military personnel risk discipline from the chain of command and single themselves out as soldiers who do not meet the norms of militarized masculinities, which accept sexual violence. Therefore, sexual violence on and off military bases is not simply accepted but ought to be viewed as being prompted in part by a culture of militarized masculinities.

Chapter 4: Militarized Masculinities, Trophies and Competitions for the Cup

I analyse and contextualize representations of Colonel Williams, cadet McDonald and Specialist Graner in this chapter, assessing how they were presented as trophy capturers. I explore how trophy collecting was represented and how representations illuminate a connection between trophies and militarized masculinities. More specifically, I examine what representations and discursive silences around the trophies collected of Williams, McDonald and Graner reveal about militarized masculinities. A wide range of interdisciplinary scholarship explored in Chapter 1 found that trophies are often used as identity objects for performing masculinities (Messner, 1992; Peralta, 2007; Brandth and Haugen, 2006; Burstyn, 1999; Teaiwa, 2008; Arking and Dobrofsky, 1978)⁶⁵. The research on trophies suggests that masculine status is affirmed in contrast to feminized “Others” when trophies are earned.

In this chapter I rely on scholarship related to militarization and militarized masculinity/ies as well as the research linking trophy collecting to masculinities in order to argue that representations of Williams’, Graner’s and McDonald’s trophies (re)produced theorized norms of militarized masculinities, based on sexualized aggression, ableism and dehumanization. The work of Teaiwa (2008) and Arking and Dobrofsky (1978) who found that military medals and honours affirm “the combined ideal of masculinity and citizenship” (2008, p. 122), increase individuals status and are used as evidence to how the military can “make a man out of you” (1978, p. 154) will be relied upon as part of my analytical frame which understands representations of militarized trophy (medal and badge) collecting and their displays as

⁶⁵ As discussed at great length in Chapter 1, Micheal Messner found that sports display masculine athleticism, superiority and ability (1992), Terissa Teaiwa found that military medals are rewards for masculine soldiering and citizenship (2008). Varda Burstyn (1999) found that women’s bodies are objectified and de-humanized as prizes for masculine soldiering in war. Robert Peralta found that empty beer bottle collections were viewed as trophies that proved the strength of masculine bodies (2007) And Berit Brandth and Marit Haugen found that killing or ‘catching’ animals in hunting or fishing adventures and displaying their remains proved masculine superiority, strength and skill (2006).

contextualized by and part of a broader discourse related to idealized soldiering and militarized masculinities. In addition, the work of Brandth and Haugen (2006), Burstyn (1999) and Messner (1992) will be used to deconstruct and contextualize how representations of unconventional trophies like photos and panties have gendered meaning.

As we should remember, militarization is profoundly violent and based on hierarchies of race and gender (Lee, 2008). This critical understanding of militarization helps inform my analysis and contextualized reading of trophy collecting narratives and silences. Moreover, militarized masculinities are connected to a willingness to dominate racialized others imagined as enemies (Shigmatu et al, 2008), excessive violence vis a vis the other (Eichler, 2012), devaluations of difference (Whitworth, 2004), an aggressive sexuality which contrasts with the enemy (Price, 2001; Alison, 2007), sexual control of women's bodies (Enloe, 1990; Parpart 2010; Eriksson, Baaz and Stern, 2009), dominance (Chew, 2008), ableist norms (Serlin, 2003), physical and mental toughness (Brown, 2012), and being fit for combat via a physically robust embodiment with the ability to withstand pain, suppress emotions and function as a combatant (Goldstein, 2001). This understanding of militarized masculinities is the prism through which stories about trophy collecting can be contextualized as not simply a practice of aberrant military men but also silently reflective of militarized gender practices and discourses of militarized masculinities. News reporting presented trophy collecting as an important practice in the cases but de-contextualized their militarized significance and represented the practices as the by-product of individual sadism, madness or deviancy.

My analytical frame, which views militarized masculinities as connected to the gendered practice of trophy collecting, is deployed in my close reading of news discourses and helps politicize representations of fetish trophies as gendered discourses related to performances of

militarized masculinities. By contextualizing representations of trophy collecting and unpacking representations via critical discourse tools of analysis such as ideological squaring, I found that the discursive shadow behind representations of trophy collecting depicting sexual and racist violence were militarized masculinities and its scripts of misogyny, ableism and excessive violence. Dominant portrayals of Williams, Graner and McDonald as trophy capturers, hunters or competitors are discourses related to militarized masculinities, ableism, racial hierarchies and misogyny. Representations of sexualized trophy collecting which framed panties, women and tortured detainees in Iraq as trophies only makes sense through the mobilization of deeply held militarized and gendered norms related to ableism, racism, misogyny and dominance. This relates to my overall argument that trophy collecting is part of overarching discourses of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon nations, based on celebrated militarized norms of sexualized aggression, ableism, gender and racial hierarchies and dehumanization.

Military personnel with badges and medals showcasing the places of their service, their participation in conflict and their distinguished service to the nation were represented as civilized and valuable soldiers; whereas the trophies of criminalized soldiers were framed as symbols of deviance and juxtaposed with honourable military medals. This discursive juxtaposition is the by-product of what van Dijk (1997) calls “ideological squaring”. As discussed earlier, ideological squaring is where opposing concepts are part of a network of meanings built around participants, where participants can be implicitly understood as good or bad without explicit evaluations (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 40). While military medals and sexualized trophies were explicitly and implicitly presented as different, my close contextualized reading of representations deconstructs how they are similar in their logic and both reproduce scripts of militarized masculinities. I explore the binary between good soldiers and bad apples in this

chapter through representations of trophy collecting, where military medals got represented as symbols of ideal soldiering, whereas representations of panties or fetish trophies were built around the image of deviancy. Extending the work of Messner (1992), Teaiwa (2008) and Burstyn (1999), I find that representations of military medals suggested they were gendered mementos that affirm masculinity. When we understand how militarized masculinities are associated with sexualized aggression, ableism, misogyny and racist dehumanization, we can unpack representations of the trophies collected by Williams, Graner and McDonald as reproducing these same gendered scripts of militarized masculinities, albeit to their logical extremes.

Through my analysis of dominant news narratives, I found that representations of the fetish trophies of military men are part of broader underlying discourses of militarized masculinities based on themes of 1) misogyny, sexualized aggression and ableism, as well as 2) dehumanizing violence and racism. These discursive elements of trophy collecting will be the two axes through which this chapter and my three cases will be explored. They were derived from the theoretical insights of Burstyn (1999), Teaiwa (2008), Arking and Dobrofsky (1978), Brandth and Haugen (2006), Messner (1992), Peralta (2007), Brown (2012), Goldstein (2001), Whitworth (2004), Eichler (2012), Price (2001) and other theorists of militarized masculinity/ies. Overall, in this chapter I explore how contextualized representations of the trophies collected in my three cases reveal extended discourses of successful soldiering based on theorized traditions of militarized masculinities.

Misogyny, Sexualized Aggression and Able-bodied Superiority

Performances of misogyny, sexual aggression and able-bodied superiority were represented in the media as achievements Williams, Graner and McDonald wished to hold onto via their

respective trophy collecting practices. While representations of the trophies differ, they all focus on the military men who collected them as having strong and powerful bodies like hunters, predators and/or athletes, who hunted down their prey, asserted their dominance, skilfully took advantage of opportunities and collected keepsakes of their accomplishments. In this section, I explore how their sexualized trophies were reported on as showcasing physical dominance, strategic execution and the sexual objectification of women. I unpack these depictions by first politicising them as connected to the militarized norm of sexual aggression, ableism and misogyny.

As introduced earlier, trophy collecting was a central topic in the reporting on the Colonel Williams case. His collection of trophies was focused on in the news and described as including photographs, videos, panties, bras, sex toys, bathing suits, and blankets. Framing Williams' keepsakes as trophies started with the onset of news coverage in February 2010. From the beginning of the Williams narrative, his trophies were framed as keepsakes which were kept in abundance and described as evidence that might help police link Williams to other crimes. The Ottawa Citizen was one of the first newspapers to explain, via an interview with social-anthropologist Dr. Elliott Leyton, how "Serial killers [referring to Williams] are meticulous planners... and like the baseball player who hits a home run and wants to keep the ball, they seek "trophies" of their accomplishments... These guys will collect photographs, body parts, underwear, jewellery - anything they can use later on to remind them of their cherished moments causing their victims to suffer", (Kirkey, 2010, 10 February, p. A5). Numerous news outlets ran stories that talked about Williams' trophies or the "treasure trove" that police were searching for in Williams' house and computer (Blatchford, 2010a, 10 February, p. A1). Examples of early representations of the trophies included: "After Williams' arrest, OPP detectives searched his

Tweed cottage for underwear and bra "trophy" that could link him to the crimes" (Hurley and Spears, 2010, 11 February, p. A1) and "Some of the evidence police were searching for were so-called trophies from the sex crimes, including victims' undergarments and photographs of the attack" ("Police recover hidden keepsakes", 2004, 16 February, p. A7).

In early news stories, Williams' trophies were portrayed as symbols for his sadistic sexual aggression and deviancy. By focusing on his trophies as a symbol of his sexual aggression and deviancy, stories tended to drive our understanding of his sexual violence as being attached to a desire to collect fetish trophies, which made the Williams story more emotive and simplistic. Within these earlier accounts, Williams was frequently presented as a "serial killer" rather than a Colonel. This referential naming strategy of nomination personalized representations of Williams and obscured the ways in which his position as a Colonel allowed him to better target one of his victims, who was a female soldier under his command. This naming strategy helped to define the nature of the crime and his individual guilt, functioning to align us against Williams. By individualizing the nature of Williams' crimes and guilt the news narrative depoliticized and obscured broader systemic structures, which contextualize Williams' actions as embedded in a broader militarized and masculinist culture of misogyny, sexual aggression and violence against women.

The focus on Williams' trophies continued in April 2010 when eighty-two new charges of burglary and home invasion were made. By the spring of 2010, news stories began focusing on Williams' "bizarre obsession with collecting women's underwear" as trophies (Adams, 2010, 1 May, pp. 36-37). The Daily Telegraph reported that, "He [Williams] is alleged to have broken into one property nine times. Victims said their underwear drawers were rifled through and lingerie was stolen..." (Allen, 2010a, 15 May, p. 18). Stories began to fixate on the volume of

lingerie Williams collected and his “string of fetish break-ins” that the Ottawa Police Service had been investigating since 2008 (Rankin and Contenta, 2010, 30 April, p. 08). Many stories in the spring of 2010 represented Williams’ home invasions as break-ins for lingerie trophies. These stories tended to discuss the sexualized, predatory and fetishistic nature of his home invasions against women and girls in the suburb of Ottawa. News stories began juxtaposing his honourable military medals to his ‘bizarre obsession’ for collecting women’s underwear (Adams, 2010, 1 May, pp. 36-37). By the spring of 2010, Williams’ collection of women’s underwear was widely understood as trophies.

Canadian war hero charged with sex attacks and murder

He is one of Canada's top military commanders, boasting a chest full of medals and a glittering CV that had put him in charge of the nation's biggest airbase and seen him pilot official flights for the likes of The Queen and Stephen Harper, his country's Prime Minister. But behind the starchy façade, prosecutors claim that Colonel Russell Williams was a dangerous sexual predator whose bizarre obsession with collecting women's underwear led him to commit scores of burglaries, two sexual assaults, and two grisly murders. This week, Col Williams appeared in court in Ottawa accused of 86 lurid crimes that have alternately transfixed and appalled Canada since his arrest two months ago... (Adams, 2010, 1 May, pp. 36-37)

In spring news stories there was a clear binary created between exemplary soldiers with military medals and Williams a pathetic sexual predator with women’s underwear trophies. In order to understand what it means to be a first-class soldier or war hero, news stories reported on the image of Williams “boasting a chest full of medals” in order to present military medals as an implicit metaphor for upstanding soldiering. By contrast, Williams’ sexual violence was characterized as being the result of an individual “obsession” with collecting images of assaulted victims and stealing women’s panties. In these portrayals fetish trophies functioned as an implicit metaphor for atypical perversion. Within this structure of oppositions we learn that we should evaluate Williams’ fetish trophy collecting as a disgusting isolated practice that stands in

shocking contrast to his military medals that remain national symbols of exemplary service. Within this simplistic framework connections between both types of trophies were foreclosed and the militarized logic that links both trophies was obscured from view. Here I contextualize both trophies as not opposing symbols of good and bad soldiering but part of a broader system of militarized masculinities, which sustains a sexist, racialized and ableist status quo.

While the majority of news accounts focused primarily on women's lingerie as the trophies Williams collected, more comprehensive stories did mention how Williams also took photographs of the female victims he targeted and sexually assaulted as trophies. News stories, like the one below, suggested that photographs of the women he assaulted were also important trophies for Williams that he stored alongside his panty trophies.

Case keeps growing against top soldier; 82 new charges. Police say Russell Williams hit Orléans homes -- and dozens of others in Eastern Ontario -- in his quest for lingerie and potential victims

...he would be seen alone, jogging. Police say he was casing his targets, all women. They say the intruder never left fingerprints and stole women's lingerie exclusively...Williams allegedly directed detectives to so-called trophies at his new home...including photographic images and more than 500 pairs of women's underwear taken in break-ins. Some of the evidence, according to a search warrant linked to the murders and sex assaults, included items such as photographs, thongs, bras, panties and baby blanket...Williams is also charged in two home-invasion sex assaults that happened within walking distance of his lakeside cottage in Tweed. In those cases, he is accused of breaking into the victims' homes, tying them naked to chairs, blindfolding them, then sexually assaulting and photographing them. (Dimmock and Nguyen, 2010, 30 April, p. A1)

Even in extensive news stories, representations of the women Williams assaulted and photographed as trophies remained the back-story to much of the sensationalized news narrative that focused on what was described as his lingerie break-in charges.

Focus on Williams' trophies peaked in October 2010 during court proceedings when photographs of Williams' lingerie trophies were made available to the public. (His trophy images of sexually assaulted women were never released to the media). As such, October news stories depicting Williams' crimes and trophies came to focus on Williams as a gender deviant pedophile.

[I]n one of the thousands of sexually explicit photographs Williams took to meticulously catalogue his crimes, he photographed himself with the pants of his military uniform at his knees, exposing a pair of pink panties.....During almost every break-in, he photographed himself cavorting around women's bedrooms wearing only bras and panties. In one image he is seen with panties wrapped around his face. Many of the self-portraits featured him with underwear hanging from his erect penis or lying naked on the beds of his victims masturbating into underwear...In a later incident, in September last year, Williams stalked a 14-year-old Tweed girl and waited outside her house for her to come home. While waiting, he stripped naked and began masturbating. He later watched the girl while she readied for bed. In a note police also found in his computer, Williams wrote: "I watched her lie down and, within 10 mins, turn out the light. Unfortunately I didn't catch her changing -- maybe tomorrow night -- in bed...." (Cobb and Nguyen, 2010c, 19 October, p A1).

News sources began to tell a more embellished story of Williams as a predator that broke into homes to not only steal and collect lingerie as trophies but also to wear and take selfies in them. I maintain that portrayals focused and presented Williams as "cavorting around women's bedrooms wearing only bras and panties" in order to position Williams as a freak who could not possibly be a normal military man.

Col. Williams posed in women's lingerie and took graphic photos of himself. Col. Russell Williams indulged his fetish for women's and girls' lingerie by taking thousands of pornographic photographs of himself wearing their stolen underwear and sometimes masturbating for the camera before his sexual obsession escalated to sex assault and murder, court heard Monday. Graphic images of the decorated Canadian military commander posed in the lingerie he collected as trophies flashed on screens in an eastern Ontario court, after Williams pleaded guilty to two murders, two sexual assaults and 82 break and enters. The Crown says the pornographic images and other "extremely disturbing" evidence trace the escalation of Williams' crimes, starting from break and enters in 2007 to the sexual assaults of two women last fall and, ultimately, the murder of two more... ("Canadian News Digest," 2010, 18 October).

October 2010 accounts framed Williams' sexual obsession and fetish as being pornographic in nature, naturally leading to stalking, sexual assault and murder. By linking sexual violence with sex and kink, representations obscured the ways in which Williams' various trophies might reflect deep-seated militarized values, where women are devalued and male sexual aggression is naturalized as masculine.

The dominant news narrative frequently contrasted Williams' respectability as a decorated Canadian military commander against his "extremely disturbing" fetish trophies and stalking of young women outside their homes ("Canadian News Digest," 2010, 18 October; Cobb and Nguyen, 2010, 19 October, p A1). News articles used ideological squaring to conceptually map out how the Colonel's military medals told us something about successful soldiering and idealized masculine embodiments in the military, whereas his sexual attacks and especially his lingerie trophies were bizarre, shameful and unrelated to frameworks of soldiering, "warriorhood" and normative "straight-laced" gender ideals in the military community (Brewster & Nguyen, 2010, 18 October).

Cross-dressing colonel to be stripped of rank, medals, booted out of Forces

In the warrior culture of the new Canadian Forces, it couldn't get much more humiliating. His crimes were heinous but images of Col. Russell Williams, the confessed murderer, frolicking in women's and girl's underwear added a new, unexpected layer of shame for the straight-laced military community. "Freak" was among the words tossed around the military messes late Monday after the sensational case resurfaced in an eastern Ontario court. The disturbing pornographic photos, which showed the former base commander and rising military star indulging in his fetishes, served to hammer home questions about how he was able to evade the military's extensive psychological screening for command positions. Williams pleaded guilty to the murders of two Ontario women, two sexual assaults and 82 break and enters. The trophy shots shown in court, some of which showed him dressed in women's underwear and a training bra while masturbating, have the potential to do serious damage to morale within the Forces, especially when cast alongside a series of other embarrassing cases this year (Brewster & Nguyen, 2010, 18 October).

Representations of Colonel Williams' military medals suggested they were related to norms of masculinity in the military, showcasing his ability to function as a combatant and pass "extensive psychological screening" (Brewster & Nguyen, 2010, 18 October). My reading for discursive silences maintains that representations suggested that militarized masculinities are produced in contrast to performances of queerness and cross-dressing (Brewster & Nguyen, 2010, 18 October). Through my analytical lens, I disrupt this constructed binary between good and bad soldiers with honourable and depraved trophies, to suggest that both representations are part of a broader system and silent discourse of militarized masculinities based on trophy collecting, aggression and violence. Overall, news stories sensationalized the images of Williams dressing up in women's underwear (Brewster & Nguyen, 2010, 18 October) and framed him using the metaphor of "freak" to help position Williams as an anomaly that existed outside of militarized norms of soldiering. The rhetorical positioning of Williams as a freak helped to mute connections between sexualized trophy collecting, masculinities and militarism, making connections appear counter-intuitive (amidst such queer/cross-dressing images). My analysis works to re-trace these connections.

Performances of idealized soldiering were described in news stories as "saluting", looking "smartly dressed in a blue airman's uniform brightened by medals recognizing his service" and "fighting terrorism in the Persian Gulf following the 9/11 terror attacks" (Humphreys, 2010c, 8 October, p. A1).

[T]he terrifying details of his secret life are laid bare in court documents. It is clear that the square-jawed star pilot was publicly leading an exemplary life of service while privately careening down a path of deviance and violence. "It just goes to show you, you never know where that carton is going to come from with the bad eggs in," said Andy Lloyd, the only sibling of 27-year-old Jessica Elizabeth Lloyd... The indictments list two counts of first-degree murder; two counts of sexual assault; two counts of forcible confinement; 86 counts of break and enter and theft in deviant fetish raids of women's underwear. That court record stands in contrast to his military resume. Before his arrest, Col. Williams appeared a model

soldier, often photographed saluting and smartly dressed in a blue airman's uniform brightened by medals recognizing his service, including one for fighting terrorism in the Persian Gulf following the 9/11 terror attacks. Having joined the Canadian Forces in 1987, he was considered a rising star, fast-tracked for senior command...Belleville, a city of 50,000 just about halfway between Toronto and Ottawa, was only one hunting ground for Col. Williams, along with Ottawa and Tweed, where the crimes also took place. Many of the fetish attacks came in pairs...On Sept. 17, 2009, after an increasing frenzy of fetish burglaries, he seemed to no longer be content with his trophy hunt [for panties]. Breaking into a home in Tweed that night he confined and sexually assaulted a woman inside, according to police (Humphreys, 2010c, 8 October, p. A1).

Through these ideological squares we learn that the concept of soldiering is tied to medals, fighting terrorism and looking smartly dressed in uniform. The implied suggestion was that Williams' fetish "frenzy", which was represented as leading him to pose in sexual pictures with women's underwear and commit violence against women, was not a part of soldiering but a reflection of a perverse individual. News representations presented sexual assault as contrasting with Williams' smartly dressed military persona, record and medals of militarized accomplishment (Humphreys, 2010c, 8 October, p. A1). Representations of Williams' sexual trophies which celebrated his sexual aggression and ability to hold women captive should be unpacked as muted discourses of militarized masculinities because rape culture and sexual violence is a systemic phenomena in the military, as elaborated on in Chapters 1 and 3.

News stories presented Colonel's videos of sexual violence as a "shocking" piece of evidence against the "decorated pilot" (Blatchford and Appleby, 2010, 8 October, p. A1).

Former CFB Trenton Commander Colonel Russell Williams videoed part of the two murders and two bizarre sexual assaults he will formally plead guilty to later this month, The Globe and Mail has learned. The videos, confirmed by multiple sources, have never been disclosed publicly before and are the most shocking element of an overwhelming range of evidence against the decorated pilot...Another driving reason not to go to trial, one police source said, is that there would be "a lot of stuff that comes in," much of it pornography – including fetish videos – that Col. Williams wanted to prevent being made public (Blatchford and Appleby, 2010, 8 October, p. A1).

These types of narratives relied on the linguistic strategy of presupposition where authors imply meaning without overtly stating them (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 137). In order to understand Williams' sexual violence in videos as "shocking", prior understanding is required of decorated pilots as nonviolent and not associated with aggression, misogyny or sexual violence. In discourses related to Williams, it is taken for granted that soldiering is not related to sexualized aggression, when in fact this is a highly disputable assumption. I argue that representations of Williams' sexual violence and fetish trophies are best understood as part of an overarching discourses about militarized masculinities.

Like other journalist during this time, Blatchford (2010c, 19 October, p. A1) portrayed Williams' tireless work on his trophy collections using the metaphor of the "devil's work".

Others have killed more, raped more, victimized more. But in Canadian criminal history, probably no one ever before has done the devil's work with such single-minded purpose and documented his exploits with such devotion...Not only did he take pictures of himself in the stolen gear, but he also took further pictures, probably tens of thousands, of his prizes. He photographed them as collections, and as individual pieces, all downloaded into files on hard drives he kept in the Ottawa home. He broke into homes, or worked on his collections, not only in the wee hours but also in broad daylight, last thing at night, first thing in the morning, after work and before [bed]...The one unwavering constant was his ferocious, unstoppable, insatiable drive (Blatchford, 2010c, 19 October, p. A1).

This rhetorical trope framed Williams as doing the devil's work and functioned to provide a more simplistic and emotive understanding of Williams' as an "insatiable" monster. Accounts that depicted Williams as a villainous fiend worked to obscure the ways his actions were grounded in militarized problems of misogyny, sexism and violence against women. While dominant representations sensationalized Williams' trophy collection as reflecting a devilish obsession taken to an extreme, it is important to consider how representations like Blatchford's (2010c), which suggested that Williams did the devil's work and had a "ferocious, unstoppable and

insatiable drive” for collecting trophies, ought to be read as reflecting celebrated norms of masculinities in the military that value aggression, physical strength and focus. These representations need to be interpreted as part of broader discourses on militarized masculinities, shown to celebrate ferociousness, drive and dedication. Since discourses on militarized masculinities have been established in Chapter 3 to condone a culture of misogyny that objectifies women and protects perpetrators of sexual violence, representations of Williams’ unwavering devotion in collecting trophies of his sexual aggression against women can be more clearly understood as a depiction of militarized masculinities, rather than a depoliticized story of a bizarre obsession or fetish.

During the climax of Williams’ court proceedings he was frequently described as a psycho with a terrifying obsession (Nadeau, 2010, 8 October), who took trophies as mementos from every home he was able to successfully break into and pictures of all the women he was able to conquer. Some news outlets asked medical experts why it was criminals like Williams videotape and take pictures of their violence.

Claudine Brulé : Je vous laisse entendre un psychiatre expliquer pourquoi, dans ce genre de cas-là, les agresseurs veulent filmer leurs victimes.

Gilles Chamberland (Psychiatre, Hôpital du Sacré-cœur de Montréal): Donc, en agissant comme ça, un individu signe presque assurément sa perversion et sa pathologie. C'est un individu qui était manifestement sadique à un degré tel que, de simplement agresser et violer ses victimes, ce n'était pas suffisant. Il voulait les tuer. Et le film sert à revivre ces événements-là à travers la vidéo (Nadeau, 2010, 8 October).⁶⁶

By interviewing psychiatrists who claimed that criminals like Williams are so sadistic they need to re-live their crimes on video (Nadeau, 2010, 8 October), blame got placed on Williams’

⁶⁶English Translation: Claudine Brulé: We will now hear a psychiatrist explain why, in this type of case, aggressors want to film their victim. Gilles Chamberland: So, in behaving like this, an individual almost certainly signals his perversion and [psychotic] pathology. This individual was obviously sadistic to such a degree that it was not sufficient simply to attack and rape his victims. He wanted to kill them. And the video enabled him to relive these events.

deviant mind rather than militarized norms of sexual violence and trophy capturing. My close reading of these narratives, contextualizes the pathologization of Williams' trophies as narratives that functioned to individualized blame and obscure the ghosted discourses of militarized masculinities that shadowed over the Williams story. Relying on the work of feminist communications scholars who argue that madness is wrongly blamed for violence in the media, while broader social structures remain unchanged and unchallenged (Harper, 2011; Greer, 2003; and Clark, 1992), I maintain that behind the dominant Williams news story were unspeakable discourses related to the normalization of militarized masculinities as fundamentally violent. By making visible these muted discourses of militarized masculinities, representations of Williams' sexualized trophies and military medals can be analysed as not so different but part of broader discourses on militarized masculinities, where sexualized aggression, misogyny, and physical dominance are norms. While stories about Williams photographing assaulted women as trophies framed the behaviour as the by-product of a sadistic pathology, my contextualized close reading of these discourses finds that dominant discourses on Williams' trophy collecting should be understood as discourses of militarized masculinities related to systemic norms in the military, based on misogyny, sexualized aggression and assertions of power and control.

While Williams' trophy videos and pictures of sexual assault were not featured in the news, stories in October 2011 did describe how his videos featured hours of torture with Williams dominating, controlling and physically over-powering his female victims with militarized control⁶⁷. Articles gave a rundown of how Williams used a video camera to tape his attacks. Stories explained how Williams strategically manoeuvred his female victims in vulnerable, crude and demeaning positions throughout his horrific attacks for his gaze and the

⁶⁷ Trigger warning: some of the news stories featured in this section have detailed descriptions of Williams' videotaped sexual violence which can be potentially triggering.

lens of his camera (McArthur and Apple, 2010, 19 October; Alan, 2010, 19 October, p. 1; Blatchford and Appleby, 2010, 8 October, p. A1)⁶⁸. His pictures were described as trophies and important prizes Williams collected and catalogued with devotion. News stories mentioned how Williams needed to obtain pictures of tortured and assaulted women in crude, submissive and vulnerable positions along with videos of the assaults themselves. Stories discussed how Williams' trophy pictures and videos of women in sexually humiliating and degrading positions were necessary for him to obtain before he could leave the homes of the women he assaulted (Cobb and Nguyen, 2010a, 19 October, p A1).

Sixteen days later he broke into the house of a young Tweed mother and sexually assaulted her -- leaving only after he had taken photographs of her in various forced poses and stolen a collection of her underwear. Williams, an accomplished pilot who once flew prime ministers on official trips, broke into one Tweed home on nine separate occasions... (Cobb and Nguyen, 2010a, 19 October, p A1)

Representations implied that Williams wanted to hold onto footage as trophies that featured his sexual aggression and position of power, in contrast to women he forced into vulnerable, submissive and helpless positions (Alan, 2010, 19 October, p. 1; Dimmock and Nguyen, 2010, 30 April, p. A1). From my critical close reading I argue that it is clear that it was not simply the pictures and videos which were the trophies, it was the women who were represented as being unable to overcome what Cobb (2010c) described as Williams' "muscular military" physique (19

⁶⁸ "The court had been warned that the details of the two killings were horrific. The prosecution chose not to show the photos or videos, but the verbal descriptions alone touched off both horror and weeping" (McArthur and Apple, 2010, 19 October) "...he [Colonel Williams] recorded large portions of both murders and the two sexual assaults where, in ordeals which lasted hours, the two victims were blindfolded, tied to chairs and crudely posed. Col. Williams also kept spreadsheets on his computer noting details of his crimes... Like Paul Bernardo, he videoed much of the suffering he inflicted on his two murder victims." (Blatchford and Appleby, 2010, 8 October, p. A1). "Both were subjected to hours of beatings, bondage and repeated sexual assaults; both had their ordeals photographed and recorded on videos; and both died at his hands after pleading for their lives. ...Prosecutors said he videoed the murders. Two other women were sexually assaulted after Williams broke into their homes last September. Both were bound with duct tape, blindfolded with pillow cases and tied to chairs while their masked attacker took photographs of them" (Alan, 2010, 19 October, p. 1).

October). Representations of his trophies often focused on his skill (Cobb, 2010c, 19 October; Rankin and Contenta, 2010, 9 October, p. A25), power, control and violence over women (Babbage, 2010l, 20 October), as well as his desire to take on more “risks” (Cobb and Nguyen, 2010, 19 October, p A1).

[T]he Crown laid out the gruesome final hours of Cpl. Marie-France Comeau and Jessica Lloyd _every moment obsessively recorded with photographs and videotape. The horrifying details came on the same day court heard Williams was in his 20s when he developed a fetish for stealing women's lingerie that would culminate in murder. Comeau fought him until the very end even as she struggled, bloody and weak, against the duct tape he put over her mouth and the rope that he used to bind her hands behind her back. Although Williams videotaped both rapes, those videos were not shown in court. Nor was the video he took of Comeau's murder. Instead the Crown read out a detailed account of the attacks based on an agreed statement of fact. “The photos of the victims and the videos of the victims are just horrific and it's an invasion of their privacy,” prosecutor Lee Burgess said outside court. “Nobody needs to see those.”

Williams repeatedly raped 37-year-old Comeau-who first caught his eye during a military VIP flight -after breaking into her home last November and striking her repeatedly in the head with a flashlight. He paused only to re-adjust his cameras, or to reach for the device during the attack to get a close-up shot of the rape, the court heard. After nearly two hours, Williams put a piece of duct tape over her nose, cutting off her air supply. As she slumped to the floor, court heard that Comeau made a final plea: “Have a heart please. I've been really good... I want to live.” She died and Williams turned off the camera.

His next victim, 27-year-old Lloyd, did everything Williams asked of her in an effort not to “upset” him, the Crown said. Williams broke into her Belleville home in January, tied her up and raped her repeatedly for hours. Only this time, he fastened a black zip tie around her neck and took her to his Tweed home, where he repeated the torture. Lloyd was so terrified she apologized when she failed to move into the sexual position Williams demanded. She even asked permission to lower her legs after he had raped her. It had no effect. Williams forced Lloyd to dress up in lingerie and pose for him as he took photos. At one point he put her in the shower and joined her. When she started to convulse from a seizure, in extreme distress and begging for help, he calmly walked to his camera to turn it on (Babbage, 2010l, 20 October).

Detailed depictions of Williams’ trophy videos and photographs of female victims are important to unpack as they were discussed as memorialized moments of grandeur and absolute power which Williams wanted to capture and hold onto as souvenirs of what he was able to do. News

stories suggested Williams wanted to hold onto footage that showed him performing norms of masculinities based on power, control and violence. My close reading maintains that these attributes which Williams was described as wanting to hold onto, describe norms of militarized masculinities based on misogyny and ableism. I maintain that Williams' described attributes of power, control, skill, risk-taking and excessive violence parallel ideals of soldiering based on militarized masculinities. Representations of Williams and his trophy collecting were part of overarching discourses of militarized masculinities, based on sexualized aggression, the devaluation of women and physical dominance in combat.

Some news outlets during Williams' court proceedings described Williams' violence as a hunt for trophies where he skillfully tracked down and collected various trophies from women's underwear to framed pictures of their owners.

[Williams] plead guilty to all charges: two first-degree murders; two sexual assaults; two forcible confinements and 86 break, enter and thefts in his feverish hunt for "trophies," typically intimate apparel of women and girls and photographs of their owners. (Humphreys 2010v, 19 October, p. A1).

Stories representing Williams' as a hunter or predator who hunted down trophies (Cobb, 2010s, 19 October; Humphreys, 2010v, 8 October, p. A1; Rankin and Contenta, 2010, 9 October, p. A25) can be positioned as part of overarching discourses about masculinities since hunting, being a predator and trophy collecting are masculine activities (Brandth and Haugen, 2006).

Masked and patient, the 47-year-old Williams was the hunter waiting until he was sure Comeau was asleep. But the feisty 37-year-old flight attendant threw a wrench in Williams' plan... She found her cat by the furnace staring at the masked intruder. "She was calling him a bastard and screaming at him," ... "He subdued her by striking her multiple times in the head with a red flashlight." Comeau, semi-conscious and bleeding profusely from head wounds, fell to the ground before Williams grabbed her and tied her to a metal jackpost with clothing he found in the unfinished basement, covered her mouth with duct tape and with military precision, set about protecting himself from detection. He broke a key in the front door to prevent anyone from getting into the house and pinned a blanket to Comeau's curtainless window with kitchen knives. Comeau continued to fight hard with Williams as he dragged her upstairs to her bedroom. She was ultimately helpless against the muscular

military man. After more than three hours of brutal sexual assaults, all of which he record with his video camera, Comeau cried`... 'In the end, Williams coldly covered Comeau's mouth and nostrils with duct tape, suffocating her to death. He photographed her twice more, took several undergarments and left'. She was ultimately helpless against the muscular military man. (Cobb, 2010s, 19 October)

The way hunters dehumanize their prey and mark their masculinity, physicality and superiority over animals through their capture, killing and collection of body parts and pictures parallel the way Williams was represented. Like hunters, Williams was framed as a predator who dominated his female prey via his masculine physique and military knowhow (Cobb, 2010, 19 October) which culminated in his achievement of sexual violence, murder and a collection of personalized trophies. Discourses on Colonel Williams' trophy capturing need to be understood as part of a broader militarized discourse of dehumanization and misogyny, which understand women's bodies as sexual objects and sexual aggression as masculine. Being on a hunt for trophies is a militarized and masculine activity which tested power, skill and ability to dominate.

When sex predators go out for a jog, they are always on the hunt - they're looking for the opportunity," says Glenn Woods, former director of the RCMP's criminal profiling unit. "They spend a lot of time casing a place." (Rankin and Contenta, 2010, 9 October, p. A25)

Although representations linked being on a hunt with sexual predators, it is important to remember that being on a hunt requires many of the same skills soldiers train to have on a daily basis. Hunting for trophies requires an execution of strategy, stealth, skilled surveillance, courage to take risks, a combative disposition and an unemotional killer mind-set, all attributes news stories used to describe Williams. The story of Williams' trophy collecting reflected the logical extension to scripts of militarized masculinities, based on strength, power and violence. Williams' trophy collecting story was part of broader militarized narrative where women are normally targeted and objectified by soldiers in war as trophies to rape (Burstyn, 1999).

Dominant representations of Williams' sexualized trophies need to be contextualized as part of broader militarized discourses and material practices of militarized masculinities related to misogyny, sexual violence and ableism.

By relying on insights from Whitworth (2004), Enloe (1990), Parpart (2010), Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009), Chew (2008), Serlin (2003) and Goldstein (2001), who found that militarized masculinity/ies are based on aggression, violence, ableism and sexual violence, I position representations of Williams' sexualized trophies as discourses that were part of unspeakable extended scripts of militarized masculinities related to stealth, dominance, power and control. As shown in the above sample, news narratives focused on how Williams not only took these 'trophies' he; hunted them [panties and women] down, avoided detection with military precision, videotaped and took photographs of his accomplishments to re-live them later, decorated himself in them, and took cross-dressing pictures.

Unlike in the Williams' trophy collecting story which presented him as a sexual deviant, news representations of Daniel McDonald presented him as an alpha male whose Skype sex streaming was in line with the boys club and warrior culture of the ADFA. As touched upon in the last chapter, early news stories described how McDonald successfully "lured" a young female cadet into his dorm room (Ellery & McPhedran, 2011, 6 April, p.3) and streamed video footage of the sexual encounter, without her knowledge, to a room full of "drooling" male mates (Bolt, 2011, 13 April, p. 28) who watched and took photographs. The streamed video was explained as showing how predatory attitudes towards women were endemic in the ADF, where women were "guests" in a male culture dominated by bonding rituals and the cult of masculinity (Ellery and McPhedran, 2011, 6 April, p. 3).

The video footage and the photographs captured by Deblaquiere and five other cadets during the live Skype streaming were never explicitly interpreted in news as trophies. However they were represented as an accomplishment and symbols of victory for male cadets. Coverage described how cadets condoned the plan to sexually humiliate their female colleague. News stories explained that because of double standards around sexuality, women were more vulnerable to these types of attacks because men like McDonald get celebrated by colleagues as “studs”, while victims like Kate get framed as “sluts” (Jane, 2011, 16 April, 6). News representations of McDonald’s Skype video presented it as an object McDonald wanted to make and display. Stories described how McDonald bragged to mates he was going to “root a girl” and video tape it (McPhedran 2011y, 30 April, p. 7)⁶⁹. According to an article in The Courier-Mail “...It was no surprise a male army cadet was the perpetrator of the degrading act against a female cadet from the RAAF [Royal Australian Air Force]. Humiliating a `raffie" would have gained him kudos with his army mates (McPhedran, 2011j, 9 April, p. 63).

In breaking news stories, McDonald’s video was described as occurring in a “masculine” (Dingle, 2011, 12 April), “macho” (Rout, 2011, 12 April, p. 4) “boys club” (Edwards, 2011, 12 April) academy and culture where “being one of the boys” (Dingle, 2011, 12 April) means being loyal to your male mates and condoning the objectification of women and sexual aggression. As the story broke, news agencies explained that “when [Kate] returned to her room after her encounter with McDonald,..[she]’ had a Facebook message from McDonald that said, `I’m about to r--- a girl n (sic) have a webcam set up to the boys in a (sic) nother room win (sic)".(McPhedran 2011y, 30 April, p. 7). From this Facebook message McDonald accidentally sent to Kate (“Warrior Mentality still rules,” 2013, 26 October, p. B001), news stories suggested

⁶⁹ Rooting is Australian slang for having sex, with a similar connotation as banging or shagging in the United States and Britain.

that McDonald was proud of his actions and his male colleagues were supportive of his plan of sexual aggression and humiliation against a female colleague. The media normalized McDonald's perspective of the event as a "win" and suggested that humiliating and sexually traumatizing Kate was a game male colleagues participated in as "voyeur mates" (Leahy, 2011, 12 April, p.11), who not only condoned McDonald's activity but took pictures of their own and distributed them around campus. Media representations naturalized the event as an obvious "win" for boys in cadet culture. The video was represented as an adolescent "prank" ("Juggernaut gets the", 2011, 9 April, p. 16) that reflected boys being boys, who naturally celebrated female objectification and male predation as a victorious and arousing act. McDonald's active misogyny, sexual aggression, physical ability to control sexual positions with Kate, and videotape of his sexual violation were represented as a gendered norm of alpha male masculinities.

Like in the Williams case, the portrayal of young military men hunting for girls became prominent in the fall of 2011, when the AHRC published Phase One of their review into the treatment of women at the ADF and ADFA. The report was described in the news as finding widely known and condoned competitions between male cadets to sleep with their female colleagues⁷⁰. News outlets reported that the inquiry had found there was a competitive culture at the ADFA, where male cadets were encouraged to prove themselves through sexual competitions like 'dullie hunting' and winning a 'trifecta' (Wilson, 2011, 29 September, 8)⁷¹. These games were described as well-known competitions and traditions on campus. As discussed at greater length in Chapter 3, ADFA staff was presented as knowing about these competitions and

⁷⁰ One of the other highly publicized inquiries into the ADF culture conducted by a private law firm (DLA Piper), found over 1,000 complaints of sexual harassment, many of which were deemed by the Minister of Defence as very serious criminal offenses. See Metherell 2012 for details.

⁷¹ Dullie hunting is a male practice of trying to sleep with female first year students. Winning a trifecta is about successfully sleeping with young women from each service.

choosing not to brief male cadets about the misogynistic nature of these competitions, or the importance of sex based on consent, respect and honesty. ADFA staff chose instead to formally brief female cadets about these competitions and their fragile reputations. As discussed at greater length in Chapter 3, these rape culture discourses reveal how cadets are taught that this type of predatory sexual aggression is normal, expected and uncontrollable for young men. News narratives in the fall of 2011 onwards explained trifacta competitions, dullie hunting, sexual harassment and the Skype video as the product of male sexism and “boys being boys” (“Women innocent victims,” 2013, 26 October, p. B009).

Representations that naturalized McDonald’s Skype video, as a victory of a male stud over a slut (Jane, 2011, 16 April, 6), were part of a broader discourse where these types of gendered enactments, of deceptively “luring” (Ellery & McPhedran, 2011, 6 April, p.3) girls in front of a hidden webcam to show off in front of “voyeur mates” (Leahy, 2011, 12 April, p.11), were normalized as being part of a broader story of “boys being boys” (Knaus, 2013, 26 October, p. 14). McDonald and the ‘drooling’ male cadets who watched (Bolt, 2011, 13 April, p. 28) were uncritically framed as naturally eroticizing the sexual objectification and humiliation of Kate. Stories that described McDonald’s video of targeted sexual aggression against women as a “prank” (“Juggernaut gets the”, 2011, 9 April, p. 16), that male cadets planned, eroticized and celebrated, should be read as reflective of a broader discourse not simply of boys being boys but of militarized masculinities, which the work of Shefer and Mankayi (2007) found tends to celebrate masculine sexual control, sexual aggression and dominance as a natural need and normal part of militarized male heterosexuality.

Portrayals of trifacta and dullie hunting competitions described these academy practices as popular, widely known and tolerated by staff who failed to discourage male cadets from these

activities. I maintain that ADEA staff supported these rape culture competitions by briefing female students on how avoiding male sexual aggression was essentially their responsibility and emphasizing how their reputations were on the line. McDonald's Skype video was presented as related to these well-known competitions and I argue was part of broader scripts of militarized masculinities. Representations of sexual aggression and the targeting of women as a hunt suggested McDonald's planning, actions and video was an extension of masculine practices like hunting. My close reading of discourses surrounding McDonald's Skype video found that suggestions that McDonald and male cadets were simply hunting for girls was part of a broader obscured discourse related to militarized masculinities. Representations surrounding McDonald and duellie hunting or triquetra competitions were part of broader muted discourses on militarized masculinities, based on rape culture and the devaluation of women. The literature on trophies, masculinities and militarization discussed earlier, helps me contextualize representations of McDonald's Skype video and collection of photos as part of broader militarized setting that celebrates violent token collecting as a script of militarized masculinities.

In summary, this section explored how representations of the trophies collected by Colonel Williams and cadet McDonald were described as centring sexualized images of themselves that they wanted to hold onto as keepsakes of their accomplishments. Their keepsakes were described as showcasing strength, control, aggression, violence, heterosexuality, and a conviction of superiority over women. Representations of these Kodak moments need to be contextualized as more than just individual fetish trophies or boyish pranks but made visible as discursive cultural artifacts that were part of broader silent discourses on militarized masculinities. Representations of the militarized medals, trophies and competitions were part of

broader discourses on militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries, which (re)produced ableist structures, sexual aggression, and misogyny.

Dehumanizing Militarized Trophies of Violence, Racial Superiority, Whiteness and Masculinities

This section explores how representations of Graner's trophies were part of an underlying discourse about trophy collecting as a gendered, racialized and militarized practice relying on dehumanization. It is grounded by the literature that linked trophy collecting to masculinities and the feminist scholarship that described how militarization is fundamentally dehumanizing. In the Graner case the theme of dehumanization was presented in news reporting as attached to the collection of trophies and I argue part of overarching ghosted discourses on white militarized masculinities. News stories explained that the pictures were taken on his camera (Zernike, 2004, 22 May, p. 1) and featured images of him and colleagues like Lynndie England torturing, abusing and sexually humiliating detainees. Breaking news reports described guards as taking trophy snaps in turns (Hardwood, 2004, 21 May, p. 8), next to the detainees who were reported as looking like a heap of trophies (Ridell, 2004, 9 May, p. 26).

News about Graner and his pictures from Abu Ghraib were talked about as showcasing the "barbaric" violence (Norville, 2004a, 4 May) of Graner and colleagues, whose actions were completely un-American. Widely publicized statements of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, following the release of the photos, explained how "the actions of the soldiers in those photographs are totally unacceptable and un-American. Any who engaged in such action let down their comrades who serve honourably each day, and they let down their country" (Norville, 2004, 4 May). In this same CNN broadcast, General McCaffrey made the following statement in reference to the abuse in photographs:

... These are not Army values. They went through basic Army training. They knew full well this was criminal and illegal behaviour. There may well be, I might add, some in the chain of command, officers or non-commissioned officers, who had oversight responsibilities and may well have known of these things. They should also be held criminally responsible. But nobody can defend this behaviour. It's clearly a violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (Norville, 2004a, 4 May).

President Bush's statements were also widely reported on and echoed Rumsfeld and McCaffrey's statements when saying, [in reference to the abuse pictures] "mistakes will be investigated and people will be brought to justice" (Norville, 2004b, 6 May). These dominant political discourses proliferated the knowledge that Graner's trophy pictures were the by-product of individual mistakes that were un-American and did not reflect military values or service standards of U.S. military personnel, represented as honourable and civilized. Like in the Williams narrative, the Graner story relied on ideological squaring to create a binary between the United States' upstanding soldiers and the blameworthy soldiers from Abu Ghraib. This conceptual structure functioned to evaluate norms of soldiering based on militarized masculinities as legitimate and not associated with actions at Abu Ghraib. My close reading disrupts this discursive binary by relying on the literature on soldiering and militarized masculinity/ies which explored how militarized masculinities are based on race (Razack, 2004), excessive violence (Eichler, 2012); and sexual aggression vis a vis the Other (Whitworth, 2004; Harrison and Laliberté, 2002; Enloe, 2000; Price, 2001).

News stories and headlines throughout the Graner narrative, from the release of the photos in April 2004 to Graner's guilty verdict in January 2005, described how abused detainees in Graner's photographs were celebratory trophies. Stories of the Abu Ghraib detainees and Graner's photographs as trophies began right from the start of news coverage⁷². Portrayals

⁷² An article in the *Atlanta Journal* reported that the charges of prisoner abuse only received widespread attention when Charles Graner's pictures were leaked to the media on April 28, 2004 (Edmonson and Moscoso, 2004). My

focused on how most Americans believed the “bad apple theory” that was presented by military and government officials, who argued that the incidents in the photos were the result of a few blameworthy individuals acting on their own accord (Church, Wedeman, Blitzer and Todd, 2004, 5 May)⁷³. News representations often reported on how the abuse featured in the photographs was “sadistic” and “criminal” (Costello et al., 2004, 11 May). Stories and headlines repeatedly mentioned how Graner, England and colleagues in the photographs had been “charged” with abuse (Kelly, 2004, 8 May, p.2; Lillard, 2004, 7 May; Badger, 2004, 3 December), which helped position the photos and abuse as the work of criminals who would be brought to justice. These headlines had the effect of further reinforcing ideological squares and obscuring systemic questions that would connect the violence at Abu Ghraib to norms of soldiering based on militarized masculinities.

Popular news dailies and headlines in May 2004 depicted prisoner abuse and trophy pictures as a “blunder” or “scandal” and suggested that the violence and trophy pictures were abnormal actions caused by a few sick guards (Harwood, 2004, 21 May, p. 11; Church, Wedeman, Blitzer, Todd, 2004, 5 May). Harwood’s article entitled “Storm over new “blunder” - U.S. soldiers in new sick prison snaps” (p.11) suggested the circumstance of the pictures and abuse was one of scandal occurring at a prison. In these headlines it is unclear who was doing what to whom and what the blunder was actually about. Actions of militarized aggression and abuse were removed from view and so was the racialized geopolitical context of the violence. Harwood’s headline was like many others in that it relied on presupposition. In order to understand the pictures at

close reading of news narratives found that his collection of photographs, depicted as trophies, mementos and souvenirs, was one of the main topics of the Abu Ghraib case and representations of Charles Graner.

⁷³ “...Most Americans believe the abuses were isolated instances, not common occurrences. They believe the perpetrators were acting on their own, not following orders. And by an overwhelming margin, the public sees the abuses as a violation of military policy, rogue crimes, not a policy. As a result, most Americans blame the soldiers who carried out the abuses and the officers supervising them, not Secretary Rumsfeld or President Bush...”.

Abu Ghraib as a blunder, soldiers needed to be understood as nonviolent, which I believe functioned to obscure the ways in which soldiering is based on violence and aggression. In Harwood's article the "sickening" photographs were depoliticized as "trophy snaps" not unlike trophy pictures athletes might pose for after a sporting victory.

Graner's pictures were framed as trophies that were the product of a few "reckless" barbarians whose actions in pictures are hard to believe.

[T]he now famous photos of Pte Lynndie England posing with naked Iraqi prisoners and appearing to drag one by a leash were only a part of up to 1000 images taken at Abu Ghraib prison. Apparently, we haven't seen the worst. Videos and "a lot more pictures" exist of the abuse of Iraqis held at the notorious prison. "If these are released to the public, obviously it's going to make matters worse," Mr. Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee. "I mean, I looked at them last night and they're hard to believe... There is no proof yet that Abu Ghraib is evidence of anything more than an isolated incident of barbarism by a small group of reckless soldiers" (Pennells, 2004, 10 May, p 16).

Representations that suggested the actions of military personnel were "hard to believe" relied on the assumption that soldiering is nonviolent and not based on excessive violence and sexual aggression against an "Other". These representations functioned to protect societal myths about military service as honourable, professional and civilized. Reporting also focused on the "triumphant" poses of guards (Dao and Von Zielbauer, 2004, 6 May, p. 1) with "evil" smiles and thumbs-up in trophy pictures (Taranto, 2004, 10 May). In early news representations, the "behavioural processes" of grinning and smiling guards was focused upon and often overshadowed the broader systemic and racialized context of imperial violence and unlawful incarceration (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 109).

What makes this a picture of sheer evil is the grins on the faces of the soldiers. They're doing this just for kicks, using the prisoners to satisfy their own depraved desires.... Criminals deserve to be punished, sometimes harshly. But stripping them of their humanity - treating them as objects for the perverse gratification of others - is an affront against the foundations of civilization (Taranto, 2004, 10 May).

The focus on sadistically smiling guards tended to align us against the individual guards, suppressing the ways in which we may want to position ourselves against racialized systems of militarization and racialized norms of militarized masculinities, based on the denigration of racial differences and excessive violence. These news narratives and the dichotomy between good and bad soldiers presented by political leaders reinforced the bad apple theory

Representations of Graner's pictures resembling a dominant hunter over his trophies (Toolis, 2004, 10 May, p. 8) linked Graner's appearance in photos to the familiar hunting tradition of taking pictures next to hunted down prey.

It's all there in the cheesy grin of the US army's Specialist Charles Graner and Private Lynddie England as they beam triumphantly for the camera over the Iraqi captives lying in a tangle on the floor in front of them - the sheer joy of torture. In image after image, the weaponless American soldiers can be seen ritually dominating their terrorized prisoners in the same way a hunter poses with his dead prey (Toolis, 2004, 10 May, p. 8).

Insights connecting masculinities, hunting and trophy collecting help us place the story of Graner's trophy collecting in context as part of racialized narratives of masculinities and militarization. Relying on the insights of Brandth and Haugen (2006) who found that hunters collect trophies as symbols of their white rural masculinity, strength and skill, I contextualize representations of Graner's trophies as being embedded in a muted overarching discourse of militarized masculinities that teach us about the ways its scripts are based on racialized violence and aggression. Representations of Graner as a hunter over his prey were gendered and racialized representations of his masculinity. These depictions only makes sense through the mobilization of deeply held militarized tropes, which dehumanize Iraqis as wild game that can be hunted by strong and superior white hunters and huntresses. Representations of Graner's trophy photographs can be considered reflective of and embedded in a militarized landscape where dominant norms of militarized masculinities value competition, hierarchy and tokens of

superiority. Extending the insights of Teaiwa (2008) who found that military medals and honours affirm the combined ideal of masculinity and citizenship, I argue that representations of Graner's trophies (re)produced militarized masculinities as scripts based on power, control, racial hierarchies and dehumanization.

News stories also focused on the nakedness of the Iraqi "captives" or "prisoners" in the photographs rather than naming them as individuals. "... Most of the accusations relate to Nov. 8, when several naked prisoners were forced to pile on top of one another...". ("Update 3 - U.S. sets military," 2004, 12 May). "...NBC said the photo, provided by an attorney for Graner, was taken during an interrogation and shows several naked Iraqi prisoners in a heap on the floor ("US soldier details," 2004, 13 May). "...The photo, which sources say was taken during an interrogation shows naked Iraqi prisoners in a heap on the floor..." (Abrams, Miklaszewski, 2004, 14 May). These examples make clear the referential naming strategy of collectivization deployed in the discourse (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 80) which named survivors of abuse as prisoners rather than individual victims with names. This linguistic strategy functioned to obscure the humanity of prisoners, reduce empathy, and suppress the responsibility of broader systems of violence based on incarceration and impunity, allowing these racial structures to appear legitimate. In fact, many news stories presented some of the trophy photographs as looking like amateur sado-masochistic pornography and relatively mild in comparison to other war atrocities. A Globe and Mail journalist described his reaction to looking at the photos:

Sometimes the pictures (the 320th Military Police Battalion had been swapping them by computer for weeks) seemed like amateur pornography - naked men bound in threes on the floor - and sometimes they seemed like exceptionally stupid amateur pornography, such as the prisoner with a pair of women's underpants over his head...As war atrocities - next to, say, King David's habit of collecting the foreskins of his victims, or the 500 innocents slaughtered at My Lai in 1968, or even compared with the Chechen trick of sniping at Russians from

behind a wounded Russian prisoner strung up in a window - the abuses at Abu Ghraib seemed relatively mild (Brown, 2004, 15 May, p. F3).

This comparison between the pictures and porn was relatively common and worked to trivialize and downplay the sexual aggression and violence of guards. Moreover, because some of the violence was framed as looking like porn the action of swapping the pictures around the Battalion for weeks was made to appear less troubling and helped to implicitly legitimize why so many soldiers remained silent on the abuse at Abu Ghraib. Buruma's (2004) news article explained that many commentators pointed out the resemblances between the Iraqi prison pictures and sado-masochistic pornography. Rush Limbaugh's precise phrase was that the photos from Abu Ghraib "look like standard good old American pornography" (Buruma, 2004, 3 July, p.22).

Reports on the pictures looking like sado-masochistic pornography can be better contextualized as part of broader discourses on militarized masculinities where sexual violence, condoning sexual violence and protecting perpetrators is a norm. This is consistent with insights from the scholarship on militarized masculinity/ies that describe it as being based on sexual aggression and violence. Comparisons between sado-masochism and sexual torture is troubling since sado-masochism is part of a BDSM⁷⁴ practice based on consent, which broadly focuses on the giving and receiving of pleasure. This comparison reveals how sexual violence and racist imperial violence got normalized, trivialized and silenced. As Whitworth (2004), Harrison and Laliberté (1994), Shigmatsu et al. (2008), Eichler (2012), Razack (2004) and Chew (2008) have found, Western military values and training valorize excessive violence, aggression, domination,

⁷⁴ BDSM is an acronym and umbrella term that refers to bondage, discipline, dominance, submission, and sadomasochism. BDSM can encompass any or all of these practices and a lot of other related play. It is important to emphasize that BDSM is not abusive and values safety as well as on going, enthusiastic, non-coercive, sober consent. Contrary to popular belief, BDSM is not about the dominant person being in control and getting what they want. It is actually about the submissive setting their limits, with a focus on their safety, on-going consent and pleasure.

control, devaluations of differences and a willingness to dominate and use excessive violence against racialized “Others” imagined as enemies of the white nation. By positioning representations of trophy collecting within a perspective that normalized and silenced racist structures of militarized violence, I argue that descriptions of Graner’s trophies as a reflection of a vile individual are better understood as being embedded within overarching discourses about militarized masculinities in white settler societies, which are violent, racialized and dehumanizing.

Statements by the convicted military personnel themselves, their families and their attorneys were the main sources used in articles that discussed the possibility that the convicted guards featured in the photographs were being used as scapegoats. Examples include: “Soldiers in Iraqi abuse case are scapegoats - wife” (Pleming, 2004, 4 May); “From heroine to humiliator: Lynndie England Family says woman who has become face of prison abuse has been made a scapegoat” (Goldenburg, 2004, 8 May, p. 5); “In that statement, obtained by the Post-Gazette, England...maintains they committed no crimes because they were following orders from superior officers and that what occurred there was widely known and, in some cases, “funny”” (Lash and Fuoco, 2004, 13 June, p. A1). Quotes and headlines like these were common and helped to undermine the credibility of scapegoat narratives that disrupted the ideological squaring between bad apples and good soldiers. Below is an excerpt of a critical news story that is one of only two articles from my sample that discussed how one of Graner’s infamous trophy pictures was actually a screensaver in the Abu Ghraib Internet café. This demonstrates how the abuse was widely normalized.

Only a Few Spoke Up on Abuse As Many Soldiers Stayed Silent

...[M]istreatment was not only widely known but also tolerated, so much so that [Graner’s] picture of naked detainees forced into a human pyramid was used as a screen saver on a

computer in the interrogations room...[and] left on computers in the Internet cafe at the prison.... it was widely known that Specialist Graner had explicit photographs and videos on his computer (Zernike, 2004, 22 May, p.1).

Instead of the news focusing on the systemic tolerance of the abuse in Graner's photos, stories focused on the convicted soldiers and testimonies from the hearings. The hearing of Specialist Jeremy Sivits was widely reported on, specifically his guilty plea and statements to the judge that he was not ordered to join the abuse or take photographs for Charles Graner. A passage from a New York Times article is featured below as an example of how journalists focused on the individual perpetrators as trophy collectors, rather than more pressing systemic questions related to how it came to be that so many military guards condoned the racist abuse against detainees as well as the taking of hundreds of pictures of this violence at the prison.

Humiliating Photographs As Trophies Of War

One of the most shocking things about the photographs of abuse at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad is that someone actually took them...some of the torment may have been done solely for the photo op. If the pictures of piled up naked Iraqi captives have a precedent in the world of photography, it is not the photographs of heaps of bodies left by the Nazis, but rather, appalling though it might sound, tourist snapshots. Many of the most wrenching pictures are like the ones people pose for as they pretend to hold up the leaning tower of Pisa or point to the penis on Michelangelo's "David". The picture of Pfc. Lynndie England with a naked prisoner on a leash is a version of the classic "I caught this big fish" photo. Specialist Jeremy C. Sivits, the first to be court-martialed, said he shot some pictures, including one which he said his colleague, Specialist Charles A. Graner Jr., asked him to take with his knees planted on a pile of detainees. He also said he remembered Specialist Sabrina Harman and Private England posing, thumbs-up, for the camera. As for the picture of the pyramid of naked prisoners looking like a cheerleading squad, he said, he found the "tower thing" funny (Boxer 2004, 20 May, p. 3).

Stories like Boxer's trivialized the systemic violence at Abu Ghraib and presented American imperialism, racist violence and torture as natural events in history, which soldiers like tourists wished to play-up, memorialize and capture on film as trophies. Boxer's interpretation of England dragging an Iraqi prisoner on a dog leash as an "I caught a big fish" moment can be

understood as a metaphor which helped replace “actual concrete processes, identities and settings with abstractions” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 164). It is an example of how representations of Graner’s trophies hid underlying power relations through linguistic strategies of abstraction (p. 164). Boxer’s metaphors had ideological significance as they concealed and shaped understandings “while at the same time giving the impression that they reveal them” (p. 164). Boxer’s metaphors functioned to remove the context of the United States imperial presence in Iraq. Furthermore, in order to view these photographs as tourist picture or trophies we need to view the detainees like objects. Catching a big fish is commonly considered a victorious moment and worthy of a masculine award in white settler hunting and fishing cultures. Boxer’s “I caught a big fish” characterization illustrates the normalization of militarized dehumanization and “race-thinking” embedded in the trophy photographs (Arendt, 1944; Silverblatt, 2011), a logic based on the construction of racial hierarchies and notions of white superiority⁷⁵. Extending Brandth and Haugen (2006) and Teaiwa’s (2008) work on trophy collecting, I argue that by unpacking representations like Boxer’s it becomes clear how militarized masculinities are scripts of violence and whiteness, where the objectification of racialized enemies is normal. The trivialized representations of dominance featured in the pictures were a part of a broader silent discourse on militarized masculinities that tend to normalize militarized ideals of violence, aggression and racial superiority.

Graner’s pictures were sensationalized in the news as abhorrent trophies in a shocking human-interest story.

⁷⁵ See Arendt (1944) and Silverblatt (2011) for a full explanation of race-thinking as an ideology based on hierarchies and denials of humanity. Race-thinking is an ideology that came before racism and helped to justify colonialism, torture and the extermination of populations. This Lynndie “caught a big fish” discourse is embedded in hunting and fishing cultures and is part of the militarized practice of hunting and fishing which in dominant Western cultures require de-humanization, objectification and glorified violence.

Just following orders When stories such as the torture scandal at Abu Ghraib emerge, British and US media tend to seek out the human-interest angle and home in on a few "bad apples". By doing so, they wilfully miss the point about the political culture that permits the actions of these individuals

One of the curious things about the torture scandal in Abu Ghraib was the way the American press immediately turned it into a human-interest story. Lynndie England, the young woman photographed like a grinning white huntress with her trophies of naked Iraqi men piled up on top of each other, or held on a leash, got her moment of worldwide fame as quickly as did Private Jessica Lynch, last year's media icon of the Iraqi war. Within hours of England's story hitting the headlines, reporters and TV crews descended on her hometown in West Virginia to interview friends, neighbours and relatives, as though something about her character or background would provide the explanation for what had happened in a prison in Baghdad...(Buruma 2004, 3 July, p. 22)⁷⁶.

It is important to notice how Burma uses metaphors like a “grinning white huntress” over her “trophies”. I argue that the metaphor of trophies was used to sustain the ideological squaring of bad apples and good soldiers in news stories, where disgraced soldiers were mostly named by their given names and represented as sadistically grinning at violence and the objectification of prisoners, whereas admirable soldiers like Private Jessica Lynch get referenced by their military title and implied to be professional. As discussed earlier, the behavioural process of grinning was focused on and worked to delegitimize systemic questions related to norms of soldiering more broadly, placing sole responsibility for the violence at Abu Ghraib on individual guards. Furthermore, through the linguistic strategy of nominalization that replaces verb processes with noun constructions, articles like Buruma’s demonstrate how actions of what exactly happened, for Iraqi men to end up naked and piled on top of each other or naked and leashed, were concealed from view and functioned to obscure systemic responsibility for the actions. My close reading understands how both soldiering and hunting rely on militarized norms of masculinities based on dehumanization and trophy collecting (Branth and Haugen, 2006). I argue that the

⁷⁶ It is interesting how the pyramid photo is consistently framed as Lynndie’s trophy despite not being present in the actual photograph, not possessing ownership of the photo and not being part of orchestrating the pyramid (like Graner was).

metaphor of bad apple hunters collecting trophies highlights how these narratives reflect a broader ghosted discourse of militarized masculinities based on dehumanization, trophy collecting, and excessive racist violence.

Conversations around Graner's trophies lasted throughout the news coverage and were often brought up during court proceedings in the summer, fall and winter of 2004/2005. Dominant news narratives continued to present the trophy photographs as "shocking" (Jackson, 2004, 8 December) or "scandalous" ("2004 in pictures", 2005, 2 January). This persistent framing of the trophy photographs as scandalous is significant because it assumes and presupposes that the actions of violence, torture and sexualized aggression were not expected of soldiers and the United States imperial conflicts abroad. This reliance on this presupposition supported the ideological squaring between bad apples and good soldiers, as well as the individualization of blame and the suppression of systemic responsibility for violence and trophy collecting. The news reported that Graner and two other soldiers took countless photos of several aspects of abuse as "trophies to show to friends back home" (Eig, 2004, 23 November, p. A1)⁷⁷ according to soldiers' testimonies about Abu Ghraib. As soldiers were court-marshalled representations changed and began to focus on detainee testimonies and prosecutor statements. They framed Graner and his photos as the by-product of a "sadist" who "took great pleasure in seeing detainees suffer "for sport"" (Badger, 2005, 16 January). Dominant representations framed Graner's trophy photographs as markers of madness and focused on the individual military guards and the private reasons why these guards found it appropriate to objectify and celebrate violence against Iraqi detainees. Dominant representations de-contextualized Graner's

⁷⁷ Interestingly, news in my sample reported that Graner was not the only one taking trophy pictures of torture in Iraq. Stories in the U.K. reported that there was a "British Abu Ghraib" involving an "orgy of torture and violence against civilians in Barsa shortly following the fall of Saddam", where trophy snaps were taken with soldiers smiling while abusing Iraqis (Seamark, 2005, 8 January). The news reported that Navy Seals operating in Iraq also took trophy pictures of captured Iraqis being abused (Brown et al., 2004, 6 December).

trophy photographs from militarized gender norms and treated them as an individual example of perverse depravity and madness. Discourses about Graner's sadism, perversion and monstrosity will be discussed and developed in greater detail in Chapter 6: Monstrosity, Ableism and Militarized Masculinities.

Race and the militarized imperial context was often silenced in news stories. Representations of Graner's pictures are best understood as part of a discourse on militarized masculinities whose descriptions reflect militarized values of violence, aggression and dehumanization. Representations of Graner's trophies need to be challenged to recognize that they are embedded in a broader culture and history of militarization, white supremacy and violent imperial masculinities. Depictions of Graner's trophies that present them as looking like "catching a big fish" or sado-masochistic pornography need be positioned as part of a broader discourse on militarized masculinities where "assertion[s] of the imperial body" (Mirzoeff, 2006, p. 28), against feminized, crip, queer and racialized bodies was a gendered norm.

Representations of Graner's picture trophies were part of a discourse that normalizes race-thinking, militarism and violent masculinities. Through the Graner case, dominant Western discourses normalized imperial violence to such an extent that the racist violence of incarceration and occupation got presented as valuable duties of soldiering and militarized masculinities. Because trophies do not speak for themselves but are given meaning through discourse, my analysis in this section and chapter sought to unpack representations of the trophies in order to better understand how trophies take on meaning and become objects of gendered knowledge.

In summary, this section explored the themes of dehumanization and trophy collecting and argued that representations of Graner's trophies need to be positioned not simply as hunting trophies or trophies of perversion, but also as gendered discourses and symbols related to white

militarized masculinities over weak, racialized and feminized “Others”. I analyzed and illustrated the discursive production of militarized masculinities as being based on scripts that normalizes trophy collecting based on dehumanization, physical power and racial dominance by contextualizing media discourses and pinpointing looming discursive silences around Graner’s trophies. A key conclusion from this section is that the underside of militarized masculinities is reflected in representations of Graner’s trophies and connected to militarized discourses of dehumanization and racial superiority.

Trophies of Militarized Masculinities

Unpacking how representations of trophy collecting are subtly embedded in broader discourses on militarized masculinities enriches intersectional understandings of militarized masculinities. It is part of my research’s four-pronged conceptualization of overarching discourses of militarized masculinities in white settler societies. By contextualizing news representations of Graner, Williams, and McDonald’s trophies I found that representations were informed by a militarized logic of dehumanization that made other people appear different, threatening or expendable, and were particularly racialized, sexualized and ableist in nature (Lee 2008, p. 58). By positioning representations of the trophies collected by Williams, Graner and the Australian cadets as deeply militarized and gendered it becomes visible how representations of trophies expressed gender and racial hierarchies, white supremacy, misogyny, sexualized aggression, and able-bodied superiority. When society and the mainstream news coverage place blame solely on a handful of “kinky”, “deviant” or naturally “sexist” male bodies it inevitably obscures the overarching gendered and militarized structures of our culture, where these individuals and trophy collecting practices are embedded. News stories helped to make conversations related to militarized masculinities unspeakable by individualizing blame.

Representations of Williams', Graner's, and McDonald's trophies described how they memorialized what they did and where they have been, but framed their trophies as symbols of deviance and juxtaposed them with honourable military medals and good soldiering. While the military medals of good soldiers and sexualized trophies of bad apples were presented in discourses as different, my close reading of representations unpacked how they are similar in their logic and part of the same system of militarized masculinities. Building from the work of Messner (1992), Teaiwa (2008) and Burstyn (1999), I found that representations of the trophies in the military tend to imply that they are gendered mementos that affirm celebrated masculinities. When we understand how militarized masculinities are associated with sexual aggression, ableism, misogyny and racist dehumanization, we can politicise representations of the trophies collected by Williams, Graner and McDonald as being like military medals in that they are both types of gendered trophies of militarized masculinities, albeit taken to their logical extremes.

Chapter 5: Racist Imperial Violence, Militarized Discourses and Militarized Masculinities

As discussed in Chapter 1, post-colonial scholarship has traced how militarization is a racialized system that is connected to ideologies that legitimized colonization and continue to normalize neocolonial practices (Shigematsu and Camacho, 2010). As we should remember, the work of Turenne Sjolander (2011) and Beier (2011) explored how Western discourses tend to be embedded in militarized pedagogies that imagine militarization and militarized masculinities as the solution to violence rather than its catalyst. This allows Western imperial projects and militarized masculinities to appear civilized and civilizing rather than based on a racialized “death ethic” logic (Meldonado-Torres, 2008). Within dominant societal discourses the materiality of imperial violence is ghosted (McClintock, 2013)⁷⁸, with images of egregious violence by military personnel presented as isolated incidents or contextualized as occurring in isolated zones of exception (Razack, 2008; Puar, 2007). As discussed earlier, imperial violence and militarization are generally imagined and accepted in our militarized state system as necessary for national and international security, when in reality militarization and foreign occupations are fundamentally based on ideologies of dehumanization and difference. I explore in this chapter how militarized discourses that represented Charles Graner (re)produced a racialized order, centring difference as threatening and whiteness as orderly. Racialized populations subject to imperial violence were positioned in dominant news discourses as needing to be caught, saved, incarcerated (often without habeas corpus), or killed by civilized white nations.

The militarized ideology of the military has a long tradition of objectifying enemies as racialized “Others” and normalizing these racist ideas as valuable for effective bonding and

⁷⁸ Via what Anne McClintock (2013) calls ‘imperial ghosting’, a process where imperial circuits of violence are forgotten or made invisible (McClintock 2013)

fighting (Eisenstein, 2008 p. 36; Shigematsu et al., 2008, p. 96)⁷⁹. Scholars of militarized masculinity/ies found that the subordination of differences has been integral to the production of soldiers. Gendered, geopolitical and racialized differences are disrespected in military culture and reflected in its training and indoctrination of soldiers-(Whitworth, 2004; Razack, 2004). Sandra Whitworth's work on Canadian military training highlighted how militaries strategically train and indoctrinate soldiers to no longer identify as individuals but rather as part of the military machine, which views enemies as inferior "Others" who are less than human (Whitworth, 2004). Her work found that discrimination and harassment in the Armed Forces with regards to gender, race and sexuality were perceived as not only acceptable but a strategic requirement, to effectively train and recruit strong male soldiers positioned as masculine, white, heterosexual and able-bodied. Sherene Razack (2004)⁸⁰ found interviews with soldiers following the Somalia Affair in the 1990s that supported Whitworth's conclusions. Testimonies indicated that the soldiers believed that human rights legislation designed to stop discrimination based on gender, race and sexuality weakened the military and contributed to an acceptance of unqualified soldiers. Razack described how military personnel up Canada's chain of command "vehemently opposed homosexuality and saw efforts to discipline soldiers who harassed women and minorities as limiting the military's capacity to produce effective soldiers" (2004, p. 70; Winslow, 1997).

Representations of Charles Graner are analysed in this chapter, paying particular attention to silent themes of imperial violence and racialized militarism⁸¹. This chapter asks: What

⁷⁹ i.e. Gooks in the Vietnam war, or Rag heads in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars

⁸⁰ Razack's work relies on Donna Winslow's (1997) interviews with the Canadian Airborne Regiment following the Somalia Affair.

⁸¹ When talking about imperial violence I focus on its most tangible and visible aspects often enforced by military personnel; the physical subjugation, control, occupation, incarceration and violation of "others", most often people of colour (Tuhiwai Smith, 2007, 21). Also the imperial violence of economic expansion and the enforcement of 'Western'/Eurocentric ways of knowing are recognized in this chapter. Military personnel understand that the

knowledge is (re)produced about military personnel and the nation-state in representations which talk about Charles Graner's participation in violence at Abu Ghraib? How do news representations of Colonel Williams position his participation in foreign conflict and violence at home? What do these representations reveal about militarized masculinities?

Insights from scholars of militarization emphasize how Western narratives shield militarized ideologies from critique and use militarized rhetoric to frame imperial projects as civilizing. As discussed further in Chapter 1, post-colonial scholar Lee (2008) situated imperial violence within a racialized system and militarized logic of dehumanization. My reading of news stories found that dominant discourses in the media were militarized and tended to position violence committed by military personnel as the by-product of rogue soldiers or exceptions to otherwise civilized missions, orchestrated by exceptional nation states and militaries. This is most apparent in representations where actions are represented through linguistic choices such as abstraction, presupposition, normalization and rhetorical devices. In the next two sections I explore news narratives, mostly related to Charles Graner at Abu Ghraib, looking at how the violence was explained and blamed on military guards presented as bad apples. This chapter's two thematic sections were derived from the theoretical insights of Puar (2007), Shigematsu and Camacho (2010), Whitworth (2004), Eichler (2012) and other scholars referenced in my earlier discussion on militarization, militarized masculinity/ies and racist imperial violence. The two themes were 1) exception and exceptionalism and 2) dehumanization and difference. In both of these sections I explore how the militarized violence at Abu Ghraib was talked about using a racialized narrative to about Charles Graner and United States' violence in Iraq. In this chapter I

control of people and lands is essential in the national securing of new markets and the teaching of epistemological and cultural inferiority. The extermination and displacement of populations helps to destroy alternative histories, ways of knowing, culture and language which are understood by military personnel and projected onto occupied populations as different, dangerous, pre-modern, and inferior.

focus on the story of Charles Graner, who was positioned as an evil soldier whose violence was an exception to an otherwise exceptional modern nation. I consider how representations of Graner serve to (re)construct militarized masculinities through “structural opposition” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 39) between notions of good and bad soldiers. As discussed in Chapter 2, oppositions in language such as good - bad can imply differences from qualities of its opposites without these being overtly stated (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 39-40). Machin and Mayr explain that if a participant in a news story is described as an “extremist” or “terrorist” we can deduce that such a person would act in the opposite manner than a “citizen” or “member of the community” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, pp.39-40). In ideological squaring, evaluation takes place through oppositions and we are often never told why events like racist abuse take place. In this chapter, I examine the ways discourses were militarized and functioned to portray militarized dehumanization, racial difference and incarceration as legitimate and nonviolent. I also consider how representations of Colonel Williams and his actions served to (re)construct militarized masculinities through structural oppositions between honourable soldiers and rotten predators.

Exception and Exceptionalism⁸²

The exceptional nature of Graner’s abuse was a prominent theme in the early coverage of the Abu Ghraib scandal. This portrayal of exception lasted from the release of pictures in late April 2004 through the court-martial verdicts in the summer, fall and winter of 2004/2005. Dominant narratives were militarized and typically framed Graner’s violence as unusual and presented the United States military as an exceptional organization with first-class soldiers. News narratives explicitly and implicitly spread the knowledge that the violence committed by soldiers like Graner was an exception, militarization is race-neutral and contemporary

⁸² The theme of exception and exceptionalism is borrowed from the work of Puar (2007) in her general conversation on representations of Abu Ghraib.

frameworks of soldiering (based on militarized masculinities) are benign. News representations relied on the militarized logic that militarization is necessary for security and that incarceration is nonviolent, race-neutral and necessary. News discourses presented the majority of American soldiers as nonviolent in their work for an exceptional nation whose actions are always designed for security. The following pages will systematically document how militarized narratives of exception and exceptionalism were racialized and persisted until the end of the Abu Ghraib news story on Charles Graner.

As pictures and stories of abuse were leaked to the media, headlines routinely positioned the events at Abu Ghraib as a scandal and rarely emphasized the United States' military involvement. CNN commonly framed the abuse in its segments as the "Iraqi Prison Abuse Scandal" (Church, Wedeman, Blitzer and Todd, 2004, 5 May, n.p.). This type of news headline persisted throughout the coverage and across news networks. The headline featured above is a common example of the initial de-politicization of militarized violence at Abu Ghraib. In these types of headlines, the action of guard abuse was concealed via the linguistic strategy of normalization. The action of guard violence was replaced with a noun and militarized actors were not named. This type of headline was prevalent and worked to obscure what actually happened, the agency and responsibility for the abuse, as well as the militarized structure and geopolitical setting of United States' imperialism where the abuse took place. The use of normalization in this headline functioned to turn an active picture of Western militarized violence into a static image of violence in a faraway prison. News headlines typically framed the events of abuse as one of scandal suggesting that detention centres, interrogation centres and the whole prison system in general is race-neutral, operates in a professional and civilized way and is not marked with systemic abuses, neglect or mistreatment. These headlines sustained militarized

myths and suggested that the United States' status quo war, fighting, soldiering and militarized masculinities were civilized. I found CDA techniques of analysis helpful to unpack the CNN headline above, using naming, erasing and the grammar of transitivity to see the actions of militarized participants were removed from view as the victims of abuse remained nameless and were positioned only by their criminality and nationality. Abuse was placed in the landscape of war in Iraq while America's imperial presence and circuits of violence were removed from view. Headlines typically reproduced the knowledge that militarized frameworks of soldiering were not responsible for the prisoner abuse. In headlines, abuse was represented as a scandal and isolated incident that goes against the presumed good service of the United States Armed Forces. Generally, news headlines introduced the case of Abu Ghraib as an exception to an otherwise necessary and race-neutral international prison system of incarceration. By remembering that the training of soldiers systemically undermines differences and valorizes violence (Whitworth, 2004), Graner's actions, as well as those of his colleagues, can be contextualized as profoundly militarized and reflective of gendered norms of militarized masculinities based on racist violence.

In early May 2004, news outlets ran stories that focused on the individuals behind the scandal and presented them as abhorrent people who brought shame to the thousands of honourable men and women in uniform, who we should continue to valorize. Headlines like, "Couple who shocked the world" (Buncombe, 2004, 8 May, p. B18) or "How the grin on a woman soldier's face stained the honour of the US army" ("How the Grin", 2004, 7 May) were plentiful. Headlines focused on Lynndie England and her relationship with Charles Graner. They positioned England and Graner's actions at Abu Ghraib as a deviation from the exemplary service of U.S. Armed Forces personnel and the geopolitical actions of the United States (which

we now know released “torture memos” during the time of Abu Ghraib which defined acts of torture in their war on terror as no longer illegal). The racialized nature of militarized violence in Iraq and Abu Ghraib was concealed in early headlines. For instance, in the above examples only one or two perpetrators were named as if they were civilians who were not trained or active service members in the United States military. Naming choices in the discourse tended to rely on the referential strategy of nomination that focused on who they were rather than functionalization of what they did. Nomination typically sounds more personal, whereas functionalization can sound more official and connote legitimacy (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 81). By choosing not to frame Graner as an Army Specialist, his seniority and position in the military was removed from view, obscuring the militarized circumstance of the abuse as well as the structure of racialized imperial power dynamics. The context surrounding the couple often remained personal as headlines made it appear this was a private issue which wrongly stained the honour of the United States Army and American militarization more broadly. Buncombe’s (2004, 8 May, p. B18) use of the word “shocked” was also significant and prevalent in news stories and headlines. By suggesting that the world was “shocked” the linguistic strategy of presupposition was deployed, implying meaning about soldiering without making these assumptions explicit. In order to understand militarized violence or military guard violence as shocking, it was implied that soldiering, systems of incarceration and imperial occupation were not violent. In doing this, status quo myths of soldiering were proliferated and implied to be nonviolent, civilized and race-neutral. This worked to conceal norms of militarized masculinities that we learned in Chapter 1 are based on excessive violence and aggression towards racialized bodies/enemies (Eichler, 2012).

Before the scandal was leaked to the media in late April 2004, Lieutenant General Sanchez (who held the top military position in Iraq) ordered a secret internal investigation into Abu Ghraib known as the Taguba Report⁸³. While the report was completed in February 2004, due to the secret nature of the document, detailed press coverage of the report did not take place until mid-May 2004 during testimonies at the Senate Armed Services Committee⁸⁴. Overall, news representations of the report focused on findings that there was no evidence written or otherwise that military commanders ordered military guards to abuse detainees (McPharland, 2005, 15 May). The news that Major General Taguba criticized Commander Karpinski as a failed leader and supervisor of Abu Ghraib and the Military Police Brigade that included Charles Graner and Lynndie England (Olbermann, Myers, and Morales, 19 May 2004)⁸⁵ was framed as an exception to the normal attentive quality of military leadership. News stories framed Karpinski as a leader who could have helped prevent the systematic abuse of prisoners (Olbermann, Myers, and Morales, 19 May 2004). Taguba's report also placed blame on military intelligence and private contractors like Colonel Pappas, Steven Stephanowicz and John Israel (Hersh 2004, 10 May, 42). However, these more critical aspects of his report were overshadowed by Taguba's official statements to the Senate Armed Services Committee which said: "I believe that they [Charles Graner et al.] did it on their own volition,..." "I believe that they collaborated with several [military intelligence] interrogators at the lower level [ie. Stephen Stephanowics and John Isreal]" (McParland, 2004, 15 May). News reporting on the Taguba report insisted on perpetuating ideological squaring between violent bad apples and ideal

⁸³ Major General Taguba completed the investigation in February 2004. It was the second of two secret investigations into Abu Ghraib. It remains to be understood why an investigation into abuse was called when it was known that the administration accepted the abuse and torture. .

⁸⁴ On the 11th of May 2004.

⁸⁵ Former General Kapinski remains the only high ranking official to be demoted to rank of Colonel because of the matter, despite the clear role many other high ranking officials played in the knowing refusal to follow the Geneva Convention.

soldering. News stories framed Graner and colleagues as terrible people who were distinct from the majority of honourable military personnel. I understand how idealized soldering is based on scripts of militarized masculinities, which promote racialized violence, aggression and denigration (Whitworth, 2004). It is why I argue that although the media insisted on binary distinguishing good soldiers from rogue soldiers, they are both based on norms of militarized masculinities. Representations of Charles Graner's rogue soldiering can be understood as the logical extension to scripts of idealized soldiering since both are based on the violent dehumanizing racialized scripts of militarized masculinities.

The class background of Abu Ghraib guards involved in the scandal and how it contributing to the violence was discussed in early news coverage. In these representations the guards' home towns were revealed as poor, backwards, intolerant and ignorant. This focus on class was part of a referential naming practice that helped to affirm their guilt and define the nature of the abuse as personal rather than political. This focus on the backgrounds of guards functioned to conceal the hierarchal system and structure of soldiering, based on militarized masculinities. A focus on militarized systems and structures would have better contextualized their purpose and involvement in Iraq and at Abu Ghraib. News stories that focused on the backgrounds of guards lasted through the winter of 2005 and were often used as an explanation for their backward enjoyment of abuse.

Statements from Lynndie England's family were frequently mentioned in news stories and framed the violence of England, Graner and company as just "stupid" "pranks" committed by "kids" (Churcher, 2004, 7 May, 4). "...Down a dirt track at the edge of town, in the trailer where England grew up, her mother Terrie dismissed the allegations against her daughter as unfair. They [England, Graner, Frederick and other guards] were just doing stupid kid things,

pranks...” (Churcher, 2004, 7 May, p. 4). Representations of torture as “pranks” can be unpacked as a rhetorical trope of abstraction that helped conceal structural details of racialized incarceration and violent soldiering. Reporting on the motives behind the violence deployed the metaphor of “pranks” that served to trivialize the causes for abuse as well as conceal the phenomena of racist imperial violence and militarized masculinities. Reporting on the testimonies from England’s family deflected criticism away from the racist structures of militarization, the prison system and longstanding histories of imperial violence. Mrs. England’s comments helped position her daughter’s actions at Abu Ghraib as part of valorized traditions of militarized masculinities in Western militaries, which glorify and justify violence as essential for national security. Since militaries have long been understood as organizations with training and ideals that help turn boys into men (Arking and Dobrofsky, 1978), representations that framed the actions of Graner and England as “kid things” reinforced the trope of exception and exceptionalism, where racist abuse had nothing to do with soldiering, the military, its training or U.S. imperialism. These discourses assumed that military training (based on militarized masculinities) was not related to the incidents. Understanding how excessive violence is a part of soldiering and the scripting of militarized masculinities helps to clarify that narrative representations of Graner’s racist violence were embedded in broader discourses of militarized masculinities that includes both constructions of ideal soldiers and bad apples.

Graner’s past employment record and history of abuse against prisoners became the focus of representations in mid-May 2004.

He [Charles Graner] was fired in June 2000 for repeatedly being tardy, abusing sick leave and disobeying orders to remain on duty. He was reinstated two years later after a hearing, and the punishment was reduced to a three-day suspension... Inmates at the state prison complained that Graner mistreated them, but none of the charges was upheld in the prison grievance process or in federal court. Still, former death-row inmate Nicholas Yarris maintains that Graner abused his authority... “Most guards are good people trying

to make a living, but Charles took absolute glee in exercising power over inmates,” says Yarris, who, after spending 22 years in prison on a murder conviction, was released in January after DNA evidence exonerated him. ... Yarris says “Graner spat in inmates’ food, taunted Muslims about not eating pork, cracked jokes about homosexuals during strip searches and relished withholding privileges such as exercise”” (Cauchon 2004a, 17 May, A07).

Graner was represented in this news story and others as a rule breaker who routinely abused inmates, was not dependable, abused his authority and had a history of aggression against inmates, especially those he perceived as different [i.e. Muslims and homosexuals]. Graner was described as being an overtly xenophobic, homophobic and outright cruel individual who would inevitably find it acceptable to abuse detainees. This naming of Graner depoliticized prisoner abuse and is best understood as a referential strategy that helped align readers against Graner and support the simple idea that Graner held absolute responsibility. Therefore the simple solution was him taking full responsibility and going to jail. Stories failed to discuss how the Greene Prison scandal in the 1990s was part of a larger epidemic and system of condoned abuse, that has been disproportionately experienced by people of colour and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) community⁸⁶. Unfortunately, the majority of news stories focused

⁸⁶ There were however outlier articles from my sample which critiqued the prison system as corrupt and as a place where prisoner abuse and guard power is the norm. The below article is the original article from which Nicholas Yarris’s comments were taken. It clearly states that Graner is not the only person responsible, arguing that blame and critiques need to acknowledge the militarized prison systems and culture condoning the abusive practices of corrections officers. “... Nicholas Yarris, the first death row inmate to be exonerated by DNA evidence in Pennsylvania, said he was routinely stripped naked for cavity searches by Graner and other officers while at SCI-Greene. Yarris blamed the prison system for condoning abuse of prisoners. “It isn’t Charles; it’s the people producing Charles,” Yarris said. “When they’re put in charge, they make up their own rules because they think abuse is acceptable.” ... In Iraq, Graner was put in charge of some operations at Abu Ghraib because he had experience and knew “how things were supposed to be run,” according to testimony from a military investigation into abuse of prisoners [presumably the Taguba Report]. Graner and staff Sgt. Ivan L. “Chip” Frederick, the top enlisted man among the soldiers guarding the prison [Abu Ghraib], had worked for years as state prison guards. (Lin 2004, 11 May.) This critical passage implied that experienced corrections officers like Graner and Frederick were positioned as Abu Ghraib leaders, because they had experience as prison guards, and presumably knew that abuse is acceptable having had years of experience asserting control over prisoners. This passage suggests that Graner and Frederick, the two central guards involved in the violent abuse on detainees, were exactly what the military was looking for. This article helps to contextualize the violence at Abu Ghraib as part of a historical and systemic problem related to prisoner abuse and valorized violent frameworks of soldiering and masculinity, suggesting that prison guards may be scapegoats.

on Graner's individual abuse and xenophobia rather than the structural racism and the systemic nature of abuse as standard prison fare. This discourse about Graner sustained the knowledge that incarceration and the United States justice system are legitimate, race-neutral, without impunity and that normal military guards are good people. In reality military guard violence was a systemic problem reflective of a militarized culture structured by aggressive masculinities, racism and misogyny.

Generally, news outlets told a story of how low-level military personnel at Abu Ghraib developed and took part in a shocking competition to determine which guard was the cruellest, toughest and most ruthless, using prisoner abuse as a measure. By late May 2004, most news outlets ran stories like Serrano and Miller's below:

Detainees were forced to participate in contests in which military police tried to see how many detainees they could make cry or urinate on themselves...Both victims and guards cited by Army investigators [in the Tagupa Report] tended to confirm characterizations of Cpl. Charles Graner as the most violent on Tier 1A in what was known as the prison's "hard site". A guard said Graner would beat prisoners and then encourage his colleagues to "come get some of this"...At one point Graner, who worked in a state prison in Pennsylvania before being deployed to Iraq, allegedly told another guard: "The Christian in me says it's wrong, but the corrections officer in me says, "I love to make a grown man piss himself" (Serrano and Miller 2004, 23 May, p. 22).

Using the Tagupa report as evidence, media outlets represented Charles Graner and colleagues as merciless people who decided on their own accord to torture inmates, treat them like animals, humiliate them and sexually assault them. Graner was portrayed as taking this game to the extreme and was framed as the most violent guard. The violence against inmates was presented as a sick sport where guards competed against one another in an attempt to see who could make detainees cry or urinate on themselves. Articles placed this violence as an exception and did not question why the "corrections officer inside [Graner]" would like to see a grown man pee himself by contextualizing American militarization, soldiering and the prison system as violent

racialized structures. My rereading of the above article positions Graner's statements as militarized desires in a racialized military system. The racist nature of military training and indoctrination (Razack, 2004) set the scene for why sadistic games were perceived as appropriate in the first place.

In the fall of 2004, dominant representations contextualized guard behaviours as an extension of their individual immaturity and reflective of "red flag" episodes prior to deployment that went undetected by military officials (Eig, 2004, 23 November, p. A1). It is important to note that official memos that we now know legitimized and condoned torture as an interrogation technique were still not on the public record and obscured the United States' broader intelligence policy of dehumanization and merciless aggression. As such, representations tended to emphasize a simpler and more sensationalized story of blame, focusing on those at the bottom of the chain of command, which were featured in the pictures and caught red handed inflicting abuse. Here is one example of this type of individualized blame:

Before there was Abu Ghraib, there was Virginia Beach. Three of the soldiers - Lynndie England, Charles Graner and Steven Strother - took off for Virginia Beach, Va., in a borrowed Ford Focus. They got drunk one night, and when Spc. Strother passed out, Spc. England took off her clothes and got in bed with him, according to Spc. Strother's testimony before a military court. He said Cpl. Graner took pictures, and then Spc. England snapped more photos while Cpl. Graner exposed himself next to Spc. Strother's head "It was just a joke," Spc. Strother testified. It was also a hint of worse things to come...some who were inside Abu Ghraib tell a relatively simple story. They describe how one soldier [Graner] with a strong personality and red flags in his record apparently triggered a descent into horrific behaviour while a distracted Army hierarchy failed to stop it. (Eig, 2004, 23 November, p. A1)

Eig's article portrayed Graner and England as a pair who enjoyed self-made pornography and sexual pranks against friends, suggesting that Abu Ghraib was Virginia Beach part two. This representation of Abu Ghraib as Virginia Beach 2 deflected criticism from other soldiers and systemic failures up the chain of command. Most importantly, it implied that the violence at Abu

Ghraib was not reflective of racist imperial politics or violence but was rather a race-neutral part of Graner and England's perverse hobby. These representations positioned the racist and sexual violence at Abu Ghraib as perpetrated by individuals who had a history of committing sexualized pranks and immoral behaviour. These explanations obscured more structural reasons for Abu Ghraib. With the literature on militarized masculinity/ies discussed by Razack (2004), Whitworth (2004) and Eichler (2012) in mind, my rereading of these representations positions Graner's violence as part and parcel to the U.S. military's longstanding valorization of militarized masculinities based on misogyny, racism and sexual violence. Militarized masculinities value aggression, toughness and violence over coming forward with abuse or empathizing with "Others" (Whitworth, 2004). Representations that depicted Graner and England as a questionable pair distanced the ways they were embedded and reflective of the racist norms in the U.S. military, soldiering and militarized society more broadly. These representations insisted on a binary between good and bad soldiering. The insistence that Graner and company were immature, crass and unprofessional in everyday life and their attitude towards abuse, stand in contrast to the way we are directed to understand ideal soldiering as being professional, respectful or heroic (and certainly not looking like Virginia Beach part two). Through my contextualized reading I position both constructions as part of discourses on militarized masculinities.

Depoliticized narratives of Graner persisted through his court-martial proceedings in January 2005. By the winter of 2005 Graner was widely known as a "monster" (Kovach, 2005, 17 January, p. 24). Detainee testimonies were featured in the news and reiterated how Graner did not need to be ordered to torture inmates as he did so with pleasure. "A Syrian held at Abu Ghraib prison testified by video Tuesday that U.S. army Specialist Charles Graner merrily

whistled, sang and laughed while brutalizing him and forced him to eat pork and drink alcohol in violation of his Muslim faith” (“Inmates describe torture,” 2005, 12 January, p. A16). Headlines in the winter of 2005 frequently reported on Graner in court. “Abu Ghraib Witness says accused man often disobeyed orders” (“Abu Ghraib witness,” 2005, 12 January), “Graner’s defence sputters” (Fuoco, 2005, 13 January, p. A1), “ U.S. Abu Ghraib abuse ringleader found guilty” (“U.S. Abu Ghraib, 2005, 14 January). These headlines focused on Graner’s individual guilt, responsibility and weak defence. Throughout the majority of these headlines Graner was named simply as a man or ringleader and rarely by his rank in the military. By focusing only on Graner the monster, dominant discourses affirmed the legitimacy of the armed forces as an institution of security that houses civilized and nonviolent individuals who would be disturbed by aggression. Narratives of exception positioned the militarized and racist nature of Graner’s violence as the by-product of an individual failure, rather than the by-product of the racialized system of militarization. By reading against the text, the violence of soldiers at Abu Ghraib can be contextualized as part of a militarized and masculine mantra of aggression, control and superiority. From my analytical lens informed by Whitworth (2004), I focus on how Graner was trained as a marine and soldier to value aggression, inflict pain and dehumanize the enemy.

In military training and militarized thinking, Oriental lands and racialized bodies are positioned as different, requiring careful surveillance and control for the “universal” good (Beier, 2011; Puar, 2008; Nelson, 1998 cited in Razack, 2004; Nagel, 1998). We see these militarized assumptions in the lexical choices and rhetorical strategies of news discourses which present the nature of Graner’s actions as criminal, while framing military occupation as nonviolent and liberating (Kovach, 2005, 17 January, p. 24). Within dominant representations an implicit line was drawn between good and bad soldering. Systems of surveillance, detention and militarized

violence were connoted as important to international security. Soldiers were routinely represented as valuable, “The hour for Specialist Graner to be punished is finally here,” he [Maj. Michael Holley] said to the panel, composed of Iraqi combat veterans...”Do not let the men who have fallen in honor be mentioned in the same breath as the name of the accused”, (“Soldier gets 10 years”, 2005, 19 January). These types of narratives insisted that Graner was distinct from fallen heroes, implying that status quo frameworks of soldiering (which we know are based on militarized masculinities) were still honourable. Graner and his actions were presented as an exception in the military that contrasted with ideal soldiering. My contextualized reading argues that stories about Graner described extended militarized scripts of militarized masculinities based on racialized dehumanization and difference (Whitworth, 2004). The Graner news narrative helped sustain the knowledge that the United States’ system of surveillance, detention, incarceration and militarized violence were legitimate and enforced via an exceptional nation and military personnel, whose overall superiority, legitimacy and civility was without question.

Full text representations framed Graner and other guards as bad individuals, which sustained structural conventions and oppositions, depoliticizing the violence at Abu Ghraib as an exception to an otherwise exceptional nation and army of soldiers. News stories sustained ideological squares between good and bad soldiers as well as rhetorical tropes of abstraction that suppressed and depoliticized the nature of why U.S. soldiers were fighting in Iraq, who was detained at the prison and why, as well as the overall aim of the mission. This narrative helped to exonerate U.S. militarization and militarized masculinities from responsibility for violence. It sustained prevailing myths about American soldiering as appropriate, professional and race-neutral. As discussed at great length in Chapter 1, soldiers are created by the state to embody white masculinities and are trained to kill and inflict violence like machines on demand and

without remorse (Whitworth, 2004; Razack, 2004; Harrison and Laliberté, 1994). Individuality is stripped from recruits in military boot camp. In boot camp former civilians proudly become masculine soldiers and are reoriented towards identifying as part of a hierarchal sea of khaki, programmed successfully for aggression and sacrifice. Representations of Graner implicitly demonstrated the way soldiering was popularly understood, denying the inherent purpose of militaries as institutions of violence, which teach recruits to be aggressive and enjoy killing (Shigematu et al, 2008, p. 95). The media is embedded in social norms and systems that insisted on a binary between virtuous military personnel and defective criminals, who mysteriously slipped through the cracks in the military. It is important to understand that both constructed binary figures concealed and were embedded in the system of militarized masculinities based on race, violence and aggression.

The double deployment of exception and exceptionalism was also present in news coverage about Colonel Williams. As the Williams story broke in February 2010, the world was presented as shocked that a model Colonel could be a violent criminal. It disrupted the militarized myth that Western military personnel are civilized and honourable men. The narrative of “shock” in the discourse relied on the linguistic strategy of presupposition to insist on a binary between good soldier and isolated violent soldiers. From February to April 2010, Williams’ actions were represented as a bombshell that had been dropped (Hamilton Spectator, 2010, 9 February, p. A01), leaving society and military communities with feelings of shock, confusion and anger. In early news coverage, General Natychyck reminded troops and Canadians that, personnel should continue to wear their uniforms with pride (Winter, 2010, 14 February, p. 44). Many news stories were preoccupied with what these charges might do to armed forces’ morale (Gurney 2010, 16 February, A12) and framed the armed forces as the victim. These stories

sustained the myth that military training and culture were innocent. This narrative of the military as a victim exploded post-April 2010 upon the charges of fetish trophy break-ins, and post-October 2010 when the court released a number of Colonel Williams' fetish trophy pictures which were used as evidence that Williams should not be connected to the military. News narratives presented Canadian military personnel and institution as exceptional.

This militarized outlook of exceptionalism was exemplified in the reporting of political statements about Williams in October 2010 (in the midst of Williams' guilty verdict and continued sensationalized coverage focused on Williams' cross-dressing, fetish and apparent mental disorders).

Our thoughts go out to all the members of the Canadian Forces who knew the commander and who have been very badly wounded and betrayed by all of this. Obviously, this in no way reflects on the Forces...Defence Minister Peter MacKay has made clear the Forces will undertake all necessary actions to ensure that all sanctions possible and all benefits possible can be withdrawn from the former commander but this is a terrible and unique case..The Canadian Forces are the victim here, as are the direct victims of these terrible events" [Prime Minister Stephen Harper] (Taber, 2010, 21 October).

By framing the CAF as a victim, who was wounded and betrayed, discourses used personification to assign human qualities to an inanimate institution. This rhetorical device helped to conceal the actual agents, processes and causes of the violence and helped connote the status quo idea that the commander and his actions were atypical in the military. By concealing structural causes related to militarism, the reporting implied the CAF and its personnel were good and different from representations of the violence, panties and pictures Colonel Williams collected to satisfy a so-called "unique" fetish.

It is important to complicate and contextualize news representations that named Graner and Williams as bad apple monsters who were different from normal honourable soldiers. The literature on militarization and militarized masculinity/ies positioned aggression, violence and

control as norms of militarized masculinities that are commonly practiced and celebrated in imperial war fighting (Razack, 2004). Building on these insights, I argue that representation of military personnel who were described as torturing “Others” on their own volition, ought to be politicised as being embedded in a militarized discourse and practice. This discourse and practice is based on defending a particular racial, gendered and sexual conception of self (or since soldiers are not individuals, perhaps defending a particular racial, gendered and sexual conception of military family/machine), which I maintain is based on whiteness, masculinities, heterosexuality (Razack, 2004, p. 62) and ableism.

Militarized Dehumanization and Difference

News stories about the conditions at Abu Ghraib surfaced a few weeks into the news coverage following the Taguba Report and Specialist Sivits’s testimony where he depicted Abu Ghraib as “hell” (Harnden, 2004, 20 May, p. 13).

When he (Specialist Sivits) arrived in Abu Ghraib prison last May, however, having been called up from the reserves, he said he found himself in hell. “We were being attacked by mortars, rockets and small arms fire. It was dark. The prison was overcrowded. It was like being in a horror movie (Harding, 2004, 20 May, p. 4).

Throughout the Abu Ghraib narrative that talked about Charles Graner, circumstances at the prison were often emphasized in order to explain why so many guards were present in the photographs and participated in what was described as Graner’s games. In these representations the prison was represented as a hot and dangerous hell-hole that was like being in a horror movie (Scelfo, 2004, 11 May; Harding, 2004, 20 May, p. 4).

Harvey J. Volzer, the attorney representing Ambuhl, who faces charges of conspiring to mistreat detainees and dereliction of duty for failing to protect prisoners, recently traveled to Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq to gather evidence for Ambuhl’s upcoming trial and got a firsthand look inside the notorious prison. He also spoke with some of the detained and allegedly abused Iraqis. Volzer talked to Newsweek’s Julie Scelfo about the abuse

allegations and the conditions at Abu Ghraib...“What is the prison like?” “I don't have to worry about what hell looks like when I die. To the outside, to the causal observer, you wouldn't believe that anybody [actually used the building]. It looked like it had been strafed. Inside, it's just hotter than hell. Frankly, the detainees almost have it better [than the U.S. soldiers assigned to watch them] because they can go outside during the day. Granted, outside means rock on the ground. It's not like you have a tree or anything to take care of you. At least it's outside. It's hotter than hell inside. You have no idea how hot it is” (Scelfo, 2004, 11 May).

Representing the prison as hell for prison guards deployed the rhetorical device of hyperbolic metaphor to describe and exaggerate prison life at Abu Ghraib for military personnel. These news portrayals that focused on the hellish working conditions for military guards functioned to deflect criticism from the more troubling story of how inmates were unlawfully detained and tortured by U.S. military personnel, private security contractors and intelligence officers. This representation helped to make the events and setting at Abu Ghraib appear like an exception and worked to delegitimize other arguments which might have contextualized the violence in a broader system rather than a hellish prison. Representations deployed the rhetorical device of hyperbole to evaluate the jail not as part of a system but as abnormal and contaminating. This news frame helped the binary between good soldier and bad apples to remain intact. From my analytical lens, I suggest that rhetorical devices which framed Abu Ghraib as hell worked to conceal how the Graner story was part of a broader discursive system of militarized masculinities based on race.

In the summer and fall of 2004, court proceedings of the majority of the accused guards took place. During this time media outlets emphasized testimonies and reports that described the prison as a hell-hole the smelled like faecal matter, urine and body odour.

“We want the court members to smell the faecal matter and the urine that service members who worked inside that prison and who are accused in this case had to live with,” he said (Georgy and Green, 2004, 21 June).

The smell of faecal matter and urine was portrayed as frustrating guards to the point of clouding their judgement, which caused them to join or condone Graner's violent behaviour. Stories focused on how the events at Abu Ghraib happened in a particular circumstance that created a difficult situation for poorly trained guards who lacked basic supplies for prisoners.

U.S. soldier testified that Abu Ghraib was "hell", a dangerous place staffed by poorly trained guards and short on basics like clothes and soap for prisoners; England's lawyers used the testimony to paint a disturbing picture of turmoil at the notorious jail near Baghdad (Looney 2004, 6 August).

Testimonies from the first string of guards placed blame on Graner, Frederick and England as well as circumstances at the prison, rather than the responsibility of military norms and officials up the chain of command (in order to get reduced punishments). Representations of testimonies suggested that guards could not establish order over large numbers of threatening and uncontrollable detainees who were attacking the prison from the outside and rioting once incarcerated.

The prison's population ballooned to nearly 7,000. From outside, insurgents pummelled it with mortars. Abu Ghraib had a hellish reputation under the Hussein regime as a place of torture and execution. To the Americans it was a different kind of hell: cold, cramped and full of detainees prone to riot. Some soldiers felt like prisoners themselves... Those assigned to Tier 1A worked in a particular dank place, rotten with the smell of feces and body odor (Eig 2004, 23 November, p. A1).

This helped to frame the abuse as triggered by pressure-filled circumstances of difference and danger from threatening "Others". Defence attorney arguments to the jury and testimonies of soldiers were discussed in news articles and framed Abu Ghraib as a different, dangerous, dirty and disorderly place, where egregious violence was inherent. Military personnel at Abu Ghraib were portrayed as inexperienced and lacking basic supplies like soap and clothes, required to clean, clothe and detain inmates in an orderly manner. Abu Ghraib was represented as a dirty and

poorly equipped prison, which held many more detainees than its capacity (and than official numbers suggested) and was under staffed with inadequately trained MP's who were left to their own devices and turned to veterans like Graner.

My close reading of this narrative on dirtiness relies on insights from Anne McClintock's (1995) work on soap, which linked discourses of cleanliness to imperial progress, capitalist civility and notions of difference. I argue that depictions of Abu Ghraib as "dirty" helped sustain a racialized order and imperial myth of racial superiority and difference. Clean, white nations were imagined as necessary to clean dirty and contaminating "Others". Discourses on dirtiness were racialized and based on the militarized logic of difference. These discourses were used to encourage the acceptance of egregious violence by soldiers. These representations focused on how insufficient American military funding created dirty prison conditions that lead to frustration induced violence and poor judgement. Within this news frame where military under-funding contributed to the abuse at Abu Ghraib, the simple solution was increased funding to re-establish order and civility. This helped to obscure the political context of Abu Ghraib as embedded in a violent system of incarceration and racist norms of soldiering based on militarized masculinities. Narratives explained away racist violence and overshadowed the reality that the United States incarcerated thousands of Iraqi civilians without due process. Discourses functioned to trivialize detainee experiences and depict the actions of military personnel as driven by circumstances of difference, rather than a militarized culture and white masculinities that glorify racial superiority, power and violence.

In conjunction with narratives that suggested lack of soap, clothes and support were circumstances behind the violence, this next excerpt suggested that guards were contaminated

and corrupted by factors that made even decorated war heroes join the torture orchestrated by Graner.

The nightmare of war and the haunting image of his best friend dying in a mortar attack drove Army Specialist Armin J. Cruz to join the torture of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison, the soldier, his family, and colleagues testified yesterday at Cruz's court-martial... "He didn't have to go, but he did," Holley said, describing Cruz's decision to follow a colleague from his military intelligence interrogation "Tiger Team" to the cellblock where military police were "disciplining" three detainees accused of raping a 15-year-old prisoner. "The accused chose to terrify these men, to mock and abuse them like they were animals, not fellow human beings," Holley said... In September, when he moved to Abu Ghraib prison, he had to endure regular mortar attacks. One, on Sept. 20, killed two soldiers, including Cruz's best friend and mentor Sergeant Travis Friedrich, and wounded dozens of others, including Cruz. Cruz was awarded a Purple Heart for his wounds that night. "I asked to speak to a combat stress team, a psychologist, anyone, to tell me that the dreams I was having, the things I was seeing even while awake, were normal," Cruz testified. He and Krapf said Cruz never got counseling... (Cambanis, 2004, 12 September, p. A13).

In order to explain the violence of war hero Cruz (who won the Purple Heart) while maintaining myths around the appropriateness of soldiering based on militarized masculinities, the circumstance of war, rape, loss and mental instability was presented as corrupting forces behind Cruz's violence. These presented circumstances functioned to shift attention away from idealized soldiering towards causes for going rogue and participating in abuse. This article represented Cruz as a victim of war who suffered from emotional distress without support, which was implied to have inhibited his judgement and made abuse seem justifiable in the context of rioting prisoner rapists. By not naming inmates at Abu Ghraib and mostly referencing them as prisoners or rapists, we were encouraged not to feel as much empathy for these prisoners and victims of abuse. This helped to dehumanize the prisoners and obscure broader systems such as violent soldiering and systems of racist militarization. Dominant representations suggested that the conditions at Abu Ghraib likely caused PTSD for Cruz and inhibited his ability to embody

what is silently constructed as a stable and rational thinking ideal soldier, who presumably would take a stand against Graner's ring of abuse. The news framed Graner and colleagues who participated in the violence or protected him as outliers in the U.S. Armed Forces that was framed as a honourable institution of protectors who shelter the nation from foreign threats. The militarized theme of difference and dehumanization was reiterated in news narratives around Graner who was presented as distinct from good soldiers, imagined to embody the civility of white militarized masculinities. From an analytical lens that understands how militarized masculinities are based on violence and racial dehumanization, the media's insistence on a binary construction between dutiful soldiers and violent soldiers can be disrupted as part of a broader system and discourse of militarized masculinities.

Because militarization and soldiering was understood as a social good, the dominant narrative surrounding the Graner case never framed him as trained killer taught to eroticize killing and dehumanize those who were different (Shigematsu et al., 2008). In Chapter 1 I discussed how militaries have been considered institutions that "train people to love killing, regardless of the context, time, place, or cause" and how this love for killing and violence becomes a fundamental part of the identity of soldiers (Shigematsu et al. 2008, p. 95). My rereading of news narratives situates the importance of militarization in representations of Graner. I position constructions of Graner as reflecting scripts of militarized masculinities based on dehumanization, domination and a love for violence. It is crucial to understand how military training is guided by principles of superiority and difference that teach soldiers that their killing is legitimate. Dominant representations that insisted on framing Graner as an unusually violent soldier obscured how stories about Graner were actually part of a broader discourse on militarized masculinities, racism and dehumanization.

Militarized Masculinities and Racist Imperial Violence

Contextualizing representations of Graner as a case study of militarized masculinities in deeply racist and militarized societies is central to this chapter and thesis. In this chapter I found that Charles Graner's participation in racist imperial violence was discussed as an anomaly but my contextualized reading of this story retells it as an extended performance of idealized soldiering and militarized masculinities based on racism, aggression and violence (Whitworth, 2004). The torture inflicted on detainees was neocolonial violence that expressed absolute power, control and empire (McClintock, 2009), which was an assertion of white imperial masculinity (Mirzoeff, 2005). Throughout this chapter I unpacked how representations of Abu Ghraib that talked about Charles Graner were militarized in their logic and framed racist imperial violence as an individualized story of exception, circumstance, and immature games. These militarized discourses explained away racist violence as an exception (Puar, 2007) and framed racial differences as threatening in contrast to the cleanliness and civility of whiteness. Representations of the violence at Abu Ghraib obscured the militarized system, historical context and political nature of the racist violence where Charles Graner was embedded. Charles Graner was a soldier in an imperial war, a prison guard in the prison industrial system, and a representative of empire. There were clear connections between militarism, racism and militarized masculinities that were ghosted in news discourses.

The story of Abu Ghraib as a dirty hell-hole of disorder was a militarized narrative that relied on rhetorical devices to affirm racial difference and conceal the responsibility of militarized systems of dehumanization and superiority. The narrative of dirt and disorder represented white people and nations as clean and civilized folks who were not conditioned to be surrounded by filth and danger in faraway lands. This narrative allowed the double deployment

of exception and exceptionalism to appear unproblematic and legitimate (Puar, 2007). Abu Ghraib news narratives talking specifically about Charles Graner, framed him as a violent soldier who was distinct from normal dutiful soldiers. My analysis complicates this simplistic binary and narrative of exception and argues that representations of Graner's violence were more than race-neutral "bullying" but about soldering and militarized masculinities, based on aggression, excessive violence, racial superiority and white masculinities. Embedded in the representations of Graner's prison violence was the militarized ideology of dehumanization and the belief that certain bodies were disposable and inferior, much like how women's bodies were deemed expendable by Williams and Australian cadets. My findings suggest that representations of Graner's violence normalized the system of imperial power relations that are deeply racialized and are at the core of Western soldiering and norms of militarized masculinities. This allowed idealized soldiering to appear distinct from the actions of bad apple guards caught abusing detainees, rather than part of the system of dehumanizing white militarized masculinities.

The central point of this chapter is that representations of Charles Graner expose manifestations and patterns of militarized masculinities related to racist violence. By reading for militarized silences that produce race, I discovered that characterizations of Graner relied on a liberal framework that individualized blame, depoliticized violence, and helped maintain myths that frameworks for soldiering based on militarized masculinities were valuable for national security. In this chapter I found that representations distanced structural problems exposed in 1990s inquiries that found a racist and misogynistic military culture plagued with systemic cover-ups and violence. I argued in this chapter that militarized masculinities were (re)produced by a militarized paradigm and discourse where militarism and racial differences were normalized and used to distance norms of soldering from systemic racialized violence.

Chapter 6: Monstrosity, Ableism and Militarized Masculinities

The coverage of the Colonel William case was striking in that many news stories framed him as a monster and sadistic psychopath with mental health conditions, fetishes and gender issues. These discourses functioned to individualize his violence and suggest that these conditions or issues prompted his violence, suppressing a historical context that would frame his sexual aggression, targeted violence and objectification of women as reflective of a longstanding military culture based on militarized masculinities. News stories explicitly characterized Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner as sadistic monsters whose violent crimes reflected sick minds, sexual fetishes, social failings and/or gender deviancy in order to suggest that they were not icons of the military or soldiering. In this fourth theme chapter, on monstrosity and ableism, I explore how elements of monstrosity based on hierarchies of ability, sexuality, class, race and gender were proliferated in the news and produced knowledge about militarized masculinities as able-bodied constructs. I will be relying on what Machin and Mayr (2012) describe as structural oppositions (pp. 39-41) in order to unpack how representations of soldiering and bad apples were part of a network of meanings related to militarized masculinities.

My analysis of news representations in this chapter are informed by Halberstam's book *Skin Shows* (1995) and Angela Smith's book *Hideous Progeny* (2011) that provide insight into how monsters are "meaning machines" (1995, pp. 21-22) and characters of "Otherness" which signify inferiority, deviance and make visible what society considers different⁸⁷. Overall, Halberstam and Smith's work found that stories about monsters should be understood as

⁸⁷ Their work looks at how monstrosity has been used in literature and film. Halberstam's work found that monsters tend to be informed by dominant narratives and hierarchies about sexuality, gender, class, and race (1995). Smith's work found that monsters are also informed by eugenic thought and dominant narratives about disability (2011). Smith's work demonstrated how eugenic tales and movies that showcased monsters like Dracula, Frankenstein, and Mr. Hyde made visible what socially understood as different and by consequence what was considered normative.

discursive technologies embedded within historical and political spaces that mobilize dominant narratives about what is different, and in so doing create and spread knowledge about what is normative, hegemonic and valuable in society. What is significant for this chapter is that theorists of monstrosity, like Jack Halberstam (1995), Jeffery Jerome Cohen (1996), Angela Smith (2011) and Maria Bucur (2007), found that monsters (those named as monsters) are set up in opposition to the idealized masculine body which is assumed to be healthy (2007), respectable, heterosexual (1995), white, civilized (1996) and able-bodied (2011)⁸⁸. In this chapter I analyse narrative representations of Williams and Graner who were predominantly framed in the news as monsters that were corporeally different from what disability scholar Garland-Thompson (1997) calls “normates”. They tend to be set up in opposition to hegemonic norms of masculinities, representing that which is perceived as different or broken⁸⁹.

My analysis in this chapter is also guided by the theoretical insights of Whitworth (2004, 2008), and Howell (2011) who explored negative reactions to post-traumatic stress in the CAF, Charlotte Hooper (2001) and Joanna Bourke’s (1996) work on disfigured and impaired veterans in Britain who were popularly perceived as failed masculine bodies without value, as well as David Serlin’s (2003) research on queerness and disability in the United States military

⁸⁸ Buccuur’s work is not focused on monsters but does provide insight into their construction against healthy bodies. The three other authors mentioned are specifically interested in theorizing monstrosity.

⁸⁹ In Garland Thompson’s plenary presentation at the Disability Studies Association’s conference in 2013 she explained that her term ‘normate’ was a concept conceived by late sociologist Darrell Evans, a friend and fellow disability scholar who presented the concept the 1989 Disability Studies Association Conference. In *Extrodinairy Bodies* she explains that the term “normate” usually designates the social figure through which people can represent themselves as definitive human beings. Normate, then, is the constructed identity of those who, by way of the bodily configurations and cultural capital they assume, can step into a position of authority and wield the power it grants them. If one attempts to define the normate by peeling away all the marked traits within the social order at this historical moment, what emerges is a very narrowly defined profile that describes only a minority of actual people. “..Naming the figure of the normate is one conceptual strategy that will allow us to press our analyses beyond simply dichotomies of male/female, white/black, straight/gay, or able-bodied/disabled so that we can examine the subtle interrelations among social identities that are anchored to physical differences”.(p. 8) See page 8 and 9 of *Extraordinary Bodies* for a more complete discussion of the term normate. Overall, for this project I typically use normate as shorthand for the normative bodily configuration.

which found that masculine myths in the military are based on ableism⁹⁰. As discussed in greater length in Chapter 1, when read together their work generally highlights how crip⁹¹ minds and bodies are understood as at odds with norms of militarized masculinities. Informed by these theoretical perspectives, queer and crip bodies presumably have a key role to play in the production and proliferation of knowledge about hegemonic masculinities like militarized masculinities. In this chapter I investigate if theorized elements of monstrosity were indeed presented as at odds with idealized soldiering and what news representations of Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner (as sick monsters and deviants) reveal about militarized masculinities?

I maintain in this chapter that the media's understanding of masculine soldiering was related to norms of militarized masculinities and depended on assumptions about normalcy as opposed to what is monstrous, crip and queer. In this chapter I explore how news representations named Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner as monsters and figures of difference based on (dis)ability, class, sexuality and gender. This chapter uncovers how discourses around Williams and Graner's monstrosity were placed in contrast to successful soldiering and silently sustained presumptions about what type of bodies are dangerous and what type of bodies keep us safe.

⁹⁰ Sandra Whitworth and Allison Howell's work on post-traumatic stress in the Canadian Armed forces, found that reactions towards PTSD tend to be negative, as mental disorders are perceived as weakness and thus at odds with idealized soldiering. Their work found that veterans tend to be ostracized for acknowledging symptoms, seeking help or requiring leave for post-traumatic stress. They are no longer viewed as valued members of military family since they ultimately failed to live up to the military's ideal of strong and stoic militarized masculinity (Whitworth 2004, pp. 13-14). Veterans with severe disfigurements and impairments tend to be perceived as failed masculine bodies, cast as different, defective and no longer valuable in our militarized neo-liberal society according to Charlotte Hooper's work, guided by Joanna Bourke's (1996) research. While some impaired veterans were perceived as emblematic of brave soldiering, Bourke's study found that as time passed they were ultimately perceived as no longer valuable or productive citizens, but rather drains to the neo-liberal system that could not provide for their families⁹⁰. David Serlin's article *Crippling Masculinity: Queerness and Disability in U.S. Military Culture*, found that bodies which are deemed worthy of military investment are under constant pressure to live up to masculine myths, based on ableism, which value physical strength, toughness and mental stability (Serlin 2003).

⁹¹ The term crip is currently being re-appropriated like the word queer by people with disabilities, allies and disability scholars. See Robert Mceur's book *Crip Theory* (1996) for an example of how the term crip is being used in disability scholarship.

The majority of news narratives that portrayed criminalized soldiers as monsters simultaneously glorified the normalcy, value and civility of military personnel. I argue that these discourses expose how soldiering and militarized masculinities are indebted to ableist and eugenic myths about normalcy discussed in Chapter 1. In this chapter I argue that versions of militarized masculinities were produced alongside ableist assumptions of natural superiority and set up in opposition to monstrosity.

I pinpoint how militarized masculinities were set up in opposition to elements of monstrosity that consist of disability, class, sexuality and gender. I argue that news representations, linguistic strategies and ideological squaring in representations mobilized narratives, ideologies and hierarchies. Through the deployment of structural oppositions, I argue that representations of Williams and Graner that portrayed them as sick and deviant monsters helped to produce knowledge about what normative soldiering and militarized masculinities encompass. News discourses about monstrosity confirmed theoretical insights that claim that monsters are constructed as figures of difference produced alongside hierarchies of ability, gender, sexuality, and class. Representations showcased how discourses about what is to be feared and what is considered safe proliferated alongside ableist and neoliberal structures, which understand mental illness and corporeal differences as dangerous and generally without value. In addition, my close reading of news discourses reveals how military training and militarized norms of violence were understood as valuable, safe and civilized, since the military chooses able bodies and minds that were represented as trustworthy, stable and safe.

In this chapter and thesis I argue that news representations that represented Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner as monsters (who are psychologically sick, sexually deviant or class failures) simultaneously revealed normative elements of militarized masculinities.

Militarized masculinities are silently presented in news narratives as embodying ableist myths about the healthy and idealized body. These dominant discourses characterizing Colonel Williams and Specialist Graner help reveal how living up to myths of normalcy are central in the achievement of militarized masculinities. By representing the violence of Williams and Graner as attributed to a split personality, sadism, or a sexual fetish, news discourses explicitly pathologized their crimes. These discourses of pathologized blame framed their biological minds and bodies as the culprits, obscuring the systemic nature of gendered and racialized violence. News representations underscored not only what types of bodies were monstrous but also what types of bodies embodied militarized masculinities. Discourses suggested that frameworks of soldiering and militarized masculinities require minds and bodies in excellent health, with a normative corporality, sexuality and ability to attain upward class mobility and status. Representations of the mental illnesses of ‘bad’ military personnel were part of overarching discourses on militarized masculinities as its effect was to suggest that disabilities are not a part of militarized masculinities. These discourses of militarized masculinities emerged in a context where eugenic and able-bodied ideals were naturalized and used to reinforce hierarchies of humanity. This chapter is divided into two thematic sections derived from the work of Smith (2011), Halberstam (1995), Serlin (2003), Howell (2011), Whitworth (2004) and others discussed in Chapter 1 related to militarized masculinity/ies and ableism. These themes discussed in this chapter are 1) the ‘normal’ white body and 2), gender, sexuality and class.

The ‘Normal’ White Body

In this section I explore how monstrosity was presented as the by-product of abnormal psyches. This confirms theoretical insights from Smith (2011) who found that monsters are

often produced by bodies that are considered disabled, inferior or sick. In this section I present how monstrosity was discussed as being at odds with the (able-bodied) ideals of the military and soldiering (guided by norms of white militarized masculinities). Colonel Williams was represented as a psychopath hiding in plain sight who wrongly slipped through the ranks of the Canadian military via his veneer of respectability and normality. Instead of simply demonizing these mediated representations as misrepresentations that blamed violence on mental disorders and relied on ableist and eugenic tropes to hide the systemic nature of gendered violence, I suggest it is useful to also analyse what these discourses of monstrosity based on mental/psychiatric abnormality reveal about frameworks of soldiering and militarized masculinities. This is relevant because I am trying to extend understandings of militarized masculinities by analyzing how discourses emerge.

As the Colonel Williams story broke in February 2010, news stories began asking whether there were any “missed signs” the armed forces could have detected that “could explain the charges facing Williams” (Woods, 2010b, 11 February, p. 21)⁹². Early stories were focused on how Williams could have “fooled so many people” (Timson, 2010a, 12 February, p. L1).

...Watt said Williams, like every other senior officer in the Canadian Forces, was constantly being evaluated both as a commander, and in his 23-year career with the military there was no indication of any problem. “He would've been observed; he would've been tested; he would've been challenged to see what his abilities were and whether there were any flaws in his character. In every instance, Russ came through with flying colours,” Watt said. “The key question, obviously, is did we miss something? But I can tell you that based on what we knew at the time, Russ Williams was an outstanding soldier and well deserving of his command”... (“Canada at a Glance,” 2010, 11 February).

⁹² “A top-to-bottom investigation of Williams' personnel file is coming to help police investigate a string of unsolved sex crimes across the country and to find out if the military might have missed any signs that could explain the charges facing Williams...” (Woods, 2010b, 11 February, p. 21).

Discourses related to missed signals relied in part on the assumption that violent criminal actions can be read through the body or that normal people or good soldiers are not violent. Breaking news stories relied on the assumption that people with mental illness or people who cannot succeed in the military are those who have a heightened propensity towards violent crimes. Journalists following the Williams case also began reporting on how shocking it was that Williams led a “double life” raping and murdering women near his home. (“Sex scandals rock Canadians” 2010, 17 February)⁹³.

That moment when you can't believe what you're reading seems to last a very long time. You read it again, trying to clear your head so the reality can sink in. Hoping it makes sense this time. But no matter how many times I read it, I couldn't get my mind around the headline that was screaming across the top of a national news organization's website: Col. Russell Williams, commanding officer at Canadian Forces Base Trenton, had just been arrested and charged with two counts of first-degree murder and two counts of sexual assault... Chief of Defence Staff Walter Natynczyk addressed the media Wednesday in Trenton. He said Williams' arrest had landed like a "body blow" and that everyone in the armed forces was in a state of shock. That's what happens when you hear or read about something that is so bizarre and disturbing, you simply cannot believe it (Lett, 2010, 11 February, p. A3).

Reporting on how “shocking” it was to conceptualize Colonel Williams as a rapist and killer, relied on presupposition⁹⁴. It functioned to quickly conceal links between militarization and violence, proliferating the assumption that soldiering is not fundamentally violent and the military does not have a systemic problem related to sexual violence or violence against women.

In tandem with these stories of surprise, it was quickly claimed the Williams case might lead to “more rigorous and continued psychological testing of Armed Forces personnel, even those at a senior level” (Timson, 2010a, 12 February, p. L1). Stories began describing how

⁹³ “Canadians were shocked last week when the double life of this top army base officer came to light after his arrest for allegedly raping two women near his residence...” (“Sex scandals rock Canadians”, 2010, 17 February).

⁹⁴ Presupposition is about exploring meanings that are presented as given, yet are highly contestable (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.153).

“deeply unsettling” Williams’ crimes were because military leaders are respected authority figures we trust to keep us safe (Timson, 2010a, 12 February, p. L1).

...His story left us all horrified and unnerved...We can't stop wondering how a respected military leader, now an alleged sexual predator, could have fooled so many people up and down the line. Yet don't all serial predators live secret lives until the day they are caught? It's the position of authority and public trust he held - literally in charge of saving our lives - that makes this case so deeply unsettling... I took exception to General Walter Natynczyk's pep talk at the base that somehow made this case - even for a few seconds - about all our men and women in uniform. (“Be proud! Stand tall!”) A retired senior officer claimed on the CBC that soldiers everywhere felt “victimized” by this story. .. We won't be able to draw any lasting lessons from the Williams case until we determine whether there were missed signals – or even wilful denial of what was obvious: whether, in fact, a vicious sexual predator was hiding in plain sight. But this story may have a lasting legacy: a more rigorous and continued psychological testing of armed forces personnel, even those at a senior level.... (Timson 2010a, 12 February, p. L1).

Timson’s story showcases the genesis of the discursive binary that was constructed between sick monsters with psychological problems and the CAF’s men and women in uniform. Discourses that suggested it was odd Williams was able to go “undetected for so long”, demonstrate how militarized masculinities were represented as not monstrous or disabled. Moreover, these early discourses help support my argument that able-bodiedness was silently presented in the news as tied to militarized masculinities.

Comparing Williams to a monster with mental disorders was a clear and consistent theme throughout the news coverage. Stories commonly reported on psychological speculation to classify Williams as having mental disorder(s) that caused him to have double life.

Psych experts struggle to explain Col. Williams as court hears confession

...Others suggest a fragmented personality, a “splitting off” of parts of his life as he sought sexual gratification to reduce increasingly painful anxieties...”Behaviours like this can be intensively compulsive, driven by emotional and (lower brain) forces that are often not rational,” said Dr. Charles Perkel, an addictions psychiatrist in New York City. “It is mysterious that someone can lead such a double life. This is mystifying stuff; I don't

think there are easy explanations at all.” Dr. Julian Gojer, a forensic psychiatrist in Toronto, agreed that Williams' sexual deviation had taken control of his life even though he held down the demanding job of running the country's largest military airbase and had a seemingly happy marriage. Williams may well have felt badly about what he was doing and about hurting his wife, but was overwhelmed by his need for self-gratification. “Psychopaths can also have feelings for someone who they truly care about, but have no compunction or feelings about other people,” Gojer said. However, others said Williams' concern for his wife or the impact his downfall would have on the military might actually be further evidence of psychopathic tendencies. He might only have been worried about damage to his image as a good husband or strong commander, Ennis said (Perkel, 2010, 20 October).

This excerpt from Perkel's (2010, 20 October) article illustrates how psychiatrists were regularly consulted and quoted as believing Williams to be a psychopath with compulsions⁹⁵, anxiety and a personality disorder. Other stories were less specific in naming their diagnosis of Williams but used the metaphor of monster to frame Williams as having mental illness. Inspired by the classic horror story *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, Williams' mind was often depicted as being abnormal and controlled by a mental disorder, like Dr. Jekyll who was a respected and kind member of society by day with a monstrous alter ego Mr. Hyde at night⁹⁶.

...The question, of course, is if Williams is guilty, how could he have fooled everyone about his other self? How could even a decorated fighter pilot have flown that much under the radar? How could he have been such a Col. Jekyll and Mr. "Hide?" (Sinclair, 2010, 13 February, p. B1)

The Jekyll and Hyde story of concealed monstrosity (or passing normalcy) was commonly super-imposed on the Williams case (i.e. Col. Jekyll and Mr. Hide), as a way to come to understand his actions through the story of Dr. Jekyll and his secret monstrous side Mr. Hyde. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde is a famous novella, movie and theatre production that tells the story of

⁹⁵ “...Dr. Stephen Raffle, a California forensic psychiatrist...calls Williams' alleged behaviour compulsive...” (Gillies, 2010, 23 May, p. 6A).

⁹⁶ “...Toronto criminal lawyer Adam Boni calls it a “Jekyll and Hyde” case not before seen in Canada. He cites the stark contrast between an apparently well-adjusted, professional military man and a depraved sexual predator as the reason the case has generated such wide public attention (“First News Watch”, 2010, 18 October).

a person who develops a condition similar to a split personality disorder. The Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde narrative is a great example of ideological squaring where news representations implicitly reproduced the knowledge that militaries and its' personnel are peaceful, healthy and civilized, like Dr. Jekyll who saved and managed public health.

...The stark contrast between the two images - that of a seemingly “well-adjusted”, successful military man and an alleged depraved sexual predator - has drawn intense public attention to the case, said Adam Boni, a Toronto criminal lawyer who has co-authored a legal text on sentencing. “This is the type of case that we simply haven't seen in Canada before,” said Boni, who served as a federal prosecutor before switching to defence a decade ago. “I say that because this gentleman (allegedly) lived such an incredible double life, it's almost a “Jekyll and Hyde” type of case. It's the deepest, darkest fear that each and every one of us has about the neighbour down the street, or the teacher at school, or the seemingly normal business professional walking down the street” (Babbage, 2010a, 17 October).

This tale conveniently allowed the military to separate itself from Williams' violence since mental illness was constructed as a corrupting force behind Williams' actions. Representations of Williams as having a split personality highlight what it means to embody the characteristics of militarized masculinities through Williams' accomplished side, and also what makes someone ‘fail’ in embodying militarized masculinities through Williams' dark and disordered side⁹⁷. In news narratives, Williams was represented as having a secret violent and defective side like Mr. Hyde, and a respectable side like Dr. Jekyll marked by his success as a soldier and society at large. In news stories it was frequently emphasized how Williams was in a committed marriage and was considered “intelligent”, “hardworking”, “clean” and “handsome” (Butler, 2010, p. B2).

It is important to analyse the way classifying Williams as suffering from mental disorders relied on eugenic assumptions and had the effect of defining the nature of his crimes and guilt. The original novella and movie *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* was written and produced during a time period when eugenics was believed to be scientifically legitimate and criminality, it was

⁹⁷ As footnoted earlier in the paper, what makes Williams's masculinity appear as ‘failed’ is that he took masculine scripts to their perverse but logical extreme.

assumed, was related to being anatomically defective, disabled or inferior. Smith's book *Hideous Progeny* argues that classic horror films like (*Jekyll and Hyde*) were indebted to eugenic thought and took up eugenic narratives and icons (Smith, 2012, p. 3). According to Smith (2012), Dr. Jekyll was a eugenic icon that was the symbol of successful white masculinity as a smart and attractive doctor, with his monstrous alter ego Mr. Hyde who visibly became deformed, ugly, apelike, hunched and dark skinned (in one of the movies productions). I argue that news portrayals that told the Williams story as a modern day Jekyll and Hyde highlighted how eugenic narratives are not simply a thing of the past but used to explain the violence of today and help define what bodies remain different, dangerous and inconsistent with frameworks of soldiering based on militarized masculinities. By suggesting Williams had a respectable normal side as a colonel and a dangerous abnormal side required a prior understanding of what is normal, and these prior understandings relied on ableist and eugenic knowledge. Recall that, van Dijk (1993) found that news stories align readers alongside or against people in what he calls ideological squaring (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 78). By classifying Williams as a mentally ill monster, the nature of his crimes were blamed on his body, which worked to affirm his guilt and align us against Williams' monstrosity.

Discourses that framed Williams as maintaining a heroic profession by day while truly being a monster and predator, worked to validate norms of soldiering and delegitimize the idea that Williams' crimes can be contextualized as reflecting the violent militarized culture from which he was embedded.

"My [the brother of a victim] faith in God has completely diminished...how could He create such a monster? The very person whose job it was to protect my country was terrorizing my community."... Jessica was home where she thought she was safe. She was powerless to defend herself against such an experienced predator..." (Appleby 2010j, October 21, p. A 4).

Using an analytical lens that understands military culture and norms of soldiering as profoundly violent and based on the celebration of able-bodiedness, I found that representations of Williams that juxtaposed his two lives sustained broader discourses on militarized masculinities and demonstrated how it is a concept constructed in part by ableism and eugenic thinking. Representations revealed the underlying discursive presumption that military personnel and commanders are civilized role models and trusted citizens who are leaders not predators, monsters or criminals.

Discourses also represented Williams as an unusual body and monster-like fictional character Hannibal Lecter, in order to portray Williams as a psychopath or anomaly “nature spits out” as a “mistake” (Stern, 2010b, 8 October, p. A1).

Colonel's veneer of normalcy adds to disturbing nature of case

...Until his arrest earlier this year, Williams was a trusted military pilot and commander, who was rapidly ascending to the top echelons of the Canadian Forces. The unanswerable question is: How did he become a killer? Was Williams born with an undetected defect? And how could there be such a jarring disparity between a man's public face (committed husband, loyal patriot, natural leader) and his private one (sexual predator)? Yet in the end, despite all the scrutiny and retelling, despite all the psychological speculation and analysis, there might never be a satisfactory explanation for why Williams became who he became. There is a scene in one of Thomas Harris's books in which the famous (fictional) serial killer Hannibal Lecter dismisses those who attempt to understand him. "Nothing happened to me," he says. "I happened." There could be a certain amount of wisdom in those words. Every now and then, it seems, nature spits out a mistake. As unsettling as the Williams murders are, however, it's worth remembering that our communities are by and large safe and that, usually, appearances and reality are more closely aligned. Neighbours and colleagues who appear to be nice people usually are nice people. The veneer of normalcy that Williams was able to wear mustn't cause us to distrust our instincts. But that doesn't make this bizarre case any less disquieting.... (Stern 2010b, 8 October, p. A1).

Representations that framed Williams as a monster like Mr. Hyde or Hannibal Lecter used the rhetorical trope of metaphor (or hyperbolic metaphor) to evaluate Williams as a horrible

anomaly. I argue that the metaphor of monster functioned to suppress the ways in which Williams was a reflection of a militarized gender system. Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that “when metaphors become the dominant way of thinking about a phenomenon it may be difficult to challenge the metaphors used to describe it since these become common sense or naturalized way of understanding the world” (p.165). This was the case in the Williams narrative where portrayals of Williams as a monster were prevalent and became the lens through which his actions and identity were rationalized as anomalies.

Reporting on Williams’ story of mental illness was made into a commodity for popular consumption, much like how popularized freak shows (1835-1940) during the rise of the eugenic movement (Garland-Thompson, 1997) and classic horror films in the 1930s (Smith, 2012) made non-normate bodies and minds (specifically people with disabilities, trans people and people of colour) into commodities for consumption. As Garland-Thompson explores in her work *Extraordinary Bodies*, freak shows in the early nineteenth century were to the masses what eugenic science was to the emerging elite: An opportunity to formulate the self in terms of what it was not (1997, p. 59). Freak shows capitalized on society’s need to “ratify a dominant, normative identity by ritually displacing in public those perceived as the embodiment of what collective America took itself not to be” (1997, p. 59). Freak shows and classic horror stories exhibited and continue to exhibit in their modern forms the abnormal body which (re)produce boundaries between the monstrous freak and respectable normate. Like freak shows and classic horror films of years past, representations suggested that Canadian soldiers should be as they seem, normal, healthy and stable, unlike freakish Williams who was presented as a sick monster hiding in plain sight. When reading the stories of Williams’ monstrosity from my analytical lens that understands that violence is not a reflection of mental illness but broader social factors

(Harper, 2012) such as scripts of soldiering, I found that binary representations of Williams' as a soldier by day and monster by night are best understood as a false binary and part of a broader story about militarized masculinities that reveal how they are based on able-bodied scripts.

Williams' military status, class respectability, bodily normalcy and whiteness were often presented as a "veneer" (Stern, 2010, 8 October, p. A1) that allowed him to pass through Air Force ranks. Williams' ability to keep up his facade of respectability was presented as disturbing and unusual, because monsters were presumed in the discourse to not be normal white people able to pass as exemplary military men⁹⁸. From my analytical lens informed by critical disability scholar Garland-Thompson (1997, 2013), I found that normates were presented in new narratives as natural leaders and easily identifiable people who could and should be trusted as military leaders. These dominant narratives exposed prevailing ideas about normalcy and civility when they suggested that one anomaly (Colonel Williams) should not disrupt the general rule that normal people (military personnel) are respectable, safe and civilized. These dominant narratives assured the public that individuals who appear to be normal are normal and that it was unique for a monster to be able to pass as an ideal soldier. Within these dominant discourses, violent monsters should be detectable since they are almost always deviants or social rejects who should never live up to the demands of working in the top echelons of the CAF. Discourses revealed how able-bodied normalcy has value in our capitalist system that is represented as legitimately rewarding valuable bodies and punishing threatening crip or queer bodies (McReur, 2013). Discourses suggested that Colonel Williams' passing normalcy fooled our militarized liberal system and acted as an anomalous case in an otherwise legitimate system that is set up to

⁹⁸ While his whiteness was not presented as a marker of his normalcy, it was certainly implied as part of his veneer of respectability.

regulate, reward and give status to normates. Overall, representations of Williams helped reproduce ableist discourses and understandings of militarized masculinities.

Like breaking news stories, representations proceeding and following Williams' guilty plea presented Williams' criminality as unusual given his high ranking position and success in the military. Journalists were resolute in framing Williams as sick monster that wrongly slipped through the cracks of the military and its screening procedures designed to prevent non-normative minds and monstrous individuals from entering the CAF and passing as "normal". Discourses remained bewildered with how the military let a psychopath in a position of command. Discourses discussed the possibility that lack of screening was a problem that allowed a dangerous mind in a position of power. Dominant representations sustained and augmented their concern about the lack of mechanisms in place for the military to effectively screen for psychopaths before being letting them into the military, and especially before being promoted to senior positions of command. In Duffy's (2010d) article he reported on the comments of retired Air Force Lt.-Gen Angus Watt's who maintained that the Canadian military seeks to screen-in only the best minds and bodies the nation has to offer, looking for obvious signs of mental instability and deviancy which should have been able to screen out bad apples like Williams.

How could someone so cruel, depraved and criminal be promoted to the senior ranks of the Canadian military? How could a psychopath be placed in a position of command? "How could we have missed this?" retired Air Force Lt.-Gen. Angus Watt asked ... "Is there something that we did or didn't do that could have given us a clue?" (Duffy, 2010d, 8 October, p. A4)

Other news stories (Hurley, 2010cd, 19 October, p. A11) reported on statements made by Brigadier General Neville Russell who defended military testing and explained how the military screens for what is considered normal behaviours.

The obsessive Williams kept a log of his crimes and documented them in photos, kept on his home computer...In a hastily organized teleconference yesterday afternoon, Brig.-Gen. Neville Russell told reporters there was no way the Canadian Forces could have predicted or uncovered Williams's psychopathic tendencies. Russell said that in the time since the facts of the case came to light, the Canadian Forces has looked at how personnel are screened. "To say that they're geared specifically to identify psychopathic behaviour would be a stretch. This is to identify normal behaviour and within the normal bounds. I think the case we're facing here (with Williams) is fortunately, something that rarely occurs and is outside these normal bounds, and I'm not sure if there are psychopathic tests available to do that, to be honest." (Hurley 2010cd. 19 October, p. A11)

His statements clarified how if recruits and personnel pass as "normal" in everyday life and through the military's screening procedures they were regarded as valuable minds that were fit for military service, soldiering and leadership. Through these conversations related to military screening mechanism, stories represented Williams as having a non-normative mind with psychopathic tendencies that led to his violence. Discourses debating how the military's screening mechanism failed were shaped by the legacy of eugenics which position people with mental illness as threatening and inferior citizens whose propensity for violence should be detectable from the body and psychological testing. Within these discourses the assumption was that people with mental disorders are prone to violence. Dominant discourses tended to link criminality, monstrosity and mental illness. Williams' mind was represented as defective and not fitting in with frameworks of soldiering and militarized masculinities that require mental stability. These discourses normalized the pathologization of crimes and assumed that criminals tend to be biologically inferior and abnormal. Throughout the Williams story news outlets routinely relied on presupposition which implies meaning without overtly stating them. Discourses assumed that leaders in the Canadian military were not monstrously violent by definition. The point of taking up this observation is not to stress how the military is discriminatory, but to point out that discourses about idealized soldiering assumed that soldiering is nonviolent and that mental health issues were the causes for Williams' actions. From my

analytical lens, representations of Williams' monstrosity were in part discourses about the violent monstrosity of militarized masculinities and its celebration of able-bodied norms described by Serlin (2003).

Opinions' following Williams' sentencing predominantly talked about the way Williams was a sick anomaly. This narrative painted Williams as a mad gender deviant who brought shame to his colleagues and nation. Military personnel continued to be presented as healthy, capable and trustworthy people with normative gender identities.

There are bad apples in every organization" (Baker)... "One sick person does not mean they are all like that"... (McDonald)... "What is the Armed Forces doing to ensure there are no other officers with serious psychological issues?" (Bilida) "This man is clearly struggling with gender identity issues and the insanity finally got the best of him. Where were all the safety checks?" (Castiglione) ("A Killer's Shame" 2010, 23 October, p. IN7).

Williams was popularly understood and framed as a sick individual while the military was framed as an important organization whose missions and veterans ought to be celebrated and not stigmatized by one sick individual. Members of the Canadian military were talked about as being different from Williams (the sick monster), and symbolizing the healthy, valuable and normal ideals of the nation. Representations of Williams reiterated the ideal of the white imperial body as civilized and psychologically normal (Mirzoeff, 2006). This narrative created a rupture between the military and Williams' madness. It suggested society's idealization of militarized masculinities can continue to go unquestioned because Williams' violence did not reflect the military.

Insights from Howell (2011) are important to see how psy' discourses help to pathologize violence and divide populations that are deemed safe and civilized against those deemed unpredictable and dangerous. The discursive diagnosis of Williams as having a mental illness was a moment where I think psy' discourses were used to represent Williams and explain his

violence. The widespread proliferation of psy discourse in news narratives on Williams worked to pathologize his violence, conceal the role of militarization and sustain ableist and eugenic knowledge that believes that different bodies are threatening. Portrayals of Williams relied on psy discourses where the problem was Williams' individual body. These depictions functioned to obscure the systemic nature of Williams' violence against women, where the simple solution was incarceration from society. This suppressed an examination of root causes and a critical appraisal of soldiering based on norms of militarized masculinities that valorize violence, sexualized aggression and misogyny. When reading psy' representations of Williams from my analytical lens that understands how excessive violence is actually a part of soldiering and a script of militarized masculinities (Whitworth, 2004; Eichler, 2012), I found that representations of Williams' violence were embedded in broader stories of militarized masculinities, about able-bodiedness, whiteness, sexuality and class.

I argue that discourses used psychiatric language to explain Williams' mind and actions because as Allison Howell (2011) points out psy' discourses are central to national securitization from pathologized and racialized populations, like the "mad" terrorists at Guantanamo Bay. I extend this argument by maintaining that psy' discourses were also central in the reproduction of militarized masculinities as a script of civility and protection. To understand Williams' mind, body and sexuality as perfectly normal, means his violence was the result of social and bodily success in society and the military. This would de-stabilize Western myths of civilized militarization and valuable militarized masculinities, necessarily unraveling the sense of security and civility in the West. Instead of destabilizing scripts of militarized masculinities as violent, discourses relied on eugenic and ableist notions to blame Williams' violence on a disabled body the military normally screens out. This left military structures intact that the literature describes

as violent, misogynistic and dehumanizing. When medical experts, professional profilers and arm-chair psychiatrists labeled Williams using psychiatric discourses the initial insecurity of Canadians was eased as Williams was positioned as damaged, defective and never truly capable of embodying normalcy or exemplary citizenship.

Headlines, like full text stories, frequently relied on presupposition to affirm ableist and eugenic assumptions about individual causes for violence. Headlines functioned to categorize Williams and his murders as the result of bodily differences. They worked to obscure systemic questions related to how Williams' gender violence and aggression could be contextualized as reflecting norms of soldiering, since military personnel are trained and embedded in a rape culture where violent misogynistic scripts of militarized masculinities are celebrated. Following Williams' guilty plea in mid-October 2010 he was often described in headlines as having an obsessive-compulsive disorder that prompted him to collect his trophies in organized abundance. A headline example of this depiction is found in the *Calgary Herald* stating "Williams compulsively filed thousands of photos in computers" (Brewster & Nguyen, 2010, 19 October, p. A4). This headline like many others categorized Williams' mind as abnormal and uncontrolled. It functioned to name obsessions and compulsions as a naturally inferior mental state that precipitated Williams' violence. Discourses like these framed the nature of Williams' violence and sustained the ableist and eugenic knowledge that Williams' violence was not political but rather caused by a biological mistake and inferior mental configuration. Similarly, the *Globe and Mail* published front-page headlines like "The face of deviance/Russell Williams killed and raped with terrifying obsession" (Blatchford 2010e, 19 October, p. A1). Like in the *Calgary Herald* this headline categorized Williams as a deviant and used the referential strategy of nomination to name Williams simply by his personal name rather than his military title, which

functioned to evaluate him and his active actions of rape and murder as an individual matter where agency fell squarely on Williams. In Blatchford's headline Williams killed and raped because he had a terrifying obsession and an individual disorder beyond control (Blatchford, 2010e, 19 October, p. A1).

Headlines were like full text stories in that they focused on how the "Colonel moved easily between murderer and normal person" (Appleby and McArthur, 2010, 20 October, p. A4). Like the full text Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde narrative, which I discussed earlier, this was a clear example of ideological squaring, where headlines relied on structural oppositions to affirm a eugenic mind-set informed by ableist tropes that link abnormality to criminality and normality to soldiering and civility. Appleby and McArthur's (2010) headline relied on presupposition that required a very specific understanding of what is normal, suggesting that murderers are abnormal and colonels are civilized people. From full texts news stories, we learned how Colonel Williams was portrayed as having a split personality disorder that moved seamlessly from a murderer to normal military Colonel. These types of discourses functioned to affirm the status quo militarized assumption that there should be a noticeable rupture between sick rapists and healthy Colonels. Williams' discursive portrayal as a mentally ill monster reveals how ableist tropes about mental illness were linked to monstrosity and set in opposition to idealized soldiering based on militarized masculinities. The work of Brown (2012), Serlin (2002), Kilshaw (2009), Whitworth (2004) and Howell (2011) all demonstrate in varying ways how militarized masculinities are constructed alongside ableist ideals. Representations of Williams were reflective of norms of militarized masculinities based on the able-body described in chapter one as being robust, ready for combat, physical, stable and strong.

Sensationalized headlines like “Colonel psycho” explicitly relied on psy’ discourses to name and diagnose Williams as mentally ill (Hunter, 2010, 20 October, p. 16). These representations affirmed the assumption that a psycho Colonel was an anomaly, whose actions were unique because Colonels have healthy or normal minds. Similarly, *The Star*’s headline “Killer colonel smiled for the camera as she lay dying” reinforced the knowledge that regular Colonels are not monstrous killers or sadists but civilized protectors (Narianan, 2010, 21 October, p. E1). Relying on Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 109) I found that the word “smiled” in this headline relates to a “behavioural process” that denoted Williams’ psychological behaviour of sadism and functioned to align us against Williams and view him a bad apple who was distinct from normal soldiers. The action in the headline was not about Williams’ murderous violence but his pleasure and lack of remorse at the sight of it. This sample of headlines and my analysis serves to demonstrate how disability was linked to criminality and soldiering with health and nonviolence.

Williams’ frequent characterization as a bad apple/monster is important because it showcased how monsters were understood in stark contrast to white able-bodied militarized masculinities, imagined as protecting the nation (Cohen, 1996, p.15). Understanding Williams’ body as defective invoked disability and suggested that those who protect us are not defective or predatory animals, but rather normal human beings with bodies and minds to match. While it was Williams’ militarized job to protect he was represented as a predator hiding in a “handsome” (Butler 2010, 13 February, p. B12) man’s body. Williams was represented as an unusual case where his looks, whiteness and status in the military and society acted as smoke screen to deceive. This dominant narrative suggested that attractive, married, wealthy, white people, screened through the military as bodies that are not threatening, are unlikely to commit crimes

since they are valuable bodies, which typically help secure the nation. Overall, from my analytical lens I found that representations of Williams as a mad monster invoked disability and was part of a bigger unspoken story about militarized masculinities.

Like in the Williams story, news representations of Specialist Graner quickly framed him as a monster whose history of abnormality was proven by a number of restraining orders against him prior to Abu Ghraib.

Specialist Graner was involved in a bitter divorce. In court papers, his wife, Staci, accused him of beating her, threatening her with guns, stalking her after they separated in 1997 and breaking into her home. Since 1997, local judges have issued at least three orders of protection against him, records show. One court document filed in February 1998 typified Staci Graner's complaints. "Charles picked me up and threw me against the wall," she said. She added that he had begun sneaking into her home at night to scare her. "I just don't think this is normal behaviour, and he does frighten me," she wrote. (Dao and Von Zielbauer 2004, 6 May, p. 1)

In representations, Graner was cast as a man whose behaviours of domestic violence and stalking were depraved and sadistic. This discourse functioned to frame Graner as an abhorrent monster. However, from the work of Harrison and Laliberté (2002) we know that misogyny and domestic violence in military communities is widespread and condoned by the chain of command that protects perpetrators. Moreover, we know that there is a culture of misogyny in the military where military personnel normalize the stalking of women and the idea of women as property. While Graner's misogynistic violence described in court papers were presented as individual actions, it is important to contextualize them in a broader militarized context of violence against women in military communities that is often heightened post-deployment. It is important to connect ableism to the above process of naming certain bodies normal and others as abnormal. By naming and understanding Graner as an abnormal person, news narratives assumed his violence at Abu Ghraib was naturally occurring from his difference and deviance. This is a

representation that affirmed the assumption that stable and civilized men do not beat or scare their wives and are not issued three restraining orders. These discourses helped to reproduce the myth that domestic violence is not normal but a reflection of monstrosity, difference and abnormality. Dominant representation sustained the eugenic myth that monsters are different from normal human beings and respectable male soldiers.

Early news stories represented Lynndie England as a “leasher creature” (Crichton, 2004, 9 May, p. 14) and suggested that she was a monster who was naturally drawn to Graner the aberrant leader of abuse. This news narrative like many others presented Graner as a wife-beater, sadistic prison guard with a history of misconduct and the illegitimate father of England’s baby. In this narrative he is characterized as a horrible man who lured a fellow monster and was not embarrassed by the pictures of abuse “plastered across TV screens around the world” but was proud of them and like a monster showed no remorse (Crichton, 2004, 9 May, p. 14).

Instead the world's media has descended on a forgotten part of the Appalachians to gawp and speculate on what kind of place made the "leasher creature", as the New York Post has dubbed her, and what kind of person she is...The army clerk, leering at the lens beside a man's penis, was not supposed to have been in the part of the prison that holds detainees. One of the things that might have attracted her across the wire could have been her relationship with Charles Graner, a 35-year-old prison guard who is believed to have supervised and sanctioned much of the abuse at Abu Ghraib. He is seen smirking over a pyramid of naked prisoners in several of the 1000 pictures that were downloaded from guards' digital cameras. Graner, who told relatives he was proud to see his face plastered across TV screens worldwide, comes with a history. Inmates at the Greene County state correctional institution in Pennsylvania claim Graner beat and humiliated inmates while he worked there as a prison officer; his ex-wife has also appeared to accuse him of beating and threatening her, and breaking into her home, after they separated in 1997. There are unconfirmed reports that England is pregnant with Graner's child. The idea of the two torturers being romantically linked has given the story an extra twist. (Crichton, 2004, 9 May, p. 14).

This news representation framed England and Graner as abnormal match-mates in hell. By marking England and Graner as monstrous we come to know their violence as occurring from

inherent sadism from creatures without humanity. This re-affirmed the myth that normal human bodies and minds are naturally civilized, nonviolent and empathetic. England and Graner were portrayed as monstrous creatures that are psychologically defective and lack both humanity and civility. By casting them outside of the normal, healthy, human soldier via ideological squaring, their participation in racist violence was explained as occurring from their dysfunctional minds. This discourse functioned to conceal systemic questions, causes and contexts of their violence. These explanations reaffirmed common stock knowledge that Western society at large, its militarization and militarized masculinities are civilized, respectable and unproblematic. Discourses that characterized England and Graner as sickos reveal how military personnel are imagined to be mentally stable and normal. From my analytical lens, I argue that their violence ought to be contextualized by the militarized gender system which trained them to think excessive violence and aggression was valuable, masculine and connected to ideals of soldiering.

Graner was consistently framed as a monster throughout the news coverage. Prior to Graner's trial in January 2005, news outlets talked about Graner's attorney's statements to the court that claimed his client was being represented as such a monster that he might not be able to receive a fair trial.

Bob McNamara CBS Correspondent (voice-over): Portrayed as a monster...

McNamara: Specialist Charles Graner for the first time tried to soften his image as the alleged ring leader of rogue prison guards who tortured, abused and humiliated Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib...Graner's attorney came to court arguing that Graner's image, and even comments by President Bush after the scandal broke, had made it impossible for a military judge and jury to give Graner a fair trial - comments such as a presidential radio address (Rather and McNamara, 2004, 6 December).

This news broadcast highlights how Graner was typically represented as a monster and rogue soldier who tortured and humiliated Iraqi detainees without remorse. In the news, Graner's

monstrosity was juxtaposed to principled prison guarding in the military. This news excerpt demonstrated how monstrosity was presented as an individualized phenomena attached to mental deviance, abnormality, and sadism. Through structural oppositions, representations that framed Graner's actions as blunders sustained silent myths that militarization, the prison industrial complex and the U.S. Armed Forces' frameworks of soldiering were valuable, civilized and not responsible for prison abuse. The military and the militarized system of incarceration were silently implied to be civilized and race-neutral. From my analytical lens informed by the work of Serlin (2003) and Howell (2011), I found that narratives individualized blame and pathologized violence. Blame was pathologized on rogue racist bodies instead of political structures, frameworks of soldiering and militarized norms of racialized violence via systems of incarceration. By unpacking representations I suggest that normalcy was valued and guides frameworks of militarized masculinities.

Monstrosity and normalcy were frequently framed in reductive medical terms in news reporting of military sex scandals, which relied on ableist tropes that positioned non-normate bodies and minds as threatening and inclined to torturous violence. Allison Howell argues that the pathologization of the men at Guantanamo Bay divided populations deemed mad and dangerous, in order to legitimize their indefinite detention in the name of order and security. Like the psychologists at Guantanamo Bay, who were in a 'diagnostic competition' to understand the psyche's of the detainees, so too were many news outlets covering military sex scandals. News outlets frequently tried to link the biology of military perpetrators to their crimes. The mainstream media created a discourse about what it means to be mad and what it means to be dangerous, problematically linking the two. As we have seen, news discourses affirmed eugenic

assumptions that people with mental illness are social menaces who threaten ‘normal’ populations and the reputations of valuable militarized institutions and honourable traditions of soldiering.

To sum up, this section looked at how the media individualized violence and attached it to monstrous minds, highlighting how certain bodies are positioned as outside of the healthy, masculine and militarized body. These discourses sustained the knowledge that ‘healthy’ masculine bodies and militarization are valuable, normal and safe. When deviant bodies are understood as violent, the logical antithesis to this myth is the natural peacefulness and civility of healthy normate bodies. By labeling and blaming violence as an unusual but naturally occurring phenomena from certain minds we cannot begin the conversation about the need for ‘radical social transformation’ (Harper, 2011), because our social configuration (that includes growing militarization and myths about masculinities) is viewed as not needing help, and as still being a positive, civilized and peaceful. This section explored how ideological squaring worked to silently present militarization and militarized masculinities as frameworks of normalcy that stand in opposition to monstrosity and corporeal difference.

Williams was represented as appearing like a trusted commander who was a committed husband, loyal patriot and natural leader who rapidly ascended to the top echelons of the CAF. At the same time he was represented as really being a predator, sadist and psycho killer with a split personality. The media insisted on there being a binary between dutiful soldier and psycho killer. This framework concealed the system and violent nature of soldiering based on militarized masculinities. Since concepts are part of a network of meanings, representations and discourses that sustained a binary between bad apples and ideal soldiers ought to be unpacked as

two parts of a broader system and story about militarized masculinities, based on ableist norms, aggression and excessive violence.

Gender, Sexuality and Class

As we have explored in the last section, ableism played a significant role in the production of monstrosity and helped to produce muted discourses on militarized masculinities. Many news narratives focused on Colonel Williams as a monster, not simply because of his constructed mental disorders but also because of what was portrayed as a deviant sexuality, gender and fetish that were talked about as making him become a monster. Early news stories in the winter of 2010, began asking “Is air force commander a sex fiend?...Police suspect he may already have been leading an evil double life...” (Aspinall 2010, 21 February, p.4). When reports about his fetish and panty trophy photos were released to the public in October 2010, Williams went from being a sex fiend to having a psychosexual disorder. News outlets began to shift or split their focus from Williams as a psycho sex fiend towards Williams as an obsessively sick sexual deviant and paraphilic with psychosexual disorders. As his collection of panties and photographs of himself in women’s lingerie emerged, journalists represented Williams as having an obsessive compulsive disorder that fed his psychosexual disorders in a dangerous way. Journalists consistently suggested that these disorders precipitated his need to break into homes to collect panties and take pictures of himself in his trophies.

Criminal profiler Glenn Woods from the RCMP and psychologist Vernon Quinsey labeled Williams in news interviews as a paraphilic, a type of psychosexual disorder.

A killer like no other; He seemed successful and happy, yet at 44 he embarked on a life of crime that escalated from panty fetish to murder. To the experts, Col. Russell Williams is a serial killer like none they've ever seen. Williams seems a walking Jekyll and Hyde: by day, commander of CFB Trenton, the biggest air force base in Canada; by night, a sexual predator...Williams is what experts call a paraphilic - a sexual deviant. He stole lingerie

and took pictures of the women he sexually assaulted, and of those he tied up, raped and murdered. He forced Lloyd to put on lingerie and pose for pictures before killing her. Deviants like Williams, Quinsey says, get "turned on" by "hyper-dominance, sexual coercion and rape." Those who eventually rape tend to exhibit antisocial behaviour early in their lives and have committed a variety of crimes (Rankin and Contenta, 2010, 9 October, A25).

As discussed in the last section, many news discourses used psy' language to represent Williams' body and actions. Representing Williams as a paraphilic was one of many discursive diagnoses that represented both Williams' mind and sexuality as broken. Experts labeled Williams using psy' discourses that position his sexuality as monstrous. This metaphor or hyperbolic metaphor of Williams as a monster functioned to evaluate Williams and his actions as not systemic but rather abnormal. This rhetorical trope helped to conceal how this type of depraved violence might have been possible from long standing social and bodily success in the military. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 164) explain that metaphors, according to Fairclough (1995, p. 95), "have hidden ideological loadings due to the way that they can conceal and shape understandings, while at the same time giving the impression that they reveal them. They are, therefore, one linguistic way of hiding underlying power relations. Metaphors and other rhetorical tropes provide excellent linguistic resources for those who wish to replace actual concrete processes, identities and setting with abstractions" (p. 164). Representations of Williams as a monster functioned to make it appear as though his actions and identity can be explained via his monstrosity. The consistent use of metaphor in representations of Williams hid underlying gendered power relations as well as the system of militarization that better contextualizes Williams and his actions. By placing Williams as a defective monster that was not truly normal, his sexual violence was framed as naturally occurring from his broken mind and abnormal sexuality. Understanding Williams via psy' language was important because as Howell (2011) uncovers psy' discourses are central to our status quo system of militarized securitization. To

understand Williams' mind, body and sexuality as perfectly normal and sane, means we are no longer safe and our whole system of militarization and framework of soldiering are in need of radical transformation.

The Jekyll and Hyde narrative discussed in the last section does not simply reveal how Williams was portrayed as a monster because of his apparent mental disorders. This narrative reveals how neoliberal respectability, success in the military and class status were set up in contrast to monstrosity. This representation underscores how class success and respectability were represented as valorized markers of militarized masculinities.

The strange case of Col. Russell Williams, a modern day Jekyll and Hyde, will begin its climactic chapter in a Belleville courtroom today. Williams is as unusual a criminal as has ever appeared in a Canadian courtroom: a serial killer and sexual predator who defies every known profile of such a monster. This was an accomplished, wealthy, married man, who had succeeded in the most competitive environment imaginable: that of air force pilots and their commanders. There was every reason to believe his career would take him still further: to the upper-most reaches of the Canadian Forces, its General officer ranks. How could this man act on such horribly dark impulses? (Duffy 2010k, 18 October, p. D5).

These discourses sustained the knowledge that poor people, undesirable single people and disabled people who do succeed within the neoliberal system are most likely to be criminals and monsters. This story highlights how wealth and military success are structures which reward valuable normate bodies and screen out unpredictable crip bodies and minds. Through ideological squaring, non-normate minds and bodies were implied to be out of place in competitive frameworks of soldiering and militarized masculinities, positioning wealth, military rank and longstanding marriage as markers of successful masculine citizenship and soldiering.

As we will recall, monstrosity is theorized to stand in opposition to hegemonic norms of masculinities. Representations of Williams' failed masculinity, cross-dressing and queerness were no exception to this rule as they were consistently emphasized as markers of his

monstrosity. Many news articles represented Williams as a cross-dresser, criminal and serial killer, seemingly associating all three. The day after Williams' plea guilty news articles exclaimed:

A fetish of death Cross-dress killer jailed

The cross-dressing commander of Canada's largest air base yesterday pleaded guilty to 86 sex crimes, including two murders...One victim's brother, Andy Lloyd, described as "overwhelming" the evidence in the Belleville, Ontario, court, including hundreds of photographs of Williams wearing stolen underwear and masturbating in victims' bedrooms. "I thought it was disgusting. These were terrible, terrible acts. It makes me, as a Canadian and as a human being, angry," he said ("A Fetish of Death" 2010, 20 October, p. 22).

The consequence of this narrative is that Williams was positioned as a violently deviant cross-dresser rather than a reflection of the gendered system of soldiering based on violent norms of militarized masculinities. These discourses connoted the idea that Williams' lifestyle, identity and values were not consistent with those of the military and its norms of militarized masculinities.

News articles focused on Williams as a cross-dresser whose acts of gender deviance, queerness and violence were at odds with norms Canadians citizens would expect of a Canadian commander and leader. Williams' acts and most importantly the images of him in women's underwear, were portrayed as enraging Canadians. These representations relied on the assumption that secret cross-dressers are threatening perverts and that military personnel are not supposed to be cross-dressers, deviants or queers. Within this dominant narrative, gender-bending is more likely to make one break into homes to steal underwear.

Some speculate Williams had gender identity issues, that his cross-dressing and self-pleasuring with stolen women's underwear could indicate homosexual tendencies he fought to suppress. "Is there a part of you that wants to be Miss Williams?" Raffle said he

would want to know. “What is the fantasy during the masturbation?”...Liam Ennis, an assistant clinical professor in psychiatry at the University of Alberta, said what drives someone to sexual sadism is poorly understood. “We don't have a single well validated theory as to how people become like this,” Ennis said. In many ways, though, Williams' behaviour was in keeping with sexual compulsions. He took more chances and exhibited the progressively more extreme conduct associated with the increased need for a thrill. (Perkel, 2010h, 20 October).

These discourses functioned to naturalize the dangerousness of gender deviance and/or homosexuality, when in fact these tropes are highly ideological and functioned to portray Williams in ways that aligned ‘us’ against him as an individual, suppressing the ways in which his actions reflected broader celebrated systems. These narratives obscured the gendered violence of breaking into homes to steal women’s underwear, positing it as an action of violent queerness, suppressing the way in which it was part of a systemic problem of violence against women that is pervasive in military communities.

Other fall news stories represented the military as the most stunned by Williams’ cross-dressing, break-ins to steal and wear women’s underwear and murders. Canadian General Walt Natynczyk’s statements were widely reported on, emphasizing not simply Williams’ crimes as shocking (as he did in February 2010 when the story broke), but his cross-dressing as well.

The disgraced cross-dressing commander of Canada's largest air force base pleaded guilty on Monday to 86 lurid sex crimes, including two murders that "stunned" the military...Canada's chief of defence staff, General Walt Natynczyk, said Williams' crimes "stunned all Canadians and none more so than the members of the Canadian Forces" (“Sex Pilot Says” 2010, 20 October, 25).

Dominant stories that accepted that the military ought to be the most “stunned” party to Williams’ crimes and gender deviance relied on the linguistic strategy of presupposition. These discourses of shock implied meaning without overtly stating them, as discussed in previous chapters. In order to understand Williams’ crimes and cross-dressing as stunning, the discursive

presupposition was that soldiers are not violent, and that being in the military means performing normative gender identities. These discourses revealed a silent discourse related to soldiering. In order to be “stunned” about Williams’ violence against women and his cross-dressing, it requires a prior understanding of what types of gender performances are normal in the military, as well as an understanding of soldiers as not sexually aggressive, misogynistic and not having an issue with violence against women. From Chapter 1 and 3 we know that these assumptions and discursive connotations are naive militarized myths not grounded in material realities. These discourses function to obscure the ways in which military men have been found to routinely objectify women as sexual object and celebrate these actions as a reflection of their masculinities. Williams’ gender transgression allowed General Natynczyk to easily distance militarized norms of masculinities from Williams’ actions and obsession with collecting and wearing women’s underwear. Dominant news stories and statements like the one above frequently framed Williams as a queer monster the military should have been able to detect and screen out of its ranks.

This next enraged letter to the *Winnipeg Press*, below, challenges how major newspapers suggest Williams’ gender deviance is a natural warning sign to violence, rape and murder.

Your cover, which shows a picture of Col. Russell Williams wearing women's underwear, accompanied by the words, How Could They Not Know? is the worst, most senseless, fear-mongering suggestive "journalism"...Were you actually trying to incite violence against transgenders, transvestites, cross-dressers, and female impersonators? Or was it just cluelessness on your part? People without basic critical skills - or the people who don't take the time to actually read - will see your cover and its not-so-subtle association as suggesting the image of a man who wear women's clothing should be taken as a warning sign to violence, rape, and murder (Goodhand, 2010, 22 October, p. A15).

This opinion piece challenged how mainstream news narratives positioned Williams as a queer/trans body that was out of place in the military and should have been easily detectable, in contrast to the assumed “normal” men and women in the military (who are implied to know their innate gender roles as either male or female)⁹⁹. Gender played an important role in Williams’ characterization as a deviant prone to violence. It served as a perfect foil for the CAF and society at large to distance itself from the case and cast Williams as an individual anomaly and bad apple, who could not possibly represent the cultural norms and values of the military or honourable soldiering. These narratives reveal how militarized norms expect military men to perform respectable masculinities associated with specific enactments of gender. From my analytical lens which understands how soldiering is based on militarized masculinities and norms of violence, misogyny, sexualized aggression and so forth, I find that representations of Williams’ cross-dressing functioned to mute the possibility that Williams’ could be performing elements of militarized masculinities related to sexual violence, misogyny and sexual aggression against women in panties. By unpacking discursive assumptions, it becomes clear how representations of Williams are best understood as a silent story about militarized masculinities.

Headlines, like full text stories, typically used the metaphor of monster to explain Williams’ and what is talked about as his deviant sexual desires, “Williams nurtured his fetish until it grew into a monster” (Corbella 2010, 23 October, p. A12). Headlines like this represented Williams’ monstrosity as naturally stemming from sexual fetishes (presumably for women’s underwear, bondage and domination), which presented as being sustained until they grew beyond control. This headline demonstrated how dominant hierarchies about sexuality

⁹⁹ This discourse of gender deviancy, signaling monstrosity and violence is also proliferated in American news headlines that characterize England as a tomboy, though this characterization is much more implicit than in the Williams’ case. “Explaining Lynndie England; how did a wispy tomboy behave like a monster at Abu Ghraib” (Thomas et al. 2004, 1 May).

produce what is monstrous and by consequence what is considered normal, with fetishes positioned as dangerous desires that, when nurtured, can foster monstrosity. These narratives suggested that sexual fetishes and BDSM sexualities are dangerous and scary desires that Williams was seduced by like a gateway drug, which spiralled into break-ins for panties to actual sexual violence against women¹⁰⁰. These discourses highlighted what were considered respectable sexual behaviours and practices for masculine air force Colonels. Apparently respectable sexual behaviours exclude BDSM sexualities and fetishes, which were positioned as abnormal and blamed for turning Williams into a monster (despite the fact that BDSM and fetishes are by definition consensual).

Like Williams, Graner was also represented as an out of control pervert and monster who harassed, threatened, stalked, assaulted and found it acceptable to hide and install secret cameras in his ex-wife's home and attempt to rape her under the logic that she was still his wife and sexual property.

Staci filed for the first of the three protection-from-abuse orders, alleging...[Graner] threatened to kill her, made harassing telephone calls and told her mother that "she could keep his guns because he did not need them for what he was going to do to her."...Judge Ralph Warman issued an order on June 16, 1997, barring Graner from having any contact with Staci for six months except for exchanging their children for visitation. Those exchanges were to take place at the Uniontown police station. Staci was back before Warman on Feb. 2, 1998, contending that Graner had stalked and verbally abused her,

¹⁰⁰ Most narratives position sexual deviancy and Williams' fetish as a symbol of his divergence from normality. There were critical opinion pieces that positioned Williams' desire for violent sexual control as common in our political and historical context of violence and ought not be simply blamed on a "deranged man". For instance, an anonymous Toronto Star opinion piece states: "Most disturbing about Col. Russell Williams' crimes is just how common such violence against women is in Canada. While media emphasize the deviance of his behaviour, there is a far too common desire for violent sexual control of women. The Native Women's Association of Canada and others are following cases of over 500 missing and murdered aboriginal women, with most cases involving sexual assault and brutality. The UN Survey of Crime Trends pegged Canada at number 5 on a list of 30 countries with the highest rates of rape per capita. It is too easy to dismiss Williams' acts as those of a deranged man and do nothing. If anything, his case must call us all to greater awareness and advocacy to end sexualized violence and degradation of women" (Toronto Star Anonymous 2010, Octobr 23, p. 7).

hidden her keys and thrown her against a wall and into furniture. She also testified that Graner offered to move out of their former home so that she could return with the children, then installed a secret video camera and showed her tapes of herself. The night before she went back to court, she said he crouched and hid in her laundry room until she walked by, then jumped out to scare her.

Warman issued another protection-from-abuse and no-contact order, this time for a year, and ordered Charles to return the tapes...She sought yet another protection-from-abuse order in March 2001,...detailing an encounter...[where] Graner told her she was still his wife and tried to get her to go to bed with him. She said he dragged her around the house by the hair, banged her head off the floor and tried to throw her down the stairs in front of their weeping, frightened children (Fuoco, Blazin and Lash 2004, 8 May, p. A1).

Graner was framed in the news as being a creepy abuser for years before Abu Ghraib. This detailed story about Graner and ex-wife works to demonstrate how Graner's monstrosity was constructed alongside his stalking and sexual aggression towards his ex-wife. This story highlighted how Graner had continuous troubles with the law for stalking, installing hidden video cameras and making death threats on his ex-wife. Graner was not only represented as a failed husband but a failed father who would beat his wife in front of his children, kidnapped his children and kicked his wife and children out of their house. He was represented as being so dangerous that his wife at the time needed to exchange their kids at the police station to avoid his sadistic abuse. In this article he was represented as a creep and pervert who put cameras in his ex's house, and like a monster jumped out from the shadows to scare her. Discourses described how Graner enjoyed hurting others and that he attempted to rape his wife and frightened his entire family. These discourses worked to sustain the status quo idea that what occurred at Abu Ghraib was the result of a few monstrous individuals who had a history of social failure and acted like perverted monsters in their personal lives. In this article we learn that there is something wrong with Graner and that he is a sadistic pervert with rage issues. Since we know that concepts are part of a network of meanings and oppositions, we learn that unlike soldiers who are implied to be the embodiment of ideal citizenship (Teaiwa, 2007), Graner was portrayed

as a creep who enjoyed terrorizing innocent people. These binary narratives sustained the myth that military personnel are normal individuals and not monsters that beat their wives and need restraining orders against them. This obscured the reality of how violence against women in military communities is a systemic and pervasive problem found to be related to militarized norms of misogyny (Harrison and Laliberté, 2002). With this in mind, representations of Graner's past monstrosity are best understood as part of a broader narrative on militarized masculinities.

Class was also mobilized in discourses about Charles Graner. Early news stories framed Charles Graner as an immature loser who could not keep his unionized job. Portrayals of Graner as a failed worker and man, was a moment of ideological squaring that sustained the narrative that Graner was different from most Americans and must have been out of place in the military.

But public records indicate that Graner had troubles at work as a correctional officer in the state prison system in Greene County - a history of disciplinary actions that culminated in his firing in 2000...Trouble at work. Before he was called to active duty on March 5, 2003, Graner had a checkered career as a corrections officer at the State Correctional Institution Greene. Graner served as a corrections officer from May 20, 1996, until he was called to active military duty. He was disciplined six times for problems at work: two written reprimands, a one-day suspension, two five-day suspensions and a dismissal that was reduced to a three-day suspension by an arbitrator (Fuoco, Blazin and Lash 2004, 8 May, p. A1).

By focusing on Graner's failure in our capitalist society, we learn he was unlike most soldiers who are commonly understood as hardworking and disciplined. This discourse functioned to teach us what types of bodies should be in the military and can live up to standards of militarized masculinities described in Chapter 1 as being often based on strong work ethic and determination (Barett, 1997). Representations related to Graner's class functioned to sustain the discursive

binary of ideal soldier and bad apple that served to construct militarized masculinities as based on the intersectional status quo hierarchies of race, class, ability, and sexuality.

Discourses of class failure were sometimes directly linked to monstrosity in both full text stories and headlines. Below is an example of an early full text story and headline that featured England as a trailer trash monster.

A new monster in chief: Lynndie England's snapshots have provided the latest hate figure to help obscure the bigger picture

Private Lynndie R. England, trailing an Iraqi prisoner on the end of her dog leash, is the most loathed woman in the world. Cigarette in mouth, finger stabbing towards the genitals of naked victims, she is, according to one newspaper, “the trailer trash torturer who shames the US”. Queens of violence, from Penthesilea of the Amazons to Uma Thurman in Kill Bill, can attract awe, but Lynndie is no upmarket she-devil. Instead, the response to the Abu Ghraib pictures sandwiches her somewhere between Myra Hindley and Maxine Carr in an all women axis of evil...Abu Ghraib is an interim report on liberation. After a year of fighting and untold thousands of civilian deaths, the great battle of good versus evil has managed to find a new hate figure. Saddam Hussein has been replaced as monster in chief by a former chicken processor from West Virginia. It does not feel like progress (Riddell, 2004, 9 May, p. 26).

In Riddell's article, Lynndie's monstrosity was marked not simply by her sadism but explained by her failed class status as 'trailer trash'. Like Graner, Lynndie was represented as a body without value, a body that failed to succeed in our neoliberal system and unsurprisingly failed in the military. By marking Lynndie as a cigarette smoker, as trailer park trash and as a former chicken processor, we are characterizing her as un-healthy and poor, making the metaphor of monster seems natural and her placement in the military seem like an improper fit. This representation highlighted how dominant hierarchies about class informed what was understood as monstrous and functioned to help us understand the nature of Abu Ghraib as an individual phenomenon, obscuring and delegitimizing the possibility that it was caused by celebrated scripts of soldiering related to militarized masculinities. Discourses that focused on the poor and working class

statuses of England and Graner helped to legitimize their naming as monstrous criminals and allowed normal, healthy and successful folks to separate themselves from the actions of unhealthy and psychologically defective sadists, who were represented as occupying the margins of society reserved for failures. These discourses depoliticized the imperial nature of violence at Abu Ghraib and suggested that healthy, normal and successful people are safe and trustworthy. These articles worked to frame idealized soldiers as normal and healthy people who should be capable of neoliberal success.

In summary, this section explored how monstrosity was deployed in news narratives and worked to define militarized masculinities. Representations of Williams and Graner as monsters functioned to make it appear as though their actions and identities could be explained via their individual bodies, desires and minds, obscuring ways in which their identities and actions could be contextualized as reflecting a broader system and culture of militarization and militarized masculinities. The consequence is that discourses presented Williams and Graner as anomalies suppressing alternative contextualized accounts that would demonstrate how they actually reflected a gendered system of soldiering based on violent norms of militarized masculinities.

Soldiering and Monstrosity

By analysing the ways monstrosity was a rhetorical trope and technology used in case narratives, this chapter found that certain types of bodies failed to measure up to the masculine myths of the military that distance itself from queers, trailer trash, the mentally ill and sexual deviants. This chapter found that ableist myths about “normal” bodies and minds played a central role in “failed” and successful performances of militarized masculinities. In this chapter, I argued that the pathologization of men like Colonel Williams as mentally deranged and sexually

deviant allowed militarized masculinities to remain an unquestionable good. When Colonel Williams and Charles Graner were constructed as madmen or monsters, blame got framed as a natural or individual problem explained as an exception and solved by incarceration. The media insisted on a binary between soldiering and monstrosity, producing a silent discourse about militarized masculinities as it relates to ability, class, and sexuality.

Conclusion: Root Causes of Military “Sex Scandals”: Militarized Masculinities

At the beginning of this dissertation, I recounted how costly national inquiries launched in the 1990s to identify the scope and root causes of widespread violence, aggression and abuse committed by Canadian, American and Australian military personnel discovered a variety of systemic problems in the military. These inquiries made clear that sexist violence, racist violence, aggressive competitions and cover-ups were not anomalies that could be resolved by culling out a few rogue soldiers, given that this type of misconduct was part of longstanding systemic traditions, attitudes and problems in these three militaries. Violence, aggression and abuse committed by military personnel in these three militaries continued despite these scandals and the national inquiries called to respond to them. Throughout this dissertation I unpacked why this violence persists, and found its answer in the construction and performance of militarized masculinities.

In this research project, I set out to understand what representations of military personnel in three new military sex scandals might reveal about scripts of soldiering based on militarized masculinities. My aim was not to create a universal or static structure for understanding militarized masculinities nor to conflate militarized masculinities with military men, but rather to utilize literature on hegemonic masculinities, militarization and gender studies to map out intersecting axes and themes of militarized masculinities in white settler societies. This allowed for the critique of intersecting political systems rather than norms of sexed bodies in the military. While my focus throughout this thesis was on presenting the intersectional themes of militarized masculinities, I was also interested in demonstrating the consequences of these scripts and reasons why societies tended to be so resistant to accepting that violence in military sex scandals was the product of militarized masculinities. I was concerned with how the systemic nature of

violent militarized masculinities were able to remain invisible, driving representations of military sex scandals to focus on the “bad” behaviour of individuals.

Throughout this dissertation, I argued that analysing and contextualizing news representations of Colonel Williams, Specialist Graner and Cadet McDonald allowed me to trace the contemporary (re)productions of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries as based on misogyny, racism and ableism. These scripts have pivotal importance to cultural norms in the military because soldiering is based on scripts of militarized masculinities. Through my analysis of news representations that took discursive silences into consideration, I found that scripts of militarized masculinities are fundamentally violent and tend to be based on notions of superiority, difference, aggression and dominance, where performances and support of misogyny, rape culture and sexual aggression are requirements for inclusion in the masculine boys club. I maintained that white settler societies tend to be resistant to understanding militarized masculinities as violent, because doing so would disrupt prevailing myths that our militaries, its culture and our militarized society at large is civilized, inclusive, race-neutral and exceptional. The systemic nature of violent militarized masculinities remains invisible because 1) the predominant militarized paradigm views Western military violence as civilized and race-neutral and 2) violent masculinities are understood as a norm rather than a gendered problem. Societies found it much easier to focus on the ‘bad’ behaviour of Williams, Graner and Kate as exceptions, than to reconsider the possibility that celebrated norms and structures of our militarized society are fundamentally based on dehumanization, difference and aggression. Moreover, it is much easier to think of male sexual aggression as facilitated by rule breaking women who drink and engage in casual sex, than it is to consider how masculine soldiering and norms in the military protect perpetrators of abuse and are profoundly embedded in rape culture.

My research found that militarized masculinities tend to be concealed in discourses and set up in opposition to disability, centreing whiteness as safe, civilized and orderly. In this thesis I present my conceptual framework of four intersecting axes of militarized masculinities in white settler societies, exploring how it is produced along intersecting themes of difference. Like hegemonic masculinities, I found that militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries tend to reinforce dominant and intersecting cultural ideals related to race, class, disability, gender and sexuality. While I focus on the production of militarized masculinities in discourse, I was sure to ground these discourses in material practices and places because, as discussed at length in Chapter 1, discourses cannot be conceptualized as independent from spaces and bodies. In this conclusion, I will summarize the contributions of my dissertation's chapters and explore why my project's dynamic intersectional understanding of militarized masculinities are important to exposing the root cause of the violence, abuse and aggression perpetrated by military personnel. In addition, I clarify how my work contributes to the field of masculinities studies, feminist international relations and transnational disability studies.

Militarized masculinities play a role in why military sex scandals persist. Each chapter of this thesis offers insight into some of the central intersecting axes of militarized masculinities, in an effort to expose its systems as based on celebrated norms of misogyny, racism and ableism. Taken together the chapters that comprise this thesis demonstrate the way ability, whiteness, misogyny, trophy collecting and rape culture produce militarized masculinities. In Chapter 1, I explained how conceptualizations of hegemonic militarized masculinities ought to understand hierarchy and gender order as not simply men over women, but as hierarchies of race, class, sexuality and ability. This is a pivotal point in my theorizing of militarized masculinities, not simply as a dominant form of masculinity for military men, but as a type of hegemonic

masculinity that normalizes and celebrates militarized ideas and intersecting hierarchies of power. The consequence of conflating masculinities with men is that this generalization helps insulate the violent scripts of masculinities from political critique, allowing the systemic nature of violent masculinities and militarized masculinities to remain invisible. My work maintains that the root cause to persistent militarized violence is the system of militarized masculinities that can be performed by men and women.

In this chapter I defined my understanding of militarism as a pervasive socio-political process and system intimately connected to racism, colonization and dehumanization, which reinforce intersecting hierarchies of humanity. Seeing militarism as an ideology based on intersecting hierarchies, I maintained that scholarship on hegemonic masculinities which fail to take militarism and militarization into account miss one of the central ideological pillars of hegemony and hegemonic versions of masculinities. In this chapter, I demonstrate why scholarship of hegemonic masculinities needs to start taking militarization into account. I conclude that intersectional feminist theorists interested in gender, race, class, disability and sexuality also need to start considering the role militarization has in processes of intersecting social hierarchies and identities. My work contributes to critical scholarship on militarization by working at, and making clear, the intersections of race, militarization, disability, class, sexuality and gender. My research extends scholarship on militarization by establishing that it is not simply gender that is shaped by and shapes militarization but race and other social hierarchies like ability play a role as well. Failing to unpack the role of militarization in social hierarchies serves to support status quo system of oppression that are necessarily militarized and interlocking. In this sense, my project ought to be considered a contribution to intersectional feminist theorizing and scholarship on hegemonic masculinities.

Summarizing and breaking down the literature on militarized masculinity/ies by themes, made a large volume of incoherent literature on militarized masculinity/ies legible to scholars in the field of feminism and international relation. I maintained that much of the literature failed to consider how ableism is an important script of militarized masculinities. Compulsory able-bodiedness was predominantly presented as if it were a natural feature of militarized masculinities. By de-naturalizing the ableist scripts of militarized masculinities in my work, actions of merciless militarized violence that celebrate power, strength and superiority can be critiqued as enactments grounded in a system of power, rather than individualized actions of “bad” behaviour. My thesis places critical disability studies into the field of international relations, which is important because ableism is central to militarized masculinities. My project and unpacking of the workings of ableism in militarized masculinities, is a contribution to the evolving field of transnational disability studies, which is interested in the ways cultures of violence based on sexism and racism intersect with debilitating effects. My work, mapping clear connections between militarization, masculinities and ability, is an innovation in this evolving field. Chapter 1, builds on insights from feminist communications scholars to demonstrate why societies are so resistant to accept violence as the product of militarized masculinities. My project extends the theoretical insights from feminist communications scholars by incorporating an analysis of militarization and concludes that violent white militarized masculinities are silent norms in Western discourses. My work supports feminist communications scholarship through findings that representations of sexual violence, racist violence and gendered violence of military men are either normalized or blamed on broken bodies or deviancy.

In Chapter 2, I emphasized that discourses produce how we understand, conceptualize and talk about an event, subject or thing. I explained that the media is a major ideological institution

and discursive text, which reflects and expresses meaning about objects, subject and events. For my project it was crucial to remember that Williams, Graner and McDonald's actions did not speak for themselves, but rather existed within a particular discourse that gave meaning to them. The objective of my analysis was to trace what is unspeakable about militarization and gender norms in the military and explore what these shadows teach us about militarized masculinities. My analysis of lexical choices, strategies of persuasion, rhetorical tropes, naming practices and transitivity, was useful in interrogating what disappears and what stays in discourses. My project is a model of how a critical discourse analysis can be rigorously applied in conjunction with a thematic analysis.

In Chapter 3, I explored the material realities of sexual violence in the militaries of the United States, Canada and Australia. I argued that we need to talk about how the stories of 'boys being boys' are part and parcel to our militarized culture, where both sexual and gendered violence and the protection of the perpetrators is a norm of militarized masculinities. I investigated the significance of news representations that frequently conflated the sexual violence of military men with sex or kink. Within dominant narratives, sexual aggression and violence were portrayed as expected of men and a by-product of sexuality. I explained how these narratives are embedded in rape culture, which frequently denies or naturalizes the systemic problem of sexual and gendered violence. I explored how sexual aggression targeting women is a norm of militarized masculinities as is the rape culture idea of shared responsibility. Discourses functioned to distance perpetrators from their militarized culture and shield the status quo system of gendered soldiering based on hierarchies of gender, race and ability.

Chapter 3 is an extension of work by IR feminist theorists discussed at length in Chapter 1. My research found that it is not just participation in sexual violence that allows military men

(and some women) to affirm their masculinities, but also their acceptance of sexual aggression and the protection of perpetrators. This project finds that condoning sexual violence and protecting perpetrators is a central script of militarized masculinities. Sexually antagonizing colleagues who have been sexual harassed and supporting perpetrators of sexual violence are all performances of militarized masculinities. By blowing the whistle on sexual violence and gendered harassment, both male and female military personnel not only risk discipline from the chain of command but also single themselves out as soldiers who do not meet the norms of militarized masculinities, which accept sexual violence. My work on sexual violence extends scholarship that found military men often bring misogynistic attitudes home, by maintaining that military personnel do not simply bring these ideologies into their home, but carry rape culture norms with them in their daily lives, often with devastating consequences.

In Chapter 4, I explored how representations of the fetish trophy collections of military men can be contextualized as part of broader underlying story of militarized masculinities, based on misogyny, sexual aggression, ableism, racism and dehumanizing violence. News reporting presented trophy collecting as an important practice in the cases, but de-contextualized their militarized significance and represented the practices as the by-product of individual sadism, madness or deviancy. While military medals and sexualized trophies were presented as different, my contextualized reading maintains they are similar in their logic and both reproduce scripts of militarized masculinities. I explore the binary between good soldiers and bad apples in this chapter through representations of trophy collecting, where military medals are represented as symbols of ideal soldiering, whereas representations of panties or fetish trophies are framed as deviant behaviour. When we understand how militarized masculinities are associated with sexual aggression, ableism, misogyny and racist dehumanization, representations of the trophies

collected by Williams, Graner and McDonald can be understood as reproducing these same gendered scripts, albeit to their logical extremes.

When news stories placed blame solely on a handful of “kinky”, ‘deviant’ or naturally “sexist” male bodies, they inevitably obscured the overarching gendered and militarized structures of our culture where these individuals and trophy collecting practices were embedded. There is resistance to accept violence as a product of militarized masculinities, because to do so would put into question the ways we normally reward soldiering with national honours and medals. If soldiering was understood as dehumanizing and violent, so too are its medals of distinction. Chapter 4 helped to better understand how trophies take on meaning and become objects of gendered knowledge. This chapter extends the work of scholars theorizing about trophies as identity objects of masculinities. My project adds to this research by finding that fetish trophies including trophy photographs, videos and the conquered bodies of feminized “Others” should also be understood as identity objects of militarized masculinities, rather than identity objects of deviancy or immaturity.

In Chapter 5, I traced a link between racist imperial violence and militarized masculinities. I explored how news discourses presented the majority of soldiers as nonviolent in their work for an exceptional nation, whose professional actions enable security. I deconstructed these representations of exception and positioned Charles Graner as a soldier in an imperial war, a prison guard in the prison industrial system, and a representative of empire. Representations of Graner demonstrated the way soldiering was popularly understood as civilized, I positioned these narratives as militarized discourse that failed to recognize the inherent purpose of militaries as institutions of violence. The media insisted on a binary between good and bad soldiers, but I argue both figures reflect norms of militarized masculinities, based

on race, violence and aggression. Representations reproduced the militarized assumption that norms of soldiering were not responsible for the prisoner abuse. Discourses about abuse were represented as isolated incidents that go against the good service of the military. I found that news discourses framed the events of racist violence as a scandal, which implied that detention centres, interrogation centres and the whole prison system in general was race-neutral, operated in a professional and civilized way and is not marked with systemic abuses, neglect or mistreatment. Likewise, in the Williams news story, the world was presented as shocked that a model Colonel could be a violent criminal, as it disrupted the militarized myth that Western military personnel are civilized and honourable men. This discourses of “shock” functioned to insist on a binary between civilized good soldiers and surprising exceptions to the rule. These stories sustained the myth that military training and culture are not to blame for persistent stories of abuse.

Articles that framed Abu Ghraib as hell concealed how the Graner story was part of broader discourses on militarized masculinities based on race. This helped to obscure the political context of Abu Ghraib as embedded in a violent system of incarceration and racist norms of soldiering based on militarized masculinities. Narratives explained away racist violence and overshadowed the reality that the United States’ incarcerated thousands of Iraqi civilians without due process. Discourses trivialized detainee experiences and depicted the actions of military personnel as driven by circumstances of difference rather than a militarized culture and white masculinities that glorified racial superiority, power and violence. Dominant representations that insisted on framing Graner as an anomaly obscured how stories about Graner were actually part of a broader discourse on militarized masculinities, racism and

dehumanization. On the whole, this chapter contributed to the theoretical insights of post-colonial feminists exploring militarization, militarized masculinities and racist imperial violence

In Chapter 6, I explored the ways elements of monstrosity based on hierarchies of ability, sexuality, class, race and gender are proliferated and produce knowledge about militarized masculinities as able-bodied constructs. This chapter uncovers how discourses around Williams and Graner's monstrosity were placed in contrast to successful soldiering and silently affirm militarized presumptions about what type of bodies are dangerous and what type of bodies keep us safe. In this chapter, I explained how psy's discourse in news narratives on Williams worked to pathologize violence, conceal the role of militarization and sustain ableist and eugenic knowledge where different bodies are threatening. Representations that relied on psy's discourses where the problem was his individual body, functioned to obscure the systemic nature of his violence against women and a critical examination of soldiering and norms of militarized masculinities that valorize violence, sexualized aggression and misogyny. To understand Williams' violence, as the result of social and bodily success in society and the military, would de-stabilize Western myths of civilized militarization and valuable militarized masculinities, necessarily unraveling myths of militarized security and order in the West. Instead of destabilizing scripts of militarized masculinities as violent, discourses relied on eugenic and ableist notions to blame Williams' violence on a disabled body the military typically screens out, leaving military structures of violence, misogyny and dehumanization intact. Williams' frequent characterization as an abhorrent monster is important because it showcases how monsters are understood in stark contrast to white able-bodied militarized masculinities, imagined as protecting the nation (Cohen, 1996, p.15). Understanding Williams' body as defective invokes disability and suggests that those who protect us are normal human beings, with bodies and

minds to match. By labeling and blaming violence as an unusual but naturally occurring phenomena from certain minds, we cannot begin the conversation about the need for “radical social transformation” (Harper, 2011) because our social configuration (that includes growing militarization and myths about masculinities) is viewed as not needing help, as still being positive, civilized and peaceful.

Dominant news narratives focused on Colonel Williams as a monster, not simply because of his constructed mental disorders but because of what was portrayed as a deviant sexuality, gender and fetish. Understanding Williams via psy’ language was essential because to understand Williams’ mind, body and sexuality as perfectly normal and sane would mean that we are no longer safe and our whole system of militarization and framework of soldiering would be broken and in need of radical transformation. As such, it is perhaps not surprising that representations of Williams’ failed masculinity, cross-dressing and queerness were consistently emphasized as explanations for his violence and markers of his monstrosity. The consequence of this is that Williams got framed as an individual bad apple, rather a reflection of a gendered system of soldiering based on violent norms of militarized masculinities. Representations of Williams’ cross-dressing functioned to mute the possibility that Williams could be performing elements of militarized masculinities related to sexual violence, misogyny and sexual aggression against women. In this chapter, I explained how monstrosity was a rhetorical trope and technology used in case narratives that made clear how queer and crip bodies fail to measure up to the masculine myths of the military.

My work in this chapter extends scholarship of monstrosity by providing additional insight into how monsters are “meaning machines” (1995, pp. 21-22) and transnational characters of danger and disorder which signify inferiority, disability, deviance, and stand in

opposition to white able-bodied militarized masculinities. Building on McReur (2010) and Puar (2009), Chapter 6 contributes to scholarship in transnational disability studies. It works to push for a broader politics of disability by demonstrating how material and discursive processes of militarization are integral to the production and sustaining of concepts like disability, order, civility and our sense of safety. Studying militarized masculinities does not simply bring militarization into the conversations of disability, it pushes conceptualizations of ability to always consider the reciprocal intersections of gender, race, sexuality and class in constructions of normative able bodies. Militarization has been shown to shape and be shaped by gender, colonization and race. My project extends this work by mapping how militarization simultaneously shapes and is shaped by notions of ability in conjunction with gender and race.

Through all four theme chapters, I trace how sexual violence, trophy collecting, racist imperial violence, monstrosity and ableism are intersecting systems and practices of militarized masculinities in white Anglo-Saxon countries. These are not static roles or norms but systems and practices that evolve and have varying influences on different formations of militarized masculinities. The purpose of this project was to theorize about the systems and practices of militarized masculinities and how these scripts help explain why military sex scandals and militarized aggression persist.

Militarized masculinities are important because its scripts are embedded in power relations and militarized practices that can have devastating material consequences. Conceptualizing the scripts of militarized masculinities is significant, given that its conventions help to legitimize militarized policies and practices, to define ideals of soldiering and to sustain violent and unequal social relations in our militarized society at large. I have argued throughout this thesis that the “militarized” qualification of militarized masculinities is significant because

militarized ideologies (re)produce a gendered, racialized and able-bodied order that centres differences as threatening or undesirable while placing whiteness, masculinity and able-bodiedness as orderly. Systemic problems of misogyny, ableism, sexual violence and racist abuse in the military and in society at large need to be contextualized as occurring in a militarized system based on violent norms of militarized masculinities. Reports of alarming rates of sexual violence in Western militaries are not simply caused by bad apples or boys being boys. They reflect militarized gender norms that need to be better understood as sexist, racist and ableist before they can be disrupted and dismantled. If new inquiries into the treatment of women in militaries fail to unpack scripts of militarized masculinities, they will once again fail to uproot norms of sexual and racist violence. While news stories tend to explain sexual and racist imperial violence as a story of bad behaviour, my work has demonstrated otherwise, finding that norms of soldiering are gendered and based on scripts of militarized masculinities, informed by misogyny, sexual violence, dehumanization, racism and ableism. Societies find it much easier to focus on the “bad” behaviour of individuals, than to consider the possibility that celebrated norms and structures of our militarized society are fundamentally based on dehumanization, difference and aggression.

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