GHOSTLY WARRIORS: GENDER, HAUNTING, AND MILITARY TECHNOLOGIES

By

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A thesis submitted to

The University of Birmingham

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Science and International Studies

School of Government and Society

College of Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

October 2016

'Given the evacuation of "women" from IR, it is time to stalk the shadows of the field'

Christine Sylvester, 1994, p.9

ABSTRACT

Contemporary debates about military technologies have tended to overlook important interjections from feminist security scholars. These interjections have drawn attention to the myriad ways in which gender functions in the development and deployment of technologies in warfare, so that the technology is perceived as either having 'feminizing' or 'masculinizing' effects. However, the accounts offered in support of these arguments include data which does not 'fit' with the narrative of either/or masculinization/feminization. This thesis is that 'Haunting' provides an important lens through which the interaction between, and co-constitution of, gender and military technologies can be more adequately explored. Supplementing the 'ghost hunt' with 'queer logic' to draw the concerns of Haunting (the complexity of personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, disturbed temporality and power) in conversation with feminist scholarship, the thesis reveals military technologies as simultaneously destabilizing and (re)inscribing dominant discourses of military masculinity. At its core this thesis argues that Haunting as a theoretical framework and methodology gives us access to, and a means of understanding, data that centres nuance, details and specificity which is fundamental to social research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has been a labour of love and is woven out of frustration, interest, expletives, wine, debate, argument, and red pen marks. I owe my thanks to a myriad of wonderful humans who made it possible. Firstly, I thank my supervisors. Nicholas Wheeler, thank you in particular for sticking out the early, painful (!) stages when I insisted on throwing a new project at you on a weekly basis. I hold you entirely responsible for my unexpected interested in all things 'drone'. Nicki Smith, thank you particularly for your on-going enthusiasm for all the weird and wonderful things I wanted to include, from Pratchett to ghosts. Your knowledge and insight into gender and queer theory and (importantly) the difference between those two things has been essential to the development of this thesis. I have been fortunate to benefit from both of your excellent supervision. I want to take a moment to thank all of the individuals who kindly agreed to be interviewed for this project. I cannot name you, but you know who you are. Thank you for taking the time to speak to me, for sharing your experiences with me. You have enriched my research experience and the thesis in ways I did not expect. I extend my thanks to Penny Griffin and Laura Shepherd who agreed to my visit to UNSW and whose insights into my theoretical efforts helped reshape the way I approached this thesis.

Thanks are also due to those who have provided the much-needed financial support for this project. In the first instance I would like to thank the Royal Aeronautical Society (RAeS) and Dr Peter Gray for two years of paying my part-time fees. Secondly, I would like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council for two years of scholarship and fees. Without these funds this thesis would likely still be sitting in the back of my brain as a day dream.

Being part of the ICCS at Birmingham has put me in contact with some excellent people who have patiently pointed out flaws in my arguments, made mugs of tea when I have been in the slough of despond, and engaged in extended and extensive discussions over glasses (bottles) of wine and pizza. To Josh Baker, Rhys Crilley, Daniel Rio Tinto, Scott Edwards, Ana Alecsandru and Sumedh Rao- it's been awesome, we should do it again some time. In the true traditions of International Relations PhD students at Birmingham, I want to thank David Norman. For so many things. Notably for always suggesting I completely restructure whatever chapter he happened to be reading, but also, and more importantly, for providing me with the support to keep going and make this happen. You rock. I extend my thanks to Jonna Nyman for always

providing unexpectedly fantastic conversations and for being the best dancing partner whether for salsa classes in Quito or in the equally exotic environs of Birmingham at Island Bar.

Support has also come from a myriad of individuals who (sensibly) are not part of academia. To that end I also thank Laura Chalklin, Charlotte Strange, Rachel Honey-Evans and Rosie Abraham for always asking how the thesis was going and always (at least pretending) to be interested in my response. Thank you to Miss E and Miss I for their balloons and dancing at the precise moment when I was in need of both. Thanks are also due to my parents for their support even in the face of complete confusion as to how their daughter (who wanted to be a vet/party planner) ended up writing a thesis about drones and gender. Particular thanks are due to Mum for rolling up her sleeves and wielding her red editing pen to such good effect.

It seems fitting to dedicate this thesis, which is focused on shadows and ghostly shapes, to two women who may have appeared in the margins of my life, but whose impact has been profound. To Katy Burton- who kept me sane by talking about dogs and Dadaism, and without whom I would not have had the strength to get through the first years of the PhD. To Sarah Jeffries- who found a buffer space for my brain and who rightly claims that there are no problems which cannot be solved with the right stationery.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency (USA)

FOB: Forward Operating Base

GCS: Ground Control Station

GWOT: Global War on Terror

IED: Improvised Explosive Device(s)

ISR: Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance

ISTAR: Intelligence, Surveillance, Targeting and Reconnaissance

MALE: Medium Altitude, Long Endurance

MQ-1/MQ-9: Designation for Predator and Reaper respectively

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NCOs: Non-Commissioned Officers

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organisations

PTSD: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

RAF: Royal Air Force

ROE: Rules of Engagement

RPA: Remotely Piloted Aircraft

RPAS: Remotely Piloted Aerial System

UAV: Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

UOR: Urgent Operational Requirement

USAF: United States Air Force

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INTRODUCTION

'*He explained to me the odd reality of making his kid's lunch in the morning, kissing his wife goodbye, then driving to work in traffic, saying hello to his co-workers on base, and then passing through an aluminium door that miraculously transported him to the bloody battlefield of Iraq*.' (Rogoway, 2015)

'*Every decision you made was either … somebody living, saving somebody or somebody dying. And you walk into your house and you're trying to figure out whether your daughter is going to wear a blue tutu or a pink tutu and the disconnection is astounding. It's just, it's… it's amazing.*' (Black, 2013)

These quotes reflect some of the strangeness of being part of a Reaper drone crew, in particular the constant cycling back and forth between the war front and the home hearth. These weave into other narratives of simultaneous geographical distance meshed against the curious intimacy created from extensive surveillance. The life of the 'Other' on the ground reflects the gaping cultural gulf between the crews and their 'targets' whilst at the same time the similarities of daily life echoes the crews' own lives in those marked out as 'the enemy'. The introduction of military technologies, like drones, is a topic which has produced a huge literature illustrating how these technologies affect war from a range of perspectives: ethical, legal, strategic, political, and human (Sauer and Schornig, 2012; Wexler, 2003; Morton, 1998; and Cohn, 1987 among others). Technology in war has changed the way that war functions, changed the interactions between opposing sides, changed the way individuals are injured and the way that they die, changed how those deaths are interpreted, changed how those who inflict death are interpreted, and a myriad of other elements besides (Van Creveld, 1991a; Coker, 2013; Singer, 2011; Dunn, 2013; Gray, 2013). There are many, many, different kinds of military technologies which invite research and consideration. For example nuclear weapons continue to draw investigation, as do

landmines and cluster munitions (Futter, 2011; Anderson, 2000; van Woudenberg, 2008). Interest has also been directed towards the potential of non-lethal weapons (Kaurin, 2010; Orbons, 2012), the potentially warscape altering impact of cyberwarfare (NATO, 2003; Gartzke, 2013), and the increasing reliance on robots (Anderson and Waxman, 2012; Arkin and Mosnkina, June; Doyle, 2013). It is this final category that has captured the public attention and imagination in recent years, exploding into a heated debate, and therefore it is military robots that this thesis will investigate, looking at a specific iteration: the armed drone. In investigating the implications of the use of armed drones, I will turn my attention to one specific perspective which has, within traditional security studies perspectives on military technologies, been underappreciated, and that is the *gendered* implications of the use of armed drones (Cohn and Ruddick, 2003).

Feminist scholars have, as will be outlined in greater detail in the following chapter, illuminated the ways in which war and gender are co-constituted, mapping the many diverse ways in which 'gendering' security studies is essential to enhancing our understanding of warfare in all its various iterations (for example Goldstein, 2003; Enloe, 1983; Sjoberg, 2014). Similarly, important feminist interjections have been made considering the work that gender does in the development of different technologies of war. Interpretation of the phallic symbolism of the thrust of the spear or sword has been expanded into explorations of the accusations of cowardice that accompanied the advent of the longbow through to investigations of the sexualised language used by US 'nuclear defence intellectuals', and even to the emancipatory potential of the cyborg (Ehrenreich, 1998; Lash, 1995; Cohn, 1987; Haraway, 1991). Therefore, feminist theorising has sketched, suggested, and argued ways in which we can begin to better understand what military technologies are doing *to* gender and *through* gender. Outside of feminist theorising there is a tendency to see technology as gender-neutral, and yet feminist scholars such as Mary Manjikian (2013), Carol Cohn (1987; 2003), and Lauren Bayard de Volo (2013) have definitively shown the ways in which technology is gendered. For example Cohn's

(1987, 1993) seminal works on nuclear weapons revealed the way that the powerful atomic bomb was perceived as masculine (with failed 'duds' described as feminine) through discourses which were surprisingly sexual. It is not my intention to outline fully here the ways in which military technologies are gendered, that is done in more detail in the subsequent chapter, but I hope to have illustrated some of the ways in which this occurs and, therefore, why it is important to investigate the work that this interaction between gender and technology is doing.

The quotes that started this chapter encapsulate some of the ways in which Reaper crew worlds, and the narratives about those worlds, are gendered. The breadwinner father, the stay-at-home wife, the daughter going to ballet; all reflect some of the most accepted discourses about gender appropriate behaviours. Add to this that the 'breadwinner father' is going to war, performing the 'most' masculine of roles and the stay-at-home wife who replicates Elshtain's beautiful soul is relegated to the private sphere, and gendered discourses are rendered explicit (Elshtain, 1995; Hicks Stiehm, 1982). Despite this, commentators have criticised Reaper crews for eroding the masculinity of the 'warrior' as a result of the apparent 'risklessness' of their roles, whilst at the same time others have raised concerns that the drone represents the techno-fetishization of the contemporary Western military, a cultural identity associated with hyper-masculinity (Vallor, 2013; Kunashakaran, 2016). How is it that these crews can be perceived as representing both sides of the gendered binary? And what is the relationship between technologies of war and gender? It is these questions that I explore in this thesis.

To date, theorising on the gendered implications of the use of armed drones has tended to fall into two camps: those who are concerned that the use of drones heralds the 'feminization' of Western militaries and therefore their degradation, and those who interpret the 'techno-fetishization' exemplified through the use of drones as evidence of growing 'hyper-masculinity'. Albeit outside of feminist theorising, Martin Van Creveld's position on the connection between the 'feminine' qualities and the degradation of the Western military reflects his perspectives on the importance of keeping military spaces as bastions of 'pure' masculinity and manliness (Van

Creveld, 2013b, 2013a). Whilst I fundamentally disagree with Van Creveld on these perspectives, his views provide a useful starting point from which to illuminate the gendered backdrop of the concerns of those who view armed drones as evidence of the decline of the militaries who use them. What Shannon Vallor (2013) describes as a concern about the 'moral deskilling' of the armed forces, can be viewed instead as a concern over the erosion of military masculinity through the distancing of crews from the battlefield, and the attendant reduction in risk to life and limb (see also Sauer and Schornig, 2012; Asaro, 2013; Royakkers and van Est, 2010). The various mocking references to 'cubicle warriors' and 'Dilbert goes to war' suggest, rather than ethical concerns about the way the technology is used, a discomfort with the erosion of the fetishized heroic warrior figure - the ultimate construction of masculinity who risks his (strong) body to protect the 'womenandchildren' at home (The Economist, 2014; Mayer, 2009; Crane-Seeber, 2016; Enloe, 1989). Therefore some commentators have argued that discomfort with remote warfare instead 'rests in part upon a hierarchy of masculinity and its interactions with and implications for our understanding of 'combatant' and 'hero'' (Bayard de Volo, 2013, p.29). The question that emerges is: with the advent of distancing war technologies that apparently reduce the need for 'honour and valour' in war, how can we differentiate between undesirable killing and that which is worthy of our respect and value (Sauer and Schornig, 2012, p.373)? And if the 'warrior' is no longer socially valuable what does this mean for a hegemonic form of masculinity?

Whilst the concerns about the feminization of the armed forces who use armed drones has tended to come from scholars outside of feminist theorising, those who identify themselves within those ranks have tended to argue that the use of armed drones has the potential to have the opposite effect, that is, result in an increasing hyper-masculinisation (a concept I unpack in the following chapter). Sumita Kunashakaran argues that whilst it is possible to see the skills that Reaper crews require as 'more feminine' than some other members of the military, the end result of the use of distancing technologies like drones is 'hyper-masculinity' (2016, p.31). The

physical distancing from the battlefield, Kunashakaran claims encourages emotional distancing, a trait she equates with masculinity alongside 'possessing the situational awareness and strategic thinking skills – both highly hegemonically masculinized traits' (Kunashakaran, 2016, p.44). Similarly, both she and Caroline Holmqvist (2013) equate the physical 'body' of the drone with the hypermasculine- representing the hard, erect, impenetrable body of the ideal soldier; which provides the means through which drone crews perform their military masculinity. Lauren Bayard de Volo looks beyond the crews to argue that the use of drones in the Global War on Terror represents 'a paternalistic expression of rescuing a feminized region', with the 'penetration' of sovereign space representing the 'demasculinization' of areas in which drones are used (2013, pp.12, 13; see also Shepherd, 2006). Feminist scholars have also pointed to the increasing importance of 'technical proficiency' as indicators of a 'different kind of male activity', which is then expanded onto the world stage and

> 'implicitly sets up a dichotomy between the powerful, technologically enhanced state and the weakened, feminine state (like Iraq and Afghanistan) which can be bullied, cowed and intimidated by technology' (Manjikian, 2013, p.53; See also Kontour, 2012; McKinley et al., 2011).

Similar arguments about gendered discourses surrounding the use of technology are also explored by Cristina Masters, who notes that pre-existing 'military discourses have constructed the cyborg soldier', who in this instance are the aircrew who are tasked with operating the Reaper (2005, p.113). These discourses are not easily destabilised and therefore, Masters (2005) and Manjikian (2013) argue, are likely to embrace novel war technologies in ways that reinforce existing gendered binaries.

Whilst these authors make often convincing arguments, in many of these apparently opposing accounts there are acknowledgements of elements that do not fit neatly into the narratives that the authors are trying to create. Interactions with military technologies and the gendered

implications of these interactions are rarely simple or one sided. For example, whilst arguing that the end result is hyper-masculinization, Kunashakaran notes that 'drones do indeed open up new avenues for more "feminized" skills' and that the traditional image of the physically strong war hero is 'also challenged among UAV [unmanned aerial vehicles] operators' (2016, pp.32, 35). The emotional remoteness (coded masculine) of the 'drone stare' Holmqvist argues 'furthers the subjugation of those marked as Other' but then goes on to note that this narrative is disrupted by the technical capacity to see in detail which creates an opposing 'sense of proximity' provoking an emotional response in drone crews (2013, p.452). Similarly, whilst the drone operates as a 'paternal' figure in International Relations the crews cannot demonstrate their masculinity in the traditional fashion of 'mastering fear or resisting the impulse to flee' from danger (Bayard de Volo, 2013, p.11). Therefore, there is a space in the literature for an attempt to find a framework to understand *how* military technologies can simultaneously destabilise and (re)inscribe gender discourses, and this represents the central concern of this thesis.

Ghosts

To engage with the thesis question it is necessary to find a framework and methodology that can accommodate *both* sides of the gender binary. At the same time, it requires a framework and methodology that embraces complexity rather than arguing that the use of military technologies, like armed drones, result in *either* feminization *or* hyper-masculinity. As a result I have used the framework of 'Haunting' [1] and the methodology of ghost-hunting for this thesis, as laid out in Avery Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters.* I understand Haunting as a vocabulary to 'communicate the depth, density, and intricacies of the dialectic subjection and subjectivity' and the ghosts as 'conceptual metaphors' or 'deconstructive logic[s]' which do the work of building in the complexity of day-to-day life (Gordon, 2008, p.8; Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.1; Bal, 2010, p.10).

[1] I will capitalise Haunting when I am referring to the theoretical framework, to differentiate from (lowercase) haunting as a verb or adjective.

Outlined in greater detail in Chapter 2, as part of the wider 'spectral (re)turn', Haunting does not focus on the occult or parapsychology, but rather operates as a means of 'escape[ing] the totalizing logic' which is often applied to issues of gender and sexuality (Peeren, 2014, p.10). Escaping totalizing logic means paying attention to the things that *don't* fit in the ways we expect them to, means engaging with non-linearity, with things that trouble us, with hunches, intuitions and other 'deviant knowledges' (Weber, 2014, p.598). In this thesis, I use Haunting to foreground complexity and nuance, highlighting four core components of the framework which underline Gordon's work: (1) complex personhood, (2) in/(hyper)visibility, (3) disturbed temporality, and (4) power. Through the prism of Haunting, I explore these issues and build my analysis around the interaction between gender and military technology in order to engage with and trouble binaries such as silence *and* scream, absence *and* presence, visibility *and* invisibility, masculinity *and* femininity; and do so in a way that enables the opposing sides of the binary to co-exist (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.1). The core contribution of this thesis is in the application of the framework of Haunting to these topics, through which I argue, it is possible to gain more nuanced and detailed understandings of the way that history, social structures and technologies interact. This is ethically important, Gordon argues, because whilst it will not result in 'a more tidy world' it might help us to create 'one that might be less damaging' (Gordon, 2008, p.19).

From the framework of Haunting comes the methodology of the ghost hunt. The ghost hunt does not aim to eradicate the ghosts, but rather to engage them in conversation- making an ethical pledge to hearing the things that are difficult to hear, after Derrida (2006). The ethical component of Haunting and ghost hunting is built around Gordon's (2008) commitment to drawing attention to (cob)webs of power which affect subjects, understanding those individuals as complex and as such enmeshed in a complex social, psychological, cultural, and historical context which can dis/empower. Feminist scholars have repeatedly illuminated the way in which gender acts in dis/empowering ways, and drawn attention to the complexity of the work that gender *does* and the multiple sites in which it functions (for example Enloe, 1983; Peterson,

1992a; Shepherd, 2008a; Steans, 2008; Guerrina and Wright, 2016). I outline in Chapter 2 the ways in which Haunting and the ghosts provide a useful way for exploring these complex ways in which gender functions. Feminist work on military technologies has utilised novel methodologies and figurations such as the cyborg and the monster (Haraway, 1991; Rayner, 1994; Creed, 1993; Ussher, 2006; Balsamo, 1996). However, in relation to technologies that are so intimately associated with death and killing, it feels particularly appropriate to utilise Haunting and ghost hunting (Auchter, 2014; Gordon, 2008). What could be more appropriate for a technology called Reaper? Additionally, gender has often been (necessarily and usefully) tied up with discussions of the physical body, but through the figure of the ghost it is possible to engage with a discussion of gender that can connect the physical body with gendered discourses and binary logics (Peterson and Runyan, 2010).

Whilst, Gordon's (2008) use of Haunting is useful for the exploration of gender I want to add one final piece to this jigsaw puzzle which I think is useful for better articulating the particular ways in which gendered binaries intersect with technologies of war, and that is through the addition of what Cynthia Weber (2014, 2016) has called 'queer logic'. In order to explain queer logic, it is necessary for me to take a brief detour to explain the importance of binaries to thinking about gender (and therefore also military technologies). Feminist scholars such as V. Spike Peterson and Ann Sisson Runyan (2010) have drawn attention to ways that masculinity and femininity are constructed in opposition to one another, so that what is masculine is what is not feminine and vice versa. Certain personal, political and structural attributes or performances are constructed as being either masculine *or* feminine; and as feminist scholars have shown, this has a myriad implications for issues of importance to security studies (Elshtain, 1995; Hooper, 2001; Cohn, 1993). In addition to being constructed in opposition to one another, the masculine/feminine dichotomy is hierarchical, with the feminine devalued in preference for the masculine. In relation to military masculinities what is constructed as desirable behaviour/identity are things like (for example) physical strength and emotional reserve (coded

as masculine), whereas physical weakness and emotionality is construed as feminine and undesirable (Elshtain, 1995; Hooper, 1998; Peterson and Runyan, 2010). The power of these kinds of binaries has been investigated by feminist scholars, who have demonstrated their implications in conflict situations (Baaz and Stern, 2009; Allsep, 2013; Cohn, 1998, 2000). Challenging these binaries has become part of the important project of feminism, and indeed an important part of this thesis. I utilise queer logics which challenge the oppositional nature of the masculine/feminine binary, illustrating the extent to which these binaries are constructed and mutable. As I flesh out in Chapter 2, applying a 'queer logic' makes it possible for two apparently mutually opposing sides of a binary to co-exist, destabilizing the idea of a *or* b to include a *and/or* b (Weber, 2014, 2016). As such, the use of queer logics draws attention to instabilities and contradictions at work in gendered binaries in relation to war and war technologies.

Understanding ghosts as embodying queer logics and applying this logic to the use of military technologies and gender reveals a ghost which helps to illuminate the entanglement of influences on military masculinity (and its relationship with femininity), and this is the ghost of the warrior. As a conceptual metaphor, or 'figuration' (Haraway, 1997), the ghost of the warrior reveals the simultaneously varied and vibrant parentage of military masculinity and its inherent instabilities and contradictions which reveal a different possible relationship with femininity than simple opposition. In Chapter 3 I explore how this coherent figure can and does contain contradictions that in no way impair our ability to understand what the figure *is* and what it *means.* As such, the ghost of the warrior is a performative 'trope' rather than a literal representation of the warrior, as such a representation would be impossible given the way the ghost is comprised of a multitude of translucent layers of meaning, which sometimes appear to be mutually exclusive (Weber, 2016; Haraway, 1997). Therefore my deployment of the ghost of the warrior is 'the act of employing semiotic tropes that combine knowledges, practices, and power to shape how we map our worlds and understand actual things in those worlds' (Weber, 2016 Kindle Location 663).

I introduce the ghost of the warrior as the discursive backdrop against which I examine the gendered implications of the use of military technologies, laying out in Chapter 3, the 'traditional' (which is not to imply 'true') context in which these technologies are operated. Utilising the ghost of the warrior in this manner enables me to draw out the extent to which being a warrior is comprised of so much more that simply *being* a warrior. Much in the way that Holmqvist utilises Elaine Scarry's argument that in war 'fighting always exceeds "fighting"' (Holmqvist, 2013, p.537), so too does the warrior exceed the "warrior". By this I argue that war is centrally constituted by what it means to be a warrior, and that war cannot be understood without recourse to who or what the warrior means. The interaction between the warrior and war technologies is important beyond the singular strategic or legal implications, but requires an understanding of the human experience of war, and this always means including the gendered implications (Holmqvist, 2013; Sylvester, 2013; McSorley, 2014). Similarly, the ghost represents the *excess*, that is '[t]he specter stands for that which never simply is' (Peeren, 2014, p.10) but rather represents the way that queer logics function to destabilize what is apparently masculine (and/)or feminine. This thesis is concerned by the way that these logics play out in the introduction of novel technologies of war and centrally I argue that these can only be adequately understood by employing a framework and methodology that can encapsulate the complexity of the interaction(s) - in particular through the framework of Haunting. Understanding how these technologies are implicated in destabilizing and (re)inscribing gendered discourses means engaging, and exploring how these are manifested in the specific, local, contexts in which each technology of used. To this end, I focus on the specific context of the use of armed Reaper drones by British crews in the Royal Air Force (RAF). The investigation of this case enables me to illustrate the way in which Haunting engages with the theoretical statement that 'life is complicated'[2] in the ways in which the development of military technologies interacts with the work that gender does to (re)produce and challenge 'traditional' understandings of what it means to be a warrior (Gordon, 2008, p.3). As such, the overarching

[2] And certainly 'more complicated than those of us who study it have usually granted' (Gordon, 2008, p.7)

research question for this thesis is: *How does Haunting contribute to understanding the ways in which novel military technologies simultaneously disrupt and reinforce traditional conceptions of military masculinity?*

Researching Military Technology

Building a thesis on war technologies and gender from the threads of ghosts and queer logics reflects my stance as a poststructural feminist. Identifying myself as such means that I am concerned about the impact of gender on the lives of individuals and the consequences of structures of inequality which are based around arguments relating to sex and/or gender. The poststructural part of the statement means that I am concerned about the way that sex and gender inequalities play into intersectional inequalities - those based around race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and (dis)ability (inter alia Peterson and Runyan, 2010). The poststructuralism also means that I am concerned by the way that inequality (re)constitutes itself through narratives and discourse, stories that we tell ourselves about how people do, and should, act (Sylvester, 1994). Adopting a poststructural feminist stance has made me critical of claims of 'every/all', has made me interested in how the human stories at the 'bottom' of the international system speak to overarching structures of gender, and how we can think about 'situatedness' in creative ways in order to better reflect the intricacies of the environment in which we function and the ways that individuals understand themselves (Haraway, 1988; Shepherd, 2008a).

There are complexities in writing a thesis which focuses on gender, not least because there is a risk of (re)inscribing those categories that I would rather trouble. In an early iteration of one of the chapters, I was reminded of this possibility by a kind reviewer who noted: 'I think there is a danger that the chapter is repeating the centrality of masculinity by only reading examples of femininity as inferior, weak, vulnerable or supportive to dominant masculinities.' This meant that essentially *my* work, which purported to be feminist in stance, was, instead, recreating this

sense of feminine weakness and reifying the violent masculine. I include this quote here because it illustrated for me the way that the language I was using, and the way I was using it put my 'own scholarship in the (potentially violent) practices of boundary-marking' (Welland, 2013, p.883). Given the limitations of language, there are few ways I can avoid creating boundaries when I speak of the problems of gendered binaries, and indeed I have needed to use parts of this thesis to sketch out what I have termed 'traditional' constructions of masculinity and femininity. However, following on from the early feedback and thinking carefully and reflexively about the work the words I put on the page are doing, I have tried to be explicit about where the construction of 'masculinity' or 'femininity' is problematic or counter to the aims of this project. As I note in the introduction to the chapter on the warrior, these 'traditional' narratives are no more 'real' than non-traditional narratives, and the 'real' of history provide a plethora of examples that act as counter-claims. However, the 'traditional' gendered discourses of the warrior have a certain power, a power that disciplines and (re)produces certain violences that do not go away if we ignore them. Therefore, in keeping with the requirements of Haunting that we 'shine a light into the shadows', I have tried to sketch out the ghostly shapes of these 'traditional' narratives as a point from which to begin to contest their claims, and through that their disciplinary power (Gordon, 2008).

Counter to the claims that researchers can be 'objective' and produce 'neutral' observations to form scientific answers to hypotheses; I view myself as having a role in the questions I ask, the data that I collect and the way that I interpret it. These ethical commitments are in keeping with Gordon's (2008) Haunting, a framework through which she asks me to consider what I am *not* saying, what I am *not* hearing as much as those things that I am. It is a framework that is dedicated to trying to 'understand and write evocatively about some of the ways that modern forms of dispossession, exploitation and repression concretely impact the lives of the people most affected by them' (Gordon, 2011, p.1). Gordon's argument, as explored in Chapter 2 is that such an ethical commitment cannot be met by claims to objectivity, but rather by an engagement

with the sensuous, the emotional, and the strange. Some elements of this 'strangeness', in the case I consider, emerge through the narratives that are deployed around how to be, and what it means to be, part of the British armed forces, and how these narratives interact with developments in military technology.

It would not be excessive to argue that the introduction of armed drones has been one of the most contentious and debated developments in military technology in recent years (Singer, 2011; Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014; Rogers and Hill, 2014). Drones represent a new iteration in airpower technology that situates the crews outside of the aircraft and often at extreme distances from the area in which the aircraft is being flown. All of this adds up to a novel experience for the individuals tasked with the drone's operation. The discussion of Reaper crews is particularly important because Reapers (and its predecessor Predator) are currently the only armed drones in operation utilised by British and American crews.[3] The crews are therefore not just *flying* the drone from an extreme distance, but they are also being tasked with deploying lethal force from the same distance. The crews are made up of three individuals: the pilot, the sensor operator, and the intelligence analyst, and together these individuals comprise the focus of this study. We traditionally conceive of members of the military as demonstrating their status as warriors by risking life and limb in close combat, where the situation is 'kill or be killed'. As the crews are at extreme distance from the 'theatre of war' they are experiencing war in a way that challenges traditional masculine conceptions of what it means to be a warrior. These challenges to warrior identity are important because they are having an impact on the well-being of the crews and their families, as well as affecting recruitment and retention of crews (Terkel, 2015; Ouma et al., 2011). The British case, which this thesis focuses on, is of particular interest because at this time there is considerably less information available about these crews than there is about their American counterparts. Currently the only country outside of the US to have Reaper drones, the experiences of British crews is understudied and, in popular reports,

[3] British armed forces have never used *British* Predators but have been embedded with US crews who were operating *American* Predators (Martin, 2010)

lacking in nuance (With the notable exceptions of Lee, 2013; Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014). Given the recent lifting of export limitations on Reaper technology, it is likely that other countries (such as Italy, Canada and Australia) will look to include these aircraft in their military inventories (BBC, 2015; Office of the Spokesperson, 2015; Martin, 2010; Wright, 2016). The British experience of using Reaper (and the experience of training to use Reaper with US crews) can therefore be instructive for policy makers in countries considering making such purchases.

In order to better understand the implications of the use of armed drones on gendered discourses of war I utilise a range of different kinds of data, different 'discursive moments'. Much as Gordon utilises fiction as a means of investigating issues of concern in sociology such racism, sexism, state violence, etc. (as discussed in more detail in Chapter 2), I utilise factual and fictional accounts: interview 'data', transcripts of debates in the British House of Commons, memoirs, cartoons, newspaper accounts and films. Whilst Gordon uses 'literary criticism' as the central point around which she weaves the webs of commentary, I wanted instead to use 'real' lives as my starting point. I felt that this was important because there has been so much tendency within the press (both British and international) to rely on hearsay or to make unfounded assumptions about the lives of Reaper crews. Given the lack of access to Reaper crews there has emerged a strange tautological circuitry in both academic and journalistic articles: articles cite journalistic accounts which cite articles or other journalistic accounts. The pieces that pose themselves as 'factual' become embroidered through the process of serial and tangential reconstruction and retelling. There is a lack of good quality open source data and therefore Reaper crews remain shrouded in secrecy. Even respected journalists who have tried to dig out 'real' stories have fallen foul of misinformation as Joseph O. Chapa's critique of a story by Mark Bowden illustrates:

> 'The story's protagonist, a "19-year-old American soldier" who entered Air Force basic military training straight out of high school, became an MQ-1 Predator crew member upon graduation. Reportedly, on his very first mission at the controls, the "young pilot"

> observed a troops-in-contact situation on the ground. The "colonel, watching over his shoulder, said, 'They're pinned down pretty good. They're gonna be screwed if you don't do something.'" The narrative goes on to describe the Hellfire missile strike and the psychological effect it had on the Airman. To a sophisticated military audience, the factual inconsistencies in this account are apparent. Air Force RPAs are crewed by Airmen, not Soldiers. The 19-year-old Airman (an enlisted rank) cannot be an Air Force pilot (an officer rating). The article claims that during his first time at the controls, this Airman finds himself on a combat mission in theatre. In reality, he would have become familiar with the controls at initial qualification training, prior to arriving at his first combat squadron. Furthermore, when colonels speak to Airmen about life-and-death combat decisions, they tend to do so in terms of direct orders rather than leading suggestions. How can Mark Bowden, notable historian and author of such well-received books as Black Hawk Down, commit such factual errors? The answer is simple. Information about Air Force RPA operations is rarely available—and when it is, it usually proves unreliable.' (Chapa, 2014, pp.29–30)

All of this is not to claim that the data that I use, or my use of it, is somehow 'better' or more objective than other accounts. Rather, I wanted to see for myself, get as close to the people whose experiences I was interested in as I could. With this aim in mind, I initially applied to undertake an ethnographic study of one of the British Reaper squadrons. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Defence Research Ethics Committee process of approval assessed that for operational reasons, an ethnographic study of this kind was not possible. However, I was loathe to produce another reading of *just* those pieces widely available in the newspapers, particularly given the small number that related specifically to the *British* experience. Therefore, I used the online professional networking site, LinkedIn, to find individuals with the requisite experiences and to make contact. I initially engaged in email correspondence and sent a basic open-ended questionnaire. Positive responses to this enabled me to arrange interviews with a number of individuals. The interviews were between 1 and 3 hours and were conducted in person and via Skype. I used the questionnaire questions as the jumping off point but largely let the interviewees drive the direction of the discussion, emphasising what *they* thought was important about their experiences of crewing Reapers.

Going back to Gordon's *Ghostly Matters*, I reflected again on the interweavings between fact and fiction, between then and now, and all of the different ways, modes, means, and methods through which discourses are constructed, reconstructed, deployed, rewritten, eroded etc. In this thesis, as previously noted, I have used a multiplicity of 'sources': transcripts of debates in the British House of Commons, memoirs, cartoons, newspaper accounts and films; all supplemented by data collected from interviews. The interviews represent part of my means of engaging with an often-unheard part of the drone-discourses: the crews themselves. The interviews provide some insight into the way that the crews understand their own roles, their position within the British military and their engagement with public debates. The people I interviewed did not, and do not, exist in a vacuum, but rather are woven, tangled and merged with all the background (and foreground) chatter about their roles. They are also complicated by the fact that they are more than their roles. There are complicated, confusing, messy, social, cultural beings. They live and breathe in contradictory, convoluted ways that are sometimes hard to make sense of.

Whilst critical military scholars[4] have sketched out the dangers of legitimising military violences by engaging directly with militaries, I follow Harriet Gray who argues that, whilst this is certainly a concern 'there also exist significant ethical and practical drawbacks to research which *does not* connect with the institution' (Gray, 2016, p.74). The risk is that without engaging it is easy to construct the military as monolithic, to neglect the fact that 'Institutions are made up of *people*, and thus, failing to pay critical attention to the complexities of the experiences and views of the people who constitute the military diminishes the potential power of our engagements' (Gray, 2016, p.75). As a feminist researcher, I view myself as having a role in the questions I ask, the data that I collect and the way that I interpret it. As a result I have an ethical responsibility to act reflexively, to ask myself what I am not seeing, what I am not asking, what I am not saying; and the implications of the answers to those questions (Ackerly and True, 2008;

[4] (for example, Jenkings et al, 2011; Stavrianakis, 2006).

Gordon, 2008). After all, as Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True argue 'as international relations researchers we participate in the powerful projection of knowledge in the world' (Ackerly and True, 2008, p.694), and therefore I need to be aware of my own privileges and biases that influence what I say and how I say it.

Engaging with interviewees I was aware of a sometimes-conflicting need to do justice to the individuals who had so kindly given up their time to discuss their experiences with me and my desire to remain critical (although not necessarily negative) of the way that these crews lived their lives and the operations that they are tasked with. Reflecting on my experiences, I felt some kinship with Victoria Basham, who noted of her own fieldwork with the British military

> 'It was my first foray into "the field" and I was worried I'd get it all wrong… I also had reservations about whether I should be conducting fieldwork with soldiers at all. My aim was to better understand how soldiers experience, and possibly context, social knowledge of gender [and] sexuality…However, I was also well aware of the reluctance of some fellow scholars to engage with war and militaries for fear of legitimising militaristic practices.' (2013, p.2)

I, too, was worried about getting the field work 'wrong'. I was worried that through this project I would either fail to be ethical and fair in my treatment of the interview data or I would accidentally slide into becoming a drone apologist. However, by engaging with feminist scholarship and the idea of queer logics I have tried to present an account of the lives and identities of British Reaper crews that confirm their humanity and reveal some of the complexity of their experiences. They are not only Reaper crews: this is the aspect of life experience that they share, and it provides the backbone and motivation for the study, but this is, importantly, not all they are. They are also men and women, they are raced, and classed, they are wives/husbands/partners/single, they are parents and dog owners, they are car fanatics, lovers of baseball and/or football, and they are gamblers, drinkers, teetotallers, and they appreciate a good film on occasion.

The 'human-ness' of war, and of the individuals who undertake drone warfare, was brought home to me through the experience of conducting interviews. Through engaging with these interviewees, I was forced to reflect on how they expressed their experiences, how I responded to those expressions, and how I was changed by the experience of doing so. My own humanness and my part in the political construction of the state that requires them to undertake war was all part of the questions that the experience of fieldwork raised. Visiting RAF Waddington emphasised more clearly than any written account could the closeness and the interaction between warfare and daily, domestic life. The incongruity, to me, of the children's playpark within the confines of the base served as an important reminder of the multi-faceted nature of the individuals I was engaging with. I was prompted to consider that their experiences of crewing Reapers marked out only a small part of their life, even at the same time as that small part made them 'research relevant' to me. Similarly, in searching for relevant participants on LinkedIn I noticed how their time spent crewing Reaper marked only a short section of what they had spent time doing in the RAF, or even how their experiences within the RAF were only a small part of their CVs. What I have tried to write, then, is something that is at least mostly coherent but at the same time draws attention to the fact that that coherence is only partial, that the 'sensuous'[5] knowledge that I drew from the shrugs of shoulders, the rolling of eyes, and a myriad besides is amorphous, spectral and sometimes a tiny bit bizarre (and wonderful).

Reaper

Recognising the complexity of experiences and people is at the heart of the choice of the British case as the site of analysis. Whilst the US is undeniably the 'greatest'[6] user of armed drones, the British case represents an important and currently understudied case of the use of Reapers. As previously noted, there exists little in-depth academic research into the British use of Reaper drones (with the notable exceptions of Lee, 2015; and Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014),

[5] A concept used by Gordon and introduced in detail in Chapter 2.
[6] In terms of the number of armed drones, the number of strikes, the number of ways in which armed drone strikes are used and investment in the development of armed drone technologies.

and whilst the newspapers include many different reference to the US use and to the experiences of US crews, there is much less time and space expended on how armed drones, specifically Reaper drones, are used by the British.

It is necessary here to take a brief detour to explain my use of the term Reaper and to briefly delineate what I mean when I speak about drones. The drones I am referring to in this thesis are remotely piloted aircraft. Whilst the term may be used for remotely operated ground and marine vehicles, it is most frequently used to describe flying vehicles in which there is no pilot physically situated in the aircraft. There are a wide range of different types of drones. Drones may be the size of mosquitos or the size of jet liners (Gertler, 2012; Barnidge, 2012; Proxdynamics, n.d.; Whetham, 2013; Brooke-Holland, 2013; Robinson, 2013), additionally they may be powered by propeller or have static wings (Emmerson, 2014; Gogarty and Robinson, 2012). Whilst it is true that the majority of drones are unarmed it is without doubt those ones that have the capacity to launch missiles strikes which are the most contentious and which have provoked the greatest amount of public debate and unease. In the UK, the only armed variety of drone is the General Atomics Reaper (which will be replaced by an upgraded version of the same platform 'by the end of the decade' (Mordaunt in Hansard, 2015b Column 293) called Protector) (General Atomics Aeronautical, n.d., n.d.; Gogarty and Robinson, 2012). Reaper is a medium altitude long endurance (MALE) drone which was initially designed for reconnaissance missions, but has since been reconfigured to be able to carry munitions, specifically either Hellfire missiles or GBU 12 500lb 'laser guided bombs' (Royal Air Force, 2016). Whilst the majority of drones are small enough to hand-launch, with a wingspan of 20.12m, Reaper is much larger and requires individuals with specialist training to get off the ground. Reaper also stands off the ground with '12.5 feet of height and 36 feet of overall length' (Royal Air Force, 2016).

When I use the term 'Reaper' in this thesis I do so in an attempt to refer with accuracy to the specific kind of drone I am speaking of. The term 'drone' is highly contested and, whilst there is certainly not space to go into the various revolutions of that debate, I would be foolhardy not to

be clear that within British military circles the term is vehemently rejected (see for example Murch, 2016; Fung, 2013; Bennett-Jones, 2014; Wright, 2013; Wolfgang, 2013; Gosztola, 2013). To give a brief example, the Birmingham Policy Commission on *The Security Impact of Drones: Challenges and Opportunities for the UK* was originally titled *The Security Impact of Remote Warfare* and commissioners spent a considerable amount of time debating what to call drones- a debate which came down to who the report wanted to speak to (Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014, p.15). Therefore, even if when trying to avoid using the term drone on the basis that it is contentious and inflammatory, it is difficult to find an appropriate way to reference the platform, machinery, and software that is being referred to. It is necessary to decide on whose terms to speak. The term drone is most often utilised by those who are critical of their use, rather than those who are actually tasked with using them. This project aims to shed light on the lives of those individuals whose jobs it is to use drones, and to convey this to a wider audience. I therefore have a duel responsibility, to be fair to the individuals whose lives I am trying to illuminate and who kindly shared their experiences with me in interview, and the wider academic and public audiences who deserve to have the debate couched in terms that are clear, understandable, and appropriate. Therefore, I am going to use the term 'Reaper' when speaking specifically about what the crews were piloting because this highlights the specificity of their experience and acts as a reminder that this is only one of many different types of 'drone'. I will use the word 'drone' when discussing the phenomenon generally because of its cultural and social importance and because this thesis aims to speak to an audience broader than the British or US militaries.

In order to engage more widely in the debate this thesis builds on the excellent work done by feminist scholars on the role of gender in the British military, understanding the institution as a site that shapes, moulds, changes, and reinforces dominant conceptions military masculinity (Woodward, 2004; Woodward and Jenkings, 2011; Woodward and Winter, 2007; Duncanson, 2013; Basham, 2013). My interest in the lives and identities of British Reaper crews is not just

about adding to the feminist security studies literature or security studies more generally, but goes beyond academia. Initial research has indicated that American Reaper crews are experiencing higher than expected levels of stress, burn out, and a novel kind of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (for example Chappelle et al., 2014; Ouma et al., 2011; Drew and Philipps, 2015; Fitzsimmons and Sangha, n.d.). There is also some evidence that at least part of the distress these individuals experience relates to confusion over how their roles fit into the wider military, how they are perceived by their peers, and how they relate to their families (Terkel, 2015; Cantwell, 2009). Given that British Reaper crews are experiencing some of the same stresses as their American counterparts, as well as some unique to them; and given that the British government has recently pledged to increase the number of Reapers that the RAF operates, it is important to explore how the experiences of crewing this technology is affecting individuals and squadrons. This study does not aim to provide a way of making the situation 'better', but rather to outline how the experiences of British Reaper crews fit into the broader narratives of British military masculinity, with implications for policy development, recruitment, and retention.

Whilst this thesis focuses on the British use of Reaper, it is essential to sketch out a brief outline of American usage because the US is undoubtedly the most prolific user of the technology, and it is against the background of this usage that the British debate is situated (Rogers and Hill, 2014; Cole, 2009). The intermingling of the British debate with US use of armed drones is wide-ranging and entrenched. For example, many critics of the use of drones have centred their arguments on the Bush and Obama Administration's use of the technology in targeted killing campaigns (Kretzmer, 2005; Fang, 2015; Carvin, 2012). As part of these campaigns drones armed with hellfire missiles have been deployed to strike (kill) specific individuals on the basis of either specific intelligence that they are an enemy of the United States (e.g. a member of Al Qaeda), referred to as personality strikes, or on the basis of patterns of life observation which indicate that they are likely to be engaged in anti-American activities (signature strikes) (Rogers

and Hill, 2014; Heller, 2013). These strikes have been undertaken by the US Air Force (USAF) but also by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operatives, fuelling debates about the appropriateness of civilians deploying lethal force and further complicating the already muddy waters surrounding who is and is not a combatant (Williams, 2010; Alston and Shamsi, 2010; Hastings, 2012; Bowden, 2013; Gregory, 2011a; Adams and Barrie, 2013; Kretzmer, 2005).

Another criticism of US drone strikes is that they occur in countries, most notably in Pakistan, where the US is not officially "at war". Undertaking strikes in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia, and targeting non-state actors the United States has expanded the boundaries of where acts of war (i.e. drone strikes) can take place, as '[p]lainly the United States is not at war with Pakistan' (Gregory, 2011a, p.241). Drone strikes now form a significant part of what was "The Global War on Terror" (GWOT) (which is now more euphemistically titled "Overseas Contingency Operations" (Burkeman, 2009)). However, whilst the Bush administration began the use of drone strikes as part of its efforts in the GWOT, it was the Obama administration who significantly increased the number and range of strikes (Serle, 2014). Despite pledging to end the 'war on terror' when he first entered office, '[d]uring his first term President Obama launched more than six times as many drone strikes as President Bush did throughout his eight years in office' (Boyle, 2013, p.2; see also Dworkin and European Council on Foreign Relations, 2013).

As a result of these strikes thousands of individuals have been killed (Serle, 2014). The US government has claimed that the majority of these individuals were high profile terrorists, whose deaths were necessary in order to protect the American homeland from attack (Ackerman, 2016; Shishkin et al., 2015). But critics argue that many of those killed were neither legitimate targets nor of strategic importance (Aslam, 2011; Taj, 2010; Kretzmer, 2005). There has also been significant variance in reports on civilian casualties, complicated by reporters' awareness of the sensitivity of international and national audiences to the killing of innocents. For example, the Bureau of Investigative Journalism estimates civilian casualties of drone strikes

in Pakistan between 423 and 965, in Yemen 65-101, in Somalia 7-47, and in Afghanistan 75-103 (TBIJ Drone Wars Casualty Estimates 17 May 2015). Further example of the variety of claims can be seen in this graph from the CIVIC report:

Figure 0.1 (Colombia Law School and Center for Civilians in Conflict, 2012, p.20)

Whilst the debate rages over whether or not drone strikes kill more or fewer civilians than terrorists (Fang, 2015; Shane, 2015), whether drone strikes create more terrorists that they kill off (Hudson et al., 2011; Swift, 2012), and whether or not the capacity to undertake strikes without the risk of losing pilots lowers the barriers to the use of force (Rogers and Hill, 2014; Dowd, 2013); there is no indication that the Obama administration has any intention of stopping or cutting down on the number of drone strikes. It is this cacophony of strikes, debate, deaths and misinformation that (mis?)informs the British public perspective of the use of Reaper drones, despite the fact that there are some significant differences between the way that the US uses the technology and the way it is utilised by the British military (Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014).

The British Case

'The British position is significantly different.' (Lee, 2015, p.121)

The UK has recently doubled its Reaper fleet from 5 to 10 and '[t]he UK's current fleet of five Reaper drones has now flown nearly 54,000 hours in Afghan operations and fired their weapons 459 times' (Ross and Woods, 2012; see also Brooke-Holland, 2015). British drones were initially used for intelligence gathering, reconnaissance, and force protection in Afghanistan (Brooke-Holland, 2015, p.13). Since then their role has been expanded to include reconnaissance missions in Libya, Syria, and Iraq; and strike campaigns in Syria and Iraq (with updated information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/update-air-strikes-against-daesh). Despite voting against the use of military force in Syria in 2013, MPs recently voted overwhelming (524-43) to allow air strikes against Islamic State, some of which are undertaken by British Reaper crews (Sparrow and Phipps, 2014; BBC, 2013). As a result, between September 2014 and March 2015 there were 40 UK Reaper missions 'in Syrian airspace', and as Islamic State has spread, British drones have also been utilised in Iraq, with 184 mission between January and March 2015 (resulting in 54 strikes) (Cole, 2015). However, it is important to note that Reaper drones are not the only aerial vehicles being used by the British, manned Tornado jets have also been flying missions and have undertaken 52% of British strikes (over Iraq) (Cole, 2015). This information re-emphasises the way in which drones are used by the British military, indicating their position as one possible tool amongst many others. However, former UK Prime Minister David Cameron commanded the use of a drone strike against two British citizens who had travelled to Syria apparently to plan terrorist attacks against the United Kingdom (Watt et al., 2015). This particular strike has concerning similarities to US strikes, in that its targets were British citizens and is considered by some to represent 'mission creep' (MacAskill, 2015). The majority of British Reaper usage has not taken the format of targeted killing campaigns, but rather fits into the more traditional understanding of Reaper as simply another part of the airpower toolkit (House of Commons Defence Committee, 2014a, p.3). British

Reapers are flown under the same rules of engagement as manned aircraft and the same legal and ethical principles apply to any kinetic engagement (that is the deploying of any missiles). A redacted statement from the Squadron Leader of one of the two British Reaper squadrons notes that there are only three scenarios in which a Reaper crew may be authorised to use kinetic force, these are:

a) 'There is true belief that there is an imminent threat to life e.g. Friendly Forces are in contact with enemy forces.

b) Real evidence of hostile intent to Coalition Forces e.g. enemy forces with weapons moving to firing points in close proximity to friendly forces.

c) Witnessing of a hostile act such as the active laying of an IED.' (In the Matter of an Appeal to the First Tier Tribunal)

Despite this apparently limited use of force, issues of ethics and legality have become increasingly important since UK Reapers have been deployed outside of the traditional theatre of war to Libya, and Syria (Chris Cole, 2015; Serle and Fielding-Smith, 2015).

Given the contentious nature of US actions the British government has sought to emphasise the difference between 'their' and 'our' use of drones: 'We consider that it is of vital importance that a clear distinction be drawn between the actions of UK Armed Forces operating remotely piloted air systems in Afghanistan and those of other States elsewhere' (House of Commons Defence Committee, 2014b). Similar conclusions were reached by the members of the Birmingham Policy Commission on *The Security Impact of Drones*, which noted as one of its key recommendations 'the case for making explicit UK policy on the legal and ethical considerations relating to RPA, including attitudes to US policy...' (Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014, p.82). Despite the desire to 'normalise' the use of British Reapers there is still a reluctance within the military to be more transparent, Chris Cole who runs the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Drone Wars has noted:

> ‘The real difference between the two types of aircraft becomes apparent when considering the reporting. While the UK is happy to report the number of Tornado aircraft taking part in strikes in Iraq and that they are flying from RAF Akrotiri in Cyprus, by contrast the UK refuses to give the number and location of UK Reaper drones taking part in strikes. This secrecy is echoed in reporting of the strikes’ (Chris Cole, 2015).

In addition, articulating the difference between the British and American approaches is complicated by the sharing of intelligence and cooperation in various missions between the United Kingdom and the United States (Ross and Ball, 2015; Shabibi and Watling, 2016). For example, the Birmingham Policy Commission report notes

> 'In all of these theatres [Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Iraq], Royal Air Force (RAF) personnel have been embedded with the United States Air Force (USAF). In operations in Afghanistan, RAF personnel have also operated independently UK-owned Reaper RPA. In both Iraq and Afghanistan, it has been confirmed that embedded personnel have used lethal force' (2014, p.44).

This quote illustrates the complex way in which the British and American use of drones has been interwoven. However, in these instances of overlapping, the Ministry of Defence has stated that British Reaper crews were permitted to refuse to undertake any missions which did not comply to British Rules of Engagement although there remain questions regarding the extent to which this system was utilised (Birmingham Policy Commission, 2014, p.44; backed up by claims in Martin, 2010).

There are indications that whilst the use of Reaper might be becoming normalised within the military, the British public remains concerned and somewhat sceptical. Indeed, the Defence Committee noted ‘[whilst] RPAS had made a significant contribution to operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, providing enhanced intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance support in addition to weapons use’ there is ‘a sense of public disquiet’ which has needs to be addressed (Brooke-Holland, 2015; House of Commons Defence Committee, 2014a, p.48). This ‘disquiet’ has implications for the crews who are tasked with operating Reaper drones.

Who/Where are the crews?

Popular media accounts of Reaper crews have provided a variety of perspectives. Reaper crews, through their connection with technology and their distance from the theatre of war, confuse our traditional stories of what it means to 'go to war', a confusion which is reflected in the defensive, and sometimes derogatory terms and tones that are used in articles about drone crews. Perhaps in the search for a catchy title, journalists have referred to Reaper crews as 'operators', 'aviators' and 'pilots' (sometimes with 'scare quotes' to make it "pilots" and to imply that their status as pilots is in question) demonstrating a public confusion over what the crews' roles actually entail (Cantwell, 2009; Mayer, 2009). Additionally more colourful articles employ monikers like 'cubicle warriors', 'armchair killers', 'long distance warriors', 'bureaucratized killers', 'cyber-warriors', 'button pushers', 'warrior geeks', 'remote control warriors', 'remote soldiers', 'office warriors' and 'techno-warriors' to draw out some of the reasons for public discomfort over the use of armed drones (Asaro, 2013; Coker, 2007a; Freeman, 2015; Alexander, 2015; Donnelly, 2005; Mulrine, 2012; The Economist, 2014; Calhoun, 2011; Royakkers and van Est, 2010). This kind of labelling matters because it constructs Reaper crews as something different from the usual air crewman/woman to something outside of our normal narratives of the heroic/brave/sexy 'Top Gun' pilot.

Perhaps as a result of the negative perceptions of their roles, and the secrecy that the Ministry of Defence (MOD) has imposed regarding their operations, I was concerned that it would be difficult to engage in discussion with former crews. However, this was not the case, and many individuals were delighted to have an opportunity to 'set the record straight.' As with all research into the experience of ex-military individuals, I felt that building a rapport with my interviewees was particularly important because of the potentially distressing nature of some of the topics of discussion (including the impact of lethal strikes and psychological trauma). Therefore, by building up trust in the discussion and letting the interviewee lead the direction I tried to avoid forcing anyone to discuss topics that they were not comfortable with. Many of my

interviewees provided anecdotal evidence of others who had found their experiences distressing but none indicated that they had experienced anything more than momentary stress themselves (except for chronic fatigue). The former crew members who I interviewed were in some cases still bound by the Official Secrets Act and therefore some of the examples that they gave me to illustrate their claims either had to be completely off record or presented in a vague or partly fictionalised manner. Where I have utilised this material, I have tried to be faithful to what I believe was the message behind what was told to me, acknowledging that this is an imperfect and necessarily partial interpretation. In addition, it is worth noting that the perspectives of the individuals may have changed as a result of their leaving the military, therefore their experiences and perspectives on those experiences may differ from those who are *currently* serving in these roles. As a final note on these issues, I have given pseudonyms to all of the individuals that I interviewed because of the contentiousness of what Reaper crews do. The majority of my interviewees requested this and it made ethical sense to apply the same protection to all. For similar reasons, I did not record any of my interviews, the quotes that are provided in this thesis represent quotes that I carefully noted down during the interview rather than transcriptions, as such it is possible that they are imperfect recordings of precisely what was said. However, I have sent the quotes which I have attributed to each individual to them prior to submitting this thesis in order to check that the interviewees were happy with my representation of our conversations.

The Shape of the Beast

The thesis is primarily concerned with how using the framework of Haunting can help to more adequately shed light on the ways that gendered discourses are destabilised and (re)inscribed through the use of novel military technologies, and the structure of the thesis reflects the way in which I make this argument. As with all research, I have had to draw arbitrary lines between some of the chapters, particularly the empirical chapters, which seem to imply a separation between their concerns. However, as becomes clear from the content of these chapters, lives,

discourses, experiences, and ghosts do not necessarily acknowledge the boundaries we draw, and therefore you will find moments of cross-reference, places where stories that seem over and done with in one chapter re-emerge in relation to another discussion. The aim of this thesis is, as previously noted, not to get rid of the ghosts that emerge through the prism of Haunting, but rather to engage them in discussion. This is not to imply that the conversations are ones that resolve, but I hope the chapters provide spaces where both scream and silence can be heard.

In Chapter 1, I review the contemporary literature on military technologies and its interactions with feminist security studies. Beginning with an outline of the literature on military technology and its importance to the wider study of warfare, I describe how this literature has portrayed technology as 'gender neutral'. Moving on, I sketch out feminist security studies interventions into the wider discussion of war, concentrating on how feminist theorising reveals the work that gender *does* in relation to technological developments in warfare. In this section I bring to the fore the gendered binaries at work and how these, specifically, are implicated in our understandings of developments in weaponry and warfare. I focus on the gendered discourses deployed when speaking about robotics in warfare, as a specific iteration of military technology, and then sift through these narratives at work in the literature on the use of armed drones. This Chapter illustrates the extent to which the literature on military technology and gender currently divide into two opposing camps: The first camp is comprised of those who argue that military technology increases the rate of feminization of the militaries that use them, an argument based on the reduction of risk apparently reducing members of those armed forces to cowardly technicians. The second camp argues that the focus on technology, and the masculine discourses which surround the development and deployment of 'high' technology reflect a techno-fetishization of the militaries in question, and result in their hyper-masculinization. I argue, as I have done in this introduction, that this opposition is reductive and unhelpful to thinking about the relationship between gender and military technology and argue that instead it is necessary to find a way to see how both these arguments can simultaneously co-exist.

Chapter 2 begins the work of introducing the *means* through which I can argue that military technologies simultaneously destabilize and (re)inscribe military masculinity (and femininity). In this chapter I introduce Avery Gordon's framework of Haunting and the wider 'spectral (re)turn' of which it is part. Focusing on Gordon's (2008) work *Ghostly Matters* I outline the different ways that ghosts are useful to understanding personhood as complex (and why it might not fit neatly into either a category of masculine or feminine), how time is not linear (the past and the present and future are all implicated in what we think and feel now, and now, and now), and how (cob)webs of power are as much created out of fiction and myth as fact (and are as much made out of the small, particular and domestic as they are made out of the universal and grand). Utilising the figure of the ghost as a figure that represents the inherent instability of binary constructions (being present whilst simultaneously absent, being silent whilst screaming, being visible whilst being invisible) I outline why I choose to add Cynthia Weber's queer logic to the framework of Haunting and how that addition is useful to understanding the way that ideas of masculinity and femininity work in discourses of military technology.

The ghost of the warrior forms the focus of Chapter 3. This ghost reveals the 'traditional' gendered discourses at work in discussions of what it means to be a member of the military, what it means to be a warrior. Tracing the warrior's varied and multiple parentage I situate these 'traditional' narratives as problematic, revealing the ways in which arguments about masculinity, and more widely about gender in this context, are not as straight forward as they first appear. I draw out different ways of seeing gender in relation to bodies, weaponry, sex and sexuality, as well as arguments about connections between birth and death (and the attendant connections between femininity and masculinity) through different iterations of the warrior. These iterations are: The Classical Greek, Brother-at-Arms, Chivalrous Gentleman, the Warrior as Lover, the Beautiful Hero and the Husband-Protector, chosen because they cover a range of historical periods, geographical, cultural, and social contexts. I do not argue that these represent

all the possible iterations of the warrior, but rather use these as illustrative of the multiple ways in which the ghost of the warrior emerges.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 draw the ghost hunt of the warrior into the specific realm of British Reaper crews. The first of these, Chapter 4, addresses perhaps the most controversial element of the armed drones that is the capacity to kill at a distance. Focused around the question of whether the warrior has a duty to kill and a duty to die, I trace the emergence of the ghost of 'the Other' and the ghost of cowardice. With the capacity to kill coded as masculine it appears that Reaper crews' masculinities are (re)inscribed by the capacity to launch missiles, however as the ghosts of this chapter reveal, it is not that simple. The ghost of 'the Other' draws attention to the inability of Reaper crews to prevent the deaths of friendly forces on the ground, with lack of intelligence or procedural restraints rendering them impotent in the face of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) or surprise attacks. The ghost of cowardice reveals the feminizing discourse of being situated at an extreme distance from the theatre of war, apparently not at risk and therefore unable to perform the heroic, physically risky role of the warrior. Through these ghosts, the chapter asks whether being a warrior means having a duty to kill and a duty to die in order to establish the necessary credentials for military masculinity.

The following chapter, Chapter 5 moves on from the focus on lethal strikes to the function of persistent surveillance in destabilizing and (re)inscribing military masculinity in British Reaper crews. Persistent surveillance is the task that Reaper crews spend their majority of time undertaking. Through Haunting, this chapter engages with issues of in/(hyper)visibility through questions about the gendered nature of the relationship between the watcher and the watched. What makes Reaper crews so interesting in answering this question is that they are positioned as both watcher (empowered/masculine) and watched (disempowered/feminised). The ghost of omniscience reveals the instability of the relationship between the watcher and masculinity (as understood as emotionally distanced) through a discussion of the trauma experienced by Reaper crews, whilst also drawing attention to the way that this masculinity can also be understood

through the sexualisation of 'drone vision' and 'predator porn'. The ghost of the watchman reflects the ways in which the Reaper crews occupy the feminised position of 'the watched' and in this section I consider the implications for the crews of being 'the most supervised platform bar none'.[7]

The final chapter asks if it is possible to be a warrior and return to the home and the domestic daily. Bringing the thesis full circle and back to the focus on the quotes that begin this introduction, Chapter 6 investigates how the blurring of boundaries of the war front and the home hearth has implications for military masculinity. This chapter traces the way that 'going away' to war is a fundamental part of constructing the warrior identity, and this haunts the crews whose commute does not take them to the dirty, dusty battlefields of Iraq or Afghanistan but rather to the clean, quiet environment of the Ground Control Station (GCS), replete with associations with the feminine. In addition, the lack of 'going away' to war impacts on the crews' access to 'decompression', an important part of maintaining a distinction between the spheres of war and the home. This chapter draws out the implications of the intrusion of war thinking into the domestic space, and also of the intrusion of domestic concerns into the battlefield. The final section of this chapter traces the way that the chronic fatigue experienced by the Reaper crews acts as a both a feminizing (in comparison with the cyborgian body of the drone) and masculinizing (in overcoming difficulty and discomfort) component of the crews' lives. This chapter draws attention to the creation of strange liminal zones of confusion in the lives of Reaper crews, disrupting time and space to produce a 'borderland' that reflects the queer logics at work in this and the other elements of the Reaper crews' lives (Anzaldúa, 2012).

Together, these chapters argue that the introduction of novel military technologies does not result in either the feminization or hyper-masculinization of the militaries that use them. Rather, this thesis demonstrates the way that gender works at a symbolic level in discourses surrounding military technologies so that these technologies serve to simultaneously destabilize

[7] Interview with 'Dan'

and (re)inscribe military masculinity. The core contribution of this thesis is that it is only through the application of Haunting as a framework (supplemented with the language of Cynthia Weber's queer logic) that we can adequately illustrate how, why and where the interactions between gender and military technologies occur, illustrating the importance of paying attention to the nuance, detail, and the particular.

CHAPTER 1: THEORISING MILITARY TECHNOLOGIES

The literature on military technologies is almost as diverse (or perhaps even more so) as the technologies themselves. Outside of the realm of the scientific, engineering and technical papers there is also a wealth of scholarship which addresses issues of importance to social science- the legal, ethical, social, psychological and cultural implications of the use of different kinds of technologies in warfare. One element which has often been overlooked, but which is of critical importance, is the work by feminist scholars on this issue. Whilst traditional security scholars have tended to view debates on gender as outside the remit of academic research into military technologies, feminist security scholars have definitively illustrated the myriad of ways and reasons that this is not the case. Instead, feminist scholarship has indicated, 'gendering' research into the use of various technologies in warfare is fundamental to understanding the implications of their use. Beyond including gender as a 'variable' and 'adding women', feminist research has sketched out the co-constitution of gender and warfare (and by extension the technologies used in these contexts). By doing so, it becomes clear that it is not only *useful* to utilise a gendered lens for these topics but *essential* if we are to fully understand how military technologies function in the social, human context of war.

The perspectives on gender interjected into the wider debates on military technologies has tended to divide itself between two opposing camps: those who view the technologies as degrading the using militaries because they are 'feminizing' and those who view the 'technofetishism' of modern warfare as a symptom of 'hypermasculinization' (Van Creveld, 2013a, 2001; Coker, 2013; Kunashakaran, 2016; Bayard de Volo, 2013). Whilst the arguments made by these scholars is compelling, as other feminist works have pointed out there are problems with establishing a phenomenon as either one thing *or* another. Therefore, in this chapter I lay out the reasons that situating military technologies as *either* feminizing *or* hypermasculinizing is problematic. I argue that these perspectives represents a hierarchical

dichotomy which poststructural feminist scholars have sought to problematize (Sjoberg, 2011; Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Therefore, what becomes clear is that there is a space in the literature for a framework which can do two things: Firstly, allow us to take gender seriously in an analysis of military technologies and the social/human activity of warfare; and secondly, *simultaneously* enable a problematization/destabilization of the gendered binaries and dichotomous thinking that emerges from discussions of the co-constitution of gender and war. In this chapter, then, I sketch out the moves through the existing academic scholarship that brought me to the position of searching for such a framework, before the following chapter outlines the framework itself.

This chapter begins by describing some of the diverse work on the impact of technological developments on the conduct of warfare. Understanding warfare and technology as having a reciprocal relationship, I draw attention to the specific area of robots in war and their impact on the 'humanity' of war. I follow this with an illustration of the importance of considering the work that gender *does* in warfare, sketching out the important contribution(s) that feminist security scholars have made to the study of war. In addition to shining a light on the spaces and places where women have stories to tell about war, and pointing out the importance of gendering *men* in warfare, this chapter outlines the importance of acknowledging the impact of gendered discourses in thinking about military technologies. I then move to pulling together these various threads to consider how feminist security scholars currently address the issues raised by the use of armed drones. As one iteration of the 'robotics' in war 'revolution', scholars have drawn upon (both explicitly and implicitly) the dualisms of gendered discourses. Through these discourses, I point to the need for a framework which is capable of embracing the complexity of these gendered discourses in ways that have not previously been adopted.

Military technologies

The development of technology has been a key component in warfare since the first projectiles were thrown (Braudy, 2005; Goldstein, 2001). As technical and scientific developments have enabled new feats of engineering the world has seen the introduction of slingshots, cross bows and long bows, guns, canons and missiles, as well as battleships, fighter jets, aircraft carriers, and armoured ground vehicles (to name but a few) (Rogers, 2011; Cook, 2000; Singer, 2011; Coker, 2013; Lambeth, 1997; Kaag and Kaufman, 2009). Beyond the importance of these developments from a *technological* perspective, there are also important ethical, legal, and human concerns which have emerged alongside the machinery (Gray, 2008; Geiβ, 2011; Casey-Maslen, 2014; Kaurin, 2010). Technology affects and changes the way that war is undertaken, changes the way that people engage in fighting, changes how people kill and are killed, changes how deaths are articulated in popular discourses, and changes how those individuals tasked with the activities of war operate and are perceived. Therefore understanding how technology is implicated in these questions is essential to understanding the much wider concern of warfare as a social, political and cultural phenomenon (Sylvester, 2013; McSorley, 2013).

The debates in this literature are grouped around specific concerns, either historical development (looking for wider trends), future-casting (sometimes accompanied by dire warnings about impending apocalypse), and grouped topics such as the ethics of the use of specific technologies in war. As commentators like Geoffrey Jensen and Ian Clark have noted, there has been a reluctance amongst military scholars to engage with the human-technology interface in war 'perhaps in part because they could not bear to turn their backs on the sort of military thinking that had dominated the more "heroic" times in which they felt most comfortable' (Jensen, 2001, p.3; Clark, 2015). Therefore in some instances the most pertinent engagements with the issues came from social scientists and political thinkers like Friedrich Engels, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber, who pointed to the interaction between, for example, the industrialisation of domestic society and the creation of war technologies (Engels, 1976;

Jensen, 2001). For those military thinkers who did wrestle with the issue of technological development there was (and remains) disagreement over the degree to which material capabilities are more or less important than elements such as nationalism, leadership, and morale (Compare for example the perspectives of Jomini, 2005; Engels, 1976; and Svechin and Lee, 2004). As such, Jensen argues that J.F.C. Fuller and B.H Liddell Hart provided important insights into the connection between military success/failure and technology, as well as commenting on the social/psychological/cultural effects of these technologies in ways which are echoed in contemporary accounts (Jensen, 2001; Fuller, 1998; Liddell Hart, 1980). Liddell Hart's statement that '"automatic warfare" … blows away romantic vapourings about the heroic values of war' is echoed in Christopher Coker's lament that 'For the true warrior, violence is existential… death had meaning. So too did honour, courage, and loyalty, all of which gave life meaning too… But by 1970… the warrior tradition was dead.' (Liddell Hart, 1980, p.33; Coker, 2002, p.7).

These and other works, therefore, act as reminders that military technologies are not created in a vacuum, but rather reflect the contexts in which they are developed and the weight of political, social and cultural history (for example McNeill, 1993; Van Creveld, 1991b). For those concerned with the historical development of military technologies, there is a substantial literature devoted to discussing weaponry: the bow and arrow (Rogers, 2011), the gun (Reichmann, 1945), landmines (Anderson, 2000; Short, 1999), cluster munitions (Rappert and Moyes, 2009; van Woudenberg, 2008), nuclear weapons (Futter, 2011; Baylis and O'Neill, 2000), and, more recently, the advent of cyberwar (Gartzke, 2013; NATO, 2003), and the use of robots in warfare (Singer, 2011; Sparrow, 2007; IKV Pax Christi, 2011). In addition to discussing the specific conditions in which certain weapons developed there is also significant interest in over-arching trends and the way that this interweaves with certain political and social contexts: for example the First World War (Newpower, 2006), the Cold War (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009;

Mahnken, 2010), and the peculiarity of the way in which the US and the UK harness technology in warfare (Brigety, 2007; Travers, 1992).

The relationship between war and technological development is complicated and co-constituting. Much time is spent by military scholars and practitioners attempting to predict both new technologies and new challenges, and how the new technologies will enable/prevent appropriate responses to the resulting new challenges, and how *these* challenges might be overcome by *other* new technologies and so on (Echevarria, 2007; McMaster, 2008; Barnaby, 1984; Beason, 2005; Coker, 2004). The need for better protection of troops and 'better' ways of killing the enemy are fed back into research and development, whilst at the same time developments in the technological sphere affect the way and means through which warfare is conducted. Referred to as 'revolutions in military affairs'[8] the impact of certain technologies in war have been heralded as changing the shape of warfare in particularly significant ways (Parker, 1996; Rogers, 1995). Different writers have indicated that different technologies have had effects that are more or less 'revolutionary'. For example, Max Boot (2007) identified four technological developments that have fundamentally changed the way that war is conducted: the advent of gunpowder, the first industrial revolution (with the advent of steam power), the second industrial revolution (with the advent of torpedoes and bombs), and the information revolution (with the advent of network-centric warfare, focusing on the impact of the computer). However, Boot's list is not considered definitive and some authors have indicated, for example, that nuclear weapons should be considered 'revolutionary' (Immerman and Goedde, 2013; Pick et al., 1969; Neuneck, 2008) along with biological weapons (Martin, 2002; Galamas, 2008), and others still have looked back into history to argue for the revolutionary impact of the longbow (Neuneck, 2008; Rogers, 2011).

[8] (Although this terminology is contested, see Sloan, 2002 for debate; Hundley, 1999; Neuneck, 2008; Rogers, 1995)

Despite this range of opinions, there is general agreement that technology and warfare have interacted (and continue to do so) in interesting and important ways. As such, Boot attempts to steer a route between technological determinism and not acknowledging the impact of changes in technology arguing, 'No technical advance by itself made a revolution, it was how people responded to technology that produced seismic shifts in warfare' (2007, p.27). This statement is echoed in P.W. Singer's observation that

> 'World war I proved to be an odd, tragic mix of outmoded generalship combined with deadly new technologies. From the machine gun and radio to the aeroplane and tank, transformational weapons were introduced in the war, but the generals could not figure out how to use them' (Singer, 2011, p.46).

It is therefore important, in a reverse situation of the earlier military scholars who eschewed detailing the impact of technological changes in preference for maintaining the myth of heroic leadership, not to let the technology itself overshadow the very human components of war. It is important not to forget that no matter whether it is by an arrow, a bullet, a missile, or a bomb; a soldier killed by any one of these is still dead. And that regardless of which of the above is deployed it is deployed by a human - whether by pressing a button, pulling a trigger, or launching a spear by hand.[9] Therefore this thesis engages with the phenomenon of military technology whilst trying to remain cognizant of the fact that war is fundamentally a human 'bodily and emotional experience', a 'politics of injury' based around the injuring and killing of other human beings (Sylvester, 2013, p.1; see also Scarry, 1987; McSorley, 2013).

Whilst Boot and others reflect back on the historical developments in warfare in order to trace wider trends (like those concerned specifically with the introduction of gunpowder, or the atomic bomb), this thesis is concerned with the specific implications of the introduction of robotics into warfare. I focus on this area because it is particularly salient and timely given the recent and rapid increase in the number and types of robots utilised in warfare (for example

[9] The issue of autonomous weapons is one which for now remains theoretical, and is beyond the primary concerns of this thesis, embedded in its own huge, detailed and hotly debated literature(s).

Singer, 2011; Sparrow, 2007; The Economist, 2012). The academic literature on the introduction of robots to the battlefield has ranged widely from considerations of ethics, legality, autonomy, strategic effectiveness, and political implications (see Asaro, 2008; Pagallo, 2011; Danielson, 2011; Roff, 2014; Stone, 2004; Simpson, 2011b). In discussions replete with references to *The Terminator* (1984) and *The Matrix* (1999) amongst other sci-fi and dystopian movies, commentators herald the era of the robot with a mixture of glee and terror (Sparrow, 2007; The Economist, 2012; Matthew, 2015). Many of these commentators identify the 'non-humanness' of robots as problematic in war: Some argue that robots will be unable to act ethically and morally because of their 'non-humanness', whereas some argue that this means that they could be *more* ethical in their actions (lacking the human emotions of rage, jealousy and desire for revenge) (Sparrow, 2007; Asaro, 2008; IKV Pax Christi, 2011; Evangelista et al., 2014). Aaron Johnson and Sidney Axinn (2013), amongst others, argue that robots should never be allowed to kill because this is a violation of human dignity (because the robot is not human) and therefore a violation of the laws relating to warfare. The apparent *substitution* of warriors (rather than the *extension* of the human through the robot) with robots is viewed as problematically connected with the decline in valour, the 'warrior spirit', and the subjective, emotional, and transcendental elements of warfare (Coker, 2002, 2007a; Baggiarini, 2015; Vallor, 2013). This apparent reduction in human *agency* in war is one that has galvanised the campaign against killer robots, which focuses on the future development of autonomous robots with the capacity to undertake lethal strikes (Sparrow, 2016; Sharkey, 2011, 2008). This thesis does not engage with the thorny and predictive issues regarding robotic autonomy. That topic is several theses on its own. Rather it looks at the issues of the use of robots, *as they currently are*, in warfare, with a focus on a specific kind of military robot that is the drone.

As previously noted, robots have been introduced in a range of different military roles, from ground vehicles that diffuse improvised explosive devices (IEDs), to underwater surveillance robots (Singer, 2011). However, the area of warfare that has seen by far the largest explosion of

'robots', is the area of unmanned or remotely-piloted aerial vehicles, also called drones. Understood by Boot as part of information revolution, Singer argues for the specific significance of drones, describing them as 'the most important weapons development since the atomic bomb' (2011, p.10; see also Coker, 2013). However, whilst the topic of drones has sparked massive debate and garnered a rapidly growing body of literature of its own, - the *human* interaction with drones is one area that is currently under-investigated. If the problem with robots in warfare is, at least in part, because of their 'non-humanness' then it behoves us to look carefully at the areas where the humans *are* involved with the use of military robots. Whilst the discussion on the use of military technologies has resulted in debate across the academic spectrum from law to ethics, to politics and cultural studies, as well as engineering and computer science; this thesis approaches the issues from the perspectives of security studies as part of the wider academic discipline of International Relations. Specifically, this thesis speaks from and to the scholars that comprise feminist security studies. This is because, when we speak about human interactions with technology, the humans that we encompass in those statements are always already marked with a criss-crossing of identifiers that affect how people can and do behave. One of the most powerful of these identifiers is that of gender, and it is this that forms the primary concern for feminist scholars. The following section then goes on to outline the importance of gendering security studies more generally before moving on to sketching out the work done by feminist security scholars on military technologies in particular.

Feminist Interjections

Military scholars and the sub-discipline of security studies has traditionally been concerned with the conduct of war, with strategic decisions made by leaders and with the conditions of the international system (Barkawi, 2011; Burgess, 2010; Hansen, 2009; Peoples, 2010; Williams, 2008). However, feminist theorists have pointed out that this conceptualisation of security is limited and ignores the important human component of security studies (Tickner, 1992). As the UN 'Human Development Report' points out

> 'The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression … Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives… For most people, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event…' (1994, pp.22–23)

Therefore, taking the human seriously in terms of security topics means taking seriously the social and cultural structures that influence individual action and restrict agency. One of these structures, and the one which is of primary concern to feminist scholars is gender. Gender is important to international relations and security because 'there is a structure to the international system and that structure cannot be understood without gender analysis' (Sjoberg, 2012a, p.3). From a feminist perspective gender can be understood as having an effect in multiple ways. It is something that can be understood as marking individual bodies, as something that affects how individuals and groups behave, and an analytical category (Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Thinking about gender in this way means that we can usefully apply a gender lens to problems at various different levels of International Relations and security studies to help understand conceptualisations of International Relations, as well as thinking about how to solve security problems and to promote 'positive change in the security realm' (Sjoberg, 2011, p.600; Steans, 2013).

Too often, mainstream security studies has expected gender theorists to provide a single 'gender' or 'feminist' perspective on a topic of interest, Marysia Zalewski, for example, sighs over the question 'Well, what is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?' (1995)[10] and Jill Steans notes that

> 'mainstream scholars assumed that standpoint theorists worked with settled and rather essentialist notions of gender, opening up the way for the introduction of a 'gender

[10] This has also been a critique of work within the sphere of feminist security studies, whereby academics have appeared to try to speak for all women or for all feminists (Marchand, 1998; Steans, 2013; Peterson, 1992b; Pettman, 1996; Mohanty, 2003)

> variable', rather than more postpositivist and gender-destabilising perspectives (Steans, 2003, p.437).

Historically there has also been a tendency to minimise the scope of what feminist's study to 'women's issues' (Tickner, 1997; Sjoberg, 2012a) and, even after years of debate, feminist scholars note that traditional security scholars[11] have been reluctant to embrace gender analyses because there is a perception that 'gender' has little to do with '"real-world" problems' (Tickner, 1997, p.612). This perception occurs partly because some[12] traditional security scholars believe two things: that the world of 'real' security has little to do with women, and also because they believe that 'gender' only refers to women, both of which (as I go on to illustrate) are incorrect (Tickner, 1997; Zalewski, 1993; Weber, 1994; Carver, 1996)[13]. As such, Jill Steans claims that

> 'At best mainstream scholars have engaged selectively with feminist IR, ignoring or even disparaging the work of scholars who work with unsettled notions of gender and gendered subjectivities, while selectively engaging with those scholars who seemingly worked with stable and unproblematic gender categories'. (Steans, 2003, p.430)

Similarly, Christine Sylvester also talks about this when she states 'IR is implicitly wedded to an unacknowledged and seemingly commonplace principle that international relations is the proper homestead or place for people called men', and yet women *are* involved in all parts of international relations, as the following section goes on to illustrate (1994, p.4).

[11] For example see (Keohane, 1989; Jones, 1996)

[12] I want to avoid implying that 'IR has been and continues to be wholly dominated by positivists' who brook no counter argument, however, following Jill Steans, it is 'meaningful to speak of the dominance of realism and latterly neo-realism within the field…' (2003, p.429)

[13] Indeed conceptualising 'gender' as synonymous with women ignores a vast and vibrant body on masculinities (for example Connell, 2005; Hooper, 2001; Hockey, 2003; Allsep, 2013; Barrett, 1996; Baaz and Stern, 2009; Ashworth and Swatuk, 1998; Zalewski and Parpart, 1998)

Where are the Women?

Feminist scholars, like Cynthia Enloe (2000), have pointed out that women are present in much of international relations, but have simply been ignored. Utilising Enloe's question, 'Where are the women?', other scholars have all contributed to seeing women as part of the story of international relations by drawing out their distinctive stories and experiences (Moon, 1999; Goldstein, 2001; Smith, 1993). As V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan have pointed out, women have had many roles in international security, but these are obscured because women's roles have tended to be in the background as wives or carers, or in informal organisations such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) rather than in governments (2010, p.9). Additionally women have been victims of the violence that occurs as a result of war and instability between states (the traditional remit of security studies) and it has been important to feminist scholars to provide a platform for enabling these marginalised voices to be heard, for women's stories to become part of the discourses that are heard about war, and what it means to be a part of violent conflict (Pettman, 1996; Afshar and Eade, 2004; D'Costa et al., 2006; Enloe, 1993). Putting women back into security studies is not just about women's victimhood, but is also important in highlighting and talking about women's agency: 'Women are capturing hostages, engaging in suicide bombings, hijacking aeroplanes, and abusing prisoners' and it is necessary to find ways of speaking about and making sense of these phenomena (Sjoberg, 2007, p.1; see also Shepherd, 2010). Making sense of women's violence means not only understanding it in pathological contexts of criminality (Downing, 2013), but also in the context of organised and state sanctioned violence when women engage as combatants; be that as soldiers (for example Baaz and Stern, 2011; Kennedy-Pipe, 2000; Just, 2006; Kronsell, 2012; MacKenzie, 2012; Stachowitsch, 2012), insurgents/guerrillas (Enloe, 1993; Sjoberg, 2010b) or terrorists (Gronnvoll and McCauliff, 2013; Rajan, 2011; Schweitzer and Merkaz Yafeh le-meḥḳarim asṭraṭegiyim, 2006; Marway, 2011).

From these and other works, it is clear that women are, and always have been, heavily involved in the key topics of security studies, both as victims and agents of violent conflict. Feminist scholars have illuminated women's lives and experiences in ways that have helped to paint a more complete picture of the subject of war, sensitive to the issue of gender through the inclusion of women. However, this is only part of the story. A 'gender' analysis within security studies is not *just* about putting women back in the picture.

Gendering Men

As Carver notes, 'Gender is not a synonym for women' (Carver, 1996; see also Zalewski and Parpart, 1998)[14]. Men are gendered too and whilst Enloe did important work in pointing out that women were and are important to any 'war stories', this is not the same thing as implying that the only way that gender appears in war stories is in the experiences of women (Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Carver, 2008; Sjoberg, 2011). Gender is inherent in the structure of the international system, in terms of leadership in politics, in terms of key concepts in security studies like the state, and in terms of what constitutes a 'legitimate' security issue (Sjoberg, 2011; Hooper, 2001; Griffin, 2009).

Most of the topics that I have included in my outline of feminist works have so far been primarily concerned with the lives and experiences of women. However, it is possible, and indeed very necessary, to do a feminist gender analysis of the lives and experiences of men *as men*. As such, doing a gender analysis means paying attention to the way that the power of gender infuses the lives of *both* men *and* women. It means revealing the disconnect between masculinity and men and femininity and women; and highlighting the ways that these socially constructed ideas of what it means to be a man or a woman are not unchanging or immutable but something that can and does change across time and social/cultural context (Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Many feminists now subscribe to the idea that gender is socially constructed. To argue that gender is

[14] Just as 'men are not synonymous with humanity but have a socially constructed gender with no special claim to physical or mental superiority…' (Ramazanoglu, 1992, p.340)

socially constructed is to argue that there is 'no "essence" to gender', that there is nothing inherent in male or female biology that connects with masculinity or femininity (Shepherd, 2008a; 2010). As such, this thesis follows Christine Sylvester's perspective on the social construction of gender:

> 'When speaking of "men" and "women", it is important to establish from the outset that I do not pose these gender categories as permanent, immutable, determinant, and essential. Rather, I see "men" and "women" as socially constructed subject statuses that emerge from a politicization of slightly different anatomies in ways that support grand divisions of labour, traits, places, and power. By "socially constructed" I mean that men and women are the stories that have been told about "men" and "women"…' (1994, p.4)

Therefore, being a 'man' or a 'woman,' is less about the body that you have and more about the 'stories' that are told that enable us to make sense of the categories of 'man' and 'woman', and 'male' and 'female', and 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Gender is constructed in language, in how men and women are spoken about, and this construction is profoundly political because it polices the ways that individuals are allowed to behave in a manner that invites violence in the case of transgression (Zalewski, 2000; Butler, 2011). From this perspective 'humans/subjects create meaning and intelligibility through the mutual construction of symbols, languages, identities, practices and social structures' (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.44). This does not mean that the real physical world does not exist, but rather that we impose meanings on things through social interpretation. Gender then becomes, not the markings on the body but 'socially learned behaviours, repeated performances, and idealized expectations that are associated with and distinguish between the proscribed gender roles of masculinity and femininity'; produced by repetition of certain actions, by what is said, and by what is done (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.2; Butler, 1999). In this way masculinity and femininity become discourses of gender.

In this context discourses are discursive practices which 'delineat[e] the terms of intelligibility whereby a particular reality can be "known" and acted upon' (Doty, 1996, p.6). The 'stories' that Sylvester refers to are discourses, not just because they are stories that are spoken or written,

but because they are 'stories' that are reproduced through action, that acquire meaning through repetition, and through practice as much as from the bodies that they are applied to (Sylvester, 1994). By de-coupling the concept of gender from biological sex we can argue that men 'acting as' men are not doing so because they are 'inherently' 'men' or that there is some innate 'maleness'. Similarly, women are not 'naturally' 'women' or channelling a biological 'femininity'. Taking this perspective disrupts the idea that men have some 'essence' that makes them better soldiers, leaders, or politicians; opening up the scope for women to be involved in these roles and making women's involvement in these roles intelligible (Zalewski and Parpart, 1998; Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Shepherd, 2008a; Sjoberg, 2007).

Gender and Military Technologies

Narratives of masculinity and femininity are reflected in discourses on military technologies. Some feminist and gender theorists have engaged directly with ideas, symbols, and discourses of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality in relation to military technologies, particularly weapons. Carol Cohn's work on US nuclear defence intellectuals is perhaps the most well-known and explicit in its findings. In *Sex and Death in the world of Rational Defense Intellectuals* (1987) Cohn sketches a range of ways that gendered themes appear. She notes, for example, the use of 'techno-strategic language' as a means of distancing the topic of discussion from the true horror of the use of a nuclear weapon, outlining the way 'rationality' as a masculine attribute is preferred to acknowledging the possible outcomes in emotional language (which is coded as feminine).[15] Gendered discussions are also wreathed in references to sex and sexuality. Cohn charts references to missiles 'releasing 70 to 80 percent of our megatonnage in one orgasmic whump', that are also referred to as 'penetrators' alongside discussions of the similarity between the 'loss of virginity' and the development of the first nuclear weapons, and with the

[15] Cohn recalls one male physicist blurting out in a group meeting 'Wait, I've just heard how we're talking-*Only* 30 million! *Only* 30 million human beings killed instantly?', he recalled later that 'Silence fell upon the room. Nobody said a word. They didn't even look at me. It was awful. I felt like a woman.' (Cohn et al., 2006, p.4)

identification of functional bombs as boys and the duds as girls, and on and surprisingly on (Cohn, 1987, p.693).

Core themes in Cohn's work include the connection between masculinity and death as the inverse of the connection between the feminine and the capacity to give birth; the implicit references to sex and sexuality in discourses on dominance, protection, and watching; as well as the *power* associated with possessing a weapon being linked to discourses of dominance and masculinity. These themes are also picked up by other feminist and gender scholars and in a multiplicity of ways. Where Cohn focuses on the work gender is doing for the way that weapons are *talked* about, Joshua Goldstein (2001) argues for a connection between the way weapons are *used* and gender pointing to the phallic symbolism between the thrust of a sword or spear and the penetration of a body by the penis. Expanding on this idea Goldstein draws on the work of Dave Grossman who noted that 'carrying a gun was like having a permanent hard-on' (Goldstein, 2001, p.349; Grossman, 2009 Kindle Location 2333). The link between the gun and 'having a permanent hard-on' may be construed partly as a result of the similarity in shape of the muzzle of the gun and the shape of the penis, but also because of the connection between penetration and power (Braudy, 2005). One of the (many) reasons that rape is a weapon of war is because it represents an intimate form of dominance. And whilst I strongly disagree with the statement, Arthur Brittain's argument that a 'man is only a man in so far as he is capable of using his penis as an instrument of power' is instructive (1989, pp.46–47).

The connection between masculinity and sex and death, as noted by Cohn (1987), is reflected in comments that connect the process of killing with orgasm or loss of virginity. Attacking is described as 'the most exciting thing since getting my leg across' and the 'enormous pleasure and satisfaction' of a stream of bullets rushing out of the machine gun is likened to 'the orgasmic discharge' (Grossman, 2009 Kindle locations 2334-2346). Returning briefly to Cohn's work, she describes the column written by Retired U.S. Air Force General Ross Milton as having the tone

> ‘of a man whose advances have been spurned… he also feels outraged- after all, this is a woman we have *paid* for, who *still* will not come across. He suggests we withdraw our goods and services- and then we will see just how long she tried to hold onto her virtue’ (Cohn, 1987, p.696).

Rendering the connection between sex, weapons, and dominance explicit.

Looking beyond the advent of the machine gun and the nuclear weapon, feminist scholars have engaged with the gendering of new and novel technologies. The use of robotics in warfare, which forms the focus of this thesis, is an area of growing interest within feminist security studies. The introduction of robotics adds a new ‘actor’ into the dyad of ‘just warrior’ and ‘beautiful soul’ (Elshtain, 1995), challenging traditional narratives regarding who is the protector and who is protected. Indeed, Cristina Masters argues that ‘the constitution of the cyborg solider is a radical rearticulation of subjectivity’, because the technology has the capacity to displace the masculine as the ‘subject capable of the discursive transcendence of embodiment’ with implications for how wars are conducted, against whom and with what outcomes (Masters, 2010, p.4)

Perhaps the most well-known exploration of this issue is Donna Haraway’s (1991) *Cyborg Manifesto*. There is not space here to unpack Haraway’s work in all its creative detail, nor to engage in a complete review of the various debates that it has spawned (see for example Hamilton, 1997; Rayner, 1994; Gray, 1995). However, the figure of the cyborg is an important part of feminist thinking about technology, and this has applications for the consideration of military technologies. Haraway’s cyborg is ‘a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction’, a blend of human and machine, and of social and scientific (1991, p.149). This blended entity, Haraway argues, has liberatory promise: the potential to disrupt gendered and heterosexed binaries, acting as ‘an imaginative resource’ for a ‘post-gender world’ (1991, pp.149–150). As Hamilton describes, ‘feminist cybertheory employs the notion of body/machine coupling to explore, in some way, tensions between gender and technology’ (1997, p.110). This fusion/morphing/integration of

the body of the soldier/warrior (with all the terminologies sexed/gendered implications) with weaponry/protective technologies forms the focus of this thesis.

Where Donna Haraway heralded the emancipatory potential of the cyborg for taking us beyond the masculine/feminine binary, other authors have expressed concerns. In direct response to Haraway, Mary Manjikian argues that whilst we have yet to fully explore and understand the implications of battlefield robotics, 'traditional gendered concepts of warfare have a long history and it is not inevitable that new technologies will change gendered activities, relations and views of war' (2013, p.48). There is the potential for transformation but we should not necessarily expect this to result in post-gender betterment, as such she argues:

> 'The old dyad of protector/protected could be transformed when both men and women are protected by robots. If we accept Butler's (1990) argument that gender is performative, then the warfighter (whether male or female) might be coded as female, since he or she is now a passive agent requiring protection which is actively provided by a machine…' (Manjikian, 2013, p.50).

Writing specifically about the robotic phenomenon of military drones, Lauren Bayard de Volo argues that 'the new weaponry renders courage and physical strength nearly irrelevant, [so that] the traditionally valorised masculine attributes associated with heroism are eclipsed' with important implications for how gender and war interact (2013, p.23). This perspective represents one side of the two which frame the existing feminist debate on the use of drones, the literature to which this thesis seeks to contribute. On this 'side', as Bayard de Volo argues, the use of weaponised drones erodes traditional military masculinity, the identity of the warrior. The result, some commentators argue, is a 'feminization', associated with the degradation, of the using militaries (Coker, 2002; Van Creveld, 2013a). Reflecting the construction of masculinity and femininity as mutually oppositional, the other side of the argument is that the use of drones produce precisely the opposite effect - that is the 'hyper- masculinisation' - of the using militaries (Kunashakaran, 2016). The following sections will then outline these opposing

perspectives and sketch out the ways that I think they are limited and how this project aims to address the limitations.

The co-constitution of gender and war can be explored through the designation of masculinity and femininity as a hierarchical binary so that the terms can only be understood in relation to each other and as mutually exclusive. For example, masculinity is what is not femininity and vice versa (Shepherd, 2010; Steans, 2013). Also, because the binary is hierarchical masculinity is valorised, meaning that those things associated with femininity are subordinated to those associated with masculinity (Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Carver, 2006). Peterson and Runyan describe this as the problem of 'the status of dichotomies' whereby the masculine attributes are 'considered desirable, admirable, and preferred whereas … [the feminine] are variously understood as less desirable, inferior, and/or threatening to the esteemed qualities of [the masculine]' (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.46).

Dichotomies (or binaries) are powerful because they provide short cuts for thinking, and this means that they become used more often, and the assumptions that they are founded on become taken for granted and naturalised (Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Also, binaries are connected to terms that have powerful regulatory effects, for example as Charlotte Hooper notes: 'order/chaos, sovereignty/anarchy, which are mapped onto the gendered distinctions so that order is associated with order and sovereignty (which is associated with safety and security) and the feminine with chaos and anarchy' (2001, p.199). Because binaries offer us only two choices, and two choices that are mutually exclusive, they 'forestall our consideration of non-oppositional constructions [such as] right in relation to plausible, persuasive, preferable, viable; rational in relation to consistent, instrumental' etc., closing down a whole host of possible alternatives because we become locked into the pattern of thinking either/or (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.50). Similarly, because we see the two choices presented as polar opposites we forget to see the hierarchy that is implicit between them and their contingency on a specific cultural and historical setting so that 'their meanings appear fixed, timeless, and independent of

context' (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.50). This apparent fixedness makes it difficult to question binaries as they create the perspective that the difference between the two terms is 'natural' and therefore change is neither possible nor desirable (Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Poststructural feminists have sought to acknowledge the political power of binary labels whilst simultaneously questioning them. As such, Sylvester's describes poststructural feminists as 'appreciators of the many ways we stand in space or moments of identity and look at other identity allegiances within ourselves and our context of knowledge with an empathetic-critical gaze' (1994, p.213).

Jean Bethke Elshtain's (1995) work on the 'Just Warrior' and 'Beautiful Soul' illustrates how the ideas of masculinity and femininity are mapped onto institutions like the military, and how the legitimacy bestowed on the military in its enacting of violence reflects the ideas of what is and is not gender 'appropriate' (Sjoberg, 2010a). The military body, rather than military bodies, is constructed as masculine; it is 'contained' and impenetrable, 'ready for action, and always under control' (Taylor et al., 1993, p.22). Not for the military the 'weak and leaky' feminine body (Basham, 2013). According to traditional narratives, women become the reason for going to war, but are not considered appropriate figures in the war. Women can be victims of war, but never perpetrators. As a result, women's' violence is pathologised where men's' is, within the frame of war, celebrated as heroic (Elshtain, 1995; Sjoberg, 2007; Goldstein, 2001). This is not to argue that women are less violent and that men are more violent, rather this means that in discourses of war, -masculinity is associated with action, strength, and violence, and femininity with passivity, victimhood, and weakness (Braudy, 2005, p.328).

One way of exploring the power of these binaries in discourses in war, and their limitations, is through the disruptive figure of the female solider. Because traditional security narratives essentialize the connection between sex and gender (that is they implicitly connect being a man with masculinity and being a woman with femininity) discourses surrounding women soldiers are complicated and confused (Howard III and Prividera, 2004; Just, 2006; MacKenzie, 2012).

Feminist scholars have illustrated this confusion through the narratives used in the rescue of Private Jessica Lynch. Lynch was captured by Iraqi soldiers in 2003 and was 'rescued' by (all male) US forces after nine days of captivity (Just, 2006). Lynch's capture and subsequent rescue provided two key moments that reinforced gender discourses. Firstly, as a (female) prisoner of war, in the hands of dangerous (sexually deviant) 'brown' men, commentators speculated that she was at risk of being raped - (re)inscribing her body as both sexual and open to penetration (Richter-Montpetit, 2007). The presence of 'brown' captors served to heighten concerns about sexual assault, and so powerful was this narrative that even after Lynch subsequently vociferously denied any sexual harassment by her captors, the story continued to circulate (Pin-Fat and Stern, 2005). Secondly, by 'getting herself captured', Lynch established herself in the (feminine) role of 'passive victim' and enabled American soldiers to reaffirm their masculinity through enacting the role of her heroic protectors and rescuers (Howard III and Prividera, 2004; Pin-Fat and Stern, 2005). From the accounts of Jessica Lynch as both a soldier and a 'victim', it becomes clear that her position as both masculine (soldier) and feminine (victim) in dominant discourses is difficult to navigate.

I am interested in the way that Lynch's story was told because the discomfort with the erosion of gendered boundaries is also at work in the lives of British Reaper crews. Additionally, whilst Lynch's experiences can and have been viewed as reinforcing patriarchal hierarchies in the US military, British Reaper crews can be viewed as *both* reinforcing *and* destabilizing traditional narratives of military masculinity. Therefore, having outlined the importance of acknowledging the role that dichotomous thinking plays in discourses of gender and sketched out some of the ways that feminist theorising uses this to illuminate topics relating to warfare and military technologies, I turn now to the gender literature that deals specifically with the military technology of 'drones'. This debate is framed in terms of whether the use of drones acts as a feminizing or masculinizing influence on the using militaries, but, as I will illustrate this thinking

is limited and cannot explain the ways in which drones are *simultaneously both* feminizing and masculinizing.

Gendered Logics: Feminization/Masculinization

In order to outline the arguments that drones erode masculinity and result in the 'feminization' of the using forces it is necessary to quickly layout what I mean when I use the term 'feminization'. Whilst it is often connected to the introduction of women to the military sphere (beyond the traditional roles of camp follower, adoring stay-at-home wife etc.), 'feminization' refers instead to the degradation of the military (the work it does, the people who are part of it etc.) (Coker, 2000). Feminization is connected to degradation through the hierarchy associated with masculinity and femininity, with the valorisation of the former resulting in a corresponding demeaning of the latter. Given that war is the traditional preserve of the male (as well as the masculine) the introduction of women into this hallowed space is associated with the introduction of the lesser-valued/degrading feminine (Mitchell, 1989; Van Creveld, 2001, 2013a). As Kimberly Hutchings aptly phrases it,

> 'feminization has a double meaning. On one hand, feminization refers to the fact that there are not many more women in the professional militaries of advanced industrial societies; on the other hand, feminization refers to a process of decline in the capacity to engage in so-called real war' (2007, p.395).

Feminization, then, may be understood as a process of moving towards a constellation of attributes that compare unfavourably with the masculine. In relation to war this includes attributes that are not considered conducive to being able to successfully wage war- cowardice, weakness, emotionality. In relation to technologies of war, those technologies that might be considered 'feminizing' are those which encourage (or at least do not discourage) the feminine attributes listed above.

The opposite to feminization is masculinization which may be understood as the process of increasing in traits associated with masculinity and it is worth pausing here for a moment to take a brief detour through that concept. Paul Higate summarises masculinity as 'a diverse cluster of relational values, beliefs, performances and ideologies' (2012, p.31), and as such, is 'not a coherent object' (Connell, 2005, p.67). However, given its relationship to femininity, we can understand masculinity as those things which femininity is not: bravery, strength, rationality (Higate, 2012, p.31; Hutchings, 2007). This is not to argue, as I have noted before, that *women* cannot be brave, strong or rational or that *men* cannot be cowardly, weak or emotional, but rather than these traits have become part of the stories that we tell about what it *means* to be a man or a woman (Sylvester, 1994).

There are many different kinds of masculinity[16] and recent work in this area has revealed a complex and shifting web of *masculinities* (for example Connell, 2005; Hooper, 2001; Brittan, 1989; Barrett, 1996; Zalewski and Parpart, 1998). This thesis is concerned with military masculinity/ies and how masculinity is implicated in the experiences of war (Hockey, 2003; Higate, 2012; Barrett, 1996). This/These masculinity/ies reflect the particular experiences and landscape of the military and its interaction with gender (Goldstein, 2001), and refers to 'a wide range of behaviours including aggressive, rational, courageous, cool, calculating, chivalrous, protective, and emotionally expressive' (Higate, 2012, p.32; see also Morgan, 1994a, pp.391–2). Masculinization in war is then the process through which these particular traits become valorised and more nearly associated with the appropriate military performance of masculinity, as Coker notes 'warriors are no good if they are emasculated' (2013, p.48).

I refer in this thesis to masculinity, particularly in relation to military masculinity, in the singular not because I perceive it to be monolithic, but rather to highlight the relationship between masculinity and femininity which forms the primary dyad around which this thesis is constructed. Additionally, I refer to military masculinity over masculinities because I am

[16] This is also true of femininity, although this is not the focus of the thesis

referring to the particular military masculinity performed by British Reaper crews. Finally, I utilise masculinity in the singular simply to maintain grammatical and textual simplicity, to avoid continually references to "This/These masculinity/ies" as written above. In reading the singular 'masculinity' (and of course femininity) through-out the rest of this text, I ask you as the reader to keep in mind the multidimensional nature of the concept and the implications of this, which is extensively explored and reviewed in the masculinities literature (for example Connell, 2005; Hooper, 1998; Donaldson, 1993; Whitworth, 2005; Lee, 2009; McCarry, 2007).

From this definitional detour, let us return to the topic at hand: the gendered logics applied to the military use of drones. Commentators who decry the use of drones because they see them as eroding military masculinity are not always explicit about the connection with gender. Concern about the lack of (physical) risk to drone crews is connected to a concern about an attendant loss of valour, courage, and heroism (Coker, 2013; Vallor, 2013; Baggiarini, 2015). As the previous sections have illustrated, these are all attributes associated with masculinity, and particularly with military masculinity. The 'armchair killers' of Colin Freeman's (2015) report (also referred to as 'the chair force' (Gusterson, 2014; Power, 2013)) are uncomfortable figures because they do not conform to our idea of what it means to be a soldier or a warrior. Rather, they spend all day sat in (arm)chairs watching 'predator porn'. Similarly, the physical environment in which drone crews operate, Manjikian writes, is 'pure and unsullied', a description 'which has historically been coded as feminine' and which is the polar opposite to the usual chaos, dirt, and squalor associated with war (2013, p.52; see also Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Kunashakaran, 2016). Wilcox takes this further by arguing that

> 'The drone operator is also "unmanned" because he is frequently stationed not in the war zone, but in the feminized space of the "home front" and is kept out of danger' (2015b, p.135).

Whilst I will challenge the perception of risklessness in Chapter 4, this narrative is an important one to arguments of feminization and one which I elaborate in the following paragraphs.

There are concerns that killing by drone is too easy (Coeckelbergh, 2013; Sauer and Schornig, 2012). The ease of killing is both a moral question (is it unethical for killing to be easier? (Grossman, 2009; Cole et al., 2010)) and a gendered one - easy killing does not require courage or physical strength, it erodes the status of those individuals who have risked life and limb in order to undertake what is considered to be a difficult and hallowed task (Kaurin, 2014; Coker, 2002). The drone crews, it is argued, erode the status of the warrior by killing at the push of a button, they do not have to get down and dirty, grapple with the enemy or look him (or her) squarely in the eye before killing him (Mayer, 2009; Asaro, 2013; Royakkers and van Est, 2010). For example, infantry veteran Scott Beauchamp (2016) argues that the lack of 'existential tension' in the lives of Reaper crews renders this format of war a 'particular form of martial law' rather than *real* conflict. This kind of argument, that drone warfare is something less than, or other than *real* warfare (and therefore the individuals who conduct it are not *real* warriors) is reflected by a number of other authors, particularly those who connect warfare with physical risk (Chamayou and Lloyd, 2015; Luttwak, 1995; Riza, 2013; Mayer, 2009)

The symbolic importance of the warrior's body is central to concerns that using drones will result in the feminization of the armed forces that use them. Without risking his body the warrior does not have to overcome his fear of injury and death, which it is argued is central to the position of war as 'the traditional test of manhood' (Coker, 2013, p.73). The test is passed, Coker argues, by 'standing firm under fire, man to man', supporting your comrades by not running away (or being a coward) and presumably by not dying (2013, p.73; see also Duncanson, 2007; Morgan, 1994a; Hockey, 2003). Risk is a 'a key component of both hegemonic masculinity (Hinojosa 2010) and the warrior's identity', and the (apparent) lack of physical risk to drone crews is a barrier to their performance of masculinity (Manjikian, 2013, p.52). I explore this issue of risk and lack of risk in relation to masculinity and the warrior identity in Chapter 3, but suffice to say here that the inability of drone crews to risk life and limb is a core component of the arguments of those who are concerned about feminization.

Counter to the claims of those who are concerned about feminization are those scholars who see the drone as threatening because it heralds, or highlights, hyper-masculinization in the armed forces. Sumita Kunashakaran (2016), who makes this argument, views hyper-masculinization as a process through which those traits associated with masculinity are *particularly* valorised, to an extent that is even greater than usual. In Kunashakaran's (2016) piece she argues for this hyper-masculinization on the basis of two elements: firstly the identification of the drones themselves as hyper-masculine and secondly, on the basis of the crews becoming hyper-masculinized.

In traditional dualisms the body has been associated with the feminine, where the masculine is associated with the mind. Therefore, drones are construed as hyper-masculine because of their disconnection from the physical body in two main ways. Firstly, with their lack of an on-board pilot, drones have 'the ability to operate in the field for lengthened periods of time without expensive redundancies and life-support systems' (Kunashakaran, 2016, p.44). Without a body on board, and without the need to cater to the requirements of the flesh, the drone becomes the equivalent of a flying mind, the 'embodiment' of the masculine 'rational' (Wilcox, 2015b). Envisioning the drone as a form of cyborg, this argument also associates the drone with the cultural side of the hierarchical dualism natural/cultural, where the cultural is constructed as a masculine trait (Masters, 2005). Similarly, Roff claims that '[t]he humanoid robot fighter is the ideal of masculinity in western culture, for it represents an "independent, risk-taking, aggressive, heterosexual and rational" being free from any weakness…' (2016, p.2). Therefore, where Haraway (1991) argues for the cyborg as post-human and post-gender, Masters and others instead view the 'cyborg solider' as the point at which '*technology* embodies *masculinity*', rendering the human soldier the feminized other (2005, p.113).

Secondly, hypermasculinity is also constructed through the drone's capacity to 'stare'. As is explored in more detail in Chapter 5 persistent surveillance by the drone (albeit mediated through the human crews) situates the drone as the masculine watcher in relation to the

feminized spectacular 'Other' on the ground (Holmqvist, 2013; Kindervater, 2016; Wall and Monahan, 2011; Carver, 2008; Smith, 2016). Additionally, the 'hyper-vision' of the drone is beyond human capabilities, the technologies outstripping the efforts of even 'the best' warriors. As such the drone demonstrates the masculine traits of 'efficiency and proficiency' in ways that the human warriors are not able to do so (Kunashakaran, 2016, p.54).

Whilst it is interesting to investigate the drone *machinery* as masculine, this thesis is more concerned with Kunashakaran's (2016) second argument, which centres around the hyper-masculinization of the crews themselves. Here the argument is that the physical remoteness of the drone crews is equated with emotional remoteness, analogous to the stoicism and emotional reserve construed as a hyper-masculine warrior trait (Higate, 2012; Coker, 2007a). Masculinity is also conveyed through visual dominance, so that the situation of the drone *above* the individuals who are being watched can be construed as not just confirming the masculinity of the drone, but also of the crews. The 'drone stare' and the 'subjugation of those marked Other', reaffirms the masculine status of the crews who are situated in the position of power watching those 'Others' who become the feminized spectacular other, through a surveillance described as 'penetrative' (Holmqvist, 2013, p.452; Wanenchak, 2013; Moraine, 2013). Similarly, as Wilcox argues,

> 'the "disembodiment" of the pilot also means that he is not confined to the particularities and limited vision of his body; the satellite systems and the drone's video cameras mean that the bomber's eye view is the God's eye view of objectivity' (Wilcox, 2015b, p.135).

In this understanding the drone crews' masculinity is established on the basis of two elements- overcoming the limits of the physical body (which is traditionally coded as feminine) and in being able to act with 'objectivity' (aligned with the masculine side of the rational/emotional binary).

Similarly, the traits that are considered desirable in drone crews, 'situational awareness and strategic thinking skills' are, Kunashakaran argues, 'both highly hegemonically masculinized traits' (2016, p.44; see also Kontour, 2012; McKinley et al., 2011). Technological know-how has not always necessarily been connected with hyper-masculinity. Coker describes ground-breaking technologist Alan Turing as '"a classic borderline Asperger's boffin"… with a high pitched voice, hesitating stammer and annoying laugh' with Turing's 'high-pitched laugh' and tendency to suffer from hay fever marking him out as lacking the in masculinity and physical prowess to be considered a true warrior (2013, p.116). However, as militaries (particularly Western militaries) have embraced the potential benefits of novel technologies, technological proficiency and know-how has become part of the masculinity constellation (Manjikian, 2013; Kontour, 2012; Barrett, 1996). As Braudy notes, 'Technology would not undermine either war or masculinity but enhance and perfect them… the best men would be matched with the best machines, "for the two were inseparable"' (2005, p.403)

Finally, the *way* that drones are used and the types of missions that they are used to undertake may also be understood as masculine. Drones have been used to launch lethal strikes as part of the 'Global War on Terror', and as noted in the introduction, feminist scholars have highlighted the many ways in which this conflict has been constructed as an intervention to save brown women from dangerous brown men, re-emphasising the continuing salience of the protector/protected dyad (for example Shepherd, 2006, 2008b; Richter-Montpetit, 2007; Sjoberg, 2010a; Bhattacharyya, 2008; Masters, 2009). Similarly, and perhaps *because* of these narratives, the ability of drones to penetrate deep into the sovereign territories of brown men, brings narratives of sexuality to the fore. References to sodomization emerge in narratives which reinforce ideas of dominance and submission, and reflect the feminization of the submissive individual(s)/states (Richter-Montpetit, 2007; Puar, 2005; Hooper, 2001).

To date then, whilst feminist security scholars have made important contributions to the literature on military technologies, and specifically to the burgeoning debate on the use of

drones, their narratives have tended to divide themselves between concerns over feminization *or* masculinization. However, even whilst they divide themselves between these poles, many of the accounts acknowledge data which does not, or cannot be made, to fit with these *either/or* positions. To clarify, the accounts concerned with feminization often note that there are elements of masculinization and the accounts that argue the use of drones will result in masculinization include references to feminization. For example, Kunashakaran's account of the masculinization includes references to '"feminized" skills', the lack of risk and the way the 'UAV control rooms are a far cry from the grimy battlefields' (2016, p.40). Similarly, the concerns about feminization are often couched in terms lack of physical risk, but are unsettled by references to emotional or psychological distance, traditionally construed as masculine (Wilcox, 2015b; Holmqvist, 2013). Whilst it is possible that these instances act as the exceptions that prove the rule, the anomalous elements are important components of the lives and experiences of the Reaper crews which cannot be easily brushed under the carpet. That the 'feminized skills' sit (un/comfortably?) alongside narratives of the masculinity of technological mastery; or that the distance creates emotional reserve and ease of killing, whilst *at the same time* persistent surveillance creates a strange sense of intimacy which is traumatising to crews - indicates that there is something missing or being missed in the existing frameworks that are applied to this topic of research. There is a space in the literature for a framework and methodology that can take all of these confusing, contradictory pieces and make better sense of them. This is the core aim of this thesis.

Conclusion

In this chapter I began by summarizing the way in which military scholars have traditionally addressed the interaction between warfare and technology. Tracing the lines between scholars who have tended to ignore the implications of military developments and those who have bordered on embracing technological determinism, I have illustrated the shapes of the debates in these areas. However, I have argued that even in those accounts that acknowledge the

importance of the interaction between the technology and the humans designing, creating and wielding it, traditional security scholars have neglected to consider the way that individual differences affect this interaction. Feminist security scholars offer an important interjection to this debate by demonstrating the myriad ways in which gender and war, and therefore gender and the technologies of war are inter-related and co-constituting. After first sketching the shapes of the core contributions of feminist security scholars, in the form of putting the women back into the picture and acknowledging that 'gender is not synonymous for women'; I have moved to the ways in which feminist scholarship has demonstrated the ways that the discourses of war are gendered.

Drawing attention to feminist scholarship at the particular nexus of war and technology, I have illustrated the ways in which, from the specific weapons to the way that they are used and the way(s) that that use is spoken of, this nodal point is woven through with gendered discourses, symbolism, and meaning. Turning to the issue of the use of robots in war, I have detailed the debates where feminists have argued for both their emancipatory potential and their re-inscription of traditional masculine narratives. These debates formed the basis from which this chapter moved to consider the power of the oppositional binary and the way in which this logic is implicated the work that gender does in relation to war and military technologies. Following the work of poststructural feminists, I sketched out the ways in which binaries limit the ways we think and shut down opportunities for alternative modes of thinking. In the debate surrounding the use of drones I traced the ways in which masculinity and femininity were (sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly) mobilised in arguments which either support or critique the use of this technology. Importantly, in sketching out the masculinization *or* feminization arguments I have drawn attention to the ways in which this dichotomy is incomplete and the need for a framework and methodology that can make sense of the data that does not fit in with the current ways of thinking. The framework that I utilise to fill this 'gap' in thinking, and which

forms the primary contribution of this thesis, is that of 'Haunting' which I outline in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2: HAUNTING

Haunting is an encounter in which you touch the ghost or the ghostly matter of things: the ambiguities, the complexities of power and personhood, the violence and the hope, the looming and receding actualities, the shadows of ourselves and our society. (Gordon, 2008, p.134)

Introduction: 'Life is complicated'[17]

Feminist security scholars have interrogated the interaction between gender and military technologies, but to date their theorizing has tended to divide itself between narratives of these technologies as masculinizing *or* feminizing. And, as previously noted, these narratives are not able to contain or explain the contradictions that are woven through the data on military technologies, and in particular the debates surrounding the use of drones. What I want to add to the feminist scholarship on drones, and military technology more generally, is a framework which provides a means through which to better capture the nuance, detail and complexity of the phenomena under analysis. Building on the work of Avery Gordon (2008) in *Ghostly Matters* the framework which I utilise is 'Haunting'.[18] Haunting is built around the idea of embracing complexity and around rendering minute (cob)webs of power in social scenarios, such as the interaction between gender and technology, visible and questionable. In this chapter, I argue that Haunting as a framework helps to construct a better, situated, assessment of the way that military technologies are woven through with the narratives and power of gender; but also that by applying this framework to the concerns of gender and military technologies Haunting reveals these narratives and (cob)webs in more nuanced ways than are possible with other analytical lenses.

[17] (Williams, 1991, p.10)
[18] As noted in the introduction, I capitalise Haunting when I am referring to the theoretical framework which I sketch out this chapter and use 'haunting' when using the term as a verb or adjective.

Whilst it includes a concern with 'ghosts', (figures we will return to shortly) Haunting is not concerned with the occult or with parapsychology, but rather it engages with the fundamental claim that 'life is complicated', and attempts to provide an appropriate vocabulary for interacting with this claim. As a result, utilising Haunting means that I can investigate the ways in which gender and military technologies function *within* their particular contexts by tracing 'conceptual metaphors' in the form of ghosts of the past (histories/myths of the warrior) and future (hopes/fears/predictions) in ways that are not available with other frameworks (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.1). After Blanco & Peeren (2013), I understand the ghost as a 'conceptual metaphor' within this framework, meaning that the ghost acts as a 'deconstructive logic', a metaphor that 'does theoretical work', such as that of gender, and therefore has material implications and effects (Bal, 2010, p.10). Understanding the ghost as having material effects, even as it is deployed as a metaphor, is important to engaging with Gordon's central concern with complexity and the way in which this is implicated in her calls to action for justice (Gordon, 2008; see also Coddington, 2011).

Situated within the vast body of poststructural scholarship; Gordon (1990) argues that she plants herself firmly within this scholarship by acknowledging the political implications of her epistemological and ontological choices and by exploring what Jeffrey Weinstock refers to as 'a general postmodern suspicion of metanarratives accentuated by millennial anxiety' (Weinstock, 2013, p.63). This 'suspicion of metanarratives' finds its form in Haunting's implied critique of positivism (which I unpack in the chapter) and in refusing the teleological endpoint implied by arguments about progress (Brown, 2001; Gordon, 2008; Gunn, 2006; Szeman, 2000). In critiquing metanarratives Gordon encourages an interest in the particular, the detail, the abstruse, and the intricate. Through this concern with the particular, with 'nooks and crannies of everyday life,' Kate Shipley Coddington argues that Gordon's framework engages with 'feminist understandings of embodiment' to draw attention to 'sites of power' in new and important ways (2011, p.750). Life is complicated, and Haunting provides a means of taking this complexity

seriously, a means of demonstrating the 'staging' of reality: its social constructedness and the structures of power that are therefore 'constructed' (Marinucci, 2010; Gordon, 2008; Derrida, 2006; Holloway and Kneale, 2008). Seeking ghosts that haunt academia, Gordon argues that poststructuralism has rendered 'our traditional notions of the human subject, meaning, truth, language, writing, desire, difference, power and experience…equally as a symptom and as a determining cause…' (Gordon, 2008, p.10). Following this line of argument (and the implied temporal progression from cause to effect) means that I cannot (and should not) attempt to pull apart cause and effect because the two are always interwoven, there is not a specific point at which cause ends and effect starts, only one piece of fabric made with multiple threads. Gordon argues that the 'truth' that academics write is always partial, and that therefore I am responsible for the truths that I don't tell as much as for the ones that I do:

> 'Warnings about relativism to the contrary, truth is still what most of us strive for. Partial and insecure surely, and something slightly different from "the facts," but truth nonetheless: the capacity to say "This is so." But truth is a subtle shifting entity… because the very nature of the things whose truth is sought possess these qualities' (Gordon, 2008, p.20).

I argue in this chapter that complexity and nuance are foregrounded by Haunting through four core themes: complex personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, disturbed temporality, and power; all of which are woven through Avery Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters,* the text which I draw from. Haunting brings together the personal and subjective with discourses that dis/empower-gender, sex, race as well as culture, history and society; weaving together the threads which reflect the construction of social life. The second part of this chapter outlines the ghost hunt, the methodology of Haunting. The ghost hunt provides a means of exploring how to take seriously the data which does not 'fit' (e.g. neatly into the category of *either* masculine *or* feminine) and how to engage with 'sensuous' and 'deviant' knowledges (concepts I return to) (Gordon, 2008, p.205). As Holloway and Kneale note, 'the power of ghosts [is the] contingent potentiality of haunted spaces to enchant, to make us wonder and in so doing usher further new interpretative

frameworks, to open up our epistemologies or even our ontologies in fantastic, strange and sometimes baffling ways…' (2008, p.308)

In addition to outlining Gordon's Haunting and the wider 'spectral (re)turn' literature that it is part of (Luckhurst, 2002), this chapter will detail the way in which I augment the 'ghost hunt' with the language of Cynthia Weber's (2014, 2016) 'queer logic'. Whilst Gordon's framework is already concerned with the 'things that don't fit' and with the way that ghosts are *simultaneously* present and absent, I argue that the addition of queer logic provides the necessary vocabulary to render this binary destabilization explicit. In keeping with the concerns of the poststructural feminist underpinnings of the project, I utilize queer logic to express the ways in which military technologies *simultaneously* destabilize *and* (re)inscribe masculinity and femininity. By so doing I aim to augment the literature concerned with spectrality, particularly in relation to the study of gender, sex, and sexualities. To date, as my outline of the spectral (re)turn' will indicate, uses of Haunting and similar work has tended to be focused around literary criticism, sociology, and history. And whilst I am not the first to implement the framework in relation to the concerns of International Relations, I hope that the addition of queer logic to the language of the ghost hunt will make clearer the usefulness of this perspective to International Relations concerned with the (cob)webs of power woven out of intersectional identifiers like gender.

The Spectral (Re)Turn

I begin then, by introducing the 'spectral (re)turn', the body of literature of which Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters* is a part (Luckhurst, 2002). Attributed by many to Jacques Derrida (2006), Nicholas Abraham, and Maria Torok (1999; 2008), the 1990s saw the rehabilitation of 'ghosts' from 'possible actual entities, plot devices and clichés of common parlance' (and as such, inappropriate subjects for serious academic investigation); to 'conceptual metaphors' (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.1). As a 'conceptual metaphor' the ghost acts as a 'system of producing knowledge' providing insight into areas previously passed over or understudied (2013, p.1). The

development of Haunting and the interest in the spectral is connected with the concerns of psychoanalysis and the Freudian school of psychology (Gordon, 2008; Frosh, 2013; Abraham and Torok, 1999; Abraham et al., 2008). Therefore, in some works the interest in ghosts and the ghostly is linked explicitly to a concern with trauma and memory. Jessica Auchter's work (2014), for example, traces the ways in which certain spaces are haunted by the deaths and/or memorialisation that occurred there. These central concerns of Auchter's work are part of a wider trend in Haunting which is also used by Michali Zembylas (2013), D. Matless (2008) and E. Roberts (2013) amongst others.

Haunting is not *only* about death and trauma, and as a framework has been applied to a wide range of subject areas including sociology (Gordon, 2008, 1990; Roseneil, 2009), International Relations (Auchter, 2014; Welland, 2013), videography (Garrett, 2011; Simpson, 2011a), art (Hawkins, 2010; Tolia-Kelly, 2004), cartography (Cosgrove, 2008; Jacob and Dahl, 2006), literature (Luckhurst, 2002), city planning (Comaroff, 2007; Edensor, 2005) and geography (Mayerfield Bell, 1997; Roberts, 2013). Indeed, Esther Peeren argues that

> 'a loose convergence of interest in the conceptual force of ghosts and haunting… has produced greater insight into the historical, social and cultural functions of phenomena and notions already closely associated with the literal ghost and the supernatural, such as spiritualism, telepathy, the Gothic and the uncanny… [and] has opened up new perspectives on more disparate processes, practices and disciplines, including history and heritage, psychoanalysis, deconstruction, literature, technology and new media, nationalism, sociology, architecture, the postcolonial, materialism, (cultural) memory and the archive, trauma, sexuality, race, space and geography.' (2014, p.10)

Within the spectralities literature there are debates regarding the nature of the ghosts - whether they are forces that need to be banished or engaged with. Where Freud (1997) and Adorno (1974) fought against the conceptual figure of the ghost as a crass reminder of pre-modern superstitions and a lack of scientific knowledge; Derrida (2006) sought instead to rehabilitate the ghost through a re-reading of Marx as spectral. This work, as previously noted, resulted in an

explosion of academic interest in spectrality (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.8). From Derrida's perspective, rather than representing either primitive thinking or something frightening, the ghost is a figure that needs to be heard instead of being exorcised. The things that the ghost has to say are important because, according to Derrida, they indicate 'the structure of every hegemony' and the conversations with ghosts are 'a matter of neutralizing a hegemony or overturning some power' (Derrida, 2006, pp.46, 58).

From these beginnings, and as previously noted, the spectral and the ghostly have been utilised in academic scholarship in a range of interesting ways. One of these is the framework of Haunting which Avery Gordon lays out in, or perhaps more accurately weaves through, her book *Ghostly Matters*. Designed as a means of exploring and expressing the complexity of social phenomena, Haunting provides an ideal way of addressing the bits and pieces of data about military technology that do not currently fit in the narratives of gender scholars. Constructed out of a review of different texts as a means of interrogating the interaction between the social, historical, cultural, psychological and personal; I understand Gordon's work as being primarily focused around four key themes. Reflecting back to the work of Derrida in particular, but also Freud, the following section outlines Gordon's framework as shaped around the core concerns of 1. Complex personhood, 2. In/(hyper)visibility, 3. Disturbed temporality, and 4. Power. These core concerns then act as the framework on which I hang my analysis of the interaction between gender and military technologies, illustrating the usefulness of Haunting in interrogating this relationship.

Gespensts, Revenants and Spuk (Spectres, the Returning and Spooks)[19]

In developing the idea of Haunting, Gordon aimed,

> 'to find a method of knowledge production and a way of writing that could represent the damage and the haunting of historical alternatives and thus richly conjure, describe,

[19] Derrida, 2006

> narrate, and explain the liens, the costs, the forfeits, and the losses of modern systems of power in their immediacy and world significance.' (2008; pxvii).

Where the frameworks used by feminist scholars provide important insights into the interaction between gender and military technology, they have struggled to find a way of either adequately containing or explaining the data that does not fit, that spills over the lines. Given that feminist theorising is intimately concerned with the work that gender does, and the webs and structures of power that springs from that work, it is appropriate (and indeed necessary) to use a framework that shares those concerns. In the following section I outline the ways in which Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters* developed a framework of Haunting in ways that are useful to an investigation of gender and military technology, working my way through the four elements outlined above, beginning with Gordon's focus on the complexity of personhood.

Complex Personhood

Gordon's starting point for Haunting is Patricia William's statement that 'Life is complicated', and from this she argues that 'Complex personhood is the second dimension' of that theoretical statement (2008, pp.4–5). Taking personhood seriously she states is important because 'all people (albeit in specific forms whose specificity is sometimes everything) remember and forget, are beset by contradiction, and recognize and misrecognize themselves and others' (Gordon, 2008, p.4). As such, Gordon argues that taking this complexity into account is essential, as 'subjectivity is never adequately glimpsed by viewing [individuals] as victims', and that, after all, 'even those called "Other" are never never that' (Gordon, 2008, p.5). To do justice to the individuals whose lives are the subject of this thesis means understanding those individuals as complex social, psychological, cultural, and historical beings tangled in multiple (cob)webs of power that dis/empower in different (in)visible ways that affect agency (Holloway and Kneale, 2008; Coddington, 2011). Without taking the complexity of personhood seriously 'we segregate the subjective and what Williams calls the "explicit," [ending] up with reified asocial abstractions

that fail to capture just the conflagration of "social" and "personal" that is the living present', impoverishing social research (Gordon, 2008, p.199).

Gordon explores complex personhood through fictional characters and historical figures. She introduces us to Sabina Spielrein's identity as a woman, as a psychiatric patient and as an academic. These separate identities are then woven into the story of her *lack* of presence; into the letters between her and Carl Jung, into Gordon's exploration of the sexism in early psychoanalysis, into quotes from Spielrein's diary, and Gordon's letter to Spielrein. The identity of this woman is fabricated/made real through these stories; her ghost becomes visible through the layers and layers of semi-translucent 'facts' that Gordon draws together as a kind of collage. Gordon begins by looking at a physical representation of a physical absence: a photograph of a time and location where a woman was not. It is more than it appears (or that appears to be missing), Spielrein's ghost also emerges through her imagined attendance of the conference where the photograph is taken and she writes in her diary:

> 'In my *imagination* I already saw [Jung] in love with her, I saw her sitting next to me at psychiatric congress, she- proud and contented as wife and mother, I a poor psychopath who has a host of desires and can realize none of them…' (Cited in Gordon, 1990, p.487 emphasis added).

This usefully illustrates how identities are formed not just out of the 'real' experiences of the past nor only out of our experience of the 'now', but out of imagined 'thens', out of feelings as much as out of happenings, out of emotion as much as rationality (sensuous knowledges- to which this chapter returns). Similarly, Gordon's own response to Spielrein tells us something of herself and the complexity of her (Gordon's) own identity- she is an academic woman, she sits within the established academic discipline of sociology and yet she is troubled by the absence of a woman she doesn't know, she is worried by the injustice perpetrated in the field of psychoanalysis by the lack of acknowledgement that Spielrein receives, and so she writes not only about, but also *to* this long dead woman, an experience that *also* troubles her:

> ‘Dear Sabina, I am uneasy about using your story, or the story of the places you were between, as a pretext for speaking about methodology and other matters, about needing or seeming to need a dead woman to enliven matters… Is this why you have come back to haunt me, because the rumours of your recovery have reached you?’ (Gordon, 2008, p.59)

> ‘But I must confess to you Sabina that it is precisely the love affair, the story of a woman whose body and body of work was inscribed by the bodies of men who wrote books inspired by fractured women, that haunts me.’ (Gordon, 1990, p.498)

In these segments it is not just Spielrein whose identity Gordon is illuminating, but also her own. Gordon is a woman in a field that ‘situate[s] the women writing in and out of a sociology falling somewhere between the *human* and the *scientific*’, like Spielrein she is both authoritative author and subject of fascination (1990, p.489). Gordon’s personhood is always ‘becoming’, and so too is Sabina Spielrein, even in death. Personhood (including that of the author) is then never fixed, completed, but always becoming, haunted by the past, present, and future - a theme to which I return to shortly.

Personhood is also, always, situated in particular contexts. The final section of *Ghostly Matters* traces a number of ghosts through Toni Morrison’s (2005) *Beloved* which tells the story of a mother who kills her baby to prevent the baby from becoming a slave and how the return of the baby in the form of another woman causes ripples in families and local communities. This novel parallels the real-life case of Margaret Garner who, faced with being returned to a life of slavery, killed her daughter and tried to kill her sons, rather than see them go back to their owner. Beyond the haunting of the mother by a dead daughter, *Beloved*, and Gordon’s analysis, is about ‘the lingering inheritance of racial slavery’ and the challenge it presents to ideas of ‘progress’ (Gordon, 2008, p.139). The violence of the ghosts in this story are twofold: ‘a slave mother's killing of her child and slavery’ (Gordon, 2008, p.141). Ghosts are then personally painful and painfully impersonal, they are subject and structure, power, pain and violence rolled into something that renders the familiar (a mother’s love for her children) strange and

uncomfortable (Freeman, 2010, p.98). Through Freud's (1997) notion of the 'uncanny', Gordon explores how ghosts in this form force us to look again at the familiar in a manner that renders it unfamiliar. The things that we know, we are comfortable with, the things we view as 'truths' become questionable, different, frightening (Auchter, 2014, p.17). The shadows are moving, but there isn't a breeze.

In/(Hyper)visibility

The second element of Gordon's framework which feeds into the way that power affects individuals is reflected in her interest in in/(hyper)visibility. This exploration forces her (and the reader) to ask 'what is it that we are *not* seeing? Who is it that is *not* there?' Beginning with an analysis of Don DeLillo's *White Noise, Ghostly Matters* explores how the invisible can also be hypervisible: We are made to see what is not there[20]. By layering the refusal to speak about death over the 'technologies of hypervisibility' which she describes as 'television structured reality', Gordon shows 'the morbidity of existence as a symptom of the inability to confront modernity's phantoms' (Gordon, 2008, pp.14–16; see also Cavallaro, 2000; Derrida, 2006). Gordon views De Lillo's text as illuminating ghosts specific to modernity, highlighting a malaise reminiscent of Betty Friedan's (1982) *Feminine Mystique* and reminding us to consider our own contextual specificity - where are we in time: when is our 'then' and when is our 'now'. The characters of *White Noise* are haunted by the fear of death, frightened by the things that they cannot (or will not) see even in an age where it seems that the camera sees all. The only thing that is *not* seen is the thing that sees: the camera. Gordon works then to render this apparently invisible seer as seen and to make the watched watcher acknowledge the presence of the person who is (invisibly) watching *them* as they watch others.[21] This is perhaps more easy to understand through exploring the difference between listening and hearing, where hearing is

[20] This phenomenon, being simultaneously invisible and hypervisible, can also be seen in work focusing on gender and trans* identities (Shepherd and Sjoberg, 2012; Kronsell et al., 2006).
[21] Rather like the series Goggle-box which is a TV show that shows other people watching TV in a curiously circular formulation.

the acknowledgement of a sound, and listening represents an understanding of the meaning behind that sound. The individuals who refuse to 'see' the ghosts are not, in fact, not aware of their presence, rather they are not prepared to try to understand the *meaning* of these presences.

To *not* deal with ghosts, to claim their invisibility, is to be blinkered and rendered further uncomfortable by presences we cannot explain, manage, or exorcise. There is no ignoring the ghosts '…one *must* reckon with them' (Derrida, 2006, p.xx emphasis in the original). As noted in the introduction to the 'spectral (re)turn', one means of reckoning with the ghosts might be through their eradication or resolution; a form of violence Gordon decries. Instead, I follow Derrida's imperative to try to listen and be hospitable, in the hope of learning more than if I just turned my face away and refused to see what is already there, that is, the spectres (Derrida, 2006; Peeren, 2014; Gunn, 2006). Conversing and 'living' with ghosts means speaking (and writing) their ghostly shapes; exploring, as best we can, their forms and the political implications (Cavallaro, 2000, p.85; Auchter, 2014, p.18; Holloway and Kneale, 2008). Maria Blanco and Esther Peeren note that the academic preference for the term 'spectre'[22] over that of 'ghost' is linked to the idea of 'dealing with' ghosts, arguing that this term 'specifically evoke[s] an etymological link to visibility and vision, to that which is both *looked at* (a fascinating spectacle)[23]and *looking* (in the sense of examining)' evoking the ghost's activity and mobility (2013, p.2; see also Simpson, 2011a). By *looking* at and interacting with the ghosts watching *us* we can begin to address the issues that they trouble us with.

If the previous section has dealt with the way Haunting addresses visibility, even the visibility of things that are not quite there, then this section addresses Gordon's framework in relation to *in*visibility. The ghosts here, rather than spectral shapes and shadows on the walls, are the kind of ghosts felt in the shiver-down-the-spine sensation, the sensation in looking at the familiar that

[22] Although Peeren argues in her single authored book that this term refers to a specific kind of ghost which is one of many possible types (Peeren, 2014, p.12)
[23] With gendered over and undertones, explored in chapter 6

something is different, or perhaps, something is missing (Holloway and Kneale, 2008; Parkins and Karpinski, 2014; Engle, 2009). As noted earlier, Gordon muses over the *lack* of Sabina Spielrein in a photograph, saying 'a dead woman was not at a conference she was supposed to attend' drawing attention to her absence (2008, p.42). As such the absence of an individual or lack of acknowledgment of a form of violence forms a ghost, an absence that is seething in our subconscious (Frosh, 2013; Puar, 2007, p.xx). The lack of Sabina Spielrein induces Gordon to explore how Spielrein came to be excluded/excludes herself, how ideas are owned, and not owned, and how madness and femininity are ghosts that are 'powerfully alive' (Gordon, 2008, p.42). The ghosts serve to highlight the multiple (cob)webs of power at play in Spielrein's life: structural power in the form of whiteness and sexism, the biopower of medical discourses (as discussed at length by Michel Foucault)[24], the label of 'madness' and the power of that 'madness' itself in enabling and inhibiting Spielrein's actions. Her absence becomes an uncomfortable presence that haunts Gordon, and forces her to keep seeking Spielrein's ghost and the ghosts that haunted Spielrein. Drawing on the theories of psychoanalysis that Spielrein's life was woven through with, Gordon uses Freud's ideas of 'the uncanny' to critique his own relationships with Jung and Spielrein, which then presents an inversion of Freud's uncomfortable experience of seeing 'an alienating figure' in the mirror that turns out to be his reflection (Gordon, 2008, p.54; see also Certeau, 1986; Freccero, 2006). Unlike the 'alienating figure' that is Freud's reflection, Spielrein emerges as a second reflection of Freud, an unacknowledged contributor to the development of a field that was instrumental in the articulation of her own mental illness. Through this ghost hunt, Gordon exposes the power at play in these lives through the patient-analyst relationship, the place of women in academia in the early development of psychoanalytic theory, and the (erroneous?) diagnosis of mental disorders specific to women (Gordon, 2008; Appignanesi, 2009; Kaplan, 2011; Frosh, 2013). Gordon's analysis of in/(hyper)visibility draws on a historical woman and a historical context, but which weaves into her (Gordon's) experience of the now; leading to the third component of Haunting, disturbed temporality.

[24] (Foucault, 1991; Foucault and Howard, 1971; Foucault and Senellart, 2010)

Disturbed Temporality

When considering the importance of context to understanding personhood and subjectivity, in addition to spatial and social situation, it is necessary to consider the implications of our situatedness in time. Perhaps one of the most interesting components of Gordon's Haunting is the intermingling of the past, present and future, the disruption of that linearity and the pursuit of progress. Drawing on Derrida, who claimed that "Le temps est hors de ses gonds" [time is off its hinges/is out of joint] (Derrida, 2006, p.22), Gordon considers that, the sensation of being haunted 'alters the experience of being in time, the way that we separate the past, the present, and the future' (Gordon, 2008, p.xvi). The 'present' becomes infused with the 'presence' of ghosts who require us to consider the multiplicity of presents: 'past present, actual present: "now", future present' in a manner Derrida refers to as the 'spectral moment' (Derrida, 2006, p.xix; see also Kenway, 2006; Coddington, 2011). As Sue Saltmarsh notes, ideas of 'a speaking back of past to present and future in ways that cannot necessarily be contained or fully reckoned with' provides a conundrum for researchers who aim to illuminate how individual subjectivities and identities are formulated (2009, p.540).

Mingling with this past/present/future construction of the self is the interweavings of history, culture, myth, and fantasy. Part of the disturbance of temporality is the means through which Gordon attempts to meet Derrida's requirements of hospitality towards ghosts, noting

> 'To be haunted in the name of a will to heal is to allow the ghost to help you imagine what was lost that never even existed, really. That is its utopian grace: to encourage a steely sorrow laced with delight for what we lost that we never had…that it could have been and can be otherwise' (2008, p.57).

Imagining a past or a present other than as it *is* is part of the resistance enabled by Gordon's framework: The ghosts show us where the pain, power and dispossession is so that we can *act* to make changes (Gordon, 2008; see also Coddington, 2011; Saleh-Hanna, 2015; Young, 1990). The

way that the past is remembered, the way that the future is perceived as promising or problematic are both things that interact with how the present is experienced now. Contextually dependent. Gordon notes that the very writing of *Ghostly Matters* is 'representative of our times and needs' (2008, p.7). This work was required *now* because of the way in which memories of history and the phantoms of the future are pressing up against our minds, rupturing our capacity to make sense of who we are here and now. As Derrida notes ghosts may be historical, but they are 'not *dated*…never docilely given a date in the chain of presents…', their violence and our sense of discomfort comes from the disruption of our 'now' by the past, dislocating the linearity of time (Derrida, 2006, p.3).

In this thesis, I note through all of the different data I use; be they interviews, memoirs, newspaper reports, cartoons or parliamentary debates, the myriad ways in which the past - who we *were* - is implicated in who we *are*. And the past is not always the historical past: but rather reality is woven through with fiction: Myth is almost as (and sometimes more so) powerful than the histories. The future is viewed through eyes coloured by ideas of how the right way to be is predicated on the statement that *we've always done it this way*, as much as a hopefully smiling teleological endpoint of eschatological joy. The ghost of the warrior who is traced through the following chapter emerges through centuries of storytelling about what it means to go to war, creating layers and layers of translucent mythology through which we view the current crop of military technological developments. Similarly, as much as history haunts the narratives of the now, much of the concern about military technology is laced with fear about its development in the future. The shuddering recourse to narratives about *The Terminator* and *The Matrix* reflect the way that we cannot stand still in the now, but rather must build relationships with our future selves before we have even truly imagined them (Holmes, 2015; Turse and Engelhardt, 2012).

(Cob)Webs of Power

The final theme of Gordon's work that I address here is that of power. Power is woven through the other themes - the complexity of personhood, the way that intersectional markers dis/empower; the things we can/cannot/refuse to see and how what is seen is connected to what we (can) know; historical events and trends mark our pasts and the possibilities for the future, our realities and our fictions (Coddington, 2011; Cruz and Frijhoff, 2009; Appignanesi, 2009; Auchter, 2013). Power is then the last theme, but by no means the least. Gordon notes that

> 'the power relations that characterize any historically embedded society are never as transparently clear as the names we give to them imply. Power can be invisible, it can be fantastic, it can be dull and routine. It can be obvious, it can reach you by the baton of the police, it can speak the language of your thoughts and desires. It can feel like remote control, it can exhilarate like liberation, it can travel through time, and it can drown you in the present. It is dense and superficial, it can cause bodily injury, and it can harm you without seeming ever to touch you. It is systematic and it is particularistic and it is often both at the same time' (Gordon, 2008, p.3)

An interest in the multiple shapes of power and illuminating the work that it does, in keeping with Gordon's poststructural standpoint, is at the centre of the framework of Haunting. Weaving together the concerns of complex personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, and temporality; Haunting foregrounds the way that power functions in big and small ways, at the structural and personal level, both material and ideational. The following section outlines some of Gordon's analysis of the ways in which power functions: the power of the state and the power of individuals to resist the state, the power of the historical legacy of slavery and our power to change the future through engaging with that history.

In *Ghostly Matters* Gordon explores the ghosts of the state through Luisa Valenzuela's (1979) '*Como en la Guerra*'[25]. The novella traces the life of a psychoanalyst who is searching for a 'She', previously a patient and a lover, who disappears. Although a work of fiction, the story is used as a tool to explore Argentina's Dirty War and the individuals referred to as 'the disappeared' (Gordon, 2008; Vaisman, 2014; Taylor, 1997). Via an analysis of this novella, Gordon traces the 'ghosts of the state' - through the state's violence, denial, misinformation and reconstruction (2008, p.89). The interweaving of the materiality of this violence with discourses of denial and misinformation is neatly encapsulated in the statement 'Getting rid of corpses was a problem for a country that denied there were any corpses to bury' (Gordon, 2008, p.74). But it is the ghosts who show where the corpses are: Gordon cites the photographs of the missing individuals pinned to the 'hearts' of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo as examples of how these women are haunted by their disappeared loved ones, and how they 'haunt' the regime in their protest. She states that 'The Mothers transformed the docile portrait or, in the case, of the photocopies, the disembodied mechanical reproduction of a bodily organ into a public [wound]' (Gordon, 2008, p.109; see also Shepherd, 2010; Engle, 2009). Their protest then acts as a form of flaunting the state's "wounds" of the disappeared and as an 'unhappy echo' of the wounds inflicted on many of the disappeared themselves (Woodward and Winter, 2007, p.74). The photographs form the ghosts that haunt both the populace and government, simultaneously revealing and concealing in their translucence.

From her analysis of Morrison's *Beloved*, it is clear that the ghosts that Gordon refers to are not always the spirits of those who are dead or missing. As noted earlier, Haunting is not *just* about death and trauma. Rather the ghosts may also be 'a social figure[s]' formed at the site 'where history and subjectivity make social life' (Gordon, 2008, p.8; see also Freeman, 2010). As such they may be a figure of an individual whose haunting represents a larger, structural ghost, or

[25] The title is literally translated as 'As in War' but in the English language version is (tellingly) entitled *He Who Searches*

simply a ghost of that larger structure.[26] For example: Looking at the power of the capitalist economy, Derrida invites us to consider the 'apparition of the bodiless body of money: not the lifeless body or the cadaver, but a life without life…' (Derrida, 2006, p.51). This 'bodiless body' Derrida also refers to as 'spectralizing disincarnation' emphasising the fluid, mobile and 'becoming' nature of ghosts (Derrida, 2006, p.51). We may be haunted by the ghosts of socio-political structures like slavery and racism, by ghosts of political acts like state violence, brutalism and torture, just as much as by the impact of the deaths and lives of individuals (Auchter, 2014, p.19). Alternatively, haunting by individuals may, as in *Como en la Guerra*, be a vehicle through which we can come to understand a larger, amorphous violence at work. The slaves in *Beloved* are not the only characters in the story, and Gordon argues that Morrison's text calls for the readers to 'recognize just where we are in this story, even if we do not want to be there'; we are responsible for challenging the remaining threads of the structural violence of slavery in the identities of ourselves and others, and we 'cannot decline' because the ghosts are already there (Gordon, 2008, p.188; see also Coddington, 2011). Without investigating, researching, writing and speaking of the ghosts we are simultaneously rendering ourselves complicit in the violence and creating a situation where '*what goes unsaid, that which is implied and omitted and censured and suggested, acquires the importance of a scream'* (Gordon, 2008, p.83 Emphasis in the original).

To summarise this section; I have drawn out four key themes that recur throughout Gordon's work: complex personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, disturbed temporality and power. These themes are woven through the framework of Haunting, providing a backbone of concerns that provide the focus within the methodology of the ghost hunt. Layered into and over one another these themes inform the ghost hunt that I undertake in the following chapters as a means through which to investigate the interaction between gender and military technologies. However, whilst the literature of the 'spectral (re)turn' indicates the plethora of sites to which

[26] For those of you who enjoy Terry Pratchett, it might be instructive to consider Granny Weatherwax's discovery of the 'mind of the Kingdom' in *Wyrd Sisters*.

Haunting can and has been applied, this has not, up to this point, included my own topic of interest. The subsequent section outlines in detail my rationale for choosing Haunting as a framework, followed by the ways in which I put the *methodology* of the ghost hunt to work.

Why Haunting for Gendering Military Technology?

Given that in *Ghostly Matters* Gordon makes relatively little reference to gender, and almost none at all to masculinity, femininity or military technologies, why have I chosen to use the framework of Haunting? At its core Haunting is about complexity: taking it seriously, trying as much as possible to embrace it; considering the implications of thinking of complexity as a central tenant of social science rather than an irritation in controlling variables. By so doing, Gordon argues it is possible to use the statement that 'life is complicated' to guide 'efforts to treat race, class, and gender dynamics and consciousness as more dense and delicate than those categorical terms often imply' (2008, p.5). What the existing feminist literature on military technologies is currently missing is the specific ways in which this complexity challenges the way that gender binaries are currently thought about. Whilst poststructural feminists have clearly problematized the division between hierarchical masculine/feminine dualisms, there remains a space for a framework that provides an alternative way of thinking, a way of thinking that can both acknowledge the important interjections of these scholars in critiquing the discourses of military masculinity, but also provide a way of understanding that those uncomfortable facts that sit outside the *either* masculine *or* feminine ways of thinking (for example Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Shepherd, 2009; Sjoberg, 2014; Sylvester, 1994). As I noted in Chapter 1, there is a fine line to be steered when thinking about the implications of technological developments in warfare between over and underemphasising their effects (Echevarria, 2007; Hundley, 1999). There is also a wrestling match to be had over the extent to which a specific development, for example armed drones, constitutes something entirely novel, out of synch with its historic context and therefore, revolutionary; or whether the change is actually (technologically, politically, socially) marginal and being exaggerated for the sake of

making bigger and more interesting academic/journalistic claims (Lee, 2013; Dunn, 2013). As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Haunting situates developments in military technology within their contextual particularity. It reveals, in ways that other frameworks cannot, that this particularity is laced with ghosts that disrupt time because the 'now' is always already haunted by histories and myths of the past, and by hopes and fears for the future.

I argue through the subsequent chapters in this thesis that the framework of Haunting explored through the methodology of the ghost hunt (outlined in the next section) is useful for thinking about the central concerns of the thesis. This means: the social context of warfare and the interaction between technologies and discourses of gender which disrupt the 'common-sense' boundaries between life and death, between the 'real' and fictional, between the material and immaterial, between the present and the past (Brown, 2001; Freccero, 2006; Gordon, 2008). As such Haunting forces us to inhabit the liminal, shadowy spaces of impermanence that exist between the apparent oppositional dichotomies, what Zembylas (with reference to Papastephanou, 2011) eloquently describes as 'a peculiar "in-between" space that "reclaims the unspoken and neglected"' (2013, p.79). Aligned to concerns about the 'unspoken and neglected' Haunting's concern with in/(hyper)visibility and presence/absence as simultaneously occurring, and as implicated in (cob)webs of power, speaks directly to feminist theorizing on the implications of these topics in relation to emancipation and empowerment from patriarchal gender structures (Bridenthal et al., 1998; Hesford, 2011; Keller, 1986). As such, Ilya Parkins and Eva Karpinski argue that 'embracing complexity and contradictions in our own existence might help us to reckon with the spectre of feminist theory's own in/visibility in the present neoliberal moment…' indicating the way in which the application of the framework of Haunting, with its focus on complexity (and indeed contradictions) can be useful to the development of thinking about gender and feminist theorising (2014, p.6).

In functioning as a 'deconstructive logic,' the ghost opens up 'complexity' through the possibility of 'ambivalent multiplicity - the reference to the liminal form of being (and thinking)

encompassing life and death, human and non-human, presence and absence' (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, pp.33, 91–92; see also Roberts, 2013, p.8). This ambivalence suggests the possibility of other logics of 'nonoppositional constructions', such as 'right in relation to plausible, persuasive, preferable, viable; rational in relation to consistent, instrumental, coherent, reductionist; strong in relation to effective, principled, respected, sustainable' (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.45). In embracing ambivalence, the ghost provides space for these alternatives so that research is not

> 'reduced to a straightforward genesis, chronology or finitude [but rather] insists on blurring multiple borders, between visibility and invisibility, past and present, materiality and immateriality, science and pseudo-science, religion and superstition, life and death, presence and absence, reality and imagination… challenging forms of authority' (Peeren, 2014, p.10).

Undertaking a Ghost Hunt

Ghost hunting is the methodology that I use to engage with Gordon's framework of Haunting. Reflecting back to the core themes of Haunting this section goes on to illustrate the way that 'ghost hunting' and the 'conceptual metaphor' of the ghost enable an exploration of complex personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, temporality and power (Blanco and Peeren, 2013; Holloway and Kneale, 2008). In examining these themes as they are approached through ghost hunting I introduce the concept of 'sensuous' knowledge, a core means through which the ghosts reveal themselves (Gordon, 2008; Holloway and Kneale, 2008, p.297).

In the forward to Ghostly Matters, Janice Radway notes that previous approaches which focus on 'the visible and concrete' prevented adequate attention being paid to 'the particular density, delicacy, and propulsive force of the imagination' through which researchers can discover 'what has been lost' (Radway introducing Gordon, 2008, p.viii). For a framework committed to embracing the complexity of personhood in all its troubling, contradictory, and nuanced ways, attempting to rediscover 'what has been lost' through a determination to engage with scientific

methods is a central concern. As such, Holloway and Kneale argue that 'going ghost hunting offers the potential and opportunity for newly charged lines of thought and enchanted modes of apprehension in the social sciences…' (2008, p.309). Therefore, the ontology of Haunting is more than the observable, requiring therefore, an engagement with what is *not* observable and indeed what is imagined (Auchter, 2014; Peeren, 2014). Making reference to Raymond Williams' 'structures of feeling', Gordon argues that what is 'real' may also be invisible, sensual, troubling, and/or 'seething' (2008, p.19).

Engaging with these kinds of realities, with 'sensuous' knowledges means taking seriously hunches, intuitions, unspoken commentary (like body language and expressions), popular portrayals of characters and identities, and artwork. Encapsulated under the title of 'sensuous knowledge', Gordon describes this kind of knowledge and interpretation as a

> 'mode of apprehension that notices and comprehends the ghostly matter of the sunken couch, the hat, the photograph, the reflection in the mirror, the open door… a different kind of materialism, neither idealistic nor alienated, but an active practice or passion for the lived reality of ghostly magical invented matters… receptive, close, perceptual, embodied, incarnate' (2008, p.205).

This kind of knowledge is important because of the way it affects our understanding of social reality because '[s]ensuous knowledge always involves knowing and doing. Everything is in the experience with sensuous knowledge' (Gordon, 2008, p.205). In embracing this framework and this methodology I was then forced to ask myself: How can I collect this kind of 'data'? What method(s) can I use?

Musing on the question of 'what method have you adopted for your research?', Gordon argues that she began from the perspective of

> ‘demanding to know the implications of understanding ethnography within an epistemology of the truth as partial, as an artefact of the complex social rituals, bound historically to modernity and its uncertain aftermath…’ (Gordon, 2008, p.38).

Equally critical of modernity’s claims to objectivity and post-modern attempts to overcome this; Gordon argues for a complicated understanding of the ‘real’. Drawing on the work of Andrew Ross who claims that postmodernism attempts to go beyond ‘the dominant rationality of modernism and its technological commitment to finding *solutions* ‘ (1988, p.x) Gordon argues that the nature of what can be considered knowledge is a core consideration in postmodern debates.

What is considered knowledge is important to ‘ghost hunting’ because the spectral, the sensation, the shiver have not previously been considered appropriate sources of information for social sciences. Undertaking a ghost hunt allows for engaging with the power inherent in discourses (regardless of whether they are fact or fiction), looking seriously at symbols, images, and photos, and listening to the echoes of the past and future in the troubling form of ‘ghosts’ (Kronsell et al., 2006; Gordon, 2008). Drawing on Haunting’s foregrounding of complexity means taking seriously the myriad ways in which social subjects and subjectivity are woven:

> ‘all the bits and pieces—the screams and cries, the silences, the density of the nation's history, the ideological justifications, the geopolitical forces, the long-standing creative capacity for domestic terror, the cultural pathways of the tango and the pampas, the debts, the international economies of money and national pride, the courageous political resistance, and so on…’ (Gordon, 2008, p.64).

Gordon discusses her answer to the question ‘What method have you adopted for your research?’, noting that in her case the question is really ‘why do you use literary fiction as the “data” for your research and teaching and name this mode of knowledge production sociology, rather than, say, literary criticism?’ (Gordon, 1990, p.489). She thereby draws attention to the way that fact and fiction interact in the process of ghost hunting in ways that preclude the

extraction of 'fact' and 'knowledge' as only those things that are externally real because 'both the investigating subject… and her subject (of analysis) are involved in negotiating and producing a real story' (Gordon, 1990, p.490; see also Alasuutari et al., 2008). After all, arguing that 'facts' are negotiated stories implies that multiple stories may be fact, that the process of their production involves power relations through which different stories may or may not be heard, and as a result it may not be possible to argue that any one story is more 'true' than any other. As Gordon argues, 'our stories can be understood as fictions of the real' (2008, p.11). The ghosts encountered through Gordon's work have indicated a multiplicity of perspectives and a range of different and sometimes uncomfortable stories. The stories of ghosts are not measurable using traditional techniques, relying as they do, on feelings, sensations, hunches, and movements in the corner of the eye (Gordon, 2008; Puar, 2007). As such, the knowledge that ghosts provide may reveal itself through emotional experiences as much as through the checking of 'yes' or 'no' boxes on a questionnaire.

Gordon uses a series of pieces of fiction as the discourses through which she searches for ghosts. In this thesis, I use interview data, journalist accounts, parliamentary debates, films and plays, and cartoons as my discourses. There are various different forms of discourse analysis (for example, critical discourse analysis, text-orientated discourse analysis, discourse theoretical analysis) which foreground specific elements of discourse (Taylor, 2013; and in relation to gendered discourses specifically, see for example: Gavey, 2011; Baxter, 2003; Barkin and Sjoberg, 2015; Presser, 2005; Hansen, 2006). One primary difference between the strands is between those perspectives that view meaning within discourses as 'constant' (as an empirical frame for the subject in discussion) and those which view reality as 'constituted by discourse' (Shepherd, 2008a, p.17). In keeping with the ghostly as unstable and fluctuating, I adopt Shepherd's approach to discourse, in as far as I view reality and discourse as interacting, creating, destroying, and engaged with one another. I do not view either 'reality' or 'discourse' as pre-existing the other, but rather as two components which dance together to create social

reality and subjectivity (Inspired by Butler's (1999) view of the relationship between gender and sex).

Shepherd's rejection of the 'distinction between a discursive and "non-discursive" realm' is particularly appropriate for ghost hunting (2008a, p.18). Ghost hunting engages with the mobile meaning of discourses, as Lincoln and Lincoln note 'the hauntological project is best understood as an initiative that adopts the discourse of haunting to describe its own operation' (2015, p.201). Because the ghost is an unstable subject the discourses, and the understanding of these discourses must be similarly mobile (Blanco, 2012). Ghost hunting then involves a close reading of various texts to see themes and motifs that are casting shadows from the past or that loom from the future. Taking Shepherd's (2008a) view that reality is constructed out of discourses (as much as the reverse), ghost hunting views discourses as reconstructing the 'reality' of the past, rending it mythic, stripping out the things we no long wish to see, but which remain as an uncomfortable presence. This is in keeping with Gordon's understanding of discourses as 'artifactual [social relations] because entrance into this epistemological place blurs the institutional disciplinary, and political boundaries that separate the real from the fictive without in any way diminishing the powerful self-evidency of real fictions' (1990, p.489). As such ghostly forms linger and disturb the narratives that we want to produce.

Sue Saltmarsh describes this approach in her analysis of Kenway et al's *Haunting the Knowledge Economy* and Gordon's *Ghostly Matters*, saying

> 'The authors undertake… a tracking, juxtaposing empirical resources from national and international policy documents, interviews, art, photography, activists websites and other texts in the public domain, and allowing haunting to travel between them, with the figure of the ghost acting as interlocuter' (2009, p.544).

Therefore, this project similarly uses language as a site in which the shapes of the ghosts can be found. The discourses I use, the interview 'data', the transcripts of parliamentary debate, the

cartoons are therefore the spaces in which I conjure up/engage with the ghostly shapes of the warrior, conversing about the work that gender is *doing* in these spaces- how is the ghostly shape of the past, present and future tangled in these interpretations of gender, how does this dis/empower individuals and groups, how does it affect how novel military technologies are understood? These are not simple questions with straight forward answers, but rather engaging with discourse in this manner allows the ghostly interlocuter to point to spaces on confusion, complication and contradiction.

In foregrounding the complexity of the social, Gordon draws attention to the importance of situating the researcher in space and time. The context of the subject- her situatedness, within her history (real/imagined/perceived), culture (her own, her collective), her psychology etc., is too complex for us to ever be able to strip away all of the extraneous variables and provide a method that is capable of doing justice to complex personhood and still being replicable. Therefore, Gordon argues, I need to deploy Michael Taussig's 'sympathetic magic': 'necessary because in the world and between us as analysts and the worlds we encounter to translate into world-making words are hauntings, ghosts and gaps, seething absences, and muted presences', (Gordon, 2008, p.21). Undertaking a ghost hunt and then viewing the data through the framework of Haunting then aims to 'adequately understand the social-subjective material [of a phenomenon] without either reducing these matters to the epiphenomenal or detaching them from [their contexts]' (Gordon, 2008, p.xvii). As Wendy Brown neatly summarises, the 'truth' that we inherit is

> 'not "what really happened" to the dead but what lives on from that happening, what is conjured from it, how past generations and events occupy the force fields of the present, how they claim us, and how they haunt, plague, and inspirit our imaginations and visions for the future' (2001, p.150).

The aim then, is to explore how and why specific iterations of the past live on in preference to others and to question the capacity of the living to speak for the dead.

Considering myself, the researcher, as bound to a specific context but haunted by the ghosts of the past and future encourages a move to the fourth and final theme of Haunting, that of power. As a feminist researcher I am committed to both exploring and illuminating webs of dis/empowerment and to enabling marginalised voices to be heard (Parkins and Karpinski, 2014; Shepherd, 2009; Steans, 2013; Pettman, 1996). However, Gordon challenges me with a series of questions when she explores what it means to undertake a ghost hunt. In an article whose main topic is a detour (from giving a presentation at a conference to finding out about the woman missing from the photograph) Gordon detours (again) to discuss the power of the photograph and its relationship with the gendered and oppressive practices of early psychoanalysis (Gordon, 1990). The (cob)web of power, as she attempts to write it, seems to writhe under her pen, deflecting and distracting from the (apparent) primary topic of conversation. This difficulty of writing the complexity of the chains and links of the power involved in each and every story, fictional and factual (and almost always somewhere in between), invites the reader to ask, 'In her writing, what is Gordon not saying?', 'What power is so insidious that this attempt to render it visible would make the story incomprehensible in its contradictions, revolutions, reiterations, and tangents?' In Gordon's work it seems that complexity is, like the writing of Judith Butler, written into the body of the text as a means of illustrating what the writer is speaking of, that life is complicated (Butler, 1999a; see also Marinucci, 2010). After all, I have used Gordon's work outside of its original context, taken it out of its situatedness within a specific academic discipline (Sociology) and asked it to play nicely with another (International Relations). Whilst the lines drawn between the two disciplines are undoubtedly arbitrary and the overlap between them greater than we sometimes allow, they do have their own specific heritages, histories, and, of course, ghosts. The conventions within the security studies branch of International Relations which this thesis aims to speak to, cannot necessarily be easily bent to fit with the underpinnings of a sociological methodology. What is the power of these disciplinary lines?

In keeping with the poststructural feminism I adopt for this thesis, the 'posthumanist subject' of the ghost opens the gendered binaries of masculinities and femininities to critique in ways that are in keeping with the ethical commitments of both Haunting as a framework and feminism as a political project (Gunn, 2006, p.83; Gordon, 2008; Auchter, 2014; Blanco and Peeren, 2013; Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Whilst Haunting offers a means of 'opening up' gendered binaries, acknowledging that 'haunted spaces… emerge through a specific refusal of classification' it currently lacks an adequate vocabulary to make sense of this opening (Holloway and Kneale, 2008, p.308). In order to make the most of this opening I suggest the addition of an interjection from queer theory. Specifically, the inclusion of Cynthia Weber's (2014b, 2016) 'queer logic', as the vocabulary through which the potential for binary resistance in Haunting can be more adequately realised.

Queer Theory & Queer Logic

Queer theory grew out of the work of Evie Sedgwick (2008, 1993, 2000), Teresa de Lauretis (1986, 1987, 1990, 1991) and Judith Butler (1999, 2004, 2011) and is now applied to a wide range of diverse subject areas: sexualities and identity politics, literature, Shakespeare studies, legal theory, human resource development, international political economy, geography and the area of this thesis: subjects relating to international security and war (for example Carlin, 2012; Fineman et al., 2009; Gedro and Mizzi, 2014; Griffin, 2009; Smith, 2012; Binnie, 2009; Shepherd and Sjoberg, 2012; Weber, 2014; Wilcox, 2014). Like feminism, queer theory also looks at the power of binaries, adding normal/perverse, particularly in the form of heterosexual/homosexual to feminist scholarship (Weber, 2016, p.199). For example Evie Sedgwick's list of binary distinctions relating to international security includes 'public/private, domestic/foreign, discipline/terrorism, secrecy/disclosure, natural/artificial, wholeness/decadence and knowledge/ignorance' (Sedgwick in Weber, 2014, p.598). But similarly to post-structural feminists, the aim is not to reproduce these binaries, but to reveal the instabilities, contradictions, and inherent 'queerness' within them. As such '[q]ueer IR

scholars…track when queer figurations emerge and how they are normalized/perverted' with the aim of producing 'deviant knowledges' (Ahmed, 2006) and queer logic.

It is not possible to do justice to the entirety (or even a substantial portion) of the vast array of queer theory literature here, and the thesis aims to utilise only *one* component of queer thinking, which is Weber's (2016, 2014) 'queer logic'. Based on Roland Barthes (1974, 1977) 'plural logic,' the idea of queer logic is specifically related to challenging the kinds of problems with binaries noted earlier, with queer logic providing a means of being *and/or* rather than *either/or.* This means 'that one can be a boy *or* a girl while at the same time being a boy *and* a girl' (Weber, 2014, p.598), and therefore 'queer subjectivities more than exceed binary logics of the *either/or*' (Weber, 2016, p.166). Weber adds to Barthes logic by pluralising the very plural logic that he proposes, creating a '(pluralised) *and/or*' to exceed and queer the binary categories that Barthes invites us to challenge (Weber, 2016 Kindle Location 909). This, Weber argues, allows for identities to be more than 'and' *and/or* 'or', such as Eurovision singer Conchita Wurst who can be read across a multiplicity of binaries and who forms a core component of Weber's (2016) analysis. Approaching the concerns of International Relations in this way 'directs us… to categories that connect *and* break apart foundational binaries… by understanding the stabilizing 'slash' in these binaries as multiplying and complicating connections, figures, and orders rather than reducing and stabilizing them' (Weber, 2016 Kindle Location 948).

As such, queer logic troubles the binaries that establish as separate the male from female, the black from white, the abled from the disabled etc. (Wiegman, 2006; Halberstram, 2007; Jackson, 2006; Browne, 2012; Munoz and Browne, 2012). Queer theorists shed light on the tenuousness of links that are considered concrete and rigid, asking why structures are made in the ways that they are, asking who benefits and who suffers, situating the categories in the social context in which they function, rather than arguing that they represent immutable and eternal truths (Browne, 2012; Puar, 2007; Peterson and Runyan, 2010). For example, Marinucci explains how the heterosexual/homosexual binary is constructed:

> 'I am homosexual only in a culture that, first, has a definition of homosexuality and, second, has a definition of homosexuality that applies to me. Likewise, I am heterosexual only in a culture that, first, has a definition of homosexuality and, second, has a definition of homosexuality that applies to people other than me. The concept of heterosexuality, and hence heterosexual identity, could not exist without the concept of homosexuality, and hence homosexual identity.' (2010, p.6)

This echoes[27] the way that feminists have demonstrated the construction of gender where feminine is what is not masculine and masculine is what is not feminine. In both gender binary and hetero/homo binary the dyad is relational: mutually exclusive as well as hierarchical (Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Sylvester, 1994; Shepherd, 2010; Sjoberg, 2014).

I include Weber's 'queer logic' in my use of Haunting because, being neither dead nor alive, being present but also absent, ghosts already inherently embody this logic. As such I want to render this connection explicit. As Derrida notes ghosts are 'more than one/no more one [le plus d'un]', bringing '[an] either/or logic into question' (2006, p.xx; Auchter, 2014, p.3). I am therefore not *making* Haunting reflect a queer logic, this logic was already built in to it. Rather I am choosing to highlight this queer logic because it helps to draw out the ways in which the arguments of masculinity and femininity in relation to military technologies are limited because the experiences of the crews are always, already, 'exceeding all binary opposites' (Harris, 2015, p.17). For those individuals who view the introduction of the drone as heralding a new age, or a revolution in military affairs, the ghosts serve to demonstrate the way 'the becoming-future is haunting us' through fears of terminators, swarms, and lethal autonomous robots (Puar, 2007). For individuals who are troubled by the way that drones captured the public zeitgeist and the way the arguments slid past each other so much like oil and water, the ghosts draw attention to how 'being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically' (Puar, 2007). The ghosts create a liminal shadowy space in which the crews can simultaneously be distant and present, be powerful and be impotent, be warriors and not be warriors. By

[27] Without implying that the concerns of feminists come *before* the concerns of queer theorists.

drawing on the 'sensuous knowledge', and the 'peripheral things, sniping from the side-lines and the depths', I have tried in the following chapters to paint the complicated picture of the interaction between gender and military technologies in a way that rejects the feminized/masculinized dichotomy and embraces the queer logics of the ghost (Gordon, 2008, pp.60, 205; Frosh, 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the framework and methodology that I use in this thesis. Going back to the title of the introduction 'life's complicated' is useful because at its heart this is what Haunting is all about: complications, complexity, and contradictions (Marinucci, 2010; Gordon, 2008). I argue for the use of Haunting to research military technologies and gender because it provides a means through which to understand the data that does not 'fit' with conventional gender narratives, as outlined in the previous chapter. Through the application of Haunting, it is possible to construct an assessment of the interaction(s) between gender and military technology in situated, particular, nuanced ways: 'connect[ing] ideas and events that at first appear unrelated' (Coddington, 2011, p.744). In addition, by interrogating gender and military technology through the prism of Haunting I aim to illuminate how the individuals who engage with military technologies are always already haunted by ghosts of history, future, complexity, gender, intersectionality, instability; by ghosts that are here and there, absent and present, alive and dead.

This chapter began by situating Gordon's work within the wider body of the 'spectral (re)turn' literature, reflecting a growing scholarly interest in the ghost as a 'conceptual metaphor' (Luckhurst, 2002; Blanco and Peeren, 2013). From here the chapter moved to explore the four core themes of Gordon's Haunting: complex personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, disturbed temporality and power. Drawing out the way that Gordon uses literary criticism as a means of engaging with the concerns of sociology, I argued that the framework of Haunting provides an

important means of engaging with the effects of intersectional identifiers and issues of interest to International Relations. The following section then sketched out why this framework is particularly useful for studying the interaction between gender and military technologies. Because the introduction of drones invites the consideration of their position along so many binary distinctions: near/far, novel/progressive, intimate/distant, historical fact/(science)fiction; and because the data about drones and their use appears to include elements that straddle the 'slash', it was necessary to find a framework that could take this into account. Given Haunting's engagement with ghosts (figures who breech the dead/alive and present/absent boundaries) it provides a useful means of getting to the liminal, shadowy spaces where gender is doing work in this context.

The second part of the chapter introduced the methodology associated with the framework of Haunting, the methodology of the ghost hunt. In this section I introduced 'sensuous knowledges', those sources of information outside of the traditional 'visible and concrete' as a means of gaining additional insights in to the work that gender does (Radway cited in Gordon, 2008, p.viii). 'Sensuous knowledge' then, is the way in which ghost hunting embraces complexity. This complexity, I argued, already includes the important aims of destabilizing binaries, however it is lacking the necessary vocabulary through which to make this explicit. As a result, the final section of this chapter introduced my addition to the ghost hunt in the form of queer logic. Via a short introduction to queer theory in which this logic is situated, I argued that the inclusion of Weber's queer logic is the important final component required to make the ghost hunt a useful methodology for interrogating the interaction between gender and military technologies. Rendering explicit the ways in which intersectional identifiers can, and do, exceed *either/or* distinctions, the inclusion of queer logic provides the language to explore logics of *and/or* which emerge through discussions of the work that gender does in the lives of British Reaper crews. These crews are situated against a specific contextual backdrop of history, culture and myth; and

in the next chapter I explore this backdrop through a ghost hunt of the figure of the warrior - the masculine ghost of the histories, myths and legends of war through the ages and across space.

CHAPTER 3: H(A)UNTING THE WARRIOR

'The warrior identity itself is … an inherently unstable construction. As a form of masculinity it demands constant testing. The results are predictably contested.' (Gardiner, 2012, p.380)

'It is from [a] notion of lineage that the warrior derived his most exalted and mystic sense of who he was: not merely a mortal individual, "born of woman," but a link within a far superior tradition, analogous to a priesthood and composed exclusively of men, meaning often only "noble" men.' (Ehrenreich, 1998, p.151)

Introduction

Concerns about the 'feminization' of contemporary Western militaries are often framed in terms of the loss of the warrior spirit (Van Creveld, 2001; Coker, 2007a, 2013). This 'warrior spirit', the commentators argue, is what divides soldiers (who fight in pursuit of a wider, socially desirable cause) from mercenaries (who fight instrumentally for money) (Braudy, 2005). It is what divides the individual who is a soldier because he is conscripted and the individual who is a soldier because it enables him to become a better version of himself (Coker, 2013; Kaurin, 2014; French and McCain, 2005). In these narratives about the warrior, the relationship between the individual and military technology is expressed in the relationship between the warrior and his weapon - be that Excalibur or the 'Fat Man' atomic bomb. The changeable nature of the ghost of the warrior as part of this interaction with technology is, for example illustrated by Robert L. O'Connell who noted:

> '…the change in the ideal warrior personality is wrought by the advent of guns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from 'ferocious aggressiveness' to 'passive disdain'. So there is no personality type- 'hot tempered', 'macho', or whatever- consistently and universally associated with warfare' (cited in Ehrenreich, 1998, p.9).

The type of military technology, therefore, is implicated in the kind of behaviour and attributes deemed desirable in the warrior, and different kinds of masculinity which needed to be performed to gain the warrior status.

Before I begin, it is necessary to add the following caveat: this chapter lays out a gendered reading of various iterations of the warrior as masculine (and heteronormative) as though this were unproblematic. This is not the case, but I do so in order to illustrate the 'traditional' (not necessarily historically accurate) backdrop against which I situate the lives and experiences of British Reaper crews. This is because these 'traditional' iterations have become the dominant narratives. In the empirical chapters of this thesis I will begin to unpick and problematize some of the binaries and gendered 'stories' about the warrior. The purpose of this chapter is to lay out a reading which I will use my empirical chapters to critique.

With this in mind, the chapter argues that the ghost of the warrior acts as a 'semiotic [trope] that combine[s] knowledges, practices, and power to shape how we map our worlds and understand actual things in those worlds' (Weber, 2016 Kindle Location 663). In so doing, the chapter sets out some different ways and places that the ghost of the warrior appears. The framework of Haunting, laid out in the previous chapter, usefully draws attention to the ways that the warrior figure is a ghostly figure so that the current styles and structures of military masculinity are laid across historical/mythological accounts, figures from the past/possibilities for the future, social/cultural/psychological elements and hierarchies that dis/empower. Barbara Ehrenreich provides some illustrations which demonstrate the pertinence of the ghostly to the study of the warrior, noting that General Patton 'believed he was the reincarnation of dead heroes, both confederate and Viking' and that 'Nineteenth-century Prussians… saw themselves as the successors of the Spartan and the Assyrians, or rooted their pedigree in medieval times, sometimes describing themselves as crusaders' (1998, pp.152, 153). The haunting of the contemporary military by the ghosts of 'warriors past' is woven into the very fabric of the institutions. For example, as Victoria Basham notes of her fieldwork 'The dining hall, where I had

lunch, is full of long wooden tables and painted portraits of long dead military men' (2013, p.1). As a result the literature on 'the warrior' ranges across ancient history, anthropology, sociology, and military culture (See for example Van Creveld, 2001; Coker, 2013; Elshtain, 1995; Sylvester, 2013; Pressfield, 2011; French, 2005). The ghost of the warrior appears and reappears throughout ancient and modern literature, art, political accounts, and poetry. Therefore, research into the warrior reveals that there is a plethora of "quintessential" warriors, and as such, there is no *one* original warrior but a multitude (Ehrenreich, 1998; Coker, 2002; French and McCain, 2005).

As the Gardiner quote at the start of the chapter illustrates, the figure of the warrior is 'inherently unstable', being constantly constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed and therefore the ghostly warriors outlined in this chapter are not an exhaustive collection but function as an 'amuse bouche' of possible iterations. The space constraints mean that each sketch is necessarily limited and incomplete, but represents an attempt to give a flavour of the differences and similarities. This chapter traces the spectral and shadowy stories of different warrior masculinities through the following iterations: The Classical Greek, the Brother-at-Arms, the Chivalrous Gentleman, the Warrior as Lover, the Beautiful Hero and the Husband-Protector. I have chosen these because they cover a range of historical periods, geographical, cultural, and social contexts.[28] These warriors were also chosen because in their ghostliness they continue to have an impact on the understanding of what it means to be a warrior and to enact military masculinity today. As such, the chapter concludes with a reflection on the overarching theme of masculinity which interweaves through the various figurations outlined in the ghost hunt. This theme is an implicit component of the warrior figure in all its iterations, but the role of gender and the sexed/gendered body is rarely explicitly acknowledged within the literature. The ghost

[28] As a second caveat to this chapter, I have chosen these iterations because they have particular cultural resonance for the case study of the thesis. Therefore, whilst the chapter is not *exclusively* concerned with Western warrior ghosts, it is certainly Western-centric in its focus. As such, I reiterate, this collection of ghostly warriors is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to serve as a useful backdrop to the discussions in the subsequent empirical chapters which focus on the experiences of British servicemen and women.

hunt then functions to illustrate the patchwork heritage of the warrior figure whilst also illuminating the interlinking, spectral threads of gender and the sexed/gendered body in its construction.

The Warrior(s)

The Classical Warrior

In the literature on warriors, the characters in Homer's (1991) *The Iliad* are often held up as the 'archetypal' warrior and warrior-like behaviour[29] (Van Creveld, 2001; Coker, 2001; Pressfield, 2011; French, 2005). To paraphrase Chris Hedges, the themes of *The Iliad* include power, force, violence, and 'the everlasting fame that will be denied to [the warriors] without heroic death' (2003, p.12) As Hedges notes, amongst the various figures within *The Iliad*, Achilles is most frequently referred to in writings about the warrior and in texts about war (Freedman, 2013; Scheipers and Greiner, 2014; Hartsock, 1984; Damousi and Lake, 1995; Norris, 2008). For Achilles, war is everything: 'it define[s] his personality and [gives] him a reason for being' and as a result *The Iliad* is primarily about Achilles' experience of war (Coker, 2013, p.248). The argument that Achilles' represents the archetypal warrior is, at least partly, predicated on his physical strength. The need for warriors of this era to exhibit a brute strength is related to the technologies of war which were available at the time. In a time when soldiers were required to slash and stab one another, to carry heavy shields, to grapple physically with one another, to use their bodily strength to climb walls etc., physical fitness was a core component of being an able and competent soldier. Additionally, the situation of Achilles' actions within the historical and cultural context of Ancient Troy illuminates how the conceptualisation of 'right' action for a warrior has changed over time. For example, some of the actions that Achilles undertakes, such as the desecration of Hector's corpse, would in contemporary Western militaries be deemed

[29] Although one of the aims of this chapter is to destabilize this claim that Achilles is *particularly,* or more archetypal than any of the other iterations described here.

unacceptable, immoral, and even criminal (Homer and Fagles, 1991; Kaurin, 2014; French and McCain, 2005).

Odysseus (also referred to as Ulysseus), who is described as 'an entirely new kind of warrior', he is 'quite distinct from [Achilles], [as he] uses his wits, not just his strength, to conquer his opponents…' famously capturing Troy by the use of the (original) Trojan Horse (French and McCain, 2005, p.59; Homer and Pope, n.d., p.124). Using different technology and skills from Achilles, Odysseus exhibits cunning in a stream of different escapades, including escaping from Cyclops by hiding under the body of a sheep, lying his way onto the Island of Ithaca and concealing himself as a beggar to hide from his wife (Homer and Pope, n.d.). Unlike Achilles whose key personality traits are 'loyalty, courage, honour, resistance to the misuse of political authority, independence of judgement, and raw physical power' and whose passion and physical strength render him heroic; Odysseus, whilst still mighty, prefers to use his 'guile', and his intelligence to get what he wants (Kaurin, 2014, p.2; Coker, 2013, p.112). What this demonstrates is that even within one iteration of the warrior, there remains difference between how that identity is constructed. Odysseus is also remembered for his return to his wife Penelope and for rescuing the beautiful Helen from Paris, highlighting his masculinity by protecting the women in his life, a theme that will be returned to later in the chapter under the figurations of the warrior as lover and Husband-Protector (Sjoberg and Via, 2010, p.5). Despite their differences, Odysseus resembles Achilles in the importance placed on courage and personal risk to the construction of his character as a warrior and hero. Perhaps most importantly, both men are soldiers. Whilst being a soldier does not necessarily render the individual a 'warrior', with the former term referring to a job description and the latter to an existential and emotional connection to the experience of war, being a solider nevertheless provides the most obvious means through which an individual can demonstrate warrior attributes.

Brother-at-Arms/Blood Brothers

An important relationship for the warrior was/is that with his 'brothers' in arms, for as Michael Allsep notes, 'It has largely been this shared experience of danger and deprivation in a distant place that gave combat units their invaluable comradeship' (2013, p.387). We see this not only in classical renditions of the war story, such as Achilles' connection with Patroklos, but as a repeating motif in both historical and fictional accounts of war. For example, in his St Crispin's Day Speech, Shakespeare's Henry V claims that, 'For he to-day that sheds his blood with me/Shall be my brother…', expressing the belief that those who fight together develop a bond which is as strong as the bond between brothers (Shakespeare, 1598 Act IV, Scene III). The bond of brothers, it is worth noting, if often considered to be one of blood, i.e. their bond is based on the idea that they share the blood of their parents, hence the phrase "blood is thicker than water", reflecting the idea that family relationships are the most valuable and the most deserving of our loyalty. In battle warriors may be injured and shed blood, and this shedding of blood is endowed with expressive meaning because many warriors may shed blood in pursuit or defence of the same cause (Kaurin, 2014). Therefore, the shedding of blood in battle may be seen as the sharing of blood between the men involved, rendering them as close as brothers.

Regardless of the tools/technology employed to shed the enemies' blood, 'warriors fight and are motivated, not primarily by abstract ideals but by the man beside him'. Therefore, the reason that warriors fight is not for foreign policy reasons but to save the lives of the men they serve alongside in a manner appropriate to the warrior identity (Kaurin, 2014, p.27; see also Braudy, 2005, p.56). This connection with fellow men-at-arms is not a romantic fiction of 'days gone by' but something which remains pertinent today: John Bornmann acknowledged the special position of his comrades stating

> ‘Special thanks do go to the members of my team during my deployment… the bonds of soldiers who have served together go deeper than friendship, and you will always be my brothers’ (2009, p.iv).

Similarly, in two accounts of individuals who served in the Royal Air Force in the recent conflict in Afghanistan, the potential of individuals being caught in ‘friendly fire’ incidents was referred to as the potential for ‘fratricide’: the killing of a brother (Loveless, 2010).

As noted above, the connection between warrior brothers is important because it is through this that a warrior may begin to experience the expressive side of war:

> ‘When a warrior fights not for himself, but for his brothers, when his most passionately sought goal is neither glory nor his own life’s preservation, but to spend his substance for them, his comrades, not to abandon them, not to prove unworthy of them, then his heart truly has achieved contempt for death, and with that he transcends himself and his actions touch the sublime’ (Pressfield, 2000, p.456).

As a result many autobiographical and biographical accounts of various wars utilise the term “Band of Brothers” to describe the close emotional bonds between soldiers and how their lives and relationships with one another are changed through the shared experiences of risk and loss (For example Fleming, 1996; Kent, 2013; McDonald, 1989; Brune, 2000; Winters and Kingseed, 2011; Urban, 2014). The most well-known of these accounts refers to the experiences of E Company, 506th Regiment, 1st Airborne in the Second World War, which was also serialised on television. However the phrase is also used to speak about the experiences of American soldiers in Vietnam, the US Civil War, in the US Navy in the mid-1700s, of Australian soldiers in Vietnam and Malaysia, soldiers in the Spanish Civil War, British Tank Regiments in the Second World War and other World War accounts demonstrating the continuing salience of the concept in fiction and nonfiction alike (Fleming, 1996; Kent, 2013; McDonald, 1989; Winters and Kingseed, 2011; McFarlane and James, 2010; Brune, 2000; Urban, 2014; Arthur, 2009).

Chivalrous Gentleman

The spectral figure of the medieval knight may be found at the round table of the legend of King Arthur, with individuals who were commanded to enact their roles in a very specific way:

> 'Then the king stablished all his knights, and them that were of lands not rich he gave them lands, and charged them never to do outrageousity nor murder, and always to flee treason; also, by no means to be cruel, but to give mercy unto him that asketh mercy, upon pain of forfeiture of their worship and lordship of King Arthur for evermore; and always to do ladies, damosels, and gentlewomen succour, upon pain of death. Also, that no man take no battles in a wrongful quarrel for no law, nor for no world's goods. Unto this were all the knights sworn of the Table Round, both old and young.' (Malory, 1485 Chapter XV)

This code illustrates that being a warrior in the form of a knight was not just about bravery. It was also predicated on particular kinds of social interactions, ideas of what constituted "good" behaviour and these ideas, if met, constituted the basis for the knight's social position (Braudy, 2005).

The knight, as a warrior, was accorded a high status within medieval courts. Commensurate with this status he could expect to be treated in a certain way, and reciprocally was expected to behave in a certain way with particular 'facial expression, tone of voice, and manners: "magistrum referebat vultu, voce, moribus"' (Scaglione, 1991, p.48). Braudy succinctly summarises what these expressions, manner, and tone were meant to comprise:

> '…the chivalric values they define are loyalty (to the knight's political superior); prowess (which includes both praise of the rash willingness to throw oneself into danger… and the skill to deal with that danger); *franchise*, or an openhanded largesse to one's fellows and followers; and courtesy to women, children, and the elderly.' (Braudy, 2005, p.82)

From this list it is clear that unlike Achilles, this warrior figure based his status on his chivalry and as much on his etiquette in court, as his prowess on the battlefield (although this remained important).

The chivalry of an individual not only depended on how he behaved, but also on *who* he was, revealing the ghostly shape of class privilege (Braudy, 2005, p.65). The identification of the warrior as chivalrous was more easily bestowed on individuals from higher classes (Scaglione, 1991). For example, Braudy notes, 'As the perception of masculinity developed in relation to war in the Middle Ages, "knight" was the bridge between the otherwise separable or even contradictory categories of "noble" and "warrior"' (2005, p.71). This connection may have been largely a result of the cost of enacting the warrior role. Costs such as maintaining a stables and the associated staff, armour and training, as well as access to the kind of educational environment which provided insight into the necessary etiquette were almost always only available to the very wealthy, and in the historical European context this meant the landed gentry (Lambdin, 1999; Chibnall, 1991).

The chivalrous knight (coded masculine) was frequently constructed in opposition to the barbarian (coded feminine and dangerous) 'Other', and therefore is often racialized as white (Maxwell-Stuart, 2006; Tickner, 1992; Hooper, 2001). Graham Dawson traces the ghosts of chivalry within English national identity through colonial endeavours, noting that in the 1800s 'India was the perfect setting for chivalric adventure', one where fortunes could be gained through conquest, exploration into unknown 'native' areas could be undertaken, and a man could prove his masculinity through the subduing the local populace (Dawson, 1994, p.60). In the narratives of the time, subduing of the local populace might be understood as necessary for the 'betterment' of that populace, overlaying the *colonial* knight with patriarchal discourses. Violence against the natives might then be articulated as being 'for their own good', feminizing and infantilizing the local population in the face of the fatherly figure of the white knight. Reflecting this racialized and colonial background, a chivalrous knight might attempt to bring

religion (most usually in the form of Christianity) to the 'heathen' natives (Braudy, 2005, pp.289–292). This character would not only seek to evangelise but also be modest about his successes, a history of which equates the term 'Christian' not only to religious belief but also to a clean living and well-mannered individual (Dawson, 1994, p.108).

Discussions of evangelising knights would be incomplete without reference to the knights involved in the crusades. The Order of the Poor Knights of the Temple of Solomon, more commonly known as The Templars, was initially founded to protect pilgrims in Jerusalem from robbery and muggings, but they were suddenly catapulted to fame and power in 1129 by a series of Papal Bulls (Martin, 2011). Dedicated to the doomed cause of the Christian crusades against the Muslim Saracens in the Middle East, the Templars - '[took] vows of chastity, observe[d] discipline at home and on the battlefield, [ate] in silence, and [held] everything in common' (Maxwell-Stuart, 2006, p.96). The aim of this vow was to establish The Templars as different from previous groups of knights by rejecting worldly goods and practicing a monastic way of life whilst remaining militaristic and armed (Napier, 2011a, 2011b). The connection between a religious living and militarism can also be seen in the Buddhist monks of the Shaolin Temple in China (French and McCain, 2005, p.179). As part of their training, these monks undertook 'a series of highly demanding physical exercises… designed to help the monks focus and control their chi' the aim of which was to enable them to defend their temple and also to attain enlightenment (French and McCain, 2005, p.188). These two aims neatly connect the idea of the physical/instrumental and the existential/expressive elements associated with the figure of the warrior (Kaempf, 2014, 2009; Coker, 2013). That is, the brute strength required to be successful in hand-to-hand combat, and the emotional and psychological courage to be prepared to die for the cause or 'find oneself' through the experience of war. The Shaolin warrior monks were also strictly guided as to the use of violence which they could not use for any material gains, nor for 'ego-driven goals like fame or glory' (French and McCain, 2005, p.192). Unlike the

Knights Templar, the Shaolin monks did not fight to evangelise or eradicate non-believers, but only in self-defence - or the defence of others (French and McCain, 2005, p.193).

Beyond the strict confines of Europe, the Samurai represented an incarnation of the medieval knight. So closely did the European medieval knight and Samurai resemble one another that, Ehrenreich claims, 'had [they] met on the same road, they would have immediately recognized each other as kin' (1998, p.144). Like the European medieval knight, the Samurai's actions and behaviour were governed by a series of rules and codes 'touching every aspect of the warrior's existence, from the sacred to the mundane' (French and McCain, 2005, p.199). The expressive component of warfare was of particular importance to the Samurai: 'death had meaning' because it enabled the individual to demonstrate 'honour, courage and loyalty' all things which enabled the Samurai to also make sense of life (Coker, 2002, p.7). Informed by Shinto, Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, the Bushido code ('The Way of the Warrior') was imbued with layers of transcendental meaning connecting the use of violence with spiritual significance and the virtue of honour (French and McCain, 2005, p.200). The ghost of the Samurai was so potent that Kamikaze pilots in World War II were deemed to be reflecting this figure hundreds of years later and through the modern medium of the fighter plane (Bays, 2008; Coker, 2002).

The Beautiful-Hero

In many accounts the warrior is not framed as demanding the love of a woman, but as warranting it, not only through his heroic deeds, but also through his physical attractiveness (Francis, 2008; Homer and Pope, n.d.; Scaglione, 1991). In Pre-Raphaelite renditions of the warrior, particularly as a knight, the figure is one of exquisite masculine physique, aristocratic features, and fine clothes (see for example Edmund Blair Leighton, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John William Waterhouse and earlier examples by Carpaccio Vittore and Pieter Bruegel). No matter what the context, the warrior, in art, is never ugly. For example, in painted Ancient Greek ceramics, the warrior's body is muscled and strong, whether wrestling fearsome monsters with

his bare hands or engaged in discussions with fellow warriors, his biceps and thigh muscles are bulging and shapely, his pectorals carefully inscribed on his skin. His beard is neatly trimmed, and his body adorned with swirls, and symbols describing a body decorated with jewellery. Additionally, as a reminder of the warrior's appeal to moral 'goodness' many painted renditions of warriors render them saint-like, their heads adorned with brightly coloured or golden halos, highlighting their status as (almost) superhuman/godlike. It is not only the warriors who are depicted as beautiful but the weapons the warriors display are nearly as beautifully rendered as the warriors themselves: jewel encrusted swords, highly decorated shields, and complex, detailed (and undoubtedly extremely heavy) armour, some endowed with magic or super powers preventing their wearer's/wielder's death or injury (Malory, 1485; Knowles and Speed, n.d.). As the sword of Excalibur provides an example, sometimes the weapons are as or more well-known than the individuals who utilise them in their chivalrous deeds and duels (Malory, 1485; Knowles and Speed, n.d.).

The individuals who wield these magical weapons are (usually) warriors who are involved in hand-to-hand combat, where physical strength and skill is paramount (Allsep, 2013; Stephenson, 2012; Kaurin, 2014; Ehrenreich, 1998). In this close killing environment the warrior's bravery and existential 'goodness' is tested as he must look his opponent in the eye as he tests his body against his enemy (Coker, 2007b, p.18). Instrumentally conceived, '[t]he hardened body of the soldier warrior is now a real or potential weapon…', it may be 'envisaged as a permanently connected, interoperable and flexible "platform" for the delivery of force…' (McSorley, 2013, p.10; Whitworth, 2007, p.161). The soldier's body is the material through which war is waged, 'a crucial foundation,' it is the physical presence on the war front and the means through which the force which comprises war is enacted (Lande, 2007, p.96). Although the physical body of the soldier risks damage, dismemberment and death during war time, the ghostly figure of the warrior, as a masculine (rather than male) subject is constructed as *in*vulnerable.

Using Gaten's understanding of the body as not just as the physical (although this is important too) but also symbolic (imaginary) we can see how the vulnerability of the soldier and the invulnerability of the masculine can co-exist, illustrating one place in which the queer logic outlined in the previous chapter is expressed (Gatens, 1996; see also Golden, 2006). The symbolic body of the soldier is important because it is through the identity of the warrior that the soldier understands his role in war: what constitutes "good" reasons to utilise violence, and how the ghostly warrior of multiple pasts can be translated into the modern situation and understood as a masculine role. The physical body of the solider is important because it is through this physical body that war is fought, it is both the means through which violence is inflicted, and the place where the results of that violence might be transcribed in scars and wounds. Therefore, whilst the figure of the warrior is important as a symbolic body, how this body is understood has implications for the real, lived, fleshy bodies of soldiers whose lives are haunted by the mythology of the warrior.

Warrior as Lover

In many myths, legends and stories the warrior's relationship with his (usually, but not exclusively female) lover is one of his defining characteristics and reasons for bearing arms. Consider Raphael's (1504) rendition of *An Allegory (A Vision of Knight):* the sleeping armoured figure is visited by two women, one carrying a book and a sword, and the other a small posy of flower. This is thought to represent virtue on the one hand and pleasure on the other (National Gallery, n.d.). Whilst the sword is present as one representation of virtue, it is interesting to note that the other representation of virtue is a book, indicating that the knight was required to be more than a figure of brute strength and courage in battle, but also to be a learned scholar. Additionally, the commentary on the painting from the National Gallery argues that virtue and pleasure are 'equal qualities to which an ideal soldier should aspire', rather than one acting as a temptation against the other's inherent 'goodness' (National Gallery, n.d.). Additionally, 'pleasure', which we might now consider a 'distraction' from what we would expect from the

warrior, is not viewed as the pursuit of sexual gratification but as the morally superior 'love'. The equal weighting of virtue through learning and martial action and pleasure understood as love, paints a very different picture of the warrior from the figure found in Achilles and more reflective of the chivalrous knight.

The need to defend and love women is a repeating theme through much of the literature on warriors, particularly echoing through the idea of 'courtly love'. This concept may be defined as 'staging vexed heterosexual liaisons between aristocratic couples within an idealized public sphere of refined court life in the High Middle Ages…' (Burns, 2001, p.23). It was expressed through a knight's devotional actions towards his love interest in the form of carrying 'favours' from her (i.e. a handkerchief or flower) into battle, challenging anyone who offended her, and writing poetry or songs about her (Burns, 2001). Edward Leighton's painting *God Speed* depicts an example of courtly love as a woman ties a red sash around the arm of the mounted knight as a symbol of her regard for him and as an object for him to return to her when he comes back, safe and well, from heroic battle. Courtly love was generally held to be unrequited and it was considered perfectly reasonable for the object of the courtly love to be married to another man (see for example the rules laid out by Cappellanus in 1184). Whilst it was considered suitable for a warrior knight to love a woman from afar, to indulge in 'the excess to which their passions might naturally tempt them' was something to be fought against (Lash, 1995, p.25). The temptations of the flesh in its fully carnal form was considered unworthy of the chivalrous knight, who should love his lady with 'loving esteem, worthiness and… dignity' (Lash, 1995, p.25). As Braudy notes 'the lure of love, expressed through the twin enticements of the sexual and the domestic, has the tendency to erode the warrior ethic and expose the knight to potentially subversive forces', acting as a reminder of the dangers associated with the feminine in relation to the masculine warrior identity (2005, p.106).

The warrior, however, is not entirely immune from the connection between sexual prowess and physical masculinity. The importance of the body to the Warrior as Lover can be seen in the following quote:

> 'His hold on life was marvellous. He didn't die, and the bits seemed to grow together again. For two years he remained in the doctor's hands. Then he was pronounced a cure, and could return to life again, with the lower half of his body, from the hips down, paralysed for ever… The gay excitement had gone out of the war... dead.' (Lawrence, 2013, pp.7–9, 117–119)

Taken from the famous *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* without a fully functioning body the individual is unable to enjoy the 'gay excitement' of war or that of conjugal relations with his wife. The extensive martial trauma causes extensive *marital* trauma, and his wife takes a lover. This connects the physical incapability of the wounded soldier to perform his role as a warrior and his role as a husband: Both roles relying heavily on the physical and sexual performance of masculinity.

Husband-Protector

For thousands, probably tens of thousands of years, we men have laid down our lives so that the women we love might live. (Van Creveld, 2013a)

As shown in the story of St George and the Dragon, on completing the onerous and dangerous task set before him, many a warrior either returns to or is awarded with a woman, usually a wife (Gale, 1777; Lash, 1995). In addition to being a 'gift' bestowed on the warrior in recognition of his manly heroism, the 'wife' is an individual whom the warrior is bound to protect, and this becomes a marker of his identity (Hicks Stiehm, 1982; Carver, 2006). Within the traditional family unit the husband/male is usually described as the head of the household, with the wife/female and children as subservient to him (Peterson and Runyan, 2010). Where his home (read: wife and children) are endangered, the warrior is duty-bound to provide protection

through his physical prowess and martial skill (Pin-Fat and Stern, 2005; Elshtain, 1995; Cooke and Woollacott, 1993; Stern and Zalewski, 2009). Arguments about the masculine 'urge' to protect, Charlotte Hooper argues, are ultimately connected with ideas of the 'naturalness of men's aggression' so that protection and masculinity are constructed as mutually constitutive (Hooper, 2001, p.81). As the Van Creveld (2013a) quote above illustrates, the importance of having someone 'at home' as a motivator to protect continues to haunt our opinions of war and the appropriate activities for individuals in war (Elshtain, 1995; Van Creveld, 2001; Cohn, 2000).

The Husband-Protector's 'urge' to protect his family represents a specific iteration of masculinity, one which appears in some ways to contradict that of the warrior. As Iris Marion Young notes, the protector is a

> 'benign image of masculinity, one more associated with ideas of chivalry [where] real men are neither selfish nor do they seek to enslave or overpower others for the sake of enhancing themselves. Instead, the gallantly masculine man is loving and self-sacrificing, especially in relation to women. He faces the world's difficulties and dangers in order to shield women from harm and allow them to pursue elevating and decorative arts. The role of this courageous, responsible, and virtuous man is that of a protector' (2003, p.4).

This iteration of the warrior is not focused on killing the enemy, but on risking his life to save the lives of those his role and identity as a warrior require him to protect (Elshtain, 1995). Laura Sjoberg uses the dedication to Paul Ray Smith in the *St Petersburg Times* as an example of how the ideal warrior is constructed as a 'husband, soldier, and protector':

> 'We can remember a husband who cherished his wife. We can praise a father who loved his children. We can recall a soldier who cared for his men. And we can celebrate the life and legacy of a man who gave the last full measure of devotion to his country' (Cited in Sjoberg, 2010a, p.214)

Paul Ray Smith's death is then constructed through this and other dedications as the death of an honourable warrior. He has died to save the lives of those he loves, to protect his family (wife

and children) and his nation ('the motherland'). Jean Bethke Elshtain theorised this reading of the masculine warrior as 'the Just Warrior' who aims to protect the 'Beautiful Soul' who is weak, virginal and incapable of protecting herself (and therefore without agency) (Elshtain, 1995; See also Sjoberg, 2007, p.4; Cooke, 1996). We can see this logic haunting modern day conflicts, as Lee notes, 'From Obama to Blair, establishing and maintaining support for military interventions has been pursued in part by repeatedly stressing the need to protect women…'. Such an approach brings to the forefront not just the gendered logic of the male protector, but also the racialized logic of the white man protecting brown women from brown men (Spivak, 1988, p.297; see also Lee, 2015, p.99; Duncanson, 2014; Sjoberg and Via, 2010). The white male warrior in the form of the "English Gentleman" is positioned as the protector of both white and brown women from the oriental savagery of brown men who place women at risk of being harmed (Hooper, 2001; Dawson, 1994).

The concept of the manly protector hinges on the idea that the feminine is in need of that protection (and specifically the protection of *white* masculinity). Critics of women's participation in the military are haunted by the fear that men might get themselves killed trying to protect their female comrades (although this ignores the protective impulse of the brother-at-arms narrative) (Van Creveld, 2000; Morgan, 1994a). Because the woman has been traditionally coded as needing protection, these critics argue, the male soldiers will 'naturally' feel more inclined to come to the aid of the female comrades even when it is dangerous and against their orders to do so. Additionally, the warrior's identity *requires* that there be someone 'at home' to protect, as without 'the protected', the warrior loses both his identity and his source of reward (Pin-Fat and Stern, 2005). Allowing women onto the battlefield deprives the warrior-protector of his rationale for risking his life, and some argue, degrades the entire experience of war (Van Creveld, 2000, 2001). As a result the theatre of war is separated from the 'home front' which clearly delineates the differentiation between the public and private, and therefore the spheres which belong to the masculine and the feminine (Horn, 2010; Via, 2010). For example:

> 'The role of the military spouse in the modern age is indicative of this dichotomization. Military spouses (read: wives) are socialized to accept their role as caretaker and peacemaker, and further socialized to accept that these issues are secondary issues, a footnote to the "national security interest."' (Horn, 2010, p.62)

As well as limiting the agency of women in war time, feminising the country or nation, or personifying it as a woman, meant that warriors could play out the role of protector on a larger scale (Goldstein, 2001; Braudy, 2005, p.22). The nation is then constructed simply as a larger version of the 'standard household' whereby the husband is required to protect against external threats and to direct the behaviour of the women and children (his subordinates). As Iris Marion Young notes:

> 'To the extent that citizens of a democratic state allow their leaders to adopt a stance of protectors toward them, these citizens come to occupy a subordinate status like that of women in the patriarchal household…At the same time that it legitimates authoritarian power over citizens internally, the logic of masculinist protection justifies aggressive war outside' (Young, 2003, p.2).

In addition to gendering and racializing the role of the warrior protector, the casting of the warrior as 'protector' establishes his heteronormativity. There is no place in this formulation for the warrior who is protecting his (male) partner at home. There is also no place for the female warrior to be protecting her husband or (female) partner. The armour provided for the husband-protector is one-size fits all: That is, designed to fit the hard, erect male physique with a space for a keepsake, a remainder of the woman left behind, in need of his protection.

Masculinity and the Figure(s) of the Warrior

Whilst the literature on the warrior, and the social and cultural artefacts which reflect its power, is/are wide ranging and varied, there is little acknowledgement of the overarching theme of masculinity which pervades all of the commentary (with the exception of Braudy, 2005). Even in texts that include references to female warriors these individuals are constructed as "the Other"

and as anomalies that prove the rule (Goldstein, 2001; Van Creveld, 2001; Mayor, 2014). Masculinity, in the discourses of the warrior, acts as an implicit organising principle in that it shapes what can and cannot be construed as warrior-like behaviour (Peterson, 2010). For example the masculinity of the Classical Warrior is largely constructed around his physical martial prowess (Kaurin, 2014). In the worlds inhabited by warriors like Achilles and Odysseus, battle relied on the strength of each individual to lift and adequately use the basic equipment they were given (primarily swords or spears and shields). Using these weapons, the soldiers were required to demonstrate their identity as warriors by the piercing of the enemies' flesh, or using their bare hands to kill. Those who could kill in this manner, and kill many, were granted the highest status and deemed the best representation of manliness/masculinity, and therefore the best warriors (Homer and Fagles, 1991; Coker, 2014).

To demonstrate strength was to demonstrate masculinity, and correspondingly to be weak was to be feminine. A warrior's strength was understood only in opposition to weakness. Therefore, that meant that the warrior needed not just to be strong but *stronger than* others, demonstrating the relationality of not just strength and weakness but their relationship to masculinity and femininity. In addition to 'raw physical power', the masculinity of the Classical Warrior is established through action and deployment of intellect and judgement (Kaurin, 2014, p.2). As noted in Chapter 1, action is situated in opposition to passivity in a binary. Intellect and judgement are informed by the binaries rational/emotional and mind/body. In both instances, as with active/passive, the first term is associated with the masculine and is constructed as superior to the second term which is associated with the feminine. By being cunning and using his guile to get out of difficult situations, Odysseus enacts the rationality associated with masculinity.

The 'Brother-at-Arms' iteration of the warrior illuminates the power of friendships in times of trial to transcend the "normal" bond between men and women that rendered the homosocial bond uniquely strong (and inaccessible to women) and enabled the maintenance of the myth of

heterosexuality (Welland, 2013). The 'brothers' within the military provide the audience to whom the warrior may (indeed must) perform his masculinity. This may be through the performance of the masculine component of gendered binaries such as strength (as opposed to the feminine weakness) or through other attributes associated with the masculine (rationality through the suppression of emotion, or focus on the cultural rather than the 'natural') (Hooper, 1998; Duncanson, 2007). The masculinity of the warrior in the 'Brother-at-Arms' iteration may also be partly attributed to the larger numbers of men than women in the vast majority of armed forces. In some instances contemporary resistance to the inclusion of women is framed around the fear of disrupting the bond between the brothers-at-arms through the introduction of 'sisters' (Klimas, 2015; Mitchell, 1989; Caforio, 2006; Carreiras, 2006).

The Chivalrous Gentleman constructs his identity by providing support to the frail flowers of femininity who lacked the agency of the masculine knight (Malory, 1485; Geoffrey Chaucer, n.d.; Burns, 2001). Similarly, the 'white/European' warrior masculinity is situated as hierarchically superior to the racialized barbarian 'Other' who is infantilised as needing to be 'civilized.' The process of 'civilizing' reinforces the masculinity/femininity hierarchy, situating the civilizer as the masculine, active role against the feminised (and infantilised) 'Other'. The Chivalrous Gentleman renders explicit the connection between the existential component of war and patriarchal constructions of masculinity through its relationship with crusading and exploring early European Christianity (Dawson, 1994; Napier, 2011a).

The Beautiful hero connects the idea of moral 'goodness' with physical attractiveness, so that masculinity is constructed as being physically (and sexually) appealing to the opposite sex. The physical strength of the warrior is, in this iteration, not just about winning wars (although this remains integral to his identity) but rather strength, and the embodiment of it, becomes oppositional to the feminine by reinforcing heterosexualism. Similarly, the capacity of the beautiful hero to 'thrust' his sword blade deep into the enemy reinforces the gendered and sexualised binary of the penetrating and the penetrated.

A similar binary logic is displayed through the Warrior as Lover where the warrior is sketched out as unfulfilled lover (avoiding dangerous encounters with the feminine lover) in preference for the cerebral (rational?) love. However, this unrequited love as masculine only functions when the warrior has the physical/sexual capacity to fulfil his desires but chooses not to. The broken body of the Lady Chatterley's husband and her emasculation of him by taking a lover serves to demonstrate the importance of the physical (and sexual capability) of the warrior's body (Lawrence, 2013). The emasculation of Lady Chatterley's husband is compounded by the Husband-Protector iteration of the warrior. In this iteration the masculinity of the warrior is clearly created by his capacity (and responsibility) to protect the home/domestic from the ravages of war, carefully delineating between the two spheres and situating the feminine in the former, rendering the war sphere particularly and peculiarly masculine. The 'Just Warrior' must protect the 'Beautiful Soul', and as a result the 'Beautiful Soul' must submit to being protected and to being banished from the theatre of war, reinforcing both gendered discourses and patriarchal heteronormativity (Elshtain, 1995; Peterson, 2014b, 2014a).

Conclusion

This chapter began by considering the importance of the 'warrior' to discourses about war. Building on the feminist literature reviewed in Chapter 1, I argued that the warrior is an inherently masculine figure. I sketched out this masculinity in this chapter as unproblematic, providing the backdrop to the critical engagements with the concept in the following chapters. With reference to Chapter 2, I argue that the warrior is a ghostly figure, one that is unstable, real whilst not real. As such, the chapter has traced some of the different iterations of the warrior, illustrating the cross-hatching of the spectral and the way that this creates something that is coherent whilst also being ghostly. I have tried to demonstrate the many ways in which history, myth, fiction, fact, art, legend, and popular culture have differently engaged with the idea of the warrior, and the way in which the ghostly warrior has a wide and varied parentage which in no way inhibits its coherence.

The ‘traditional’ narratives of the warrior that I have described in this chapter do not represent the entire collection of warrior stories, but rather a select reading that has tried to indicate some of the many differences between and within warrior-types, across a range of different historical, cultural, and geographical contexts. The ghost hunt reveals some of the wide range of histories, myths, pieces of art, poetry, and pieces of fiction which have informed the development of the figure of the warrior. Whilst it is possible to call to mind ‘a’ warrior, this chapter has demonstrated that ‘he’ comes in many different guises, that there is no one quintessential warrior but many possible warrior figures. As noted in the chapter introduction, this collection is not intended to provide a representation of all of the possible iterations of the warrior but provide an interesting sample for exploration. In this ghost hunt, the ghosts of the classical warrior, the brother-at-arms, the chivalrous medieval knight, the beautiful hero, the lover, and the protector-husband have layered over one another to create the simultaneously singular and yet always changing figure of the warrior.

Within the variations, this chapter has traced the implicit ghost of masculinity which haunts each of the iterations. The warrior, regardless of how s/he is conceived, is always enacting the masculine role which is constructed in opposition to the feminine (Elshtain, 1995; Braudy, 2005). Whether the feminine is represented by a relationship with physical women or by inferior traits in gendered binaries, the masculinity of the warrior relies on his oppositional relationship to the feminine (Grosz, 1994; Peterson and True, 1998). In keeping with Gordon’s desire to use Haunting to render explicit forms of abuse and power, this chapter has outlined how the masculinity of the warrior places him in a position of power over the feminine (Gordon, 1990, 2011). This hierarchy enables the warrior to act in ways that would be constructed as inappropriate for feminine characters, or in some instances enables the warrior to act where the feminine character is not permitted to act at all; demonstrating the power of the active/passive binary in gendered discourses (Elshtain, 1995; Pettman, 1996). Masculinity also constrains the

actions of the warrior - he must act in ways commensurate with his masculine status or risk losing it (Carver, 2006).

As noted previously, this chapter aims to introduce the methodology of the ghost hunt described in the previous chapter, and also to paint the backdrop of the warrior figure who is implicated in the lives and experiences of the British Reaper crews who form the focus of the subsequent chapters. The warrior figure has survived, through mutation and the romance associated with the ghost, the introduction of various different military technologies- from the gun, to the aeroplane, to the a-bomb, and remains a potent influence on the members of the British military today. As this chapter has illustrated, the interaction with these technologies has required the privileging of different kinds of masculinity, be that through 'ferocious aggressiveness' required for hand to hand combat or the 'passive disdain', the calm, calculating rationality needed by the sniper (Ehrenreich, 1998, p.9). Following on from this, the subsequent chapters move to consider how the warrior and his attendant masculinity is challenged and reinforced by the introduction of drone technology.

CHAPTER 4: GRIM REAPERS- NARRATIVES OF MASCULINITY AND KILLING

Introduction

The ghost hunt of the warrior has revealed the myriad puzzle pieces that come together to create the spectral shape of the warrior. As such, the warrior is built out of various nuances, details and particularities that are difficult to capture. One of the threads that holds the layers of the ghostly warrior together is that of killing and dying. Perhaps the most contentious element of the lives of Reaper crews, and certainly the element over which most ink is spilt, is their capacity to use lethal force: to release missiles that kill. Similarly, one of the core capabilities of the warrior is his capacity to inflict death on others and avoid death himself. Through a ghost hunt of the experiences of Reaper crews in the use of lethal force, this chapter illustrates the ways in which Haunting allows an exploration of the densities of life that are the lived expression of the statement that 'life's complicated' (Gordon, 2008, p.1).

By applying a framework of Haunting through a ghost hunt of this element of Reaper crews' experiences, this chapter draws attention to the inherent tension in narratives about killing, masculinity and military technologies. The capacity to kill is illuminated as a core marker of performing military masculinity, and a means through which the crews can access the warrior identity (Cohn, 1987; Goldstein, 2001). However, this is complicated by their distance from the theatre of war and (relative) lack of physical risk which has led to concerns about feminization and cowardice (Asaro, 2013; Royakkers and van Est, 2010). Including 'sensuous' data makes it possible to explore the ways in which killing makes people *feel* uncomfortable and *at the same time* sediments the status of those who do; makes it possible to understand how killing can be *interpreted* through the language of *saving* lives; makes it possible to understand how environments that shy away from death can *simultaneously* fetishize those who die heroically

and the social, cultural and historical weight woven through these narratives (Gordon, 2008, p.205).

In this chapter I engage in conversation with two ghosts who emerge through the discussion of Reaper crews undertaking lethal strikes. These ghosts, as outlined in Chapter 3, are conceptual metaphors that do theoretical work- illuminating the interaction between textual and material forms of knowledge. Therefore, the ghostly figures of this chapter straddle the 'slash' between life and death in novel ways, explored through this chapter through the question of whether crews have a 'duty to kill?' and a 'duty to die?'. Structured like this, I reflect on Gordon's statement that 'complex personhood is about conferring the respect on others that comes from presuming that life and people's lives are simultaneously straightforward and full of enormously subtle meaning' (Weber, 2016 Kindle Location 906; Gordon, 2008, p.5)

The first ghost of the chapter is that of 'the Other'. Gordons understand the 'Other', like many feminist scholars, as an identity marker which signals the dangerous, the deviant, the different, to which Gordon adds the 'Other' of our own psychology, the subjectivity which comes from 'the life of others, and the other things within us' (Gordon, 2008, p.48; Richter-Montpetit, 2007; Sjoberg, 2007). Following this, I use the ghost of the Other to signify the way the crews interact with the targets of lethal strikes, the ways that they make sense of taking life, and the way that this is woven through with narratives of activity, heroism, and paternal masculinity. This chapter argues that the masculinity of the Reaper crews is reinforced by the capacity to kill whilst *at the same time* destabilized by the inevitable moments when the crews fail to *save* lives or cause the death of innocents. The accidental death of civilians, in particular of children, forces us to question the benign, parental masculinity that the crews establish through saving lives and disrupts discourses of the (moral) 'goodness' of the warrior figure more generally.

The second ghost of the chapter is that of cowardice. Through the prism of this ghost I ask whether warriors have a duty to die in order to sediment their masculine status and reflect on

how this requirement is navigated in the (relatively) riskless roles of the Reaper crews. The ghost of cowardice acts as the 'unhappy echo' of the warrior attribute of courage (Woodward and Winter, 2007, p.74). The requirement for members of the British military to act 'bravely' is rendered uncanny by the political aversion to casualties, creating an impossible environment where courage is simultaneously celebrated and undesirable. The chapter also explores the ghost of cowardice by questioning whether Reaper crews are as 'protected' and 'risk free' in their work and lives as they are portrayed.

Wielding the Scythe

'When you sign up you know what you are signing up for... there is always the possibility you'll need to use lethal force… if you have a problem with that go work at the florist…'[30]

Being able to use 'kinetic effect', that is the ability to drop bombs, is an important part of establishing the usefulness and the 'warrior' status of drone crews.[31] But, as this section goes on to illustrate, killing is an act which is difficult to undertake, which raises questions without answers, and which requires engaging with complex ghostly others. Members of the British military are permitted to fight and therefore have the right and responsibility to take life in defence of British military aims. As such, these individuals are granted a 'special' status not available to the general public, and this status is important to the forging of a specific military identity. The 'special status' of being able to kill is perhaps the most pervasive identifier of the (ghostly) warrior figure, and within militaries it is often to those individuals who have permission to kill that the highest masculine status is awarded (Bourke, 1999; Grossman, 2009). This masculine status is connected with having the power to kill and the (cob)web of gendered power that situates the masculine as dominant. As outlined in Chapter 3, killing evokes the

[30] Interview with 'David'
[31] Indeed, having permission to use lethal force was an important experience for those individuals who came to the Reaper crew having not been on a weaponised platform before (Interview with 'Steve')

spectral mythology of physical strength (even where that is not directly relevant to the means of killing), the shared spilling of blood from which the brother-at-arms iteration materialises, and establishes the power status of the individual who can take life as dominant (and therefore masculine) in comparison to those that he/she can kill (who are feminized).

Whilst Sara Ruddick and Carol Cohn note that 'The practice of war entails far more than the killing and destruction of armed combat' there can be no question that killing and destruction are key identifying components of warfare (Cohn and Ruddick, 2003, p.4). As Shane Risa notes 'In war, killing must be done', a statement borne out by the (cob)web of deaths which connects the ghostly warriors sketched out in the previous chapter (2013, p.35; see also Grossman, 2009; Bourke, 1999; Wright, 1965). But killing, as previously noted, even within the context of war, is not easy (Goldstein, 2001). As S.L.A. Marshall's seminal research on the topic revealed, 'the average and healthy individual… has such an inner and usually unrealized resistance towards killing a fellow man that he will not of his own volition take life if it is possible to turn away from that responsibility' (Marshall, 2000, p.79). The taboo against taking life is incredibly powerful with troops troubled by their resistance as much as by they are spooked by the training required to get men and women to get past this barrier (Bourke, 1999; Riza, 2013). Perhaps as a result of the energy expended and the difficulty associated with overcoming barriers to the use of lethal force, those who are able to do so, who do so "well" (i.e. repeatedly and in the appropriate contexts) are given the higher status of warrior (Kaurin, 2014).

In addition to being troubled by the concurrent difficulty/discomfort with the act of killing *and* the higher status awarded to those who can and do kill Reaper crews are situated within the gendered dualisms which connect masculinity with having the power to kill. The 'masculinity' of killing is discussed in a range of feminist works[32]. One that provides an important insight into how this action interacts with the figure of the warrior is Carol Cohn's (1987) work on nuclear defence intellectuals. In a study that reflects on the strangeness of the application of sexual and

[32] (see for example Downing, 2013; Peterson and Runyan, 2010; Bourke, 1999)

domestic imagery to discussions of nuclear war, Cohn draws out 'men's desire to appropriate from women the power of giving life… conflat[ing] creation and destruction' (Cohn, 1987, p.699). The status of destroyer/creator is one that is reflected in various iterations of martial masculinity (Cooke, 1996; Hooper, 1998; Morgan, 1994b). Similarly Bourke claims that 'for men, combat was the male equivalent of childbirth', it was an 'initiation into the power of life and death' (Bourke, 1999, p.14; Broyles Jr., 1984; Schott and Heinämaa, 2010). In addition, the connection between martial masculinity and birth is also apparent in the lives of soldiers and aircrews. Bourke refers to 'officers being described as "giving birth" to a battery while also being exhorted to "father" their men' (Bourke, 1999, p.145). In the lives of Reaper crews this phenomenon plays out in the relationship between the crews and the Reapers themselves. Martin describes, in a manner surprisingly similar to that noted by Cohn (1987), how 'The Italians walked around the Predator "coffins", patting them as though they were the bellies of expectant mothers' (2010, p.156). The fact that the transportation equipment for the Reapers were called "coffins" serves to highlight the connection between ideas of death and 'male parthenogenesis' (Braudy, 2005, p.450).

Perhaps as a result of the connection between death (and ghosts?) and the desire for men to give birth to men (removing the feminine power to give life from women) the roles where the primary duty of the soldier is to 'close with the enemy' have traditionally been those to which women have been barred from applying.[33] The capacity to 'get a weapon off',[34] (with all that statement's wonderful sexual undertones) an interviewee claimed, was important to attempting to resolve the manning crisis that the US Air Force was experiencing with Reaper, at least in part because of the 'Machismo attached to flying'.[35] Members of the RAF are haunted by associations with killing through its military, cultural and social history. As such, during the Second World

[33] I refer here to the British Armed Forces specifically, although a recent army review indicated that women may be allowed into frontline jobs as soon as this year (2016), the final decision is still pending. (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/defence/11302533/Women-in-front-line-combat-roles-by-2016.html)
[34] Interview with 'Geoff'
[35] Interview with 'Ken'

War the status of fighter pilots was equal to the number of 'kills' that they had under their belt and Sims talks of fighter pilots who were 'high scorers' becoming 'national heroes' (Bourke, 1999, p.48; Hillary, 2010; Sims, 1967, p.11). Therefore the missiles attached to Reaper, and the capacity to deploy them, are an important identifier of the crews' permission and capacity to kill, which in turn endows them with the masculine state of the warrior (Cohn, 1987; Grossman, 2009; Higate, 2003).

This initial exploration reveals the complex way in which killing is a component part of what it means to be a 'man' in war. The narratives of the warrior are haunted by the need to kill others and therefore the successful execution (in both senses of the word) of the duty was/is therefore to be celebrated. The capacity to kill in war is then understood as the capacity to do one's duty, if it is acknowledged that killing is a key component of what makes war *war*. Therefore being permitted to take life, to drop bombs, and engage the enemy is important not just because it enables the individuals to feel like active parts of the military machine, but because it reflects masculinity woven into the fabric of the British forces (Francis, 2008; Higate, 2003). However, as the next section draws out, the capacity to kill and the connection with masculinity is not straightforward, and in the lives of British Reaper crews, this connection is troubled by the ghost of 'the Other'.

The Ghost of 'The Other'

The complexity of personhood can be seen in the lives of British Reaper crews. Empowered by the experience of being able to kill they are also troubled by the times that they kill, the times that they do not kill and the times that they might have to kill. The warrior status, the technological capabilities, the press perspectives and personal/professional moral compasses all weave together to make for a situation that is haunted by the complexity of navigating these competing claims and identities of this role. This section begins by exploring the interaction between the warrior status and technological capabilities, before moving on to illuminating how

this interaction is complicated by the ghost of 'The Other', situating the crews at the centre of the complex web of components listed above.

As part of the fabric of the British Military, Reaper crews are not immune to the social status conferred upon those whose aeroplanes have weapons and who can claim to have deployed those weapons. Flight Lieutenant Garrick Hill (RAF) notes that 'The original Predator UAVs were principally used in the reconnaissance role but the MQ-9 Reaper is a hunter-killer UAV… They're equipped with Hellfire missiles and Paveway laser-guided bombs, which is pretty much the same pay load as one of the USAF's F-16s' (Loveless, 2010, p.195). The equal status of the Reaper crews in comparison with the fast jet crews (often considered the 'top' of the hierarchy of military masculinity) is established through the type of weaponry the platform carries and the crews' capacity to utilise these weapons. As Dan noted, 'I was quite often in the US Air Force bar when the cream of the crop of Air Force pilots [would come in], they thought they were the bee's knees, but had never ever been in a combat situation…' and therefore, he could establish his status by asking them, 'How many bombs have you dropped? None? Oh I've done five this week'.[36] Indeed, Reaper crews are some of the most kinetically active crews in the Royal Air Force at this time (Defence Select Committee, 2016). The pride that crew members feel in being operational all the time is enhanced by the fact that they can do more than *just* provide surveillance and this has helped to counter some criticisms of the Reaper squadrons from within the RAF. Whilst the fast jet guys were still perceived as wrinkling their noses in distain at the Reaper crews 'others [other crews] had a really operational focus' and the Reaper crews could say 'we're operational all the time, and we're dropping bombs', which enabled them to settle more comfortably into the social hierarchy. Settling into this hierarchy enables crews to develop a 'pride associated with flying RPA's' which has been hard won and which appears to be largely based around 'getting the most combat experience of anyone…' (Bergen and Rowland, 2013, p.113).

[36] Interview with 'Dan'

Whilst being permitted to kill and dropping lethal ordinances on a regular basis is important for maintaining warrior masculinity, the crews are not immune to the social resistance to killing outlined in the earlier section. Making *sense*, morally and psychologically of killing proves to be one way in which the crews engage in conversation with the ghosts of this resistance. As a result, almost to a man[37] when asked 'what was the best part about their involvement with Reaper operations?' my interviewees stated: saving lives and interviewees revelled in the fact that 'the lads on the ground loved [the Reaper crews]' for providing them with additional protection.[38] They are killing not for the sake of killing, they are not just causing death and injury through the use of missiles, but they are causing that death and injury because doing so means that they can *save* the lives of their comrades: 'We're not killing people for the fun of it. It would be the same if we were the guys on the ground. You have to get to [the enemy] somehow or all of you will die' (Reaper crew member cited in Woods, 2015).[39] Saving the lives of fellow soldiers is important because the persistent surveillance of some of the ground force over-watch missions means that the crews feel like they get to know the guys on the ground.

The importance of saving lives was built into the Reaper squadrons through the introduction of the unofficial motto of, 'To save lives. To make a difference.'[40] Having Hellfires, having lethal weaponry, is important not just because it establishes their credential as warriors but because it allows them to *save* lives. As Robert noted, his fondest memory was providing over-watch for some Canadian soldiers so that they were able to get a good night's sleep without fear of being ambushed. The provision of 'over watch' enables drone crews, who are not at physical risk, to undertake the role of protector and thereby reclaim some of the traditional attributes of military masculinity (Pin-Fat and Stern, 2005; Elshtain, 1995; Hicks Stiehm, 1982). Where the lives of the individuals on the ground are at risk, the drone crews provide masculine protection through

[37] I had only one female interviewee and she did not comment on this issue.
[38] Interview with 'Robert'
[39] And the individuals who are protected by these crews are keen to respond with thanks, as Blackhurst (2012) reports 'It is common for the squadron to receive texts or emails of thanks from those they have protected. A group of Royal Marines made a trip to Las Vegas last year to thank the pilots in person.'
[40] Interview with 'Geoff'

watching, and if necessary deploying lethal force. This largely benign, caring, kind of masculinity is an interesting counterpoint to the violent masculinity that is often construed as the primary kind of military masculinity. In his memoirs, Martin describes the experience:

> '[I] came to recognize the faces and figures of our soldiers and marines, unbeknownst to most of them. I sometimes chuckled over their youthful pranks and high jinks when they were off duty and in secure areas. I cried with them as well whenever they lost a comrade and they huddled together with their arms over one another's shoulders' (2010, p.121)

The language here seems to reflect the idea of the Reaper crews as benign, almost parental figures, rolling their eyes at the mischief that the 'kids' on the ground get up to. Speaking of his experience at the Forward Operating Base (FOB), one interviewee told me that it 'broke [his] heart' watching the 'young lads' in the infantry who were 'being sick [with fear] before they leave' the camp; language again which speaks of both the emotional connection between the Reaper crews and the ground troops ('We took it personally'), and which reveals a parental perspective by focusing on the youthfulness of the individuals struggling to come to terms with the threats they face.[41]

The complexity of the personhood of Reaper crews is illuminated by this interaction between killing and saving lives, by the masculinity of death and the masculinity of *preventing* death. However, these are only two of the spectral threads that weave into this story. In perhaps the most painful iteration of the ghost of 'the Other', moments when it is not possible to prevent deaths/save lives are the worst moments. Whilst the 'fog of war' means that the death of friendly forces/comrades is a virtual inevitability in all conflicts, this section addresses how this reality plays out in the lives of British Reaper crews (Clausewitz et al., 1993). Reaper crews are constantly on operations, they work long shifts, and have huge amounts of information to assimilate and sift through. It is, therefore, understandable that on occasions they are not able

[41] Interview with anonymous intelligence analyst

to/fail to prevent the death of friendly forces, of 'lads on the ground.' The connection between the Reaper crews, and the troops on the ground was outlined in the previous section, and given this connection, situations in which those individuals suffer injury or death which could or might have been prevented by Reaper crews creates a sensation of helplessness and emasculation. In an interview with Adrian Chiles, former Wing Commander of 13 Squadron Damian Killeen reflects on the impact of these kinds of experiences:

> Killeen: 'I've had this conversation with mates of mine as well, trying to relate it to them, and erm… the ones that have watched the film "American Sniper", there's a bit in that where he turns around and says "It's not the engagements I've made that bother me, it's the ones that I haven't made that bother me" … The bit that hurts more are the days where you watch people die because we are in a surveillance mode. You know for example, you'll be in a surveillance mode and the guys you're protecting stand on an improvised explosive device, or you are watching….
>
> Chiles: But there's nothing you could have done about that
>
> Killeen: There's nothing you could have done about it but…' (Killeen, 2015).

US Reaper crews recall similar feelings and experiences:

> '"I've seen troops die before," said Senior Airman Jesse Grace, a sensor operator. The mission was to scan the terrain ahead of a convoy for any improvised explosive devices or other danger. There was one noticeable spot along the route but it "didn't look treacherous. It just looked muddy," he said. The first vehicle rolled over it fine. The second one blew up, killing five soldiers. On Grace's screen, the vehicle was there and then it wasn't. "I felt like I was helpless," Grace said.' (McCloskey, 2009; see also Woods, 2015)[42]

[42] Interviewees recalled similar experiences with Geoff recounting that once a strike against friendly forces had occurred it was sometimes difficult to get back to task at hand: 'our job is not to watch the vehicle, watch the number of chest compressions he was given…then you have to come back out to make sure that they are safe…' and Peter noting that having a 'front row of watching own soldiers getting blown up' is sometimes 'a mentally traumatising experience'.

Given the social and cultural importance attached to the capacity to kill within the British military and the desire to protect friendly forces on the ground, Reaper crews may be under considerable pressure to release weapons. However, it is important to note that in some case *not* releasing weapons can be constructed as not only the most appropriate, but also potentially heroic way of proceeding in an operation. The desire to protect friendly forces must be carefully balanced against the risk to civilians or the 'combatant' status of individuals who may or may not pose a threat to ground troops. This balancing act, the need to weigh up the need to protect ground troops, whether through fatherly over-watch or the embodiment of martial masculinity through the release of missiles; and the need to prevent deaths of 'innocents' brings us to the next sections on courageous restraint and accidental deaths. The ghost of 'the Other' highlights this tension between the two facets of Reaper crew roles. Given that they are not at physical risk in the same way, their awareness of the difference between their situation and the individuals on the ground raises the spectre of the deaths of 'Others' - making it difficult for them to refuse to act.

These spectres and the associations between military masculinity are further complicated by legal and ethical structures put in place to restrict the situations in which British Reaper crews operate (laws of war and codes of conduct for the British Armed Forces). Additionally, there have been recent novel social/cultural developments which have foregrounded *not* killing, *not* striking as appropriate behaviour for military professionals. These developments have been framed around the concept of 'courageous restraint'. Introduced by General McChrystal during operations in Afghanistan, courageous restraint 'restricted the rules of engagement for British and US forces so that they could then only fire back if they clearly identified their target, rather than putting down fire and risking civilian lives' (Dixon, 2012, p.40). For Reaper crews this means being prepared to resist commands (and requests) to take action where they are concerned that it might result in civilian/friendly forces deaths. As such, crew members operate at the nexus, in a liminal zone, between the masculine glorification of killing, the benign

patriarchal stance of saving lives, and resisting the demands to do either. An example of how courageous restraint works for Reaper crews can be found in an RAF Operational Update, which outlines the following:

> 'The Kandahar-based Reapers of 39 Squadron were engaged in operations that again necessitated Hellfire strikes this week. Displaying considerable tactical restraint, the Reaper crews successfully countered the insurgents' best efforts to seek cover among civilians and along tree lines' (S, 2011)

And another example

> 'Whilst tracking an insurgent on a motorbike carrying a suspicious package the crew of the Reaper suspected that the 'package' may be a small child. Showing outstanding courageous restraint, the crew used replay facilities to provide sufficient evidence to delay and subsequently terminate the attack. When the motorbike finally stopped at a residential compound the action of the crew was fully justified when a small child got off. In a separate attack a single Hellfire was used to great effect on a group of insurgents which resulted in seven enemy forces being killed in action' (S, 2011)

Tormented by stories like this, the phantom children on the ground who resemble their own at home, the crews were keen to emphasise the way in which they were empowered to refuse to strike. This capacity to say 'no' to undertaking strikes was an important theme in the discussion and interviewees described a 'red card system' which refers to the right and the responsibility to call a halt to a planned strike if they have concerns about meeting the criteria of the ROE, about endangering life, or for any other reason that each member of the crew (pilot, sensor and intelligence analyst) have.

One of the reasons that having the capacity to refuse to strike is so important is because of the trauma and torment that civilian and/or friendly deaths cause to the crews. Whilst the ghost of 'the Other' certainly haunts the lives of British Reaper crews through the capacity and the military necessity of the act of killing, this ghost has a second role. Reflecting one of Gordon's

core themes of in/(hyper)visibility, the ghost of 'the Other' also plays out in the fear of killing the wrong individuals, of collateral damage, of releasing a missile and watching a 'flutter'[43] in the corner of the video screen turn into a group of children. One interviewee described a 'quite horrible scenario' where friendly forces were under fire and he was preparing to 'go live' with weapons when 'a variable [said] don't do it' and on closer inspection a 'flutter' turned out to be a 'group of kids'.[44] The 'variable' spoken of was the murkiness of the imagery, a hunch that something *something* was not what it appeared so that in this instance a reliance on sensuous knowledge and intuition saved lives.

In the well-publicised reflections of US drone pilot Brandon Bryant, he speaks about being haunted by the memories of releasing a weapon and then, at the last minute, 'This figure runs around the corner, the outside, toward the front of the building. And it looked like a little kid to me. Like a little human person' (quoted in Power, 2013). Bryant is told that the figure was, in fact, a dog, but he continues to be 'certain it wasn't a dog' (Power, 2013). It is partly as a result of this, and similar experiences that Bryant decided to leave the USAF and to become a vocal critical of the US drone programme. Similarly, Martin describes how

> 'Everything looked perfect [for the shot] until… Two kids on a bicycle appeared on the screen approaching the truck and the insurgents… Mesmerized by approaching calamity, we could only stare in abject horror as the silent missile bore down upon them out of the sky. It could not be diverted without the risk of causing even greater carnage' (2010, p.211).

Undertaking strikes in populated areas, even with precision technology, is always dangerous and sometimes comes with horrifying consequences. These consequences often 'haunt' the lives of the Reaper crews, creating trauma, flashbacks and question marks about choices made or not made. This distress is explored in greater detail in the next chapter.

[43] Interview with 'Robert'
[44] Interview with 'Robert'

The Ghost of Cowardice: A Duty to Die?[45]

'War is about many things, but at its core it is about killing or getting killed.' (Stephenson, 2012)

The previous section of this chapter has looked at the importance of killing, this section now turns to the opposite side of the coin, that is 'getting killed'. Through the ghost of cowardice this section investigates the way that contemporary risk aversion is disturbed by the historical and mythological legacy of what it *means* to be brave in war. In this section time and space are disturbed as narratives of the way military technology can and should be used to protect 'our soldiers' collide with discourses of risk and reciprocity in the fetishized battle form of the duel (Lee, 2013; Francis, 2008).

Western militaries are investing in new technologies that distance warriors because dying in war is no longer politically acceptable (Luttwak, 1995; Coker, 2002; Calhoun, 2011). Whereas Napoleon 'boasted of his army's capacity to tolerate deaths in battle' (Smith, 2005, p.487), maintaining support for an extended military campaign in many of today's democracies (the UK included) depends at least in part in the ability to pursue military objectives without sustaining high numbers of deaths to personnel: 'one is not "allowed" to get killed…' (Kober, 2015, p.97; see also IKV Pax Christi, 2011, p.14). As a result, there is a tension between the political perspective and the cultural and social context of the British armed forces, one which reflects the queer logic of the ghost of cowardice. Baggiarini notes 'the deaths of citizen-soldiers are (inconsistently) profane' (2015, p.130). They are 'inconsistently' profane because we continue to fetishize the heroic warrior who dies in war whilst allowing those deaths to erode support for military operations. The contradiction built into the social and political context of the British armed forces can be neatly illustrated by some quotes from my interviewees:

[45] I recognise that including the phrase 'a duty to die' is controversial, indeed members of the military can be disciplined for taking unnecessary risks (REF). However, as feminist scholars have indicated in a range of different ways, those soldiers/air(wo)men who lose their lives in the pursuit of their objects (who put themselves as risk of death) are awarded the highest social status within their groups and British society more widely (REF)

> ‘Most honours and awards are given, rightly so, to soldiers directly in combat or harm’s way for their response to enemy fire and when aiding their comrades or the civil population, when their own lives are on the line.’[46]
>
> ‘[within the military leadership there is a] massive amount of risk aversion’.[47]

Comparing these two quotes it would appear that we want ‘our boys’ to come back in one piece, not only as a moral imperative, but because it is important for maintaining political support for operations: ‘we don’t want to see people in body bags’.[48] However, those ‘safe’ individuals are less likely to be promoted and are less likely to be acknowledged for their efforts either through promotion boards or in the process of selecting individuals to receive medals (see Blair, 2012, p.66 for discussion).

Commentators have directly connected the increase in risk aversion in the armed forces with their degradation (or in the words of Martin Van Creveld ‘feminization’) (Coker, 2007a; Van Creveld, 2013a; Kober, 2015). The ethical and cultural importance of reciprocal risk between combatants has been remarkably resistant to change (despite technological innovation), reflecting the power of the myth of duel, even in the contemporary western military (Bourke, 1999; Lee, 2012). In the RAF specifically the heroic status of fighter pilots was cemented by their ‘duels’ or dog fights with German (or other) fighter pilots during the World Wars (Rosenberg, 1993; Francis, 2008; Braudy, 2005, p.55). Whilst it has been argued extensively that drones are no more than the logical extension of technology that has steadily distanced the individuals involved in war, there remains a disquiet over the role of distance in enabling killing and in ideas of valour and gallantry (Beauchamp, 2016; Schulzke, 2014; Enemark, 2011; Alston and Shamsi, 2010; Royakkers and van Est, 2010). It appears that the most honourable way to return from battle still reflects the dictum of the Spartan mothers: ‘Come back with your shield, or on it’

[46] Interview with ‘Ben’
[47] Interview with ‘James’
[48] Interview with ‘Roxy’

(Fields, 2013, pp.64–65), reminding us that 'All the good men are already dead' because they demonstrated their courage by performing their 'duty to die' in war (Braudy, 2005, p.6).

The importance of risk to creating the warrior-pilot identity was described by interviewee Roxy who notes that the recent boom in promoting helicopter pilots is at least in part because 'these are the guys who have been winning the war, getting shot at and winning the crosses'.[49] 'Winning the crosses' as a recognition of the bravery of these pilots is important for institutional respect and has resulted in a high number of helicopter crew members being promoted to positions of power. In previous iterations of this process, other 'risky' roles were over represented in the higher echelons of the RAF, described by the same individual as the 'harrier mafia' and 'typhoon mafia'. Similarly, the risk inherent in flying and the status that came with that role is recognised through the provision of 'flying pay' to flight active personnel, which was traditionally perceived as 'danger money'. Interviewee Noel argued that the status awarded to individuals with the 'riskier' roles was informally as well as formally recognised, describing the hierarchy in the bars on bases: 'are you air crew or not, pilot or not, are you multi, rotary or fast jet (with RPAS as fourth pillar), fast jet- tornado or single seat, which squadron' with the highest status being conferred upon those who could lay claim to flying the best (read: riskiest) aircraft.[50]

If warrior behaviour requires an individual to place his or herself at risk and then to act courageously, it then follows that cowardice may be considered the very antithesis of the warrior identity. Cowardice has specific meaning in military-legal terms. The 1955 Army Act defines cowardly behaviour as

> 'Any person subject to military law who when before the enemy- (a) leaves the post, position or other place where it is his duty to be, or (b) throws away his arms,

[49] Interview with 'Roxy'
[50] Interview with 'Noel'

> ammunition or tools, in such a manner as to show cowardice, or otherwise behaves in such a manner as to show cowardice' (Army Act, Chapter 18, p.18).

As such the definition is a relatively narrow one (at least until the inclusion of the final statement 'behaves in such a manner as to show cowardice', but leaving this section to one side for a moment) and during the First World War 306 men were executed for cowardice (Sweeney, 1999). More recent military legal documents (Armed Forces Act, 2006; House of Commons Defence Committee, 2013) no longer include specific definitions of, or in general reference to 'cowardice' acknowledging that amongst those executed for cowardice were many who were probably contentious objectors and individuals suffering from PTSD (Olsthoorn, 2007; Inbar et al., 1989; Walsh, 2014; Sweeney, 1999). However, this is not to imply that cowardice does not continue to have *cultural* salience both within the British military and in commentary *about* the British military. In the following section I outline these different and important ways of understanding the contemporary meaning and usage of cowardice and then how it relates to Reaper crews.

Chris Walsh's seminal book on the topic indicates that 'mentions of *cowardice* have risen over the last decade, and the uptick for the term *coward* is sharper still' suggesting that the term is being deployed in new and important ways (2014, p.9). Whilst the updated Army Act (2006) does not refer to cowardice as an offence, the phrase is used in the UK Armed Forces Personnel and Legal Framework for Future Operations (2013). In this document the abuse of Baha Mousa who died in UK custody in Iraq in 2003 is described as 'violent and cowardly' (House of Commons Defence Committee, 2013, p.25). Similarly, in the documentation of the investigation into the abuse, one of the abusers admits that 'he was guilty of an unprovoked and cowardly assault' on Baha Mousa (Gage, 2011, p.249). Cowardice, it would appear, has morphed from an incapacity for violence to something rather different. In this case, the term is applied to describe the actions of individuals in a position of power over another. Where the individual in the inferior position had the right to expect humane treatment, their abuse is 'cowardly', akin

perhaps to kicking someone when they are down, or hurting someone incapable of fighting back. It is in this sense that the epithet of coward is (problematically) attached to drone operations.

In an interview with *Vice* Abu Mosa of the jihadist group ISIS told the US "Don't be cowards and attack us with drones. Instead send your soldiers, the ones we humiliated in Iraq" (quoted in Johnson, 2014). Similarly, George Monbiot (2012) of The Guardian argues that 'With its deadly drones, the US is fighting a coward's war'. In a Military Review article Cora Sol Goldstein finds a diverse range of similar perspectives: She finds that 'Mobashar Jawed Akbar, founding editor of the Asian Age and a former senior fellow with the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World at the Brookings Institution, argues that the American use of drones will be interpreted as an act of cowardice, not strength', and notes similarly that journalist Glenn Greenwald states 'Whatever one thinks of the justifiability of drone attacks, … [attacking by drone is] one of the least 'brave' or courageous modes of warfare ever invented… Killing while sheltering yourself from all risk is the definitional opposite of bravery' (Goldstein, 2015, pp.72, 73).

And it's not just 'antidrone' activists and left-wing journalists whose opinions might feel easier to dismiss as 'missing the point' who have expressed concerns. In the same piece Goldstein notes that counterinsurgency expert David Killcullen 'contends that "using robots from the air … looks both cowardly and weak."', and cites Marine Sgt. Matt Waljet as saying "drone strikes are a kind of ambush kill, an ambush where the killer is invulnerable," adding that "the manner in which drone strikes are carried out has a dishonorable feel" (quoted in Goldstein, 2015, p.73). Contentiously Plaw and Fricker baldly state that 'the drone is a cowardly weapon that threatens to make cowards of those who embrace it' (2015, p.198). Whilst I am certainly not claiming that this perspective is accurate, these statements and perspectives are instructive in understanding the cultural and political context in which Reaper crews operate.

As such, even taking into account that cowardice is sometimes wrongly seen in behaviour that is, rather, 'really prudent or even courageous', 'coward' remains a powerfully unpleasant epithet so

that, Walsh argues 'Cowardice… seems to overshadow courage in soldier's minds' (2014, p10; p11). The argument here is that it is socially preferable to undertake physical risk in warfare rather than 'risk' being called a coward: 'the shame of cowardice reinforces the call of sacrifice' (Walsh, 2014, p.12). For example, Kaurin states

> 'To be branded a coward is amongst, if not, the worst insults that can be levelled at a warrior, and it is not merely an indictment of his individual character, but also a criticism of his commitment to his cause and his fellow warriors at a very deep and existential level' (2014, p.13).

If '[c]owardice is of all vices the most contemptible' then it makes it possible to understand the bold claims that a coward should 'retreat to the prenatal state' (i.e. 'it is better not to have been born') or commit suicide because 'death is preferred there to a life of such dishonour and ignominy' (cited in Robinson, 2009, p.19).The revulsion felt towards those labelled as cowards can be seen in British responses to those individuals who were thought to be 'shirking their duty' during the World Wars. Stigma was attached to them in the form of white feathers whereby women were tasked with giving men who were not in uniform these symbols to represent their cowardice in refusing to place themselves in positions of risk (Galluce, 1997; Mason, 1902).

In connecting cowardice with unmanliness Paul Robinson claims that 'Most men will have internalized the idea that courage is a virtue, and cowardice a sin, and will wish to avoid the sense of shame that arises from failing to live up to what they believe are society's expectations', (2009, p.4). Similarly, Braudy describes the relationship between cowardice and the idea of failed masculinity stating that 'the word for cowardice in Greek is *anandareia*, literally "unmanliness"'(2005, pp.32–33). Speaking of the difference between the politically-correct (which is not to imply unimportant) acknowledgement that acts of cowardice spring from PTSD rather than personal failing, Robinson notes that Marines in Iraq were 'abusing a colleague they suspected of being a coward calling him, 'fucking pussy', 'fucking pussy wimp', 'scared little

bitch', illuminating not only the continuing perception of cowardice as dishonourable but also as unmanly (Robinson, 2009, p.172; see also Ehrenreich, 1998; Bourke, 1999). Whilst acting courageously is constructed as a masculine trait, Miller argues, 'To call someone a "sissy" or a "pussy" is really to create a new entity, not woman, not man, but a womanly man, an un-man' (Miller, 2000, p.234). This un-man is feminized not into being a woman but instead a failed attempt at being a man (Galluce, 1997).

What then of our 'riskless' drone crews? Is it the case, as Cara Daggett claims, that '[b]ecause drone operators are protected from death, they are disqualified from performing as "real" warriors because their bodies are not sited in combat' (2015, p.363)? Daggett's statement reflects the concerns of other commentators that the introduction of Reaper crews into the RAF, with their lack of physical risk, somehow renders them morally suspect (Royakkers and van Est, 2010; Asaro, 2013; for discussion see Lee, 2013). Given the connection between risk, courage and warrior identity, it is no surprise that being stationed at an extreme distance from the theatre of war has complicated the way the Reaper crews are viewed by their colleagues and by the press as one of my interviewees noted 'the lack of risk affects how you are perceived within the military'.[51] Within the RAF community specifically, Peter Lee's research reveals that drone pilots are viewed as 'not sharing the operational risks that are being faced by those on the battlefield below and the inherent risks involved in flying a fast jet low and fast over hostile territory' (Lee, 2012, p.12). As Roxy notes, the perception of the Reaper crewman is that 'he flies model aeroplanes out of Vegas… he's not a Tornado pilot putting himself at risk'.[52] Similarly Ken stated that there are some 'disparaging misconceptions', a sense that Reaper crews were somehow 'war dodging… by not committing their bodies'.[53] If you are not sharing the risk, then you are not acting as a warrior, you are stalked by the spectre of cowardice (Allsep, 2013, p.389;

[51] Interview with 'Peter'
[52] Interview with 'Roxy'
[53] Interview with 'Ken'

Blair, 2012, p.63; Beauchamp, 2016).[54] To be heroic, the meet the requirements for warrior masculinity, they need to do something that risks their bodies, in a way that their roles are not considered to enable them to do. As a result, these ghostly feathers are haunting narratives about Reaper crews whose roles are perceived by some as cowardly, and in being cowardly as unmanly.

The historical need for warriors to prove their worth by risking their bodies continues to haunt contemporary militaries despite changes to the technological and political components of warfare. The impact of the sense that that you are 'not as brave' as the guys in the fast jets, the helicopters, the people on the ground with 'their balls hanging out', can be seen in the recent debate over medals for Reaper crews in the United States (Allsep, 2013, p.389).[55] An expression of the perception that 'from an aviators point of view, if you don't cross the border you don't get a medal' and that '[w]hat matters most to [other members of the military] is "being there" in battle, and all they see are the drone pilots' distant duty stations' (Spangler, 2013). Whilst not quite labelling Reaper crews as cowards, these statements and other similar ones clearly connect risklessness in war with this image. The ghost of cowardice acts as a challenge to the construction of Reaper crews as warriors, and therefore to their ability to perform the martial masculinity constructed as an integral part of identity in the British military.

In addition to being raised by other members of the military and commentators, the Reaper crews themselves indicate a sense, a hunch, that being a warrior means, or requires, that they undertake physical personal risk. For example, the response to the question: 'Is an RPAS crew member a warrior? Please describe why/why not' elicited a range of responses from agreement with gusto, to the kind of self-effacement that is frequently ascribed to gallant British military

[54] As one interviewee noted 'the RPAS tour was initially viewed as the equivalent of a rest tour', with some individuals being sent there in the posting equivalent of a 'pat on the back', because Creech was viewed as a posting on the strip in Vegas where you flew a model aeroplane as you sipped cold cocktails by the pool in your back yard.
[55] Interview with 'Ken' and 'Tom'

individuals, to an (obviously emotional and uncomfortable) complete rejection of the concept in any contemporary military context. Responses included:

> '[An] *RPAS crew member is not a warrior, that's the guys on the ground'* (James)
>
> '*You need warrior culture* [in RPAS crews]' (Noel)
>
> '*RPAS are warriors, in that they are an elitist entity that specialises in warfare using the weapons available to them, to the best of their ability*' (Steve),
>
> '*There is no concept of heroism or warrior-ship in the military. All members will act to save themselves and others- that is not heroic-that is our job'* (Ian)
>
> '*Absolutely, he is an unrecognised warrior*' (Roxy)
>
> '*I've never seen myself as a warrior… it's the wrong word, I don't think you can be a warrior if you're not there'* (Amy)[56]

As such, interviews with former Reaper crew members and other members of the RAF revealed a complex relationship between the figure of the warrior and the current cultural requirements of a modern professional military. It became clear through these discussions that the low level of physical risk[57] to Reaper crews and their relationship with those individuals on the ground whose bodies *were* at risk of injury or death was one central point around which conceptualisations of what constituted warrior behaviour coalesced.

Daedalean Danger: Rethinking Narratives of Risklessness

The mythological hero worship of bodies at risk and death in warfare has created a complex environment in which Reaper crews negotiate their subjectivity given their comparative lack of physical risk in their experience of war. However, whilst the preceding sections have outlined

[56] Interviews with 'James', 'Noel', 'Steve', 'Ian', 'Roxy' and 'Amy'.
[57] Despite claims to the opposite (Coeckelbergh, 2013; Royakkers and van Est, 2010), Reaper crews are not shielded from all possibility of physical violence and danger associated with warfare, as will be outlined later in the chapter.

the *implications* of the claim that 'Physically, drone pilots are so safe, in fact, that descriptions of drone piloting at Nevada's Creech Air Force Base… sound downright monotonous' this section challenges the *substance* of the claims (Beauchamp, 2016). As such, I argue that the assertion that Reaper crews live *completely* riskless combat lives is not as accurate as it first appears.

Where the previous section explored the temporal dislocation between our war stories and the technological and political reality of war on the basis of experiencing personal risk; this section brings the attention back to the complexity of personhood as the crews are *perceived* as functioning in a riskless environment when parts of their roles are not as risk free as is popularly perceived. Claims about the lack of physical risk to Reaper crews are based on the existence of a separate and distinctive battlefield, one which is different from the 'home front' (a division explored in greater detail in Chapter 6). The situation of the individual on that battlefield is then something that endangers them and renders them masculine, the home front being associated with the feminine means that its opposite, the war front/theatre of war is associated with masculinity. However this distinctive and separate theatre of war is something that is becoming increasingly challenged in contemporary warfare (Gregory, 2011b). Not only are Reaper crews operating from their home or third countries, but combatants are killing and maiming combatants and civilians in areas that are traditionally considered to represent 'the home' or areas of non-violence.[58] Instead of functioning on clearly marked battlefields Reaper crews (and other members of the British Armed Forces) are increasingly based in grey, shadowy spaces between war and peace, between home and abroad, dislocating themselves geographically, temporally and, perhaps, legally and ethically. Therefore as Blair notes, 'I do not believe that RPA operators are in less danger than their manned counterparts…This war is global, and our enemies have global reach as well' (Blair, 2012, p.63). Blair's assertion is corroborated by interview data which indicates two sources of risk in the lives of British Reaper crews. The first is the risk that crews are under when they are deployed to the FOBs for launch

[58] For example, terrorist strikes on shopping malls and schools, or Reapers dropping bombs on populated areas and homes where targets are meeting.

and recovery of the Reapers and the second is the risk that they face in their 'home' base from terrorists and other individuals opposed to the use of drones (for example Worley, 2016; Pawlyk, 2016).

The risk posed to the Reaper crews at the FOB is simple. Deployed 'in theatre' these crews are tasked with the take-off and landing parts of Reaper missions which required 'line of sight'[59] control and therefore cannot be done from the extreme distance of the main missions (Loveless, 2010, p.196; Martin, 2010, p.160). Being deployed in theatre means that these crews are at the same degree of risk as any other forces deployed to the same FOB and that the crews' lives are overlaid with this history of those troops who have gone before. In his memoir, US Reaper pilot Martin noted that

> 'I was both nervous and excited… I would be, more or less, among the rear-echelon types that front-line grunts called "Fobbits"- those who remained at the forward operating base (FOB) while everyone else went out on patrol. Nonetheless, this would be my first time actually setting foot in a war zone.' (Martin, 2010, p.140)

Situated at the FOB, in the *space* of the war, Reaper crews are at risk, and plagued by the possibility of death and injury from incoming artillery, bombing, missiles and sniper attacks. Martin recalls, 'A few nights later, Balad sounded *Alarm Red*- base under attack' as missiles were fired into the compound (2010, p.201). This happened so frequently that Martin responded to the firework celebrations for 4th of July by throwing himself to the floor and waiting for the 'next shell to crash through the roof' (2010, p.202). Whilst the fireworks represented a shock rather than an actual threat, the preceding quotes indicate that it is clearly not the case that Reaper crews are *never* at risk of physical harm in their roles. That Martin responded in this way indicates that the shock of being under attack haunted him even after the event, with the adrenal system of his body responding to the phantom of death from missiles and bombs.

[59] 'line of sight' refers to the need to be able to visually see the Reaper craft during take off and landing rather than being able to operate it 'over the horizon' via satellite link (Department of Defense Report, 2012).

The second form of risk that Reaper crews experience is risk of the more nefarious attacks, which take place away from the theatre of war. That terrorists are inherently phantasmal and intrude into our lives in unexpected ways is something already explored within the spectralities literature (Engle, 2009; Auchter, 2014). In the context of Reaper operations, as Blair noted the 'war' (or 'operations' as titled by the UK forces) is global, and the 'enemy' does not respect the boundaries of the theatre of war.[60] Indeed, acting as combatants, even from such an extreme distance, means that Reaper crews can be understood as legitimate targets for attack, including on US and UK soil. This perspective on the legality of targeting of Reaper crews was expressed by General McChrystal who stated that 'Anything we use that's part of that [defence infrastructure] becomes, in my view, a fair target for our enemies, and we have got to consider that'. The implication is that an attack on Waddington or Creech would be considered a legitimate/legal strike on British or American military leadership (Norton-Taylor and Ross, 2015).[61] These statements demonstrate that whilst military technology might have changed the way that British aircrews operate, the 'enemy' has also changed the way he/she operates in response, negating some of the gains towards risklessness.

The impact of this perceived risk of strikes on bases and on the targeting of Reaper crew members became visible through interview and fieldwork data. Whilst crews did not want to be perceived as fearful, interviewees spoke of a need for caution in discussing their roles and revealing their identities to the wider public. As one interviewee baldly stated, 'I am in no way shape or form ashamed of what I do but I cannot say what I do because of the need to protect my family'.[62] This sentiment was corroborated by interviewees who claimed that threats had been made against personnel and one interviewee recalled being visited by the British Counter-Terrorism Police unit who had found his name on a list of targets of a suspected terrorist cell in

[60] As interviewee 'Robert' claimed: 'these people don't respect borders'
[61] This sentiment was echoed in the words of Mr David Davis (MP of Haltemprice and Howden) who noted: 'If we undertake drone attacks outside a defined war zone, the location from which those attacks are operated may become part of a war zone, and we may legitimise a counter-attack on that area. Since many of those places are in rear areas, [and] that has real issues for the operation of our RAF bases, such as RAF Waddington' (Column 50WH, Hansard, 2015).
[62] Interview with 'Anonymous'

the UK. The crews are haunted by the murder of Lee Rigby[63], a ghost who acts as a reminder of the crews' fleshy and destructible bodies as they travel to and from the base, acknowledging that, 'You are a target on the road to Creech'.[64] As a result the crews' roles and identities as Reaper pilots/sensors/analysts become phantasmal - 'nobody in the village knows what they do' in an attempt to protect themselves and their families from violence.[65] We know the crews exist but we cannot know who they are.

Therefore, despite claims that Reaper crews are not at risk, it appears that there are two significant ways in which they are at physical risk of death and injury. Given the increasing use of terrorist tactics, such as suicide bombings, and the perception that Reaper crews are 'fair game' as targets, their lives are not as sheltered and secure as many commentators (for example Vallor, 2013; Asaro, 2013; Cole et al., 2010) might believe. The masculinity of the crews, destabilized by their distance from the battlefield can be (re)inscribed through the assumption of physical risk from such attacks. Similarly, the removal of identifying uniforms as a means of protecting crews serves to further complicate the situation, hiding the crews, as much as possible, from these threats. Perhaps more than any other component, questions of risk and the warrior identity demonstrate the way in which the lives and experiences of British Reaper crews simultaneously destabilize and (re)inscribe our traditional understandings of military masculinity.

Conclusion

Killing is a core component of the identity of the warrior, and a primary marker of what it means to engage in warfare. Implementing the framework of Haunting in this chapter I have drawn attention to the way that Reaper crews' lives are complicated by their capacity to undertake

[63] Off-duty Fusilier Lee Rigby was murdered in 2013 in broad daylight by Islamic extremists
[64] Interview with 'Freddie' and 'Amy'
[65] Interview with "Robert". The need for some level of secrecy is emphasised by recent postings by individuals purporting to be members of ISIS/Daesh who released a list of 72 names that they claim belong to US Reaper crews with the instruction that their followers 'Kill them wherever they are, knock on their doors and behead them, stab them, shoot them in the face or bomb them' (cited in Worley, 2016)

lethal strikes. The heart of this chapter is the desire to take complex personhood seriously, to explore the densities of the various narratives at work that influences the crews' experiences of killing. The masculine marker of killing is set uncomfortably against narratives of saving lives, which haunt the background of operations where unintended killing occurs - either of friendly forces by enemies or of 'innocents'. The masculinity of having the capacity to kill is situated in apparent opposition to the (relative) lack of risk to the lives of the crews themselves; the technology representing the culmination of the political (and strategic) desire to protect one's own troops.

However, what I have drawn attention to in this chapter, through an engagement with 'sensuous knowledges' and my addition to the framework of queer logic, is the way apparent oppositions in binaries can co-exist. The capacity to kill can empower *at the same time* as disempower, the way someone *feels* can impact the way that they *think* about the experience of killing, and the way that they construct their identity is woven out of what they *thought* being a warrior *was* and how they act in their day-to-day life.

Engaging with 'sensuous knowledges' materialised the two ghosts of this chapter: the ghost of 'the Other' and the ghost of cowardice. The 'Otherness' of the first ghost reflects feminist theorist's concerns with the use of the 'other' as a marker of dangerous differences which has often been applied to women. To this Haunting adds the concern of the 'Other' within, reflecting its psychoanalytical background. This ghostly 'Other' then is the ghost of the experience of killing. Engaging this ghost in conversation I ask whether Reaper crews have a *duty* to kill, and what it means for these individuals when they make sense of killing as *saving* lives. Constructed this way it is possible to shine a light on one of the contradictions at the heart of this complex experience and to consider in more nuance the particular ramifications for subjectivity (in both senses of the word) when lives cannot be saved, when the 'wrong' people die.

The second ghost of the chapter, cowardice, I engaged in conversation by asking whether, as a counterpoint to killing, the crews have a *duty to die*. One of the defining features of the warrior, as outlined in the previous chapter, is his bravery and capacity to continue in the face of severe threats to his personal safety: to life and limb. Because, as many commentators would have it, the Reaper crews are not at risk, their status as 'protected' renders them both feminine and cowardly. I introduced the description of the two ways in which the crews *are* physically at risk and how this serves to highlight the ways in which, in this kind of conflict in particular, things are not as straightforward as they might initially seem. I used this data to engage with the ghost of cowardice, illuminating the way that this ghosts illuminates the queer logic at work in the *simultaneous* political aversion to casualties *and* the continuing power of narratives of heroic death.

This chapter has focused on killing and death in the lives of British Reaper crews, which is certainly the most contentious part of their roles. However, it is a small component of their work, most of which involves conducting persistent surveillance. Continuing the ghost hunt, in the following chapter I move on to consider how the experience of watching and being watched is an integral part of destabilizing and (re)inscribing the crews' warrior identities.

CHAPTER 5: THE SPECTRAL SCREWDRIVER- ON WATCHING AND BEING WATCHED

'It is very difficult to let go… because you're always on ops… omnipresent' Robert[66]

'*With 500 people looking over your shoulder, you daren't screw up*.' Dan[67]

Introduction

One of the core concerns of Haunting is that of in/(hyper)visibility (see Chapter 2 for more). This is partly because the word 'spectral' 'evoke[s] an etymological link to visibility and vision,' both that which is *looked at* and that which is doing the *looking* (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.2). It is also because visibility, seeing, and being seen are always tangled into intricate (cob)webs of power. *Who* can be seen, *how* they can be seen, how that *seeing* is interpreted are core questions raised in the implementation of the framework of Haunting. In this chapter, we trace in/(hyper)visibility through a ghost hunt of British Reaper crews' experiences of persistent surveillance and of *simultaneously* being heavily scrutinised themselves on these operations. In the British context, Reaper crews are primarily used for Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) and as many of my interviewees noted, 90-95 per cent of their tasking reflects this (Mead, 2014; Bowden, 2013) [68]. In addition to being tasked with watching, the Reaper crews themselves are closely watched by military leadership, politicians and the popular press; described by one interviewee as 'the world longest screwdriver.'[69] Drawing on forms of 'sensuous knowledge,' as outlined in Chapter 2, I argue that the Reaper crews' experiences of watching are haunted by subjectivity which contrasts with the masculinist ocularcentricity of traditional understandings of surveillance. Tracing these logics from the scientific

[66] Interview with 'Robert'
[67] Interview with 'Dan'
[68] Interview with 'Geoff'
[69] Interview with 'Dan'

Enlightenment period, I explore how claims to objectivity and rationality are built on the premise of seeing and being seen. In keeping with Gordon's questions, this chapter asks what is it that the crews are *not* seeing? What is it that is *not* there? And also what is the effect of (and indeed affect which results from) what *is* seen?

Referring to the ghostly figure of the warrior of Chapter 3, this chapter explores how Reaper crews destabilize *and* (re)inscribe conceptions of military masculinity and femininity through their experiences of surveillance. In traditional gendered binaries the masculine is represented in the position of the watcher, and the feminine is relegated to the position of the object that is watched (Rowley, 2010; Kaplan, 2000; Conor, 2004). Therefore, this chapter argues that the experiences of British Reaper crews are an example of a situation where individuals occupy both the position of the masculine watcher *and* the feminine watched. The first part of the chapter briefly sketches out the importance of surveillance in warfare and of the technologies used to conduct it. From this I argue that one of the core concerns of Haunting, specifically in/(hyper)visibility is woven through with the gendered logics of the watcher/watched dyad. Through this prism the chapter explores the ways in which masculinist ocularcentricity is both (re)inscribed and destabilized by the Reaper crews' recourse to subjective assessments and sensuous knowledges in making 'information' from 'data'.

The second section of the chapter, focuses on one of the bizarre elements of Reaper crew surveillance which is the development of a curious 'distant intimacy' (Williams, 2015). Utilising Haunting's psychoanalytic background (interwoven with trauma and memory) as mapped across the wider concern of in/(hyper)visibility, this section traces the way that what the crews *see,* what is made *visible* to them, is simultaneously comforting and traumatising (Freud et al., 2003; Abraham and Torok, 1999; Abraham et al., 2008). Focusing on instances where the crews recognise a similarity between themselves and their targets ('even those called "Other" are never, never that' (Gordon, 2008, p.5)), and instances where the crews are forced to watch disturbing, perhaps haunting, events; I argue that Haunting provides the means through which

to understand how these experiences and emotions can co-exist, and how they play into and challenge narratives of military masculinity.

The third part of the chapter flips the concerns of in/(hyper)visibility on its head by situating the crews, rather than their targets, as the feminized objects of scrutiny and speculation. Beginning from the perspective of the crews as 'missing' or 'invisible' in early interest in drone warfare I illustrate the ways in which the humans behind the machine have been erased from the narratives about the technology that they use. From being invisible, shadowy beings the Reaper crews then begin to materialise in newspaper articles and scholarly journals. However, in these instances the crews are rendered *hyper*visible- constructed as dangerous, 'Others' who challenges our norms of warfare and the identity of the warrior. Through the prism of Haunting I illuminate the ways in which popular fear of drones and the future of drone warfare infuses discourses of the crews who become feminized (as weakling armchair warriors), infantilized and orientalised in a triple shot of public derision.

Continuing with the perspective of the crews as the feminized object, the final section of the chapter focuses on the scrutiny of the crews by their fellow members of the British Armed Forces. This section traces the way in which the connectivity of the Reaper enables military leadership to 'get back in the cockpit'[70] with the crews, acting as a ghostly presence which erodes military professional trust. Countering the argument that Reaper crews experience this as *only* a feminizing experience I finish the chapter by arguing that this scrutiny *simultaneously* provides the necessary audience for the performance of military masculinity by achieving technological mastery of an aircraft that is particularly complex to fly. What becomes clear throughout the chapter is the multiple work that gendered questions of in/(hyper)visibility are doing in relation to Reaper operations and that it is only through engaging with a ghost hunt that it is possible to draw all of these nuanced complexities out.

[70] Interview with 'Noel'

An Uncanny Kind of Surveillance

The importance of surveillance in war is nothing new (Kindervater, 2016; Keegan, 2003; Bousquet, 2008), however the advent of drones has enabled a specific iteration: persistent surveillance from an extreme distance (Ehrhard, 2010; Wall and Monahan, 2011). Predator (the precursor to Reaper) was originally designed as a reconnaissance asset and the capacity to launch missiles was only added later (Thomson, 2009). Whilst the missile strikes from drones are the focus of much of the debate about drones, it is surveillance which takes up the vast majority of the crews' time and energy, as one individual described: 'We spend 70 to 80 per cent of our time… just scanning roads' (Drew, 2009; Interview data and sources such as Mead, 2014; Bowden, 2013). Because there is no crew on board of Reaper 'it can spent some twenty-four hours in the air, flying at heights of up to twenty-six thousand feet' by simply swapping between crews at the ground-based controls, allowing Martin to claim 'We were always present over the war front, watching, waiting' (2010, p.29).[71]

The creation of what Stahl (2013) refers to as 'drone vision' provides something different from what is seen from the cockpits of fast jets.[72] As a result, the crews engage not (just) with masculinist logics of seeing but are also required to implement subjective, sensuous knowledges to make sense of the data collected by the drone. The following section goes on to explain the backdrop of rationality through which the crews are haunted by the phantoms of 'other'

[71] Reaper has a range of imaging components most of which are situated in a 'rotating Ball' on its nose (Singer, 2011, p.33). Within this and the body of the Reaper are 'an infrared (IR) sensor, a colour/monochrome daylight electro-optical (EO) TV and an image-intensified TV' as well as 'Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR) and Ground Moving Target Indicator (GMTI) to provide an all-weather capability' (Royal Air Force, 2016). These capabilities build on earlier efforts which have either enabled wide angle information collection in low resolution or narrow fields of view in high resolution (Gregory, 2011, p.193). The development of new technologies for Reaper has enhanced the vision so that, depending on the amount of zoom you can either make out the type of rifle someone is carrying or you can survey an area 'much wider than Chipping Norton' (Interview with 'Geoff', see also comments by David Davis MP Armed Drones Debate Hansard 2015).

[72] An interviewee stated that the idea of the 'video game mentality' that is frequently connected to the type of surveillance undertaken by Reaper crews was entirely back to front: When he described dropping bombs from a Tornado, 'Tom' noted that he would have to be so focused on 'setting up the tactical stuff', focused on a 'tiny screen and so many things to think about' (not least keeping the plane in the air) that he 'barely had a chance to look at the target' and was 'completely disconnected from the end result'.

knowledge, of hunches, intuitions, the things on the periphery 'shadows, ephemera, energies, ethereal forces, textures, spirit, sensations' (Puar, 2007, p.xx).

(Un)Manned Gaze

One of the reasons that in/(hyper)visibility is a core concern of Haunting is because ghosts occupy a 'liminal position between visibility and invisibility...' (Blanco and Peeren, 2013, p.2). They are seen and not quite seen, they see and do not see. Also in/(hyper)visibility is politically important to the concerns of Haunting because being visible may be understood as a core condition of 'liberation and empowerment' from the crushing weight of the non-acknowledgement of being politically unseen (Parkins and Karpinski, 2014, p.4). Visibility is constructed in feminist thinking in this way because of the connection between masculinity and ocularcentric logics, a legacy of the scientific Enlightenment (Shaw and Akhter, 2012; Keller, 1986; Haraway, 1988). Parkin and Karpinski argue that the

> 'coupling of power and invisibility can be traced back to the epistemological conceptions of scientific truth and objectivity, which ignore the knower's situation and construct a universal view, simultaneously from everywhere and from no-where' (2014, p.5).

And it is precisely this perspective which, as outlined in Chapter 2, Haunting aims to challenge. By undertaking a ghost hunt the following section indicates the extent to which the crews use of Reaper drones for surveillance is intimately interwoven with ideas of masculinity. These ideas of masculinity are haunted by narratives of domination, omnipotence and sexuality which cannot be captured without paying attention to the sensuous knowledge of the ghosts (Gordon, 2008, p.205). Employing this knowledge and queer logic, I demonstrate that whilst the arguments about the masculinization of the crews engaged in persistent surveillance can be seen to be 'true' so too can attendant arguments about feminization (Kunashakaran, 2016; Coeckelbergh, 2013; Asaro, 2013; Weber, 2014, 2016).

Ocularcentric

Persistent surveillance, as previously noted, is based on the idea of constant watching, of continuously collecting visual data. In their discussion of drones, Shaw and Akhter use similar language to Parkins and Karpinski (2014) to draw attention to the link between surveillance, contemporary militaries, and masculinity noting that

> 'Vision is… crucial to an ocularcentric Western society… and always already entangled within military culture. The ability to gaze from "nowhere" and yet represent "everywhere"… is fundamentally located within a nexus of disembodiment' (2012, p.1495)

As previously noted, constructing the Western military vision as disembodied and as situated 'nowhere' reflects the masculinist logics of the Enlightenment period in 18th century Europe (Hampson, 1976; Porter, 2001). During this period there was a move towards a preference for visual verification of 'facts' as part of a desire to 'ground knowledge in verifiable, empirical data' (Douthwaite, 2002, p.72; Van Loon, 1996; Jordanova, 1999). There is not space here to outline the Enlightenment story, which has been extensively explored elsewhere (for example Hampson, 1976; Porter, 2001; Williams, 1999), but suffice to say that as part of the heritage of this important period of intellectual development social science (as well as the natural sciences) came to embrace the idea that the simplest means of ensuring that data was 'verifiable' was to rely on what could be seen, so that the 'truth' became what the eyes verified as 'reality'. In addition to constructing what was seen as what was real, seeing became connected with ideas of understanding. What we see gives us more than just visual cues, through seeing we claim we 'understand' (Lyon, 2014, p.23). Or, to paraphrase the tagline of the 1996 film '*Loch Ness*', when we see we believe. And therefore what cannot be seen cannot be thought of as 'true' or 'real' and the unseen is then rendered 'unreal' (Gordon, 2008).

If arguing that 'seeing' provides an 'objective' means through which to access knowledge is one component of the connection between vision and masculinity, then the second is the hierarchical power relationship between the individual who is 'seeing' and the individual who is 'seen'. Importantly, for the connection between seeing/understanding and masculinity 'Historically, man has been the subject, the agent "doing the looking", while woman has been the object of his gaze, the spectacle' (Rowley, 2010, p.312; see also Burston and Richardson, 1995; Kaplan, 2000). The relationship between the 'seer' and the 'seen' and gendered hierarchies is also (hyper)visible through the active nature of seeing (activity is coded as masculine) and the passive nature of being seen (passivity being coded as feminine). Reflecting masculine agency, the male gaze is not without effect, but rather has political power and implications: 'Masculine vision is almost invariably characterized as patriarchal, ideological, and phallocentric' (Snow, 1989, p.30). Therefore to be the recipient of/object of the gaze it to be feminized, and as such denied agency (Cohn, 1998, p.144).

The position of the Reaper crews as 'above' the individuals that they watch acts as a physical representation of the hierarchical relationship between the two. As Allison Williams notes, 'the aerial view as a given, neutral and all-seeing, is contested… and the problematic positioning of the geopolitical gaze as a subjective, located, practice can be uncovered' (Williams, 2011, p.384; see also MacDonald, 2006; MacDonald et al., 2010). The 'politics of verticality', where the watcher is placed physically above the watched perhaps renders this hierarchy at its most obvious (Williams, 2011; Smith, 2016; Wall and Monahan, 2011). As such, the perspective of seeing from above by drone crews creates a specific way of seeing the world (Stahl, 2013; Gregory, 2011, p.190; Kindervater, 2016) and some academics argue that 'drone vision represents a special kind of looking', so that because of persistence, capacity to see without being seen, ability to see widely and in detail, there is conjured what Donna Haraway describes as the 'god trick' (Haraway, 1988; Stahl, 2013, p.663). The 'god trick' is then connected to the (cob)web of power associated with omniscience.

Omniscience is usually considered an attribute of deities: the capacity to 'know all' is understood as something beyond human capabilities, at least in part because it is not possible to *see* all. As a result the symbol of the eye is widely associated with God(s) (Lyon, 2014; Harper Hart, 1949; Bensimon, 1972; Fingesten, 1959). Beyond seeing actions, gods' eyes were understood as being able to *see* into a person's thoughts and emotions, as Da Vinci noted 'the eyes are the window of the soul' (cited in Harper Hart, 1949, p.1). God(s), it seems, understands the *hidden* desires/actions of the individuals below creating a hierarchical relationship, not least because whilst God *sees* all (what the sinner does is *visible*), S/He cannot be seen (whilst the powerful God is *invisible*): a perspective mimicked by Reaper crews (Bensimon, 1972, p.272). The connection between God's eye and the technical capabilities of the Reaper are often referred to in narratives about drones, with commentators noting 'they have assumed the position of the gods who decide who will live and die' (Evangelista et al., 2014, p.193; see also Whetham, 2013; Coeckelbergh, 2013; Singer, 2011).[73] Indeed, to the people who live in the areas of Waziristan, where US Reapers operate, drones are compared with 'Ababels (The holy swallows sent by God to avenge Abraham, the intended conqueror of the Khana Kaaba)' (Peshawar Declaration of FATA-based political parties and civil organizations cited in Williams, 2010, p.884; see also Taj, 2010). This conceptualising of drones, by potential victims of drone strikes, as connected with the gods and with omniscience (perhaps even omnipotence) is a powerful illustration of one element of the spectral (cob)webs of (gendered) power which weave around the Reaper crews.

As illustrated in the previous section objectivity is illusory because watching and being watched are not passive, nor equal, positions. The eye that 'sees all' is empowered over the one that is watched. As the application of Haunting reveals, surveillance, and what is seen through surveillance, is a form of 'sensuous' 'situated knowledge' (Gordon, 2008; Haraway, 1988, p.582; see also Weldon, 2006; Kronsell et al., 2006; D'Costa, 2003). Situated knowledge refers to the feminist understanding that knowledge is not objective because it reflects a specific standpoint,

[73] for example, as David Davis (MP) stated 'They are an unblinking eye in the sky for 24 hours a day' (Davis in Hansard, 2015 Column 49WH). Additionally, drone-related technology called 'Gorgon Stare' and ARGUS render explicit the desire of marketers of this technology to imbue Reaper with the capacity of a god.

the 'situation' or 'situatedness' of the individual who produces it, reflecting their cultural, social, historical, psychological and personal biases and perspectives on the topic (Zalewski, 2006, p.47; Weldon, 2006, p.64).

Patrick Blackett (British physicist) claimed that individuals involved in allied bombing raids on Germany at the end of the Second World War had developed the 'Jupiter complex' which was 'the notion of the Allies as righteous gods, raining down retributive thunderbolts on their wicked enemies' (cited in Dowd, 2013, p.13; see also Wills, 2012). I include this quote here because it demonstrates the subjectivity involved in the perception of omniscience (and in this case omnipotence). The use of value-laden terms such as 'righteous' and 'wicked' demonstrate how the watcher and watched are categorised, understood and responded to in ways that cannot be construed as objective. The haunting of contemporary narratives about Reaper crews by this kind of myth is suggested in accounts such as Brandon Bryant who remembers thinking 'What motherfucker's gonna die today?' assuming their guilt, that they deserved their fiery death (Power, 2013)

In additional to placing the Reaper crews into god-like position of power, the appeal to seeing as a means of knowing carries explicitly sexual undertones that reflect the hierarchical dualism of masculinity and femininity. Given the backdrop of hierarchical gender relations in the ghostly world of the warrior, and the fact that Reaper crews spend extensive periods of time watching people on the ground, people who do not give their permission to be watched and who may be objectified through the process of watching (labelled terrorist/civilian/combatant/child/'military-aged-male'), it is not surprising that this kind of surveillance has been critiqued as voyeuristic (Woods, 2015; Freeman, 2015; Stahl, 2013; Asaro, 2013). Similarly, the attempts, through extensive surveillance, to see something that is hidden, someone who is hidden, may be understood as the sexual process of unveiling that object and body (Brooks, 1993; Irigaray, 1985, p.47). This sexualisation is reflected in the title of 'Predator

Porn' used to describe the hours and hours of footage collected from surveillance[74]. Far from being passive, the act of watching through a Reaper drone is constructed by some as penetrative, as Moraine notes 'The gaze of the drone burrows' as it seeks the 'truth' of the individuals it watches…' (Moraine, 2013). Indeed, as will be explored subsequently in greater detail, the crews' persistent surveillance is 'distant but also profoundly intimate' (Moraine, 2013).

Beyond subjectivity in terms of judgement, there are also limitations on the ability of what is *visible* to provide complete data, as it revealed in the following excerpt from Reaper operator Martin,

> 'Our supported unit in Afghanistan wanted me to keep an eye on [a mound] until daybreak… I would continue to circle and stare at it … Hours passed … Once the sun rose… I asked my sensor operator to switch to daylight cameras. The telephoto lenses brought out the full picture … I burst into laughter. The feature we had stared at for hours, that had preoccupied the most sophisticated reconnaissance apparatus on the earth and baffled the world's finest intelligence analysts, was a pile of barnyard manure.' (2010, pp.33–34)

In this instance the limitations of the human brain to interpret, to make knowledge from what was *seen* was relatively benign. It does, however, invite a question of the omniscience of the crews. The masculine capability to *know* or to extract knowledge from what is seen here dissipates, revealing a feminine need to rely on hunches, suspicions and emotional knowledge. For example, crews have needed to interpret a 'flutter' in the corner of the screen as a group of school children in order to prevent a strike which would have killed the entire group.[75] What was *seen* was not a group of children, rather it was a ghostly movement in the peripheries of vision, and as such crews not only needed to take this spectral form seriously, but also to engage with intuitive forms of knowledge that have traditionally been constructed as feminine.

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[74] Interview with 'Noel'
[75] Interview with 'Dan'

One of the forms that sensuous knowledge takes is through the designation of something as 'uncanny,' the familiar rendered strange (Gordon, 2008; Freud et al., 2003). One of the ways in which this plays out in the lives of Reaper crews is through the surveillance of families who reflect similarities and differences between the world of their targets and their own. In watching the domestic lives of the individuals below them, in seeing the similarities and differences, Reaper crews experience moments 'when familiar words and things transmute into the most sinister of weapons and meanings' which impacts not just on their perspectives of what is occurring on the ground but also on how they interact with their own families (as will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter) (Gordon, 2008, p.64). Examples of viewing the domestic as strange or unfamiliar include confusing digging irrigation channels for the planting of IEDs, the pile of barnyard manure being constructed as a mysterious/dangerous 'heat spot', and 'flutter's in peripheral vision coalescing into a group of children. These things are simultaneously strange and familiar, the lives of the targets are like the crews own and at the same time completely different, the people who are watched are simultaneously other and 'never never that' (Gordon, 2008, p.5). Therefore, whatever the 'power' of the Reaper to stay above the targets and watch and watch it is impossible for the crews to ever be able to fully understand, in the way that a god might, what is the 'real' story. Their assessments are always partial, fluid, and subjective.

In addition to highlighting the limitations of crews' abilities to turn what is visible and what is seen into knowledge, the experience of persistent surveillance can force Reaper crews to engage with 'sensuous knowledges' through the powerful emotions that their experience when they see upsetting, troubling or anxiety-inducing visions. Whilst the crews are operating at a vast physical distance from the theatre of war, they are not as distanced from the emotional and physical responses to experiencing war as some commentators claim. As MP David Davis described

> ‘They witness the violence, whereas most people who are involved in a war are distanced, at least to some extent, from the people who suffer from their weapon system. The sheer fidelity of the drone systems makes the witnessing very close and personal’ (Davis in Hansard, 2015a Column 50WH).

It is to this trauma and concurrent intimacy of surveillance via Reaper drones and the implications for the work which gender does in this context, to which this chapter now turns.

Intimate In/Visibility

One of the roots of Haunting as a framework comes from an investigation of trauma and memory (Freud et al., 2003; Abraham and Torok, 1999; Frosh, 2013), and there is increasing interest in the spectralities literature in how this trauma emerges through discussions of in/(hyper)visibility (for example Engle, 2009; Edkins, 2003; Hawkins, 2010). As part of the experience of persistent surveillance Reaper crews have disturbing images rendered visible in three ways: (1) in the operational requirement for battle damage assessments (BDA) where crews have to assess the aftermath of weapons strikes, counting bodies (or body parts) in order to decide whether or not operational targets were met; (2) in the observation of the death of friendly forces or civilians; (3) in the observation of traumatic ‘social events’ that the crews are not permitted to intervene in. As a result, these crews may be haunted by the experience of becoming distantly intimate with the subjects of surveillance (Williams, 2015; Abe, 2012; Power, 2013). Counter to critics claims that the physical distance between the crews and the theatre of war will lead to a moral disconnect, crews are instead indicating that they are troubled by unexpected emotions, disturbed by the ghostly similarity between their lives and those of the individuals under surveillance (Cole et al., 2010; Alston and Shamsi, 2010; Royakkers and van Est, 2010; Asaro, 2013).

These claims destabilize traditional narratives about geographical distance and emotional connection, and in so doing run counter to arguments that drones act as a masculinizing

influence, reducing the warriors' access to the emotions that make war a human endeavour (Kunashakaran, 2016; Masters, 2005; Sylvester, 2013). The experience of seeing violent, horrifying, and traumatic things has implications for our understanding of the masculine as emotionally stoic and the position of rationality as a trait privileged by the warrior. By drawing queer logic into the mix, the ghost hunt of the trauma of surveillance and the curious sense of intimacy that *persistent* surveillance can create reveals a more nuanced picture than we might initially expect (Weber, 2014, 2016).

On the Trauma of Seeing

'*The child, if there had been a child, was an infrared ghost*' (Power, 2013)

Following the three elements outlined above, this section illuminates the impact of BDA, the observation of the death of friendly forces, and the observation of social atrocities. BDA form an important part of the tasks of Reaper crews (Asaro, 2013; Woods, 2015). Given the nature of the task it is not surprising that crew members report seeing distressing things as part of this role:

> 'When you hit a truck full of people, there are limbs and legs everywhere… I watched a guy crawl away from the wreckage after one shot with no lower body. He slowly died. You have to watch that. You don't get to turn away.' (Maurer, 2015)

> 'The smoke clears, and there's pieces of the two guys around the crater. And there's this guy over here, and he's missing his right leg above his knee. He's holding it, and he's rolling around, and the blood is squirting out of his leg, and it's hitting the ground, and it's hot. His blood is hot. But when it hits the ground, it starts to cool off; the pool cools fast. It took him a long time to die. I just watched him. I watched him become the same colour as the ground he was lying on.' (Bryant cited in Power, 2013)

> 'I know the feeling you experience when you see someone die. Horrifying barely covers it. And when you are exposed to it over and over again it becomes like a small video, embedded in your head, forever on repeat, causing psychological pain and suffering that many people will hopefully never experience' (Linebaugh, 2013)

Whilst these quotes are from articles that deal with the experiences of US drone crews, interviewee data reveals similar experiences for British Reaper crews, although there was a reluctance to speak in too much detail: 'You watch him the entire time you are striking… [this is] the emotional aspect of killing'[76]. And as one interviewee noted having a 'front row seat' on the violence below can have a psychological impact. [77]

None of the individuals I interviewed claimed to have suffered psychological injury but a number referred to others that they knew who had. The military intelligence analyst that I spoke to indicated that new Reaper crews were 'less battle-hardened' than the first crews and therefore less 'mentally prepared for', what he referred to as the 'crunchy bits' making them more vulnerable to psychological distress[78]. Similarly, interviewee Peter claimed that 'I know that some people have suffered PTSD… the fact that you are not physically there is countered by ability to zoom in… to some fairly horrible sights'[79].

In addition to the trauma of seeing the deaths of friendly and enemy forces, Reaper crews have witnessed 'social things that you might like to intervene in'[80]. The quote from Peter followed our conversation about the film *Good Kill* which is about US drone crews who are tasked with watching an individual who they do *not* have permission to strike as he repeatedly rapes a woman in her home. [81] And (partly) as a result of watching this situation play out the main character (a Reaper operator) develops an alcohol addiction, experiences marital difficulties and eventually, illegally, strikes and kills the rapist. This is a fictionalised account but it sounds not unlike the horrifying situation that US Reaper Sensor Operator Brandon Bryant recalls:

[76] Interview with 'Dan'
[77] Interview with 'Peter'
[78] Interview with former British military intelligence analyst part of Royal Air Force 39 squadron based at Creech, USA.
[79] Interview with 'Peter'
[80] Interview with 'Peter'
[81] Which a number of interviewee indicated was 'a very accurate representation' albeit with Hollywood gloss and caricatures for characters.

> 'Over Iraq [I] followed an insurgent commander as he drove through a crowded marketplace. The man parked in the middle of the street, opened his trunk, and pulled two girls out… They were bound and gagged… He put them down on their knees, executed them in the middle of the street, and left them there. People just watched it and didn't do anything.' (Power, 2013)

My interviewees were not able to elaborate into specific details of their personal experiences for security reasons, but indicated that situations like that could occur.

What then, is the implication for the crews who observe these kinds of things? In journalists' accounts Reaper crews have used the language of Haunting to describe the effects of having death made visible: 'Dreams in Infrared', remembering, 'a small video, embedded in your head, forever on repeat,' the images and scenes replaying in endlessly painful phantom videos (Abe, 2012; Linebaugh, 2013; Martin, 2010). Reflecting the need to include sensuous knowledges, my interviewees explored how the stresses of their role had material implications for their bodies and health: 'I have had heart palpitations [and] hair standing up on the back of my neck', and similarly James recalled that 'the tears came' after a near-miss operation[82]. The effects on the body of the long term stress of the role Freddie joked about claiming 'I've got grey hair now!'[83] Crew members spoke about something not feeling right about a mission, or about wanting to put off a strike a little longer because something sensuous, something other, was telling them to hold off.

The commentary above reminds us of the importance of situating these narratives within the framework of Haunting as that provides for an understanding of the complexity of personhood. After all, the statements above suggest that whilst there are some individuals and some occasions (people after all do not always respond to the same stimuli in the same ways on different days) who feel distanced from the 'reality' of what occurs on the ground and who are able to place a buffer between themselves and the things that they see, for some individuals this

[82] Interview with 'Dan', Interview with 'James'
[83] Interview with 'Freddie'

separation is not possible. The reference to the effects of adrenaline on crews' bodies- the heart palpitations etc. draws on the capacity for Haunting to incorporate both the discursive and the material, the different ways that 'sensuous knowledges' can be explored (Holloway and Kneale, 2008).

The Visibility of the 'Other'

In most assessments of the experiences of Reaper crews they are considered as the pinnacle of a hierarchical relationship, the masculine subject 'watcher' to the feminized object 'watched' (Williams, 2015; Adey et al., 2014; Asaro, 2013; Wall and Monahan, 2011). What many of these accounts touch on, but fail to really engage with, is the way that the crews' subjective assessment of the individuals that their surveil results in a strange intimacy. This intimacy is, to use the language of Haunting, ghostly because it is simultaneously a real intimacy (the crews know the pattern of life of their targets, they build up pictures of complex (cob)webs of relationships within communities, they get to know who is a 'stranger') from the things that they *see*, the things that are visible. However, this intimacy is also *un*real because the relationship is one-directional, the targets do not necessarily know that they are being watched, and the knowledge that the crews can make *visible* still cannot truly establish intentions, motivations, meanings behind certain behaviours. Therefore, however god-like the position of power above the ground might seem, the Reaper crews, unlike God(s) do not have a window into the soul.

One of the ways that this strange intimacy haunts the Reaper crews is through the apparent similarities between the lives of their targets and their own lives. Reaper crews observe 'women hanging out the washing or children playing', '[owners] playing with their dogs', 'a group of kids throwing rocks at goats, [a target] mak[ing] love to his wife in an open field, attend[ing] a wedding or funeral' (Freeman, 2015; Abe, 2012; Hurwitz, 2013; Daggett, 2015, p.371). All of this minutiae of everyday life serves to disrupt the traditional 'Othering' of the enemy in war: his/her life appears not so different from the crews', his/her family has similarities to the crews', and the

knowledge accumulates in a strange way so that one pilot noted 'Sometimes I thought I knew as much about this man, my nemesis, as I knew about my wife' (Martin, 2010, p.296). Again, Martin connects the idea of watching/seeing with the idea of knowing, and interestingly with an intimate knowledge. To *know* someone in the biblical sense is to know them sexually, in the manner often considered to be most intimate. In sexual relationships we expose parts of ourselves (both physically and emotionally) that we do not share with other people. Martin's claim to know his enemy as well as his wife then serves a useful means of illustrating the way in which Reaper crews' connection with the individuals that they watch serves to trouble traditional ways of thinking about distance in war.

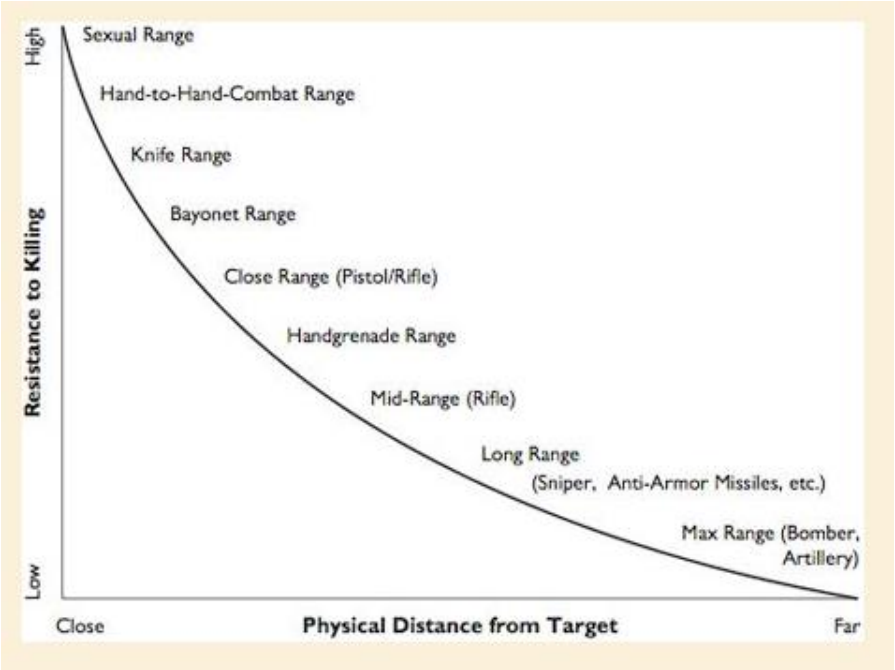

Fig. 5.2 (Grossman, 2009 Kindle Location 1793)

Grossman indicates in the graph above that the greater the physical distance from the target the lower the resistance to killing. If this hypothesis held then drone crews would have an easy job hitting their targets, emotionally (as much as physically) distanced from the consequences of their actions. Indeed this is frequent criticism of the use of drones (see for example Cole et al., 2010; Alston and Shamsi, 2010). However, Chamayou problematizes this perspective asking

'Where should the drone be positioned in the diagram?' (Chamayou and Lloyd, 2015, p.115) to which Daggett responds 'Arguments could be made in both directions: there is a maximal distance between shooter and target, putting drones beyond long-range bombers, but at the same time there is an odd intimacy made possible by the drone cameras and surveillance capabilities' (2015, p.366). In addition, if we consider Martin's claims and the connection between his 'knowledge' of his enemy and sexuality then far from being at the extreme distance from his target, the Reaper pilot/sensor is placed at the point at which there is likely to be the *greatest* resistance to killing (see Grossman's graph). It is clearly not simple to separate these experiences: the distance and intimacy are interwoven in narratives of watching, killing, closeness, emotion and identity. As interviewee Dan noted 'It's a long, prolonged exposure to the guy: you will find him … [there is] much more emotional involvement with the target… [it] affects you more than it does turning up at a target [and just] hitting a target… [Even though] the physical visuals are the same'(see Lee, 2012, p.14 for similar).[84]

This first half of the chapter has sketched out the gendered implications of the role of Reaper crews as watchers. I have illustrated how this position can be construed as both masculinizing and empowering, *and at the same time* feminizing and traumatizing. The following section then reflects the second component of persistent surveillance in the world of the Reaper crew, and that is the experience of being watched.

The Watchman and The Politics of (Hyper)visibility

'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Who watches the watchmen? Me. I watch him. Always' (Pratchett, 2014, p.416).

Whilst the Reaper crews are usually invisible to their targets they are distinctly visible to military leadership through a web of connectivity. At the same time, the crews have often been

[84] Interview with 'Dan', similar interview data from British Reaper crews has been recorded by Lee, 2012, p.17

invisible in official reports and newspaper articles about drones and particularly drone strikes, until they are constructed as this new frightening breed of warrior and rendered *hyper*visible.[85] Utilising feminist thinking on the way that visibility in these different forms and weaving this together with Gordon's concerns about how visibility dis/empowers, this section traces the (cob)webs of power at work in the crews' experiences of being scrutinised (Shepherd and Sjoberg, 2012; Sjoberg, 2012b; Parkins and Karpinski, 2014). Through this I argue that the crews are *simultaneously* being feminized by their construction as (invisibly) passive and in need of supervision *and* provided with the opportunity to perform military masculinity.

The Spectre of the Cyborg

One of the things that struck me when I became interested in the phenomenon of military drones was the way in which the narratives reflected a sense of the drone as the actor, despite the fact that one of the core claims of the using militaries was that these machines are under human control (Beckhusen and Gault, 2015; Whetham, 2013). Particularly at the beginnings of the debate over the ethical, legal, and strategic implications of using armed drones there was little reference made to the crews behind the aircraft. Newspapers reported that 'British drones kill hundreds of Taliban fighters', 'drones kill innocent people all the time' and that drones are 'a weapon capable of finding and killing someone just about anywhere in the world' (Rayment, 2014; Bowden, 2013; Beckhusen and Gault, 2015). Whilst I appreciate that some of this invisibility of the crews may be a result of crafting a good newspaper article, however the sense that it is the *drones* that are capable and active pervades even commentary from the using militaries. For example, the former Assistant Chief of Air Staff noted that 'they [the drones] have unique capabilities'. Here what is interesting is not the 'unique capabilities' but the discussion of the drone machinery as a 'they', an aircraft platform is being personified (Whetham, 2013, p.22). Whilst there is a long history within the British military of naming aircraft and pilots/crews

[85] In this context I use 'hypervisibility' after Shepherd and Sjoberg (2012) to explore how Reaper crews, when acknowledged in reports, are constructed as dangerously 'Other'.

expressing a sense of connection with their aircraft, what is interesting about the way that this occurs with drones is that it plays into discourses of autonomy, about cyborgs and of the drone itself enacting warfare without human intervention (Adams, 2013; Holmes, 2015; Matthew, 2015; Russia Today, 2014). In these iterations it is the drone itself that represents the cyborg and poses a threat to normal human relations through the autonomous deployment of lethal force, creating images of dystopian, '*The Terminator*' and '*The Matrix*' inspired futures where 'robotic killing machines… systematically hunt down human beings' (Hasian, 2016, p.106; see also Turse and Engelhardt, 2012). This perspective is not limited to hysterics in the press but has also managed to gain some currency within the militaries using Reaper drones themselves. For example in the 2013 issue of *Military Review* Lt. Col. Douglas Pryer (US Army) included an image of 'armed terminator robots and hovering drones fighting humans in a scene from the movie *Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines?*' in a piece which critiqued the use of unmanned/robotic platforms as a danger to the United States (Hasian, 2016, p.5; Pryer, 2013).

Reaper crews have expressed frustration with this erasure of the work that they do. Through rendering the crews as invisible one interviewee remarked that this resulted in 'a grand, grand underappreciation' of the work that the crews did and do.[86] Speaking about the recent use of air strikes in Syria, Dan expressed irritation that 'all the press in Syria is a good example, always a picture of a tornado… we've been there for ages and we've done so much more than them…'.[87] However, following a period of invisibility the crews then became the subject of much more interest. As the press in particular bored with just addressing the (still contentious and incredibly important) issues of legality and ethics, the shadowy figures behind the technology began to materialise in reports. Rather than doing an important job of rendering this previously invisible individuals *visible*, I argue in the following section that they were rendered *hyper*visible.

[86] Interview with 'Freddie'
[87] Interview with 'Dan'

The crews were rendered *hyper*visible in later accounts because they were constructed as strange, as different from the crews of manned aircraft, as 'Other' and therefore possibly dangerous. Headlines for these pieces included 'Confessions of a drones pilot', 'Armchair killers' 'Killing by drone and proud of it', 'The dark art of drone piloting', 'A Candid, Chilling, Conversation with Top US Drone Pilot' (Power, 2013; Freeman, 2015; Rattansi, 2010; Reynolds, 2015; Wood, 2013). The uses of terms like 'confessions' implies that some grievous crime or sin has taken place that the individual needs to atone for. References to 'dark arts' (almost literally) conjure up imagery of black magic, demons and devils that Reaper crews are supposedly using to operate their aircraft (rather than good old-fashioned professional training). Unlike the crews of fighter jets or helicopters, the Reaper crews are flying something inherently devilish or demonic which means that journalists engaging with these crews are involved in something 'chilling'. This kind of language clearly suggests that the crews are involved in something morally and ethically reprehensible (as many of these articles do). But it is not only the ethics of the pilot's roles that are held up for questioning.

In an article dripping with disdain Calhoun claims that drone pilots can 'run out for a Starbucks break in between their various point-and-click killing missions' and explores how the use of drones signals the 'end of virtue' in military endeavours (2011, p.379; see also Baggiarini, 2015; Royakkers and van Est, 2010; Asaro, 2013; Kirkpatrick, 2015; Vallor, 2013). Drawing on the heritage of the ghostly warrior (of Chapter 3) commentators have critiqued, satirised and poked fun at these 'armchair killers', constructing them as the very antithesis of the brave, manly infantry or special ops officer: something which has not gone un-noted by the crews themselves who bemoan being made to 'look like twats on TV'.[88] Consider the following cartoons:

[88] Interview with 'Freddie'

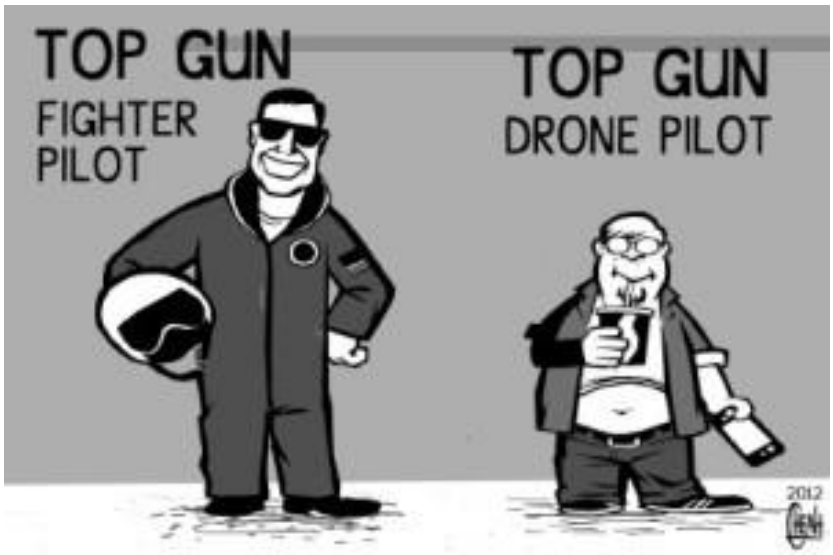

Fig 5.3 (Sinann, 2012)

The 'traditional' Top Gun Fighter pilot is taller and slimmer than the drone pilot, he smiles in a way reminiscent of movie stars, and wears 'cool' sunglasses. In comparison the drone pilot is too fat to fit into his t-shirt, he is wearing trainers, and glasses (implying that his eye sight is less than the perfect required for pilots), and he sips a soda (another reminder of his less than peak physical fitness). The small stature of the drone pilot here serves not only to emasculate him (men are generally considered to be taller and physically 'bigger' than women (Goldstein, 2001; Van Creveld, 2001)) but also to infantilise him. Being smaller than the fighter pilot he appears childlike, a perception reinforced by his casual clothing. The childishness of the drone pilot is a theme that we can see in the following cartoon as well, here the 'drone pilot' is a boy scout holding a joystick who appears to have 'earned' his 'predator badge' to go alongside the others on his sash.

Fig. 5.4 (Burdett, 2013)

Situating the drone pilot as childish serves to feminise him. Feminist scholars have noted how women are often placed together with children in security issues to create an amorphous mass that Enloe refers to as 'womenandchildren' (Enloe, 1989). Whilst a number of gender scholars have problematised this connection between women and children, the idea that 'that children are not fully mature, are depicted as not capable of rational thought and are also seen to be in need of care and protection' (Shepherd, 2009, p.41) is also highly problematic when applied to individuals who are responsible for multimillion pound aircraft with the capacity to undertake lethal strikes.

The World's Longest Screwdriver

The final section of this chapter addresses the meaning behind the quote after which the chapter is named, the claim that crewing Reaper is like being part of 'the longest screwdriver in the world…'.[89] Here the spectre of public invisibility or *hyper*visibility is displaced by the connectivity of the Reaper aircraft, as crews comment on concerns that phantom military leadership will climb into the cockpit with them to oversee their operations. Occupying the

[89] Interview with 'Dan'

feminized position of being watched the scrutiny under which Reaper crews operate creates a space of queer logic where they are also provided with the audience to which to perform military masculinity understood through their mastery of the complex technology of the aircraft.

Oversight is part and parcel of the lives of the majority of members of the British military, but one of the things that makes the Reaper novel is that the feeds that they capture can be reviewed not just by the crews but by other members of the military, and occasionally by other agencies (for example intelligence) and by civilian leadership (Prime Ministers/Presidents etc.). All of this adds up to a very different crewing experience from that of other aircraft in which the individual, once tasked, is responsible for how they undertake that task and they have the freedom to make decisions, largely unseen and unwatched by leadership. Built into this freedom is a professional trust that means that once trained, military leadership are confident that the individuals that they task will do the job professionally and within the bounds of the laws of war.[90] One interviewee recounted that in his previous role as an apache pilot it was 'just me and the [co]pilot' and that they had to 'get on with it, just the two of us'.[91] In this scenario the individual's identity was partially built around his independence, his capacity to operate his aircraft in a complex environment, and his ability to make difficult decisions in potentially life-threatening scenarios; all of this safe in the knowledge that his action would (provided he didn't act recklessly or illegally) be judged good by his peers and superiors. He had the freedom (and the responsibility) to 'get on with it', a position that reflects the independence of mind (as a component of masculinity) demonstrated by the figure of the warrior through iterations such as Achilles and Odysseus.

The Reaper crews are different. Described as the 'most supervised strike platform bar none' Reaper crews operate in an environment of extreme connectivity.[92] Forty people connected to one crew, able to see, watch, speak to, ask questions of, make demands of, contradict, perhaps

[90] Interview with 'Noel'
[91] Interview with 'Dan'
[92] Interview with 'Dan'

even confuse: that is a world away from a position of being 'just the two of us' who were empowered to 'get on with it'; and represents a cultural step change from previous iterations of the pilot who were alone in the cockpit with 'no man stand[ing] at their shoulders to support them' (Gen Billy Mitchell cited in Cantwell, 2009, p.75).

The implications of this close scrutiny are interesting. On a simplistic level, this over-watch puts additional pressure on already stressed crews, as Dan observed '[with] 500 people looking over your shoulder, you daren't screw up'[93]. Noel was clear that being over-supervised can have negative effects noting that 'there's a real risk with this long screwdriver… it's really appealing [but]… we mustn't allow our senior commanders to get back in the cockpit' because this negates the professional abilities and identities of the crew members[94]. Because there is no individual inside the cockpit of the Reaper, crews are already fighting to be acknowledged as an important part of the Royal Air Force, and, as previously noted, there is a tendency within official discourses to anthropomorphise the drones, denying the involvement of any military staff in their use. Maintaining a 'long screwdriver' which puts apparently phantom commanders 'back in the cockpit' actually serves to remove the crews themselves. Being closely supervised, then, is not only frustrating on a day-to-day level but also leads to a perception that the crews are less masculine, less capable, less professionally trust-worthy than their compatriots. A similar feminization also appears to occur in press accounts of Reaper crews, haunted by the historic ideal of the ideal RAF Officer or 'Top Gun' pilot (illustrating both historic and cultural influences on the warrior) (Francis, 2008; Rosenberg, 1993).

Whilst all of this serves to suggest that the supervision and scrutiny of the Reaper crews can be perceived as being wholly feminizing, I want to use the following section to describe the ways in which, whilst this is true, it is *also* true that it serves to masculinize the same crews. The haunting of the crews by the eyes of their superiors provides the platform or stage upon which

[93] Interview with 'Dan'
[94] Interview with 'Noel'

they can demonstrate their technical mastery of the complex technology which they are tasked with operating, and as previously noted, technological mastery is construed as a masculine trait (Kunashakaran, 2016; Kontour, 2012). Interviewees noted that the Reaper is 'not an easy' aircraft to pilot, and therefore being able to do so without 'pranging' more than your colleagues was an important marker of masculinity.[95] Speaking of the control required to hit targets accurately, Freddie described as 'surgery from 10,000ft', implying control, finesse, and the skill of the crews, the capacity to do so through this technology is also part of what Kunashakaran identifies as 'increased masculine performativity' in the use of drones (2016, p.44). Similarly, interviewees noted that one of the reasons they had applied for the role or enjoyed the job was because 'UAVs are the way forward' so that operating them represented 'being on that leading edge, the crest of the wave' of military technological development and learning.[96] Because of the operational tempo, in addition to learning to use 'cutting edge' military technologies, the crews were also permitted (and required) to push the aircraft to its very limits. This is different to other crews where they might practice the most complex moves again and again and never have the opportunity to use them operationally. As Tom recalled, when he was working with Tornados and Typhoons 'we practised rarely used complex bits but in Reaper we *did* the complex bits!'[97]

In addition to the technological mastery of a complex machine, the kind of analytical thinking associated with operating technology was used by the crews to 'solve problems' creatively. To support his statement that 'people [at] Creech [were] innovating' constantly, Geoff recalled using Reaper to take out an anti-aircraft unit in Iraq: 'we emptied out all the clever stuff and filled it with petrol', they then 'tickled the [surface to air missiles] system' so that it struck the emptied out drone, allowing another drone to sneak in and take out the SAM System.[98] Interviewees also

[95] Interview with 'Dan' and 'Geoff'
[96] Interview with 'Robert'
[97] Interview with 'Tom'
[98] Interview with 'Geoff'

claimed a higher level of technological mastery to their American counterparts, stating that it was the British who taught them how to use the SAR (Radar) and put it to good use.[99]

Whilst the mastery of technology is an important marker of masculinity the recognition of this requires an audience, and that is where being so closely scrutinised provides a means of masculinizing the crews (Braudy, 2005). Much like the oppositional relationship between masculinity and femininity, the different kinds of masculinities interact relationally and hierarchically (Connell, 2005; Barrett, 1996; Higate, 2012). Therefore, in order to claim a higher order of masculinity, the crews needed to demonstrate their status as *higher than* another's. As Robert recalled, the 'rest of the Air Force, particularly the fast jet boys, looked down their noses at us' but 'we were providing better situational awareness' than they could.[100] Similarly, Dan noted that when his colleagues in other parts of the forces where able to see the 'amount of stuff I could do from my platform' it 'blew their minds'.[101]

Conclusion

This chapter has utilised Haunting's concern with in/(hyper)visibility to investigate the gendered impact of Reaper crews' roles in persistent surveillance. Beginning by situating the crews in the privileged, and powerfully masculine position of watchers, I began by introducing the way this hierarchical positioning is based on Enlightenment thinking which privileges the visual as a source of information. Critiquing this thinking I introduced the challenges which emerge through a ghost hunt of the Reaper crews' experiences of surveillance operations. The 'politics of verticality' on which Reaper crews' apparent position of strength operates reveals itself not to be an objective assessment of data but as relying on 'sensuous knowledges' (Adey et al., 2014; Gordon, 2008). These knowledges play out in two ways: firstly, the subjective judgement of the intentions of the targets on the ground whose behaviour is rendered visible

[99] Interview with 'Geoff'
[100] Interview with 'Robert'
[101] Interview with 'Dan'

but whose intentions and motivations remain hidden; and secondly, through the need to interpret amorphous visual data to make *sense* of the shapes, shadows and hunches.

From here the chapter charted the way Haunting makes sense of the strange sense of 'distant intimacy', the visual trauma emerging from having horrifying occurrences rendered *visible*: Battle damage assessments, the death of friendly forces, and the injuring or deaths of innocent civilians. The crews reveal themselves as haunted by the similarities that they see between themselves and their targets, which has implications for their resistance to undertaking lethal strikes. Where Reaper crews have been critiqued for being removed from the consequences of killing, the experience of previous persistent surveillance results in quite the reverse effect, a *greater* emotional involvement in the strike.

Moving from positioning the crews as the watchers this chapter then considered their experiences of being watched. Beginning by considering the way the advent of new technology has sparked public interest, I traced the three ways in which the press (in particular) engaged with the crews. This initially resulted in rendering the crews invisible, written out of the debate as the drone itself was anthropomorphised and given agency. However, once the debates on the ethics and legality of drone strikes began to pall there was a move which rendered the crews as *hyper*visible: so that they were registered as strange and monstrous "Others", a world apart from the professional honourable crews of the rest of the RAF. In addition to questioning the ethics of the crews tasked with using Reaper, I argued that the crews are often feminized and infantilised in discourses and illustrations, compared unfavourably to the individuals who operate manned aircraft.

The final section of this chapter was concerned with how the crews are visible within the existing structures of military organisation and the way in which this functions to *simultaneously* feminize and masculinize. Interview data and other accounts revealed an unsettled relationship between the crews and other members of the military. The scrutiny over the use of drones has

filtered into the cockpits (or Ground Control Stations) of the Reaper, so that in some cases there is a sense of the leadership taking over from the crews who are based there- a spectral overseer that erodes the sense of professional trust. Simultaneously however, the connectivity of the Reaper, the fact that many other individuals can *see* the feeds that the crews collect, provides an audience to which they are able to perform a specific iteration of military masculinity: technological mastery (Kunashakaran, 2016).

Ultimately, what this chapter reveals is that through the prism of Haunting it is possible to see the ways in which Reaper crews' lives are woven through with questions of in/(hyper)visibility. These questions play themselves out through gendered interactions between the crews and the technology of the drone. Being positioned as both watcher and watched situates the crews in the liminal, ghostly spaces between the masculine and feminine, and the use of sensuous knowledges reveals that neither category of watched *or* watcher can fully contain the masculine *or* feminine. Instead, these knowledges demonstrate the way in which the lives of the crews as they engage with persistent surveillance are always already exceeding the gendered binary, demonstrating the importance of including queer logic in addressing this issue.

Both this chapter and the previous one have focused on the way that Haunting can help us to understand Reaper crews lives *at work*, as they operate Reapers. However, as Gordon's commitment to complex personhood reminds us, this is not the whole story. The crews are so much more than just their jobs. The following chapter takes this complex personhood seriously by introducing the day-to-day lives of the crews, utilising Haunting to focus on the implications of disturbed temporality.

CHAPTER 6: ERODED SOULS - OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES TO MASCULINITY

> *As 75% of our shifts were night shifts, off- duty days were spent sleeping. The shift pattern was 6 days on, 3 days off (if you were lucky!). The work day did follow a pattern: wake, eat and socialise with family (length dependent on sleep), drive to work (50-60 mins). Arrive at work approximately 30-45 mins prior to crew-in time, check previously viewed flying programme still current. Check daily/weekly/monthly flying currencies and ensure all are up to date and you have read and signed for any changes. Attend crew brief (approx. 20 mins) on completion carry out any briefed pre-flight tasks. Attend "step brief" (mini update in case anything had changed from main brief), then walk to GCS [Ground Control Station] and take over from incumbent crew. Complete briefed mission with "comfort breaks" as required and usually a break of approx. 30 mins. mid shift. Once relieved conduct crew debrief, fill in any relevant paperwork, check flying schedule and then return home* (Steve)

Introduction

Steve's quote above gives an outline of his schedule at 39 squadron. It provides an insight into the minutiae of Reaper operations, the small pieces that represent the underreported components of the crews' daily life. One of the things that is notable from this quote is the similarity between the lives of these crews and mine (and yours?): sleeping, eating, commuting, and spending time with family. Given that the lives of these individuals also include elements that the average life does not (surveillance, killing, dropping bombs) it is essential to consider how this blending of the normal and 'warrior-specific' components come together. What makes Reaper crews' lives so interesting is that whilst there are these similarities between their daily lives and mine, and between their daily lives and those of other members of the military, there are also components that make their experiences unique. One of these is the strange disruption of linear time in their lives, of the kind referred to as *disturbed temporality* in Chapter 2. Cycling between the home and the war, a war that is happening in a different season and different time zone, the crews are challenged by some of the markers of an apparently boundless war

conducted from a distance. Similarly, in doing so with such regularity the crews are required to shift between warrior and family identities, to be present/absent at work and absent/present from home in such a manner that the distinctions between these zones becomes blurred, even ghostly.

In Chapter 3 the ghost of the warrior indicated the way in which contemporary understandings of what it means to take part in warfare are infused with myth and history from the *past*. Similarly, some of the concerns about the use of drones (for example, the references in Chapter 5 to *The Terminator*) are framed around a fear about what the *future* of war might look like, how technologies *might* develop and what the implications *might* be. The present, then, is not a singular point but rather a space infused with memory and myth, with fears, hopes and imaginings. As Gordon notes, *now* is always 'laced with delight for what we lost that we never had…that it could have been and can be otherwise' (2008, p.57). This mingling of time, the disturbance of time by ghosts, is a core component of Haunting creating what Derrida refers to as 'the spectral moment' (Derrida, 2006, p.xix; see also Kenway, 2006; Coddington, 2011). According to Derrida this is 'a moment that no longer belongs in time, if one understands by this word the linking of modalized presents (past present, actual present: "now," future present)' (2006, p.xix). Gordon (2008, 1990) argues in her exploration of complex personhood, that understanding the context in which individuals function - that is, the specific mythology, the particular histories, the precise hopes and dream and fears is important to understanding the phenomena in question, in this case the interaction between the military technology of drones and gender. The precise context of this case is a British Reaper crew and this means engaging with: the social and cultural mythology and history of being part of the British Armed Forces and in particular with the legacy of previously being an all-male fighting force. It means understanding the cultural cache of being part of an active squadron in the RAF, the way the perceptions of the press and public change the behaviour (and identity) of the crews (and do not change their behaviour), the way that they envision themselves in the narratives about drones

and the things that irritate them. Utilising the prism of Haunting it is possible to engage with all of these details and nuances, and indeed in this chapter I want to go further, illuminating the crews as more than *just* their jobs, situating them as part of families, friendship groups, personal and intimate relationships. In so doing I draw attention to the ways that the crews are situated in particular contexts, with particular knowledges (Haraway, 1988; Weldon, 2006; Kronsell et al., 2006). All of these elements come together to illuminate yet another way of understanding the crews' 'complex personhood' which has been missing in accounts of the lives of British Reaper crews.

As such, this chapter traces three core ways in which disturbed temporality plays out in the lives of British Reaper crews. Firstly, in their rapid cycling between the space of the home and the space of war the crews disturb the delineation between these two places. Given that the home has traditionally been coded as a feminine space and the war zone as a masculine space this has implications for the separation of the gendered dichotomy, creating a shadowy space in between the worlds where they bleed into one another. Despite commentators' arguments that the crews' space of war replicates the domestic, I argue instead that the Ground Control Station (GCS) is rather an uncanny space in which both space and time are dislocated (Mayer, 2009; The Economist, 2014; Freeman, 2015).

Following this, the second way in which temporality is disturbed by the Reaper crews' experiences is through their operations. The crews might be conducting a night shift from Creech Air Force Base but that night time shift will be a day time shift over Afghanistan reflecting Derrida's claim that haunted spaces make "Le temps est hors de ses gonds" [time is off its hinges/is out of joint] (Derrida, 2006, p.22).[102] The temporal disturbance is amplified by the simultaneous disturbance of space - the capacity to be apparently in *both* Lincolnshire and Raqqa (Syria), for example. The door that opens the Ground Control Station (GCS) in which the

[102] This is a result of 11.5 hours of time difference between the time zone in Nevada and that in Afghanistan.

crews operate serves as a boundary between two geographically non-analogous places, creating a visual *here* and *there* which does not, and cannot, exist in any real physical sense. Reaper crews operate in the strange space in which they are simultaneously at home and abroad. Operating aircraft that are flying over Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya or Syria, British crews will be physically situated at bases in the UK or the US. Demonstrating a distinctive iteration of queer logic, the crews are simultaneously in the UK/US *and* in Iraq/Afghanistan/Syria, whilst the physical reality of that is impossible. This results in a strange category of warriors who are in and (in)between spaces, warriors who are here but not here, there but not there (inter alia Daggett, 2015).

The third and final way in which this chapter engages with Haunting's concern with disturbed temporality is through looking at the implications of the spatial and temporal dislocation of the first two sections. I divide these implications again into two further sections. The first explores the way that cycling rapidly between the space and time of war and that of the home, the crews have little opportunity to adjust their mind-set. Drawing on research into the importance of decompression, this section explores the way that crews need to find ways to draw lines in the liminal spaces they inhabit. Without being able to do so, I argue, the crews risk enabling the bleeding of the war mind-set and behaviours into the domestic. The second implication of temporal dislocation is the crews' experience of chronic fatigue. I explore the ways in which fatigue serves to both masculinize and feminize the crews, drawing on the sensuous knowledge of symbolism to counter unfavourable comparisons between the drone machinery and the human crews.

The Warrior (Not) Abroad

Part of what makes war different and distinctly separate from the home and the domestic has historically been the physical and geographical distance between the two spheres. The warriors outlined in Chapter 3, be that Achilles or Odysseus, St George, the Knights Templar or the 'Band-of-Brothers' were all required to go *away* from their home spaces to battlefields that were

geographically distinct. This creates temporal-spatial lines that informed the distinction between the home and the war front, the domestic and the public, and informed statements like 'this is no place for a woman' in relation to the battlefield. War then became not just something men *did* but also a place where they *were* (and a place where women were *not*), reinforcing the binaries between the masculine and feminine. Similarly, the domestic became a place where war was not, it was a safe haven (ideally), and the protection of that *space* (as much as the individuals within it) became an important marker of the warrior-identity.

In 'going away' to war, the warrior was provided the space in which to demonstrate markers of masculinity such as self-sufficiency, and courage. The experience of 'danger and deprivation in a distant place' is part of what constructs the warrior's identity, and draws together the individuals in units in 'comradeship' (Allsep, 2013, p.387). The arena in which war takes place are dirty, confusing, chaotic, and dangerous, in comparison the domestic/home space is clean, calm and safe (Elshtain, 1995; Horn, 2010). Similarly, as Braudy notes 'In the basic equation of traditional warfare, honour was indirectly proportional to distance' (2005, p.385), thereby implying that those warriors who stay close to the home space are feminized by their proximity, and considered less-masculine than those who are fighting at an extensive distance. In specific relation to the British military, this can be understood in connection to colonial endeavours. These narratives referred to going away to war to fight 'primitive', 'exotic' and 'barbaric' peoples, to bring them the 'gifts' of Christianity and European 'civilization', and were laced through with ideas that this required specific kinds of bravery, and preparedness to withstand the horrors of the unknown (Dawson, 1994). Similarly, 'going away' enables the warrior to 'return' triumphant, coming back to the domestic space having conquered whatever evil, and having done his job as 'protector' of that (domestic) space (Hicks Stiehm, 1982).

Given the importance of the space of war in delineating the warrior, what does this mean for members of the military whose experience of war does not take place on the battlefield (as traditionally understood)? Utilising Haunting means paying attention to the situatedness of the

Reaper crews both temporally and spatially, including the space that they occupy during operations. Whilst they do not 'go to war' in the way we traditionally understand it, they do still have a specific space in which they conduct operations. The Ground Control Stations (GCS) provide the space in which the crews are simultaneously absent and present, here and there, then and now. Whilst the GCS are physically located in either the UK or USA the operations that the crews conduct are, as previously noted, based somewhere else (previously Afghanistan, and Libya, and currently Iraq and Syria). The GCS are described as

> 'the size of a metal shipping container with a door on one end. Inside, a thin carpet covers the floor and a bank of monitors with two chairs sits at one end. Several air conditioners hum, keeping the electronics in the GCS cool. The lights are dim so the pilot and sensor can see the monitors' (Maurer, 2015).

The darkness of the GCS is commented on in a number of reports. Described variously as 'dark bunkers' 'dim, chilly, damp trailer[s]', and 'cool dark room[s]' these accounts add to the ghostly and clandestine atmosphere associated with the world of the Reaper operator (Skaar, 2014; Mead, 2014; Chow, 2013). [103] Even though the descriptions of being 'cool and dark' indicate a somewhat unfriendly environment, these descriptions remain a world away from the battlefield as chaotic, dirty, and dangerous.

Within the GCS, the three man crew (pilot, sensor operator and intelligence analyst) are situated in front of a huge bank of computers (Mead, 2014). [104] The screens show everything from live video feeds to secured chat room conversations, to maps, to technical readings from the aircraft (shown in the image overleaf). As outlined in the chapters on strikes and surveillance, the Reaper has a considerable battery of technical capabilities, all of which need to be linked in to

[103] Would these narratives survive as easily, I wonder, if Reaper crews operated in bright, well ventilated, sun-lit rooms?

[104] In the US iteration the pilot and sensor operator sit in the GCS, and the intelligence analysts sit together in a separate section. The British configuration emerged because British intelligence analysts could not sit with the American intelligence analysts, but crew members now talk about this triad as an integral part of what makes the British use of Reaper coherent and useful. In addition, Geoff pointed out that the three-man crew enabled more 'pee breaks' than in a two-man crew - an important consideration in manning decisions!

the crews in the GCS. As a result, crews are required to utilise a range of different computer screens and read outs in addition to maintaining voice (including radio) and text communications with individuals in command, individuals on the ground and others. In addition to the computer screens, 'The pilot's station resemble[s] a traditional aeroplane's cabin or cockpit that used a standard flight stick, rudders, trim tabs, throttle and other associated controls' resembling as much as possible the 'standard' operating machinery of any other aeroplane (Martin, 2010, p.19).

What makes the situation of the GCS so interesting is that it is haunted by narratives comparing it to a glorified office environment or a child's bedroom. As Cara Daggett notes, 'It is difficult to find a description of drone warfare that does not include… that drone operators are surrounded by the accoutrements of the office worker, sitting in ergonomic chairs, drinking coffee and eating junk food' (Daggett, 2015, p.367). The distinction, in those narratives, between the war space of the Reaper crews and the war space of 'real' soldiers is used as a means of indicating the Reaper crews' lower status. The GCS is an environment in which it is possible to engage in 'push button' warfare, without physical strength, without valour, without bravery (Mayer, 2009). The disturbance of the space of war, so that it is overlaid with some of the accoutrements of the domestic (the perennial references to the ergonomic chair), creates a space that is haunted by this interaction. The war space is rendered uncanny in comparison to our traditional understandings of what that space is like, the familiar narratives from history and myth are jarred by a space that is neither battlefield, nor office space, nor home space (On the uncanny Freud et al., 2003; Gordon, 2008).

Fig. 6.1 Ground Control Station (Ministry of Defence, 2009)

In addition to rendering the battlefield uncanny, the GCS also serves to disturb the crews' experiences of time and geography. The GCS are set up in 'shipping containers' because this makes it easy to transport them and to plan appropriate amounts of space for them on various bases. In addition, the 'closed' nature of the GCS helps to separate the crews from the world at home from the world at war: an absence from the home (even though the crews are close to home) and a presence in war (even though the crews are not, in fact, actually where the war *is*). In this space day time can also be night time, and Las Vegas sunshine can also be low hanging clouds over the Hindu Kush. Interviewee Geoff noted that this dislocation created not just mental confusion but also bureaucratic, noting 'it was night-time Creech, which is daytime Afghanistan, where do you put that in your log book?'[105]

My aim in sketching all of this detail out is to situate the crews in the *place* that represents their curious situation in war. Despite claims about 'armchair killers', 'Dilbert at war', 'the cubicle warrior' and so on, the GCS is very different from the usual office space (or domestic space)

[105] Interview with 'Geoff'

(Freeman, 2015; The Economist, 2014; Royakkers and van Est, 2010). And yet narratives that connect the crews' 'space of war' with domesticity continue to haunt the reports about Reaper crews, influencing public and military perceptions of the crews.

To reinforce the liminal space between war and home that the doorway of the GCS represents, the crews rely on 'sensuous knowledge', immersing themselves as much as possible within the world of the war which the GCS seeks to encapsulate. The doors to this area are sometimes marked with signs like 'Welcome to Iraq' or 'You are now entering Afghanistan' to illustrate the transition to the battlefield 'space'.[106] The absorption within the GCS is such that many individuals note a sense of confusion and/or amazement when they finish their shifts and step back out into Creech/Waddington:

> 'For the crews when they get into the cockpit they are, heart and mind and soul, at the other end of the sensors and the displays, and they're in the mission, in that conflict. The really really bizarre bit is stepping back out and realising you are in Lincolnshire' (Killeen, 2015).

Or similarly as Col. Black noted

> '…my particular portion of that mission was over and all of a sudden the door opens on the box and the next pilot and, and sensor operator walk in and "Oh my God, I'm not, I'm not in Afghanistan [laughing], I'm still in Las Vegas" and it's extremely strange, it's very strange' (Black, 2013).

As one of my interviewees noted after an engine failure, and the crashing of the Reaper, it took the crew a few seconds to realise that they were not physically in the aircraft, and that they were not hurt by its fall.[107] What this illustrates is the power of sensuous knowledges: the crews *know* at a rational level that they are not physically present in the Reaper, and yet they *feel* that they are. The shock of the crash landing resulted in the same spike of adrenaline that the crew might

[106] Interview with 'Peter'
[107] Interview with 'Peter'

have experienced in a crash in which they were physically present, the sensation of dislocation and *un*realness when stepping back into the geographically *real* environment of Waddington or Creech exemplified some similar effects. The concept of disorientation speaks to Gordon's idea of ghosts, reflecting the idea of the familiar made strange, of the appearance of the 'unreal'(Gordon, 2008; Daggett, 2015; Butler, 2004). The sensation of being 'transported' into the theatre appears to reflect the supernatural capacity of the ghost to mock the neither-here-nor-there-ness of Reaper crews (Reynolds, 2015). The disorientation crews experience through the GCS, with its capacity to distort time and space, renders the individuals within it capable of 'los[ing] sense of the fact that you are sitting in Nevada' (Black, 2013).

These knowledges and sensations are not available to the individuals who commentate on the environments in which the crews function. Without the use of Haunting it is difficult to capture the nuance (and queer logic) of the crews *simultaneously* being and not being present in the war. All that is seen is the difference between the experience of those *geographically* within the war space (understood as a chaotic, smelly, dangerous, traditional, and above all *masculine* battlefield) and the comparative cleanliness and quiet of the Reaper crews' operating environment which marks them out as feminized in comparison (Manjikian, 2013; Kunashakaran, 2016).

Bleeding Boundaries: "I killed six Taliban today in Pakistan, now I'm off home to barbecue."

Understanding the crews as operating in a liminal zone where traditional barriers become translucent and ghostly provides an important space for talking about the strangeness of the work/life balance of these individuals. The uncanny, in the battlefield rendered strange by the GCS, is also evident in the disturbed temporality between the home and the war and the experience of travelling rapidly between the two. The distance between the war and home, and the time taken to travel between the two, not only cemented the markers that defined the

difference between them, but also provided an important personal space in which the warrior could move psychologically and emotionally between the necessary mind-sets. In contemporary discussions training provides the preparation for the move from the home to the war, and the process of reversing that training to move back from war to home is referred to as decompression (Hughes et al., 2008; Garber and Zamorski, 2012; Fertout et al., 2012). There is extensive research which demonstrates the importance of decompression in mitigating the potential trauma of reintegrating military personnel into civilian society (see for example Zamorski et al., 2012; Garber and Zamorski, 2012; Green et al., 2010; Walker, 2010). The importance of decompression in preventing mental health problems in servicemen/women has also been acknowledged by Members of Parliament in the House of Commons. As such, in a 2008 report on Medical Care for the Armed Forces it was noted that decompression 'should be an integral part of the procedures for all personnel returning from operational tours' (House of Commons, 2008, p.29).

Existing in a work/life pattern in which this decompression is disrupted by echoes from either side of the 'slash'[108] which divides the two has implications which were summed up by one of my interviewees:

> 'When infantry are deployed they stick you in Cyprus for a couple of weeks for decompression… [without decompression] testosterone fuelled guys were coming home leading to domestic abuse because they couldn't switch that off.' [109]

The quote above indicates the way in which decompression is important not just for the personnel themselves but also for the safety and well-being of their family and friends. What is interesting for the case of British Reaper crews is that decompression, in any meaningful way, is not available to them. For these individuals the longest period of decompression is a 50-60minute drive back to the suburbs of Las Vegas from Creech Air Force Base. It is possible, if

[108] (Weber, 2016, Kindle Location 948)
[109] Interview with British military intelligence analyst part of Royal Air Force 39 squadron based at Creech, USA

they live on base, that crews based at Waddington have a significantly shorter commute, meaning that they have to transition from 'war' to 'domestic' with even greater rapidity. This speed of transition is important for considering the strangeness of the switch between the home and war, an experience which is jarring without adequate time to make sense of the shift psychologically.

Where decompression is not available to crews the ghosts of recent or previous operations can surface in the space of the home. As a result, crews had to find their own ways of dealing with the warrior/home switch. Interviewees gave me the following examples:

> *'you might go to the break room to calm down for half an hour and then get in your car and drive home… you are not in the war any more…*' David
>
> *'It's hard… [but you] find that opportunity to decompress'* Freddie
>
> *'You'd creep home… you['d] have a cup of tea and a bit of a think… and then [go] to bed'* Robert
>
> *'Different people used different coping mechanisms for compartmentalising… some people found it really difficult… some people found it really easy… the majority felt a degree of stress with it… sometimes I would need to go home and decompress…'* Peter
>
> '*ignore wife and kids, drink beer'* Anonymous[110]

These quotes indicate some of the small and particular ways in which the crews attempt to deal with the dislocation of living at home *and* at war, of being in the UK/USA *and* operating in Afghanistan/Libya/Syria. My interviewees were not unusual in their claims; as similar comments are reported by journalists:

[110] Interview with 'David', 'Freddie', 'Robert' and 'Peter' and anonymous

> ‘I’ll spend an hour so in the gym or go on a run… I create a buffer zone in my mind to separate my civilian life from my work life.’ (RAF Squadron Leader cited in Peterson, 2016)
>
> ‘It takes some self-conditioning… You have to get good at compartmentalizing… If you go home and have dinner with your family, you don't want to think of something that happened earlier in the day…You think about it later.’ (Martin cited in Mulrine, 2012)
>
> ‘[US Sensor Operator] Sparkle came home to her dog, eager to head out to the park… Sparkle likes it because no one is in the military… “It’s great to sit and just share a love of dogs,” she said. “They make me happy to protect a world where we can spend lavish amounts of money on recreation places for our animals. The women I met there were strong and independent… and [the dogs] give us some subject to talk about other than work.”’ (Maurer, 2015)

These quotes and the ones from my own interviewees above, indicate the way that the crews attempt to keep the ghosts at bay by compartmentalising. Reflecting back on the visual trauma addressed in the previous chapter, it is evident that in some cases the ghosts of the war seep through into the spaces of the domestic. The mental video loop of the deaths of friendly forces or of innocents, the mangled limbs of the battle damage assessments; all threaten to haunt the crews’ day-to-day lives in ways that go beyond affecting military operations.

One of the worries about the temporal and spatial dislocation of Reaper crews, and the attendant lack of decompression, is the potential for the intrusion of war behaviours and thinking patterns into the domestic space. The intrusion of the masculine into the feminine, the *masculinization* of the domestic. Whilst I am certainly not the first to discuss the ‘militarization of the everyday’, the gendered implications are particularly complicated when looking at the day-to-day cycling between war and home experienced by Reaper crews (for example Stahl, 2010; Enloe, 1983; Detraz, 2012; Cohn, 2013). A number of the individuals that I spoke to had children, and still more had partners/wives/boyfriends/girlfriends. The different identities and roles that crew members have to navigate creates tension as the two worlds refuse to remain in the separate

compartments but threaten to spill over into each other. This reflects Gloria Anzaldua's (2012) identification of borderlands as places and spaces of anger, insecurity and violence. In the film *Good Kill,* the lead character (Tommy) is haunted by his work and unable to cope with the disjunction between his home life and life in the skies above Afghanistan. As a result he is unable to interact normally with his wife and children, seeks solace at the bottom of a bottle of vodka and lashes out violently at his partner (Good Kill, 2015). Whilst this is a fictionalised account, and interviewees described the characters as caricatures, they also noted that Tommy's responses are 'accurate but accentuated' and it was 'fairly accurate… from the fatigue point of view and getting wound up' without decompression.[111] In a recent debate in the House of Commons, members of parliament debating the use of armed drones included the impact of a lack of decompression in their discussions, noting:

> 'The preparation and processes that they undergo are exactly the same as those required for flying a conventional aircraft, and once the door to the workspace is closed the pilots report that it puts them psychologically in that airspace, with all the emotions and thought processes being exactly the same as on manned planes… [But that] One RAF crew member is reported as saying that the potential for psychological and emotional impact on drone operators was "far greater than it ever was with a manned cockpit"' (MP Kirsten Oswald quoted in Hansard, 2015b)

As a result of the potential for 'psychological and emotional impact' and in recognition of the 'unique nature of such operations', Penny Mordaunt, the Minister for Armed Forces, stressed the access to mental health care for Reaper crews (quoted in Hansard, 2015a). She said,

> '[W]e have embedded TRIM—trauma risk management—providers in RAF Reaper squadrons. As hon. Members know, TRIM provides a model of peer group mentoring and support for use in the aftermath of traumatic events' (Mordaunt quoted in Hansard, 2015a Column 70WH).

[111] Interview with 'Peter' and 'David'

Similar points were also made in another debate on the use of drones in conflict (Hansard, 2015b). Despite these claims, the lack of institutional experience of this phenomenon means that crew members have had to find their own ways of dealing with the complexities of switching between war and home on a daily basis.

Soul Searching

In this section I return to the division between the home/war spaces to consider how this division is also disturbed by the crews' experiences of cycling between the two and the impact of chronic fatigue on relationships with their families. Focusing through the prism of disturbed temporality, it is possible to explore how flying night shifts that are simultaneously day shifts, commuting to and from work in UK/USA but flying in Afghanistan/Iraq/Libya/Syria, has effects on the crews' personal and social lives. As outlined at the start of this chapter, Haunting is concerned with the complexity of individual life and that means acknowledging that the crews are more than *just* their jobs, but complex human beings embedded in a multiplicity of different kinds of relationships. As Chapter 3 laid out, the ghostly warrior develops part of his status from his domestic interactions, particularly noted in the Husband-Protector iteration. This iteration hinted at what the Reaper crews' experiences have highlighted, that the separation between home space and war space, whilst historically distinctive, is not as clear cut as is sometimes portrayed. This section then traces how the separation is disturbed by the crews' experiences of fatigue and the impact that this has on their identities not just as warriors but also as family members.

In the Husband-Protector iteration of the warrior, with this individual at the head of the household, he is responsible for protecting his family from the aggression of others, and laying down his life if necessary. What emerges through this iteration is the tension at the heart of this identity. The warrior mind-set requires the capacity for violence, even brutality, in a way that requires the individual to deny or mitigate emotional connections with the enemy. The

husband/father must be capable of precisely the opposite, demonstrating benign, even gentle, caring forms of masculinity based on an emotional connection with his family members (Hicks Stiehm, 1982; Young, 2003). The need to navigate these dual identities is something which crops up in memoirs and interviews with military personnel involved in warfare in a range of different ways and is therefore not unique to Reaper crews. However, the operational tempo of Reaper operations, and the rapidity of cycling between the two *is* unusual and this create its own particular pressures. One US pilot spoke about the pressures,

> "the problem is you can't talk about your work, what you have seen, or what you have done, because of security… Pretty soon, spouses don't understand why, and the friction really begins. In many ways, I wanted to tell my wife everything, but knew that I couldn't, so we mainly focused on how her day went. Needless to say… that led to a lot of pent-up stress" (cited in Chow, 2013).

The impact on marriages and relationships is something that crops up a lot in discussions of drone crew stresses (Philipps, 2012; Maurer, 2015; Donnelly, 2005; Lindlaw, 2008). The seriousness of this impact can be seen in the decision by the USAF to make couples counselling available (McCloskey, 2009).

My interviewees indicated that the biggest issues developed for couples where the wives were 'non-military' or had little experience of military life. In these instances, the family unit became haunted by the narratives of the traditional 'heteropatriachal family/households', reflecting the dominant Western paradigm of the family in which 'men were the breadwinners and heads of the household while women were full-time wives and mothers' (Peterson, 2014a, p.605; Niva, 1998, p.110). As one interviewee noted, this caused a lot of marital discord because the wives (of crews based at Creech) found the situation frustrating because they 'had to fit into mid-twentieth century officers' wives' roles.'[112] This reflects a temporal disturbance of a different kind - a shift backwards in history in terms of gender and the roles that individuals can take on

[112] Interview with 'Tom'

in their intimate relationships set against the introduction of one of the most cutting-edge technologies of warfare.[113] For some of the crews this challenged the roles that they had previously taken up with their partners. As one interviewee noted, the job 'has to come first' and as a result, 'a lot of other people do get hassle for that… particularly [within] 39 squadron' where the wives and children have been uprooted from their homes in the UK and deposited into the suburbs of Las Vegas. And those who fought to maintain their, perhaps, more equitable relationships endured the stress of 'rushing home after stressful shifts to do the housework' or worrying about sick children.[114]

As well as relationships with spouses, complicated relationships with children emerge through the disturbance of temporality. One lieutenant colonel of the USAF described the disconnect between work life and home life with children:

> 'Every decision you made was … somebody living, saving somebody or somebody dying. And you walk into your house and you're trying to figure out whether your daughter is going to wear a blue tutu or a pink tutu and the disconnection is astounding.' (Black, 2013)

Similarly, 'Oz' states

> 'the weirdest thing for me – with my background [as a fast-jet pilot] – is the concept of getting up in the morning, driving my kids to school and killing people. That does take a bit of getting used to' (cited in Blackhurst, 2012).

Unlike spouses, children cannot necessarily understand why mummy or daddy is particularly distant this evening. The space the children occupy, the home space, is traditionally sectioned off from the concerns of war. However, the invasion of the home space with the concerns of war is neatly summed up by one of my interviewees who recalled checking the weather in Kandahar

[113] The specific effects on the families (wives, partners, children) is outside the remit of this study, but it forms the basis of my post-doctoral project.
[114] Interview with 'Tom' and 'Geoff'

whilst he was watching the TV with his children, the cartoons of Nickelodeon set jarringly against the wind speeds above the theatre of battle. [115]

Dreams in Infrared[116]

Partly as a result of the blurring of the home/war boundary, and the concomitant blurring of the masculine/feminine binary creating a 'disorientation', British Reaper crews are experiencing high levels of fatigue. This fatigue, linked as it is with the limitations of the body, haunts the Reaper crews with suggestions of feminization: The body being coded as feminine and the mind as masculine (Gatens, 1999; Grosz, 1994; Pettman, 1997). Additionally, the warrior is traditionally constructed as overcoming fatigue and pain to achieve tremendous and unusual feats. Thus the crews' experiences of fatigue then serve to situate them as less masculine and as failing in the performance of warrior behaviour. I argue in the following section that this feminization functions in opposition to the steely, indefatigable body of the drone, which is then imbued with the status of the masculine.

Reflecting the curious presence/absence of ghosts, the drone situates the crews at a distance from the traditional theatre of war whilst their bodies still are in the war. Distanced yes, but disembodied no (Daggett, 2015; Wilcox, 2015a, 2011). For example, having a three-person crew which enables a 'three-way pee break' highlights the need for the human bodies (and the organisation of those bodies) to shape themselves around the drone's lack of need. [117] The eyes of crews, unlike the video-eyes of the Reaper, may droop with tiredness; their concentration may waver in boredom or as a result of fatigue. In comparison, the drone is *always* 'watching', streaming data and information.

[115] Interview with 'Robert'
[116] This subtitle is taken from the title of the newspaper article of the same name (Abe, 2012)
[117] Interview with 'Geoff'

Dealing with changing shifts disrupts the circadian rhythms of the crews. The temporal disturbance of night shifts that are also *simultaneously* day shifts is woven into a day-to-day pattern of shift rotation. Therefore, the experiential dislocation outlined in the previous sections is also woven through with a *biological* dislocation which comes from cycling through shifts which do not necessarily fit to the body's natural rhythms. The crews usually do a rotation of six days on and three days off and the shifts vary between eight and twelve hours in length.[118] Individuals will be assigned to various different shifts so that they might need to switch between day and night shifts.[119] Most of my interviewees agreed that the most fatiguing shifts were the night shifts and in recent studies of US Predator/Reaper crews, fatigue was found to be the primary reason for crew burnout (Ouma et al., 2011; Chappelle et al., 2014; Thompson, 2006).

Robert claimed that he initially thought it was a 'sweet deal' to move to Las Vegas. However, after a second month of night shifts he was wondering whether he had made the wrong decision.[120] The effect of disrupting circadian rhythms is reflected in other interviewees attempts to manage the discomfort that results. For example, David relied on 'sports drinks to wake up [and] sleeping pills to sleep'.[121] Similarly, an anonymous interviewee claimed that he had 'spent a year taking herbal sleeping pills because [he] could not sleep'.[122] To mitigate the effects of night shifts, numerous interviewees spoke of needing to sleep through all three of their days "off".[123] Needing to sleep through all of their days off prevents crews from spending the time doing necessary life administration. In so doing they are prevented from socialising or spending time with their families, arguably creating a back log of issues and requirements that will intrude into the days when they are working: the boundaries of war and home bleeding into one another in reverse. The crews' experience of fatigue is set against the spectral shape of the Reaper drone itself, drawing attention to the bodily limitations of the human crews, a

[118] Interview with 'Steve'
[119] Interview with 'Geoff' and 'Robert'
[120] Interview with 'Robert'
[121] Interview with 'David'
[122] Interview with 'Anonymous'
[123] Interview with 'Tom', 'Amy', 'Steve'," and 'David'

comparison which has both feminizing *and* masculinizing implications for Reaper crews' identities as warriors.

The Reaper crews are haunted by the unfair comparison between the capabilities of their physical bodies and those of the cyborgian 'drone'. The drone indicates that the British Army tagline of 'be the best' no longer applies to human beings, being the 'best' for these kinds of operations means being more-than human or (at least partly) machine (Be The Best, 2014). In this context, where Cristina Masters argues that the cyborg demonstrates the 'techno-scientific and masculinist discourses of power', it also seems that these discourses reveal the limitations of the fleshly male body (2010, p.2). In this sense, Allsep's (2013) concerns that hegemonic masculinity is challenged by the capacities of technologies which exceed those of the warrior appears to apply. As such, Reaper crews are haunted by the cyborg that they cannot be, functioning as they do on the boundary between wakefulness and sleep. What the interviews with the Reaper crews has revealed is that, far from it only being women, children and targeted 'Others' who are limited by their bodies, so too are the soldiers, the warriors. Even those men whose 'bodies are often aligned with technology… [with their] body as instrument or weapon' (Pettman, 1997, p.95). Therefore, Reaper crews' capitulation to fatigue constructs them on the feminine side of the binary, the ghost of the cyborg revealing the comparative masculinity of the drone machine.

However, looking at the situation again and embracing queer logic, it is also possible to argue that the crews demonstrate their masculinity by functioning through their fatigue. After all, despite their tiredness, despite complaints about doing 6 months of night shifts, despite having to function in worlds that are always here and simultaneously there, and despite the rapidity of cycling between the home and the war, the crews continued to do their job(s). I was interested in the language that Geoff used to describe the situation, as he noted that the crews would 'take

the pain to stag on'.[124] This phrasing is interesting for an analysis of masculinity in the lives of Reaper crews for two reasons. Firstly, the reference to enduring pain is reflective of the warrior trait of stoicism and the capacity for endurance (Robinson, 2009; French and McCain, 2005; Talbot, 2012). As Braudy notes, 'In the vast variety of initiation rituals, the implicit question always seems to be, "Can the candidate endure pain?"' This draws a connection between the initiation of the warrior and the initiation of the individual into manhood 'in which the candidate must move from the unripened sexual identity of childhood into a world of adult gender difference….' through the endurance of physical discomfort (Braudy, 2005, p.19). As noted in Chapter 4, Reaper crews have been critiqued for (and perhaps haunted by) their lack of physical risk (which has led to a questioning of their warrior status). However, to refer to the crews 'taking the pain' runs counter to this argument, and draws attention to the different kinds of pain which a warrior might be required, or be able to 'take on' and endure as a means of demonstrating their masculinity.

The second reason for an interest in Geoff's phrasing is the reference to the 'stag'. Within discourses of masculinity, the stag has a range of different, but ultimately reinforcing, meanings. As noted in Chapter 2, symbols are important to Gordon's (2008) exploration of the uncanny, representing a form of sensuous knowledge, the symbol of the stag is woven through with meanings related to military masculinity and the lives of Reaper crews. To 'go stag' is to go it alone, to prove one's independence, a trait Kaurin (2014) identifies as a core component of being a warrior. Historically the stag was the ultimate hunting prize and the capacity to kill one reflected both prowess with a weapon on horseback and the ability to endure the physical demands of an often long and arduous hunt (Mangan, 2015; MacKenzie, 1997). Hunting stags was also associated with high ranks, the domain of the nobility, and therefore connected with narratives of the knights and chivalrous masculinity (Richardson, 2012; Ehrenreich, 1998). Perhaps, at the most straightforward level, the deer is an animal that displays strong differences

[124] Interview with 'Geoff'

between the males and females of the species, and with whom gendered distinctions are reinforced: we refer to individuals as being 'doe-eyed' when gentle, and as Sarah Gothie notes, stag antlers

> 'are first and foremost rugged, straightforward masculine symbols. The most impressive "racks" come from male animals and have been displayed historically by male hunters as trophies —in a variety of cultural and class contexts' (2015, p.15).

Without wanting to read too much into a short comment, I found it useful to consider some of this symbolism as haunting the Reaper crews, influencing how they envisioned themselves as performing masculinity. 'Taking the pain' and 'staging on' reinforces not only the masculine warrior identity of the crews through the ways suggested above, but links to the RAF conceptualisation of 'professionalism' and masculinity. Professionalism is one word which comes up again and again in interviews with Reaper crews, and particularly in interviews with *British* Reaper crews. For example, in one interview with Adrian Chiles from the BBC (Killeen, 2015), three Reaper crew and the Wing Commander made 18 references to professionalism in less than an hour. By 'staging on' crews pushed themselves to the limits of fatigue in order to support fellow forces on the ground or to meet important mission objectives, demonstrating their professional commitment and their ability to put others' needs before their own. Despite the uncomfortable dislocating experience of temporal disturbance which haunts the lives of the crews, an experience which situates them both here and there, and then and then, my interviewees distanced themselves from the emotional language of the press by calling on professionalism as a marker of what made them both ethical and distinctive. Tied to ideas of rationality, reasonableness, and technological mastery, professionalism acts as the signifier for this constellation of masculine traits (Hooper, 1998; Kunashakaran, 2016).

Conclusion

The lives of British Reaper crews are permeated with the different ways in which temporal disturbance operates. Engaging with questions of presence/absence and home/abroad, or home/war; this chapter has illustrated how Haunting provides a means of taking this kind of disturbance seriously. Acknowledging the way in which the binaries associated with temporal disturbance are gendered, I have illuminated how the blurring of these binaries serves to disturb not just time, but also Reaper crew identities. The first section of the chapter focused on the differently gendered spaces of home and war. In this, I argued that the history and myth of the warrior 'going away' to war (creating a space of war and a space which belonged to men) is destabilized by the way in which the Reaper crews commute to and from the home on a daily basis. The second section explored the way the crews' operations made time seem out of joint/off its hinges (Derrida, 2006), amplified by the experience of not only flying night shifts that are *simultaneously* day shifts, but also existing in a borderland between US/UK and Afghanistan/Libya/Syria which is geographically impossible. In the third section of the chapter I argued that all of this temporal disturbance in the daily-lives of the Reaper crews has implications for how they interact with their friends and families. In this section I firstly argued that the relative lack of decompression available to the crews raises the spectre of the violent masculinity of the war bleeding into the otherwise protected zone of the domestic. Situating this domestic space as populated by wives/partners and children I argued represents a disturbance of temporality that could have material and violent effects on military families. I then went on to argue that the experience of chronic fatigue initially appears to make it difficult for the crews to replicate the stoicism of the warrior, destabilizing military masculinity. However, I closed the chapter by drawing attention to the way in which 'sensuous knowledges' provide an insight into alternative readings of the experience of fatigue in ways which actually reinforce military masculinity.

Temporal disturbance is also implicated in the crews' experiences of chronic fatigue. The cycling between day shifts that are *simultaneously* night shifts, is disrupting the circadian rhythms of the crews, and causing dislocation which is experienced bodily through disturbed sleeping patterns. The ghostly comparator of the cyborgian drone, which is not fatigued, serves to feminize the Reaper crews by connecting them with the concerns of the body. Therefore, whilst some commentators have argued that, in piloting drones (viewed as cyborgs) the crews demonstrate hypermasculinity; I have argued in this chapter that the reverse is also true (Kunashakaran, 2016; Holmqvist, 2013). Enduring the pain of fatigue operates as a means of challenging the crews' haunting by the cyborg. Through acknowledging their bodily fatigue and *overcoming it,* the crews utilise the temporal disturbance at the heart of their operational experiences to demonstrate their military masculinity, embodying the warrior capacity to prevail, *in spite* of the ghostly comparator of the cyborgian drone.

CONCLUSION

'Life is [still] complicated'[125]

That 'life is complicated' is something which social science sometimes neglects to take seriously as a theoretical statement (Gordon, 2008, p.3). The complexity of social life is so obvious as to appear almost not worth noting, but in actuality, it is extremely necessary. In this thesis I have used the lives and experiences of Reaper crews to illuminate the importance of deploying the framework of Haunting as a meaningful way of engaging with this complexity. The scholarship on military technology has tended to focus on singular reasons for the importance (or not) of these developments rather than acknowledging the multiplicity of factors at work. For example, in the literature on (particularly armed) drones and drone crews there has been a marked tendency to produce caricatures and to provide incomplete data that fails to represent the crews as the complex, interesting and varied individuals they are. Pieces written about 'PlayStation killers', about 'armchair killers', about 'operator burnout', about 'the limits of sacrifice' tell only small parts of the story (Cole et al., 2010; Freeman, 2015; Chatterjee, 2015; Baggiarini, 2015). In reading these articles I have been struck by the way the crews were made mono-dimensional, and by the way that the historical and cultural context in which they operated was absent. In my interviews with ex-Reaper crews I reflected on just how much more these individuals had to say than was currently available in the academic literature and popular press. As I noted in my introduction, I had two primary reasons for choosing British Reaper crews as my case study. Firstly, as an empirical case, it is riven through with detail and intricacies. And secondly, following on from this, within the discourses on armed drone use there was a lack of understanding of the differences, similarities, nuances and peculiarities of this case in comparison with that of the other major user of armed drones like Reaper, the United States.

[125] (Williams, 1991, p.10)

By using the framework of Haunting in this thesis I have engaged with all of this complexity. Far from trying to discipline the data to fit into categories or to fit a particular narrative, Haunting has allowed me to interact just as much with the pieces that do not fit: the outliers. As a poststructural feminist scholar I was most interested in the gendered arguments about drones, the way that whether the author was laying claim to the feminization or masculinization of the crews, these accounts always seemed to include elements more suited to the opposing argument. The arguments about masculinization acknowledged the increasing need for skills previously considered feminine, and arguments about feminization noted elements, such as emotional distance, which fit in with narratives about masculinization. Through these pieces, just as much as the pieces that settle and sediment in the ways that we expect them to, it is possible to engage with the core ideas of Haunting- the importance of the absent (as much as the present), the invisible (as much as the visible), the dead (as much as the alive). Haunting situates individuals within their specific context, acknowledging the importance and multifaceted way in which history/ies and myths haunt us in ways that we can sometimes understand and sometimes cannot; and the ways in which the future looms over today woven through with hopes, dreams and fears. One of the ways in which Haunting enables this kind of interweaving is through an engagement with 'sensuous knowledges'. These knowledges, as outlined in Chapter 2, are the kinds of things that exceed the traditional kinds of data used in social science; they are the hunches, the symbols, the intuitions, the memories, and the body language. By using these kinds of knowledge I have sketched out a portrait of British Reaper crews that illuminates some of the ways in which their lives contradict themselves, fold in on themselves, make sense read forwards and read in reverse.

By drawing on sensuous knowledge I drew attention to the particular ways in which gender operates in the lives of these individuals- engaging with the feminist scholarship on the issue. The work that gender does emerges through the murky complexities which haunt the lives of Reaper crews. I traced in Chapter 1 the ways in which the feminist debate has provided

incredibly important interjections into the scholarship on military technologies - illuminating the myriad means through which gender works in the way these technologies are developed, used and understood. In relation to armed drones, feminist theorising has clearly shown how these platforms and the individuals who use them are tangled in (cob)webs of gendered power. However, to date, the scholarship which engages with the gendering of Reaper and its crews has tended to divide itself between two camps. Firstly, those who express concern over drones as feminizing through the lack of physical risk to the operators and the lack of physical strength required to do the job connect the use of this technology with the decline of important warrior markers such as valour, bravery, and the existential experiences of war. A secondly, those who argue that drones encourage the fetishization of behaviours associated with *hyper*masculinity, through emotional distancing and technological mastery as a marker of military masculinity, raising concerns that drones will lead to greater bloodshed and lower levels of concern about the deaths of individuals 'over there', reinforcing colonial narratives. What these perspectives are not able to take into account is the way in which *both* of these stances can be 'true' simultaneously. By utilising Haunting I have drawn out the ways in which the lives of the crews are too complicated to fit into either the feminizing *or* masculinizing argument. The ghost hunt I engaged in, utilising sensuous knowledges, serves to highlight the shadowy but powerful (cob)webs of gender at work in the lives of British Reaper crews.

The (cob)webs of gender led me to make an amendment to the framework of Haunting through the addition of Cynthia Weber's queer logic. Haunting includes a concern with a range of different binaries: absence and presence, silence and scream, life and death. Additionally, spectralities scholars point to the liminal spaces in between these two poles. However, I felt an absence within Haunting itself. I add queer logic to Haunting as a vocabulary which is able to explicitly draw attention to the binary destabilizing capabilities of the ghosts. As I outlined in Chapter 2, queer theory is concerned with the disciplinary power of dichotomous thinking. To feminism's concerns with male/female and masculine/feminine queer theorists add the binaries

of normal/perverse and heterosexual/homosexual (amongst others) (Sedgwick, 2008; Ahmed, 2006). One of the ways in which queer theory adds to thinking about, and challenging, binaries is through the adoption of logics which deny the need to choose *between* the two poles, arguing instead for the possibility of multiple identities, destabilizing the 'slash' at the heart of the dyads (Weber, 2014, 2016).

I add queer logic to the methodology of the ghost hunt because, as I argue in Chapter 2, Haunting is already troubled by entities that embody this logic. By making this addition, I render explicit the possibilities encompassed in the ghostly (alive *at the same time* as dead, present *at the same time* as being absent), always already 'exceeding all binary opposites' (Harris, 2015, p.17). Highlighting the possibilities of thinking beyond binaries makes it possible to speak about military technologies *simultaneously* masculinizing *and* feminizing the crews; makes it possible to speak about the ways in which the crews are haunted by the histories of the past *and* the future *at the same time*: 'actual present: now,' the 'spectral moment' (Derrida, 2006, p.xix).

Ghostly Warriors

The thesis proceeded from the theoretical framework that I developed in Chapters 1 and 2 to a ghost hunt, the methodology of Haunting. Utilising the ghost hunt, in Chapter 3, I shone a light on the gendered narratives that emerge through the various iterations of 'the warrior'. The ghost(s) of the warrior reveals him to be not the history of one man, but rather a collection of translucent layers of histories, myths, odes, and arts. Engaging in conversation with this ghost I argue that the power of the masculine as hierarchically empowered over the feminine has important repercussions for the individuals who conduct drone war today. Similarly, the relationship between the warrior and the means (technologies) of war are also illuminated as woven through with gendered stories about physical strength, cunning, valour and courage which continue to pervade the debate around the use of drones today.

For the subsequent chapters I engaged in a ghost hunt of the lives of British Reaper crews, using the marsh lights from the trail of the ghost of the warrior to see their experiences through the prism of Haunting. Dwelling in the curious liminal spaces the ghost provides, I conjured the sensuous knowledges associated with the core concerns of Haunting: (1) complex personhood, (2) in/(hyper)visibility, (3) disturbed temporality, and (4) power.

These four components of Haunting are woven through my analysis of the lives of British Reaper crews and through the complexity that surrounds the entire debate on the use of armed drones. One of the reasons that Singer argues that drones are 'the most important weapons development since the atomic bomb' is because they change the way that people interact on the battlefield (Singer, 2011, p.10). It has been argued that there are three different ways of understanding what makes drones and their crews so important. Firstly, it has been argued that the crews' experiences of killing from a distance is peculiar (although this has been done before). Secondly, there are those who point to persistent surveillance operations, undertaken for long periods of time which makes the technology and crews particularly interesting (although this has been the experience of intelligence agents in the past). Thirdly, there are those who have focused on the strange experience of cycling to and from war with bizarre regularity as the space in which the most fascinating research can be done. In keeping with my framework I have argued that all of these perspectives are 'true' but also that rather than any one of these single components being the most important, it is the interweaving of all three. One of the reasons that airpower specialists often seem somewhat baffled by the media frenzy that has accompanied the inclusion of armed drones into the RAF is that the aeroplane itself is not that exciting, nor that novel. Sure some of the technology that can be strapped onto the Reaper is interesting, but the physical body of the aeroplane is pretty standard. However, what this mainstream airpower perspective misses, and I think is one of the reasons that drones have so clearly captured the public imagination, is that the interest is not in the technology itself. But rather in the experiences of the human beings using that technology.

I explored how the complexity of personhood is revealed through apparently competing narratives of masculinization and feminization in relation to killing at a distance (see Chapter 4). The way in which the Reaper crews can kill has implications for how they are perceived by their colleagues and also by outsiders - press and public for example. The symbolic importance of killing to constructions of masculinity is confused by the lack of risk that the crews face as they undertake lethal missions. This apparent risklessness (in common narratives, but which I illustrated in Chapter 4 is only partially true) serves to feminize the crews as 'protected' where the capacity to kill emphasises their masculinity. The resulting confusion of gendered discourses is one of the reasons that there is so much discomfort surrounding what Reaper crews do. Their lives refuse to fit into our neat categories of masculine or feminine. But rather, they reflect a queer logic that exceeds both of these categories, much as the warrior exceeds the label of 'warrior,' and the experience of war exceeds 'war' itself (After Scarry, 1987). Drawing attention to the humans engaged in drone warfare draws attention to the limitations of the existing masculine/feminine categories, and our discomfort with the blurring of boundaries in interesting ways that are not possible in discussions that focus solely on the legal, strategic, or mechanical issues.

The second component of Haunting, that of in/(hyper)visibility is drawn out through an exploration of the persistent surveillance role of the Reaper crews. The inherent spectrality in looking and being looked at maps onto the gendered binary that situates the masculine as the subject and observer, and the feminine as the object(ified) and watched. Challenging the ideas of masculinist ocularcentricity which dates from the Enlightenment, I utilised what Gordon referred to as 'sensuous knowledges' as an alternative which is better able to capture nuance, detail and the things that cannot easily be seen, but which help to paint a more complete picture of the ways in which gender is working in the lives of British Reaper crews. Referring to interviewees' hunches, hopes, and fears as well as references from popular culture such as films and cartoons, I have argued for the importance of the inclusion of subjective data. This has

included sensations of 'wrongness', indistinct shapes, and movements in the corners of the eye. Such data enabled me to explore how the crews have been rendered both invisible and *hyper*visible in narratives about the use of drones and to engage with their perspectives on this in/(hyper)visibility. The ghost hunt disturbed the separation between the categories of masculine 'watcher' and feminine 'watched'. It did so by illuminating the ways in which the experience of watching can be equally as feminizing as it is masculinizing. Appealing to queer logic, the experience of being watched can provide a platform through which to demonstrate military masculinity whilst *at the same time* eroding (and thereby feminizing) the warrior identity constructed through professional trust.

Disturbed temporality, the third component of Haunting, emerges clearly through the Reaper crews' experience of flying night shifts that are *simultaneously* day shifts, and being absent from a theatre of war that they are also present in. In Chapter 3 and the ghost hunt of the warrior figure I illustrated the myriad myths, histories, stories and ideas that come together to create a coherent figure of the warrior. This warrior is not a single figure but rather a myriad of translucent layers of meaning. The history and myths of the warrior from the past mingle with hopes and fears of the future to infuse the discourses of the present. What it means to be a warrior *today* (in what Derrida refers to as the 'actual present: now' as related to the past present and the future present (2006, p.xix)) is influenced by these different threads and shades. What it meant to be a warrior (historically) *then* and what it might mean to be a warrior (future) *then* is implicated in what it means to be a warrior *now*. Through the prism of Haunting I have argued that the Reaper crews' experiences of cycling between the war space (coded masculine) and the home space (coded feminine) is dangerously disturbing as it results in the bleeding of the barriers between the two, illustrating the way this dislocation haunts the crews as they try to make sense of who they are when and where, then and there.

Power, the final component of Haunting, draws together the three previous components and illuminates the way that this framework can usefully be applied to feminist concerns about the

way(s) that gender hierarchies dis/empower. Each of the above components engages with questions of whether individuals and groups are dis/empowered. For example, how does the complexity of personhood serve to discipline individuals and reduce their agency? And to what extent does acknowledging their complexity actually provide more nuanced means of understanding which can empower? In Chapter 5, I cited feminist connections between visibility and emancipation - the political necessity of being seen in order to be heard. How then, does the way that the Reaper crews have been firstly, written out of the debate about drones and then written in as dangerous, deviant, exotic "Others". restrict or otherwise affect the way the individuals involved perceive themselves and their roles? How is the history and mythology behind the figure of the warrior haunting the contemporary narratives that both celebrate and critique the use of military technologies such as armed drones? How can we better understand the way that concern about the loss of valour can exist in the same cultures that are risk averse in warfare? By using Haunting, it is possible to raise all of these questions as spectres - to conjure them into conversation and explore how the gendered dichotomies at work in narratives about military technologies create around the (cob)webs of power - that restrict, discipline and increase agency in interesting and unexpected ways.

The framework of Haunting is integral to the exploration of the gendered dynamics of security studies. Through this framework, I have engaged with the complexity at the heart of the lives of British Reaper crews, providing new insights into the debate about military technology and gender. I have augmented the methodology of the ghost hunt with 'queer logic' to further illuminate the way in which the narratives about these crews *simultaneously* destabilize and (re)inscribe dominant understandings of military masculinity. The addition of queer logic makes it possible to draw the concerns of Haunting (the complexity of personhood, in/(hyper)visibility, disturbed temporality and power) into closer alignment with the thinking of feminist scholarship. As such, this innovative combination provides the nuance and detail that is vital to the investigation of the entanglement of military technologies and gender.

Where next?

This thesis has focused on one case study of the ways in which novel military technologies interact with constructions of military masculinity and what gender is doing when these technologies are used. It behoves me to point out that this case is particular (and perhaps in some ways peculiar), but the framework could be interestingly and usefully applied to the wider remit of military technologies, particularly the advent of cyber warfare and the implications that this has for warrior identities.

One set of other 'identities' emerged for me, materialised as unexpected demands for attention through the process of undertaking this research. This set comprises the families of the Reaper crews, the individuals who serve to render the crews so much more than just their jobs. The wives, husbands, partners, children, and parents who have to respond to their loved ones cycling to and from war on a daily basis and the fallout from 'stressful' shifts. It is this group of individuals that my next research project aims to engage with, bringing the voices of the families of the crews to bear on debates about how operations are undertaken and how we best take care of those individuals who choose to serve in our Armed Forces.

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