

TAAVI LAANEPERE

Looking at the Military Service  
Readiness of Estonian Reserve Soldiers  
through the Prism of Bourdieu's  
Theory of Practice





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## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This doctoral study is based on four original publications, which will be referred to in the dissertation by their respective Roman numerals.

Publications included in the dissertation:

- Study I**    **Laanepere, T.**, Truusa, T.-T., & Cooper, Linda. (2018). Military Legacy: use it or lose it? *Sõjateadlane [Estonian Journal of Military Studies]*, 6, 22–51.
- Study II**    **Laanepere, T.**, & Kasearu, K. (2021). Military and Civilian Field-Related Factors in Estonian Reservists' Military Service Readiness. *Armed Forces & Society*, 47(4), 690–709.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X20944093>
- Study III**    **Laanepere, T.**, Kasearu, K., & Tooding, L.-M. (2020). Objectified Cultural Capital and Military Service Readiness Among Reservists of the Estonian Defence Forces. *Sõjateadlane [Estonian Journal of Military Studies]*, 14, 39–64.
- Study IV**    Lillemäe, E., **Laanepere, T.**, & Kasearu, K. (2021). Multiple Contracts Concept as Opportunity to Ease Challenges for Estonian Employers' Obligations Concerning Employees' Reserve Service in Military (accepted as a chapter for forthcoming volume on reserves).

## **AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION**

The author's contribution to the articles is as follows:

- Study I:** The role of the author was leading the writing of this article. The author was responsible for developing the theoretical framework of the study and coordinating and contributing to the application of theoretical concepts and discussion part.
- Study II:** The author was responsible for the theoretical framework of the study and partly contributed with content analysis to the data preparation for quantitative analysis. The author took the lead in the interpretation of the results and writing of this article.
- Study III:** The author was responsible for the theoretical framework of the study and partly contributed to the data preparation with content analysis for quantitative analysis. The author took the lead in the interpretation of the results and writing of this article.
- Study IV:** The author contributed to the writing the introduction part of the chapter and conclusions and discussion part of the study.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

Estonia's defence is based on deterrence, aimed at convincing possible aggressors that military, political and economic losses resulting from an attack would outweigh the possible benefits. To ensure the desired results, the scope of national defence extends beyond military defence and involves also international activities, civil sector support for military national defence, psychological defence, ensuring domestic security, and the consistency of vital services (National Security Concept, 2017). The component of military defence itself is based on initial self-defence capability, relying largely on reserve units as well as membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The initial defence capability forms a military force that aims to organize the maximum possible resistance needed for enabling the activation of NATO's collective defence mechanism. Therefore, the reliability of defence in Estonia requires developing a strong, motivated, and capable reserve component of defence forces and the military service readiness of reserve soldiers becomes an essential question concerning the initial defence capability.

At the same time, Griffith and Ben-Ari (2020) consider the worldwide study of the military reserve component as moderately insufficient and most of the research still addresses rather questions about regulars and conscripts. Reservists started to receive somewhat more attention at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century after operational needs triggered a demand for a greater number of reserve soldiers to be deployed, for example in the United States (Griffith, 2005 & 2011) and in the United Kingdom (Bury, 2019; Edmunds et al., 2016; Reserves in the Future Force, 2020: Valuable and valued, 2013). These circumstances encouraged turning attention to recruitment and retention research in the United States (Chun, 2005; Griffith, 2008) and in some allied countries with quite a similar reserve service system (Lording, 2013). The reserve component of many western countries, for example the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Spain, and Australia, is built on the paid volunteer member concept. However, there are also a number of countries, for example Korea, Finland, Israel, and Estonia, where being a reserve soldier is not a volunteer and well-paid option but the mandatory service of a citizen. Motivational reasons for reserve service in these countries can be different from what they are in bigger countries with professional armies. According to the best knowledge of the author, the factors of the military readiness of the reserve component in Estonian Defence Forces (EDF) and in other countries with a similar reserve service system has thus far not been studied in such a complex approach that is proposed in this thesis. Better knowledge about social and individual factors affecting the mandatory reserve service readiness of reserve soldiers enables more effective planning of the reservists' training and ensures thereby the credibility of the defence capabilities and military readiness of defence forces.

The term "military readiness" has a broader use as structural or institutional readiness and a narrower use as operational readiness that is commonly used for many smaller components that make military forces capable (Rumbaugh, 2017,

p. 2–3). Three main operational readiness components according to Kwong et al. (2014) for every military structure are personnel readiness, training readiness, and material readiness (that includes: firepower, mobility, communication, logistics). These components form the readiness domain of “capability.” The second domain of operational readiness is “morale” that includes, for example, cohesion, confidence in leadership, willingness to deploy, motivation, and discipline. Questions about service environment, health, spiritual fitness, education, community, family, and friends are relevant for the third domain of operational readiness “quality of life” (Kwong et al., 2014, p. 9–10).

To the domain of “capability” related studies and sources are often classified, and access to them can be limited. Accessible readiness studies belong mostly to the domains of “morale” and “quality of life”. For example, the issues of recruitment and retention may be combined with questions of morale and quality of life (Bury, 2017; Griffith, 2005, 2008). Also, cohesion, leadership, and training matter (Griffith, 2006, 2009), and individual versus unit deployment readiness questions (Griffith & Greenlees, 1993) or influence of morale on cohesion (Vaitkus & Griffith, 1990) are some topics that have been studied earlier. Family-related studies have pointed out that the readiness of the reserve component and officers is strongly affected by family worries (Schumm et al., 2001) and a supportive attitude from the family would increase service readiness (Kirby & Naftel, 2000). Also, some other specific factors have been raised in previous research, such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues (Belkin et al., 2012) which may also affect the military service readiness.

In the field of research my thesis positions itself in the frame of military sociology and its research topic is the military service readiness of reserve soldiers. Military service readiness belongs primarily to the component of the military readiness domain of “morale” but can also be influenced by the two other domains. The state of military service readiness of Estonian reservists manifests itself primarily through the level of participation in military training and exercises. According to the data from Estonian Ministry of Defence (Reports about fulfilment of the military obligation, 2000–2020), the attendance rate among reservists in reserve training exercises has been quite unstable, varying from 49% to 81.5%. At the same time, the reasons for this kind of variation and influential factors of service readiness are largely unknown. This is the gap in our knowledge that would form the research problem for this study. The main concern in such circumstances is that the shortage of personnel in reserve units can increase the burden and stress on reservists participating in military exercises and could consequently lessen their service motivation in the future. At the same time, reservists who are for some reason not obliged to be called up will be thereby poorly prepared for their units’ military responsibilities, and the even larger military readiness spectrum will be subsequently damaged.

The aim of my thesis is to explain Estonian reservists’ military service readiness and assess the role of military and civilian field-related capital in the process of forming dispositions influencing the intention to participate in reservists’ training. To reach this goal, I empirically operationalized the military

and civilian field related factors according to Bourdieu's theoretical understanding about concepts of field, habitus, and forms of capital that will be looked at more closely in the theoretical chapter of this thesis. Reserve soldiers periodically move between the military and civilian fields as a particular kind of transmigrants, they would need to adjust the most effective civilian and military components of their habitus to be successful in their current field and use for the same reason the most valuable capitals they have accumulated from both fields. Based on data from the surveys conducted among reserve soldiers during the exercises Siil 2018 (Hedgehog 2018) and Kevadtorm 2019 (Spring Storm 2019), I operationalized the empirical indicators of forms of capital and explored the association between capital acquired from the military field, influential factors from the civilian field, and military service readiness (**Study II, III**). By looking the empirical findings (from **Study II, III**) within the framework proposed with the Military Legacy Model (**Study I**), my concluding intention was to give some insights into how Bourdieu's theory of practice can explain the military service readiness of Estonian reserve soldiers. Additionally, the employer's perspective to challenges and opportunities associated with the reserve service of their employees (**Study IV**) will be discussed within the proposed model of the effect of forms of capital on the military component of habitus of EDF reserve soldiers.

My thesis combines in this cover article four original studies and has two research questions:

1. How do different forms of capital acquired from military and civilian field support military service readiness among Estonian reservists? (**Study II and Study III**).
2. How does the convertibility of forms of capital shape the practice of reservists' service when moving as transmigrants between civilian and military fields? (**Study I and Study IV**).

In this cover article, the first introductory part will be followed by the second chapter where the legal and political context of military reserve service in Estonia will be briefly explained. In the third chapter, the theoretical framework will be elaborated, and Bourdieu's key terms will be linked to the military field. The fourth chapter gives an overview of the methodological approach in studies composing this thesis. Chapter five provides a short overview of the study findings and chapter six discusses these findings within research questions. The cover article ends with a short chapter on the main conclusions.

## 2. POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONTEXT OF THE MILITARY RESERVE SERVICE IN ESTONIA

At the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century, several countries in the Baltic Sea region, such as Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, and Sweden, suspended conscription and chose to professionalize their armed forces (Braw, 2017). During that period, there was also a political debate initiated by the liberal Reform Party in Estonia as to whether leaving conscript service behind could be a more effective way to answer security challenges in the region (Mölder, 2013). Yet, ever since the re-establishment of Estonian independence in 1991, Estonia has valued the Finnish and Swiss example in defence strategy and, thus, conscription and the conscription-based reserve forces' defence approach has had very high public support in Estonia (Public Opinion and National Defence, 2012–2020; Mölder, 2013). Therefore, the abolition of conscription has never been seriously supported by the society in Estonia.

The changes in the security situation that Eastern and Northern Europe have recently faced because of military conflicts in former Soviet republics have triggered new developments in military strategies also in the Baltic and Nordic regions and tightened defence cooperation at the European Union level as well. To alleviate the security concerns of Eastern Europe, the NATO member countries committed themselves to the Readiness Action Plan at the 2016 NATO Warsaw summit. The main objectives of this plan include enhancing the collective defence and strengthening deterrence measures on NATO's eastern border (Warsaw Summit Communiqué, 2016). NATO sent three battalion-sized "battle-groups" to the Baltics, establishing the "Enhanced Forward Presence" to embody Article 5 of the NATO Charter: an attack on one member of the alliance is an attack on all. As a result, in some countries of the Baltic Sea region discussion opened again about the necessity of conscription and, for example, Lithuania and Sweden activated the draft of conscripts again (Järvenpää, 2016). Considering these developments, the Baltic region has transformed from "a strategic backwater" to a "geopolitical frontier" (Rogers, 2017) and reserve component-related matters started to gain more and more attention from political and military leaders also in Estonia.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia (1992, § 124), all citizens must contribute to national defence as an essential civic duty. Such contribution to national defence begins with military service as conscripts that is a compulsory obligation for male and voluntary option for female citizens. The aim of conscript service is to train and educate soldiers for reserve units and the duration of this mandatory service is between 8 to 11 months, depending on the conscript's specialty and position. Citizens who meet the legal and medical requirements can be called up from the age of 17 until the age of 27. After completion of conscript service, people are assigned to the service in reserve units and may be called up for military training and exercises as a reserve soldier until they reach the age of 60. Officers may be called up for service for up to twelve

months in total; non-commissioned officers for up to nine months in total; and soldiers for up to six months in total. (Military Service Act, 2020)

According to the EDF homepage (Reserv, 2021) the purpose of the reservists' training is to remind the reservists of what they have learned in the previous military service and to introduce them to new equipment and weapons. During such training exercises, the wartime units of the EDF practice cooperation and activities at the level of both the individual soldier and the subunits as well. To optimize and train the mobilization system in addition to regular reservists' training exercises, short-notice reservist training assemblies have been held usually once a year since 2016. A short-notice exercise means that reservists are obliged to immediately show up after the call up at the designated rally point compared to regular exercise 120-day advance notice. Regular reservist training events may last one to three weeks, and short-notice reservists' training assemblies may last up to 60 days but are usually shorter (less than one week).

According to Reports about fulfilment of the military obligation (2000–2020) in EDF, each year around 3000 recruits serve as conscripts and about 5000 reserve soldiers participate in training. However, Estonia is experiencing a declining population. Therefore, the call-up selectee pool has also declined since 2010 and in the near future this trend is not about to change (Kasearu & Trumm, 2016). In these conditions, also the planning and managing of human resources in the EDF need to be optimized and better understanding about obligatory military service and Estonian citizens' social and individual factors to increase military service readiness would become a subject of great importance.

Issues regarding the unstable participation of EDF reservists in training and the level of military readiness of reserve units is a problem not only for EDF but also for NATO military planners, as for an effective activation of collective defence a sufficient initial defence capability is required. According to NATO assessments (Report about fulfilment of the military obligation, 2020), the current frequency and volume of reservist training may be not enough to maintain the level of combat capability and carry out combat missions. Therefore, the Ministry of Defence in cooperation with Estonian Military Academy initiated a project to answer the following questions on a scientific basis: 1) to which extent the level of skills and knowledge of reservists is maintained during the reserve service; and 2) what the sufficient intensity and volume of reservist training is that enables them to carry out their tasks in line with NATO expectations.

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

#### **3.1. Theoretical considerations from the theory of Pierre Bourdieu**

Bourdieu's theory of practice is a philosophical combination of his other key concepts: habitus, field, and capital that will determine the logic of practice in different social and cultural environments (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1990, 1998). As education was one of the fields Bourdieu's social theories originated (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), it has become quite common to apply his theory on educational research, especially when related to the topics of social inequality (Sullivan, 2002). Application of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts is not unknown in military sociology as well. The training and education of soldiers and officers as an option to form a military component in an individual's habitus is an ordinary part of practices in the military field (Hale, 2008; Salo, 2008). Two other topics of research that come forward in military sociology are cultural, social, and symbolic capitals related to the military field and transition between the military and civilian field (Hinojosa, Hinojosa, & Nguyen 2019; Cooper, Caddick, Godier, Cooper, Fossey, & Engward 2017; Cooper, Caddick, Godier, Cooper, & Fossey 2018).

The current thesis intends to continue and extend the discussion about the usage of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus, field, and capital as a framework for the study of military service readiness factors and the logic of practice of the reserve soldiers in Estonia by seeking a causal mechanism of these factors. Bourdieu's framework has been valued due its ability to range along levels of abstraction and to extend across analytic scales to link large structures of power (a country or state) and the meso level of institutions (such as fields of cultural production, science, and military) "to the minutiae of everyday interaction and the phenomenological texture of subjectivity encapsulated by the term of practice" (Wacquant, 2018, p. 92). However, Bourdieu's ideas have not been very often applied to research about reserve service issues as mostly his key concepts have gotten attention in the context of professional soldiers and veterans (Hinojosa et al., 2019; Cooper, et al., 2017, 2018).

The theoretical concepts of Pierre Bourdieu can be used to explore how ownership of different forms of capitals, in certain social spaces or fields, can affect people's dispositions and practices. According to Bourdieu, every field has capital that is especially important and specific to that particular field. The importance of these forms of capitals (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) is determined by how instrumental they are in producing profit and power within that field (Bourdieu, 1986). When moving from one field to another, the value of acquired capital may, and often will change. Therefore, it becomes important to realize how forms of capital can be converted between fields. The concept of the convertibility of capital is strongly related to the other terms of Bourdieu's theory like habitus, field, and hysteresis. The following sections of this chapter will explain these theoretical key terms in more detail.

### 3.1.1. Habitus and military component of habitus

The term “habitus” is an essential cornerstone for the entire corpus of Bourdieu’s thought as it surfaces early in his body of work and reappears consistently throughout with little, if any, variation of meaning (Mander, 1987). Bourdieu developed the concept of the habitus in the postface to his 1967 translation of Erwin Panofsky’s “Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism” (Holsinger, 1988). Ten years later Bourdieu wrote that the concept of habitus allows for the exploration of ways of behaving and believing, is formed through our regular social encounters, and is a set of unconscious dispositions that are embodied in social practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The meanings, values, and beliefs that are embodied through the habitus will direct the selection of valid practice (Bourdieu, 1990).

Carter and Spence (2020) argue that some identity theorists view habitus as synonymous with identity, although it might prove problematic because identity studies sometimes can lack sociohistorical positioning. Carter and Spence (2020, p. 264) emphasize that Bourdieu’s concept of habitus can be viewed as “historical processes of formation and links the micro-level of the individual self with the meso-level of the field, and beyond to macro-levels of the economy and society.” Furthermore, although Bourdieu views habitus as primarily an attribute of an individual, it is also a product of structures, thus bringing together micro and macro levels (Pawlak, 2018). At the same time, the habitus is not deterministic; therefore, it can be shaped by the life experiences we encounter (Bourdieu, 1994), including all experiences that are made also outside of the home environment or field (Sayer, 2005). This last notion enables us to presume that, for reservists mostly living in the civilian field, their temporary experiences from the military field would have influence on their habitus by building up the military field-related component of habitus. However, habitus would direct by interpreting and legitimizing the disposition toward a practice that is most familiar or necessary in a field where the person belongs (Hodkinson, 1998) and, consequently, norms and values of the most important field must be negotiated when moving to another field. Habitus forms our response to the social environment through repeated contact with a field as dispositions, and it does so in a manner that transcends intentionality. It is possible to claim that habitus enables building and refining an agent’s “toolbox” of transposable dispositions that lead to certain action (Pendlebury, 2019).

In the context of transition from civilian life to the military sphere, basic military training represents an environment in which new recruits – already possessing a habitus formed in their civilian lives – undergo a process of socialization in which it is intended that a new “military habitus” is formed (Pendlebury, 2019). Such habitus within the military field is generally viewed as being a masculine dominated, authoritative environment that is embodied by serving personnel (Hale, 2008). The term “military habitus” has been exploited by some authors mostly in the context of professional soldiers’ transitions from military to civilian life (Cooper, et al., 2017, 2018). Maringira, Gibson, and Richters (2015), for example, described the transition process from the military habitus of Zimbabwean

professional soldiers to a civilian habitus accompanied with a challenge to adapt to the new way of civilian life in an even more complicated exile environment. However, in this cover article I prefer to use the term “military component of habitus” instead of “military habitus” to enable a more detailed exploration of relations between factors from the civilian and military field causing dispositions for military service readiness in reserve soldiers’ habitus as a whole, encompassing a civilian and military share as well.

Habitus is also fashioned by the capital that is of value in a particular field. Bourdieu suggested that those whose habitus is a product of a given field will thrive in this field “as a fish in water” (Wacquant, 1989). That kind of competence fortified by proper capital and a fish in water feeling is more likely also a basic intentional aim for conscription service in EDF to internalize the necessary military attributes and organizational competences that would allow soldiers in reserve service to deal with warfare whenever it is needed (**Study I**).

### **3.1.2. Field and military field**

Bourdieu sees the world as a compilation of different fields with their own power hierarchies, rules, and cultural specificities (Bourdieu, 1984). Field is 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 (Bourdieu, 1990). Consequently, a habitus develops within a field and usually during a lifetime; there can be several dominant fields with different strengths to shape the habitus. Veenstra and Burnett (2014) concluded that habitus, field, and capital are relational, so that the field or social space in which an individual life is shaped, together with the individual’s available capital in a field, has implications for both the individual’s habitus as well as the collective in which he or she is being socialized. Accordingly, a field can be seen as a system of social locations where each individual or specific groups of individuals are hierarchically ranked by the type and quantity of resources (capital) they have compared to others and those with a greater amount of valued capital will secure a position in the power hierarchy within the field (Turnbull, Locke, Vanholsbeeck, & O’Neale, 2019).

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 (Jolly, 1996; Higate, 2000). In order to participate in a military career and feel a sense of belonging in that field, soldiers must assimilate and be immersed in the expected culture. At the same time, the military field is composed of separate but inter-linked sub-fields like branch of service or units with their own traditions (Cooper, et al., 2017, 2018). For conscripts, reservists’ and professional soldiers’ central values and traditions in the military field can very likely differ and would lead to corresponding differences in motivation, political commitment, and cohesion (Griffith, 2009); this could also mean that these military service types may have different sets of capital that would grant power and status in the military field.



Therefore, when moving between civilian and military fields, one's status or privileges in another field may increase or decrease and reservists' civilian field – related values may determine how successful and ready to serve reserve soldier is in the military field (**Study II**).

### **3.1.3. Hysteresis**

In the context of differences between fields, Bourdieu uses the term “hysteresis of habitus”. Hysteresis is caused by encountering an environment that is too different from the one to which the regular habitus is objectively adjusted (Bourdieu, 1990).

For professional soldiers, the transition from the military field to the civilian field after many years of military service can be accompanied with real challenges in adjustment to the civilian field and can be described as an hysteresis effect as the grip of soldiers' previous military habitus prevents meaningful adaptation to civilian life (Cooper et al., 2018). For Estonian reservists, on the contrary, the hysteresis effect is more likely to occur when returning from the civilian field to the military field by participating in military exercises as the dominant field for Estonian reserve soldiers is very likely the civilian field. The hysteresis effect may be stronger for reservists if the military component of habitus and capital acquired from the military field are not convertible to the civilian field, and most likely even more so if the existing civilian capital and components of habitus have no use or value for social positioning in the military field (**Study I**).

### **3.1.4. Forms of capitals**

The forms of capital are acquired in a field that can be seen also as a space of competition in which participants vie to establish monopoly over effective capitals in a specific field, like science, religion, or the military (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). At the same time “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)” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 25).

Bourdieu's idea of forms of capital has caused some confusion and criticism among researchers, reaching accusations that his approach is grounded in economic imperialism that leads to the physicalism and under-specification of the concept of cultural capital (Tittenbrun, 2016). Bourdieu's relation to Marxism may be considered ambivalent (Desan, 2013). Although Bourdieu was influenced by Marx, he also criticized Marxism for its supposed economic reductionism and substantialism. According to Desan (2013), the concept of capital was central to both Bourdieu and Marx. However, cultural, and symbolic forms in Bourdieu's theory are original and therefore his theory extends Marxism.

It has been observed that certain forms of capital available within a military field can be very specific to that field and may not be easily transferred to some civilian fields (Cooper et al., 2018, p. 162). Therefore, the convertibility of capital becomes an important issue when observing the soldiers' movements between military and civilian fields. According to Kachtan and Binks (2020, p. 25), at the macro-level it is possible to observe the conversion of military service to social status-related qualities, and at the micro-level it is about subjective dimensions of perceptions, motivations, and expectations of the conversion: "soldiers' expectations for convertibility are influenced not only by the objective rewards of military service, but also by the way they perceived and evaluate the acquired military capital." This means that the convertibility of military service is not only about its importance, popularity, or legal relations in society, but it also influences and develops the identities, self-efficacy, and self-confidence of the soldiers (Kachtan & Binks, 2020). Therefore, knowledge, skills, attitudes, various lessons, and experiences acquired from the military field could become actualized in civil society or fields as profitable capital both individually and collectively (**Study I**). This calls for reflection on capitals specific to the military field: how they are acquired, how they relate to the values in civilian field, and how they could be converted between different fields. For example, the transferability of military skills and experiences can be somewhat easier in civilian employment fields that are consistent with military environments, such as uniformed organizations like the police and border guards or the prison service (Cooper et al., 2018). At the same time, modern militaries can also utilize the skills and knowledge obtained previously in the civilian field. For example, logistics, signal, and cyber defence units would prefer conscripts with specific skills.

This thesis does not intend to construct any hierarchical sequence of forms of capitals in the military field, and their theoretical introduction and discussion follows Bourdieu's (1986) original presentation of forms of capitals.

#### ***3.1.4.1. Economic capital***

In his writing "The Forms of Capital" Bourdieu does not dedicate a special chapter to the concept of economic capital.

Bourdieu does describe some essential features of economic capital in his work, and he seems to accept that everything in this world is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e., economic self-interest (Bourdieu, 1986). 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 (Bourdieu, 1986).

In the military field, economic capital can be less visible and most likely not as profitable as it is in most other fields. Encouraging a sense of unity by wearing

the same uniform and sharing the same living conditions and food are usually visible signs in many armed forces and may be considered as a negation of the power of economic capital (**Study II**). However, for reservists economic capital could most likely be an important factor in deciding whether to participate in a reserve training event (**Study I**).

### **3.1.4.2. Cultural capital**

Bourdieu himself used the concept of cultural capital primarily in research on education and consumption and taste (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Cultural capital can grant social advantage and therefore legitimacy and dominance in the social structure (Kachtan & Binks, 2020). For Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, in the objectified state, and in the institutionalized state. Bourdieu argues that: “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” and “/.../it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17–18).

Therefore, Bourdieu defines **embodied cultural capital** as the “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17) and this, as such, very much overlaps with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (Kachtan & Binks, 2020). As such, habitus, and embodied cultural capital both entail cognitive and non-cognitive dispositions. To that end, Edgerton, and Roberts (2014, p. 214) suggest that “embodied cultural capital and habitus must be understood as aspects of the same dispositional structure which interacts with the exigencies of particular social fields to shape practice.”

Since embodied cultural capital is acquired through socialization and education, Ford and Vignare (2015, p. 6) have remarked that “the nature of military indoctrination, training, and socialization is such that a military learner’s habitus may be more reflective of the deeply engrained values and behaviours prized by the military than of his or her upbringing.” Therefore, embodied cultural capital in the military sphere 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 (**Study I**). In the military research context, it has also been interpreted as physical skills-based capital that enables the handling of the rigorous physical demands associated with military training and service (Hinojosa et al., 2019).

**Objectified cultural capital** within Bourdieu’s (1986) theoretical framework can be defined as both material objects as well as media objects. This form of cultural capital can be acquired, bought, and gifted, but the skills and knowledge, i.e., the cultural capital in its embodied form, are needed to truly appreciate and value these objects (Bourdieu, 1986). Skills and knowledge regarding using and appreciating objectified cultural capital are transmitted, formally or informally, through the process of socialization. Furthermore, the longer it takes to acquire

them and the rarer they are, the greater the symbolic value attached to them (Reay, 2004). According to Alvesson and Billing (1997), corporate culture is expressed through rituals, artefacts, and metaphors. Artefacts are physical objects like furniture, logos, and dress that carry meaning within an organization.

Objectified cultural capital related to a military field would be manifested usually in a soldier's military artefacts such as weapons, personal equipment, books, amulets, photos, and other media objects or mementos. To use and value these artefacts one must first have acquired the relevant embodied cultural capital through either learning or training and experiences in the military field (**Study III**). For the military, as an organization that is uniquely focused on uniformity of appearance and symbols, Bourdieu's idea of objectified cultural capital helps also unpack how and why certain characteristics denote privileged status within the field (Pendlebury, 2019).

According to Bourdieu, **institutionalized cultural capital** comes in the form of different kinds of diplomas, certificates, and titles which are given to prove that one has acquired certain skill or knowledge. Institutionalized cultural capital proffers official recognition and is a guarantor of skills. However, it is also possible that sometimes the skills embodied by the owner of the certificate are not in complete accordance with the certificate. (Bourdieu, 1986)

Within the military, cultural capital in an institutionalized form is manifested in the form of ranks, positions, qualifications, and military experience (Kachtan & Binks, 2020). At the same time, institutionalized capital in the military is often represented in the uniform by rank insignias, decorations, medals, badges, or pins, i.e., by objectified cultural capital (**Study III**).

### **3.1.4.3. Social capital**

According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 21), 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". Consequently, the social capital has a dependable relation to other forms of capital since an agent's social capital affects the other capitals he or she possesses or aims to possess. As Bourdieu noted: "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" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 21) and profits that come from belonging to a desired network would also encourage solidarity within members of that group (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 22). As such, it is also possible to say that the existence of a social network as contingent relationships usable in the short or long term is therefore a product of individual or collective investment strategies (Kachtan & Binks, 2020).

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 to complete a task or a mission. Therefore, the military field in its natural essence usually supports the formation of long-lasting social capital, and creating strong and durable unit cohesion is for reserve soldiers also most likely convertible to the civilian field (**Study I**).

### 3.1.4.4. Symbolic capital

Any capital, whether it be economic, social, or cultural, can be considered to be symbolic capital if social agents realize and value it as symbolic by linking it to honour, prestige, and it is closely related to social legitimation (Bourdieu, 1990) or also to social recognition (Cooper et al., 2018). As symbolic capital may often be linked to values, it is also related to habitus. Therefore, 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” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 27).

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 (Cooper et al., 2018). For example, some units or military service branches are more prestigious to serve in. This may stem from different unit cultures and traditions and the tasks that a unit performs (**Study I**). For reserve soldiers, the symbolic value of the military field-related capital could also be related to memorable experiences or artefacts related to such valued memories.

Figure 1. summarizes the previous sections of the forms of capital with some examples from the military field.

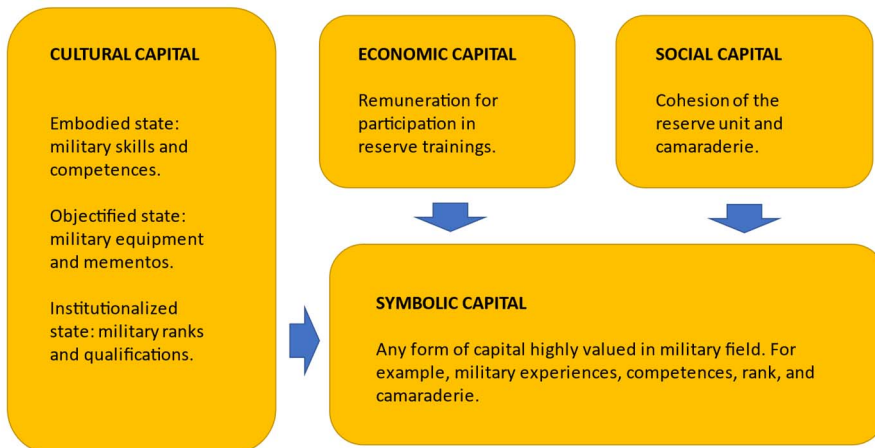


Figure 1. Forms of capital in the military field.

### 3.2. Military Legacy Model

Capitals acquired in the military field and the experiences specific to that field will form military legacy. Relying on Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts and terms, Cooper and her co-authors (2017) offered a Model of Transition in Veterans (MoTiVe model) that helps to explain how military legacy can become a hindrance when transferring from the military field to civilian life and how identification with military and civilian identity is related to habitus in such a process. By adapting the MoTiVe model, Laanepere, Truusa, and Cooper (**Study I**) proposed a Military Legacy Model (see Figure 2) that demonstrates the importance of military legacy as a possible key component towards aiding reservists in their successful transition between the civilian and military fields during their reserve service. While the MoTiVe model focuses on the single military-to-civilian transition event of professional soldiers, the Military Legacy Model looks at the repeated transition from civilian to military and back again during the almost life-long reserve service of Estonian reservists. Thus, the MoTiVe model cannot automatically be applied to Estonian reserve soldiers and the service pattern of conscription and reserve training should be included in the adapted model. The reserve soldier needs to renegotiate the military component of their habitus each time they repeatedly return to the military field for their training periods (Study I) and the focus of issues in such negotiations can be very different because of the variety of fields from which reserve soldiers re-enter the military field and because of the different age-related life situations of reservists.

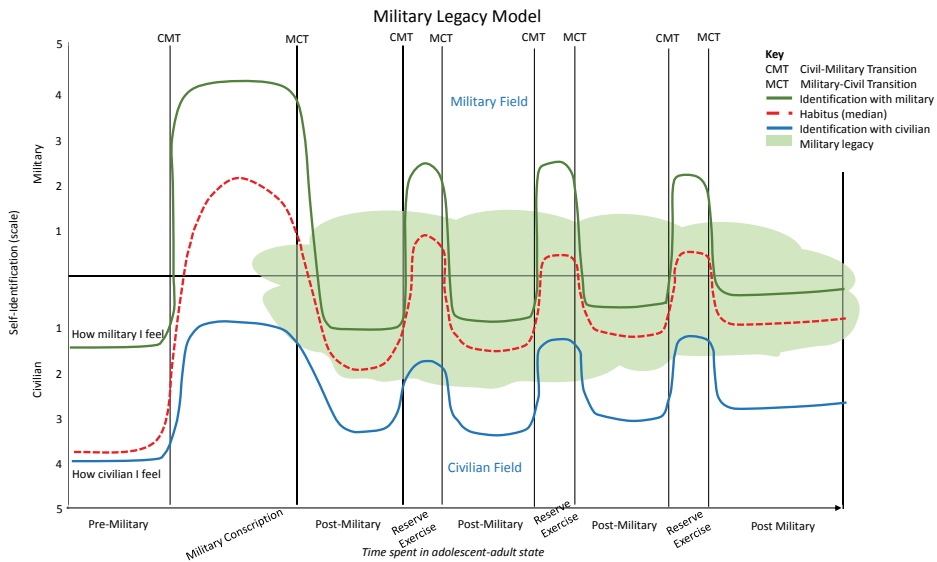


Figure 2. Military Legacy Model.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Special thanks to 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.

Military habitus would be supported by maintaining the meaningfulness and convertibility of military and civilian field-related cultural, social, and symbolic capitals in both fields. Cooper et al. (2017) suggested that, in civilian life, there is an inclination towards “looking back” to the peak experiences encountered in the military. This can be an important aspect to consider in helping reservists reconnect with the military component of habitus when they are called back for training. Military legacy should be strong enough to allow the reservist to easily re-access the necessary skills and modes of behaviour, yet at the same time not so strong that it becomes an obstacle to be successful in the civilian field (**Study I**). It is very likely that there is a connection between a well-balanced military legacy and the military service readiness of reservists.

Bourdieu’s concept of forms of capital together with habitus and field have a vast explanatory potential and can be applied towards analysing the essential factors of reservists’ motivational mechanisms. The Military Legacy Model demonstrates the trajectory of influence of military legacy for the whole reserve service period and can accordingly be tested via longitudinal study in the future. In the current thesis I use this model as a theoretical abstraction based on selected key-concepts from Bourdieu placed into the military field to explore the volume and relations of social and individual factors for a reservist’s service readiness. Because of the long reserve service period and repeated civilian-military-civilian transition events, the concept of reservists as a special kind of transmigrant and the model of multiple contracts that can help to manage this transition process are also included in discussion of the Military Legacy Model.

### **3.3. Reservists as transmigrants and the model of multiple contracts**

Transmigration is a globally widespread phenomenon indicating various movement processes between different fields or areas in modern societies. Transmigration originally was understood as the continuous work-related movement of people across borders. They travel back and forth between states or regions as legitimate and allowable by immigration status, money, family circumstances and employment obligations. (Schrooten, Geldof, & Withaecx, 2016). Estonian society is well familiar with the transmigration processes between neighbouring countries, but it is possible also to observe transmigration inside our country between peripheral or rural regions and larger cities as well (Ahas et al., 2010).

Serving in the reserves and moving between the military and civilian fields can be explained also by an analytical metaphor that compares reservists to transmigrants (Gazit, Lomsky-Feder, & Ben-Ari, 2020). The Bourdieu concept of different fields provides a suitable general context for the perspective of reservists as transmigrants who can incorporate different components of their habitus from both military and civilian fields. The concept of reservist transmigration emphasizes that reserve soldiers move in circular patterns of mobilization and demobilization, but also along developmental lines rooted in their life course and

are therefore different each time they re-enter military service (Lomsky-Feder et al., 2008). When moving between civilian and military fields, the reservist would be in constant need to find the balance between military, home, and work as “greedy institutions”<sup>2</sup> by reconciling his or her military role and to the family and civilian employment-related roles (Edmunds et al., 2016). Transmigration is also associated with identity issues (Liubinienė, 2010). Correspondingly, reservists as transmigrants would have “plural membership” in social groups and their identity is based on the group with which the person has the strongest ties or connections (Griffith, 2009). Habitus and identity can also be related to social class and to work- or family-related statuses and roles. When moving from the civilian field to the military field the social status and roles of a reserve soldier can be challenged by a change accompanied by the hysteresis effect.

Gazit, Lomsky-Feder, and Ben-Ari (2020) advanced the concept of reservist transmigration by linking it to the explicit and implicit “contracts” or agreements as a model of multiple contracts. The multiple contract model is a theoretical elaboration that aims to enhance a dynamic dimension to the interpretation of contracts that organize reservists’ relations with the state and military. Multiple contracts include reservists as individuals and groups, and the military and society on three levels. At the micro-sociological level, negotiations take place between the individual social position of reserve soldiers and family, employment, studies, and organizational position. Specific group compacts take place at the mezzo-sociological level within the military organization and different types of reservists as groups. And at the macro-sociological level, contracts occur between military command and the political level. (Gazit et al., 2020)

Inspired by the concept of multiple contracts, **Study IV** analyses and discusses the reservists’ military service readiness issues from the perspective of the employers’ interests.

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<sup>2</sup> Lewis A. Coser (1974) used the concept of “greedy institution” to describe social institutions that demand from their members total commitment and loyalty.



## 4. METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used in the research on which this thesis is based. A combination of different sample sources and usage of a mixed methods approach would increase the credibility of the results and can extend the understanding of the study subject in the discussion part.

**Studies II** and **III** use quantitative survey data. Authors of these studies operationalized collected data according to Bourdieu's forms of capital and tested the effect of different forms of capital on the successful transition between the civilian and military fields. **Study I** is rather a discussion paper about the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice on the repeated transition processes in military reserve service of Estonian reserve soldiers. **Study IV** offers an alternative look from the employers' perspective at the employed reservists' transition issues and uses for that a qualitative analysis to discuss the application of the multiple contract model in Estonia.

This chapter presents information about sample and data collection. It also explains the structure of data and the design of measurements. Finally, an overview of methods used for analyses is briefly introduced.

### 4.1. Sample and data used in thesis

The official evaluation of military readiness of all units in EDF follows the NATO Combat Readiness Evaluation of Land HQs and Units (CREVAL) criterion from the Allied Command Operations Forces Standards, where some aspects of service readiness can be found in the section of administration (CREVAL, 2017). However, these readiness measures are mostly related to the domain of "capability", and the military readiness domains of "morale" and "quality of life" are not in the focus of this tool. In 2016, the EDF started a human resources research project regarding human resources in the national defence sector. A longitudinal research questionnaire for conscripts and a questionnaire for reservists were designed by the Department of Applied Research of the Estonian Military Academy, the Centre of Excellence for Strategic Sustainability at the University of Tartu, and the National Institute for Health Development. Reservists' questionnaire questions vary from multiple-choice questions to open-ended questions. The questionnaire contains a core module of questions of EDF human resource study and a block of questions from previous surveys of the Estonian Ministry of Defence conducted among reservists. Thus, the content of questions in this questionnaire is a combination of different studies and the different interests of various institutions. However, the advantage of using data collected with this EDF human resources study is having a considerably large sample and the possibility to include every year a limited number of questions about special interest. The data from the reservist questionnaire for **Studies II** and **III** were selected from different parts of the questionnaire based on Bourdieu's theoretical concepts as discussed in **Study I**.

It was also possible to design and include a few questions for the purposes of this thesis.

To conceptualize Bourdieu's theoretical key terms for this thesis, the discussion part of **Study I** uses some applicable examples from the 2016 Pilot Survey of Conscripts (Ajateenijate hoiakute ja käitumise muutumine ajateenistuse käigus 2017). The data from the reservist questionnaire are used for the two following studies. **Study II** data were collected during the military exercise Siil 2018 (Hedgehog 2018) held from 2 to 14 May 2018. A total of 966 reservists participated in this exercise, and of these 417 answered the questionnaire (response rate 43%). The relatively low response rate may have been caused by the field conditions of data gathering as the survey was carried out during exercises in field, and thus not all personnel were available at the right time and place to complete the survey. In addition, of those who received the questionnaire about 10% declined to answer the questions. Furthermore, also due to missing values, the final sample size was 396. Concerning to the data limitations for **Study II**, it should also be noted that the collection of data was carried out in different conditions in the field and during various phases of a military exercise; the sample of reserve soldiers did not all experience identical conditions when answering the questionnaire. Moreover, the reservists' responses could be influenced by a good or bad experience of leadership in their particular unit as well. The data for **Study III** were gathered during the military exercise Kevadtorm 2019 (Spring Storm 2019) held from 29 April to 17 May 2019. A total of 2,050 reservists took part in this exercise, and of these 1,248 answered the questionnaire (response rate 61%). The questionnaire was completed either on paper during the exercise or electronically on returning home. All data used in **Study II** and **III** are self-reported and although the survey was anonymous it should be accurate to consider the possibility of social desirability bias in interpreting results.

However, sample background characteristics of both studies (**Study II** and **III**) are well comparable (see Table 1, p. 27). Just the size of sample and the percentage of reservists who are married or cohabiting with a partner is higher in **Study III**.

The reserve-service related data for analysing employers' experiences and attitudes towards their employees participating in reserve training and exercises (**Study IV**) was gathered and selected from the more extensive study on "the image of conscripts to employers – the attitudes of employers towards employees who have undergone conscription" in 2019. This study was carried out in three phases: individual company studies, case studies and an online questionnaire (see Table 2, p. 27).

**Table 1.** Overview of sample characteristics for **Study II** and **Study III**

<b>Sample Characteristics</b>	<b>Study II (N = 396)</b>	<b>Study III (N = 1248)</b>
First time in military exercise	68 %	59 %
Second time in military exercise	23 %	28 %
Third or more time in military exercise	9 %	13 %
The mean age of the respondents	28.6 years (SD = 5.01)	28.3 years (SD = 4.9)
Male respondents	394	1236
Female respondents	2 (0,5 %)	12 (1 %)
Estonian speaking respondents	91,5 %	90 %
Russian or other language speaking respondents	8,5 %	10 %
Respondents who are married or cohabiting with a partner	42 %	63 %
Respondents with primary education	20 %	16 %
Respondents with secondary education	50 %	54 %
Respondents with tertiary education	30 %	30 %
Respondents with a soldier's rank (OR 1 and OR 2)	66 %	67 %
Respondents with a non-commissioned officer's rank	27 %	24 %
Respondents with an officer's rank	7 %	9 %

**Table 2.** Sample and methods overview of the study about image of conscripts to employers

	<b>I phase – Individual company studies (employers)</b>	<b>II phase – Case studies (employers and employees)</b>	<b>III phase – Online questionnaire (employers)</b>
<b>Number of companies</b>	6	2	33
<b>Interviewees</b>	HR managers or similar	Employees, HR managers, heads of units	Heads of companies, HR managers
<b>Method</b>	Semi-structured interviews	Focus group interview, semi-structured interviews	Written interview

At first, 15 companies and institutions were contacted to conduct interviews and case studies, of which eight companies and institutions in different fields (software development, security, media and publishing, construction, public sector, aviation) and different sizes (number of employees in the range of 50–2400) agreed to participate. After that, an invitation to participate in the written interviews was sent to 150 companies; 33 companies responded to it. As a limitation to the study, it should be taken into account that companies with more positive experiences with national defence might have been more likely to respond. Most companies had a number of employees of between 51 and 100 or between 100 and 499 employees, but there were also companies with up to 10 employees and more than 1,000 employees. Respondents included the company directors, the chairmen or members of the management board, and human resources managers. The highest number of respondents was in the fields of manufacturing and construction, but there were also respondents from agriculture, electricity, transportation, information and communication, public administration, health, and social work, etc.

#### 4.2. Structure of measures and methods used for research

The aim of the current thesis is to explain Estonian reservists' military service readiness and assess the role of military and civilian field-related capital in the process of forming dispositions influencing the intention to participate in reservists' training. Factors of military service readiness used in **Study II** and **Study III** were selected and operationalized (Table 3) from the EDF reservist study questionnaire and structured according to Bourdieu's theoretical concept of forms of capital.

**Table 3.** Overview of the operationalisation of the factors as independent variables corresponding to forms of capital for **Study II** and **Study III**

Form of capital	Study II	Study III
economic capital	economic barriers in civilian field: 1) economic situation of reserve soldier and his or her family members 2) financial responsibilities 3) income level	
embodied cultural capital	military specific and universal skills and knowledge	military specific and universal skills and knowledge + remembering unit's military marching song
objectified cultural capital		military artefacts and other mementos
institutionalized cultural capital	military rank	military rank

<b>Form of capital</b>	<b>Study II</b>	<b>Study III</b>
social capital	in military field: camaraderie in the reservist unit in civilian field: the attitude of the reservist's spouse/partner, friends, employer, and colleagues toward the reservist joining the military exercise	cohesion of the reserve unit
symbolic capital	peak experience from the time of conscript service	

If for the research of habitus qualitative methods have been typically applied, then for the forms of capital the tools of quantitative methods have been often used (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p. 206). Accordingly, to test the hypotheses proposed in **Study II** and **Study III** primarily quantitative data and methods were used to study the factors influencing the readiness of the military service of reservists. Qualitative data were only used to design quantitative measurements.

### *Measures (Study II)*

In **Study II**, reservists' military service readiness was studied first with respect to military field-related factors, and in the next phase civilian field-linked factors were included to propose two corresponding models.

### *Dependent Variable*

Military service readiness was measured with the question: "Are you ready to take part in the next military exercise?" (1 = yes, definitely to 4 = definitely not; and the option to choose "don't know"). For the analysis, the binary variable (1 = yes, ready to participate, 2 = not ready to participate, including those who answered, "don't know") was created.

### *Independent variables:*

- (1) *Peak experiences* as still valued memories represent the **symbolic capital** which was captured by the open-ended question "What was the most memorable event or occasion during the compulsory military service?"
- (2) *Military rank* (1 = soldier to 15 = major or higher) is a proxy for **institutionalized cultural capital** and at the same time it has also strong symbolic value in the military field.
- (3) The conceptualization of **embodied cultural capital** obtained in the military field concerns the perceived aims of conscription service and was measured by a list of 7 items that covers military-specific as well as universal skills and knowledge (e.g., "it was useful for personal development", and "prepared reserve units"). Using principal component analysis, two variables "personal development" and "military-specific development" were made.

- (4) **Economic capital** was captured by the variable economic barriers, which were created by merging two statements measuring reasons why one's participation in military exercises was limited ("Due to military exercises the economic situation of my family members and me will worsen" and "I have financial responsibilities and I have to pay loans"; (1 = yes, it is important to 4 = no, it is not important) and income level (1 = no personal income to 8 = personal monthly income is 2,500 euros or more).
- (5) Military-related and civilian-related **social capital**. Military-related social capital was measured by the statement "I cannot let my comrades in arms down" as a motive to join military exercises. It was a simple variable (1 = yes, 2 = no). Civilian-related social capital was measured as an attitude of the reservist's spouse/partner, friends, employer, and colleagues toward the reservist joining the military exercise (1 = well to 4 = badly). A new variable as an average of the attitude of these groups was created and added to the regression analysis as a covariant.
- (6) *Sociodemographic Background Variables*: age, educational level (1 = basic, 2 = secondary, 3 = tertiary), child(ren) aged 0–7 (1 = yes, 2 = no), and how many times the respondent has participated in military exercises. These were used as control variables in the analysis.

### *Measures (Study III)*

**Study III** continued the study of forms of capital by looking in depth at military artefacts and mementos as representatives of **objectified cultural capital**, relating it also to other forms of capital and military experiences.

#### *Dependent variable*

The military service readiness of reservists as behavioural intention towards participating in the next military exercise was measured with the question: "Are you ready to take part in the next military exercise?" The respondents were asked to rate their response on the following scale: (1 = yes, definitely to 4 = definitely not; and option to choose "don't know").

#### *Independent variables*

- (1) **Objectified cultural capital** was measured by a set of questions that were related to artefacts and mementos from conscript service. "What kind of mementos have you kept from the period spent in conscript service?" A choice of four different sets of objects was offered: group photos; selfies and personal photos about interesting and exiting events or activities; videos; emblems and badges. The answer options were (1 = no and 2 = yes).
- (2) The military marching song of the unit can be looked upon as kind of military memento and thus linked with objectified cultural capital. At the same time,

the fact of remembering this song can presumably also be related to **embodied cultural capital**. Respondents were asked about their unit's military song, i.e., those that are sung during marching and drill exercises. The question was simple: "Do you remember your unit's song?" (1 = I do not remember at all; 2 = no, not quite; 3 = yes, somewhat; 4 = yes, and I could sing it on the spot).

- (3) Importance of skills and knowledge related to military and personal development acquired during conscription representing **embodied cultural capital** was measured with the seven items (e.g., "it was useful for personal development", and "prepared reserve units") with answers (1 = it was not important at all to 4 = yes, it was important).
- (4) **Transferability of knowledge and skills from conscript service** to the civilian sphere is measured by the following question: "To what extent have you used the knowledge and skills obtained during conscript service in civilian life?" (1 = not at all ... 6 = a lot); and transferability to the military sphere is measured by the following question: "To what extent have you used the knowledge and skills obtained during conscript service in the course of the current military training exercise?" (1 = not at all to 6 = a lot).
- (5) **Institutionalized cultural capital** was measured by military ranks (1 = soldier to 15 = major or higher).
- (6) Unit cohesion during the current exercise represented **social capital**. The measure of primary group cohesion inspired by Salo and Siebold (2008) was applied. The respondents were asked to rate their peer bonding with 8 items (e.g., I feel appreciated in my squad) and leader bonding with 6 items (e.g., My squad leader has been fair and straightforward in his dealings with me) on a scale (1 = I totally disagree to 4 = I totally agree).
- (7) **Overall satisfaction with the current exercise**. The reservists' satisfaction with different aspects of the exercise taking place at the time of the survey was measured by 13 items (e.g., "How would you rate the equipment provided", and "...the emotional atmosphere?"). The respondents were asked to rate these items on a 4-point scale (1= very bad to 4= very good).
- (8) Previous **military experience** was measured with military rank and the number of exercises reservists who had taken part. Military rank ranged from (1= soldier to 4= officer) and the number of previous exercises was determined by the question: "How many times have you taken part in military exercises?" (1 = first time to 10 = ten times).

### ***Methods (Study II)***

The analyses proceeded in three steps. First, the answers to open-ended question on peak experiences were analysed using the method of content analysis. The initial codes were created, then reviewed and combined into three main themes:

special skills and knowledge obtained, colourful military experiences, and negative memories. Those who did not give any answer to the question were coded as the category “no answer.” Then, the descriptive statistics ( $\chi^2$ , one-way analysis of variance ANOVA) were applied to examine associations between demographic characteristics and military readiness and peak experiences. Finally, a logistic regression was conducted for the military service readiness. Independent variables were added to the model in the following steps: (1) the effect of military-related capital (military legacy) was tested on the military service readiness; (2) then, whether the probability of having high military service readiness compared to low readiness differs according to economic and social capital derived from civilian life was estimated. In both models, the respondents’ background (age, educational level, having children in age 0–7, previous exercises) was taken into account. All analyses were conducted with IBM SPSS Version 25.0.

### ***Methods (Study III)***

To propose a model of causal mechanisms, the method of structural equation modelling (Blunch, 2013; and Byrne, 2016) was used to analyse the effects of objectified cultural capital, effects originating from conscription, satisfaction with the training exercise, and individual military background characteristics. The data were analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics 26 and Amos 26.

### ***Methods (Study IV)***

Data gathered in **Study IV** was analysed by using qualitative deductive thematic analysis, applying micro, mezzo, and macro-level contracts as categories to group the data and look for similarities and differences between them.



## 5. FINDINGS

To study the motivational mechanism of reservists' military service readiness and reach a better understanding of influential factors affecting positively reservists' intentions to participate in military training, I empirically operationalized Bourdieu's theoretical concepts about field, habitus, and forms of capitals and analysed social and individual factors influencing reservists' military service as different forms of capital from the civilian and military fields.

**Study I** is a discussion paper that prepares the ground for further study in the context of Bourdieu's theory of practice by proposing the Military Legacy Model. The Military Legacy Model develops further the Model of Transition in Veterans proposed by Cooper et al. (2017) by applying it in the context of the military reserve service. This model intends to explain the trajectory of influence of military legacy as a sum of Bourdieu's key components from the theory of action for the whole reserve service period of reserve soldiers. However, validation of the Military Legacy Model requires longitudinal data. Data used for my thesis can hopefully serve as a first or initial step to test this model.

**Study II** proposed three hypotheses. First hypothesis assumed that the higher levels of military-related cultural and symbolic capital (positive peak experience, valuing skills, and knowledge acquired in conscription and military rank) increase readiness to take part in military exercises. The second hypothesis assumed that, due to the low economic capital acquired from the military field during military training exercises, the general economic vulnerability in the civilian field for this life period will increase and will decrease readiness to participate in the following military exercises. And the third hypothesis assumed that reservists who have experienced strong bonding within the unit, with their military aspirations being supported by civilian social capital (stronger support from family, friends, and colleagues), are more likely to be motivated to attend reserve training.

The findings of **Study II** rely mainly on the results of two reservists' military service readiness models (see Table 4, p. 34). Positive peak experience as positive colourful memories and military rank have a positive impact on reservists' military service readiness. However, by adding civilian field-related social and economic capital, the symbolic value of such experiences would reduce. The reservists' personal development-related skills and knowledge acquired from the military field have a stronger impact on the reservists' military service readiness than on the military development-related skills and knowledge. Moreover, the reservists' personal development-related military skills and knowledge preserved its very strong impact even by adding to the civilian field related factors in the second military service model. Similarly, the economic capital-related economic barriers have a strong impact on reservists' military service readiness. However, this impact is related to financial responsibilities and not to income level in the civilian field. Finally, also the third hypothesis was supported by the analysis as unit cohesion showed a very strong impact among factors used in both models, and low social support from the civilian field reduced the reservists' military service readiness.

**Table 4.** Military field and civilian field capitals associated with reservists' service readiness to join the next military exercise.

	<b>MILITARY SERVICE READINESS</b>			
	<b>Model 1</b>		<b>Model 2</b>	
	OR	CI	OR	CI
<b>MILITARY RELATED CAPITALS</b>				
Peak experience: positive skills and courses (ref negative experience)	1.61	[0.63, 4.12]	1.44	[0.51, 4.08]
Peak experience: positive colourful memories (ref negative experience)	2.47**	[1.32, 4.64]	2.04*	[1.02, 4.08]
Peak experience: no answer (ref negative experience)	1.62	[0.82, 3.20]	1.53	[0.71, 3.28]
Personal development	1.84***	[1.40, 2.41]	1.63** *	[1.21, 2.20]
Military development	1.40**	[1.09, 1.81]	1.10	[0.83, 1.46]
Military unit cohesion (ref no)	2.41***	[1.37, 4.24]	2.60**	[1.39, 4.82]
Military rank	1.28***	[1.10, 1.48]	1.24**	[1.06, 1.44]
<b>CIVILIAN RELATED CAPITALS</b>				
Low social support			0.36** *	[0.24, 0.54]
Perceives no economic barriers to take part in exercises			1.58** *	[1.21, 2.05]
Income level			1.04	[0.86, 1.24]
<b>CONTROLS</b>				
Number of exercises attained	1.38	[0.97, 1.96]	1.29	[0.87, 1.90]
Age	0.99	[0.93, 1,05]	0.99	[0.92, 1.06]
Educational level: primary (ref tertiary)	1.08	[0.52, 2.24]	1.76	[0.78, 3.96]
Educational level: secondary (ref tertiary)	0.58	[0.32 1.04]	0.78	[0.41, 1.50]
Youngest child in age 0-7 (ref not)	0.83	[0.44, 1.58]	1.61	[0.77, 3.39]

Note: Exponentiated coefficients; 95% confidence intervals in brackets \*p < 0.05. \*\*p < 0.01. \*\*\*p < 0.001 *Model 1*: -2 log likelihood: intercept only = 507,72, final = 407,94 Likelihood ratio  $\chi^2 = 99,75$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Cox and Snell  $R^2 = 0.235$ , Nagelkerke 0.316. *Model 2*: -2 log likelihood: intercept only = 507,72, final = 356,34. Likelihood ratio  $\chi^2 = 151,37$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Cox and Snell  $R^2 = 0.334$ , Nagelkerke 0.449.

The main focus of **Study III** was on objectified cultural capital. However, the findings of this study were gathered in a military service readiness model together with other selected forms of capital. In **Study III** we hypothesized that those military mementos that are uniquely personal (i.e., photos, videos, etc.) carry a stronger meaning and elicit a more powerful visceral effect on military service readiness compared to other more common and widespread military artefacts (e.g., emblems and badges). Additionally, we assumed that the effect of objectified cultural capital on military service readiness is associated with and shaped by other perceived gains (e.g., skills) that are transferable between the civilian and military fields, and furthermore, the effect of objectified cultural capital is positively associated with positive experiences from conscript service, which will influence reservists' attitudes towards the most recent military exercise, as well as its military service readiness in the future.

Our hypotheses were supported by the following results of the study. According to our military service readiness model (see Figure 3, p. 36), military artefacts and mementos have a positive effect on the service readiness of reservists and, consequently, can boost their willingness to serve in conjunction with other forms of cultural capital and with social capital. Of the studied military artefacts and mementos, self-made photos and videos from the military field have the strongest effect. Additionally, according to our model, the strongest factor affecting the service readiness of reservists is their satisfaction with the most recent training exercise which, in turn, depends on the horizontal and vertical cohesion within the unit. Furthermore, satisfaction with the most recent training exercise is also dependent on previous positive experience of military service (i.e., primarily conscript service), which depends on positive associations related to the acquisition and application of military skills (embodied cultural capital).

In **Study IV** we questioned the employer's perception of the employees' reserve service. Special focus was on the different types of formal and informal contracts that support reservist movement between civilian everyday jobs and military exercises using the analytical concept of multiple contracts developed by Gazit and his co-authors (2020). **Study IV** results revealed that employers' experience of employee participation in reserve training varies considerably and depends on the company's field of activity, the characteristics of work schedules, the employees' qualifications, and the timing of the reserve training exercise. Unskilled and skilled workers perceive a less supportive attitude from employers for participation in reserve training exercises compared to middle managers and top specialists. Our study also indicated that the multiple contracts could offer some relief regarding the inequality between employers' administrative difficulties and the economic cost associated with employee participation in reserve training. Our findings suggest that, in Estonia, the contracts between the military, employers and reservists at the mezzo-level are lacking or replaced by contracts at the micro- and macro-level.

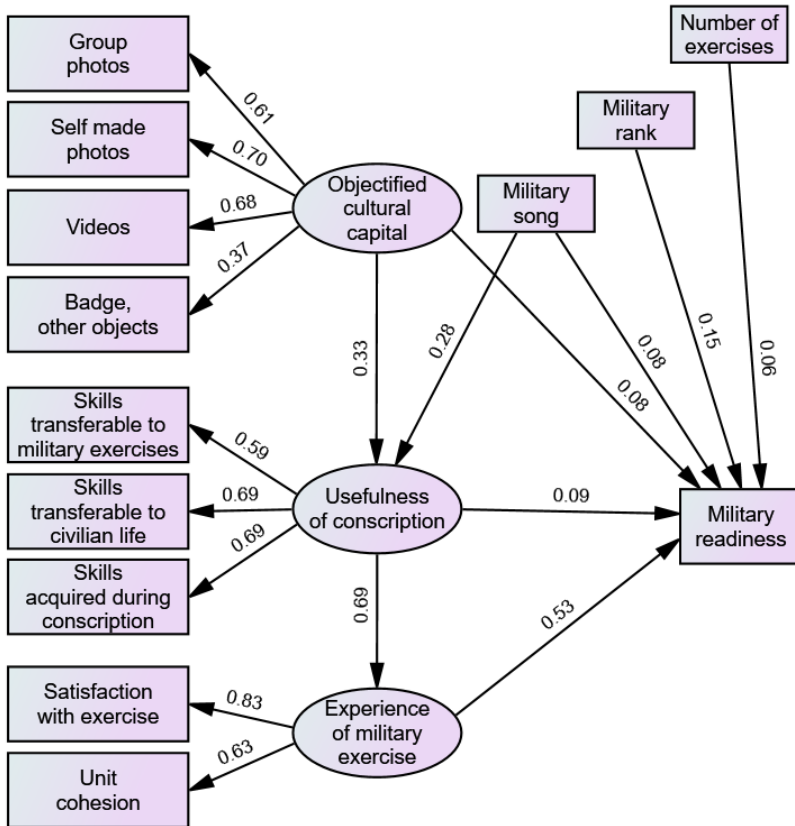


Figure 3. Military service readiness model with standardized estimates (Study III, p. 55).

## 6. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In this chapter I will discuss the results of **Studies I, II, III, and IV** by answering the research questions of this thesis. Additionally, I intend to demonstrate and discuss to what extent my study results can justify the usage of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts within the process of the transmigration of reserve soldiers described in the Military Legacy Model. At the same time, it is also my aspiration to promote some thoughts for further discussion and research about differences between two systems of service in the military reserve by evaluating the service readiness factors of mandatory and voluntary reservists.

Participation in exercises for EDF reserve soldiers could be interpreted as behavioural intention that is influenced by legal obligation, and it is always also related to the actual situation in reservists' life. However, I believe that every reserve soldier has also acquired and preserved a unique set of forms of capital that would have an impact on the interpretation of different situations in life and would have a say in the decision-making process. Descriptive statistics in **Study II** show that reservists' readiness to participate in forthcoming military exercises is rather modest. For example, from reservists who participated in the exercise Siil 2018, 18% would "definitely" come to the next exercises, 38% would "probably" do so, 23% would "probably not," and 11% would "definitely not." One tenth marked the answer "I do not know". At the same time, it seems that the age of a reserve soldier is a factor that is correlated to service readiness. On average, reservists who intend to take part in the next exercise are one year older compared to those who are not willing to attend (**Study II**). However, the age and service readiness of a reservist can be also related to rank. Reserve soldiers with higher ranks have already invested more time and acquired different forms of capital that are related to the military field and therefore they can more easily gain the feeling "like a fish in water" in a military training event. Additionally, for officers and non-commissioned officers, participation in military training and exercises is one of the prerequisites for promotion to a higher rank. Though, the majority of reservist positions have and would remain attached to private and corporal ranks and for this majority of reserve soldiers service readiness depends on other factors. But what are these other forms of capital that are important for reserve soldiers and can affect their intention for military service?

In the following sections I will return to the research questions of the thesis. In the first section of the discussion chapter, I will discuss how the different forms of capital acquired from the military and civilian fields affect military service readiness among Estonian reservists (**Study II, III**). In the second section civilian field-related influential forms of capital will be discussed (**Study II**). And in the third section I will discuss how the convertibility of forms of capital shapes the practice of reservists' service when they move as transmigrants between the civilian and military fields (**Study I, IV**).

## 6.1. Military field-related capital affecting military service readiness

In **Study II** the results were presented in the form of two military readiness models. The first model used factors that represented forms of capital available from the military field and in the second model factors related to forms of capital from the civilian field were added. **Study III** focused on objectified cultural capital and proposed a military readiness model where also other forms of capital from the military field were included. In this section, first I discuss the questions related to the influence of forms of capital linked to the military field, and the influence of the civilian field-related forms of capital will be addressed after that.

All the time spent, and every experience, skill, and knowledge as forms of capital gained in the military field will form the military component of a reserve soldier's habitus as a military legacy (**Study I**). Identifying and examining forms of capital with positive impact on military service readiness in the military field enables attention to be turned to them to create and make these capitals intentionally obtainable during conscript service and reservist training events. The results of analysis (**Study II**, and **III**) demonstrated that factors from the military field that could promote reservists' service intentions were related to social capital and cultural capital in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized states, but also to symbolic capital. Factors used from the military field in **Study II** were able to explain 31.6% of the variance in military service readiness.

Horizontal and vertical cohesion in a unit<sup>3</sup> has been traditionally considered in the military field as a very effective and powerful form of **social capital** and as a cornerstone in the military readiness domain of "morale" (Kwong et al., 2014). A study of US Army National Guard reserve soldiers has shown that cohesion is related to the social identification and service readiness of reserve soldiers (Griffith, 2009). My analysis supports these considerations and unit cohesion demonstrated itself here as a strong argument for reservist's willingness to participate in military training. According to analysis findings from **Study II**, for reservists who value comradeship, the probability of joining the next military exercise is noticeably higher than those who do not emphasize the importance of relations with comrades in arms. The results of analysis from **Study III** also showed that good and trusting relations between members of the unit (horizontal cohesion) and with unit leaders (vertical cohesion) contribute to the formation of a positive experience and satisfaction with the current military exercise that, in turn, has a positive effect on military service readiness. Cohesion, being such a strong currency for EDF reservists, may raise some questions regarding concepts about individualistic versus collectivistic culture in Estonia. Especially, because during post-Soviet transition, individualistic values like individual achievement and competition, for example, became for most people more important than

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<sup>3</sup> According to Siebold (2007) horizontal cohesion develops among people at the same hierarchical level (e.g., platoon or squad members), whereas vertical cohesion develops among people at different levels (e.g., soldiers and officers within a unit), p. 287.

collective values (Rämmer, 2017). At the same time, individualism does not reject automatically social capital. A study conducted in 29 European countries indicates that more individualistically-minded people are also readier to trust other people, and they can put more value on social capital (Beilmann, Kööts-Ausmees, & Realo, 2018). However, the relationship between cohesion and individualism in a military context was not the subject of my study but may be an interesting topic for further research. Nevertheless, the high value of military cohesion for Estonian reservists can also be related to the “task cohesion” that builds commitment to collective goals (Connable et al., 2018). After the Soviet occupation, the cause of defending Estonian independence has generated a strong bond among many patriotically-minded people in society that could turn cohesion in the military field into an asset for this cause. Mandatory reserve service that is supported by task cohesion seems to have more common features with Moskos’ (1986) “institutional” framework for military organization where service and personal sacrifice are valued by society for the common good and monetary profit is not regarded as such a strong motivator for service as it is in the “professional” framework. However, Moskos’ differentiation is still relevant; in modern society additionally the value of self-enhancement has proven its effectiveness as a motivator for military service (Woodruff, 2017). It is very likely that institutional, professional, economic, and self-enhancement-linked motivators have not as strong an effect on mandatory reservists as they do on voluntary reservists.

When attempting to compare the effect of horizontal and vertical cohesion on the service readiness of reservists from the volunteer system and of reservists for whom service is mandatory, it seems to be very likely that compulsory reservists do not share as strong bonding as voluntary reservists who have a common aspiration and variety of motivational goals to serve in military. Additionally, people who volunteer to serve in the military reserve and are deployed to military operations are more likely to encounter together various difficult and life and death situations where trust between unit members and leaders is tested and fortified. However, it has also been noticed that soldiers who have served together in combat would not expect to convert this bonding to other forms of capital (Kachtan & Binks, 2020). In mandatory reserve service, the volume of peak experiences in military training is presumably somewhat lower and cohesion can depend more on other factors like quality of leadership, for example. At the same time, it could be interesting to study if the positive experience of cohesion in the military field can become for reservists even more valuable and motivating capital in such circumstances when social cohesion encounters problems in the civilian field, or even if it could be possible that military cohesion would strengthen social cohesion in society. Further research about cohesion differences between volunteer and mandatory military service members in Estonia could be possible, for example, in comparison to regular reserve units and volunteer units of the Estonian Defence League (EDL).

In the same way, **cultural capital** in all its forms is an important factor. *Embodied cultural capital* regarding military field related skills and knowledge

can be considered as an element of military professionalism and a possible predictor of the effectiveness of unit performance. This capital depends for the most part on the quality of military training and can play an important role in forming and preserving the military component of reservists' habitus (Ford & Vignare, 2015). Previous research has also observed a strong relation between unit performance and cohesion (Schaefer et al., 2015) as strong cohesion would improve unit performance and professionalism increases trust and cohesiveness between soldiers. In my analysis (**Study II**, and **III**), I looked separately at skills and knowledge related to military performance and military skills and knowledge related to reservists' personal development. It appears that EDF reservists' value more embodied cultural capital obtained from the military field that can be converted to the civilian field and supports general personal development (**Study II**). It may be so due to the lack of real war experience where the value of military professional skills would grant the success and survival of the person and the unit. Being effective in military training or exercises is not as crucial for a soldier as it may be in a real military operation. Moreover, the value of convertibility of capital could also increase in transmigration-like processes where soldiers who switch often the civilian and military fields can use the convertibility of capital to overcome the hysteresis effects.

It is indeed difficult to convert some very specific tactical or technical military skills to valuable currency in the civilian field (Cooper et al., 2018), but personal development-related military skills such as leadership, crisis management, physical fitness, and discipline would most likely prove their value also for reservists in the civilian field. The value of skills needed only in the military field and for military performance may be lower for EDF reservists due to the simple fact that they just have not experienced many situations where these could obtain a critical value. However, **Study III** proved a positive relation between military skills, cohesion, and military service readiness. Well-trained soldiers would most likely perform better also in a military exercise and successful experience in an exercise in turn increases readiness to participate in training also next time. Hence, concerning the reservists' military service readiness, one should not underestimate pure military performance-associated skills and knowledge either, even though convertible military skills to the civilian field that contribute personal development showed in **Study II** somewhat higher influence.

In the military field, traditions with symbolic rituals and artefacts are seen as a valuable resource for promoting commitment. For example, saluting is a symbolic gesture of respect and a sign of obedience to military discipline and uniforms, while insignias and badges carry information about a soldier's identification and status (Van Wijk & Finchilescu, 2008). Military artefacts and mementos represent *objectified cultural capital* in the military field. According to **Study III**, military mementos and artefacts like self-made photos and videos about interesting and exiting events, situations or activities had the strongest influence on service readiness. At the same time, other objects such as badges, emblems, etc., had a considerably lower impact (see Figure 4.) However, in EDF there are not so many medals and insignias related to military professionalism for conscripts' and



reserve soldiers' exemplary service that could be valued in military and civilian fields. Woodward and Jenkins (2011) have observed that photos of participation in special military events alongside photos which show that professional military skills and strong unit cohesion are also for British soldiers very strong military identity markers.

The military service readiness model (from **Study III**) additionally revealed that objectified cultural capital is related to other forms of capital. Bourdieu's (1986) reasoning that the value of objectified cultural capital depends on the quality of the corresponding embodied cultural capital is also valid in the military field. Only carefully acquired embodied cultural capital provides the competence for using, and satisfaction from using, the objectified cultural capital (Edwards, 2008). Accordingly, **Study III** suggests that the appraisal of military mementos is positively related to military skills, knowledge and cohesion. It is very likely that reservists who are motivated by horizontal and vertical military cohesion would probably be more enthusiastic about appreciating and collecting military mementos and artefacts, indicating that maintaining their military component of habitus is important to them.

For volunteer reserve soldiers, the time spent in military field is usually longer and, as discussed before, the meaning of military professionalism and cohesion should be more extensive. The value of service medals and other badges could be higher for them as these mementos are related to long and demanding service with shared peak experiences from military deployments. In this regard also military rank has an impact as, according to **Study III**, among higher-ranking reservists the share of those who have saved their badges and emblems is higher compared to regular soldiers ( $\chi^2=37.8$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$ ). There are no easy solutions for increasing the value of medals and badges for EDF reservists. These artefacts are related to uniform and establishing possibilities and occasions for Estonian reservists to wear uniform also in the civilian field could have some effect. It could be also worthwhile increasing reservists' attachment to their reserve unit through increasing the value of unit symbols. As more and more reserve units have been donated a flag, and as the insignia, emblems, and other symbols of the unit continue to attain more symbolic value, the identity and motivation of reservists will hopefully also strengthen. It is also possible that the value of military-objectified capital from the time of conscript service would increase over time as memories and mementos that are related to the younger selves of their owners tend to obtain a more positive meaning. Therefore, increasing possibilities to attain objectified cultural capital from the military field should increase the readiness to serve for reserve soldiers.

The *institutionalized cultural capital* was tested in military readiness models (**Study II**, and **III**) with the variable of military rank. As expected in the introduction of the discussion chapter, the military-field related model in **Study II** showed that higher rank is positively associated with greater military readiness. Having a higher rank means that the reservist has accordingly invested more time in military activities and has thereby obtained more embodied cultural capital and diverse social capital from the military field. After all, rank has in the military field

usually great symbolic value as it is associated with higher status and power (Cooper et al., 2018). Reserve soldiers as transmigrants stay in the military field only temporally and in the civilian field the value of a rank is not that easily convertible. Here is possible to see the rare positive effect of no convertibility of capital for military service readiness. As the value of rank is mostly ignored in the civilian field (Cooper et al., 2018), it might become a motivator for reservists with higher ranks to return to the military field where this form of capital can automatically grant high status. It could be interesting to study the effect of the change of status and power positions of reservists if the transmigration between military and civilian fields would increase or decrease their status. In this regard, I do not presume major differences between the impact of a rank on the service readiness of compulsory and voluntary reservists.

There are certain non-combat roles in the military that require such certified education and skills that can be used in the civilian field as well. For example, some active-duty soldiers who choose military roles like programmer or nurse can be motivated by intentions to acquire a profession in the military that is convertible in the civilian labour market (Kachtan & Binks, 2020). Similarly, in EDF there are some easily convertible positions in medicine, signals, IT, and logistics. If such roles in the military offered accepted certificates in the civilian field, the actual value of military service could potentially increase not only for soldiers but additionally also for employers. Institutionalized cultural capital could be used in this way as a self-enhancement-related motivator of mandatory service for conscripts and reservists.

As military **symbolic capital** is formed from other forms of capital that is valued in this field, it would generally reflect the results that are discussed above. However, **Study II** also looked separately at valued memories from conscript service and memories associated with positive colourful experiences, which were valued more than memories related to military skills or knowledge. Among EDF reservists, the understanding of positive military experiences as thrilling, challenging, and colourful adventures to remember also in civilian life has, according to **Study II**, the strongest symbolic value. **Study III** confirmed the symbolic value of these colourful memories through the importance of self-made photos and videos about such peak experiences. The symbolic value of other cultural and social capital from the military field is most likely higher for voluntary reservists and professional military personnel as the military component of their habitus is stronger. For professional soldiers, their identities are grounded in their military capabilities and these professional skills and aptitudes, together with combat expertise, carry a degree of social status within the military field (Cooper et al., 2017, 2018).

## 6.2. Civilian field-related capital affecting military service readiness

In the previous section there was discussed how forms of military field-related capital can be designed and modified mostly within the military field. However, reservists are citizens of two fields and to see a more holistic picture concerning factors behind military service readiness the civilian field-related influential forms of capital should be involved.

The reserve service of reserve soldiers in Estonia is in most cases shorter than it is for reservists in many countries with a voluntary reserve service. For example, in the UK Army Reserve the minimum training commitment depends on the unit and could be 19 or 27 days a year, plus participation in missions in the UK and overseas (Army Reserve, 2021). Therefore, the military field and military component of habitus are most likely not the most dominant influencers in the life of an ordinary Estonian reservist. Consequently, when addressing issues about reservists' military service readiness researchers could not overlook factors from the civilian field which is the dominant field for a regular Estonian reserve soldier. Thus, in **Study II** there was created also a second model to get a better understanding about the influence of the civilian field on service readiness. The reservist survey questionnaire enabled the inclusion of model factors that are linked to economic capital (economic barriers and income level) and perceived social support that is related to the social capital. As a result, the second military readiness model explanation of the rate of the variance in the reservists' military service readiness was even better than it was with the first model. This model with added variables accounted for a 45% effect of the explanatory variables on the propensity for service readiness.

The idea that **economic capital** matters in the system of volunteer reserve service, and that the reserve soldier evaluates military service in terms of its costs and benefits, is not new. For example, attractive rewards like salary, bonus money, educational benefits, transferable job/career skills, and retirement have proved themselves to be effective measures for the recruitment of reservists in the US (Griffith, 2009). In addition, even the spouses of reservists consider financial gain during deployments as a positive side of reserve service (Castaneda et al., 2009). After the Soviet occupation and social turbulence during the transition period in Estonia, the difference in living standards compared to developed western countries was still large (Rämmer, 2017) and, hence, it has been a persistent purpose for many Estonians to catch up with the economic prosperity of more developed countries. Therefore, I presumed that economic capital related factors would have a great impact on reservists' readiness to serve; it was a surprise that, according to the second model, high or low personal income in the civilian field does not decrease or increase military service readiness, and the income level is not related to perceived economic barriers either. As economic barriers still showed in the model a truly high level of influence on service readiness, this should mean that financial responsibilities are the main concern here, together with worries that participation in an exercise can harm the economic situation of the family. Model 2

in **Study II** suggested that reservists who do not have economic barriers are 1.6 times more likely to have a higher military service readiness compared to those who feel that participation in military exercises is related to economic hardship. Financial responsibilities should be usually proportional with the income and, thus, the level of income has only little or no influence. This means that reservists with higher incomes would most likely have also bigger loans and other financial responsibilities. Correspondingly, such financial responsibilities for reservists with lower income should be proportionally lower and the feeling of risk and economic vulnerability could be for both groups quite equal. The Estonian government raised the remuneration that reservists receive during their reserve training in 2018 (Ministry of Defence, 2017), and bringing it closer to the mean salary in Estonia will most likely be continuously on the agenda. However, the results of **Study II** on economic capital suggest that addressing the individual barriers of reservists could be a more effective measure for raising service readiness than simply raising income for all reservists during the service period. It seems worthwhile to study in more detail the personal economic worries of reservists to improve the legal measures for minimizing loyalty dilemmas between reservists' responsibilities and roles related to military service, family, and employment as "greedy institutions" (Edmunds et al., 2016).

Economic barriers can consequently be directly related to social support from the civilian field and family can be an influential factor of service readiness. Generally, family issues of professional soldiers have gotten somewhat more attention than reservists' families. However, family issues for members on active-duty and reservists' families are not always comparable. The families of active-duty members and families of the volunteer reserve component in the US, for example, differ demographically as reservists tend to be older and there are more female members in reserve (Castaneda et al., 2009). Castaneda and her co-authors (2009) also pointed out that attention to reservists' families rose after reservists' military deployment rate increased. Similarly, in Estonia, the research of military families is primarily limited to topics in the context of active duty (Kasearu, 2015) and deployments (Kasearu et al., 2020). It has been observed that the impact of deployment on family well-being can be determined by its timing in the family's life journey (Gazit et al., 2020). It means that family demands change when the reservist ages, marries, and has children (Griffith & Ben-Ari, 2020). There can be complex factors related to the family situation. For example, the number and age of children; availability of help from grandparents, parents, or other close relatives; the area of residence of the family; the location and nature of the work of the spouse, etc. Research into the influence of all these factors could have great potential and would unquestionably enhance understanding about the dynamics of reservists' military service readiness. The Military Service Act (2020) does not address such specific factors as mentioned above. However, it clarifies more generally that reserve soldiers can be released from the obligation to participate in reservist training due to serious unexpected family problems or the economic problems of a person in reserve.

In **Study II**, the social support of reservists' participation in military exercises was measured within a larger social context (spouse/partner, friends, employer, and colleagues all together) and results confirmed that perceived social support has a noticeable impact on the military readiness of reservists. The reserve soldiers' social environment can vary to a large extent and can also change during the time of reserve service obligation. One of these changing environment factors is civilian work and the employers' attitude towards reserve service. In **Study IV** the employers' challenges and opportunities for contribution to total defence by supporting the military service of reserve soldiers was questioned. In Estonia, according to the Employment Contracts Act (2015, § 19), employers are obliged to enable a reservist's participation in military reserve training events and may not cancel an employment contract on the ground that the employee is in the reserve service. However, the cost and discomfort that accompanies this obligation is not equal for different kinds of employers. The results of **Study IV** suggested that employers' attitudes concerning employee participation in reserve training can vary considerably for different reasons. For example, the replacement of a reservist in the period of training is more complicated for the employer if the employee's skills or tasks are very specific or if the reserve training coincides with an extremely intensive work period for the company. Short-notice reservist training exercises are especially difficult for most employers as reservists must immediately show up to the designated rally point and replacement requires more effort. Reorganizing work during the reserve training period is easier for companies where employees do not work according to a schedule. In this case, tasks are redistributed among colleagues for the period of reserve training or postponed until the period after the reserve training is over. **Study IV** also revealed that usually unskilled and skilled workers perceive a less supportive attitude from employers for participation in reserve training exercises compared to middle managers and top specialists.

These challenges are similar in the case of a voluntary reserve system. Figinski (2017) has noticed that civilian employers do not readily hire reserve soldiers with highly specialized skills because such employees are costly to replace if they are in training or in deployment. Other problems arising from the absence of a reservist employee can be slower production times and reduced or lost sales (Tidwell, Rice, & Kropkowski, 2009). At the same time, employers with lower or no economic risks appreciate reservists because of their maturity, confidence and teamwork or leadership skills (Orme & Kehoe, 2012).

To ease and solve preventively different concerns and problems with reserve service, Gazit and his co-authors (2020) propose a concept of multiple contracts that refer to agreements and negotiations between reservists, the military, and society at micro-level as individual contracts, at mezzo-level as group compacts, and at macro-level as military covenants. Micro-level individual contracts take place between reserve soldiers and their families, employers, and specific units. Mezzo-level is characterised by company-level policies and implicit arrangements where agreements are formed with reserve groups and the military. Macro-level contracts are concluded at the society and state level, and such agreements

can be, for example, laws (like with the Employment Contracts Act (2015) in Estonia) and societal agreements as well. In Estonia, for example, employers can join on a voluntary basis a national good will and cooperation agreement. This agreement was initiated in 2014 by the Estonian Ministry of Defence, the Estonian Defence Forces, the Estonian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Estonian Employers' Confederation (Eesti Kaitsevägi, 2021). Its aim is to ease the financial problems that reservist-employees might run into while participating in reserve training, since during reservist exercises employers are not obliged to pay a salary as the military compensates this participation for reservists.

The general attitude among employers who participated in our research (**Study IV**) was supportive. Employers understood the importance of reserve training as a social agreement to which everyone must contribute. Reserve training was also compared to person falling ill or having a vacation in terms of re-organising tasks. The findings of **Study IV** showed that, in Estonia, contracts between the military, employers and reservists at the mezzo-level are lacking and are replaced by contracts at the micro- and macro-level. However, most employers stated that they need such mezzo-level contracts between employers and the military. These contracts could include them in the notifying process about the time and duration of reserve training exercises as well as offering some flexibility to ease the economic concerns mainly related to short-notice training exercises. In addition, forming a reservist organisation would have the potential to increase possibilities for reservists to express their concerns and proposals more widely and form additionally a stronger collective agency. I suppose such developments could lessen employers' and reservists' concerns about economical complications and increase support for the reserve service from family members as well because economic worries are shared with them.

Returning to the results of **Study II** and comparing two service readiness models, one with only military factors and another with civilian factors added, it appeared that the effect of the civilian field-related forms of capital altered the impact of some military field-related factors. For example, the positive impact of civilian factors reduces the effect of obtained military skills. And at the same time, the effect of perceived social support will increase the impact of military unit cohesion, and on the contrary, the lack of such support from the civilian field will reduce the positive effect of military social cohesion. Such power from factors related to the civilian field could be explained through the dominance of the civilian component in the reservists' habitus. Dominant reference groups, practices, customs, and rituals do not lose influence just during a couple of weeks, or in some cases even days, in military training events. At the same time, the civilian and military fields should more and more converge in Estonia today because of the implementation of the broad-based security concept (National Security Concept, 2017), and it is most likely that the value of military capitals would get more relevance in the civilian field and, vice versa, the civilian field-related forms of capital will find more use in the military field. The influence of military rank and military unit cohesion also lost to some extent some of their impact in the model with civilian factors. Since military rank is not directly conveyable to the civilian status

of reservists, it could be purposeful to discuss the convertibility of reserve service and reservists' military ranks to benefits regarding the calculation of the state pension, for example. To find also less informal occasions for communication and socialisation between reserve unit members that are not related only to military training purposes could in turn revitalize unit cohesion in the civilian field. After all, reservists as transmigrants are full citizens in both the civilian and military fields and the designing and implementing of measures regarding supporting their military service readiness should be initiated from both fields. Further in-depth research of forms of capital that can affect reservists' readiness to serve could provide new ideas for finding effective solutions for this cause.

### **6.3. Convertibility of forms of capital and Bourdieu's theory of practice**

It is possible to claim that in Estonian society military service in conscription and reserves has solid symbolic value as public support for conscription and a readiness to engage in military defence has been noticeably high (Public Opinion and National Defence, 2012–2020). However, such patriotic feelings can be jeopardized by reservists' economic worries and low support from their family. In Israel, for example, a change has occurred in relations between individuals and the army that can be described as a shift from a “subjected militarism” that can be defined as compulsory and unconditioned military service duty related to moral commitment to a “contractual militarism” where the needs and interests of the individual are at the center and military service conditions have become more the subject of negotiations and bargaining (Levy, Lomsky-Feder, & Harel, 2007). The convertibility of different forms of capital may become a kind of manifestation of such bargaining as it can offer certain profit when moving between different fields. Levy (2007) claims that armies always compensate soldiers in capital that is valuable in civilian life. There exist two synchronized reward systems: material rewards and symbolic rewards. Levy also argues that increasing the symbolic rewards decreases the expectation for material rewards, on the condition that symbolic rewards be highly convertible, for example, into social rights and professional mobility. Levy (2013) is especially interested in symbolic rewards as they are involved in social, political, and cultural processes and have more effect than material rewards in motivating the sacrifice for war. Advancing his concept, he asserts that convertibility is essentially determined by the degree of militarization in society through the influence of five variables: “level of the threat, the military participation ratio, republicanism (meaning that military service constitutes a criterion for citizenship and the entailed benefits), the convergence between military and civilian organizations, and identity building” (2013, p. 441).

In my studies I do not focus only on symbolic rewards. I follow mainly Bourdieu's distinction of the forms of capital including his other basic theoretical terms. According to Bourdieu, social reality is revealed in social practices and therefore a social practice should be the primary question for social scientists. By

analysing the judgement of taste Bourdieu (1984) reached the topic of economy of practices and proposed a formula: [ (habitus) (capital)] + field = practice, where dialectic relationships among habitus, fields, and capitals would form agents' social practices.

For Bourdieu education was the topic of special interest where many of his key terms and concepts related to his theory of practice were elaborated. Although these concepts were developed in a French educational context, educational researchers all over the globe have applied Bourdieu's theoretical frame in diverse educational contexts (Murphy & Costa, 2016). Essentially, it is possible to see also the reserve service in EDF largely in an educational context. The reserve exercise is usually a reminder of these skills and knowledge that had been learned during conscript service and an additional introduction to new knowledge and practices in EDF. It is about restoring the value of capitals that are crucial for operating in the military field and revitalizing the military component of reservists' habitus. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) differentiate between primary and secondary habitus. Primary habitus is acquired in the family and the secondary is formed by education. I would suggest that conscript training can be understood as a part of the secondary habitus or even it is striving for creation of a tertiary habitus (military habitus or military component of habitus) based on these forms of capitals that are essential for achieving effectiveness in a military field, which should last until the end of reserve service.

In **Study I**, the Military Legacy Model for reserve service based on the Model of Transition in Veterans (Cooper et al. 2017) was proposed for discussion and testing in further research. The Military Legacy Model relied on Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and described the movement in and out of military and civilian fields during conscript and reserve service. The assessment of the Military Legacy Model in the current thesis can be performed only partially as full validation requires longitudinal study that would combine research on conscripts and reservists during the whole period of their service and involve study of these periods in the civilian field as well. **Study II** and **III** can reflect only the period of reservist participation in military exercises and they are mainly focused on the influence of capitals on military service readiness. However, the first impression is that this partial examination of the Military Legacy Model has principally approved the direction of assumptions in the **Study I** discussion, and the results of **Study II** and **III** would accordingly encourage further research of these assumptions in the context of Bourdieu's theory of practice.

In **Study I** it was presumed that the better the convertibility of different forms of capitals between the civilian and military fields, the higher the motivation and readiness of reservists will be to contribute to the reinforcing capabilities of a country's military defence. The high convertibility of military capital would form a positive military legacy that supports the service readiness of reservists. **Study II** and **III** confirmed the positive influence of the convertibility of forms of capital. Consequently, military service readiness depends on the effective accumulation, convertibility, and usage of forms of capital needed in the military field that would compose the military component in a reservist's habitus. Based on



results of my studies, I propose the conceptual model of the effect of forms of capital on the military service readiness of EDF reserve soldiers (Figure 4) where the strength of the military component of habitus should determine the volume of readiness to serve.

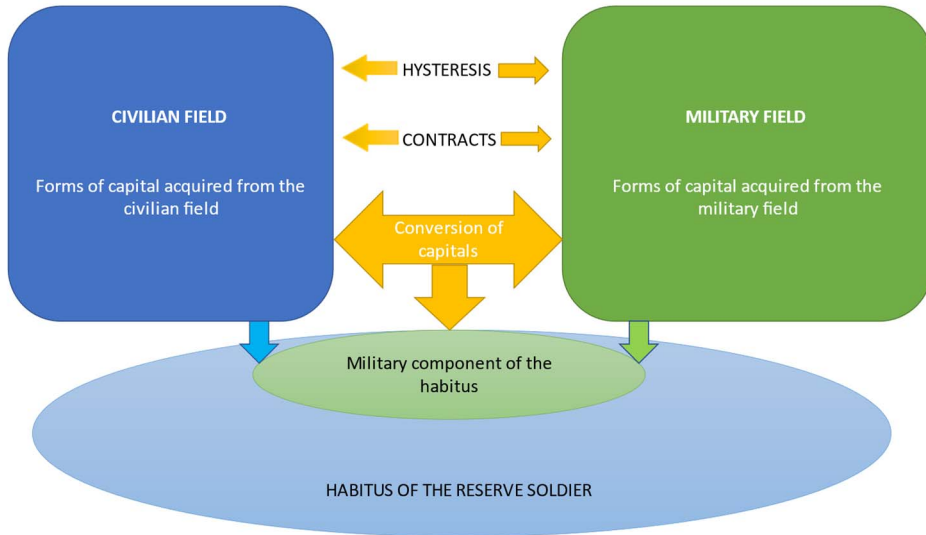


Figure 4. The model of the effect of forms of capital on the military component of the habitus of EDF reserve soldiers.

Any shortage of the form of capital with a positive impact to service readiness or abundance of the form of capital with a negative influence and lack of preventive contracts between reservists, military, employers, and families would strengthen the effect of the hysteresis of habitus. At the same time, the convertibility of the forms of capital would strengthen the military component of habitus and increase the positive effect on motivation for military service. Following the logic of this model, I summarize the results of the thesis in Table 5 (see p. 50). In the following table, the first and second columns rely on the results of my studies and the third and fourth columns are rather hypothetical questions and require further research.

Economic capital has been interpreted as the most convertible form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Accordingly, for example, in the United States it has been considered and efficiently used as a motivational tool for ensuring reserve soldiers' retention of intentions (Griffith, 2009) and for increasing the perception of the reserve service as a financial gain for a reservist's family (Castaneda et al., 2009). However, income level in the civilian field does not have as significant an impact on the military service readiness of EDF reserve soldiers as other forms of capital (**Study II**). A positive impact of reservists' remuneration for participation in training is still possible, for example, if it exceeds the level of income in the civilian field and can offer some relief to reservists and to his or her family-related economic barriers. Economical capital-related issues could be regulated via contracts and negotiations at the mezzo- and macro-level.

**Table 5.** Summary of the results of **Study II** and **III** and assumptions on the concepts of hysteresis and contracts corresponding to the proposed model of the effect of forms of capital.

<b>Forms of capital used in models</b>	<b>Effect on military service readiness and on military component of habitus</b>	<b>Con-vertibility</b>	<b>Hysteresis</b>	<b>Need for contracts</b>
<b>Economic capital</b>				
<i>Income from civilian field</i>	No effect	No	No	Yes
<i>Economic barriers</i>	Negative	No (but possible)	Yes	Yes
<b>Cultural capital embodied state</b>				
<i>Military development</i>	Positive in military context	No (but possible)	Yes (if missing)	Yes
<i>Personal development</i>	Very positive in military and civilian context	Yes	Yes (if missing)	No
<b>Cultural capital objectified state</b>				
<i>Photos and videos</i>	Very positive	Yes	No	Yes
<i>Badges and other objects</i>	Positive	No (but possible)	No	Yes
<b>Cultural capital institutionalized state</b>				
<i>Military rank</i>	Very positive in military context and positive if civilian context added	No (but potentially possible)	No	Yes
<b>Social capital</b>				
<i>Unit cohesion</i>	Very positive in military context and positive if civilian context added	No (but possible)	Yes (if missing)	No
<i>Social support from civilian field</i>	Very positive (plus an additional positive impact on unit cohesion)	Yes	Yes (if missing)	Yes
<b>Symbolic capital</b>				
<i>Colourful memories related to conscript service</i>	Positive impact	Yes	Yes (if missing)	No
<i>Positive experience from previous exercise</i>	Very positive	Yes	Yes (if missing)	No

The importance of the convertibility of cultural, social, and symbolic capital has been recognised today even in the economic field where symbolic capital can generate high-level cultural capital and converting cooperative social capital into cultural capital can lead to the co-creation of novel cultural artefacts (Pret, Shaw, & Dodd, 2015). Selected social and individual factors related to social capital, to all forms of cultural capital, and to symbolic capital have all a positive or very positive impact on the military service readiness of Estonian reserve soldiers. All these forms of capital are either convertible or are convertible for some groups of reservists or have the potential to become convertible. For example, embodied cultural capital related to military development can be convertible in civilian security fields and military rank has the potential possibility to be converted into economic capital in the state pension system. Hysteresis of habitus could emerge if these forms of capital are missing or lack convertibility. And finally, some of these forms of capital can benefit also from contracts at different levels of society.

As assumed in **Study I**, the convertibility of forms of capital is related to a positive impact regarding military service readiness and the strength of the military legacy or component of habitus. Only colourful memories as peak experiences related to conscript service showed a weaker influence than I was hoping. It is most likely still possible that when reserve soldiers get older the value of such memories can rise. Another question that could be important is the more extensive influence of economic barriers. Can these difficulties decrease only service readiness or does it also have a negative impact on the military component of habitus? It is very likely that if a reserve soldier is disturbed by economic worries then the recovery and usage of his or her military component of habitus would also be hindered. I also think that the stronger impact of convertible capital on military service readiness does not necessarily mean that our only option is to include simply more and more such military training that would be convertible in the civilian field. There is also the option to increase in the civilian field the convertibility or symbolic value to forms of capital which are more specific to military purposes only. Employers (**Study IV**) and family members (**Study II**) see the value of personal development in the military field more easily as discipline and team-work would have positive effects also at work and in family relations as well. In society at large, the reserve service has still the potential to attain more value as symbolic capital and it is possible to increase its impact with contracts at all levels of society. According to my personal experience, I think the militarization level of our society is somewhat higher than it is on average in Europe, and it can maybe be somewhat comparable to Finland. But it seems to be lower if we compare it with the militarization level of Israel or the Russian Federation, for example.

The Military Legacy Model (**Study I**) of reserve service in EDF was created in comparison to the professional soldiers-related Model of Transition in Veterans (Cooper et al. 2017). If for professional soldiers the military component of habitus was seen as a hinderance to transition from military service to civilian life, then for the mandatory reserve service it is a necessary and valuable resource to preserve as it can promote military service readiness. The militarization of society

in Estonia would presumably continue to be related to the level of threats to our independence, and the participation rate in reserve training events could be also affected by the active building of the reservists' military component of habitus. I also believe that raising the awareness and visibility of the role of reserve soldiers can increase the symbolic value of the reserve service and a supportive attitude from reservists' families and employers.

As the result of my studies indicated that the convertibility of forms of capital has proven to provide an effective positive impact on the motivation of EDF reservists, and that the key elements of Bourdieu's theory of practice enable deeper understanding of the influential factors that can form reservist military service readiness, I would formulate some concluding ideas and possible suggestions related to forms of capital for further consideration:

- 1) As the practice of reservists can be also motivated by economical profit, the state pension system could bring in a special share for the reserve service (economic capital), that in turn could be related to the extent of participation in reserve training and to the reservist's rank (institutionalized cultural capital).
- 2) As economic barriers have great impact on reservists' military service readiness, a legal regulation for delaying financial responsibilities during reserve training could be made available if needed.
- 3) The impact of the convertibility of embodied cultural capital in the labour market could be increased by special certificates (as institutionalized cultural capital) for special skills attained in the military field.
- 4) To preserve reservists' physical fitness (embodied cultural capital) partial compensation for maintaining physical training in the civilian field could be enabled for reserve soldiers.
- 5) Regulating and enabling the creation of objectified cultural capital (photos and videos) in the military field and establishing for conscripts and reserve soldiers more mementos with great symbolic value (badges and other decorations) could preserve the military component of reservists' habitus.
- 6) Intentionally creating "colourful experiences" for every reserve unit during a military exercise, that could be remembered as valuable peak experience from the military field.
- 7) Allowing to keep the military field uniform and some military personal equipment (objectified cultural capital) at reservists' homes enables using them on special occasions and celebrations related to the state, EDF, and reserve unit, that in turn could increase the visibility and symbolic value of reserve service in society. At the same time, this would enable reservists also to wear military badges and other decorations and can enhance the symbolic value of military mementos.

- 8) Also, the cohesion of the reserve unit (social capital) can be strengthened by initiating special ceremonial and social events related to celebrations of anniversaries of the reserve unit, where the reservists and their family members can be invited and their possible support to reserve service enhanced.
- 9) Enabling and promoting the military career for reservists in reserve service with possible promotions in ranks and positions could be a motivating factor for some reserve soldiers.
- 10) To increase the symbolic value of the reserve service a special day for honouring reserve soldiers with ceremonial and social events could be established.
- 11) Establishing a non-governmental organisation uniting all reserve soldiers could represent the interests and concerns of reserve soldiers in potential negotiations on mezzo- and macro-level contracts.
- 12) The personnel support services of EDF could be made available also for reservists' families during reserve training events.

For further research and discussion about findings and proposed measures, it would be necessary to take notice also of one limitation related to the presented studies in the current thesis. First, the author of this thesis is an active-duty member of EDF. Consequently, the issues related to reservists' military service readiness may be influenced by the interests of EDF. However, as most of the time of my service in EDF was served as a chaplain, it has been part of my responsibilities to protect also the individual interests of the soldiers and mediate negotiations between the civilian and military fields.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

Estonia's geopolitical situation has necessitated a stronger integration of military and civilian fields, which is clearly reflected in Estonia's security policy that is based on a broad approach to security where security in one way or another affects society as a whole (National Security Concept, 2017). Therefore, in Estonia and in countries that share a similar security policy, issues concerning the interaction between the military and the civilian fields need somewhat more attention than may be the case in countries where the military and civilian worlds are more clearly separated. Thus, the influencing factors and conditions promoting the implementation of comprehensive national defence are also the thematic context of this dissertation.

Reservist participation in military training events is a critical necessity for confirming not only the military readiness domain of capability, but also the domain of morale. The service readiness of EDF reserve soldiers is not always as solid or stable as expected, and according to my studies it can be affected by different factors from the military and civilian fields. Reservists' dispositions and practices, as applies to humans generally, are motivated by forms of capital that produce profit and increase his or her status in a field (Bourdieu, 1986). To study the influential factors of reservists' military service readiness I applied Bourdieu's theory of practice by operationalizing the theoretical concepts of habitus, field, and forms of capital. The objective of my studies was to identify, assess and discuss the role of influential military and civilian field-related capital in the process of forming dispositions affecting intention to participate in reservist training events.

The usage of Bourdieu's theory of practice is not new in research. However, usually researchers focus rather on selected concepts from this theory. Quite often the focus is only on one particular form of capital (for example, embodied cultural capital or social capital). The special value of this thesis is the intention from the beginning of **Study I** to apply the whole of Bourdieu's spectrum of forms of capital to research of reservist military service readiness and to relate any findings with other key terms from the theory of practice. The Model of Transition in Veterans proposed by Cooper et al. (2017) served as a good example from the field of military professionals for my studies in the field of military reserves.

The usage of just selected concepts from Bourdieu's theory of practice can sometimes pose more additional unanswered questions. For example, the value and meaning of forms of capital is directly related to their usefulness in a particular field and the convertibility of forms of capital would lessen the effect of hysteresis when moving between different fields. In practices that require moving between fields, knowing the effects of the forms of capital in this process would enable adjustment of measures like preventive contracts to avoid any unwanted side-effects of such transmigration-like movement.

My research confirmed the idea that key concepts of theory of practice are interrelated, and my study results can encourage further research by using both

the Military Legacy Model for reserve service and the Model of Transition in Veterans for regulars as well.

Relying on the results of my four original studies, my thesis converted the original study hypothesis into two research questions:

1. How do the different forms of capital acquired from the military and civilian field support military service readiness among Estonian reservists?
2. How does the convertibility of forms of capital shape the practice of reservists' service when moving as transmigrants between the civilian and military fields?

The influential factors as different forms of capital from the military and civilian fields that would support reservist military service readiness related to participation in military exercises are as follows:

- 1) Economic capital supports reservist military service readiness. **Economic barriers** that can become more severe by participation in military training would decrease the service readiness of reserve soldiers. The same logic applies also to the formation of a favourable attitude from employers towards employee participation in reserve training.
- 2) Embodied cultural capital from the military field that contributes to reservists' **personal development** is a factor that supports reservists' military service readiness.
- 3) Also, the embodied cultural capital that supports the **development of military capabilities** has a positive impact as it is a precondition for positive experience from previous military exercises.
- 4) From the objectified cultural capital **self-made photos and videos** are military mementos with the most supportive impact on reservists' military service readiness.
- 5) **Military rank** is an influential institutionalized cultural capital.
- 6) Social capital from the military field as **horizontal and vertical cohesion in a reserve unit** and **social support (family, friends, employers, etc.)** from the civilian field are both effective supporting factors for reservists' military service readiness.
- 7) The symbolic value of reserve service can be supported via **colourful peak experiences** and **positive experiences from previous military exercises**.

Most of these factors that support reservists' military service readiness can be addressed from the military field. Horizontal and vertical military cohesion, convertible embodied cultural capital, and purposeful and "colourful" military exercises that can boost reservists' positive perception of the reserve service could be these forms of capital from the military field deserving of special attention from

military leaders. The civilian field is for reserve soldiers a dominant field, and factors related to this field have the power to influence also factors from the military field. Civilian social support that can also be often related to economic barriers could particularly benefit from the additional solutions from mezzo-level contracts between military institutions, civilian organisations and companies, and a potential future organisation that would unite all reserve soldiers in Estonia.

Regarding the second research question of my thesis, all studies confirmed the positive impact of the convertibility of capital. Some forms of capital are convertible only in a few certain sectors of the civilian field and some forms of capital have the potential to become convertible. I used primarily a quantitative methodological approach for my research and, regarding my study results, Bourdieu's theory of practice showed great explanatory power for the interpretation of findings. The proposed model of the effect of forms of capital on the military component of habitus of EDF reserve soldiers might serve as a conceptual model for further and even more detailed research of military service readiness factors by using qualitative methods as well. I do believe that the proposed model can be used also to study similar circumstances in society. For example, the research of some social, cultural, or religious minorities with their own value systems and possible components of habitus within the field of dominant culture could benefit from using Bourdieu's concepts from his theory of practice.

The absence of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of "doxa" and "symbolic violence" in my model may be considered as a limitation in my thesis. Both concepts would be meaningful in the context of the military field and of my study topic and could expand the explanatory accuracy of the proposed model. However, this limitation can serve also as a motivating factor to support further research of reservists' service readiness and to inspire work on the development and refinement of the proposed model. Additionally, more detailed research on the effect of differences concerning the influence of convertibility of forms of capital that may occur from relations between the military field and different professional fields in the civilian field (e.g., music enterprise, sport, or agriculture) could improve understanding of the motivational mechanism of reserve soldiers. These further possible study directions are not just theoretically existing challenges but have no doubt also great practical value for advancing the military service readiness of the reserve component in EDF that, in turn, can affect other domains and components of military readiness as well.



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## SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### Eesti reservväelaste teenistusvalmidus ja Bourdieu praktikateooria

Eesti geopoliitiline olukord on tinginud vajaduse militaar- ja tsiviilväljade tugevama integreerituse järele, mida peegeldab ilmekalt ka avarale julgeolekukäsitlusele tuginev Eesti julgeolekupoliitika, kus julgeoleku kindlustamine puudutab ühel või teisel moel ühiskonda kui tervikut (National Security Concept, 2017). Seetõttu vajavad militaar- ja tsiviilväljade koostoime küsimused nii meil kui ka meiega sarnast julgeolekupoliitikat jagavates riikides mõnevõrra enam tähelepanu kui riikides, kus militaar- ja tsiviilmaailm on kindlapiirilisemalt eraldatud. Selliselt on laiapindse riigikaitse rakendamist edendavad mõjutegurid ja tingimused ka käesoleva väitekirja temaatiliseks kontekstiks.

Reservväelaste osalemine sõjalisel väljaõppel ja õppustel on kriitiliselt vajalik nii reservväelaste endi kui ka nende sõjaajaüksuste sõjalise võimekuse säilitamiseks ning kaitsetahte kinnistamiseks. Minu uuringutulemused osutavad tõsiasi-ale, et olukorras, kus Eesti Kaitseväe reservväelaste teenistusvalmidus ei ole alati stabiilne, on sõjalise planeerimise teadmispõhisuse arendamiseks otstarbekas uurida põhjalikult ka militaar- ja tsiviilväljalt lähtuvaid sotsiaalseid ja individuaalseid tegureid, mis mõjutavad reservväelaste valmidust osaleda väljaõppekogunemistel.

Nii nagu on omane inimestele üldiselt, nii motiveerivad ka reservväelase käitumiskalduvusi ja -praktikaid enamjaolt need kapitalivormid, mis loovad tema jaoks olulistel väljadel eeliseid staatuse või muude hüvede suurendamiseks (Bourdieu, 1986). Reservväelaste teenistusvalmidust mõjutavate tegurite uurimisel tuginesin Bourdieu praktikateooriale, operatsionaliseerides selle põhimõistetest habituse, välja ja kapitalide põhivormide kontseptsioonid. Minu uurimuse eesmärk oli selgitada välja ja hinnata, kuidas mõjutavad tsiviil- ja militaarväljaga seotud kapitalivormid reservväelaste sõjalises väljaõppes osalemise kavatsust.

Bourdieu praktikateooria kasutamine uuringutes ei ole tegelikult uudne lähene- mine. Küll aga on uurijad keskendunud selle teooria põhimõistetele sageli pigem valikuliselt. Tihti on uuringutes kasutatud vaid ühte kapitalivormi (näiteks kehas- tatud kultuurilist kapitali või sotsiaalset kapitali). Käesoleva väitekirja väärtuseks saab lugeda püüdu **I uurimusest** alates rakendada reservväelaste sõjalise teenistus- valmiduse uurimisel kogu kapitalivormide komplekti ning tulemuste tõlgenda- misel ka teiste peamiste Bourdieu praktikateooria põhielementide kaasamist. **I uurimus** pakkus välja Kaitseväe reservteenistuse edasiseks uurimiseks militaar- pärandi mudeli, mis tugineb kontseptuaalselt Briti armee veteranide tsiviilellu siirdumise mudelile (Cooper *et al.* 2017).

Minu uurimistulemused kinnitasid ideed, et praktikateooria põhielemendid on üksteisest sõltuvad ja vastastikku täiendavad ning reservteenistuse militaarpärandi mudel ja veteranide siirdemudel tegevteenistuse kontekstis võivad pakkuda teoreetilist toetuspinna edasisteks uuringuteks. Ühtlasi saab minu uurimistulemuste najal väita, et Bourdieu praktikateooria põhimõistestikust vaid piiratud valiku kasutamine võib tõstatada pigem uusi küsimusi võimalike seoste kohta kui

pakkuda vastuseid. Praktikateooria põhielementide seostatus ilmneb näiteks selles, et kapitalivormide väärtus ja tähendus lähtuvad eelkõige kasust, mida need võimaldavad teatud kindlal väljal saavutada, ning et erinevate väljade vahel liikudes aitab kapitalivormide konverteeritavus vähendada hüsteresiefekti. Praktikes, mis eeldavad erinevatel väljadel tegutsemist ja nende vahel liikumist, võimaldab kapitalivormide mõju parem tundmine taoliste pendelrändelaadsete protsesside puhul kohaldada selliseid meetmeid nagu näiteks ennetavad lepingud ja kokkulepped, mis aitavad ära hoida mitmeid võimalikke hüsteresiga kaasnevaid probleeme.

Tuginedes oma nelja eraldiseisva uurimuse tulemustele, esitasin oma katusartiklis kaks uurimisküsimust:

1. Kuidas toetavad militaar- ja tsiviilvälja erinevad kapitalivormid eesti reservväelaste sõjalist teenistusvalmidust?
2. Kuidas mõjutab kapitalivormide konverteeritavus reservväelaste pendelrändetaolist tsiviil- ja militaarvälja vahelist liikumist?

Militaar- ja tsiviilväljalt pärinevad kapitalivormid, mis toetavad reservväelaste valmidust osaleda reservõppekogunemistel, on järgmised:

- 1) Majandusliku kapitaliga seotud teguritest toetab reservväelaste sõjalist teenistusvalmidust reservõppekogunemise tõttu tekkida võivate **majanduslike kohustustega seotud probleemide puudumine**. Sarnaselt mõjutavad töötajate reservõppekogunemisel osalemisega kaasnevad majanduslikud probleemid ka tööandjate suhtumist töötajate reservteenistusse.
- 2) Reservväelaste sõjalist teenistusvalmidust mõjutab positiivselt eelkõige selline militaarväljalt kogutud **kehastatud kultuuriline kapital, mis toetab reservväelaste isiklikku arengut**.
- 3) Kaudselt toetab reservväelaste sõjalist teenistusvalmidust ka puhtalt **sõjalise võimekuse arenguga seotud kehastatud kultuuriline kapital**, mis on eelduseks positiivsetele kogemustele reservõppekogunemistel.
- 4) Militaarväljalt kogutud artefaktidest ja mälestusesemetest on **reservväelaste endi militaarväljal tehtud fotod ja videod** see osa objektiveeritud kultuurilisest kapitalist, mis toetab kõige tõhusamalt nende teenistusvalmidust.
- 5) **Sõjaväeline auaste** on mõjukas institutsionaliseeritud kultuuriline kapital.
- 6) Tõhusaks reservväelaste sõjalist teenistusvalmidust toetavaks sotsiaalseks kapitaliks on militaarväljal **horisontaalne ja vertikaalne sidusus reservüksuses** ning tsiviilväljalt tulenev **sotsiaalne toetus (perekoonnalt, sõpradelt, tööandjatelt jt)**.
- 7) Reservteenistuse sümboolset väärtust aitavad suurendada **värvikad ja eredad tippkogemused militaarväljalt** ning **positiivsed kogemused eelmistelt reservõppekogunemistelt**.



Enamikku neist teguritest saab mõjutada ja kujundada militaarvälja erinevatel tasanditel. Horisontaalne ja vertikaalne sidusus, reservväelaste isiklikku ja sõjalist arengut mõjutavad oskused ja teadmised ning ka nende emotsionaalseid vajadusi arvestava, eesmärgipärase ja ereda reservõppekogunemise planeerimine võiksid olla sõjalise teenistusvalmiduse need tegurid, mida sõjaväelised juhid saaksid kõige tõhusamalt kujundada militaarväljal. Reservväelase jaoks on aga siiski domineeriva tähenduse ja mõjuga tema tsiviilväli ja sellelt väljalt lähtuvatel teguritel on minu uurimistulemuste kohaselt võime suurendada või kahandada ka militaarvälja tegurite mõju. Tsiviilvälja sotsiaalset toetust, mis omakorda võib olla põhjuslikus seoses majanduslike probleemidega, saaks tõhusamaks muuta näiteks lepingute ja kokkulepetega, mis sõlmitakse Kaitseväe struktuuriüksuste, tsiviilasutuste ja eraettevõtete ning seni mitteeksisteeriva kõiki reservväelasi ühendava organisatsiooni vahel ehk mesotasandil ja mis ennetavad ning leevendavad reservväelaste sõjalist teenistusvalmidust mõjutavaid probleeme.

Vastuseks katusartikli teisele uurimisküsimusele saan kinnitada, et kõikides minu uurimustes tuli esile kapitalivormide konverteeritavuse positiivne mõju. Tõsi, mõne kapitalivormi puhul on konverteeritavus võimalik vaid teatud tsiviilvälja sektorite raames ning mõne kapitalivormi puhul saab seni rääkida vaid nende potentsiaalsest konverteeritavusest. Oma uurimustes rakendasin peamiselt kvantitatiivset lähenemisviisi ja Bourdieu praktikateooria selgitus- ja üldistusvõime tõestas end tulemuste tõlgendamisel erakordselt tõhusana. Katusartiklilis esitatud mudel kapitalivormide mõju kohta Kaitseväe reservväelaste *habitus*'e militaar komponendile (vt joonis 4, lk 49) võimaldab jätkata veelgi detailsemalt reservväelaste teenistusvalmiduse tegurite uurimist, milleks saaks rakendada juba ka kvalitatiivseid uurimismeetodeid. Ühtlasi olen ma lootusrikas, et see välja-pakutud mudel on rakendatav ka ühiskonna teiste sarnaste olukordade uurimisel. Bourdieu praktikateooria põhielemendid sobiksid minu hinnangul hästi ka näiteks mõne dominantse sotsiaalses kultuuriruumis toimiva omanäolise väärtussüsteemiga sotsiaalse, kultuurilise või religioosse vähemusgrupi uurimiseks.

Arvestades Bourdieu teoreetiliste kontseptsioonide tihedat sisulist seotust, oleks võinud kapitalivormide mõju mudelisse kaasata ka „doxa“ ja „sümboolse vägivalla“ kontseptsioonid. Seda enam, et mõlemad kontseptsioonid on militaarvälja ja minu uurimisteema kontekstis igati tähenduslikult aktuaalsed ning võimaldaksid kahtlemata avardada reservväelaste *habitus*'e militaar komponendi mudeli selgitusvõime detailsust ning suurendada selle täpsust. Samas saab seda puudust või uurimispiirangut pidada ka reservväelaste teenistusvalmiduse ja seda kontseptuaalselt peegeldava mudeli edasist uurimisvalmidust motiveerivaks teguriks. Sellele lisaks võimaldaks reservväelaste motivatsioonimehhanismi paremini mõista näiteks ka kapitalivormide konverteerimise detailsem uurimine, mis oleks seotud militaarväljal ja erinevatel elukutselistel tsiviilväljadel (näiteks muusika, sport või põllumajandus) kujunenud vastavate *habitus*'e komponentide mõju-eripäradega. Näidetena esitatud edasised uurimissuunad pole põnevad pelgalt teoreetilisest vaatenurgast, vaid neil oleks ka potentsiaalne praktiline väärtus Kaitseväe reservkomponendi sõjalise teenistusvalmiduse edendamisel, millel on omakorda positiivne mõju ka riigi ja Kaitseväe laiemale sõjalisele valmisolekule.

Julgustatuna oma uurimistulemustest, mille kohaselt hea hulk Bourdieu praktikateooria alusel mõtestatud sotsiaalseid ja individuaalseid tegureid avaldasid märkimisväärset mõju reservväelaste sõjalisele teenistusvalmidusele ning mida omakorda võimendas kapitalivormide väljadevaheline konverteeritavus, pakun edasiseks diskussiooniks, kaalutluseks ja vajaduse korral põhjalikumateks uuringuteks mõned kokkuvõtavad ideed ja ettepanekud reservväelaste sõjalise teenistusvalmiduse edendamiseks:

- 1) Kuna reservväelaste tegutsemisotsuseid võib mõjutada ka majanduslik kasu, siis tasuks kaaluda, kas töötada välja riiklikus pensionisüsteemis n-ö reservteenistuse osak (majanduslik kapital), mille arvutamisel võiks arvesse võtta reservteenistuses osalemise määra ja auastet (institutsionaliseeritud kultuuriline kapital).
- 2) Kuna olemasolevate majanduslike kohustuste tõttu võivad mõnede reservväelaste jaoks kaasneda reservteenistuses osalemisega finantsprobleemid, siis võiks kaaluda nende leevendamiseks või maksete ajatamiseks õiguslikke meetmeid.
- 3) Militaarväljal omandatud erialane väljaõpe ja tsiviilväljal konverteeritavad oskused saaksid suurendada reservväelaste konkurentsivõimet tööturul, kui nende kohta väljastatakse vastavad ametlikud tunnistused (institutsionaliseeritud kultuuriline kapital).
- 4) Selleks et säilitada reservväelaste füüsiline võimekus tsiviilväljal, võiks neile võimaldada treeninguvõimalusi soodustingimustel.
- 5) Reservväelaste *habitus*'e militaar komponendi kinnistamiseks võiks reguleeritult soodustada objektiveeritud kultuurilise kapitali kogumist militaarväljal. Organiseeritult võiks edendada fotode ja videote loomet ning ajateenijatele ja reservväelastele võiks luua rohkem suure sümboolse väärtusega aumärke ja -tasusid.
- 6) Teadlikult võiks igal reservõppekogunemisel luua kõigile reservüksustele võimaluse saada osa värvikatest ja eredatest militaar-tippkogemustest, millest kujuneksid ajapikku sümboolse väärtusega militaarmälestused.
- 7) Jättes reservväelastele kodus hoidmiseks kätte välivormi ja ehk ka osa individuaalvarustusest (objektiveeritud kultuuriline kapital), tekib võimalus osaleda mundris ka riigi, Kaitseväge ja reservüksusega seotud tähtpäevade tseremooniatel, mis omakorda muudab reservteenistuse ühiskonnas nähtavamaks ja võib suurendada selle sümboolset väärtust. Samal ajal võimaldab välivormi omamine ka sellega seotud embleemide ja teenistusmärkide kandmist ja seega selliseks puhuks loodud militaarsete mälestusesemete sümboolse väärtuse suurendamist.

- 8) Reservväelaste osalemine reservüksuse tähtpäevade tseremooniatel ja sotsiaalsetel sündmustel, kuhu saab kutsuda ka pereliikmeid, võib tugevdada reservväelaste sidusust reservüksuses ja pereliikmete toetust reservteenistusele (sotsiaalne kapital).
- 9) Reservväelaste militaarkarjääri arendamine reservteenistuse jooksul, millega kaasneks nende auastmetes ja positsioonis edutamine, aga ka näiteks nende tsiviilerialaga arvestamine reservteenistuses, võiks olla motiveerivaks teguriks mõnede reservväelaste teenistusvalmidusele.
- 10) Reservteenistuse sümboolse väärtuse suurendamiseks ühiskonnas ja reservväelaste hulgas võiks kaaluda reservväelaste (täht)päeva tähistamist ja sellega seonduvate tseremoniaalsete ning sotsiaalsete traditsioonide loomist.
- 11) Kõiki reservväelasi koondava mittetulundusühingu loomine võiks aidata kaitsta reservväelaste huve võimalikel meso- ja makrotasandi läbirääkimistel ja kokkulepete saavutamisel reservteenistust puudutavates küsimustes.
- 12) Kaitseväge tugiteenused võiksid muutuda kättesaadavaks ka reservväelaste peredele ajal, kui reservväelased osalevad reservõppekogunemistel. See suurendaks potentsiaalselt perede toetust reservteenistusele.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

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1.01.2016–31.12.2017 R-003 “Riigikaitsealase inimressursi kompleksuuringu käivitamine”.

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