

# MILITARY LEGACY: USE IT OR LOSE IT?

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**Abstract.** This paper presents a Military Legacy Model that is designed to assist conscripts in forming a military identity during their training period, and later help them quickly re-establish their military attributes after they have been transferred to the Armed Forces' reserves. This model can also be used to better understand the motivational dynamics of Estonian reservists who must regularly move back and forth between the civilian life and reservist duty. In order to create this framework we modified the Model of Transition in Veterans (hereinafter: MoTiVe) proposed by Cooper *et al.* 2017 and 2018.<sup>1</sup> Both the MoTiVe and our Military Legacy Model are based on Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of field, habitus and the conversion of capitals. Our hope is to foster further research into the Estonian Defence Forces (hereinafter: EDF) reserves in particular, as well as conscripts and reservists in other countries in general.

**Keywords:** *military legacy, Bourdieu, military field, conversion of capitals, conscripts, reservists*

**Võtmesõnad:** *militaarpärand, Bourdieu, militaarväli, kapitalide konversioon, ajateenijad, reservväelased*

## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to initiate a discussion about the military readiness of the reserve forces by submitting our Military Legacy Model that is based mainly on Bourdieu's theory of capitals. This is a predominantly theoretical paper, supported by some empirical examples from the most recent results

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<sup>1</sup> See two papers on MoTiVe (the actual model is in paper 2017):

1. Cooper, L.; Caddick, N.; Godier, L.; Cooper, A.; Fossey, M.; Engward, H. 2017. A model of military to civilian transition: Bourdieu in action. – *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health*, Vol. 3 (2), pp. 53–60. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.3138/jmvfh.4301>> (accessed January 2, 2018). [Cooper *et al.* 2017]

2. Cooper, L.; Caddick, N.; Godier, L.; Cooper, A.; Fossey, M. 2018. Transition From the Military Into Civilian Life: An Exploration of Cultural Competence. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 44 (1), pp. 156–177.

<<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0095327X16675965>> (accessed January 2, 2018). [Cooper *et al.* 2018]

of the human resources survey conducted among the EDF conscripts.<sup>2</sup> It is evident that the better the convertibility of different types of capitals between the civilian and military fields is, the higher the motivation of conscripts and reservists will then be to contribute to the country's military defence. We hope that our model and the subsequent discussion will inspire further ideas for developing effective measures that will have a positive influence on the motivation of conscripts and military preparedness of the reserve forces. It is also hoped that we can provide some fresh viewpoints to interpret results from surveys about conscripts and reservists.

In order to translate the experiences gained in the military field into profitable capitals, or into an investment that can be transferred between the military and civilian spheres of life, we used Bourdieu's theory of capitals. We believe that it is important to develop research based knowledge on capitals as social and individual factors that can be used to understand the reservists' ability and willingness to attend reservist trainings. This is becoming increasingly necessary as reservists are developing into an ever more important part of the EDF.

For the EDF to be able to fulfil its main objectives as a ready fighting force, it is crucial to know the factors that influence and enhance the reserves' military readiness. As reservists are "ex-conscripts" who have completed their compulsory service and then been assigned to wartime units, it is expedient to discuss the various methods by which conscripts acquire, use and transfer economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals between the military and civilian fields.

The University of Tartu in Estonia has done some previous research into human resources in the EDF (Kasearu 2016, Määrsoo 2016, Demus 2016, Talves & Truusa 2016 and Karton 2016).<sup>3</sup> But to our knowledge, the reserve component of the EDF has thus far not been studied or researched at all. We hope to rectify this by providing a valid theoretical starting point for further discussion and research into these topics about reservists in Estonia, as well as other countries, that rely on reservists for military purposes.

Due to the demanding security situation and operational needs, most of the research in the study field of reserve forces has been conducted in Israel

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<sup>2</sup> **Ajateenijate hoiakute ja käitumise muutmine ajateenistuse käigus. Ajateenijate kompleksuuringu 2016. aasta pilootuuringu tulemuste aruanne.** 2017. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, SJKK. [Ajateenijate hoiakute ja käitumise muutmine ajateenistuse käigus 2017]

<sup>3</sup> See **The Centre of Excellence for Strategic Sustainability 2017 Conference papers.** 2017. <<https://www.yti.ut.ee/et/sjkk/2017-0>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

and the USA. Most of these studies have focused on reservists' identity and attitudes.<sup>4</sup> Finland has also undertaken some research on their conscripts and reservists<sup>5</sup>, but for the most part, researchers have recognized that there is a paucity of scholarly attention devoted to reserve forces.<sup>6</sup> It is our intention to bridge that research gap.

In order to help contextualise our work, in the next section we will examine some of the security developments occurring in the Baltic region and highlight some aspects of conscript and reserve service in Estonia.

## 2. Estonian security and military context

At the end of the last decade several countries in the Baltic Sea region, such as Lithuania, Germany and Sweden, suspended conscription and opted to professionalize their armed forces. During that period there was also a public debate in Estonia as to whether or not to suspend conscription. Ultimately the abolishment of conscription was not supported by the society at large, so the total defence model was kept. Ever since the re-establishment of Estonian independence in 1991 conscription, and the conscription based reserve forces' defence approach, has had very high public support in Estonia.<sup>7</sup> However, according to reports made by the Ministry of Defence to the Government of Estonia, the reservist's attendance at reserve trainings tends to be rather low.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See for example **Perliger, A.** 2011. The Changing Nature of the Israeli Reserve Forces: Present Crises and Future Challenges. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 37 (2), pp. 216–238; **Griffith, J.** 2009. Being a Reserve Soldier. A Matter of Social Identity. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 36 (1), pp. 38–64; **Griffith, J.** 2011. Reserve Identities: What Are They? And Do They Matter? An Empirical Examination. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 37 (4), pp. 619–635.

<sup>5</sup> See for example **Salo, M.** 2008. Determinants of Military Adjustment and Attrition During Finnish Conscript Service. – Publication Series 2, Research Reports No 21. Helsinki: National Defence University; **Reserviläisten toimintakyky vuonna 2015.** 2016. – Toimittaneet Jani Vaara & Heikki Kyröläinen. Tampere: Juvenes Print.  
<<http://puolustusvoimat.fi/documents/1951253/2670014/PEVIESTOS-Reservilaistutkimus2015-20160525/00312ea2-fa34-41e4-93f0-0aa7a81d51b5>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>6</sup> **Lomsky-Feder, E.; Gazit, N.; Ben-Ari, E.** 2008. Reserve Soldiers as Transmigrants. Moving between the Civilian and Military Worlds. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 34 (4), p. 596. [**Lomsky-Feder, Gazit and Ben-Ari** 2008]

<sup>7</sup> See Estonian public polls **Public Opinion and National Defence.** 2012–2017.  
<<http://www.kaitseministeerium.ee/en/objectives-activities/national-defence-and-society>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>8</sup> See reports from official webpage of Estonian Ministry of Defence: **Aruanne kaitseväekohustuse täitmisest ja kaitseväeteenistuse korraldamisest.** 2000–2016.

The change in the security situation that Eastern Europe now faces has triggered new developments of military activities in the Baltic and Nordic regions and also boosted defence cooperation in Europe. To address the security concerns of Eastern Europe, the ruling governments of the NATO member countries have committed themselves to the Readiness Action Plan at the 2016 NATO Warsaw summit. This was done in order to enhance the collective defence and strengthen deterrence measures on NATO's eastern border.<sup>9</sup> The decision to take these steps was further augmented by a steady increase of defence expenditure. Interestingly this has also led to the decision to bring back conscription in some of the countries of the region, such as Lithuania and Sweden. Under these circumstances, more attention has been directed towards the reserve component in Estonia, and subsequently other Baltic Sea countries may also follow suit.

In her speech in the summer of 2017, which was dedicated to the start of Estonia's Presidency of the Council of the European Union, the President of Estonia, Kersti Kaljulaid, characterized the Estonian economic and security situation as the best that the republic had ever experienced. "We are richer than we have ever been in our history, we are better protected than at any given point in history."<sup>10</sup> However, the Estonian National Defence Strategy 2010 cautioned that ".../small countries must account for the possibility that an unfavourable occurrence of events may result in the international community failing to react with due expediency to their security issues"<sup>11</sup>.

Taking these concerns into account, Estonian defence planners have consistently emphasized the importance of developing a strong and capable reserve force. Recent developments in the Baltic region have transformed

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<<http://www.kmin.ee/et/eesmargid-tegevused/iseseisev-kaitsevoime-ja-kaitsevaetenistus>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> See **Warsaw Summit Communiqué**. Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw 8–9 July 2016. § 35–§ 38 and § 40. <[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_133169.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133169.htm)> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> **Address of the President of the Republic to the Estonian people on the eve of the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the European Union**. 01.07.2017. Office of the President. <<https://president.ee/en/official-duties/speeches/13419-president-of-the-republic-/index.html>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>11</sup> **National Defence Strategy**. 2010. Estonian Ministry of Defence, pp. 6–7. <[http://www.kmin.ee/sites/default/files/elfinder/article\\_files/national\\_defence\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.kmin.ee/sites/default/files/elfinder/article_files/national_defence_strategy.pdf)> (accessed January 2, 2018).

the region from “a strategic backwater” to a “geopolitical frontier”.<sup>12</sup> For this reason the EDF has undertaken several reforms of the EDF reserves. Changes in legislation have increased the volume and duration of reserve training and also added the option of flash-exercises.<sup>13</sup> Previously this had been an unpractised form of reserve training in Estonia.

The EDF are structured according to the principle of a reserve force, which means that the main part of the state’s defence forces are units in the reserve. These units are mostly comprised of soldiers who have completed their conscription period and have then been assigned to a war time unit. This type of transition makes them reservists. By law the duration of the conscript service is between 8 to 12 months, depending on the conscript’s speciality and position.<sup>14</sup> Male citizens can be called up from the age of 17, until the age of 27.<sup>15</sup>

A reservist is someone who has served as a professional military service member and is not on active duty, but is still assigned to a war time unit. This may include members of the Defence League, (the Estonian voluntary defence organization), who may also be assigned to war time units. A reservist can also be a person who has completed his or her conscript service and has then been assigned to a wartime unit. This is the group that we will mostly be focusing on. Most of the education and training of these reservists is understandably geared towards giving them the tools to fulfil military tasks and the skills needed to fight as part of a military unit. These reservists must sustain, as well as develop these abilities for the whole duration of their obligation (until the age of 60)<sup>16</sup>. Those in the reserve can be called back to reserve training several times during their reserve service period.<sup>17</sup>

Since 2013 women can apply for defence duty on a voluntary basis. In this article, however, we shall not distinguish between male and female conscripts or reservists, as we do not consider gender to be relevant to the focus of this

<sup>12</sup> **Rogers, J.** 2017. Reinforcing Deterrence Through Societal Resilience: Countering Hybrid Threats in the Baltic Region. – A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. Eds. Cusumano, E. and Corbe, M. Cham: Palgrave Maximillian, p. 260.

<sup>13</sup> **National Defence Act.** Passed 11.02.2015, § 68–§ 72. – Riigi Teataja. <<https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/517112015001/consolide>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>14</sup> **Military Service Act.** Passed 13.06.2012. § 46, (1). – Riigi Teataja. <<https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/513032017006/consolide>> (accessed January 2, 2018). [**Military Service Act 2012**]

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, § 2, (3).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, § 2, (2), 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, § 69, (1).

paper. Issues connected to diversity in the military can be considered when further developing our model.

Each year approximately 2500–3000 recruits serve in the EDF. However, as Estonia is experiencing a declining population, the call-up selectee pool will be significantly reduced (approximately 24% by 2022).<sup>18</sup> This will have an effect on the planning and managing of human resources in the military. Consequently, an understanding of the mechanisms that increase reservist military readiness and support the transition between the military and civilian fields has become, and will continue to be, an issue of great importance in the future.

### 3. The legacy of military service

We adopted the Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital as a framework to conceptualise the total military experience. Our model is based on the work of Cooper *et al.* 2017 and 2018, who suggested that in the UK context veterans most often remember the peak experiences that they were exposed to during their basic training, or during their time in the combat theatre. Veterans recall these enduring memories as a part of their military legacy. Their paper suggests that military legacy can become either a positive, neutral or negative factor when transitioning from the military into the civilian field. We see military legacy as something that could be used to support the motivation of reservists during their reserve service. In this paper, we have adapted the concept of military legacy and used it to consider how the military lifestyle must be re-lived in between periods of civilian life when reservists are recalled for reserve trainings. The term military legacy, can be used to describe how the experiences gained during military service may have an enduring influence on the motivation of conscripts and reservists. We believe that the proposed Military Legacy Model conceptualizes military readiness and the motivational dynamics of reservists and can serve as a useful tool for designing future empirical research methods of conscripts and reservists.

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<sup>18</sup> **Kasearu, K.; Trumm, A.** 2016. Ajateenistusse kutsutute ja kutsealuste võrdlus 17–27-aastaste meeste üldpopulatsiooniga perioodil 2000–2014. – Riigikaitse inimvara arendamine: võimalused ja väljakutsed. Artiklikogumik. Toimetaja A. Trumm. Strateegilise Jätkusuutlikkuse Kompetentsikeskus, p. 25. <[https://www.yti.ut.ee/sites/default/files/www\\_ut/ajateenistusse\\_kutsutute\\_ja\\_kutsealuste\\_vordlus\\_17-27-aastaste\\_meeste\\_uldpopulatsiooniga\\_perioodil\\_2000-2014.pdf](https://www.yti.ut.ee/sites/default/files/www_ut/ajateenistusse_kutsutute_ja_kutsealuste_vordlus_17-27-aastaste_meeste_uldpopulatsiooniga_perioodil_2000-2014.pdf)> (accessed January 2, 2018).

In order to propose a reservists' Military Legacy Model, we must first introduce some key Bourdieusian terms. After that we will introduce the Military Legacy Model and the role of capitals in this model. In the discussion part we will explore possibilities of application of conversion of capitals and our model to the conscript and reserve contexts.

#### 4. Theory – Why Bourdieu?

The concepts of Pierre Bourdieu are commonly used in academia to explore how ownership of capitals, in certain social spaces, can affect people's lives. According to Bourdieu every field has capitals that are especially important, and specific to that particular field. The importance of these capitals (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) is determined by how instrumental they are in producing profit and power within that particular field.<sup>19</sup> When moving from one field to another the value of acquired capitals may, and often will change, therefore it becomes important to realise how capitals can be converted between fields.

At present there is a growing interest in military sociology towards applying the theoretical concepts of Bourdieu to the military field.<sup>20</sup> Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework, Cooper *et al.* 2017 and 2018 developed a theoretical and practical framework for considering some of the issues that are faced by UK soldiers as they transition from the regular Armed Forces to civilian life. For example, it was found that knowledge and networks can be used to enable a more positive experience during and after transition. The Model of Transition in Veterans (MoTiVe) considers how the mobilisation of capitals can aid the transition process. We believe that the model translates well, and can be applied to the Estonian context. As such, it can be used to ease the transition of non-full-time serving personnel, i.e. conscripts and

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<sup>19</sup> See **Bourdieu, P.** 1986. The forms of capital. Originally in: Richardson, J., Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. Westport, CT: Greenwood. pp. 241–58. [**Bourdieu** 1986] <<http://www.socialcapitalgateway.org/content/paper/bourdieu-p-1986-forms-capital-richardson-j-handbook-theory-and-research-sociology-educ>> (accessed January 2, 2018), p. 19. (Footnotes follow page numbers from web version).

<sup>20</sup> For example, in 2017 The Biennial International Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces & Society, in Panel 66: Economic Challenges Facing Veterans, D. G. Kachtan from The Open University of Israel and E. Binks from Liverpool Hope University discussed about “Converting Social, Cultural, and Symbolic Capital and Skills from Military to the Civilian Society and Labor Market – The Cases of Israeli and British Militaries”. <<http://2017.iusafs.net/files/2017Program.pdf>> (accessed January 2, 2018), p. 27.

reservists, into the civilian sphere, or back into a military environment. The use of Bourdieusian theory to underpin the model remains crucial to our argument. We also believe that operationalizing Bourdieu's theoretical concepts allows us to construct a model that has broad explanatory capabilities, and can assist in generating some quantifiable tools for further research.

## 5. Bourdieusian terms explained in the military field

### 5.1. Habitus and Military Habitus

The concept of habitus allows for the exploration of ways of behaving and believing, it is formed through our regular social encounters, and is a set of unconscious dispositions that are embodied in social practices.<sup>21</sup> Habitus is not deterministic, therefore it can be shaped by the life experiences we encounter.<sup>22</sup> It also reinforces all experiences that are made outside of the home environment.<sup>23</sup> Prospects can be influenced and interpreted within the habitus, as long term decisions can be constrained or legitimised through understanding, a sense of perspective and a belief in what we understand to be possible.<sup>24</sup> This is particularly important when moving between two social fields such as the home and a military environment. The disposition of the habitus is based on what is familiar and necessary and therefore sets expectations or limits on the realities that we may face at any given time.<sup>25</sup> The norms and values that are fundamental within the home and the work environment need to be negotiated when moving between the civilian and military field. The military habitus is a way of being, which is first constructed during basic training, or during conscript training, as soldiers adapt to the military culture and are removed from their civilian lifestyle. This change of habitus helps the soldiers to internalize the necessary masculine attributes and organizational competences that allow them to deal with warfare, as well as potential life or

<sup>21</sup> See **Bourdieu, P.; Passeron, J.-C.** 1977. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage, pp. 72–82. [Bourdieu, Passeron 1977]

<sup>22</sup> See **Bourdieu, P.** 1994. In *Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 123–140.

<sup>23</sup> See **Sayer, A.** 2005. *The Moral Significance of Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 74–111.

<sup>24</sup> See **Hodkinson, P.** 1998. *Career Decision Making and the Transition from School to Work*. – *Bourdieu and Education: Acts of Practical Theory*. Ed. by Grenfell, M., and James, D. Abingdon: Routledge Falmer, pp. 89–103.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibid.*

death situations. Maringira, Gibson and Richters<sup>26</sup> discuss the enduring nature of the behaviours learnt within the military habitus. Bourdieu suggested that those who can successfully develop ‘cultural competence’ within a given field will thrive ‘*as a fish in water*’<sup>27</sup>. This trait is important for those moving between the changing conditions of the military and civilian lifestyles during the reservist period.

For conscripts and reservists in Estonia, the move between home and military fields is different from that of professional military service members. Conscripts are more limited in their movements. Conscripts are granted leave, but not every weekend. During basic training there are certain units where leave is not granted at all. When reservists are called to a reserve training, they are immersed in, and confined to, the military field for the duration of their reserve training. Because of the short time period, reservists must quickly adapt between the home and the military habitus and quickly draw upon military legacy. It follows that the duration of the Estonian conscription service and reserve exercises are too short for those in service to develop a viable military habitus, such as we see developing in professional armies. It is most probable that the budding military habitus acquired during conscription period will become diffused upon re-entry into the civilian world, thus necessitating the search for solutions as to how best to preserve and revive the necessary military habitus that is required to perform reserve duties, both in peacetime and during times of crisis and war.

## 5.2. Field and Military Field

Bourdieu characterizes field as a site of social and cultural reproduction. It is a place where power and control interact with meanings and values, thereby affecting the meanings and beliefs that individuals hold, which were originally embodied through the habitus.<sup>28</sup> Bourdieu and Passeron concluded that habitus, field and capital are relational, so the field or social space in which an individual life is shaped, together with the individual’s available capital, has implications for both the individual as well as the collective in which he

<sup>26</sup> See Maringira, G.; Gibson, D.; Richters, A. 2015. ‘It’s in my blood’: The military habitus of former Zimbabwean soldiers in exile in South Africa. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 41 (1), pp. 23–42.

<sup>27</sup> Wacquant, L. T. D. 1989. Towards a reflexive sociology: a workshop with Pierre Bourdieu. – *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 43.

<sup>28</sup> See Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 63–64.

or she socializes.<sup>29</sup> It is possible that in conscription and reserve armies there is a constant striving towards maintaining the military field by professional military service members, because conscripts and reservists are continuously trying to re-adapt to the military habitus and move away from the experiences and modes of behaviour that they are accustomed to in the civilian field. The military and civilian environments are fields with social structures that are defined by their own sets of rules and their own levels of authority.<sup>30</sup> In a way similar to the professional military, in order to participate in a military career and feel a sense of belonging in that environment, conscripts and reservists must assimilate and be immersed in the expected culture.<sup>31</sup> The habitus within the military field is recognized as being a masculine dominated, authoritative environment that is embodied by serving personnel.<sup>32</sup> Habitus is also fashioned by the capitals that are of value in that particular field.

### 5.3. Types of Capitals

It has been observed that “the particular forms of capital available within a field are also often specific to that field and may not transfer to other fields.”<sup>33</sup> Transitioning between fields makes convertibility of capitals an especially important precondition. As Bourdieu pointed out:

*The convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in social space) by means of the conversions least costly in terms of conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself (in a given state of the social power relations).*<sup>34</sup>

Fields can prove advantageous by offering economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, thereby allowing one to position oneself more securely in the power hierarchy of any given field. The same principle is important for reservists moving between military and civilian fields. The lessons and

<sup>29</sup> See **Bourdieu, Passeron** 1977, pp. 72–82.

<sup>30</sup> See **Jolly, R.** 1996. Changing step: from military to civilian life: people in transition. London: Brassey’s, pp. 35–52, and **Higate, P.** 2000. Tough bodies and rough sleeping: Embodying homelessness amongst ex-servicemen. – Housing, Theory and Society, Vol. 17 (3), pp. 97–108.

<sup>31</sup> See **Cooper et al.** 2017 and 2018.

<sup>32</sup> See **Hale, H.** 2008. The development of British military masculinities through symbolic resources. – Culture and Psychology, Vol. 14 (3), pp. 305–332.

<sup>33</sup> **Cooper et al.** 2018, p. 162.

<sup>34</sup> **Bourdieu** 1986, p. 25.

experiences acquired from the military field can become actualized in the civil society as profitable capitals both individually and collectively.

Capitals acquired in the military field must first be conceptualized within that field. For conscripts and reservists not taking part in military deployments during peacetime the best way to develop an enduring military legacy is to participate in large military exercises. At the same time it is important to consider that if conscripts are able to identify the ways in which the capitals that they have acquired in the military field can be converted to the civilian field, then it may raise the overall value of the conscript experience, both individually and at the societal level. This calls for a reflection on capitals specific to the military field; how they are acquired, and how they could be converted between fields. Bourdieu looks at four different types of capital that we shall discuss briefly in the following sections.

## 6. A Closer look at capitals

### 6.1. Economic capital

In his work “The Forms of Capital” Bourdieu does not dedicate a special chapter to the concept of economic capital. This has led to some confusion and criticism among researchers.<sup>35</sup> However, Bourdieu does describe some essential features of economic capital that are useful for our argument. Bourdieu seems to accept that everything in this world is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e. economic self-interest.<sup>36</sup> This is applicable to all types of capitals, but economic capital is clearly more important in this regard. Highlighting the differences of the three main capitals (economic, cultural and social) Bourdieu defines the term “economic capital” as something that is immediately and directly convertible to money, or something that may be institutionalized in the form of property rights, and that is more easily convertible to other types of capital than vice versa.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See for example **Tittenbrun, J.** 2016. Concepts of capital in Pierre Bourdieu’s theory. – *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* 2016, Vol. 17 (1), pp. 81–103.

<sup>36</sup> **Bourdieu** 1986, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> See *ibid.*

## 6.2. Cultural capital

For Bourdieu cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, in the objectified state, and in the institutionalized state. In the military sphere, embodied cultural capital is comprised of skills and knowledge, as well as physical prowess, but is also manifest in the use of military professional argot and terminology and behaviour appropriate to the military field. Therefore Bourdieu defines embodied cultural capital as the “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body”<sup>38</sup>. Objectified cultural capital on the other hand would be manifest in the soldier’s belongings such as weapons, books, amulets, photos and other mementos. Cultural capital is institutionalized in the form of rank, position, and qualifications.<sup>39</sup>

### 6.2.1. Cultural capital – embodied state

According to Bourdieu “Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment”<sup>40</sup> and “.../it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor”<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, the time spent in conscription could be seen an investment that can be applied towards both the military and civilian fields. The more one profits from the skills and knowledge acquired in the military field, the more one is likely to invest even further in the military field and then re-assign such capital upon leaving the military. The will and desire to periodically invest in the military field is an integral part of the reserve army system.

### 6.2.2. Cultural capital – objectified state

Objectified cultural capital within the Bourdieu’s framework can be described as both material objects as well as media objects.<sup>42</sup> Objectified cultural capital can be acquired, bought and gifted, but the skills and knowledge, or the cultural capital needed to appreciate and value these objects must be learned

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Cooper *et al.* 2018, p. 162.

<sup>40</sup> Bourdieu 1986, pp. 17–18.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Bourdieu 1986, p. 19.

on one's own.<sup>43</sup> In the military cultural capital is objectified mostly in soldiers' personal military equipment and media objects.

### **6.2.3. Cultural capital – institutionalized state**

Institutionalized capital comes in the form of different kinds of diplomas, certificates and titles, which are given in order to prove that one has acquired certain skill or knowledge. Institutionalized cultural capital proffers official recognition and is a guarantor of skills, unlike unofficial competence, which can be called into question at any given time. However, the skills embodied by the owner of the certificate are not always in complete accordance with the certificate.<sup>44</sup> In the case of the military, field rank is the most obvious sign of an institutionalized cultural capital.

## **6.3. Social capital**

The military unit offers great potential for creating high value and easily convertible social capital. In the military unit there is a strong emphasis placed on creating unit cohesion. This is necessary as members of a military unit depend on each other in very difficult situations and need one another in order to complete a task or a mission. According to Bourdieu social capital is:

*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, /.../.<sup>45</sup>*

Bourdieu also states that

*The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected.<sup>46</sup>*

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>44</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>46</sup> **Bourdieu** 1986.

## 6.4. Symbolic capital

Any capital, whether it be economic, social or cultural can be considered to be symbolic capital if social agents realise and value it as symbolic. As Bourdieu noted:

*Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital—in whatever form—insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity.*<sup>47</sup>

Because of the strict hierarchy of power and the non-negotiable set of rules that are bound by authority, symbolic capital is a powerful currency in the Armed Forces. Symbolic capital also refers to honour and prestige and is closely related to social recognition.<sup>48</sup> For example, some units are considered to be more prestigious to serve in. Also, within certain units there are also sub-units that are valued more, and quite often the most important values of one unit may differ from those of another unit. This may stem from different unit cultures and traditions and the particular tasks that a unit performs. Thus symbolic capital may differ from unit to unit.

Capitals acquired in the military field and the experiences specific to that field will form the military legacy. The question then arises: how do conscripts reconfigure their military legacy after leaving the military field? Should one seek to enhance the profitability of capitals acquired in the military and then apply them towards other fields or social spaces? The other option is to try and diminish the influence of the military legacy so that it does not interfere with the successful transition to a different field. We have found that the different military systems and the different groups of military personnel may have different needs.

In the next section we will look more closely the MoTiVe model that our model is based on.

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Cooper *et al.* 2018, p. 162.

## 7. Application

### 7.1. UK example – MoTiVe model

The MoTiVe model<sup>49</sup> was developed in order to explore the possible effects of military life on a future life course. It is important to note that the paper suggested that the intense, peak experiences that become imprinted on a person during their time in the Armed Forces leaves an enduring military legacy that lasts the entire lifetime. MoTiVe is a representation of the extreme experiences in the Armed Forces and the difficulties of negotiating commitments to family life and working within a military environment (see Diagram 1). The model acknowledges that change remains consistent over time, and that lifestyle is strongly associated with economic, social and cultural capital. Although the application of the model is constant for all of those who use it, it should be clearly acknowledged that there are outcomes in life that are specific to every individual and these are continually changing.

The lived experience of being a service person requires a shift in understanding of self-identity when renegotiating cultural norms within the civilian context. Bigo uses the analogy of magnetic forces that draw us towards or away from different fields.<sup>50</sup> For example, the ‘pull’ towards travel and adventure that is offered by the military ‘pushes’ an individual away from the routine and security of family life. Segal outlines the tension of soldiers face when trying to maintain family relationships, together with the pressure of being in a vocation that controls their geographical movement and the amount of time spent on leave.<sup>51</sup> Deployments with the Armed Forces also affect the lives of family members. The emotional consequences of enforced separation and the sudden transition from civilian life back into the combat theatre can be traumatic.<sup>52</sup> It is important to recognize that not all military service members experience combat theatres. Nevertheless it is important to acknowledge that experiences in the military field, whether they be simple

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<sup>49</sup> See **Cooper et al.** 2017.

<sup>50</sup> See **Bigo, D.** 2011. Pierre Bourdieu and international relations: powers of practices: practices of power. – *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 5 (3), pp. 225–258.

<sup>51</sup> See **Segal, M.** 1986. The military and family as greedy institutions. – *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 13 (1), pp. 9–38.

<sup>52</sup> See **Bergman, B.; Burdett, H.; Greenberg, N.** 2014. Service life and beyond – institution or culture? – *The RUSI Journal*. Vol. 159 (5), pp. 60–68.



civilian field. This would likely also help towards understanding military legacy on the societal level and assigning value to it, thereby boosting the service readiness of reservists.

By adapting the MoTiVe model, it is possible to incorporate the movement between civilian life and reservist activity into the Estonian context. Conscription can be viewed as a way of preparing (predominantly) men to protect their country. It is also a way of forming a mind-set and a mode of being that reservists can then resume when they are re-called to the reserve training. Cooper *et al.* 2017 suggest that in civilian life there is a tendency towards “looking back”<sup>54</sup> to the peak experiences encountered in the military during formative years. This can become an important factor in helping reservists reconnect with the military environment when they are called back for training.

However, for reservists who are intermittently in and out of service life for a number of years, there is an imperative to maintain or elicit a strong identity with their military experiences in order for them to thrive within their reservist units. Reservists, who re-establish themselves back into civilian life and then are re-called to duty understand that these ensuing ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors can be disruptive to an established civilian life. Therefore, seeing a direct link between the skills and capital acquired in the military field and their efficacy in civilian life must be well understood both on the part of the military as well as on the part of the reservist himself.

Diagram 1 above illustrates the movement into the military and away from civilian life, demonstrating two competing fields. It also shows that civilian life is unlikely to have the intense experiences of a military career, particularly at the end of the reservist activity and after the permanent return to civilian life.

We therefore suggest that reservists will display a different trajectory across the life course, as they need to maintain their cultural and social capital accumulated at basic training and need to re-create the rules within the military environment when they are called back for reservist training. This can perhaps include the re-living of their peak experiences. Diagram 2 illustrates the movement in and out of military and civilian fields during the reserve service and the ways in which the military legacy needs to be lived and embodied during these periods of reserve activity. The reserve soldier then needs to renegotiate the military habitus each time the process is repeated during the training periods.

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<sup>54</sup> Cooper *et al.* 2017, p. 53.

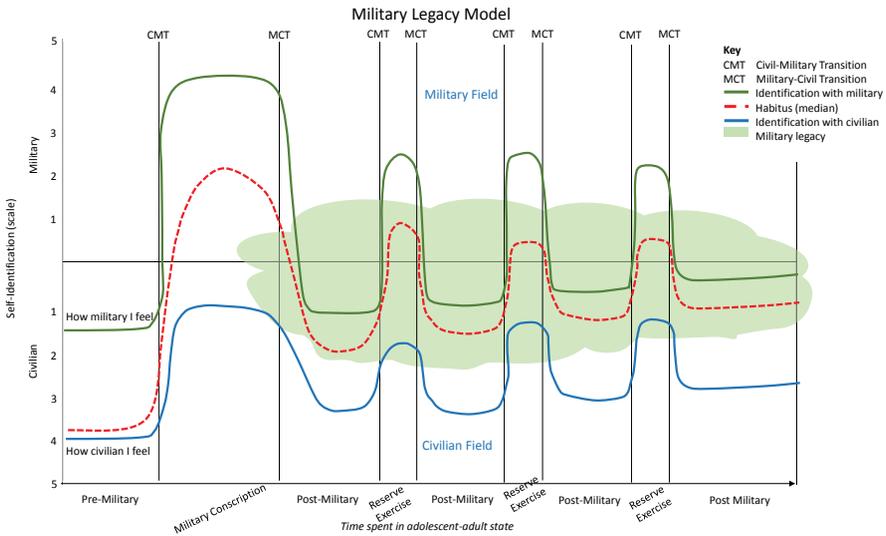


Diagram 2. Military Legacy Model<sup>55</sup>

Our model demonstrates the importance of military legacy as a possible key component towards aiding reservists and conscripts in their successful transition between the civilian and military fields during their reserve trainings. It is essential that the military legacy be strong enough to allow the reservist to easily re-access the necessary skills and modes of behaviour, yet at the same time the military legacy should not be so strong that it becomes an obstacle to transferring back into the civilian life.

We believe there is a direct connection between the creation of a military legacy through the accumulation of cultural, social and symbolic capitals during conscription training and an enduring military legacy that influences the motivation of the reservists during their reserve training. This also applies to when they are not training. The authors of this article believe that Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of capitals together with *habitus* and field have a vast explanatory potential and can be applied towards analysing the essential factors of conscripts’ and reservists’ motivation and their ability to connect with a later military legacy. This connection can then determine the dispositions and actions that enable a successful return to reservist duty.

<sup>55</sup> We would like to thank Alex Cooper from the Anglia Ruskin University Veterans & Families Institute for Military Social Research for the help with conceptualizing and visualizing the Military Legacy Model.

Understanding different aspects of the influence of capitals and their effects enables us to use a larger selection of motivators that may affect conscripts and reservists. Moving as transmigrants<sup>56</sup> between civilian and military fields raises the need to look more closely at the possibilities of capital conversion as an important motivator.

## 8. Discussion

The following discussion is derived from Bourdieu's theory of capitals, the Military Legacy Model presented in this paper, and from the authors' own subjective understanding of and experiences in the military field. Where applicable we will use examples from the 2016 Conscript Survey.<sup>57</sup> Our aim is to refer to topics and themes connected to factors influencing defence readiness and motivational dynamics of conscripts and reservists.

We believe that assigning a value to military legacy on the societal level and the deliberate conversion of capitals acquired during service in the military will help with the motivation and service readiness of reservists. The military legacy of reservists is mostly acquired and accumulated during the conscript period. It is apparent from the Conscript Survey analysis that Estonian conscripts tend to characterize their period of service as something that they want "to be done with"<sup>58</sup>. Few perceive it in terms of the acquisition of useful skills, experiences or social connections. We hope to contribute to the discussion as to how the conscript period could come to be seen as a period of accumulation of convertible capitals.

The deliberate development and conscious construction of peak experiences that assist in maintaining an enduring military legacy could assist in smoothing the transmigration process of the reservists. At the same time capitals acquired during conscription, as well as during reserve trainings need to be looked at in terms of convertibility and profitability for the civilian fields. Employers also need to be further educated and informed as to the possible positive aspects of employing someone who has completed the conscript service. Such a person has been trained to work under stressful situations and has versatile experiences. Conscript service is often a good chance to

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<sup>56</sup> See **Lomsky-Feder, Gazit, Ben-Ari** 2008, pp. 598–599.

<sup>57</sup> **Ajateenijate hoiakute ja käitumise muutmine ajateenistuse käigus** 2017.

<sup>58</sup> See **Kasearu, K.; Truusa, T.-T.** 2017. Ajateenistusse asumise muustrid ja motiivid ning seos hoiakutega ajateenistuse jooksul. Ajateenijate kompleksuuringu 2016. aasta pilootuuringu tulemuste aruanne. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, SJKK, pp. 7–23.

work towards common goals with people from different social and ethnic backgrounds.

It is commonly accepted that the skills and knowledge acquired in the military field during conscript service and reserve trainings can boost the motivation of both conscripts and reservists if those skills are conceptualized as an investment that can be converted into profitable capitals in the civilian field.

When discussing military legacy and conversion of capitals it is helpful to start with economic capital.

In the military field, economic capital is seen as being less visible and not as profitable as it is in most other fields. Unification by wearing the same uniform, sharing the same living conditions and food are most visible signs in the EDF and may be considered as a negation of the power of the economic capital. "Profit" in the military field can be gained more successfully through cultural capital, such as knowledge, qualifications or rank and is also influenced by social and symbolic capital.

However, there are conscripts whose families are dependent on the economic support that they provide. For these individuals the conscription period presents an immediate economic loss. Survey results from the 2016 Conscript Survey show that approximately two thirds of those starting their service had been gainfully employed, meaning that they had to stop working and suffer the economic loss in connection with their service.<sup>59</sup> But when we consider that economic factors for conscripts are not as dominant for keeping motivation during the service period as they are for reservists. For reservists' economic factors may often turn out to be more significant in deciding whether or not to answer the summons to a reserve training or to risk the legal consequences (fine or detention<sup>60</sup>) for not attending. The gap between the subsidies of conscripts and reservists is rather large and also differs between ranks.<sup>61</sup> How influential the loss of economic capital actually is during the period of conscript and reserve service is too broad for the scope of this paper, but it does have a real life implications for conscripts and their families. Analysis

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<sup>59</sup> Kasearu, K.; Trumm, A.; Talves, K.; Truusa T-T. 2017. Noor õppur läheb meelsamini aega teenima. – Sõdur, nr 3, lk 50.

<sup>60</sup> Military Service Act 2012, § 224.

<sup>61</sup> See the last legal act of subsidies for conscripts and reservists in Estonia from the beginning of year 2017: **Ajateenija ja asendusteenistuja toetuse, reservväelasele õppekogunemisel osalemise aja eest makstava toetuse ning ajateenija ja asendusteenistuja lapse toetuse ulatus ja maksmise kord**. Vastu võetud 03.01.2017, nr 1. – Riigi Teataja.

<<https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/104012017030>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

of the attrition rate of Estonian conscripts has shown that the risk of dropping out of the conscript service prior to finishing is higher among those who estimate the economic well-being of their families to be low or very low.<sup>62</sup> The level of economic capital in a family can be a benefit or a detriment to the conscript, based on their status prior to the period of conscription.

A conscript who is from a good socio-economic background might experience more severe loss of status in terms of economic welfare when they enter the armed services, as the capital they have acquired in the civilian world may not translate into the military field. This is perhaps most noticeable during basic training, which is a period of intense inculcation of military values in order to reduce the influence of the civilian fields in the conscript's life and initiate them into the military field. It is an intense period of developing a military legacy.

In the case of reservists, the government of Estonia has tried to level the income gap between civilian jobs and the remuneration received by reservists when they are called up for duty, such as for example during reserve training. Economic considerations can be reflected in the participation rates of classical reserve-trainings, which usually last at least for a week and the flash-exercises that can last up to four days. The participation rate for the 2016 flash-exercise "Needle" was 88% of those who received the summons vs 65.8% for those summoned to a classical reserve trainings.<sup>63</sup> Economic calculations are certainly not the only ones as four days of which two days fall onto a week-end is less disruptive of family and work life than a one week or an even longer training.

In January 2018 the government was scheduled to raise the remuneration that reservists would receive during their reserve trainings and bring it closer to the mean salary in Estonia.<sup>64</sup>

At the same time, there is a discrepancy between public sector employees and private sector employees. While private sector companies are encouraged

<sup>62</sup> Uulimaa-Margus, U.; Kasearu, K. 2017. Ennetähtaegselt reserve arvamise mõjutegurid. Ajateenijate hoiakute ja käitumise muutmine ajateenistuse käigus. Ajateenijate kompleksuuringu 2016. aasta pilootuuringu tulemuste aruanne. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, SJKK, p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Aruanne kaitseväekohustuse täitmisest ja kaitseväeteenistuse korraldamisest 2016. aastal. 2017. <[http://www.kmin.ee/sites/default/files/elfinder/article\\_files/aruanne\\_kaitsevae kohustuse\\_taitmisest\\_riigis\\_2016.pdf](http://www.kmin.ee/sites/default/files/elfinder/article_files/aruanne_kaitsevae kohustuse_taitmisest_riigis_2016.pdf)> (accessed January 2, 2018), p.19.

<sup>64</sup> See information from the official webpage of Estonian Ministry of Defence 28. September 2017: **Government confirmed the increase in support for participants in reservist training.** <<http://www.kaitseministeerium.ee/en/news/government-confirmed-increase-support-participants-reservist-training>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

to keep paying their employees when they are called to a reserve training, the law does not allow for this, for public sector employees. Therefore, public sector employees must take unpaid leave for the duration of the training.<sup>65</sup>

Overall, economic capital is not usually acquired or enhanced during conscript or reserve service. For those who suffer a loss of earnings due to their period of service, this could in some way be compensated via the acquisition of social and symbolic capitals that may be of value and profitable in the civilian field.

The ongoing conscript survey also allows us to analyse the dynamics of acquiring embodied cultural capital such as skills, knowledge and physical prowess. However, aspects related to language use and behavioural practices, such as saluting, need rather more ethnographic approaches of study.

Initially it may seem that military argot and behavioural practices might not be easily converted to the civilian field. However, these aspects can in fact be converted into social capital in the civilian field. For example, the use of some military terms can serve as signal to others who have also been through conscription, that they share a military background. This might allow for a commonality of experience to be shared.

Creating a sustainable military legacy is contingent upon creating an early awareness of how skills and knowledge that are acquired during the conscription period can then be implemented in the civilian field, and is need for re-capturing such knowledge when serving as reservists. Some skills can be immediately transferred such as C-category driving licence, leadership skills, discipline, survival skills in nature, a healthy lifestyle (sports and nutrition) and teamwork. Analysis of the Conscript Survey shows that conscripts expect to gain both learning military specific skills as well as further develop skills and experiences that support and can be used in civilian life.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, skills and knowledge acquired during conscription are important factors when considering satisfaction with conscript service.

Reserve trainings can be seen as a way of revitalizing and engaging with a military legacy. It is likely that the more reservists can make use of the

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<sup>65</sup> See Delfi news portal article from reporter **Mägi, K. A.** 2017. Riik palub eraettevõtjatel reservõppekogunemistel osalejate töötasu säilitada, ise jätab aga riigitöötajatele samas olukorras palga maksmata. <<http://www.delfi.ee/news/paevauudised/eesti/riik-palub-eraettevotjatel-reservoppekogunemistel-osalejate-tootasu-sailitada-ise-jatab-aga-riigitootajatele-samas-olukorras-palga-maksmata?id=79504842>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>66</sup> **Tooding, L. M.** 2017. Rahulolu ajateenistusega Eesti Kaitseväes. Ajateenijate hoiakute ja käitumise muutmine ajateenistuse käigus. Ajateenijate kompleksuuringu 2016. aasta pilootuuringu tulemuste aruanne. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, SJKK, p. 35. [**Tooding** 2017]

embodied military cultural capital, the more sustainable military legacy is and the easier it is to draw upon military legacy during reserve trainings. This presupposition will be tested with the reservists' survey in future.

Therefore, when training and educating conscripts, the emphasis should not be on final exercise of the conscript service, it should be on prolonging the military identity until the end of reservists' obligation. For example, physical training should not be solely aimed at test results, but should create rather enjoyable habits and skills that can be used throughout the lifetime. This can also increase the convertibility of this capital.

At the same time, it is clear that militaries can utilize the skills and knowledge learned in the civilian field. For example, the Headquarters of Staff and Signal Battalion has been recruiting conscripts with experience in media, photography and editing. Such an approach can be further developed and applied to both conscripts and reservist, although granted, it is a little more difficult to apply towards reservists as they have already been assigned a specific position in a wartime unit where certain skills are expected of them.

Concerning the objectified cultural capital, the soldier's individual uniform, weaponry and other personal military equipment are a part of a military legacy. Enhancing the military legacy may be encouraged by the retention of the uniform or part of their individual kit after they have completed their conscription service. It is worthwhile to consider the Swiss practice, where reservists are allowed to keep their personal equipment and weapons at home.<sup>67</sup> In Estonia we have positive experience regarding personal military equipment at home with members of voluntary defence organizations such as the Defence League and Women's Voluntary Defence Organization.

Military legacy is also fortified by photos, videos, music and other media objects connected to the military field. Conscripts and reservists could be encouraged to form social media groups to stay in contact with the comrades with whom they served. These activities would naturally have to comply with the EDF social media regulations. This in turn will enhance the overall awareness of digital hygiene and how social media can be used as a strategic weapon<sup>68</sup> by hostile groups.

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<sup>67</sup> See for example developments in Swiss practice: **Soldiers can keep guns at home but not ammo**. 2007. <<https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/soldiers-can-keep-guns-at-home-but-not-ammo/970614>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>68</sup> See **Nissen, T. E.** 2015. *Sotsiaalmeedia kasutamise relvasüsteemina: tänapäeva konfliktide omadused*. – Tallinn: Postimees.

Battalion and unit insignias, military rucksacks, name tags etc. are all artefacts and may be considered as objectified cultural capital. It is also clear that these artefacts, together with conscription related media objects, carry with them an additional positive aura because they are also connected to the younger selves of their owners, possibly adding a more positive emotional attachment to these artefacts, as well as adding to the military legacy.

The aim of the conscription period is also to institutionalise the cultural capital acquired in the military field. This is actualized by the positions that reservists are assigned to, together with the ranks that they receive. For example, the position of a squad leader implies a certain set of skills and knowledge that the person is automatically assumed to possess. The same goes for ranks, where certain qualifications go with the rank and are assigned to the person. Reserve units have positions with a different convertibility value between fields. The highest convertibility positions are in medicine, signals, IT and operating heavy machinery. The military field is becoming technologically more advanced and complex, which in turn demands more diverse skills and knowledge from the conscripts. These skills must be taught and honed during the service period and are, at the same time, more easily convertible to the civilian field. For those skills that become institutionalized capital through certificates of acquired competences, however, it is important to note that these certificates should carry actual value and not be used as motivational awards for conscripts, because the future employer or educator needs to trust that the certificate proves that certain skills have been acquired. Another consideration is awarding academic credits (ECTS) that are valid in Estonian universities.

For example, many Finnish universities and vocational colleges give credit points for the completion of a longer service period, or to special training. Qualifications can be proven either by a defence forces' service certificate, or by the portfolio built up during leadership training. The successful completion of military service is also a significant advantage when applying for a job in Finland.<sup>69</sup>

When talking about social capital, Estonia appears to be more of a horizontal society. It is less class based than, for example, the UK, and this extends to the military field as well. It can be argued that the armed forces that are mainly composed of reserve units and have less room for inflexible

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<sup>69</sup> **Building Sustainable and Effective Military Capabilities. A Systemic Comparison of Professional and Conscript Forces.** 2004. Edited by Kristina Spohr Readman. IOS Press, NATO Science Series, Series V: Science and Technology Policy, Vol. 45, p. 105.

rank separations due to their being more based on the concept of “citizen soldier”<sup>70</sup>. The fact that there is perhaps less separation between ranks allows for the cultivation of a more diverse array of social capital, which can also then be converted to the civilian field.

Other factors influencing the creation of social capital in the military field are, for example, the size of the unit, the prestige of the unit, the nature of the tasks the unit performs, the unit cohesion and camaraderie of the unit and also the style of leadership of the commanders. Value based, and person centred leadership practices, are more likely able to enhance and stimulate the creation of social capital within the units. Analysis of the 2016 Conscript Survey showed that satisfaction with the conscription period is strongly influenced by the extent to which leaders are able to create an environment where the conscript is perceived as an individual, and to what degree conscripts share responsibility for assigned tasks.<sup>71</sup> Satisfaction with the conscript period creates a positive background for enhanced conversion of acquired capitals to the civilian fields. And satisfaction with the conscription period will also improve the motivation to attend reservist training.<sup>72</sup>

Social capital in the form of unit cohesion means that the greater the bond created within the unit is, the greater the chance there will be that this social capital will carry over to the civilian field once the conscripts become reservists. The reservists who have experienced strong bonding within the unit are likely to be more motivated to attend reserve trainings as they place more value on their military legacy and feel a stronger sense of camaraderie among friends and colleagues.

In the broader societal context social capital acquired in the military field will help with integration of different social and national groups. A study conducted among veterans in the United States concluded that experiences in the military field tend to help integrate different ethnic groups within the society by, for example, diminishing racial segregation in different neighbourhoods.<sup>73</sup>

A good example of purposefully creating increased symbolic capital by the Estonian MoD is the Estonian Veterans Policy, which was adopted in

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<sup>70</sup> See **Cohen, E. A.** 2001. Twilight of the citizen-soldier. – *Parameters: Journal of the US Army War College*, Summer 2001, pp. 23–28. <<http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/articles/01summer/Cohen.htm>> (accessed January 2, 2018).

<sup>71</sup> **Tooding** 2017, pp. 24–38.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>73</sup> See **Fischer, M. J.; Lundquist, J. H.; Vachon, T. E.** 2016. Residential segregation: The mitigating effects of past military experience. – *Social Science Research*, Vol. 60, pp. 61–73.

2012 and designates recognition measures such as the Veteran's Day, as well as the veteran recognition campaign "Hepatica Flower". In the context of a reserve army, perhaps an analogous reservists' policy is needed in order to look at the issues of conscript-reserve army in a more holistic way. Arguably the value of cultural and social capitals that have been acquired in the military field are convertible to the degree that they have the possibility to be assigned symbolic value in the civilian field.

To sum up, we would like to point out that finding culturally and socially acceptable ways of fostering support for conscripts and reservists movement between civilian and military fields is of vital importance as it can increase whole nation's readiness to participate in the defence of the state. It is important to recognize that military service brings with it a personal deficit in some form, and this deficit should be accounted and compensated for either through policy initiatives, support and services and societal recognition.

## 9. Conclusion

Using Bourdieusian theory and an existing Model of Transition in Veterans (MoTiVe) proposed by Cooper *et al.* 2017 and 2018 we have proposed a Military Legacy Model that reflects the movement of EDF reservists between military and civilian fields. The Military Legacy Model is analysed and discussed by using Bourdieu's concept of conversion of capitals. We suggest that appreciating the value of cultural, social and symbolic capitals that are acquired during time in the military field can later be turned into a profitable investment for civilian life, and can be an influential factor in developing a positive military legacy. This can in turn assist in preserving the military readiness of reservists. The Military Legacy Model conceptualizes these factors in order to help understand the influences and the experiences of military training. It also gives planners the ability to make appropriate adjustments in personal, institutional or the larger societal level when and where needed. Our model can also be seen as a way of prompting further discussion and as a proposal of a theoretical frame for further empirical research. We concede that the viability and influence of the military legacy is also dependent on a nation's geopolitical situation and the perceived security environment.

Estonia has several neighbouring countries that use conscription and reserve based armed forces. These include Denmark, Norway, Finland and Lithuania. We believe the practice of cultivating convertible capitals is being implemented in these countries as well. For example the Norwegian defence

forces have a webpage that is dedicated to conscription. It offers service options through skills learned in the military, as well as skills that can be transferred between the military and civilian fields.<sup>74</sup> Finland has also made an effort to take the personal orientation and the civilian training of its conscripts into consideration during the selection process.<sup>75</sup> We also believe our Military Legacy Model presents a kind of common ground and encourages cooperation in research with our partners from other countries that have similar military systems.

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<sup>74</sup> See **Tjenesteoversikt**. – Norges Forsfar.  
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<sup>75</sup> **Building Sustainable and Effective Military Capabilities. A Systemic Comparison of Professional and Conscript Forces.** 2004. p. 104.

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