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**LEARNING TO BE YOU:
TRANSITIONAL IDENTITY OF BRITISH SOLDIERS
LEAVING THE ARMED SERVICES**

by

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THESIS CONTAINS

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Abstract

In the field of social science, it is commonly acknowledged that we are what we do. 'Learning to be you' is a qualitative, longitudinal study, which examines career transitions from the British Army to civilian life. This study is not about the success or failure of any particular feature of the administrative process. It is concerned with people's identity, and by focussing on identity, certain successes and failures of the journey become visible. This study is multifaceted, just as identity is complicated and heterogeneous.

Consequently, I have sought to develop a collaborative academic framework, combining the psychoanalytical theories of Freud, the discourse paradigms of Foucault, the structuralist perspectives of Bourdieu and the performed identities of Goffman. I envisage gliding surfaces of identity and I use the four theorists to account for these interrelating planes.

Two main questions are addressed. How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity? How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

The findings illustrate a learning to cope via adaptation that is simultaneously frightening yet also emancipating. Even in successful transitions, there is disturbance and largely these prominent upheavals at the point of service departure have become normalised¹ within the military community. The key conclusions made by my study are:

¹ I use the term normalised to refer to the perceived natural concept of service departure. At some point, an individual must leave the military; however, those in transition report that it is far from natural.

- Ex- service personnel have to adjust and modify their identity to fit to the new civilian environment. The adjustment can be painful, emancipating and it can be sudden to the individual.
- Stress and risk at the point of service departure has been normalised.
- Greater visibility of the civilian world is essential in order to make the best career choices.
- Some military jobs have greater transferability than others do.
- A predictability matrix may provide practitioners and service leavers with a helpful assessment of the resettlement spectrum.
- Indications point toward an increasing need to consider wider post-discharge resettlement provision.
- Further longitudinal resettlement research is required with the findings made available to key practitioners.

Preface

Personnel who leave the military naturally cite a nervous apprehension about their immediate future and subsequent careers. This thesis is written in the belief that a better understanding of service career transitions can help inform this unclear and indistinct period of upheaval for those service leavers. I do not claim to have defined all the complexities of service transition, nor do I argue for a specific set of reforms to the existing 'resettlement package'. Nevertheless, this thesis aims to shed light on this under researched area of social science and to provide a rich insight to the specific experiences of four service leavers from the British Army.

Reconnecting to a civilian social life is ranked as a prominent issue for service leavers. The current discussions do little to address this gap, as the National Audit Office has shown. (National Audit Office, 2007, p 30) Having been a practising Ministry of Defence resettlement officer I had long reflected over this specific concern. Thus, we are presented with the evidence that appears to imply soldiers need to re-associate to a civilian life. I argue in this thesis that this requires a process of re-shaping one's identity. I ask the following questions:

- (1) How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity?
- (2) How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure, have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

I am a Service Veteran, having served in the Royal Air Force from 1986 to 1998. My own service exit was not smooth and my ambitions for a full military career were impeded by a severe illness that I contracted while serving overseas. This condition was serious, life threatening and required very aggressive surgery that has left me with a permanent disability. During my recovery, I received the very best treatment the military could offer, including spending several months in the renowned Headley Court Rehabilitation Centre. In sum, I was forced to reinvent my life and in many respects my identity too. This experience coupled with my practice as a service resettlement officer not only equips me with a unique insider's perspective, but has also compelled me to crave a greater understanding of service transitions and to reflect on what happens to people at service departure.

My approach has been to draw on sociological, psychological and philosophical theories relating to a person's identity in order to grasp what is happening to those in transition. I suggest the prevailing features connecting theories of identity can be expressed in one, or in all of four pillars: structure, agency, experience and performance. (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) The implications of these determining pillars are readily observable throughout my investigation and the supporting literature. The approach I have taken is to explore these pillars through the work of Bourdieu, Foucault, Freud and Goffman as the main theorists. These perspectives are combined to provide an innovative approach to understanding career transitions from the armed services.

The choice of which theoretical perspectives has been informed by my own knowledge of social theory cultivated over the past fifteen years of persistent academic study. During this period, I have completed a First Degree in Post Compulsory Education, a Masters Degree in Education, a Post Graduate Certificate in Education and achieved Qualified Teacher Status. I have developed this thesis drawing on traditional social theory to illuminate service career transitions. The theorists have not been chosen by some arbitrary method. Each theorist has been carefully chosen to provide deeper understandings of the empirical evidence presented. By careful theoretical consideration, a series of different perspectives have been brought into focus to illuminate the career transitions under scrutiny.

I have augmented theory drawn from Bourdieu, Foucault, Freud and Goffman with my real world experience as an insider, empirical data at a divisional level from within the Army and wider academic research.

In total, this thesis gives a demonstration of my interface with 'classical' social theory, my understandings as an insider resettlement officer and of my personal motivations to pursue this specific topic relating to identity. In doing so, it reveals a fresh analysis of service career transitions and adds to the wider discussions of transitions.

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Glossary of terms, abbreviations and useful acronyms

Absence: Leave or Holidays

Armour: A Tank Regiment

BAOR: British Army on the Rhine

CO: Commanding Officer

Cpl: Corporal

CTP: Career Transition Partnership

CWA: Civilian Work Attachment

GRT: Graduated Resettlement Time

ID: Identity Card

INF: Infantry

IRP: Individual Resettlement Preparation

LCpl: Lance Corporal

MoD: Ministry of Defence

NCO: Non commissioned officer

NRAE: Normal Regular Army Engagement

ONS: Office for National Statistics

PTSD: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

QDA: Qualitative Data Analysis

RAF: Royal Air Force

RBL: Royal British Legion

RFEA: Regular Forces Employment Association

RLC: Royal Logistics Corps

Sgt: Sergeant

SL: Service Leaver(s)

SNCO: Senior non Commissioned Officer

Ssgt: Staff Sergeant

VA: Veteran's Agency

VRQ: Vocationally Related qualifications

WO: Warrant Officer

In chapter 5, the text that appears in green font, is direct quotation from the interview transcripts.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

“Soldiers will be called upon to make personal sacrifices - including the ultimate sacrifice - in the service of the Nation. In putting the needs of the Nation and the Army before their own, they forego some of the rights enjoyed by those outside the Armed Forces. In return, British soldiers must always be able to expect fair treatment, to be valued and respected as individuals, and that they (and their families) will be sustained and rewarded by commensurate terms and conditions of service.

*In the same way the unique nature of military land operations means that the Army differs from all other institutions, and must be sustained and provided for accordingly by the Nation. This mutual obligation forms the Military Covenant between the Nation, the Army and each individual soldier; an unbreakable common bond of identity, loyalty and responsibility which has sustained the Army throughout its history.”
(British Army, 2000, p 16)*

The role of society in generating identity

In the field of social science, it is widely accepted that people shape aspects of their identity through the role they fulfil in society (Mead & Morris, 1934) (Goffman, 1990), (Giddens, 1991), (Lawler, 2008). This thesis follows that tradition and, in doing so, aims to provide fresh insights into the career transitions that people make after leaving the British Army and entering civilian careers. Mead, Goffman, Foucault and Freud, among others, are cited to construct a relevant theoretical landscape relating to influences on identity and career trajectory patterns.

This thesis answers the following questions:

- How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity?
- How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure, have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

Relatively little has been established concerning the identity of former British soldiers after military service, although a growing number of media reports are surfacing in response to concerns regarding the fair treatment of our nation's ex-war heroes. A European study (Heinemann-Grüder, 2002) focusing on the demobilisation of Eastern Europe's servicemen after the collapse of socialism, for instance, noted that, while reintegration was smooth for some ex-service personnel, for others a range of problems occurred. These spanned housing, finance, and a lack of career opportunities through to the loss of their role within the household. This thesis develops this latter argument and analyses what happens to a soldier's identity after leaving the British Army. For many military personnel, there is a continuous cycle of postings every two to five years. Following this premise, one might expect an almost chameleon-style identity, as reintegration is a well-trodden pathway for those on the posting cycle. However, the problem is that this reintegration occurs in the same generalised military environment. Leaving the Army is a more significant step, and, as has been stated, very little has been written on this subject. The limited research to date has tended to focus on the success and failure of the transitional process, rather than the journey the soldiers navigate.

When I began work on this thesis in November 2008, the British Military was involved in its bloodiest combat since the 1951 Battle of the Imjin River. (Beckford, 2010) During the planning phase of this work, military operations in Iraq were scaling down, but the operational momentum in Afghanistan was increasing. By the end of 2009, since the start of Afghan operations in 2001, British losses in Afghanistan stood at 243 (MoD, 2009). At the same time,

2009 saw the UK economy suffer due to difficulties in world banking; job losses increased in all sectors of industry, and the government rallied to rescue the banking industry. This left the Treasury with unprecedented debt and a war in South Asia that it could ill afford. Both of these factors have had a significant effect on this study. For example, because of the economic climate fewer people are choosing to leave the services, while an increasing number of others have been discharged or have had their world changed forever through injuries sustained in operations. The fluidity of this changing terrain should not be underestimated and, as this work draws its conclusions, many new questions will emerge. The heightened interest this research aims to create in terms of this subject will potentially lead to the further studies. Questions such as: "How does a new generation of disabled veterans cope with career transitions?" "Is the Service resettlement package right for today's service leavers?" While it is hoped that this work will act as a catalyst for further studies, it should also be noted that contemporary research into career transitions from the British Military is very limited; a literature review revealed only three other recent UK studies (Royal British Legion 2005, McDermott 2007, National Audit Office 2007). The Royal British Legion (RBL) study, by compass partnership focused on the welfare needs of the ex-service community, the researchers similarly concluded that there was *"little hard data about the size, demographics or needs of this large group of people."* (Compass Partnership, 2005, for the RBL).

Leaving the military is unlike making transitions from other careers. As one research participant in this study commented: "Once you have done over

twelve years you become brainwashed into the military mindset.” Although there is an absence of research into British military career transitions to draw on, this form of dependency observation has been found in the USA:

“The military is a total institution. Work, play, eating, sleeping, worship, education, nursing and burial all tend to take place within the institution and in the company of fellow members. Symbolic as well as physical and interactional arrangements foster isolation from the larger community.” (Janowitz & Russell Sage Foundation, 1964, p 298)

The notion of dependency is also found in discussions about mental asylums. Tuke's late 1700s design was to make the asylum a humane, strict well run establishment where patients were expected to dine at the table, make polite conversation and complete duties such as cleaning and gardening (BBC, 2012). The old pre Tuke asylums favoured bloodletting and restraining patients with chains. Critics of the new model asylum argued that moral treatment did not cure mental health problems; it in some cases deepened the dependency effect by making the patients reliant on the doctors and the institution. The new moral treatment was likened to the actual chains of the early asylum; the invisible chains made it harder for the patients to escape (Science Museum London, 2012). Like the asylum the military provides its members with an authoritarian, well ordered culture with good accommodation, good medical facilities and a compassionate welfare provision; soldiers can become dependent on these structures, thus, leaving the service becomes worrying.

In a recent study into the literacy of patients with long-term health conditions it was found that the effective use of health information was critical to

empowerment. Patients with limited understanding of what they were reading or of what was being communicated to them reduced their autonomy and capacity to make effective decisions. Furthermore, the health professional who delivered their practice in a paternalistic manner deepened the dependency effect and further disempowered the individual. (Edwards *et al.*, 2012) I suggest that service leavers with limited understanding of the civilian world or those who rely on the paternalistic nature of the military become disempowered. It is not just the availability of the resettlement information, it is knowing how to use it in a contextual way and it is about learning a new literacy.

Of the limited UK studies that exist, McDermott (2007) has noted that what happens inside the army is largely closed off from normal society. Thus, there is something unique and institutional about leaving the military. This uniqueness strikes at the heart of one's identity. What complicates military career transitions is that they are frequently forced or unavoidable career changes, positioned by very strong class distinctions and, to some extent, narrow expectations of future career possibilities.

There is a sentiment here that individuals are being forced to re-identify themselves through a re-socialisation process. As the role played by class distinctions are so apparent in this niche military society, the underpinning framework for the study is taken from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, which is discussed further in the literature review provided in chapter three.

There is compelling evidence to suggest that an individual's identity and the society to which they belong are inseparably inter-linked. (Mead & Morris, 1934) Identity is the central theme to this work, and is recognised in the title of the study, 'Learning to be you'. I am cautious not to mislead the reader with the study title; the study does not suggest that military personnel leaving the service do not know who they are, Instead, and more importantly, I allude to the idea that a significant shift in a person's identity is about to occur. The overarching hope is that service personnel, when the time comes for them to leave, make a successful career transition to civilian life, achieving both economic prosperity and social inclusion. This is the case for the vast majority of service personnel (NAO, 2007). Rather than being concerned with the successes or failures of resettlement (although these are briefly covered), the primary focus of the study is on the psychological aspects of identity change, which are propelled by learning to cope with change and career transitions. Conceivably, such analysis may suggest enhancements to resettlement practice. For example, as a result of this study I have developed a predictability matrix to assist practitioners' assessment of how easy a service person's career transition may be. The matrix is described in chapter three and its application demonstrated in chapters five and six.

It is anticipated that this thesis will be of interest to the Ministry of Defence (MoD), social scientists, anthropologists, other service personnel, career consultants and career guidance specialists and fellow colleagues of the Individual Education & Resettlement Officer (IERO) cadre.

Intellectual relationship between identity and knowledge

This thesis authenticates the link between identity and knowledge, thus, it has been through the eyes of the participants that a deeper understanding of identity has been acquired. Identity is another form of knowledge:

“People constantly produce and reproduce life stories on the basis of memories, interpreting the past through the lens of social information and using this information to formulate present and future life stories.”
(Lawler, 2008, p 19)

In this sense, people are constantly teaching themselves their identity.

The scope

The British Army is a modern, dynamic organisation, which operates the very latest technology. However, this modern entity is coupled with a deep-rooted sense of history, culture, ethos and a sense of duty to the state. Enlistment into the Armed Services requires the participant to become institutionalised (Strachan, 2000). The British Army mirrors the culture of the society from which it recruits. However, the army also inculcates its present-day members with its durable dispositions, ideologies and philosophies that have been enshrined by its predecessors. This research investigates identity and how career trajectories are shaped by an institution whose learners become dependent² on its environment. The participants in this research revealed that learning takes place on many levels, including: learning a new career, learning about new environments, learning about new prospects and learning to cope with change.

² Dependency is a term discussed later pages 69 - 71.

It is important to qualify the term institutionalised as it can have different meanings depending on the context in which it is used. Institutionalised military workforces are not a new phenomenon. Indeed, the British Army was formed in the 1707 Act of the Union, and, even before this, many other military institutions existed, the Senior Service being the most obvious example in British military circles (the Royal Navy was formed in 1660).

It has been claimed that institutions contain common elements or common ways of acting in certain situations, and that they share common goals and behave in ways that achieve common responses (Mead & Morris, 1934).

There is a vast plethora of institutions within society. For example, the old textile mills, workhouses, railways, mining, farming communities, schools, prisons and marriage are all forms of institutions. A universal characteristic of institutions is that they both enable and constrain individuals, depending on the power structures contained within the institution (Hollis, 1994).

The work of Erving Goffman, and in particular, his research into asylums initially informed my ideas with regard to the 'institution' as a term. A clear distinction should, however, be made here – my study does not draw any parallels to mental health, this research is more concerned with the apathy of routine, structure and dependency which, has been stated, is apparent in the incumbents of institutions (Goffman, 1961), (Jolly, 1996).

Throughout my professional practice in service resettlement, I have noted some recurring characteristics of dependency that have, on occasion, served

to narrow ambition and shrink motivation that affects the aspirations of individuals. The rigid structure of the military also has a significant influence on dependency as personnel become, in many respects, reliant on upon its providing nature. However, the notion of dependency is a double-edged sword, which, in the modern era, brings into focus a strange dichotomy between service life and civilian life. The work of Richard Sennett, and, in particular his book the '*Corrosion of Character*', is useful in describing this phenomenon. Sennett outlines the nature of the postmodern economy and its increasing tendency to promote short-term contract and transitory work conditions, which have notably become prevalent features of the globalised economy.

The nature of the postmodern economy is the complete opposite of a 22-year service career. Postmodern conditions give people little chance to lodge an anchor. Service life on the one hand, provides a stabilising sense of the known, though on the other hand it constrains individuals through the institutional effect. Personnel inside the service look outside, view people moving on, making frequent transitions, and associate this moving on with development. Therefore, as the data reveals in chapter five, some service personnel foster a sense of 'marking time' until they leave the service.

Hence, the picture is complex for British service leavers. A post-industrial work environment, characterised by an apparent reduction in long-term employment within the civilian workforce creates difficulties for a highly institutionalised worker undergoing a forced career change into this unstable

speed-driven information aged economy (Sennett, 1999) (Elliott, 2007). At times, this is complex and often daunting for the service leaver who wishes to be part of a developing outer world, yet they often crave the stability afforded by the military organisation.

A further point can be made here on the issue raised regarding fragmentation and transitions. It should be noted that, although the army does provide a known, reliable anchor, the fragmentation of home life is an occupational hazard, which is compounded by current operational commitments in the Greater Middle East. In this sense, the fragmentation of home life in the services works in opposition to the stable anchor of the institution. The Army works very hard to annul this kind of fragmentation; it does this by its ethos, brotherhood, kinship and through the care of the families of its deployed soldiers (Ministry of Defence 2007). All of these characteristics deepen the emotional bonds, loyalty and devotion of its members.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to revisit a term that was introduced earlier – the notion of power, which, again, will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three. This thesis mainly relies on the theories of power offered by Foucault and Bourdieu, and, as it is not possible to account for all of their work, the thesis is primarily concerned with Foucault's concept of discourse relating to power and Bourdieu's notion of power, using the terms he describes as **field**, **habitus**, and **symbolic violence**.

According to Bourdieu, power, is a system of force that exists between social positions. Fields describe the various social positions, and symbolic violence is the non-physical deployment of that power within and between the social positions, or fields. For example, enlistment requires soldiers to cut their hair short and wear a uniform. Whilst there are practical reasons for this, including for example, hygiene and identification purposes, any failure to comply would lead to the threat of sanctions. The mere threat of sanctions (symbolic violence) is usually sufficient to provoke discipline and compliance. In a more widely understood example, the same can be said of schools, where the teacher has legitimate power over the pupils, which is, in the main, upheld by symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Bourdieu provides the theoretical framework for this thesis and, therefore, these aspects are discussed at greater length within the literature review in chapter three. Power is both an enabling and a constraining force.

So what is Resettlement?

Service resettlement refers to the period at the end of a service person's career (usually the final two years), which allows time for readjustment, training and preparation to enter civilian life. The current resettlement process was established in 1998. However, in real terms, the current model has been in operation since the early 1980s. The broad mechanics of this provision have remained unaltered since that time. Chapter 2 details the full extent of the current provision available. However, in brief, the package furnishes service leavers with preparation time during the final months of the individual's military career. This includes a formal interview to discuss future plans, some

time away to engage in training activities and a small grant to assist with the costs. The intentions of the resettlement package are discussed below.

Motivation for the study – World stage and political interest

It has been claimed that the world changed forever as a result of the terrorist attacks that took place on the 11th September 2001. The events that transpired on this date acted as the political catalyst that projected the British Military into yet more sustained operations in the Greater Middle East. These sustained combat operations, combined with factors relating to the globalised economy, new career trajectories and the impact of new technology in the workplace have brought into focus many questions about how service personnel cope after leaving military service. Some of these were investigated in the NAO report “Leaving The Services” (NAO, 2007). Since the publication of this report, further dramatic changes have occurred, most notably in the public perception of the armed forces, driven by the media images of combat operations, and TV presenters such as Ross Kemp and his Afghanistan documentaries (Conroy, 2008). It is now more than ten years since the current resettlement package was introduced, and the world of work has changed markedly since. An analysis of the current package and of service leavers’ journey, such as provided in this thesis, is therefore timely.

The connection between resettlement, transition and change

The particular details of current resettlement provision are discussed in greater detail in chapter two. However, for the purpose of this introduction, it is important to understand the underlying workings of the provision and its intended purpose.

The resettlement process plays a key role in the support of service personnel and is a tangible manifestation of the Armed Forces' commitment to be an employer of first choice. The resettlement package is also useful in both recruitment and retention of personnel. In this sense, potential personnel enlist safe in the belief that once they have served in the Armed Forces, the resettlement package will be flexible enough to provide ample assistance to prepare them for life and future employment (Ministry of Defence 2009). Furthermore, when personnel leave the army, they continue to be positive advocates of service life by articulating its benefits and the support afforded by resettlement during career transition. In short, a happy service leaver is the army's best recruitment tool.

Considering that personnel enlist from many different cultural backgrounds, with many different life experiences and educational attainments, it is perhaps unreasonable to expect a single package to deliver its benefits to all.

Impressively, the NAO found that, when compared with other countries, the UK was at the forefront in terms of offering a personalised and professional service when military personnel return to civilian life.

Despite the NAO's positive comments the Directorate of Resettlement has acknowledged that it is important not to rest on its laurels, particularly if the package is to remain relevant for future generations of service leavers (Ministry of Defence 2009). This study is intended to inform the drive for continuous improvement within military resettlement provision, by establishing more clearly the impact of service departure, especially outside the military

environment, and the connection between identity, transitions, career choices and learning. Thus, for example, if individuals fully recognised the importance of career choices on their identity, this would surely have an impact on their career choices and affect how an organisation delivered its package. The background set out in chapter two is descriptive in style because it is largely expressed from the service resettlement policy documents. I have also striven to emphasise the significance of the available package. This frank disclosure is important because the reader must understand the resettlement package in order to grasp how soldiers are prepared for reintegration to civilian life. Often, when reports emerge through the popular press and television, the reports present unequal views. There have been several cases whereby reports have indicated that personnel at the point of service departure are not provided with any support. This is not the case, as considerable provision is made available. For example, the BBC's Panorama programme investigated the problems experienced by some soldiers when they returned to civilian life (BBC Panorama, 2011). The subtext to the programme was excellent in every regard; soldiers have to learn to deal with many issues on service departure. Even people who resettle 'successfully' have a great deal to contend with. However, these broadcasts left the impression that the British Armed Services unsuccessfully looks after its veterans. By way of contrast, it has been estimated that the three Armed Services spend £115 million on resettlement per annum (National Audit Office, 2007).

The way in which people access the provision, how it is managed and what individuals can achieve with it are features subject to continual improvement.

It is important, at the outset of this thesis, to address two fundamental matters.

Firstly, all of the evidence indicates that there is a **good** level of resettlement support, both internally, by the military, and outside via charitable organisations. Secondly, everybody involved in resettlement, whether politicians, policymakers, commanders, practitioners, or veterans, would like to receive greater resources and the most advanced support available (National Audit Office, 2007),(Compass Partnership, 2005), (McDermott, 2007), (JSP 534, 2009).

The argument developed in this thesis is that a fuller analysis of the effects of identity on transition to civilian life should inform future improvements in resettlement policy and practice.

The research questions.

- How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity?
- How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

This study focuses on questions of some complexity. There are inevitably limitations on a modest study conducted by a lone researcher, with a limited budget, working part-time and doing so within an Ed.D construct. However, I

believe the thesis answers the research questions. There have been difficulties and a number of key learning points for future research have been identified; these are discussed in chapter four. An outline of each chapter now follows.

Chapter outlines

Chapter two describes the context of the study; for those unfamiliar with military environments this chapter is essential reading. Commendably the British Military makes a significant resettlement package available for those leaving; problematically the range of issues a service leaver faces can mean that no single solution will account for all eventualities. The resettlement package presented in chapter two comes close to providing the panacea, whilst remaining in congruence with the wider MoD aims of corporate governance. The scope of the resettlement package is under constant review (at least annually) and often provides the catalyst for much debate, both within the service, between the three single services and also outside in public debate and in parliamentary questions. The context and package are described fully in this chapter.

Chapter three is a theoretical analysis of the relevant literature that underpins the perspectives from which the study is taken. Although there is not an established body of past literature specific to this context, a great deal has been written on identity and transition. I made the decision to look back at grand theory to help position my thoughts. The themes found in doing so proved indispensable, and the use of Bourdieu, Foucault, Freud and Goffman

makes this work visibly reflexive and philosophical. These authors have shed much light on the complexities under investigation and without the coalesced framework, the narratives would have been difficult to analyse.

The work of Pierre Bourdieu forms the centre ground. Concepts, such as habitus, field, symbolic violence, social reproduction and social capital will be discussed. Chapter three also examines the concept of institutions, and explores how some of the contemporary work offered by Richard Sennett relates to the critical theories presented by the traditional theorists of Mead and Goffman. Finally, and in some detail, the second part of the chapter analyses the notion of identity, using Freud, Foucault, Bourdieu, Goffman and Lawler. This section is heavily influenced by social philosophy and social psychology. Chapter three educated me a great deal with regard to the complexity of identity and how via microanalysis of identity, the idiosyncrasies experienced in everyday life renders the emblematic character of the individual. The level of critical thinking applied throughout this chapter has changed my perception of philosophy markedly, as the chapter argues that we are what we are because of where we have been, what we know, what we think and what we demonstrate to others. Bequeathed destiny does not have as much of an influence compared to the importance of experience. That said there does appear to be a primary habitus. (Bourdieu, 1980, p 42)

The approach, methodology, and commentary used by the research are presented in chapter four. As the research unfolded several ethical dilemmas developed, specifically issues pertaining to the privacy of participants. When addressing these issues, it was not sufficient to use substituted names for

participants. Further safeguards were required and thus fabricated names for army units were also created.

Chapter four also discusses the difficulties the research encountered and the amendments to method made to answer the research questions. Some of the changes were forced by circumstance; however, the resulting processes were in the end welcome additions. For example, one of the research participants moved to a geographic location that made face-to-face interviewing impossible. As a result, different data gathering methods were used, which provided the opportunity to triangulate existing data.

As this study gathered momentum, philosophy became increasingly important in guiding the analysis. This importance can perhaps be illustrated by the following reflection:

When artists paint a landscape of flowers, they attempt to capture the vibrancy of the colours, the warmth of the midday sun and the movement of the gentle breeze drifting through the field. When scientists views the same scene, they may well envisage the bright colours as a means of attracting bees for pollination, the midday sun used for photosynthesis, and, of the gentle breeze, they may consider the strength of the stems supporting the plant through its movement. This is not to say the artist and the scientist do not appreciate each other's perspective.

This is a useful metaphor. Not everything is readily accounted for by a single perspective and certainly, studies of identity are far too complex for the adoption of narrow standpoints. Therefore, exploring the social complexities and underlying philosophical paradigms of identity became an essential feature of this study.

Chapter five draws together the results of the study and is presented in narrative form. It makes sense of the data by presenting a combination of stories with analysis drawn from the literature of chapter three. Whilst it is hoped that the thesis is read in its entirety, chapter five can be read in isolation, as can chapter six. Moreover, if the reader chooses to bypass the earlier chapters, these standalone elements, chapters five and six can still provide the reader with a wealth of insight into the largely un-researched area of service transitions. Chapter five also demonstrates the use of my devised resettlement predictability matrix. The matrix is designed to provide an indication to how easy or difficult the military career transition may be. The matrix is fully explained in chapter five, page 167.

Chapter six follows the themes detailed in the findings and moves toward explaining and analysing their hidden meanings. Uncovering the possibilities for action, by bringing to light the mask of malaise and championing the seemingly innocent and normalised character of service departure. This chapter makes reflections against the literature. The conclusions draw together the potential outcomes of this work. The purpose being that this study adds new knowledge to the area, and helps to inform continuous improvements for practitioners, enlightens service leavers' appreciation of

military departure and engages the interest of fellow researchers. Moreover, it is anticipated that the thesis will act as a catalyst for further research into career transitions of service personnel through the lens of identity. Analysis of service career transition, using the lens of identity, is the most appropriate strategy to understand the extent of learning a Veteran must undertake during service departure. Chapter six makes a clear distinction from the previous theoretical chapters; this chapter sets out implications for policy and aims to enhance practice by use of my resettlement predictability matrix.

Staging the performance.

This study claims that one's identity is largely a social entity and, in the case of British Army service leavers, very little has been researched or documented about a soldier's identity on leaving the Service. The following chapters support this assertion and provide a foundation for further work into this area. This research has discovered what happens to the thoughts and feelings of service leavers during this transition period, and how the stresses, risks, apprehensions and opportunities associated with this process influence identity.

Chapter 2 - The Tri-Service Resettlement Package - The Context

“Change may come about either because it is imposed on us (by natural events or deliberate reform) or because we voluntarily participate in or even initiate change when we find dissatisfaction, inconsistency, or intolerability in our current situation.” (Fullan, 2001)

This chapter is to acquaint the reader with the details of the current Tri-Service resettlement policy,³ and articulates the textbook solution currently used in its deployment. This chapter is essential reading to those not familiar with military contexts. In combination with the exploration of theory in chapter three, it provides a basis to improve understandings of service career transitions. It is clear that identity is embodied in that which we experience. Personnel embarking on the resettlement journey do so whilst not in a vacuum, and as service leavers interact with the structures that they lend a hand in producing, they become products of their own history (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Service departure is sometimes reported in a biased way through popular media, leaving the public with the impression that little is done for our veterans. This is not the case. Everybody would like to see greater and enhanced provision for service leavers, but there is already much on offer. The resettlement package has a reputation for being bureaucratic and paperwork intensive for service leavers. It should be noted that, as this thesis

³ Tri-Service policy: Across the Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force certain commonalities exist. Where these commonalities exist, the MoD seeks to align common practices into common policy. Tri-Service policy attempts to bring parity to those who serve our country. Thus, irrespective of which part of the military they belong to, personnel can expect the same treatment. Chapter 2 illustrates much of the Tri-Service policy found in JSP 534.

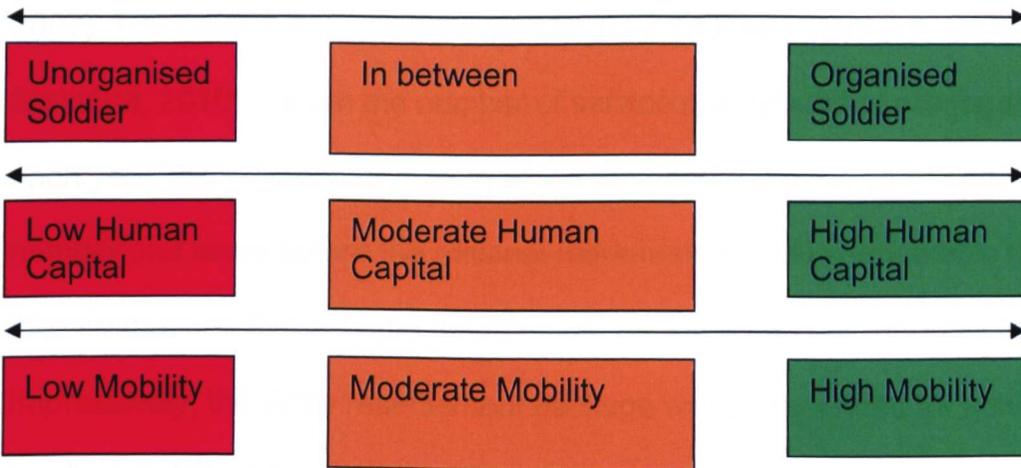
is being completed, the three armed services are taking measures to reduce the bureaucratic burden through e-working measures.

The backdrop

Our personal environment is changing at an ever-increasing pace (Keeley, 2007) and, in the case of service leavers, change comes about either because it is imposed by the virtue that the individual has reached the end of their service career or voluntarily, when the current situation becomes unacceptable. Whichever is the case, the majority of personnel leave at least 25 years before the current national retirement age (NAO, 2007). These changes occur against a backdrop of complex social structures, policies, personal desires and organisational constraints.

Whilst soldiers are often identified as a collective group, they are not homogenous and therefore the complexity of their social structures should not be underestimated. In making these points explicit, I have deliberately simplified some of the contextual features. I fully acknowledge this simplification, as the intention has been to draw attention to the extremes. These extremes do not exist uniformly. For this reason, it would be helpful if the reader visualises a series of continuums. Simply, not all service leavers are the same; some assess themselves as being somewhere on the exemplar continuums shown in Fig: 1.1

Fig: 1.1 Resettlement Continuums



The second contextual obscurity to tackle is the apparent mismatch between the length of time served and the effects of institutionalisation. It is broadly correct to assume that more time served equates to deeper institutionalisation; however, it is equally accurate to acknowledge the institutional effects on those who have served less time. A well-known ritual on enlistment is 'Basic Training' where old identities are shed and new military identities form. Personnel are substantially institutionalised within the first few weeks of enlistment; serving longer can deepen this effect. Once again, this is a continuum - the experience is not the same for all service personnel.

The following paragraphs focus on the provision afforded by the military to the service leaver.

Military resettlement in context

The Ministry of Defence needs to enlist around 20,000 men and women to the armed forces each year (this figure is likely to reduce as the government

cutbacks impact over the next five years). *“The Army, in particular, draws a high percentage of its recruits from disadvantaged backgrounds.”* (NAO, 2007). The current Army outflow stands at 13,140 personnel (UK Defence Statistics, 2010). Given the number of service personnel that are required each year, the environments from which the people are recruited and the number that leave before the national retirement age, it is remarkable given these variations that a single resettlement package can deliver on all fronts. Impressively, the Army resettlement package was commended for achieving just that (NAO, 2007).

Resettlement Facilitators

The resettlement package is organised over three layers of support; the first tier is the responsibility of the individual’s unit, and normally a commissioned officer within the Unit is the focal point. At the second tier, the package is managed by a Service Resettlement Adviser⁴ (this is at a regional level). In the case of the Army, this is the role of the Individual Education & Resettlement Officer (IERO), which is a position that was held by myself while stationed in Germany. Additionally, I have also had the good fortune of occupying a similar position within the Royal Air Force (RAF) chain of command; in the RAF, the position is referred to as ‘Regional Resettlement Adviser’ (RRA). On that basis, I consider it likely that I am well placed, in terms of experience, to colour this thesis with the real world understanding of working as a ‘Resettlement Officer’.

⁴ Each of the three Services have different specialist personnel appointed at the second line to provide assistance in resettlement and career development; essentially each second line appointee from each Service does a very similar task.

Annually Army Resettlement Officers meet at a conference⁵; this is to discuss current themes, work through common problems and to discuss a wide range of initiatives to enhance practice. Past themes have included appropriate reporting of sick and injured personnel and delivering training packages to Unit Resettlement Staff. There have also been various keynote speakers from organisations such as Help for Heroes, Royal British Legion and the Armed Forces Pensions Society.

The third layer of support is provided by a civilian contractor, and is called the 'Career Transition Partnership' (CTP). It is one of the tasks of an IERO to refer the service leaver to the third line contractor. The CTP has been working with the armed services since 1998. During this partnership, CTP have developed a good understanding of the skill sets and attributes that service personnel possess, and as such, they are well placed to advise on the civilian job market. They can be viewed as having a foothold in both camps, military and civilian. They are ideally positioned as a halfway house between service life and civilian life, and they provide an appropriate conduit for the transition into the civilian world.

The specific role of an Individual Education & Resettlement Officer (IERO)

The Individual Education and Resettlement Officer (IERO) is the link between the service person, their unit, the CTP, and on occasion, when individuals

⁵ The resettlement Officers conference provides a ready platform to discuss the findings of this work. The date for the next conference has yet to be confirmed, it is likely to be September 2012, however, given current financial constraints this may be postponed to the next financial year.

require it the link into the gatekeeper charities. These include charities such as the Royal British Legion and Combat Stress.

The role of the IERO involves many responsibilities. At times, they are the negotiator, the peacemaker between stakeholders, the manager, the career counsellor, the guidance adviser, the financial gatekeeper as well as the objective listener to the anxious service leaver. The arbitrator in the middle of strongly opposing agendas is not a bad comparison. The three lines of resettlement support in greater detail can be set out as follows:

First line – What happens at the Unit?

First line support resides at unit level, and at this point the unit administration staff is headed by a commissioned officer (usually a captain) who ensures the individual is briefed on basic entitlements. The unit also coordinates time away from the workplace to undertake resettlement activities and balances the individual needs against operational commitments. The unit pay staff will also authorise any payments to the individual for reimbursements of training and food/accommodation costs. (Within specified entitlements) In the Army the overseer validating the resettlement activities within the guiding principles of the resettlement policy is the IERO who operates from a central education centre at second line. (Tri-Service Resettlement policy can be found in JSP 534).

Second line resettlement support

The principal task of the second line support is to give advice and guidance on education and resettlement packages that will best suit the individual service

leaver. They also advise the individual on what is admissible or non-admissible in terms of the appropriate use of funding schemes. The anxiety that an individual can sometimes face when leaving is another feature that surfaces at the second line interview; hence, the IERO also provides the system check outside of the unit's chain of command. This is a fundamental aspect of the resettlement package, as the hierarchical power structures that pervade the military chain can, on occasion, serve to intimidate⁶ the individual service leaver. This kind of pressure, a form of symbolic violence⁷ (Bourdieu, 1980), is also the kind of inconsistency which McDermott alluded to in his study.

(McDermott, 2007)

If instances where the service leaver feels unsupported by the system continue to be unchecked, they then run the risk of greater social problems at departure. For example, a poorly prepared service leaver can be at greater risk of social exclusion, combat stress related illnesses, and homelessness. These are issues at the extreme end of the continuum with disillusionment and frustration at the other. The NAO noted that the junior ranks and in particular personnel who had not served for very long, were most at risk of these extreme issues (NAO, 2007).

Whilst the individuals are responsible for executing their 'Personal Resettlement Plans' they are assisted with their plans by a professional career consultant who operates at the third line of support. (CTP)

⁶ Note the continuum aspect mentioned earlier – not all service leavers experience this in the same way.

⁷ For the clarification of symbolic violence see page 89.

Third line – Career Transition Partnership (CTP)

The CTP provides tri-service resettlement support at the third line. The MoD and Right Management Consultants formed the CTP in 1998 to bring the expertise of a firm of outplacement consultants to the Armed Forces resettlement service. The CTP operates from a series of Regional Resettlement Centres (RRC's) at Rosyth, Catterick, Northolt, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Aldershot, Tidworth, Aldergrove and Cottesmore in the UK and Herford in Germany. Additionally, Aldershot is the Resettlement Training Centre (RTC). This is a vocational training centre, which provides over 40 different vocational courses, ranging from 'Potential Police Officer' to painting and decorating courses.

How resettlement works

The policy and secretarial processes involved in resettlement are laid out formally in the Joint Service Publication 534 (Ministry of Defence 2009). This provides the textbook solution. The point of delivery to a service leaver can be somewhat different to the textbook answer, or how policymakers intended that service leavers would utilise the package.

The single dimension solution (the textbook solution) is put to the test when you add the magical ingredient – people. As Bourdieu succinctly puts it, people typically 'act with self-interest' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). I am constantly surprised by the new and interesting ways people devise to utilise what is on offer, and this ingenuity is to be welcomed. However, the NAO noticed this multi-dimensional practice, and in a subtle critique of the MoD's resettlement department, the NAO found it was difficult to evaluate the

utilitarian benefit to the service or indeed the long-term economic benefit to the individual when considered against the backdrop of the significant monetary cost the department incurred. (Chapter six explores this discrepancy; the findings indicate that, at the time personnel use the package, they are sometimes not fully aware of what they want).

Across the three armed services, resettlement costs are at an estimated £115 million, including £36 million in direct costs⁸ (NAO, 2007). When such sums of taxpayers' money are involved, it is justifiable to open this process to closer scrutiny. Resettlement is ordinarily acknowledged as a noble instrument, and it is generally accepted that it attempts to support the nation's commitment to the military covenant. However, it is challenging to evidence resettlements links to recruitment and retention and to ascertain its direct links to service leaver employment when there are so many variables involved. What can be stated unequivocally is that £115 million pounds of investment demonstrates there is genuine commitment to do what is right, and this is no less than our veterans deserve (NAO, 2007).

The career transition workshop

The Career Transition Workshop (CTW) is usually the first CTP event that a service leaver attends. The CTW lasts three days and is entirely free of charge to the service leaver. During the workshop, interview techniques are practised, an 'employer-friendly' CV is produced and self-marketing skills are considered. At the end of the workshop, the service leavers receive a one-to-

⁸ Direct costs – Cost of the CTP contract, wages of advisers, running costs.

one interview with a career consultant. The 2007 'Leaving The Services' report states that 60% of the respondents found their consultant useful, and that 36% stated that *'they did not value their support'*. Nearly all of those who attended found that the CV writing techniques were the most useful aspect of the CTW (NAO, 2007).

Career consultants

Each service leaver is allocated a personal consultant who is accessible throughout the resettlement period and for two years after discharge. The consultant will develop a "Personal Resettlement Plan" mapping out a programme of activities designed to help find a job, or whatever else the individual wishes to do. Spouses may also attend these consulting sessions. The consultant will discuss desired outcomes and then structure the meeting to address the relevant issues. Typically, these may cover things such as CV preparation, training requirements, job market intelligence, perceived 'blocks' to employment and an employment 'wish' list. The service leaver will then be registered on the CTP database for on-going support and lifelong job finding assistance.

The level of guidance theory deployed at the CTP interviews is not explicit. Generally the evidence presented in this thesis seems to support the CTP delivering a 'Person Environment Fit Model' (Parsons, 1909). The broad mechanics of this model involve matching individuals' characteristics to the characteristics of the occupation, thus providing a level of congruence in job matching. In the literature review, (chapter three), a cursory examination of

elements of career guidance models and choice making is provided. The 'Person Environment Fit' model seems to place a significant emphasis on a person's identity and their psychological characteristics in a given social arena. This is reminiscent of 'field theory': "*Every psychological event depends upon the state of the person and at the same time on the environment...*" (Lewin, 1936). In the case of the participants in this research, their environment is about to change. The best use of this model, as substantiated by the findings in chapter five and six, is to use this model after the participants have left the service.

Networking and awareness

The CTP consultants and IEROs keep the service leavers informed of relevant employment fairs and industry awareness days. Additionally, the CTP runs a number of one-day regional job fairs, which the service leaver may attend. Local Army Education Centre libraries maintain a ready stock of contemporary career self-help books, periodicals and newspapers. In addition, all of the CTP regional centres have well stocked information rooms, and, at every level of the process, service leavers are actively encouraged to seek information from these and other sources.

Internal training opportunities

Resettlement Training Centre (RTC) in Aldershot offers a variety of job-related training courses, a wide range of subjects are covered, from management training in various employment fields, through to trade skills and security work. Broadly, the attempt here is to offer an in-house solution to cater for many of

the most favoured career destination points. Many of these courses result in recognised qualifications, while others can lead to employment with companies that have links to the RTC.

Army Education Centres (AECs) also run courses. Depending on the location of the centre, its curriculum will include courses ranging from language training through to GCSEs. Every AEC offers IT courses, and again the range is broad, including ECDL, time management, customer service, dealing with stress, and negotiating skills. In the main, the courses are vocational in nature and tend to lead to qualifications or certification.

External training opportunities

There is no specific list of resettlement courses. The service leaver is allowed to exercise personal choice with the support of the IERO and their career consultant from CTP. In addition to the courses at the RTC, the CTP maintains a 'preferred suppliers list', which details civilian training providers that have been vetted by the CTP. This acts as a safety net, ensuring that service leavers can purchase training with confidence. CTP and IEROs also monitor and evaluate feedback from the service leaver and therefore, through the second line, a service leaver may raise a complaint if the 'preferred supplier' is not providing satisfactory training.

Lifelong employment support

The CTP handles thousands of job vacancies from employers looking for staff with a military background. A job matching and notification service is provided to service

leavers by the Regular Forces Employment Association (RFEA) and the Officers' Association (OA). These are charitable organisations that are well drilled and successful in finding jobs for service leavers. The RFEA works in conjunction with CTP in job finding. This is maintained by an online job matching database called 'Right Job'. Right Job is dedicated to service leavers and is accessible to service leavers for life. (Normally via a web-enabled browser; to make best use of this a moderate level of IT skills are required).

The time granted to resettle

Graduated Resettlement Time (GRT) is an entitled duty, and is an allocation of time away from the place of work to make use of resettlement activities. These fall into one of three broad areas; work experience, training or individual resettlement preparation. GRT can be used for a wide range of resettlement activities within the cited categories; there is rarely an endeavour that is not permissible. One example of a non-permitted activity is that you cannot undertake resettlement activities in a war zone. This may sound like an unusual request. However, there have been some lucrative job offers for private security work in troubled hotspots around the world. Thus, a reasonable proportion of service leavers elect to do close protection courses as part of their resettlement plans. Whilst the specific training is allowable, undertaking the training or work placement in, for example, Afghanistan would be prohibited.

The table below shows the available GRT based on length of service and discharge type.

Table: 1.1 Graduated Resettlement Time (GRT) Matrix

Years Service	Normal Discharge			Medical Discharge		
	CTP	GRT Days	IRTC Money	CTP	GRT Days	IRTC Money
<1	Not entitled	0	No	Full Resettlement support	10	Yes
1+	Not entitled	0	No	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes
<4	Not entitled	0	No	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes
4+	Employment Support only	0	No	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes
6+	Full Resettlement support	20	Yes	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes
8+	Full Resettlement support	25	Yes	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes
12+	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes	Full Resettlement support	30	Yes
>16	Full Resettlement support	35	Yes	Full Resettlement support	35	Yes

To explain the three available GRT categories further and how the manipulation of GRT works, days are allocated against the following categories:

Civilian work attachment (CWA)

A CWA is an attachment that does not include prescribed courses or formal teaching. The primary purpose of the CWA is to provide on-job training or work experience. The CWA can be undertaken at any time during the final two years of service. Most work destinations are allowable, although, as noted, war zones are not permissible. Other examples of doing work attachments with questionable outcomes which are also frowned upon, for example, an attachment with a builder at a service leaver's own property has

the hallmarks of not being a legitimate work attachment. It may appear to be an illustration of a person renovating one's own property and not fulfilling a work attachment. Politically, this could be viewed as misappropriation of funds as under this GRT category, personnel can claim for a wider range of allowances.

However, legitimately, this may be a relevant use of a person's time; having somewhere to live on discharge is a high priority. Thus, this type of request may fit the next described category – 'individual resettlement preparation'⁹ (This may appear to be a problem of semantics, to allow the activity in one category but not the other, yet this is due to the availability of allowances within each category and the 'just' use of public money).

The findings in chapter five indicate that the CWA is an underutilised category; CWA has the potential to increase the individual's awareness of the civilian work environment. Problematically, there are limited days available, and using GRT as CWA is regarded by some service leavers as an ineffective use of GRT, especially when training is regularly held to be the most important feature of resettlement. The importance of gaining real world knowledge of civilian life should not be underestimated; all of the participants in this research concluded that the civilian world was not as they had envisaged.

⁹ Individual resettlement preparation see next page.

Individual resettlement preparation (IRP)

IRP should be interpreted in an all-embracing sense for resettlement purposes. For example, this may include periods spent applying for jobs, attending interviews, employment and recruitment fairs and preparing CVs. IRP may also be used for activities related to house purchases and relocating children to new schools. Generally, if time is required to help set up an individual's new life, IRP can be used for this purpose. Under this category, a service leaver cannot claim expenses that relate to food and accommodation charges, but they claim back money relating to travel costs.

External training

Service leavers may undertake resettlement training, normally within the final year of service. The 12-month window is a guiding principle to ensure that a service leaver does not undertake training too early and learn skills that will be outdated upon entering employment. On the other hand, some career courses are longer and require the service leaver to start earlier. Case by case flexibility is applied.

Commendably, the department attempts to remove financial barriers to learning. Current policy rules under the training category allow service leavers to claim expenses for food and accommodation costs incurred as a result of the training.¹⁰ However, the department's budget is under constant scrutiny and greater restrictions may soon apply. On rare occasions, political dimensions limit a service leaver's training choice; for example, a Royal Air Force service leaver undertook a pole dancing training course. The newspaper headlines

¹⁰ Food and accommodation reimbursements are set within MoD limits.

made for some uncomfortable reading (Times Newspaper, 2005). Taxpayers' money was being used to fund pole dancing lessons. There were some people who recognised that the service leaver in question did go on to make a good living from a pole dancing career, and thus did not burden the state with claims for unemployment benefit. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the recent MP expense claim scandals, people are even more concerned with how certain training activities appear politically. Despite these limitations, there is, in the main, a free rein to undertake training with any provider, thus ensuring maximum flexibility for the service leaver.

Normally service leavers either attend the RTC at Aldershot, or choose from a training provider on the preferred supplier list. This is not enforced. Service leavers can exercise maximum choice, and look to any training provider, and, as noted, there are very few exceptions or limitations to this.

It should be re-emphasised that, out of the three categories outlined above, the service leaver spreads their allocated GRT across these types. For example, a service leaver with 20 days GRT may use it in the following way: 15 days of external training; three days of civilian work attachment (CWA); and two days for individual resettlement preparation (IRP). It is up to the service leaver how they mix and match GRT.

Finance

The resettlement and educational financial support available to service leavers is reasonable if it is combined with other funds and used to its full

potential. An essential element of resettlement is access to training; this is to enhance underdeveloped skills and improve employment opportunities. The IRTC grant exists to help contribute towards the cost of resettlement training through CTP or an open range of external training providers. All service leavers who are eligible for GRT are entitled to receive the full IRTC grant for any training undertaken. The total IRTC grant, which is non-taxable, is subject to a maximum, which is currently £534¹¹. This limited sum is often seen as a barrier, and in fairness, with some justification, this specific grant has not altered for over 18 years (for example, 18 years ago £534 had a greater degree of buying power than it does today). To contextualise the issue of money further, other finances are available; for example, two complementary education grants can be used to support resettlement activities, the SLC and ELC. These are explained in the following paragraphs.

Standard Learning Credit (SLC)

All service personnel are eligible to claim 80% of their education fees, up to a maximum of £175 per financial year. Unused elements of the grant are not carried over to the next financial year. At the end of the normal tax-year, the grant is reset to £175. The range of courses the grant can be used for is varied, as long as the course aspires to a nationally recognised qualification that benefits the Service. During the final two years of service, a service leaver may use the SLC to support resettlement.

¹¹ £534 figure correct as of May 2012

Enhanced Learning Credits

Personnel who have been registered with the ELC scheme for four years may claim up to £1000 in each of three different financial years. Additionally, this grant may be accessed for up to 10 years after exit, in order to help pay for higher educational or vocational courses. For personnel who serve for 8 years, the grant rises to £2000 per claim. Individuals' pay 20% of course costs and, as long as the course is at Level 3 or above (NQF) and the training provider is registered with the ELC, the remaining 80% up to a maximum of £2000 will be paid by the scheme, depending which funding threshold the service leaver has reached. The ELC and SLC are not allowed to be used for the same purpose; this would contravene current Treasury rules on double funding for the same course. However, the ELC can be used in conjunction with the IRTC money (£534).

The following tables, table 1.2 and table 1.3, show, in brief, the differences between the entitled package of a 22 year service leaver and that of a four year service leaver.

Table: 1.2 Example of 22 Year Career Resettlement Package

GRT	Housing Brief	Pension Brief	CTW	RTC	IRTC Money	SLC	ELC	Job Finding
35 Days	Yes	Yes	3 Days	Full access	£534	£175 per FNY	£6000	Yes Lifelong

Table: 1.3 Example of 4 Year Career Resettlement Package

GRT	Housing Brief	Pension Brief	CTW	RTC	IRTC Money	SLC	ELC	Job Finding
0 Days	Yes	Yes	1 Day	Fill up access (Standby only)	£0	£175 per FNY	£3000	Yes Lifelong

Thoughts against the backdrop of the resettlement package

It is vital to the Army, in terms of recruiting and retaining public support, that it maintains a reputation of being a first-class employer. Reputations are easily damaged, therefore, when service personnel are poorly prepared to enter into civilian employment, it can reflect adversely on the British military. Recently many headlines have done just this (BBC Panorama, 2011). Furthermore, personnel should be able to enlist safe in the knowledge that, once they have completed their engagement and service to their country, they will be properly rewarded by an appropriate package and that they will be assisted in the transition from a service career to a civilian career.

It should be emphasised that life in the military is unique, and the intimacy of a service career is rarely found in other careers. Modern civilian lives are ordinarily far more fragmented, in terms of moving from one employer to the next. This is perhaps the opposite of the stability that service life provides.

Without doubt, it is unfortunate that there is not more financial assistance available. However, the package remains reasonable and as such, individuals also need to plan for their future, both in terms of finance and in terms of their human capital¹².

Generally, limited emphasis is apportioned to dealing with everyday resettlement stress. Even people who resettle successfully often experience some psychological inconveniences and these are never really accounted for.

¹² Human Capital: personal attributes, skills, social networks, competence and intangible aspects such as family connections, reputation or goodwill. Moreover, the capacity to use human capital to gain an advantage, for example, in finding employment.

This type of welfare / survival need only becomes noticeable when it becomes a bigger problem; often, the small issues go by unchecked. Some guidance on prevention and dealing with resettlement stress would be a useful inclusion to the resettlement package. I make this observation clear in chapter six.

What happens when entering the resettlement zone?

Ordinarily, personnel enter the resettlement zone by one of two streams¹³.

Firstly, when a service person comes to the end of their normal engagement, whether that is after 6, 9, 12 or 22 years, then two years prior to the normal engagement date the individual will enter the resettlement zone: the final two years of a normal engagement is taken as the resettlement zone. Personnel register in resettlement using MoD Form 1173. This initiates a mandatory interview with an IERO. This paperwork process has recently moved to an electronic form on the Joint Services Pay and Administration (JPA) system. Certain aspects of the registration process are now automated. This is an improvement as the NAO criticised the previous paperwork intensive methods (NAO, 2007).

The other instance is where personnel enter the resettlement zone is when they enter their final 12 months of service, by voluntarily handing in their notice. If an individual has **not** completed their normal engagement (6, 9, 12 or 22 years) they can elect to sign off (choose to leave the service). 'Signing off' means that you give 12 months' notice to terminate service. Where an

¹³ Discharge under medical grounds can happen at any time.

individual decides to leave early, they register for resettlement at this point. In theory, this means personnel who have signed off have 11 months to run until an exit date is reached.

The reality can be different from this. In most cases, by the time administration is complete and the service leaver has completed the MoD 1173 and register, this leaves only seven to eight months to run until an exit date. This weakness is being eased by JPA's automation of the electronic form 1173.

The realisation that an exit date is looming is often referred to in service circles as 'Resettlement Ground Rush'. Imagine the following scenario: three months to service exit, currently serving in Germany, no CV, limited qualifications, no house, no job and married with two children (this is an extreme, but genuine, example that have I witnessed).

Regarding the above scenario, the aspect of personal responsibility arises here. The individual should consequently be more personally organised as they have either, chosen to terminate their service or they are fully aware of their exit date at the time of enlistment.

The cautionary note here, albeit with some caveats, is that the institutional effects of service life are also important factors. Soldiers are so well sheltered from ordinary life that some become reliant on the system (being told what to do and when) and are, at times, ill prepared for civilian life and sometimes

struggle to act with impetus. The caveat to this is that a good proportion of service leavers feel that they are well organised.

Even for the organised service leaver with future plans in place, the sense of alarm grows as the impending discharge date approaches. The purpose of this observation is to refer to the stress of service departure, and as noted, even successful transitions face stressful times. Every one of the service leavers in this research experienced this stress to a greater or lesser extent.

Expectation management

Expectation can be a difficult issue because there are several lenses from which to view the anticipation of resettlement outcomes. For example, the government has an expectation that the packages provide ample assistance to service leavers once they have served their country. A failure of the package to live up to this expectation may result in parliamentary questions being raised, and here there have been several examples of veterans, ministers and charitable organisations doing just that (Harper, 2007).

Service leavers also share the expectation of a package providing sufficient support when they leave. However, at the point of delivery, individual needs are such that expectations become far more subjective and complex.

Consequently, while some service leavers meet their expectation, others perhaps feel that their expectations have not been fulfilled. The individualisation aspect is another concept that promotes the connection

between resettlement, the process of transitions, and identity transference.

The experience of going through transition means change.

A different lens, albeit one that was not the main subject of this thesis, but which is too important to be missed, concerns how commanders and managers view resettlement. I always find this odd, particularly as this changes when they themselves (commanders and managers) enter the resettlement zone. This is perhaps the first glimmer of Bourdieu's power structures at work. Specifically, the higher their position within the social field (rank), the greater the power an individual holds. In terms of transition, this could translate into wider opportunities for those with more power. The details of these dynamics offered by Bourdieu are dealt with in the literature review in chapter three.

However, this perspective fails to appropriately acknowledge that service leavers experience quite vivid shifts in their identity for several weeks, if not months, prior to making the final decision to terminate service. Therefore, abdicating long-term responsibility by departmentalisation of resettlement to just a few weeks is not helpful, and can leave service leavers feeling quite disorientated and unwanted. As one service leaver commented: "Once you are in resettlement or you sign off you're no use to them..." This can lead people to be very secretive about their plans for terminating service. The effect of departmentalisation is further ingrained into the organisational atmosphere by mishandling of key policy documents such as the JSP 534 (Resettlement Manual). Personnel policy is notoriously ambiguous and, like

many social interactions, it is about perception (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). People can interrupt policy in different ways and typically do so in order to pursue their own agendas.

In defence of commanders and managers, it must be acknowledged, with significant emphasis, that the British Armed Services are engaged in some of their fiercest combat operations for some 50 years. An average infantry soldier can expect to fire more rounds of ammunition in a six-month tour of Afghanistan than a comparable infantry soldier would fire throughout the entire Second World War (Brigadier Wilson, 2009). Hitherto, commanders and managers have not felt this kind of extreme need to sustain their attentions to those who wish to remain active. They do care deeply for those leaving, it is just not the upper most priority in the current climate and spare concentration is focused on those who choose to remain in service.

Resettlement Provision – Context in action

We shall now turn to explain the real world workings of the JSP 534, by outlining the mechanics of provision and how it is to be applied. The longer a soldier has served the more time the soldier is granted to undertake some resettlement activities. This ranges from 20 days to 35 days; a matrix table 1.1 explains this further. To make an assumption that service leavers only require these 20 to 35 days based on the matrix is delusional and it is probably not the intention of policymakers to leave people (service leavers, commanders and managers) with this impression.

People tend to develop their own subjective opinions with regard to the resettlement provision. The 20 to 35 day period should be viewed as dedicated time for training or work experience, rather than being the totality of the package.

Service leavers need time to research careers, make reflections, decide training options, test potential solutions, re-evaluate, make stage checks, realise potentials and make informed choices. This is why registering for resettlement is mandatory within one month of deciding to terminate service, or, for those who reach the end of their service career, within three months of entering their final two years of service. Either way, there should ideally be a minimum eleven month gap between notice to terminate and service exit, and, for soldiers who leave at the end of a fixed term engagement, a minimum of twenty one months before exit.

From the interviews I have conducted, a more pragmatic view would be that service leavers are in transition before they officially sign off. In my professional experience, most soldiers give much consideration to signing off and therefore identity shifts start to occur sometime before the official administration commences.

Resettlement is certainly not just about a few days or a few courses at the end of a service career. As the evidence presented in this thesis suggests, even with careful planning, many service leavers are largely unaware of the

idiosyncrasies of the civilian world, and sometimes their plans may be unworkable in their new environment.

Closer scrutiny of **'when'** personnel choose to do **'what'** is conceivably called for. Problematically, we have to live life moving forward, but we understand it in reverse. Therefore, service leavers often discover, after they have used up their resettlement entitlement, what they should have done: if they had the gift of foresight, they may have chosen a different resettlement strategy.

While the allotted days available for dedicated activities depend on time served, it is how people are treated and guided throughout the transition that is important in overcoming difficulties when reconnecting to civilian society. Notably, those who serve less time have the greatest difficulties, and this is the same group that does not accrue GRT days (NAO, 2007). This supports the contention that institutionalisation occurs early in an individual's military career (Strachan, 2000). Additionally, those service leavers who perhaps after an operational tour have decided to leave the service early, and, despite having served in combat, they will not have accrued sufficient service to earn GRT. This is a problem: it is neither consistent with the military covenant nor morally respectful in terms of the service an individual may have given.

This thesis argues that military career transitions have an impact on identity, and this needs to be taken into account when planning resettlement activities. The research has also argued that other people's perceptions of a specific individual's identity also alter as they make this journey from service to

civilian. To summarise, identity is not only portrayed by individuals, but is also bestowed on individuals (Elliott, 2007) (Lawler, 2008). The findings of this research confirm this to be the case.

The theoretical discussion presented in chapter three demonstrates how identity is also bestowed on individuals (Elliott, 2007). As a previously cited service leaver commented: *“Once you are in resettlement or you sign off you’re no use to them...”*: his manager may have given the impression that a soldier who decides to leave is ineffective, slovenly or not committed to the job.

Specifically, the effect here can be that the model soldier becomes a frustrated soldier, which in turn deepens the assumed divide between service commitment and the new life. This is unfortunate, as, in reality, the soldier simply feels it is time to leave the service and in doing so wants to leave with the same sense of pride as when they enlisted. Perhaps this is easier said than done when a bestowed identity is under the spotlight.

It is important not to overemphasise this point as the vast majority of service leavers exiting the Army report that the package delivers on most fronts. Nevertheless, this observation again reveals some of the nature of resettlement, its impact, the anxiety it brings to individuals and their responses to the choices that are available.

This chapter was intentionally dense in its description of the resettlement package. Whilst I have recommended this as essential reading for those unaccustomed with military resettlement, aiming to inform a mostly academic audience, it should be remembered that service leavers enter the resettlement zone equally uninformed of the package. Thus, I hope this chapter has served an additional purpose: I have been able demonstrate how complex, regulatory and policy driven the package is. This is commonly frustrating to the new service leaver and adds to the stress of the departure. As a result, a considerable amount of time simply explaining the bureaucracy to the uninitiated is rarely avoidable.

I now turn to Chapter three, this chapter analyses the literature supporting my argument, and as has already been detailed, much has been written on the subject of identity but very little has been written in the UK about a soldier's identity on military departure.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review

“A transition simultaneously carries the seeds of our yesterdays, the hopes and fears of our futures, and the pressing sensations of the present which is our confirmation of being alive. There is danger and opportunity, ecstasy and despair, development and stagnation, but above all, there is movement. Nothing and no one stays the same.”
(Chapman & Gale, 1982, p 141)

Introduction

This research addresses two questions, firstly, how do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity and secondly how does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure, have to adapt to civilian career transitions? This literature review locates the study within the broader field of transitions from the military and other comparable total institutions and presents the underpinning theoretical perspectives.

McDermott (2007) noted that many issues have remained unchanged over several decades of military transitions, for example the opinions held by the long-served soldier regarding work and civilian life have changed very little over the past 60 years, yet during the same period a great deal has been enhanced in the provision of service resettlement (National Audit Office, 2007), (Ministry of Defence 2009). There appears to be a disparity; on the one hand an improved resettlement provision (Ministry of Defence 2009), however on the other, over the same period similar transitional issues continue to resurface. In a further example, both my research presented here and McDermott's (2007) study reveals personnel still citing the torn effects between service commitments and the energy required to set up a new civilian life or the inconsistencies of resettlement provision at Unit level.

For this reason I draw attention to these disparities and more specifically to the sociological and psychological perspectives of identity to improve our understanding of these reoccurring transitional issues. As the Compass Partnership (2005), McDermott (2007), National Audit Office (2007) and Penny (2010) have all noted, there has been very little written about British military career transitions. However, there is a well-developed literature relating to the wider context of transition from other institutional contexts, for example, transitions of young offenders, transitions from education settings, transitions from health care and resettlement of prisoners.

The first part of this chapter critically evaluates a sample of this literature and then the rather limited literature regarding specific British military transitions. The intention here is to demonstrate how my research questions have been formulated from the current literature and how my study adds to the wider understanding of military career transitions.

Transition

To date there has been little academic discussion regarding the career transitions of military personnel leaving the UK Armed Forces, (Compass Partnership, 2005), (McDermott, 2007), (National Audit Office, 2007), (Penny, 2010). The expressions 'transition' and 'resettlement' are generally used to describe to the action of leaving the armed services. A general search of the internet revealed a widespread usage of the term 'transition' in academic papers. These ranged from community-led networks (Mitchell, 2011), movement to and from education settings (Coupland, 2001), health care (Lotstein *et al.*, 2008), economic and environmental crisis management (King,

1999) to reintegration of prisoners after incarceration (O'Brien, 2011). Coincidentally, resettlement is the favoured term used in England and Wales to describe the reintegration of prisoners back into wider society (Moore, 2011). Sampling literature found in prison transitions and health care transitions has been helpful in understanding the dynamics that these individuals face; I focused mainly on literature relating to prison transitions. The universal view in the variety of internet returns confirms the expression 'transition' inferring a passage or movement; in fact, the common dictionary definition of transition is a 'change of state' (Harper Collins, 2007). When applied to people in transition it is clear some form of personal change is implied. Moreover, when it is applied to those in transition from a total institution, such as I shall argue the British Army is, then the transitional effects can be much deeper and more varied as people can still be dependent on institutional structures (Haney, 2001).

Whilst I do not wish to exaggerate the parallels between those serving our country and those serving time in prison, there are however, some poignant features to take into account. The correlation between offenders returning to society and service personnel leaving the British military reveal both demographics can become dependent on institutional structures. (Haney, 2001), (Heinemann-Grüder, 2002), (Penny, 2010), (Verkaik, 2010) (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011), (BBC Panorama, 2011) In a similar sociological way to prisoners serving "time", what goes on in the military environment is largely closed off from society (McDermott, 2007). A cautionary note should be raised here. Whilst what goes on in the military is

largely closed off from normal society, military personnel are not excluded from it, as are most prisoners. Therefore, reintegration is a term to be used with care when describing service career transitions. Service personnel are sheltered from normal society, but they are not excluded from it.

Many ex-offenders are often marginalised prior to incarceration and therefore prison can sometimes intensify socially unacceptable behaviours evident before prison. In this sense, it has been suggested that serving time in prison teaches some to become better criminals. (Samenow, 2011) This is one reason why offenders' reintegration is initiated some time before formal prison release; other reasons include the need to slowly release institutional ties that the prisoner may have become reliant on. Support for the prisoner continues during transition to society and is maintained long after release. This is referred to as "throughcare" and helps the prisoner adapt their character towards an accepted societal norm. (Borzycki, 2005) As I shall argue later (page 81), this requires adapting ones identity to fit.

Turning to service departure, and in particular to the field army, personnel are often recruited from a demographic with lower average educational achievement than personnel who enlist to more technical army careers. (National Audit Office, 2007) Whilst this observation is perhaps a far way from being socially marginalised, as demonstrated in the prisoners example, this observation does express a parallel in as far as these personnel tend to have reduced human and educational capital at the point of enlistment. Therefore, as a group, potentially disadvantaged in human capital and educational

capital, military service can inculcate a much deeper institutional effect by filling the educational and human capital vacuum. Leaving the service can re-expose this deficiency, as the military crutch is no longer accessible.

Stephenson & Jamieson (2006) identified a number of support measures to aid reintegration of young offenders and make frequent reference to the aforementioned 'throughcare' ideology in their report. Specifically, they call for more one-to-one provision, enhanced links with external agencies and specific strategies to support people back into society.

Attending to the diverse idiosyncrasies of personnel at the point of military departure adds value to military resettlement practice. In principle, military resettlement provision does provide this 'throughcare' concept. Features such as career consultancy support and enhanced learning credit provision post discharge, and access to life-long job finding assistance, maintain a 'throughcare' concept in military resettlement. However, provision could be enhanced with more one-to-one support and more research to better understand the transitional effects of service departure. This research aims to enhance this wider understanding.

The Ministry of Justice undertook a review of offender learning in 2011 and discovered that there needed to be a focus on transition when leaving prison so that ex-offenders have the best opportunity to reintegrate into society. (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011, p 7) My military study specifically focuses on transition, in particular the sociological and

psychological effects on identity; the task here is to take a closer look at identity at the point of transition so an enhanced level of support may be afforded to those making the change.

As chapter two described, military resettlement has become a well-oiled machine; however, it is important to remember that there is a person on the receiving end of this technically precise process. McDermott concluded that *'The discharge process appears unstructured and haphazard with no uniform approach to resettling the soldier into civilian life.'* (McDermott, 2007, p 169) This is to some extent misleading, as there is a very well structured process to resettlement. The process is well described and publicised in JSP 534 and I have discussed this process at length in chapter 2. McDermott is right, however, in that how personnel are personally supported at departure is less clear across various Army Units and the strata of ranks being discharged. (We know and understand the process, but what actually happens to the person is largely unknown.)

Problematically, as my study reveals and countless other sociological studies into identity demonstrate, human beings possess many similarities, although despite these similarities people are not completely homogeneous. Therefore, a framework for understanding difference is required; I have confronted this issue in part two of this literature review. (See below page 81.)

Inculcation

Enlistment into the military requires the incumbent to be schooled in the ways of the organisation; this kind of inculcation has a deep social and psychological effect. Prisoners also understand this effect; the virtue of imprisonment expresses the states desire to change these people. (Liebling, 2006) The purpose of the prison experience is to punish and reform offenders. Military enlistment uses a mix of demanding behavioural and attitudinal techniques to mould character in order to shape an unshakable common bond, and a steadfast loyalty to its culture, ethos and fellow serving members.

Even those who serve a relatively short time, less than four years, are inculcated in the military as a total institution¹⁴. (Janowitz & Russell Sage Foundation, 1964) (National Audit Office, 2007) (Penny, 2010) As chapter two has explained, in daily resettlement practice there is a heavy reliance on the technical aspects of the resettlement package, ensuring personnel know their entitlement, know how many days are allowed for training or how to draw down funding. These are the functional aspects of the military career transition and they are the hallmarks of bureaucracy.

The existence of military inculcation means that whilst adhering to policy is essential there is also, as my data reveals, a need to promote resettlement provision that enhances the non vocational and academic skills of reintegration. Coping with the stress of transition is only one problem, there are others: adaptations to one's identity, loss of one's authority or adjustments

¹⁴ Inculcation refers to being schooled, socialised and embedded in the ways of the institution. A total institution refers to Goffman's use of the term, please see below, page 102.

to cope with the loss of institutional dependency. A study concerning transitions from health care demonstrated the importance of 'Envisioning a Future'; this was not necessarily about making specific plans, but was about asking reflective questions early on about ones future. For example, asking questions about future educational needs, employment options or living arrangements (Reiss *et al.*, 2004). Notably, there is no indication factors or mention of potential problems of dependency within the resettlement policy manual (Ministry of Defence 2009) to assist practitioners in their practice. However, service personnel are able to see a resettlement officer at any point in their military career to discuss matters of education and resettlement.

As one research participant shared "...*There is a love hate relationship with the Army.*" (See Rupert, chapter 5) The Army gives much to the individual, yet at the same time, it takes a great deal too. Taylor (2010) recounts a similar circumstance in her personal account of life in a public asylum.

"Living in the bin was tough, but it gave me some shelter from my darkest self and, very importantly, the friendship of other patients, which made my days tolerable." (Taylor, 2010, p 213)

It is not the task here to overstate any associations between mental health institutions, prison institutions and the military. However, these other institutions do provide some comparisons to the social situation of service leavers'. This is because these establishments (including the military) are referred to as total institutions. (Goffman, 1961) Military life offers its members both happy and sad times, but even in the sad moments, it still ordinarily

offers shelter, a sense of belonging, purpose and identity. Losing this connection at service departure is frightening.

The throughcare concept and indication factors

On the 19th of September 2010, *The Independent* newspaper reported that an estimated 20,000 veterans are now in prison, on probation or on parole; this amounted to 3.5% of the UK prison population being military veterans.

Additionally, there has been an increase in veterans committing violence that had resulted in prison sentences. (Verkaik, 2010) It has been reported that military institutionalisation makes it difficult for veterans to communicate in wider British society, and these difficulties may have increased since the post '9/11' (Penny, 2010).

My data uncovered issues relating to communication in society: one of my participants found the most difficult thing about transition to a civilian career was learning to become a civilian. Almost five years before the Penny study, the King's Centre for Military Health Research in conjunction with the University of Manchester reported that veterans most at risk of homelessness were either those leaving early (medical discharge, failing basic training or administrative discharge) or those who found transition to civilian life very difficult. (Dandeker *et al.*, 2005)

These issues, reintegration and homelessness are sociological problems. As detailed in chapter two, the military is very good at providing the technical aspects to service departure. However, what I am presenting is an increasing

need to support a more human touch to ease the transitional process. To afford this resettlement enhancement, greater understandings of individual reintegration needs are required. Henceforth, more one-to-one contact, adopting explicitly the 'throughcare' concept may well be required. In mental health transitions this is known as 'Assertive Outreach'. This is a process of targeting care through an intensive well coordinated delivery which is tailored to individual needs. Often there is a high degree of personal contact with the client immediately after the transition. Over the future months, as the client needs lessen, a corresponding a reduction in support is provided. Priority is aimed at organised support to ensure the individuals successful transition. The client remains at the center, some require greater support for longer periods, and others require less (Sainsbury & Goldman, 2011).

McDermott (2009) suggests "...full disengagement from military society is only ever partially achieved." Therefore understanding the wider effects of transition is vital to resettlement practitioners. Practitioners should be actively engaged in action research. As I have concluded, it is sensible to ask the question 'how does leaving the military affect one's identity?' The limited UK studies concerning British military transitions do not tackle this thorny issue of military identities. Broadening the literature review beyond the UK, does expose a wider literature base in the USA (Morin, 2011a), (Morin, 2011b), (Parker, 2011), (Patten & Parker, 2011), (Taylor *et al.*, 2011) These studies have focused on the impact of combat on military personnel post 9/11. The decade of sustained combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan has exposed a range of civilian reintegration issues for U.S. personnel at service departure.

Rich Morin's report (2011a) pinpointed six factors which made reintegration harder and four factors which made reintegration easier. (See below, table 3.1)

Table: 3.1 Predictability For an Easy or Hard Re-Entry to Civilian Life

Harder	Easier
1. Experienced a traumatic event	1. College Graduate
2. Seriously Injured	2. Understood their missions
3. Post 9/11 veteran who was married while serving	3. Officer
4. Post 9/11 veteran	4. Religious post 9/11 veteran
5. Served in Combat	
6. Knew someone killed or injured	

The six factors making transition more difficult identified by Morin (2011) are largely psychological or sociological; these are not factors relating to understanding the bureaucratic processes of resettlement policy. Notably the factors making transition easier are almost exclusively sociological. In other words, these predictability factors are not technical issues about understanding one's resettlement entitlement, they are issues to do with structure, agency, human capital, general support and mental health. These are the positions that I will explore by the use of Freud, Foucault, Bourdieu and Goffman in section two below, (pages 81 to 132).

Focusing on the positive factors that eased the transition to civilian life, being a graduate was significant. It has been repeatedly proved in a wide range of studies that education is a key driver to social mobility. (Foskett & Hemsley-Brown, 2001), (Wolf, 2002), (Keeley, 2007) Commissioned Officers also experienced fewer difficulties in transition in the U.S. study; this not only relates to educational capital, as most Officers are graduates or are

reasonably well qualified academically, but it also relates to wider human capital. Personnel with greater positional authority perhaps have an advantage in resettlement through enhanced networks of similarly well positioned colleagues past and present or via access to wider opportunities. Developing one's human capital is clearly important. I have previously drawn illustration to this with the comparable context of prisoner resettlement.

Morin was surprised to discover that religiosity was another positive influencing factor in easing transition; whilst his findings were consistent with other studies that have found that religious beliefs correlate with a range of positive behaviours (happiness, satisfying personal relationships, wider support networks and emotional health), I also consider that religion provides another structured template for living. In this sense, the military is similar in some respects as it is a very ordered and structured social setting – like the church. It is conceivable that the church, in addition to the other positive behaviours listed above, becomes a substitute social setting to the military. In sum, the church is another form of institution and can be a crutch for those missing the military as an institution.

Within my data, I have been struck by the presence of predictability factors similar to those that Morin discovered in his study. I shall examine this further in chapters five and six. However, for the moment this discovery does suggest that for the first time resettlement practitioners may have a usable model to help predict the ease of military to civilian career transition for service leavers; arguably, this would help develop future military resettlement practice.

Much of the literature I have discussed above points toward a need to investigate the social and psychological aspects of military career transitions. Moreover, all of the studies referenced have been concerned with either success or failure of resettlement. My study differs; I aim to enlighten this period of transitional uncertainty, so practitioners may understand their practice differently. As a result of this investigation, I hope enhancements to British military resettlement practice may be instigated, or at the very least considered through a less technical model. I have long thought it sensible to ask how military career transitions impact on identity as I uphold Mead's (1934) assertion that 'we are what we do'.

Performing as expected

McDermott's study, although a valid contribution to this under researched field, unintentionally demonstrates the aforementioned assertion that soldiers perform as expected. In McDermott's study, all the participants are Senior Non Commissioned Officers (SNCOs) or Warrant Officers (WOs) in my opinion this biases his findings. Individuals gain promotion to the rank of SNCO or WO because they are capable and able to demonstrate the necessary attributes to manage personnel. As an individual gains even more experience of managing personnel, and undertakes further career training, they either progress through the rank structure, electing to take a commission if it is offered, or they arrive at a natural career end point and leave the service. In either case, these personnel are generally very effective managers at the point of service departure. Considering this argument, it is highly

probable that a successful SNCOs or WOs would continue to act in the ways that they are already practised in. (even as a civilian). I am not suggesting success in a military career is a guarantee of success in a civilian career, but it does appear to be a significant predicting factor. Conversely, an average private soldier, albeit they are inculcated into the military in the same way as any other soldier, is still relatively inexperienced and likely to behave in a way expected of the rank. Private soldiers are conditioned to look toward the chain of command for assistance. It is therefore not a surprise when a Private soldier acts like a Private soldier or a SNCO acts like a SNCO. (Foucault, 1979)

McDermott's study is limited because its participants are exclusively SNCOs or WOs. McDermott justifies this as a means of retaining focus to the study; so only successful service leavers were invited to participate in the research. (McDermott, 2007, p 87) Whilst I suspect that this limitation is related to gaining access to research participants, it limits how far he can fully address his research question. A broader focus across all ranks would strengthen his conclusions by correlating success factors in unexpected groups. Regarding access to participants, McDermott had to convince them of his service credentials before they felt ready to commit to the study. Notably the researcher, James McDermott, is a former Warrant Officer, a significant factor establishing his credentials. This former positional authority no doubt helped him with access; a private soldier would have had more difficulty in convincing personnel to become research participants.

To summarise, McDermott's study would have been strengthened if more participants from outside the SNCO cadre had been included. His claim that "*Old soldiers never die – They adapt their military skills and become successful civilians*" (McDermott, 2007, p 208) is hardly surprising when the participants are successful twenty-two year career served soldiers.

Using a Foucauldian lens, I suggest, these soldiers (SNCOs & WOs) are behaving in a way I would expect them to behave. (Foucault, 1979)

Although I sympathise with his approach (recruiting military research participants is challenging), some of his findings are paradoxical. McDermott's claim suggesting institutionalisation is not evident is false even by analysis of his own dataset, while his claim that institutionalisation is more evident in those who have served less time and that his data reveals no problems with institutionalisation for longer served personnel is somewhat contradictory. (McDermott, 2007, p 230)

Institutionalisation is in fact very much evident throughout McDermott's dataset, just as it is throughout my dataset. The institutional effects are manifested via a range of disclosures, and in my opinion, it is very much a feature to explore in military studies. The issue of whether institutionalisation is problematic is a matter of judgment; here I put forward the assertion that institutionalisation is both a constraint and a force of independence depending on the situation and the individual.

For example, McDermott writes:

"The army veteran generally maintains a disciplined approach to life and a strong work ethic. Whilst most reject any notion that they are not fully civilianised it is clear that full disengagement from military society is only ever partially achieved and the veteran remains different in the way he or she associates with others in civilian society." (McDermott, 2007, p 239)

This provides a vivid disclosure of institutionalisation and contradicts his assertion that institutionalisation is more likely in those who serve a short time. Throughout his research, McDermott is also demonstrating something about these ex-soldiers character, and whilst it is not explicitly mentioned, his study is about who these people are. This involves ones identity and therefore demonstrates that identity is an important feature to analyse. By utilising a questionnaire, mini biographies and face to face interviewing, McDermott canvassed a reasonably large sample size of 51 participants and as such gathers a good range of data. Specifically, the methods by which he gathered and analysed his dataset provide most valuable insights, particularly when combined with findings from the other cited studies, a much clearer picture begins to emerge.

In sum, these show the declaration of Mead: 'we are what we do.' A private soldier may perform as a private soldier, a Sergeant may perform as a Sergeant; institutionalisation is not exclusive to junior ranks, it occurs for all. Moreover, whilst there are some generalizations to be made about military institutionalisation, (haircuts, body language, jargon, acronyms and the way service personnel dress out of uniform), there are many individual disclosures of institutionalisation brought about by inculcation into the total military

institution. (Penny, 2010) Institutionalisation can and does present different symptoms depending upon rank, time served and experiences. All the military studies cited within this literature review show institutionalisation as a feature, and in this regard my study does not differ. McDermott makes more of a passing mention to the social psychology and habitus of the research participants; however, he falls short of making specific reference to an individual's identity. Instead he draws attention to the extremes of institutionalisation (McDermott, 2007, p 37 - 49). I feel this is a gap, which misses an opportunity to derive much deeper understandings from individuals' stories. I have concluded that individuality is very important and therefore is to be considered one of the majority mediums to investigate military career transitions, as it offers the greatest understanding of what is happening to those in transition.

McDermott claimed that 'experience of combat did not influence employment choice (McDermott, 2007, p 210). Whilst McDermott's evidence may support this, I would draw attention to other studies where combat does seem to influence how difficult the transition to civilian life is. (Morin, 2011a) My data has revealed some commonalities with Morin's study and in the case of one of my participants, exposure to combat did influence a career choice. By using the concept, 'we are what we do' (Mead & Morris, 1934), a change in career or role has an effect on a person's identity. (See chapter five and chapter six, particularly Alastair's narrative)

The first part of this literature review has positioned the research questions within the current literature; I have suggested that investigating a military career transition using the medium of identity can offer a valuable insight into this under-researched area. My research strategy also evokes a reliable vehicle to inform and develop future resettlement policy and practice; potentially steering practice away from an increasing technocratic approach and toward a more humanistic one. The final task of my literature review is to provide a framework for understanding the transitional picture experienced by my research participants.

Perspectives on identity in transition

This second part of this chapter attempts to combine the philosophies of Bourdieu, Freud, Foucault, and Goffman to achieve a deeper understanding of identities in transition. This has been a substantial task as a number of these authors' concepts link to this study. These include power, class, human capital, motivation, discourse, emotion, repression, language, appearance, role, occupation, taste and choice. There are an abundance of others and this section will attempt, as far as is practically possible, to map this complex terrain.

The originality of this work is not only that it investigates the relatively un-researched area of British Army career transitions, but also its collaborative use of Bourdieu, Freud, Foucault and Goffman as a theoretical framework in this specific field. Very few writers have been able to draw on any structured research into the characteristics and attitudes of soldiers at the time of service

departure. The root of this work is about identity. A useful starting point here is George Herbert Mead (1934): 'We are what we do'. The study uses Foucault's analysis of discourse, and Bourdieu's accounts of how society controls discourse, against the relationship of Goffman's work on identities and institutions. Entering into the frame is Freud's tripartite psyche and how repression polices one's identity. There is much in common between these theorists, even though they arrive at their views from differing angles. The basic theoretical framework is presented in table 3.2, (page 84).

Current discussions in the literature do not adequately explore the journey of service departure; the NAO recently analysed the process of military resettlement, but the scope of their research did not allow the granularity I suggest is important (National Audit Office, 2007). I propose developing the current discussions along similar themes that I have detailed previously. Specifically, in those found in parallel contexts such as long-term health care and in the prisoner resettlement examples. (Formerly cited at page 18 and page 66) Addressing the gap in the current literature requires an especially personal exploration of service departure; the previous military studies do not unpick the idea of identity and I suggest this is a missed opportunity. Identity is multifaceted and requires a reflective, multi-dimensional lens for understanding. The theoretical approaches I use strengthen our understanding of service departure as I expose the kind of things the current literature does not do. The idiosyncrasies of identity require a comprehensive framework for understanding. This is now where I turn my attention; this literature review involves an analysis of the social context of identity, and how

doing what we do affects who we are. It has also provided an opportunity to explore some leading theories of human behaviour regarding identity.

Table: 3.2 The Theoretical Framework Used in This Research

Mead	'We are what we do' consequently, there is a dialogue of what we do, who we are and so on...
Freud	Illustrates competition and regression between our tripartite psyche. I envisage commonalities here between Freud's unconscious psyche and the way Bourdieu reports inculcation operating unconsciously through habitus. (See below, page 86 and page 117)
Foucault	Cultivated a large amount of his ideas on the notion that without discourse we are nothing; however, the difficulty is, who and what constitutes valid discourse? (See below, page 93)
Bourdieu	Bourdieu's traditions follow a power and structure theme probing how discourse is controlled by society. Being schooled, socialised and embedded through inculcation and symbolic violence are important features. (See below, page 86)
Goffman	Goffman's work 'Asylums' asks how individuals shape institutions, and how institutions shape individuals, which, in turn informs discourse(s) and thus details a performance, and in returning to the opening concept, this impacts on identity and connects the point made by Mead 'We are what we do'. (See below, page 104)

Determinists put forward the view that the past is a source of the present; in the case of the research participants in this study, their identity is in transition from a total institution.

Applying my framework to the transitional arena in which service leavers find themselves, it follows that, if we change what we do, we alter the discourse we are party to and therefore a potential gap exists in terms of how this new discourse is acknowledged, controlled, regulated and conveyed. Moreover, how, then, does the service leaver manage with a previously institutional-orientated identity, in a new discourse setting?

The real world of objective subjectivity

The first viewing of 'objective' 'subjectivity' cited in my section heading above may appear as a contradiction. However, in the real world of objective structures, the law of the land, polite societal protocols and so on, people are active with prejudice and bias toward acting out those objective rituals, protocols and laws. There are still choices to be made within a bounded rationality. In 'The Weight of the World' (1999) Bourdieu led a team of researchers to explore the lives of ordinary men and women in France and the difficulties they were experiencing in living their lives. The interviews, or case studies as Bourdieu calls them, were transcribed and written up as a series of short stories. The approach used in this thesis follows a similar strategy; the methodology chapter (chapter four) explains of this approach. This case study and narrative analysis method provided an ontological character to the findings as well as the ability to account for the subjectivity

and objectivity of the research participants (subjectivity and objectivity being the components of self-reflective thinking; this will be explained in more detail later in this chapter).

Prior to the postscript in 'The Weight of the World', Bourdieu provides a chapter called 'Understanding'. Here he discussed five aspects that help develop self-reflexive research and the desire to discover truth in a given situation. These are examined more closely in the methodology chapter, chapter four. However, in brief, and as a means to introduce this style of research, the main points that Bourdieu makes are:

1. One must make a clear statement of the intentions, procedures and principles practised in the project;
2. Make clear the censorship the interviewees are bound by (organisational or otherwise) by attempting to understand the things that cannot be said;
3. Make every effort to colour the text with the contextual aspects being communicated such as sarcasm or the non-verbal aspects of speech;
4. The researcher requires a good understanding of the social context of which the participants are part of;
5. The researcher needs to free their mind of preconceived ideas informed by their own environment and experience throughout life.

Bourdieu and the position of structure

A central concept in Bourdieu's work is a term he calls 'habitus' – this is Bourdieu's way of dealing with objectivity and subjectivity. This concept is

echoed through the research methodology of self-reflexive enquiry. It has been an essential instrument in the current research.

Of course, there are those who criticise Bourdieu, not least for the complex language he specifically and deliberately uses, and his use of words out of context to force the reader to concentrate hard on the key, and sometimes less than obvious, messages. Amongst the critics, Sullivan (2002, p 144) argues that habitus is '...incoherent and has no clear use for empirical researchers.' Similarly, Blackburn (2003) claims that the term 'cultural capital' is overly and problematically used in many different contexts. I fundamentally disagree with both of these perspectives. As any surgical dissection of Bourdieu's terms will undoubtedly raise a number of problematic issues. However, if his major concepts are used in the way he originally intended, as thinking tools, then they perform this task very well. This is how Bourdieu has been used in this research, as a framework to combine objectivity with subjectivity. As a result, this thesis is intended to communicate a significant philosophical beat. I did not originally intend that this thesis should be informed by a philosophical orientation, yet as the research unfolded it became increasingly dominant and useful in the microanalysis that followed.

Thus, to return to Bourdieu, in any given habitus there are structures, rules and procedures, dynamics of power and bureaucracies, which form the objective nature of a given environment. In a military environment, some of the objective structures to be considered include rituals, military law, military discipline, systems, paperwork, jargon, orders, rank, uniform and so on.

Simultaneously occurring are also the subjective concepts that govern an individual's daily routine. Subjective concepts are derived from a variety of personal experiences and personal constructs. As Birdwhistell (1973) notes, society is an adaptive process. These are the methods whereby people self-regulate, learn to fit in, interact with different discourses or even adapt ways to navigate the objective structures of the system. Whatever the subjectivities, the combination of objectivity and subjectivity form the individual's habitus. Habitus is thus an intelligent way of combining the emblematic structures of a society with the idiosyncrasies of the individual.

After undertaking a review of Bourdieu's self-reflexive method, one begins to build a greater understanding of habitus and how, in the research context, it can become a useful analytical tool.

Table: 3.3 Bourdieu's Self-Reflexive Method

Bourdieu's Points	Analysis
Make a clear statement of the intentions, procedures and principles.	Objectivity – The structures by which the research is bound
Make clear and censorship the interviewees are bound by organisational or otherwise.	Objectivity – The structures by which the participants are bound
Make every effort to colour the text with the contextual aspects being communicated, for example sarcasm or the non-verbal aspects of speech.	Subjectivity – Explaining a sense of the participants real world experience
The researcher requires a good understanding of the social context of the participants.	An objective subjectivity – the researcher to participate in shared communities of practice
The researcher needs to free their mind of their own preconceived ideas that have been informed by their own environment and experience throughout life.	A habitus vacuum – this is a term used in the thesis to convey the philosophical position of subjectivity and objectivity suspension. As physicists observe, the perfect vacuum is never achieved.

Bourdieu has written extensively regarding the forces of societal reproduction, where he unearthed a series of class distinctions, which were self-fulfilling. In this regard, discourse is controlled and reproduced in a resilient method by those who have power to communicate it. A 'field' is a metaphor that Bourdieu uses to describe the sites where cultural practices are performed. Fields have been likened to the concentric rings of an onion; there are fields within fields, some overlap while others do not. Although some individuals can move between fields, sometimes with great ease, for others there is greater opposition. In a military context, a comparison can be made between

commissioned ranks (officers) and non-commissioned ranks (soldiers). There is a clear class distinction between officers and soldiers. While one is not necessarily superior to the other, these class distinctions are based on status, privileges, opportunity, power, and authority. These features have continued to be replicated over many serving generations. Indeed, the Royal Air Force Board recently stated that there should be a renewed emphasis in terms of the acknowledgement of rank. The board noted that discipline was being eroded with the usage of first name terms between the ranks, particularly between commissioned and non-commissioned ranks. The use of first names was to be curtailed (Royal Air Force Board Ruling, 2010). Episodes such as these serve to uphold the class distinctions.

The military fictional character 'Sharpe' was able to make the transition between soldier and officer by means of increasing his cultural and educational capital. Sharpe won favour with General Wellington (social capital) and developed fluency in the French language (educational capital). Human, cultural, and educational capital are key factors in social mobility (Keeley, 2007). This is not too dissimilar from the real military world; if one is able to demonstrate educational breadth and sufficient abilities to influence others through leadership, the opportunity exists to commission from the ranks. For those who are unable to demonstrate these qualities, then the movement between these fields is virtually impossible. Comparatively, there are few who commission from the ranks, although this past trend is now changing.

The influence of 'habitus' ensures that individuals experience fields in unique ways, although there will, of course, be similarities, as a result of objective organisational structures and shared subjectivities. However, if congruence cannot be achieved between the objective structures of the military, (or for that matter any other career choice) and the person's subjectivities, that individual will not settle into that career. For those who struggle with the different philosophical paradigms, there may be the need to school the participants in the ways of the organisation. This kind of hidden, but accepted persuasion, Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence'. This is not physical violence, but something more abstract that happens, on the one hand, without the explicit knowledge of the participants, but on the other, with an acceptance that this is normal behaviour. In most business situations, it is not normal for a junior manager to tell a subordinate to pay more attention to the polishing of their shoes. In the military, this is accepted and expected behaviour and, moreover, not seen by the individual that they are being subjected to any inappropriate pressure; it appears normal in military circumstances. The levels of symbolic violence in the military environment compete on a much broader scale; another example concerns stipulations that certain pubs and clubs are out of bounds (sometimes the out of bounds rules are different for different ranks).

There are countless other examples of symbolic violence operating within the military environment, where symbolic violence is distributed by the habitus. (This refers to the objective structure of the organisation and the subjective behaviour of its participants.) As a further example, and one that has shaped

my own identity, there are accepted ways of behaving whilst in barracks. Multi-occupancy barrack accommodation provides quite vivid examples of this. Generally, people in barracks refrain from playing loud music and are careful not to slam doors, they open their curtains and generally always make their beds. In the years after my own military service, I have been reminded how the symbolic violence of this kind has shaped my own identity and character. When staying in hotels, I find it slightly annoying that other hotel guests happily allow their room door to slam shut, and their television set on while they disappear to the restaurant for two hours. Symbolic violence has disposed my character to act in a certain way and has perhaps influenced my identity because I find this manner of behaviour to be inappropriate in communal living.

Bourdieu develops much of this theme in his book 'Reproduction', which focuses on the role educational settings have in reproducing the same, or at least similar, participants who have attended the school setting. For example, reflecting on generations of western schoolchildren, we all know how to queue for lunch or how to act in the library or how to politely call the attention of a teacher by raising one's hand. This behaviour could be viewed as reflecting societal norms or just good manners. However, it is problematic to be unbiased in citing good manners as the reason for this, particularly when we have all attended the institution of school and know how this norm operates. Specifically, we have all been schooled in this behaviour. Conceivably if national service was re-introduced, hotel guests maybe more courteous in the future, or on a grander scale, the Prime Minister's 'Big Society' (Cameron,

2011) and sites of shared communities would be more accommodating and respectful of communal needs. In sum Bourdieu's field, habitus, cultural capital and symbolic violence are important thinking tools when analysing the research problem, the research data and the subsequent conclusions of this thesis.

Michel Foucault – Discourse is everything

Michel Foucault argues that discourse shapes individuals by the production of knowledge. Foucault's 'The Will to Knowledge' (Hurley, 1990), recounts an event in 1867 whereby a farmhand was subjected to critical examination by so-called gatekeepers of authoritative knowledge. The farmhand was a simple-minded man who, after a few inconsequential caresses from a young girl, was eventually shut away in a hospital for the rest of his life. Leading up to his incarceration, the man had been accused of a crime, acquitted of any wrongdoing and scrutinised by medical professionals who felt that it was necessary to measure the brainpan for possible signs of 'degenerescence' (degeneration). The importance of this story is not the apparent crime or the seemingly unforgiving judiciary, but the knowledge and power that the farmhand found himself being subjected to. Throughout our daily routines we are constantly subjected to discourse from all quarters, and by supposedly more knowledgeable others. In the account above, in 1867, medical knowledge was not as well or as widely understood as it is today. Contemporary society would not accept this discourse as valid.

Just as knowledge can be proved or abandoned as no longer valid, the validity of discourse can also shift. The soft-drink 'Lucozade' once shot one of its promotional advertisements in a hospital setting, and I can recall my mother rationing the drink and stating that it wasn't 'pop, it's a medicine' and, as such, it should be drunk sparingly. Nowadays we drink it in moderation because discourse tells us that high sugar, fizzy drinks have been linked to tooth decay. Moreover, the promotional adverts have changed against the backdrop of societal change. They now feature Lara Croft as an energised individual who can defy the laws of physics with great gymnastic feats.



Fig: 3.1 Lucozade Promotional Adverts

Foucault believed that it is through discourse that we construct our known realities, based on more discourse and histories of discourse that are handed down from our predecessors (Foucault & Hurley, 1978).

Language is also far-reaching, because it not only provides the means to convey what is going on, but also, as Foucault claimed, allows us to create new experiences by translating inner thoughts and experiences into a concrete reality. (Oksala, 2007) From a Bourdieuan perspective, language communicates our habitus. The important features of Foucault's work, in the context of this study are, as with Bourdieu, that they represent a useful thinking tool. They provide a means of penetrating how discourse is generated, by whom, and how is it decided that a particular discourse is valid and useful. Foucauldian traditionalists would see this principle in relation to surveillance and regulation. There are many facets to surveillance and regulation, and this thesis focuses on two features; the watchful and directive nature of one's self, and the role the state plays in shaping our character.

Individually, people scan their inner thoughts and self-regulate by policing themselves, watching their Ps and Qs (Hurley, 1990). The state uses discourse to communicate its intentions to its people; this has the advantage for the state of appearing legitimate and non-totalitarian in its approach. It is with regard to the former point where the ideas of Bourdieu and Foucault are very close; Bourdieu talks of a reproducing habitus and Foucault talks of a history of discourse. The net outcome of these similar positions is discussions that relate to power. In most societies, power is the means of governance and of class divisions, it is also said to be a matter of taste (Bourdieu, 1984, p 257 - 317).

In a military environment, governance is more convincingly brought to bear and is more authoritarian in its approach. Yet despite this more authoritarian approach, its context is widely accepted by its participants and upheld by the auras that are associated with Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence (and the individual's sense of duty). The rigid structure of the military makes regulation easy and the close knit nature of the community increases surveillance. At times, this surveillance goes beyond intrusiveness, as one of the participants in this research noted: *"You want your own personal space, especially living out here in Germany. If you don't have your own personal space it treats you like a prison."*

Leaving the service provides an individual with the impression of greater level of agency (increased levels of autonomy). Despite this noted lack of personal space, another of the research participants suggested there were aspects of self-regulation learned from the Army that they hoped to retain in civilian life (as described, these were aspects relating to being punctual, smartly dressed and clean-shaven.) While Bourdieu would describe these enduring character traits as 'durable dispositions', Foucault describes them as self-policing.

In modern society, one does not have to look far to find a plethora of self-help books – 'How to Organise Yourself', 'Embracing Change', and 'How to be a better Cook', are among the wide range of titles in this genre. The point being made here is that one can suggest, today, that people have become much more concerned with the availability of knowledge, and with becoming superior and self-informed experts. With the wide use of self-help books and

the internet, the old boundaries concerning who controls knowledge are being broken down; this, in turn, means that generally people are less deferential to the past authoritative knowledge keepers. Giddens (1991) claims that modernity undermines the certainty of knowledge insofar as even well-established scientific perspectives are constantly being revised. This revision extends not only to what is known, but also to who controls what is known.

Bourdieu and Foucault – Opposite ends of the same bridge?

Bourdieu and Foucault are similar in that they both acknowledge the importance of discourse - Bourdieu from the viewpoint of control, Foucault from the viewpoint of mediator. However, the work of Foucault is more applicable to the modern context than that of Bourdieu, as the latter's focus on class divisions, and persons who are the gatekeepers of knowledge, has become less relevant in the period of late modernity. Today, the recruit is less deferential to the authoritative figures of the past, as acknowledged by the Royal Air Force Board in the previously cited misuse of first name terms. This makes the consequences of modernity in a military organisation evident, as the military is built on historical tenets of class distinctions but is now dealing with a modern, questioning society. There is a dichotomy here; the military wishes to preserve its discipline and heritage, yet, at the same time, require its members to act with moral courage and speak out when necessary. For example, knowing when to question acts that oppose equality and diversity or acts which, would be described as tyrannical (such as the mistreatment of prisoners of war).

It would seem that, today, organisational power is being transferred to individual agents. Foucault and Bourdieu differ with regard to power and agency. For Bourdieu, power was a means of repression characterised by denying resources or controlling relationships; this feature is symbolic violence, and this account is more closely associated with economics and Marxist theories. However, Foucault opposed the dominance of Marxist theory and viewed power in relation to discourse and to objective structures that are self-reproducing. Power according to Foucault is not a top-down system of prohibitions; power only has an effect when it is exercised, and, in this sense, power spreads through societal relationships. In the context of the military, the SNCO is not necessarily powerful as an individual. However, the system of practices allows the SNCO to exercise power over the private soldier. Once the discourse is understood, discipline is largely regulated via the organisational practices and can be adopted by anyone who holds this position (Hurley, 1990). Participants understand what is expected of them and, in the main, they live up to these expectations. Whilst the expansion of discourse has led society to become less deferential to authority, much of the authority in the military is maintained by the rationality of the military structure (Oksala, 2007). In general, personnel accept the discipline of the military because it is the army and discipline is its nature. Belonging to this community defines an identity which one must live up to. This takes the analysis full circle, and thus to Mead's argument – 'We are what we do.' (Mead & Morris, 1934)

Foucault notes that, where there is power, there is resistance (Hurley, 1990) and it is here that Bourdieu's theories become more illustrative, insofar as individuals can feel subdued by symbolic violence. In contrast, Foucault has been criticised for not dealing with agency (on the basis that he treats people as docile slaves to the system). Bourdieu demonstrates that, through habitus, persons, can and do act with agency. While Foucault's accounts of agency are thin, what he was alluding to is that conscious thought has been influenced by discourse. At worst, Foucault fails to deal with agency sufficiently, while, at best, he accounts for agency via a history of pre-determined discourses that inform the individual. This turns the commonplace thinking regarding authoritative power on its head, and treats us as if we are puppets of our own making. Bourdieu deals with agency more comprehensively by detailing subjectivity as part of habitus; people do act with rational thought even if it is constrained by structures. Erving Goffman, whose work is discussed in more detail below, helps confirm my claims concerning agency and subjectivity. In his essays relating to mental asylums, Goffman (1961) claimed that the patients, although constrained by the structure of the institute, still retained a sense of self by generating new forms of possessions (often, on admittance to asylums, personal possessions were removed). Salt and pepper condiments, for example, became the new personal possessions of the patients. In other examples of agency, individuals took personal decisions to react quickly or slowly to requests by staff or to specifically act mute while being questioned. These acts were often viewed as part of the patient's condition; while this may have been the case for some, for others it

appears this was a deliberate act of agency and the retention of a sense of self.

To acknowledge the shifting societal paradigms of late modernity, and to shed yet more light on the example of the Lucozade adverts, attention is drawn to a letter written by a Corporal to his Commanding Officer of the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) in 1916, when the RFC was pre-RAF and part of the Army. The Commanding Officer was struck down with appendicitis and the letter was written as a well-intentioned letter of affection and a gesture of future good health. However, the letter is useful in the current context because it contains a stark example of a deferential tone being conveyed, which would arguably differ significantly if it had been written today.

“Dear Sir,

Really I don't know how to thank you for your letter and great kindness in writing to us as you did. Medals and decorations have little chance of finding their way to the rank and file of the RFC, but personally I am quite content if the war brings me nothing more than your letter. It will be my most treasured 'souvenir' of 'The Great War'. We are all very, very sorry indeed to lose you – nowadays good pilots are few and far between – and the news that you are making a good recovery from your regrettable illness is very acceptable to us all. We hope you will soon be able to show them how flying should be done in England...”
Corporal Chas Wm Dalton, RFC, Christmas Eve, 1916 – taken from 'Lost Voices' (Arthur, 1993, p 45)

The tone of the letter is deferential and, as the recent RAF Board memo claims (2010), there is concern that the past deference is not being upheld today. In this sense, the problem is that the social discourse has altered, yet the military wishes to maintain elements of the past discourse in its ethos. As Foucault notes, where there is power there is resistance and, as modern

society becomes better informed in terms of discourse, levels of agency increase and this thus influence habitus.

With reference to class, privilege and deference, there is a particular distinction to be made between the Army and the RAF. I have worked in both chains of command; generally, the Army pays greater deference to rank than the RAF. There are several reasons for this, one of which is now explained in detail. The Army is required to deliver violence to the enemy, sometimes in the most immediate of circumstances, such as hand-to-hand combat.

Following orders within the conventions of war is a requirement. The RAF is also bound by this kind of thinking, but it is also bound by other rules and regulations; for example, rules governing aviation procedures. Flight safety in the RAF provides the overarching culture. The military aviation authority aligns its practice as closely to the Civilian Aviation Authority as possible, whilst remaining as military as necessary (Military Aviation Authority, 2010).

Culturally, all RAF personnel are schooled to question any activity that affects flight safety. One of the consequences of this culture is that RAF personnel are more likely to question orders and, hence, give the appearance of being less deferential to the structures of rank. Additionally the educational capital that the average RAF technician holds is considerable when compared to that of an average soldier. Many junior ranked RAF personnel are degree qualified; ensuring that Eurofighter Typhoons are ready for battle is a very complex engineering task.

As a practitioner of social science, it is interesting to watch both organisations working together (joint operating environments are the norm in the modern armed services). The Army can at times be frustrated by the RAF's questioning nature, and the RAF is left bewildered by the apparent lack of discussion within the Army's decision making process. Whilst the examples used are perhaps on the edges of these complex societies, what is clear, in an academic sense, both Bourdieu and Foucault are important in deciphering the cultural issues under investigation in this research. The societal normalities of service leavers in transition alter considerably at departure. Therefore, the discussion at hand not only generates fresh knowledge of service to civilian transitions, but suggests associated reasons why personnel choose to leave early.

While there are clear differences between Bourdieu and Foucault's philosophies of agency, there are also similarities between their ideas in other areas. Bourdieu acknowledges that individuals act on rational decisions, but they do so while they are not in a vacuum (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Foucault argues that the vacuum is filled by histories of discourse. For those leaving the armed services, their habitus and levels of agency are in flux and, thus, there are implications for retraining a newly emerging identity. In examining the notions of anxiety felt by the service leaver it is useful to draw on the work of Erving Goffman. Several of the research participants expressed concern over not being able to 'get it right' in civilian life. Goffman claims that this is a natural reaction to those who had been conditioned in total institutions (Goffman, 1961).

Before moving fully into Goffman's work, it is necessary to make a final examination of the notions of power and restraint. The ideas of Foucault and Bourdieu seem even more compatible when one considers what Bourdieu called durable dispositions (elements of habitus an individual carries through various fields), and Foucault's so-called self-policing, where discourse is repetitious and self-reproducing (Hurley, 1990). The ability to self-police (to keep oneself in check and operate within societal norms), and at the same time to be subject to regulatory forces and discourses, formulates new mechanisms of power politics, which have been termed 'anatomy-politics' and 'bio-politics'.

The first of these concepts refers to the ways in which the state can discipline the body, improving its capabilities, its usefulness, docility and its capacity to operate with efficiency within an economic system. This concern is about human performance; the military is particularly interested in human performance, and a great deal of time is invested in training individuals for war. The Army's strap line is "Be The Best". The Army also spends a considerable amount of time and money in retraining individuals for release back to civilian life (National Audit Office, 2007). The military changes people.

The second concept, bio-politics, is concerned with the management of the population. A useful example is the state telling us when we are to retire. The military also does this: 22 years, is considered to be a full career and, potentially, at the age of 40, an individual can retire in receipt of an immediate

pension. For officers, this can be after 16 years of service, which means that officers may retire at the age of 34.

'Anatomo-politics' and 'bio-politics' are used in the creation of institutions (Hurley, 1990). A hospital or a school could be described as an institution. However, there is a difference between an institution and a total institution. The previous paragraphs have described the conditions for what Goffman (1961) calls a 'total institution'. A total institution governs and controls all aspects of an individual's life and lifestyle. Bourdieu and Foucault have provided tools that have guided the underlying philosophy of this research. However, Goffman and his book 'Asylums' provided the insights and acted as the original catalyst for this thesis.

Erving Goffman – Institutions and the actor

The importance of 'asylums' to the present research is best, understood by sampling some extracts from the introduction:

"A basic social arrangement in modern society is that the individual tends to sleep, play and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities and without an overall rational plan. The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres." (Goffman, 1961, p 17)

"In total institutions there is a basic split between a large managed group, conveniently called inmates, and a small supervisory staff." (Goffman, 1961, p 18)

"Whether there is too much work or too little, the individual who was work orientated on the outside tends to become demoralised by the work system of the total institution." (Goffman, 1961, p 21)

"The total institution is a social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organisation; therein lies its special sociological interest... In our society, they are the forcing houses for changing persons; each is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self." (Goffman, 1961, p 22)

Each of these four extracts demonstrates the unique qualities and philosophical positions of total institutions and it is the engagement with this text that initially motivated my investigation into transitional identity. I have witnessed personally how the total institution of the military acts as a factor that changes identity, so what happens when the divorce from the service arrives? Goffman noted that, when inmates return to their usual home world, a kind of mourning takes place. Personnel may wish to ignore the change and attempt not to leave by making attempts to re-enlist, one of my research participants, enlisted on four separate occasions.

Total institutions are so overbearing that they have a long-lasting effect on their incumbents. I now examine identity more specifically, with the aim of reconciling the effects of total institutions. This, in turn, establishes the foundation for the subsequent analysis.

Identity: I think therefore I am

Descartes once proclaimed, "I think therefore I am." (Rene Descartes 1637 Cited in Winch & Gingell, 1999). Descartes justified his existence through the rationality of thought. The consistency of thought leads to the development of a system of beliefs. Establishing a system of beliefs leads to the consideration that thinking involves reflecting via a system of experiences. It follows that

experiences lead to the establishment of truths; this is where there is a fundamental link between learning, knowledge and who we are. Our identity is a form of knowledge. As Foucault argued, there are multiple selves to be worked on (Foucault *et al.*, 1988).

Whilst Descartes' internal dialogue forms the consciousness, the internal thought process is ordinarily referenced by some external experience (Giddens, 1991). It is in this regard that we are what we do (Mead & Morris, 1934). This also acknowledges Descartes' position that human beings have the capacity to act with rational thought. If one believes that society is a mirror image of these rational thoughts, then it would appear that Descartes was correct. However, human beings (generally) do not act on rational thought without sensory input from the world around them (Jenkins, 2008). This dual philosophy is key when considering the term 'identity'. As Bourdieu notes, humankind does not exist in a vacuum. Perhaps in this sense, what service leavers think are possible choices are, in truth, only a range of possible outcomes within a given setting. This issue troubles many service personnel; at some point, many personnel realise that not everybody can be promoted and, hence, their career is suspended in a deterministic structure. For some, their fate in the medium-term has already been decided. The question is what to do about the predetermined fate; the fear of leaving the Army is real, but, as the participants in this research have discovered, emancipation is real too.

Problematically, identity can refer to sameness and difference at the same time (Lawler, 2008). For example, we can identify a group of women or a group of men, yet although these two groups share common genetic features as men and women, as individual people there are differences within each of the groups. It is the social interpreted by the rational that generates these differences. This leads people to categorise individuals, which leads them and society to bestow identities onto others; a kind of perpetual motion exists whereby knowledge of identities is formed. (Lawler, 2008)

By bestowing identities on others, structures, social landscapes and political dimensions start to emerge and further influence those identities. As already noted, in the work of Foucault and Bourdieu there are many influences that shape these differences. There are perhaps many types of identities to be discovered or roles to be played (Hollis, 1994). Service leavers are known by a group identity of 'resettlement' or 'resettlers': these people have been categorised and this process of labelling has become normalised.

Normalisation is a feature that is described more fully in chapters five and six. However, briefly, I take normalisation to refer to a label which is accepted by its members; but a label which worryingly under-plays the significance of its meaning. There are times when the term resettlement is thrown around without much regard for its significance. (Even by those who are in resettlement.)

In advancing Mead's argument, 'we are what we do', it is important to also acknowledge that we are what we say (Strathern, 1992). This expands upon

the notion that an identity is something to be worked on, something to develop, something to educate and something to police. This is Foucault's position with regard to 'technologies of the self' (Foucault *et al.*, 1988). Here the self is in dialogue with itself, educating itself, policing itself, "watching its Ps and Qs" in order to form an identity. The obvious question here is where these notions of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable come from, in order to reveal an identity. The answer lies within society; what society accepts and what it does not are related to the differences between knowledge and power. In this sense, Foucault's ideas begin to share similarities with Bourdieu's theories.

Individuality

The word identity comes from the Latin *idem*, meaning the same. Taking this meaning slightly out of context, this could also be referred to as a collection or collective. We also use the word identity to describe a self, as a set of specific characteristics – thus, identity pertains to an individual and therefore describes individuality. Consequently, in a seemingly opposite description to the collective description, individuality can also mean difference. Individuality is largely focused on descriptions about difference.

Richard Jenkins offers three distinct orders of how the world is constructed by humans, and how difference is manifested. These simultaneously occupy the same space and, in discussing one, the others are automatically referred to. Notably, these parallel the earlier discussions on self, knowledge identities and institutions. The orders put forward by Jenkins are:

1. The individual order: the rational thought element, what goes on inside people's heads.
2. The interaction order: the empiricist's view of what goes on between people.
3. The institutional order: the historical pattern of how things are done (Jenkins, 2008).

The usefulness of Jenkins' orders shall now become apparent in the following discussion; throughout the discussion it remains important for the reader to continue viewing these positions from the paradigm of difference, for this is how we categorise identity. It is also important that the analytical tools of Bourdieu and Foucault are not forgotten.

Individual order

A philosophical pragmatist Jenkins relies on Mead's concepts. Mead describes how mind and self are 'generated in a social process', as well as inside the head of an individual as a dialogue with him or herself (Mead & Morris, 1934). Jenkins states that it is on going social interaction through which individuals define and redefine themselves and others. Mead demonstrates this by stating that the self is not there at birth; instead, it is something that is developed through social experience (Mead & Morris, 1934). In this sense, identity is developed through socialisation; on this view, the shift of a social sphere, as with the career transitions researched in this thesis, undoubtedly affects identity. Moreover, as Birdwhistell (1973) has noted, society is an adaptive process. Mead's argument was that, as human

beings, we have the capacity to participate in internal dialogue (which is consistent with Descartes' maxim: "I think therefore I am"). Mead's point is that we have discussions with ourselves as if we are talking to an audience. We do this as a system check, to ensure the symbols we use to communicate our identity fit with what we want to convey. Judith Williamson writes:

"When I rummage through my wardrobe in the morning I am not merely faced with the choice of what to wear. I am faced with the choice of images: the difference between a smart suit and a pair of overalls, a leather skirt and a cotton skirt, is not one of a fabric and style, but of one identity. You know perfectly well you will be seen differently for the whole day depending on what you put on." (Williamson, 1986, p 20)

Therefore, internal communication uses symbols in speaking to an imagined audience in order to arrive at a rational decision on what is being communicated to others. This blurs Jenkins' orders with regard to rational decisions being communicated to others'. This implies interaction, and interaction with others, and thus Jenkins' interaction order now becomes more evident.

Being part of the military is associated with some very conspicuous symbols, such as wearing a uniform, badges of rank, belonging to the infantry, belonging to the medical corps, parachute regiment, and so on. Symbols communicate a message to others, both within an organisation and outside. Individuals may see themselves differently because of these symbols. A symbol may be another version of a label, and if so, where does knowledge of these labels come from? There is likely to be an understood discourse surrounding these apparent labels, although such understanding may not be

universally understood. People can misunderstand these meanings. An individual may communicate who they are by the symbols they show to others. An obvious example of this is a Police Officer, whose uniform communicates to the public a great deal.

This small snapshot demonstrates the presence of an internal dialogue. What is more, and just as with an actor, what happens if the symbols (clothing, badges etc.) change, or what happens if the audience changes? Is a new character born? This is what happens to service personnel in a career transition; their stage, set and costumes change overnight. Jenkins' next order, the interaction order, borrows from Erving Goffman's perspectives on performance.

Interaction order

Goffman concludes that the internal dialogue presented by rationality has meaning when presented to an audience and, as with any performance, act or front, it should be viewed as being plausible by the audience (Goffman, 1990). Thus, we are reminded of the term "He's all front" revealing that the audience does not quite believe in the performance being portrayed. On this point Jenkins writes:

"Although people have (some) control over the signals about themselves that they send to others, we are all at a disadvantage in that we cannot ensure either their 'correct' reception or interpretation, or know with any certainty how they are received or interpreted."
(Jenkins, 2008, p 42)

Hence, we use Mead's symbols to help provide a convincing performance to our audience. In the Jenkins' extract above, the word '**some**' is written in

brackets because, as Goffman acknowledges, we give off unconscious signals throughout our performance (Goffman, 1990). This either adds or detracts credibility from an individual's performance. An appropriate example here is a candidate at a job interview. The candidate may well be articulating a convincing performance, but the beads of sweat on the forehead, the uncontrollable fiddling with one's hands and the inability to hold eye contact with the interviewer may well give off a less convincing message. There may even be a slip of the tongue, the so-called, '*Freudian Slip*' which reveals something about our concealed character (Woodward, 2000).

If we look a little deeper at the term 'front' and use the analogy of a restaurant, where the front of house presents one image and the kitchens another, we can see that the performance requires a little more than just good acting skills. Everything conveys the restaurant's identity; the decor, the way the furnishings are positioned, the type of materials used, the music, the sights and the sounds all produce a performance.

As I have travelled around most of Europe, I am always assured that a McDonald's restaurant is the same in Belgium as it is in Italy, France or Germany – the same but different. This is what Bourdieu calls 'Habitus' systems of durable, transposable dispositions (Bourdieu, 1980). Bourdieu develops the notion of habitus with some purpose when he relates this to taste. Bourdieu contends that:

“...People who belong to the same social group and who thus occupy the same position in a social space tend to share the same tastes across all forms of symbolic practice.” (Bourdieu, 1984, p xix)

Relating this back to identity, persons from a similar class share similar dispositions and ways of presenting themselves, as well as ways of talking and modes of language. While there are commonalities in bodily hexis (The manner in which one conducts themselves), people act on the basis of rational thought and they have different life experiences that shape their performance. The service personnel researched in this thesis all share a similar habitus – a ‘McDonald’s moment’. These include their experience of enlistment, the display of wearing a uniform, the subjection to military discipline and the fact that they all shared a bestowed public image of a soldier. Thus, there is a shared identity that these service people carry, and a shared identity that is performed for the audience. Moreover, as the narrative in this thesis details, this is an identity that is both consciously and unconsciously performed, and the audience reacts according to their paradigms and discourse.

A stark example of this kind of shared identity is the town of Wootton-Bassett, which has become well known in terms of the repatriation of the fallen. Without organisation, in the first instance, the inhabitants of the town began unconsciously performing the act of remembrance, as fallen service personnel were repatriated to the UK. As these unconscious acts became conscious, the town took on a new public identity. Ex-service personnel are often seen in Wootton-Bassett wearing civilian attire and their berets of old. The beret is a symbol communicating an identity for the benefit of others (even to the fallen,

this forms a symbol of kinship); it is a demonstration of durable dispositions and bonds, an ethos that continues beyond enlistment, a symbol which is something that is greater than the individual identity. It is institutional, a point which Foucault, Bourdieu, Goffman and Jenkins all make.

Institutional order

Richard Jenkins borrows much from Karl Marx with regard to institutional order, but it is important to begin with the work of Bourdieu as this is more consistent with the claims of this thesis concerning how institutional orders evolve.

“The habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices - more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action...” (Bourdieu, 1980, p 54)

This extract further demonstrates the durable dispositions of habitus; with regard to institutional order, it is the collective sharing of identities that defines and categorises membership. Institutions are time-honoured blueprints; they have the means to impose the way in which things are done and, in addition, its incumbents are compelled to classification (Jenkins, 2008).

The classification process in institutions is best understood by reference to large corporate organisations and the titles of positions within these, such as managing director, office clerk, receptionist and so on (It is probable that, as the reader contemplates this list of positions, an unconscious image of those positions or persons is pictured, and a bestowed identity is thus formed). This

is categorisation at work. According to Karl Marx, the movement of a category to a group is a political process (Karl Marx cited in Hollis, 1994). While the importance of Marx in the recognition of group identities and their consciousness is acknowledged, the 19th century economic foundations of Marxist theory are less relevant in the era of late modernity (Woodward, 2000).

However, an aspect of Marxist theory regarding class identities that is pertinent, and the aspect that Jenkins draws upon, is that groups assume identities. For example, groups of managing directors and groups of workers that live up to the idealised identity of the group. Marx would suggest that there is an understanding of a shared class interest – this in turn generates knowledge of identities, each with differing interests, which, on occasion, are in competition with each other (Marxists refer to this as dialectical materialism).

For the participants of these groups, individual consciousness is entwined in the social function of the group itself; the participants are mere puppets of the group (Karl Marx cited in Hollis, 1994). Hence, identity is about the categorisation of difference and, in order to remain exclusive, one category must rely on the shared knowledge of the differences of another opposing category. Without opposition (perhaps Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence could be used as an example here), group identity becomes insecure. Paradoxically, the identity of one group relies on the identity of another.

In this view, group identities rely on the subjugation of another group to assume an identity. The cautionary note here is that, while individuals do still act in accordance with rational thought, their behaviour is constrained and influenced by external forces. As Jenkins notes: Whilst people construct their own history they do so in a world not of their choosing. (With reference to Karl Marx in Jenkins, 1992)

With regard to service personnel, on the one hand, the identity of the NCO cadre is greater than the individual, and, in this sense, individuals are mere instruments. Yet on the other hand, they are the NCO, so they are, to some extent, the creators of the NCO identity. What is noticeable is that these kinds of categorisation are not readily transferable to civilian life; losing these specific military reference points may make it harder for an individual to fit back into civilian life.

The final point to be made on this issue is that individuals shape the institution and are shaped by the institution. Organisations, such as the military, are able to exert more power in shaping individuals than a corporate organisation because of the status division positioned by rank, the resilient inculcating nature of service life, and the military's ability to reprimand wrongdoers.

This touches on Weberian theory. Weber saw status as a marker for life chances – it follows that a senior ranked soldier has different life chances than

that of a junior soldier. It also follows that a senior soldier has a greater capacity to shape the organisation via increased privileges and status.

Reflecting on this study's research participants, one can begin to see changes that arise for an individual so bound to a specific institutional identity, remembering, of course, Jenkins' point, which is that all three orders occur simultaneously. In a very basic summary, Mead's symbols (a uniform) Goffman's roles (the act of being a soldier) and finally Marx, Weber, Bourdieu and Foucault's class and status (in the military setting these refer to rank).

Of course, these are basic examples and there are many other features that could be drawn upon to demonstrate the three orders in the context of this research. Indeed, a quick examination of chapters one and two demonstrates a greater range of positions to consider, all of which transform as a result of very distinctive environmental and career changes.

Sigmund Freud

Sigmund Freud was the founder of psychoanalytical theory and his theories are important premises on which to understand the unconscious elements of identity. Freud has often been misunderstood because of incorrect translations of his work from his mother tongue, German, to English. Freud repeatedly used the term sexual, but unfortunately the term sexual has often been misinterpreted; the German translation that Freud aimed at is more readily understood as 'emotional energy' or the 'life-force' (Bettelheim, 1983).

Freud contended that the life-force emotions, developed unconsciously in early childhood, have the capacity to affect choices and personality, and they therefore have an impact on an identity as an adult (Woodward, 2000).

Whilst Freud's writings are complex, lengthy and detailed, it would be a mistake to refrain from considering his key positions, and in particular those related to his theory of psychosexual development and the potential affects of this on the individual's unconsciousness. It is also important, in this context, to examine Freud's three mind regions: the id, the ego, and the super ego.

Psychosexual Development: the Id, Ego and Super Ego

Regarding the nature-nurture argument, Freud claimed that the parents of an infant have to respond to the child's needs. He put forward the view that the way in which the parents responded had a powerful influence on the later personality of the child. For example, if a child was to cry, and the parent afforded an immediate response, the infant may learn (unconsciously) that there exists a perfect world whereby demands are immediately met, and, therefore, as an adult the individual in question may find it difficult to cope with the frustrations of the real world. On the other hand, if the child has to wait too long to be fed, it may learn that the world only meets its needs when it gets angry or verbally aggressive. Freud's ideal of an adult personality best able to cope in the world lay somewhere between these two extremes in terms of parental responses (McLeod, 2003).

Freud continued to make similar comparisons throughout child development. Freud called the potty training stage the 'anal stage'. Here he described a process where, if the potty training were too rigid, then the child would grow-up with the unconscious thought that it should never allow itself to make a mess. The adult tendency may manifest itself as a person unable to express emotions or with an obsessive need to keep everything tidy. In contrast, if the training was too permissive, the child may grow without the capacity to keep things in good order (McLeod, 2003).

Whilst Freud investigated several other aspects of psychosexual development, it is not necessary to analyse all of these features here. What is important is to recognise Freud's contribution. In all individuals there appears to be an unconscious identity.

The second area of his work that should be referred to concerns Freud's categorisation of the human mind into three, divided regions (metaphysically):

Id or It: Is a pool of primal instincts and impulses that provides the ultimate motives for our behaviour. Freud assumed that there were two primary drives; 'life' (this includes love and so on) and 'death' (this includes aggression, amongst other things). These principles are governed by the pleasure principle and are often irrational in action (fight or flight, love or hate). They are deep seated and unconscious (Britannica Online, 2010).

Ego: Is the conscious, rational part of the mind, which deals with making decisions based upon external reality (Britannica Online, 2010).

Superego: The super ego is the moral component, the conscience. It becomes the individual's rulebook, and informs the attitudes that a person holds dear. Often these are handed down, unconsciously, from parents or key persons in early development (Britannica Online, 2010) (McLeod, 2003).

Having concluded the discussion of Freud, and as a moment of reflection, and, perhaps, with some element of conjecture, would it be wrong to suppose that the angry Drill Sergeant, who enjoys shouting at the troops was the child who was kept waiting for his food? Alternatively, is it perhaps that he is merely playing the role of the Drill Sergeant – doing what Goffman and Foucault would expect a Drill Sergeant to do? Chapters four and five use Freud visibly throughout the microanalysis; microanalysis being the scrutiny of the subtle interactions, the idiosyncratic gestures that go on to form the emblematic representations of identity.

George Herbert Mead

The work of George Herbert Mead has already been touched upon in the above analysis of Jenkins' individual order, but what has not been covered in any real depth is the symbolic interaction with regard to language. Mead was earlier discussed in the realms of symbols of clothing, yet, for Mead, language was a pivotal symbol of who we are (Mead & Morris, 1934). He developed this

argument by reference to the terms 'I' and 'me' because, without language, there would be no 'I' or 'me'.

In simple terms, the 'me' is the social self and the 'I' is the response to the 'me'.

This chapter has stated that identity had the curious meaning of sameness and difference. For Mead, the self is at once individuality and generality; it is both agent and recipient (Elliott, 2007). In addition, it is here that we again see echoes of Mead's work in the premises put forward by Jenkins and his 'orders of mind' and the notable **simultaneous** affects he contends.

It must be made explicit the point that Mead is making; the self is **at once**, individuality and generality, it is both agent and recipient. To quote directly from Mead's work:

"The 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others, the 'me' is the organised set of attitudes of others, which one himself assumes." (Mead & Morris, 1934).

In order to describe Mead's view, it is useful to use the analogy of 'me' in a work setting. My colleagues have a view of 'me' and they are able to process this view of 'me' by the symbols that 'I' communicate, for 'I' is my response to 'me'. In this sense, the 'me' is an organised and categorised version of 'I'.

Following this logic, we are what we do; we are also able to reflect the feelings and attitudes of others. Once again, this is reminiscent of the Bourdieuan theory of taste and the durable dispositions of habitus.

If the 'I' responds to the social 'me' as a result of the society 'me' belongs to, then the 'I' response must change in accordance with changes in environment. Mead's 'me' and 'I' and Freud's ego and super ego are very similar, insofar as one state responds to the other state to create a fresh state. In sum, x responds to y to form a particular identity.

If both x and y are variable then the identity must be variable too. Mead explains this in the following way:

" The self is the important phase in the development, because it is in the possibility of the importation of this social attitude into the responses of the whole community that such a society could arise."

He goes on to state:

" After a while he gets to the point of thinking of himself into his changed fashion, noticing the clothes in the window and seeing himself in them. The change has taken place in him without his being aware of it. There is, then, a process by means of which the individual in interaction with others inevitably becomes like others in doing the same thing, without that process appearing in what we term consciousness."
(Mead & Morris, 1934, p 192 - 193)

A direct link can be made here with Lave and Wenger's zones of peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). With respect to service personnel, it is not the act of enlistment that sets them aside as service personnel, it is the socialisation involved in being part of the military, which provides a sense of identity. This sense of identity is, for example, informed by the continued symbol of the uniform, the habitual ritual of the short haircut, the permanent

accommodation in barracks, the total involvement of the same needs (doctors, medical centre), and the recreational membership afforded by the messes, the NAAFI, and the gymnasium. There are an infinite number of examples that could be cited as playing a part in the construction of a military identity. However, what is readily apparent is that a career change from military to civilian life, involves a change in socialisation, and, in accordance with the theories presented, this must modify features of an individual's identity.

Bourdieu and habitus

Bourdieu's theories have played a significant role in the philosophy of this thesis. Whilst the above has covered the 'philosophical', and his work on structure, class, reproduction and institutions, the following seeks to develop two other important themes offered by Bourdieu. Firstly, the term he refers to as 'doxic', which means the hidden, and taken for granted knowledge that exists under the surface of the group, and, secondly, Bourdieu's secondary term from habitus, 'hexis'. Habitus refers to the environmental social structures of a social situation, while hexis refers to the bodily dispositions of the individual within the social situation.

On hexis, Bourdieu writes:

"Bodily hexis is political mythology realised, embodied, turned into a permanent disposition, the durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of feeling and thinking." (Bourdieu & Nice, 1977, p 69 - 70)

There are some notable dispositions that are readily viewable embodiments of a military culture which are hidden from the consciousness of the individual (this is additional to Freud's theory of unconscious psychosexual development). As an example relevant to hexis, even when personnel are not dressed in military uniform, there is every chance of spotting an incumbent of a service background by the gait of their walk, and their propensity to swing their arms. This should not be overstated by suggesting that military personnel march everywhere, even when off duty, but there is, nonetheless, a noticeable manner in the way that a service person carries themselves.

Another characteristic of habitus and hexis that Bourdieu puts forward is that these features are durable (Bourdieu, 1980). This, in turn, raises the following questions: when service personnel make the transition to a civilian career do they keep some of these durable dispositions? How much does identity really change? There is no doubt that change does occur, yet, as Ray Birdwhistell (1973) notes, changes are subtle and are adaptive.

One of the research participants commented that, initially, they might find it difficult to break embedded habits upon leaving the military. However, after a period, they thought that they might lose some of these traits. Bourdieu's own thoughts on habitus seem to justify this participant's thoughts. Bourdieu suggests that habitus is the site of the internalisation of reality and the externalisation of internality. (Bourdieu, 1980). In a similar sense to Mead – we are what we do. (Mead & Morris, 1934)

I have some reservations on the thoughts of **transient** hexis; I accept that the hexis is likely to alter with a change of environment, but I maintain the notion that traits accrued within the military environment remain, even if they occasionally appear dormant or repressed. I view this in a similar way to long-term memory, and, in evidence, I offer the following:

Myself, I am a veteran, having served for 12 years in the Royal Air Force, I exited the service in 1998, and still 14 years on, occasionally, normally when in a rush or in a need to do things with purpose, my wife has remarked of my propensity to march about. Apparently, that durable trait still stands with me. Perhaps then, there are levels of adaptation, just as there are levels of skill fade, levels of knowledge and various levels of memory recall.

The second point raised regarding Bourdieu and identity was doxa. Lawler explains that Bourdieu uses the term doxa to refer to a common understanding within a given cultural formation (Lawler, 2008). Bourdieu describes it as a feel for the game (Bourdieu, 1980). Viewing doxa from the lens of identity, the term can be defined as being concerned with the tacit knowledge of identities within cultural groups. The research participants in this study expressed concern over not knowing how the civilian world works. In this sense, it is about not knowing how the game is played. In the findings, chapter five, the participants expressed various levels of anxiety with regard to this issue. All participants, without exception, felt that better use of Civilian Work Attachments (CWA) would have helped them get a better feel for the game.

Whilst there will always be exceptions to the rule, it is possible to assert, as a broad generalisation, that even an untrained eye will normally be able to spot the difference between a private soldier and a commissioned officer when they are in civilian attire. The similarities between ranks, in terms of habitus, hexis and doxa, are conceivably matters of taste (Bourdieu, 1984). 'Fitting in' was a key concern for some of the participants in this research.

Whilst the philosophy that has informed this thesis is consistent with Bourdieu's durable disposition of habitus and hexis, it is possible to speculate that the erosion of the doxic positions that have served to define and confine the class relations (the military rank structures and service embodiment) sets the conditions for a greater breadth in an individual's doxa. Particularly within the junior rank structures, an observation can be made with regard to the tighter control mechanisms that operate at a junior level; these are institutional structures that define class. To place this in some context, if the private soldier is no longer defined or confined by the structural definition of a private soldier then the doxal identity becomes something else; perhaps it starts to perform a different role, perhaps the private soldier's fate is no longer deterministic?

Goffman the performer

The work of Goffman was earlier referred to in order to help identify with total institutions, with Jenkins' interactional order, and with the use of the self as being portrayed to an audience. In the following discussion, closer attention is

paid to this latter aspect in the form of an analysis of Goffman's analogy of the self as the performer.

The imprint of symbolic interactionism that is portrayed by Mead is noticeable in Goffman's work. This is probably because Goffman was a student of Herbert Blumer and Herbert Blumer was a student of Herbert Mead, and thus there are some echoes of the traditional symbolic interactionist in Goffman's style. However, there is a distinct difference in Goffman's work in terms of the use of agency; this chapter has already noted that Foucault's thoughts on agency are thin and that Bourdieu's thoughts on this subject, although better developed than Foucault's position, involves using agency in combination with structure and control. Goffman differs from the traditional symbolic interactionists because he notes that the agent has a **greater** role to play in deciding how to stage the role of the performance (Elliott, 2007).

It is vitally important to make clear, when discussing Goffman's analogy of a performer, that the performance is **not** a pretence masking the real person.

Hacking summarises this in the following way:

"Throughout Goffman's work, the idea of role is central. However, it is not that of an essential person, who plays various roles. The roles are not gliding surfaces that conceal the true person. The roles become aspects of person, some more own, some more resented, always an evolving side of what the person is." (Hacking 2004, Cited in Lawler, 2008, p 109).

We are constantly practicing various roles, and, therefore, these various roles are what we are. If the individual is forced to practice a new role, this must have an effect on the whole performance.

In performing a role, Goffman notes that there is a frontal region, and a backstage region where an individual can practice some aspects of a role that he does not want the frontal audience to see. For a member of the armed services, there is often less backstage space available (either metaphorically or literally) and, therefore, a member of the service community often performs 'warts and all'. Consider, for example, a soldier on exercise or a soldier on an operational tour; the lifestyle is such that there is no 'off switch'. Soldiers eat, sleep, work and socialise together. Consequently, upon returning home from a new civilian job, an ex-soldier may experience a greater backstage space. This could potentially manifest itself as a feeling of isolation or abandonment.

A study into American veterans noted that continued role identification with the military institution (by discussing military affairs with friends or a desire to keep close contact with the nearby military base), did not interfere with reintegration into civilian community. In fact, it appeared to facilitate this process (Janowitz & Russell Sage Foundation, 1964). The individuals best equipped to reintegrate were those personnel who had little dependency on the military, but who were able to continue identifying with the role.

(dependency is discussed subsequently, again by relying on some of Goffman's work).

There is also a notion here that keeping the role alive is helpful for reintegration, and for retaining a sense of self. Some of the participants in this research expressed enjoyment from continued association with the military; one participant remarked that he hoped the banter would be retained by frequenting his local Royal British Legion branch.

In the Janowitz cases which did involve continued dependence on the military (labelled as 'lower civilian identification') the researcher found that this affected occupational and social adjustment in a negative way (Watson, 1961). Most of the available US evidence (circa 1960s) suggests that the military role is **not** as distinctive as frequently supposed, and only peripheral changes of lifestyle are demanded for the social and occupational reintegration of the retiree (Janowitz & Russell Sage Foundation, 1964).

Foucault - discourse of identities

The representation of an identity is an identity in the third person, and this refers to identities that are bestowed upon individuals. This manifestation is intensely political, and suggests a form of power derived from categorising individuals. Foucault, and his perspective on technologies of the self, was discussed earlier, this being a version of the self that requires constant work. In order to draw a little more consistency with reference to Foucault, two issues require greater analysis. Firstly, the noted bestowed identities, and secondly, the self as a project.

Bestowed identities require two qualities. Firstly, they require a form of categorisation, so an identity can be assigned, and secondly, a bestowed

identity assumes a body of knowledge about the said categories. If a body of knowledge exists about a particular identity, then this acts to establish the conditions for doing things correctly or incorrectly, for improving its category, for developing or even for changing what is done within the corpus of its being. What is at stake here is not just bestowed identities for individuals, but identities of groups. This has been noted with reference to Marx; collective identities invoke powerful images (Hacking, 1990).

This feature can be demonstrated by the attempts made by governments to educate certain sectors of society. For example, it is now compulsory in the UK for students to undergo citizenship training within schools. On a more individualistic level there are, as I have already suggested, many textbooks about self-help. (How to be more successful, how to be a more effective family, how to be more organised) What all of this suggests is that there is political knowledge about identities, and identities can be worked on. Foucault uses the term 'subjectivation', which he explains by the following:

There are two meanings to the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and second, a subject tied to its own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power, which subjugates. (Michel Foucault cited in Dreyfus, 1982).

Through subjectivation, people become tied to specific identities (Lawler, 2008). With respect to the participants in this research, there are perhaps two issues to consider. In the first instance, I am reminded of an old saying 'once

a soldier always a soldier.' It is likely that enlistment means that the individual will always be associated with the armed forces.

This is further demonstrated by the fact that, as soon as an individual has served more than one day in the forces, and has to leave the services, regardless of the reason for departure, they are called a 'veteran'. This is not necessarily a bad thing, in fact, quite the opposite – it is, in my view, something to be proud of, but it is still a label. On service exit, you even get a veteran's lapel badge. Despite the potential positive attributes society associates with the term veteran, the assigned category does ensure an individual has continued identification with the armed forces.

The second issue is, as the veteran now enters the civilian world, they do so at a time where the 'technologies of self' are more observable and the political dimensions to update one's self are much more compelling. Thus, today, people are expected, often by a clandestine political will, to continually update, modify and keep pace with a society more educationally aware than the known permanence of the steady state of the Army.

This clearly relates to some of the ideas promoted by Richard Sennett concerning how the world of work has become more transient (Sennett, 1999). People tend to work in civilian organisations for a few years and then move on. The military has not been regarded as a workforce with this kind of portability. The effect here is that a service person can have a sense of being imprisoned as they watch their civilian counterparts move from one job to

another. Of course, the counterargument is that, in general, the military offers a career where one can stay with the same firm, enlisting at the lowest rank and following a ladder of progression, providing them with the opportunity to leave at the top. The benefit of this rare opportunity should not be underestimated. Yet for some critics, the military structure can serve to impoverish an individual's identity by over applying the organisational identity. Personnel can become unfamiliar with who they are when they come to leave, and for others there can be a sense of renewal and an opportunity to de-shackle former identities (emancipation).

Making choices

From the arguments presented, it follows that the choices an individual makes have an impact on their future career and newly emerging identity and that knowing one's self and understanding one's likes and dislikes steers decision-making. As noted by Bourdieu, people do not make decisions in a vacuum. Hence, there is a prevailing field aspect to career decision making. A service leaver is positioned by rank and class. Thus, at the transitional juncture from military institution to civilian society, this characteristic influences an individual's aspirations and decisions.

In career guidance theory, the aforementioned viewpoints are the two dominant theories regarding career choice making. These are structural decision making and personality decision making. Hodkinson and Sparks (1997) suggest a career model that embraces these but also introduces a

third attribute, 'life chances'. In sum, their model is based around these characteristics:

- Rational decision making within the confines of their habitus;
- Collaborative decisions made with persons they are situated with;
- Life chances; largely unpredictable events.

(Hodkinson & Sparkes cited in Foskett & Hemsley-Brown, 2001)

The important point here is, that 'decisions' are the vehicle by which people arrive.

The aforementioned model also shows that, as people transition throughout various careers, they carry forward images of their past through their rationale of their past habitus and their dialogue with past collaborators. Thus, meaningful changes to an individual's identity take time to occur, as each transition carries forward fresh images and fresh dialogues. Arguably, this can be seen as Bourdieu's 'durable dispositions' competing with Birdwhistell's adaptation (Bourdieu, 1980) (Birdwhistell, 1973).

A significant body of work regarding individual choice, grounded in the psychological research of Super (1957) cited in (Feldman, 2002), has been challenged by recent evidence, that choice is not individually predetermined: rather, people simply take what is on offer (Moir, 1990). This investigation indicates that both viewpoints are correct. People do choose; whether or not they end up with that choice is another matter. On balance, Moir's argument

would appear to be confirmed by the findings of my research. However, I have also witnessed the research participants exercising free will when deciding what to do. Existentialist choice making has been generally exercised at a greater level after the participants had left the service, since they had greater freedom and knowledge of the civilian sector once they have experienced it.

The reasons for this duplicity, the free will to choose and to take what is on offer, are complex. Possible explanations include the availability of the desired choice, social reproduction and habitus, or symbolic violence within fields of habitus, or newly emerging opportunities in a fresh field. Ultimately, as this research reveals, it is where you have been and where you end up which shapes identity (though of course it is decisions that take you 'there', wherever 'there' might be.) Knowing something about one's new environment is a vital component of informed decision-making.

Grounding the study

The main focus of the literature review has been to sample parallel contexts and to construct analytical tools to understand. In order to ground the study ontologically and to illustrate the strength of these classical theories, I sampled vocational studies of those leaving educational settings, studies on retirement, and studies relating to careers and employability. There were several converging views; these were helpful and authenticated my classical approach.

Patrick White (2007) claimed that occupational aspirations are often tied to class background, and the majority of school leavers in his research had ambitions that were congruent with those of their parents. This research has focused on these features. More explicitly, family is another form of an institution, and thus this kind of analysis guided the research construct around class systems, relations of power, symbolic violence and individual agency. The resonance of Bourdieu's grand theory is more than distant echoes in contemporary sociology. "Generational Habitus" (Jones *et al.*, 2010) is a phrase used to describe the composite of dispositions that prevail in the field of retirement. The same study revealed contradictory anxieties between stagnation, freedom and spontaneity. The reflexive nature of these apprehensions required a framework capable of moving between the idiosyncratic and the emblematic. My research has required a comparable method as these characteristics also feature in the transitions of service leavers.

Coupland (2001) argued that graduate career transitions had a marked impact on the identity and the language used by the individual. She arrived at the perspective that identity is something we do rather than something we are. Coupland refers to a socialisation process, whereby career, identity and change are interconnected. Barley (1989) claimed that, as different careers unfold, changes in identity manifest through the interaction of others as newly emerging values are internalised. This fuses subjective realities (psychosomatic tendencies) and objective structures (social construction).

There is an emphasis throughout my study that identity is this type of amalgam.

Coping with role change is a consequence of transition. When role changes or the performed identity is forced to reconfigure, this is likely to have far-reaching consequences. The characteristics of soldiers can be compared to the individual characteristics found in those who are active in sport. Soldiers are fit, energetic and perform an assumed identity through the association of their career and status within that career. In his study of ex-professional tennis players, Stier (2007) found that career termination required a gradual reconstruction of self-identity and social adaptation. Goffman's performed identities feature as a principle of symbolic interactionism in Mead's (1934) assertion that an identity is an activity performed both within the presence of others and as a cause and effect of interacting with others. Exiting the service environment requires a seminal turning point - exiting the role of a soldier requires change and this means modifying one identity.

Gazier (1998) found that, in recent years, the views of employability have become 'interactive' and structural factors are seen to have an influence. This has implications for service leavers. Their decisions are not made in a vacuum. They are affected by many factors: some psychosomatic, others social. Many of the structural factors that enable or constrain the individual are organisational. This view shares a genealogy with Bourdieu, Foucault, Freud and Goffman. The research of Barley (1989), Coupland (2001), Jones *et al* (2010) and Stier (2007) shares premises with the scholars presented in my

literature. This has confirmed that my designed analytical framework is relevant and that it has the capacity unravel the multifaceted nature of identity.

Conclusion

The terrain mapped out in the chapter is visibly complex. The approach used within this literature review has been to frame the research questions around the concept of identity and to develop the tools for analysis. I wish to emphasise that the previous military studies advance limited associations to concepts of identity, (Rank, role, job, religiosity, behaviour and performance) and fail to make the more detailed associations necessary for understanding transition. Therefore, I have considered it reasonable to ask the following questions:

- How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity?
- How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

The next chapter considers the approach adopted and the philosophical paradigms that were essential to address the research questions.

Chapter 4 – Methodology and Methods

“Be prepared, then, to experience qualitative inquiry as drama, for drama it surely is. It involves capturing people’s stories and weaving them together to reveal and give insight into real-world dramas.”
(Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p xiii)

The Research Questions:

- How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity?
- How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

Considerations, Approach and Methodology

This chapter describes the philosophical approach as well as methodological issues relating to this investigation. This study has endeavoured to communicate a reflexive philosophy based on grand theoretical perspectives that have previously had little application in this specific context. I have previously demonstrated the importance of applying a reflective and multifaceted lens (pages 79 to 82) and because of this, I feel it is important to position the importance of philosophy to this study methodology. The first part of this chapter sets out the guiding philosophy that relates to the theoretical approaches identified in the literature review. The second part analyses the actual methods adopted. Overall the main areas covered in this chapter are:

- Research paradigm;
- The researcher’s relationship to the investigation;
- Empirical data methods, design and associated problems;
- Limitations of the investigation;
- Ethical issues.

The philosophical backdrop

Throughout this research I have explicitly used a reflexive philosophy to illuminate the intertwined nature of human endeavour; this approach is firmly rooted in Bourdieu's demonstration of habitus and aspects of objectivity and subjectivity.¹⁵ This reflexive paradigm has been my guide in this overtly naturalistic methodology. Subsequently, I have argued by the operation of the combined theorists, Bourdieu, Foucault, Freud and Goffman, (detailed in chapter three) the position of multiple realities, in this sense identity is neither fixed nor homogeneous.

Cohen et al. (2007) explain that naturalistic research demonstrates the multiple realities of interpretation particularly well. However, caution is required with this approach, so as not to exercise judgemental power over the participants. The task with this approach is to observe, understand and to report; it ought to resist steering or influencing participant responses through explicit or implicit judgements. Specifically, the researcher's appreciation of their own habitus, together with their objectivity and subjectivity in influencing how research is undertaken are central considerations when using qualitative methods. Bourdieu was very critical of researchers who paid limited attention to the philosophical positions that underpinned their work (Webb *et al.*, 2002). It is with this in mind I now turn to explain how my philosophy has evolved.

A view expressed in this work and one shared by many academic writers refers to philosophy being the researcher's global positioning system (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). Philosophy gives bearing to what I have done in terms of

¹⁵ See Chapter three for habitus, objectivism and subjectivism.

understanding the metaphysical issues of this research. Metaphysics refers to the nature of being and the position of existence within the world.

Understanding one's totality of existence, one's place, one's interaction and one's impact on objects or otherwise in the world around, requires a reflexive frame.

Considering reflexivity and my principal argument that one is always learning either a new identity or new ways of adapting one's identity, it is perhaps appropriate to begin with a reflexive thought: when did humanity first begin to learn? Conceivably, this is an impracticable question to answer with any great accuracy. However, what can be ascertained with greater certainty is that learning was not first delivered via textbooks. In the early days of learning, it is more likely the illiterate race passed information from one person to another by methods of rote learning, storytelling and forms of apprenticeship (Modern Language Association, 2004) (Frontiers.com, 2004).

Analysing this field of learning, it becomes evident that one actor must have, seemingly, known more about a particular subject than another.

Consequently, the knowing actor has an assumed authority over the unknowing; the conceptual power relationship is manufactured and upheld by two means. First, the unknowing actor will hold the knowing actor in higher regard because they know something the other does not. Second, the knowing actor considers that they possess greater worthwhile knowledge compared to the uninformed. (Sennett, 2005) The knowing actor is thus apparently more powerful because of his or her greater educational and

cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This also demonstrates how identities can be bestowed on individuals. (See chapter three) The debate regarding the process through which an individual arrives at a position of knowledge can be divided into two broad camps; positivism and anti-positivism.

Positivism

Comte's epistemology was that the world could be explained by science, and that science, independently, could explain how human beings interacted with their world (Comte, cited in Oldroyd, 1986). These are ideas associated with positivism; they acquired popularity through the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth century. One of the reasons positivism gained this popularity during this period was its application in mainstream science. During this period, scientific developments facilitated vast improvements in peoples' existence, including in healthcare, transport and the home. Simultaneously, educationalists, attempting to carve out a new professional role, sought to gain greater professional recognition for their seemingly less sophisticated profession. By aligning their vocation with science, they hoped to enhance the credibility of their educational field (Landsheere, 2003).

This kind of philosophy suggests that the resettlement process may have become overtly technical and positivist in approach. (See chapter two) It is not easy to argue against the logic of objective evidence. Computer technology means it is relatively easy to gather statistics on numbers of service leavers who attended careers workshops or how many corporals from the Infantry

undertook training to re-skill or to demonstrate through various documents and signature blocks when and where resettlement interviews took place. It requires a different philosophy to look beneath the statistics. Positivist traditions are deep-rooted, although positivism has more generally been criticised in studies of sociology (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p 17 - 19). These criticisms are generally based on the views that laboratory conditions are more of a 'stage set' than a representation of the real world.

The principal area of concern is that the positivist methodology aligns its practice with science so firmly that it creates a 'plastic' reality of the real world (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). This results from scientists attempting to be "scientific" when accounting for society. The nature of scientific enquiry requires the removal of variables in order that an experiment may be replicated and proved to be true. In the pursuit of sufficient rigour, the positivist actor creates a skewed version of reality by attempting to make the social world an experimental laboratory; the risk of this is that the findings are too simplistic to represent society accurately. Late modernity both proves truth through scientific enquiry but at the same time constantly seeks to disprove its own findings or its own truths. In this respect, positivism is both constructive and destructive. (Giddens, 1991) At this juncture, it is perhaps time to look in more detail at the opposing view.

Anti-positivism

Anti-positivists maintain that people are autonomous, therefore knowledge is subjective, and consequently social science must deal with the direct **experience** of the people in their contexts.

The implications of this are clear; if two people witness the same phenomenon and arrive at the same conclusion or recount it the same way, we could say that phenomenon is true. On the other hand, if one account is different from the other, is one of the witnesses being untruthful or have they just interpreted the phenomenon differently? The key component here is the experience. Has the interaction between the witnesses given bias to their individual accounts or has a previous experience shaped their response? Both witnesses may believe their own account of the situation, and thus, it could be said that truth is relative. In this respect, one could announce that any assertion has validity. In this regard, people behave in a premeditated way; they act deliberately and make associations in and through their activities – they are not passive. (Blumer, 1969).

Marrying Positivism and Anti-Positivism

Any research conducted exclusively on the basis of either a positivist or anti-positivist epistemology would present an overly simplistic view of society. This is my interpretation of Bourdieu's objectivism and subjectivism with reference to one's habitus. As Michael Grenfell has commented on Bourdieu:

"Habitus is the link not only between past, present and future, but also between the social and the individual, the objective and subjective, and structure and agency." (Grenfell & James, 1998, p 53)

One of this study's research participants, Marcus, chose to grow a goatee beard after he had left the service. Using the multiple analysis approach and the philosophical positions discussed in chapter three, the act of growing a beard can be thought of in various ways. A Freudian might suggest that Marcus had been suppressing his psyche and that his internal desire to grow a beard was repressed whilst serving in the Army. Followers of Foucault might suggest that, in the new civilian, Marcus is experimenting with new ways of working on his self. Growing a beard is a symptom of this new discourse. As noted, Freud talks of repression, Foucault talks of growth; but neither position can perform, as Goffman would put it, without acknowledging the structure of society. And, of course, this relates to Bourdieu's symbolic violence that exists between fields: there are strict rules about growing facial hair in the Army.

My philosophy and methodology attempt to combine these perspectives in a way that communicates the complexities of human endeavour. Expanding on the literature in chapter three, I have argued for an innovative and reflective theoretical framework to guide this research.

The researcher's worldview to research methodology

A researcher must have an awareness of self as it is through this lens that the researcher will interpret the data, and, as has already been acknowledged, this has profound implications when handling research (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

My compulsory schooling taught me aims, objectives, apparatus, method, findings, and conclusion as a standardised scientific format. Through my own schooling, I find it hard to shake off the ingrained notion of how to conduct science. This form of early indoctrination to a positivist epistemology is augmented by adding my early career as an electronics' engineer, grounded in maths and physics. For a long time I understood the world solely through scientific mediums.

It was not until later, via my continued academic studies, that I have come to appreciate the messy intertwined duplicity of social science, and the difficulties the textbook scientific approach has in accounting for these social complexities. Moreover, I also recognise my own subjectivity within the research process. In short, although I have a compulsion to preconceive truth via my positivist indoctrination to science, I endeavour to steer my practice in naturalistic ways, believing that qualitative research lends itself more readily to social studies. I suggest this is because there is not a single truth, but many truths; there is, as the opening citation in this chapter suggested, a drama and a story to be told. (Rossman & Rallis, 2003) I have tried to demonstrate this philosophy by constructing stories to impart my empirical findings. (See chapter five)

From this perspective, it is the conceptual framework and the methodological approach that provides a sense of precision, and as a result, the method can be replicated in a different time or space with equally interesting insights. This involves not simply the constant replication of the same result, but a

methodology that is logical, flexible and one which consistently works to reveal the insights of the moment (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p 47). As Heraclitus claimed, '*Man cannot step into the same river twice*' (Heraclitus, reviewed by Graham, 2002).

Accounts of the research instruments involved are paramount; the following sections cover this in detail. In the case of this work, producing the same result is not as essential as the ability to interpret the findings. As previously discussed, there are often multiple interpretations to be made of the same data (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). Careful reporting of the process is what gives qualitative research its credibility and demonstrates its robustness (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

The researcher's relationship to the study

While I have described my own philosophical thoughts on education research, I must mention my relationship to the study and my relationship to the participants. Earlier I have detailed the effects of judgemental power. Whilst I can be mindful of the effects of power, I cannot determine how participants will react to power and authority within the research relationship. I shall explain how I have balanced this problem.

The post I occupy is that of Individual Education and Resettlement Officer or, as it is normally referred to, the IERO. This position is a C2 grade MoD post, which is a reasonably high position; in terms of rank structure, it rests at a comparable managerial grade to that of an Army Major. Given the hierarchical

nature of the military (and the dynamics afforded by the chain of command), the assumed managerial grade and the post title 'Resettlement Officer', my 'ranked status' is ordinarily perceived to be above that of the ordinary soldier. Soldiers tend to call me 'Sir', particularly at first meetings and generally they tend to stand on ceremony when talking to me. I work very hard to break down this assumed power dynamic. For example, I persevere with using first names with my service leavers, try to encourage them to stop calling me "Sir" and attempt to break down any intimation of deference. However, the influence of the Army as an institution runs deep and many service leavers have great difficulty in adjusting to this.

The research implications of this are obvious; owing to my perceived status, soldiers may simply want to tell me what they think the right answer is (to 'put on a good performance' as Goffman would call it) rather than answering truthfully. In this sense, trust is a vital ethical component to the methodological approach used in this research.

I am also a service veteran myself, having served in the Royal Air Force for 12 years. Not only have I been working in the role of Resettlement Officer, or in an allied field to resettlement for the past 8 years, but, 14 years ago, I went through the same resettlement process as my service leavers (from a research perspective I have an unique insider's experience of being a service leaver). In this regard, I believe I have the necessary experience to foresee doubtful behaviour, or at least to be able to account for it in a measured way. Moreover, as I have already acknowledged, establishing trust between the

participant and myself is extremely important; trust is the main factor that acts to counter the imbalance in status and power.

Design

The few previous studies in this specialist area have adopted similar theoretical approaches to the one I have taken, Jolly (1996), McDermott (2007) and the National Audit Office study (2007). My study is qualitative and longitudinal in its approach and relies on mixed data methodologies, including interviews with soldiers from the British Forces' community in Germany, information from policy documents, a participant biography; and a small amount of quantitative data from the divisional exit questionnaire.

A semi-structured interview technique was devised, similar to those used in other career-orientated studies. Coupland (2001), for example, used semi-structured interviews to construct narratives concerning graduates moving into new careers. Coupland's focus was on illustrating the use of language spoken by the participants and how they used it to articulate their identity. Although my study does not focus on language (notwithstanding the acknowledged importance of language in communicating our identity), I aimed to understand how participants understood their selves as a result of moving through a career transition, and, in particular, the changes that occurred soon after military departure. Language is clearly one such device that people use to communicate their identity and this does surface as a feature in my findings. However, language is not my key focus here, the mainstay of this study is about transitional identities. McDermott also used semi-structured interviews;

his study did not focus on identity, but aimed to expose the successes realised via service resettlement (McDermott, 2007). My study recognises this positive observation, as there is much to be proud of in the UK's military resettlement, as for the most part there are many successful transitions. My focus on identity, however, provides a deeper analysis of how the individual copes when faced with a military career transition. Even in success there is still notable disturbance.

Coupland reported that semi-structured interviews facilitated storytelling in a way that built the participants' self-impressions, but did not contaminate their representation through their involvement in the research process (2001). I felt this was an important consideration and linked to the highlighted issue of inadvertent judgemental power being exercised over participants, (see page 146).

In the preceding paragraphs, I have expressed my own subjectivities, values and beliefs, and I discussed how the chosen mechanism has been used in the past comparable studies. These acknowledgements help ensure the validity and reliability of the data. (Cohen *et al.*, 2007).

The focus on transitional identity led to the decision to adopt an ethnographic approach. Ethnographic studies seek to understand the culture of people or places (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This study placed emphasis on understanding the lived identity changes that service personnel experienced while in transition from military to civilian life.

Goffman's description of how inpatients coped with an organisation that controls aspects of an individual's life, aspects that for ordinary civilians are usually conducted with a considerable degree of autonomy, can be related to the army setting. Autonomy in the Army is rather unnatural, and my data confirms this. Goffman's methodology was naturalistic and the methods used in this study are in keeping with this tested ethnographic approach. I have attempted to draw on case study methodology. I have also been guided by Bourdieu use of naturalistic case study methods in 'The Weight of the World'.

My main data was gathered by one-to-one interviewing conducted at two seminal points: Prior to service exit and approximately six months after the participant's service exit date.

In 'A Therapist's View of Psychotherapy', Rogers concluded that a six-month delay between interviews allowed sufficient time for psychological changes to develop (Rogers, 1961). I increased the delay between interviews. The first interviews were conducted three to four months before leaving the service, and the second interviews took place at least six months after discharge. For some participants the overall timeline was as long as 12 months between interviews. Each of my interview sessions lasted for approximately one hour and they were recorded electronically. (In addition I made notes during the interview.)

Managing this longitudinal method was challenging. Once the soldiers had left the service, they were busy setting up their new lives. Scheduling follow-up interviews, keeping track of an individual's movements and maintaining their enthusiasm to continue as participants was hard work. However, it proved a strategy that presented unique data. I transcribed each of the interviews. As I am not schooled in typing this was a significant undertaking. Whilst it would have been easier to outsource the typing, I felt that staying close to my data was very important to the process of analysis. It was hard work, but remaining engaged with the dataset throughout enhanced my understanding of the participants' lived experiences.

Site population and selection

The location for the research was initially chosen because, as the principal investigator, I was based in Germany, and, therefore, the study was set in Germany. Service leavers, occasionally cited location as a factor in why people chose to leave the Army early (e.g. personnel from the Hampshire Regiment who were posted to Germany – it is a long way from Hampshire). However, the decision to conduct the study in Germany did not have any negative influence in terms of data bias.

Fortuitously, German based units were the only units in the British Army that had carried out independent routine leavers' surveys and I was granted the authority to use this survey data. This provided the study with a separate range of historical information and provided a dataset for triangulation. It should be noted that the gathered data was not substantial in terms of

numbers, but it did provide important and familiar themes that supported the conclusions of the thesis.

Undertaking the research in Germany also meant that the participants were operating in a known environment to the researcher and this allowed a greater rapport to be established with the participants. In addition, immersing oneself in the culture and tribe of the participants being studied makes the interpretation richer (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). Sharing the immediate culture also facilitates a better opportunity to establish trust, which I have noted as key point in this work.

Selection explained

The number of personnel interviewed always remained a point of flexibility, depending upon the data that was being returned. It was anticipated that, when the data started to return similar responses from different participants, this would signal the closure of the data capture. It soon became apparent that this approach was not practical for a lone researcher; the size of the dataset would have been unworkable with the finite resources at hand. Consequently, I identified the need to interview a minimum of five participants, and a maximum of ten. Ultimately, six were interviewed. Unfortunately, I was unable to secure post discharge interviews with two of these despite, several emails and personal letters.

The method had to be adapted to take into consideration the location of participants and the time available. Overall, the interview data, when

combined with triangulated qualitative data, the policy documents, and a personal biography by a participant, proved sufficient. Contemporary qualitative mixed methodologies have tended to average one to four collaborators. (Marshall & Rossman, 2006 p 62). The data might have been enhanced with more participants, but this would have required time, finance and greater assistance in interpreting the data, which were not available.

Data gathering procedures and timetable

Case studies have been widely documented as particularly effective in understanding aspects of the self, identity and institutions (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Furthermore, via individual narratives, the researcher can gain inside information about an individual's personal troubles (biases) that are often hidden from the surface.

On occasion, these personal biases have been criticised as limiting this type of methodology, primarily because, while handling this ethnographical approach, the biases may not apply to wider groups being studied. In effect, this criticism is aimed at research that generalises from small sample sizes to larger contexts. Triangulation has, to some extent, helped overcome this limitation, by providing evidence relevant to wider contexts (Cohen *et al.*, 2007).

As noted these personal biases are what I aimed to uncover in this research. These biases guide perceptions; it is the weighing up of perceptions that lead to choices and to potential changes in a person's identity (White, 2007).

The standalone Leavers' Survey that I was granted access to was small, although the data was useful. However, it lacked the depth and richness gained by face-to-face interviewing. The case studies provide the extra granularity.

Cases were selected from service leavers exiting the service in 2009; all were male. The reason for the gender bias is that I work specifically with the infantry, which is male dominated. Each participant took part in a semi-structured interview, detailing their decision to join the Army, their in-service career – taking in any significant events during service, and then finally, a post-service interview, where the participants were interviewed as civilians. Although random selection was used, there was a sifting criterion to ensure that proper representation across the Army ranks was achieved. Hence, there were two randomly selected participants from the junior ranks (privates), two from the NCOs (corporal to sergeant), and two commissioned officers. I felt that this was an improvement to McDermott's methodological approach (see chapter three, page 76).

The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and each participant received a copy of the transcript before the analysis. This certified its reliability; at this point, participants were requested to acknowledge changes by a set date. No returns were received, which was taken to imply that the participants were comfortable with the transcript.

Standard of reliability

Marshall and Rossman (2006) state that the criteria of soundness can be understood by the response to these questions:

- How credible are the particular findings of the study?
- How transferable and applicable are these findings to another setting or group of people?
- How can we be reasonably sure that the findings would be replicated if the study were conducted with the same participants in the same context?
- How can we be sure that the findings reflect the participants and the inquiry itself rather than a fabrication from the researcher's biases or prejudices?

These questions have guided my approach to the data. In summary, a strong literature review, relying on established theory suggests that the appropriate interpretation used is credible.

This research has united trusted theory and related this to the transitional identity of soldiers undergoing a career change. This is not an ordinary career change; it is a seminal life-changing event for these soldiers. With limited previous literature on this subject, comparable social science theory was drawn upon. This distinguishes this work from other research, but it also offers a discourse that is historically dependable. The collected data has been sanitised for privacy reasons, and is available on a resource CD enclosed within the thesis.

Data analysis

The data analysis was conducted in accordance with two overarching strategies. Firstly, the conceptual framework and theoretical base were utilised to establish genres for coding. Bourdieu's theories of habitus, field, power and symbolic violence were set in the initial coding bands (chapter three has already detailed the importance of using Bourdieu to reference this work). Furthermore, it was anticipated that other significant genres would present as the data unfolded; as the data did unfold, perceived psychological reductions and progressions were noted (this is explained below).

These psychological reductions and progressions were inconsistent in depth but definitely observable in various degrees of consequence to the individual. These are illustrated as features of repression or features of growth. The aspects discussed in chapter three were characteristics that are positioned around the work of Freud and Foucault. This led to the development of a tripartite analysis tool (using Freud, Foucault and Bourdieu) which is employed to examine the findings.

The second strategy – was that patterns and relationships were identified as a result of the coding analysis. The final analysis gave coherence to the data (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). It was this level of coherence that was utilised for the interpretation, and which facilitated the deeper understandings that are detailed in chapter five.

Without using Bourdieu's theories to help map the data, it would have been difficult to establish grounded theories to articulate what was occurring for

these participants. Explicitly, it was Bourdieu's use of habitus and field that conceptualised the layers of self that were being researched, and within those layers, the symbolic violence, class distinctions and dynamics of power that participants experienced as they moved through their transitions. The data is presented as descriptive narratives, drawing out the key themes and testing alternative understandings that informed the research question. This was completed in much the same way as Bourdieu and his research team did in 'The Weight of the World'; the narratives are presented in chapter five.

Limitations

The specific limitation of validity connected to life stories has already been acknowledged; personal biases may be taken out of context and applied to wider audiences. In recognising this limitation, I have tried to guard against potential inaccurate interpretations. As several responses returned similar data, the likelihood is that it is significant and valid.

Bourdieu argues that the 'ideal communication situation' between the investigator and the person being questioned is in the reality of the communication, and not necessarily the complex techniques of interview methodologies (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1999). There are occasions within the transcribed text where I have drawn emphasis and questioned deeper, checked understanding and confirmed incidents in order to bring to light the respondent's situation. As far as possible, attempts were made to lessen the effects of symbolic violence being exercised through the researcher's relationship with the interviewee.

Life stories are best suited to longitudinal studies. This research was longitudinal and, in a more perfect scenario, data would have continued to be collected for three to five years. Unfortunately, the confines of the Ed.D programme limit this preference. I am reminded of the work by Richard Sennett, 'The Corrosion of Character', which spanned two generations of the same family and gave interesting philosophical ideas about persons' identity in the era of new capitalism. It would be rewarding if I could emulate this kind of continued rapport with my participants outside the restrictions of the Ed.D construct.

One possible criticism, noted above, was that the participants' stories of pre-service life could be unrepresentative because of the length of time that has transpired. While recognising this, past perceptions informing today's perceptions are valid even if "inaccurate" in terms of actual events; it is the past as the individual is constructing it, and which enlightens their perception of the moment (their 'habitus'). In this regard, the "accuracy" of the past is not as important as the cause and the effect that it has today. This is a hallmark of the naturalistic research approach.

Problems

During this research, a number of problems of varying severity were encountered. The worst were liable to cause the cessation of the study; the most significant cause for concern was the 12 month period it took to gain MoD ethical approval. During this period, just three amendments were made to my original MoD Ethics Protocol, and these were completed within 24 hours

of receiving them. The problem was not an insufficiently robust ethics protocol, but one of a bureaucratic nature. This affected the study's timeline and led to the loss of potential research participants. Without prior MoD ethical approval, I could not interview participants and, personnel who had originally agreed to take part exited the service before the fieldwork could begin.

This also had an affect in terms of funding. I had only secured partial funding for four years. Simultaneously, and without forewarning, the national economy began to enter a period of recession, and thus fewer personnel were choosing to leave the service because of the economic climate. Consequently, replacing lost participants became problematic.

In addition, all public sector appointments came under closer scrutiny with the slowing economy and, with the additional 12 month ethical stall, my contract renewal date in Germany was looming. In sum, I had anticipated being able to gather more data while in Germany – this had to be revised as a result of my repatriation to the UK after the first round of data gathering. If I had been able to remain in Germany longer this would have bought the participant numbers closer to an ideal.

Longitudinal studies are risky endeavours. I would acknowledge, I had a rather naïve conception of their practicalities. I found that whilst at the initial phases many were keen to volunteer, as time passed and their circumstances changed and enthusiasm waivered, participants become difficult to manage.

There were times when I thought my longitudinal methodology was a mistake because of the pressures of maintaining the enthusiasm of the participants over a long period of time. Thankfully, the data captured was rich and interesting and I am glad I stuck with the strategy.

However, in longitudinal studies these kinds of risks are significant and unforeseen events that fall outside an individual's control place pressure on the study and researcher. Certainly, because of this experience, my next longitudinal project would involve monthly contact with participants to keep their momentum and connection with the project. In the initial stages I did not do this; greater contact would have made the process less tense.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the participants are volunteers, and they had new lives to contemplate: excessive contact may also have presented problems. In the end it is a balancing act.

Ethics

All research participants have fundamental rights, including the right of free and informed consent, privacy, the right to protection from exploitation and from harm. It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure these.

As my study focused on the personal identities; maintaining the utmost privacy was essential. Pseudonyms, fictitious locations and fictitious Army units have been generated to ensure accordance with established ethical standards.

This study adheres fully to the British Education Research Association (BERA) codes of practice and complies with the University of Nottingham's regulations of ethical conduct. Additionally, the study was required to meet the MoD's ethical guidelines. As noted, the MoD ethical approval took almost 12 months and the proposal had to be passed by several MoD committees. While this was time consuming and challenging to resolve, the experience of the MoD ethics committees provided interesting feedback and resulted in a more substantial protocol.

Ethical risk factors

Despite the adherence to the aforementioned codes of practice, there were potential risk areas. These were: access, identity and validity.

Access: Free access to the participants was sought from the British Army, and, as has already been disclosed, this involved some quite protracted enquiries, especially regarding ethical approval. The preliminary negotiations for access were straightforward, but formalising this presented bureaucratic difficulties. Prior to any future research with the MoD or public sector organisations I would initiate formal discussions earlier.

Each participant signed an individual declaration form, and understood the reasons for the research, how it was to be conducted and how it would be reported. For those participants identified with specific learning difficulties, the consent form and information sheet were adjusted to a more appropriate literacy level by a Basic Skills Development Manager.

Whilst establishing access, strategies were required to avoid tensions between the research and my own work role. Specifically, this meant protecting myself from harm in terms of revealing research outcomes that the organisation might find too revealing and in doing so placing my reputation in jeopardy. To counter this issue, I employed three strategies.

Firstly, formal access negotiations revealed that the Army was keen to discover inside information about the topics of my work. The Army seemed committed to continuous improvement and to protecting itself from potential challenges.

Secondly, in drafting the narratives, I was mindful that problems can arise not from what one reports, but how one reports it. Acknowledging political sensitivities at micro and macro level is therefore of paramount importance. Keeping this in mind serves to protect the organisation and myself. In my drafting I have been protective and in doing so, I do not believe the integrity of the research was compromised; it was simply good ethical practice and courteous to the organisation to report accurately and in a respectful manner.

The final strategy involved the full disclosure of the interpretations to the organisation, and particularly elements of specific sensitivity. Throughout this disclosure, it was important to ensure that the complete anonymity of the participants was retained.

Identity: While the participants were clearly known to me, confidentiality was of the highest priority and absolute assurance was given that the participants' identity would remain private. Without this assurance of trust, the study would not have been viable. In order to achieve the aforementioned privacy, all the participants were given pseudonyms. Additionally, whilst reporting the findings it became clear that using pseudonyms was not sufficient to maintain optimum privacy; hence, fictitious Army units are also referred to. This has reduced the risk of inadvertent disclosures.

The only instance to fall outside this boundary was the disclosure by the participant of a circumstance that was illegal or caused harm to either the participant or others. In this case, a referral to the appropriate organisation would have been made. There were no instances of this.

Validity: As has been previously mentioned in the 'Limitations Section', applying interpretive biases to wider contexts calls for caution. It was important to remain alert to potentially modified behaviour that could have been exhibited by participants. On occasions, I have witnessed disgruntled clients give false impressions because they are having a bad day or a bad week. When these episodes are balanced against an entire career, the current anxieties do not represent what has gone on before. On this point, there are two main issues to address. Firstly, leaving the service is naturally an anxious time and therefore I needed to monitor the representation of false declarations. This, however, does not mean that I have declined from reporting anxieties. These are likely to be legitimate anxieties, and in any

account would feel genuine to the service leaver; the stresses of leaving should not be underestimated or devalued. Nevertheless, one needs to be cautious as there are those who suddenly become disenchanted and therefore I was alert to inconsistent protest. Deeper understandings of why these issues were present were required; knowing how the environment operated helped me to pay attention to issues of false representation (the triangulated data also assisted).

Planning the exit

After the interviews, I sent a thank you letter to all the participants.

Summary

In this chapter the central philosophical arguments underpinning the research have been made, the habitus of the researcher has been explored and the researcher's relationship to the participants has been established.

Most importantly, the methodological approach has been carefully considered and documented. Throughout this work, a reflexive frame has been maintained and the research procedures have been weighed against comparable research. Limitations have been discussed and robust countermeasures have been deployed.

Proper attention has been paid to ethical considerations. Most notably, this work has been scrutinised by several ethics' committees, both at The University of Nottingham and at the MoD.

Chapter five reveals what the methods have unearthed and chronicles the analysis of the data in story format.

Chapter 5 – Findings

“To attempt to know what one is doing when one sets up an interview relationship is, first of all, to seek to know the effects one may unwittingly produce by that kind of always slightly arbitrary intrusion inherent in social exchange (chiefly by the way one presents oneself and presents the survey, by the encouragements one gives or withholds, etc.); it is an attempt to bring to light the respondent’s representation of the situation...” (Bourdieu et al., 1999, p 608 - 609)

Introduction

This chapter presents the case studies in narrative form. The narratives are stories derived from interview transcripts that took place at two seminal points in the participants' transition to civilian life. One interview took place prior to their leaving the service and the second at least six months after service departure. The unconcealed character which draws out the realities presented by the participants is edifying; however I offer little in defence of its revealing nature, except, it cannot be over emphasised how grateful I am for the openness my participants offered. With this in mind, I would ask the reader to acknowledge this open appreciation, and whilst it is the nature of research to form conclusions, acknowledgement that without openness and willing participants there is no study available. The attempt here is to learn from the experience of others, while at the same time not being prejudiced by the social situation some of the participants encounter. My mantra is 'don't judge, just learn'. The names of the participants have been concealed, as have some of the revealing particulars of personal data.

This data communicates a great deal about identity, it also communicates a great deal about living immediately after leaving Army service.

The philosophical concepts discussed in chapters three and four are used as a vehicle for understanding the reality of what these ex-soldiers experienced on service departure.

The narratives

The narratives are presented in the following order: Rupert, Alastair, Marcus and William. Each story offers a picture of complexity and uncertainty and each offers an insightful affinity with the principle writings found in Bourdieu's work. Each narrative encapsulates within its title an exposed Bourdiean quality. However, it remains necessary to consider the representations of Freud, Foucault and Goffman; these writers were essential for proper analysis, because as already mentioned, human experience is complex and heterogeneous.

The predictability matrix explained

In addition to the narratives, I have produced a resettlement predictability matrix for each participant that demonstrates the likelihood of an easy or more difficult transition to a civilian life. I introduced the predictability factors in chapter three, page 72. I shall now fully explain my predictability matrix concept. The predictability factors have been generated from my data and other studies discussed within the literature review. Morin (2011) has been a very useful starting point; I have combined his work with the findings discussed in the subsequent narratives to produce a traffic light based predictability matrix. One of the great difficulties facing resettlement practitioners is that there is an endless array of issues a service leaver could

face during service departure. The development of any such predictability matrix needs to take into account this fluidity; I believe my matrix offers this kind of flexibility whilst remaining easy to use by practitioners and easy to understand by service leavers and commanders.

A widely used system in military risk management is a traffic light system; this quickly signals to a commander the severity of potential risks. (Ministry of Defence 2010, p 12) I have developed categories of predictability based on empirical evidence; the categories are:

- Seriously Injured or experienced trauma / served in combat
- Rank at time of discharge.
- Human Capital: social networks, links to other structures. For example, strong family connections, job transferability or links to the church.
- Educational capital: qualifications, vocational experience, ability to articulate transferable skills.

Judging impact and probability requires a subjective assessment. This can be completed by the resettlement practitioner without the explicit collaboration of the service leaver, or in my favoured approach, the matrix can be completed in conjunction with the service leaver. The pictorial representation of the matrix quickly demonstrates potential problem areas to the resettlement officer, service leaver or to a commanding officer. Thus, counter measures may be instigated to redress potential risks. Each matrix should be qualified by three to four succinct remarks. These should indicate positive attributes,

risks and developmental areas. It is important that the remarks are easily understood, succinct and give direction. (Direction may be areas in which qualifications could be expanded, social networks broadened or a referral, for example, for combat stress)

Fig: 5.1 Example Military Resettlement Predictability Matrix

Predictability Factor			
Seriously Injured or experienced trauma		☒	
Served in Combat			☒
Rank at time of discharge		☒	
Human Capital: social networks, links to other structures (e.g. the church) Job transferability	☒ ☒	☒	
Education Capital: qualifications, vocational experience, ability to articulate transferable skills	☒		
Predictability opinion	High	Medium	Low

Fig: 5.2 Vulnerability Scale

Red requires management
Amber may require some management
Green is favourable

A traffic light system gives an indication of how hard or easy the transition may be. The most vulnerable generate more reds and thus may require greater referral or assistance. Greens would be an indication of a potentially

easier service departure. Ambers fall in-between and may require some

management. In the example above two plots were entered in the green for 'human capital', however, there was also an entry made to the amber. This illustrates an individual who has chosen to settle in an unfamiliar geographical location dislocated from wider family networks, but has good job transferability and a wider circle of dependable friends in the new area. The ambers may not be a problem because it is countered by the corresponding greens in the 'human capital' factor, but nevertheless suggests issues to be alert to. In sum the predictability plot is the subjective opinion of the resettlement practitioner and the service leaver's own assessment of his or her vulnerability. Whilst the completion of the plot is subjective, it should be emphasised that the predictability factors have been generated empirically. (McDermott, 2007), (Morin, 2011a) (Flint, 2011)

To illustrate its usability, I have produced a predictability matrix for each of the researched participants at the end of their narratives. These examples also include suggested succinct remarks. It should be made quite explicit that a predictability matrix of greens does not indicate a stress free transition.

Varying degrees of transitional stress have been witnessed in each transition studied. The matrix does however provide a reasonably good indicator of how hard the transition may ultimately prove. A matrix indicating higher risk clearly gives the individual forewarning and the potential to address these risk areas. For each participant I have included a short explanatory paragraph describing how the matrix was derived. The first narrative and predictability matrix presented is for the participant known as Rupert.

Rupert: Inculcation and durable dispositions

I first met Rupert in November 2009. He had served for more than 20 years in the Army's logistics' branch. Back in 1988, Rupert had joined a vastly different Army to the one that operates today; the Cold War still fashioned Army policy and the unrest in Northern Ireland ensured that the operational environment was highly changeable domestically. Rupert's motivations to join had arisen out of his experience in the Territorial Army (TA) and the less favourable economic situation in Liverpool during the mid to late 1980s. He had done a few jobs, but nothing compared to the camaraderie he felt while on the TA weekends, or the sense of power and authority he encountered when wearing the uniform.

"Well I left school in 1980 and I did various jobs for until, approximately 1984 in 1984, I joined the TA and really enjoyed it and it got to a stage jobs wise, the UK's economy was pretty much on its knees at that point and there weren't that many jobs." "I liked the camaraderie I suppose the uniform what it brings, what it projects, what it gives to the person i.e. the power, but I didn't really work that out at the time."

It had not been straightforward for Rupert to enlist and he was turned down on the first occasion. The Army rejected Rupert's first application because he had too many points on his driving licence; after waiting for his licence to return to a cleaner state, and after more satisfying service with the TA, his second application to enlist was accepted.

Although Rupert had taken delight in the weekend work as a reservist, and the 'work hard/play hard ethic' in which he revelled, he concedes that the primary motivation for joining stemmed from the need to earn money in a stable environment. However, at some point in Rupert's military career, quite

early on, he believes, but at a point not easily identified, money stopped being the chief motivator – the lifestyle that the Army afforded became the principal drive. It seems that institutionalisation occurred not long after enlistment.

Rupert is devoted to the Army and would gladly soldier on. He is saddened by the prospect of leaving:

“I don't know, I was just enjoying it and I still do, as I've got older a lot of things I've found, i.e. myself, has changed, whereas before if we were going out on exercise I was looking forward to that... But because the Army doesn't go out on exercise as much as it used to, well that enjoyments now gone.

I wish, I wish I could stay in the Army for longer but there comes a time when you have to make the break which unfortunately has come up now, I wish I could stay I wish the economy was better in England but there's nothing I can do on that.”

The sorrow of leaving permeates all of Rupert's dialogue, even in seemingly unrelated lines of enquiry. As an example, when asked how the early years of his Army career shaped his character, Rupert refers to how he has enjoyed his Army life; I noticed how he concluded this small piece of exchange by saying:

“...I wish I could stay in the Army for longer but there comes a time when you have to make the break which is unfortunately has come up now, I wish I could stay...”

The reply does not even attempt to answer the posed question, but it still reveals a great deal. It gives a fascinating insight to the inculcating effects of belonging.

Freud explains that investing significant psychic energy into something, usually a person, but, in Rupert's case, an organisation, causes the ego to be fixed to the important memories and associations of that psychic energy

(Freud, 1917b). Rupert talks about the Army giving him self-belief, which may translate to the hypothesis that Rupert had quite low self-esteem prior to enlistment. Rupert also noted how wearing a uniform gave him a sense of authority, power and influence. Given the frequency of the revealing leakage filtering through Rupert's narrative and the obvious psychic energy Rupert put into this close relationship, one begins to understand the grief and mourning which leaving the Army brings.

Problematically, the perpetual energy invested appears to be inconsequential because, at some point, everyone has to leave. There is, ultimately, a separation. There were occasions when I met Rupert where pockets of anger and frustrations surfaced. Freud notes that these are also likely responses to grief (Freud, 1917b).

Subsequently, Rupert made a paradoxical point in asserting that, while enlistment gives you self-belief, now that he is leaving the Army, he claims that he will be less of an asset than a civilian counterpart in a civilian environment for at least two years, and there is nothing he can do about this.

This an interesting disclosure because it alludes to several lines of analysis. Firstly, Rupert is assuming that his self-belief is tied to the organisational structure which he declares helped produce it; secondly, self-belief is external to the subject; thirdly, he suspects that it will take two years for him to adapt, and thus he alluded to a learning period which must take place, and finally he

contemplates that he can exercise no control over the fate which is before him.

"Where the only thing is... a civilian who's comes in a civilian environment is of a is more of an asset to a person who has come out of a military environment who has been in a military environment like myself for as long as I have and I suspect 18 months to 2 years would be extremely hard and there's nothing I can do on that."

Bourdieu (1980b) contends that life is a process of adjustment between subjectivity (habitus) and objective reality. Additionally, this reproduction is carried forward in the moments of practice in everyday life. Thus, Rupert's association with the organisation and the reproduction of his self-belief in its everyday practices means that he is a product of that habitus. As introduced in this thesis, 'We Are What We Do' (Mead & Morris, 1934).

In accepting his fate, one where he is forced to move on, Rupert acknowledges a difficult period of adaptation ahead. Many threads of Rupert's existence seem to be in peril; even the words he speaks and writes amongst his comrades in this shared community of practice appear besieged.

Individual literacy practices are situated within the structures of the social relations that are practised (Barton, 2007). People make sense of their world through literacy and draw their identity awareness, thinking and values, via such behaviours.

"Because it's just once I get used to it and become immersed in the civilian sort of culture I will find a lot of my military things will disappear as I, as I become civilianised at everything. A lot of my military terminology for different things will go definitely because I am no longer in that sort of environment. Which... that is one of the things I will have to accept and just deal with it as it happens."

To summarise the interview thus far: Rupert is dealing with mourning and is adapting to a new field of cultural practices; he is leaving behind an identity fashioned out of authority and power; he has seen his assurance ebb; and he has seen the rug of his everyday language pulled from beneath his feet. The heavy hand of fate is also apparent – at this juncture Rupert is out of control, an alien concept for a military man who is accustomed to management by objectives.

In the early part of his resettlement period, Rupert dealt with the 'out of control feeling' by ignoring it. Rupert calls this "Sticking my head in the sand." This lasted for about six months and he genuinely believed that if he ignored this feeling, then it would go away. It is worthwhile emphasising this point; Rupert actually felt that by ignoring the ticking clock, time might actually stop.

Internal manipulation of an external event is denial (Freud, 1917b). Denial is the ego's capacity to protect us from anxiety. Whilst it is the case that this is a useful defence mechanism that is necessary for living, as many areas of life are betrothed with anxiety; overdose or misappropriation leads to a distortion of reality. This reaffirms Bourdieu's subjective habitus and objective reality where mismatches require constant negotiation.

Once Rupert is free from denial, a complete new set of variables begin to emerge, and these are the idiosyncrasies indexed in his subjective habitus and the unrelenting supervision of the objective reality. This is not easy; Rupert's beloved Army needs his input, it is like a wanting child. It needs his

experience and, in the light of personnel shortages, it needs his help; but Rupert also needs to make plans for his newly presenting reality. Rupert becomes torn.

“Well my initial one was, when it was coming up, was, was a very scary time because suddenly the end is coming up of your Army career and the its, its good to have the resettlement it’s gives you a good chance to start cutting away from the military. So you don’t exactly work to the last day in the military and then walk away and think that’s the end of it. By having the 2 years you can start to gradually move yourself away from the military environment and the military work if you can. In reality that’s hard to do because of the manpower shortage in the military and so you often find you’re still getting dragged in to sort out military matters when you need to be cutting away.

As times gone on in the resettlement period its now become apparent to me that this is what I should have been doing from the word go instead of the the, the, thing thing about it as I said earlier I was the sticking my head in the sand routine, hoping this would go away and for quite a long time in the resettlement period - that that was my my belief.”

Briefly returning to the point of denial, Rupert needed a form of impetus in order to face the impending reality; this jolt came from two quarters. Firstly, Rupert’s wife became increasingly anxious about the future and where they would live, where the children would go to school, and what Rupert would do about employment. Worried and frustrated by Rupert’s ‘head in the sand approach’, she took matters in her own hands and visited the Individual Education & Resettlement Officer (IERO) to discover what her husband needed to do. The response was immediate – he needed to see the IERO urgently – because he was already six months into his resettlement period and had done nothing. The second jolt came when Rupert visited the IERO for the first time. The IERO vividly recalls Rupert’s expression and his

responses. He was trapped in the proverbial headlights (using another of Rupert's metaphors).

In Rupert's own words *"...all that I have been for the last twenty years has come to an abrupt end. And that is really frightening."* The IERO recalls being reasonably firm with Rupert and, at one point, he paused and stated quite deliberately *"...on the 19 of March 2010 you will leave the Army, what do you intend to do? I can help and support you, but these decisions on your future are yours."*

"It has controlled a large part of my life my life and also my wife's and my children's lives as well because they have no say where the Army sends you they just had to, if you like put up and shut up and so this is that if you like that comfort zone that I have been in for twenty years has come to an abrupt end."

"And that is in one stage really frightening because you you when you join the Army you never never think that you're going to do the full 22 years and as times gone on I just found I enjoyed it more and more and more and just kept on re enlisting at my cut off times so that as regards that yes it is it can be a real.... a really er.... what's the word? An arduous time because of what you've got to suddenly sort of start dealing with."

"You're going from an organisation that controls most of your life. Controls what you work, controls where you wear, controls where you live, controls your medical things and suddenly that's all going to go and you're like a fish out of water or I will be like a fish out of water. For quite a while...."

Rupert now becomes more torn and he feels his identity is under increasing attack. The model, archetypal soldier, becomes, in the eyes of some, the blemished, inconsistent, and flawed soldier. Even in the eye of the beholder, Rupert feels the crux of these attacks, as he wants to continue to give, but the reality is too real. He is so torn, and being torn pulls at his emotions – the only

way forward is to make a clear cut and he notes that other people in his squadron become “*irate*” with his apparent disaffected attitude. For Rupert, he reveals that this is a real revelation. “*People are viewing him quite differently.*”

What this exposes is an insight concerning Goffman’s performed identities, which are behaviours between authentic and inauthentic acts. Rupert’s previous performed identity was once in congruence with the shared identities within his social sphere. Cutting away from that social sphere exposes differences; whilst he was fully committed to the Army, the shared performances had authenticity, and Rupert now questions some of that authenticity. Behind the mask, did his colleagues and bosses really have a genuine care toward him or was it care toward an identity that was now in remittance? Rupert reflects that

“...the Army when it bought resettlement in... it could be one of them it didn’t think of it properly... they thought yeah we’ll just do it, it’s a really good idea but not have the capability for people to deal with the problems as they come up.”

Rupert moves from denial to denunciation. Rupert’s criticisms, although heartfelt and personally challenging to him, are perhaps harsh to the system; the MoD spends a considerable amount of time and effort in formulating its personnel policy and will always continue to do so. Chapter two of this thesis details the significant provision available. Yet where this perhaps disappoints is the human interaction that operates at a day-to-day level within unit lines. The challenge here is a cultural one. A way of ensuring continued respect for past colleagues, and a charge of ensuring future generations (new recruits)

understand the amount of psychic energy incumbents deliver in serving their country. Thus, guaranteeing that service leavers are afforded appropriate respect throughout the transition period. It amounts to paying homage to those who have gone before you, irrespective of rank or time served. The fact that they are service leavers means they have served their country.

Rupert's plan takes shape. The early support the IERO offered Rupert was to specifically orientate him toward self-analysis. Often, a good medium to do this is to produce a CV. The formatting and production of a civilian employer-friendly CV is the task of the CTP so the early encouragement is about first drafts. Thus, this quickly identifies strengths and weaknesses in an individual's human capital. Although Rupert had significant supply and logistics experience, he had no qualifications to formalise what he had been doing. Problematically, he also had a reduced capacity to articulate to civilian employers what exactly he had accomplished whilst serving. Remembering Barton's (2007) point that literacy is embedded within our social structures, Rupert has less understanding of how literacy in the civilian work environment operates. Thus, undertaking civilian qualifications orientates the service 'learner' toward the appropriate language used, and in addition, successful completion of the qualification communicates to the new potential employer a tangible language that they, the new employer, can understand.

Qualifications, as well as demonstrating learning and developing skills, also act like a communication bridge; closing the gap between, at times, the unsuited literacy of a service leaver.

"I don't know? The course itself was one I spoke to you about quite a while ago when it popped up on your worksite - the CTP website and I spoke to you about it and it was one I was quite keen on looking to take mainly because the qualification it gave me, which was quite a high one. But it's like you can have all the qualifications you want all it does do is get your foot in the door for interview, it doesn't guarantee you the job. And then you have to from the fact of getting into the interview you then have to sell yourself. You know you can walk in and the 3 people that are on the interview panel just don't like you and it doesn't matter what you do - you could be the best person there with all the right qualifications and the personality thing kicks in and all 3 just go na..."

In being passive and ambivalent towards qualifications, the risk is that

Rupert's wealth of experience is lost in the foreign language used to communicate it. If Rupert is unaware of the common language used in this new social setting, then he will be at a distinct disadvantage. Gaining qualifications is one way of improving one's human capital. (Keeley, 2007)

Another way of improving one's human capital is to work on relationships and networking; Rupert worries about fitting in.

Foucault's technologies of self are a useful way of analysing Rupert's predicament. Foucault describes the relentless demands of social conformity through a process of self-policing (Foucault *et al.*, 1988). The individual responds to the social authorities, which in turn, shapes the mind to respond in a given way. The authorities in our social context govern our behaviour. This differs from Freud's psychoanalytical approach, where the tripartite psyche, the self (ego), unconscious mind (id) and the free mind (super ego) battle to disclose our identity. Both Foucault and Freud arrive at the same place, but do so from different directions (Kahn, 2002). In Rupert's crisis, both conditions are observable; he is unaware of the new rules and, at the same time, his tripartite psyche attempts to repress his military identity.

Rupert's concern about fitting in to his new environment seems to be the most pressing issue. In the extract above he discloses that at a job interview

"You can walk in and the 3 people who are on the interview panel just don't like you – you could be the best person there with all the qualifications and the personality thing kicks in and all 3 just go no"

Here, elements of Goffman's performed identities come into focus. Rupert feels that the more experience he can gain at interviewing the better this will be – it will give him a greater degree of knowledge concerning what works and what does not. Fitting in and giving the right performance presents the following apprehension.

"My first interviews will probably be a complete nightmare, I'll get it wrong from the word go. I'll be sweating, I'll be completely nervous, I'll fluster, I'll fluff, I'll make a complete Baboon of myself, for want of a better word; but I'll learn from that."

In presenting our self, we do so by an arrangement of frontal and backstage areas. In addition to the frontal stage area, various props are used to authenticate the presentation. Arriving at a new stage and with new props, the actor may require some rehearsal time before a polished performance is achieved (Goffman, 1990).

There is a likelihood that a performance may appear less plausible when an actor is in unfamiliar surroundings, as they may overact the scene and this thus risks over emphasising certain characteristics. For example, Rupert notes that you can spot military personnel from their mannerisms and bearing. In an attempt to boost the show, the ex-soldier may overact the scene as

compensation for not knowing the new stage area and consequently reinforce a military stereotype. Rupert notes that stereotyping can work for you and against you as people form generalised opinions of military personnel. These opinions ordinarily come from media representations and results in the generation of bestowed identities (Lawler, 2008). For example, Rupert is particularly deferential to authority. During interviews, Rupert may unwittingly overplay this performance and give a false image of complete subservience; Rupert has noted that he finds it difficult to talk to managers, as he is less confident/deferential in the company of authority.

It is now some 9 months later when I visit Rupert. He is now living in Cheshire and as I drive to meet him at his new home I begin to wonder how this military man has coped in his new environment.

Rupert is living in a very nice area, in a small enclave of new houses close to the countryside. He meets me outside his new four bedroom detached house; it appears that the immediate transition has been successful. Rupert meets me at the door with a big welcoming handshake and an immediate offer of a tea or coffee. The house is immaculately presented; there is a new pet dog, well behaved and playful, and a real sense of 'nest building' about the place. For example, on one of the walls in the sitting room samples of wallpaper were being positioned; Rupert points this out, and is proud of his newfound freedom to decorate knowing that there is lasting value attached to his effort. The mood is upbeat, one of production and growth.

It was immediately apparent that Rupert wanted to share so much of his resettlement experiences, as he very quickly embarked on what resettlement had offered, what it meant and what he had learned. This immediate unveiling indicated that Rupert had already changed markedly. He was less frightened, he was no longer 'caught in the headlights', he was becoming a more competent performer in this new environment (Goffman, 1990).

Rupert's first observation was that resettlement was very good, but there was too much of it. At this juncture, I felt he was suggesting that the resettlement process lacked focus. As his dialogue continues, it becomes more apparent that he means that, on service departure, an individual is presented with so much choice that it almost paralyses the individual from making proper assessments of what is available. When the sense of unlimited choice and the unfamiliarity of the civilian sector are combined, it becomes easier not to think too deeply about the job market.

Rupert qualifies this observation by stating that when a career consultant asked him and his fellow cohort members attending a Career Transition Workshop (CTW) what they intended doing on leaving, all of the participants defaulted to their military anchor. Perhaps not too bad, if you are a logistics specialist, somewhat trickier if you are infantry. At the point of transition to the civilian sector, the military conditioning seems to overwhelm the individual's capacity to make choices, make effective plans, or even to acknowledge there are other occupations available. I do not want to oversimplify this point, as I acknowledge that there needs to be some starting point in any journey.

However, what I do observe is that there ought to be an adaptation phase where new opportunities come into focus or are trialled. The emphasis is on new opportunities, not a simple narrow track, restricting the service leaver to their known anchor. Exploration of this is needed.

"A lot of infantry, who are getting out of the Army, were finding that were struggling. I always remember on the 3 day CTP course we went on, there was myself about 7 other guys and a couple of girls. The girls stood up and they knew what they wanted to do, they had got their NVQ's and stuff, but each of the guys who stood up, apart from myself, were all ex-infantry and they were going to do CP work. Yeah, every one of them stood up and said they're going to do close protection, close protection, close protection. And I must admit, I looked at the instructor and he just put his hands in his head and shook his head. I just thought, oh my God, what sort of a thing is that. I mean, I wanted to stay in logistics, because I know that's where my strengths lie, because I have been doing it for 20 odd years in the Army. I have got good experience in it, it's just a case of then working in the field."

Pragmatic decision-making about one's future career tends to be limited to the confines of an individual's habitus (Bourdieu, 1980), (Foskett & Hemsley-Brown, 2001). As fresh experiences come into focus, particularly by interactions with other people with whom they are socially situated, this leads to the formation of newly emerging ideas. For example, Rupert wanted to work in logistics. However, at present, he is working in manufacturing, producing catalytic convertors for car exhausts. He states he had to re-skill to do that job, but, now he has done it, it represents another skill or avenue to pursue in the future. Greater use of Civilian Work Attachments could be suggested, becoming a means of providing comprehensive fact-finding experiences for service leavers.

As the work of Foucault identifies (1988) there is a constant renewing of the self, and the remodelling survives against the backdrop of the durable dispositions of our past histories (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The influence of Rupert's Army habitus emerges quickly in his new working environment.

Rupert's newfound manufacturing skill acts as an intermediary for a past Army mannerism: "... you know basic EDI, Explanation, Demonstration, Imitation". Although Rupert had only been with the manufacturing company for a few weeks, he recognised that the person responsible for training newcomers was not particularly good at explaining the process. Rupert reverted to his Army training and is now the person teaching newcomers. He says, "I'm still working the process, but I kind of have a bit of seniority on it." Unwittingly Rupert is performing the role of an NCO, very much as he did whilst serving.

Although Rupert is acting in his former supervisory role, he has recognised that the stage, props, fellow actors and his audience have changed.

"...this one guy just wasn't getting the hang of the process, he was mucking up completely and the first thing is, you just want to batter the living daylights out of him – but you can't do that, you just have to walk away."

I should make clear that Rupert uses the phrase 'batter the living daylights out of him' metaphorically and with good humour, yet what this points toward is a style of personnel management that would fail in this new civilian environment. Foucault (1979) notes that discourse generates identities via the outlook a particular discourse constructs. In other words, soldiers would act in

accordance with what was expected of them within the setting. Rupert is unconsciously behaving like an NCO (the Id); but by making rational adjustments (the Ego) to form a suitable self (the Super ego) in this new setting. (Freud, 1917) Rupert has adjusted his identity to fit the new workplace whilst maintaining some of his durable dispositions.

"I am not saying I am the best at teaching, but other guy, who is supposed to be teaching them is absolutely rubbish. He doesn't have any of the teaching skills necessary; but myself it's what I have learnt in the Army - you know 'explanation', 'demonstration', 'imitation'. You know, it's basic, EDI and then you gradually phase them into it. So right it was show them the process, second one Slow the process down, so they could see which buttons I was pressing and then the third one... A bit quicker again. Then, the 4th one start bringing them in - so you press the button you do this switch..., gradually the more the time goes on they pick up the process. I then take a step back and they are finally running a process themselves. I am still working the process, but I kind of have a little bit of seniority on it, with the way I'm teaching them and that. It's like, do it like this, and then we were going to have a break and they seem quite happy with that."

Additional training in working in a civilian environment would help smooth the adaptation phase. For example, Rupert's style of reprimand in the Army (with the ultimate sanction of charging people) would be less welcome in the civilian environment. Rupert freely admits he was unaware of the management techniques available without the authority of rank. In contrast, he states that if somebody shouted at him in the civilian workplace then he simply would not accept it. Yet in the military, this is to be expected. As Rupert puts it "...just about the hardest thing about leaving the Army is... getting used to being a civilian."

Rupert talks about how, when he first left the Army, he found himself abandoning any morals and scruples with regard to the kind of work he would

accept. He feels that being in work has a direct link to the wellbeing of his psyche. He reveals getting into the world of work quickly so that he was not lying about being depressed. Clearly, there are many practical reasons for getting into work quickly, such as earning money to live, but it is interesting that the connection to depression emerges. Unintentionally, Rupert continues to reveal the sense of loss and mourning he feels from leaving. There is much adjustment taking place. Elizabeth Kubler-Ross asserts that people deal with loss by moving through a coping cycle: denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance (Kubler-Ross, 1969).

"There is light at the end of the tunnel it might be a bloody big long tunnel. But there is light at the end of it. If you go to the jobs websites there are tons of jobs - it's, if you have got those skills to do those jobs. That's where, if you take this stuff back to people and say look at what skills you are going to need in civvy Street. Another one as well, is rewriting your CV for a civilian employer, it's great if you are a Squadron Leader, it's great in military terms, but what does that equate to in civilian world?"

Researcher: Did you find when you did the three-day career transition workshop the CV that they helped you produce there, was that not relevant for the civilian job market you were heading for?

"I don't know - I can't really say yes or no. I did seem to find that it was a bit of a struggle, because you come out of that comfort zone - because that is what the Army is - it's been a comfort zone and then suddenly having to re-gear yourself with a different set of skills is quite daunting."

Serving in the military can at times be harsh, both physically and mentally, and an enduring quality of serving personnel is the inculcating effects of a strong character and management by objectives. Determination and remaining optimistic are the dogmas of management by objectives. Rupert has three objectives in mind: to get a house, a job and to get the children into

good schools (he has achieved all three). Rupert says *“That’s the two biggest things, if you ever need to talk to anybody about it, it’s staying positive and staying focused.”* This code of belief is an important quality to be harnessed.

An ingrained characteristic of military personnel is loyalty; allegiance is an essential quality of the Armed Forces. This culture and ethos are unshakable and, therefore, when loyalty is no longer part of the vista, its passing is a huge disappointment. Rupert comments, *“What I have found is that there is no loyalty in this civilian world.”* Rupert had been working for a company via a temping agency for few weeks. He was really enjoying his job, pouring in a similar amount of psychic energy as he did while in the service. One particular afternoon, his agency rang to tell Rupert that the company did not need him in the morning. Rupert notes,

“...that was a real shock – that was like – it was an absolute – literally a physical slap, a real physical slap – I said what do you mean they don’t want me?”

Although this was a wakeup call to Rupert, he quickly realised that loyalty is a ‘two way street’. After a couple of days at another temporary job, he did not enjoy the work so he just walked off site at the end of the day, informed the agency and never went back. He acknowledges that getting used to this kind of attitude was a very strange experience. In learning theory, changing attitudes leads to changes in behaviour, changes in actions and changes in performance. Correspondingly, as Jarvis argues (cited in Illeris, 2009) our identity alters.

Researcher: Leaving the Army... is it as you expected?

Rupert: "No, it's completely different"

Researcher: "Oh, that's interesting, tell me what you had in your mind and tell me what you discovered?"

Rupert: "Well, I knew I was going to go to agencies to find work, but I didn't realise just how well the agencies had these work contracts tied up. I went to one agency, and they rang me up on the day and said - we have some work. Can you do it? I said, well, I need to come back to you, because I am waiting on another agency and the guy got really unhelpful - he said well, we have work for you here, and I need you to go. Unfortunately, if you like, I showed loyalty to another agency and the upshot of that is that the guy from that agency has never contacted me again. Ever since then, I have never got any work from them again. What I have found is that there is no loyalty in this civilian world - everyone is looking out for themselves, if you can help them then, yeah, there are quite happy about that - as soon as they don't need you - they drop you, but again, the thing about that is, if you find another job, which is better. You can just drop them. Which is a bit weird getting used to that."

Finally, I finish Rupert's narrative with three extracts from the post-discharge interview:

"...coming out of the Army is like losing a loved one, there is a period of sorrow, because you have left the Army. However, and then you start moving on in life and you learn. When anything to do with the Army comes up, it kind of leaves you with a warm fuzzy feeling that you're remembering things in a way which is different from when you were in it."

"...being proactive...In a way it's like being in the military, you have to be fitter than the next guy, so if you want to get promoted you find out who is the top guy is and beat him."

"You have to close off from the military because it takes a lot of energy to open the new door on Civvy Street - you have to hit the ground running - you have to get streetwise quick and I tell you what, there is no loyalty in Civvy Street."

This story demonstrates the inculcating effects of Army life and how habitus is reproduced unconsciously. It also confirms that habitus is not permanently

fixed, instead these durable dispositions adapt to new contexts.

Unquestionably, a wealth of learning has resulted in Rupert's transition and consequently his identity has changed; the evidence points toward continued adaptation and change.

Fig: 5.3 Rupert's Resettlement Predictability Matrix

Predictability Factor			
Seriously Injured or experienced trauma			
Served in Combat			
Rank at time of discharge		☒	
Human Capital: social networks, links to other structures (e.g. the church) Job transferability	☒ ☒	☒	
Education Capital: qualifications, vocational experience, ability to articulate transferable skills	☒ ☒	☒	
Predictability opinion	High	Medium	Low

- Good potential for job transferability.
- Good qualifications in transferable field of logistics.
- Good family network and housing plan.
- Seek opportunities to demonstrate managerial qualities and develop verbal communication skills.

Rupert: Predictability matrix explained.

Rupert's matrix portrays a relatively low risk transition, although this does not suggest it was stress free. As Rupert was a very senior ranked corporal, he possessed a reasonable amount of experience with some personnel management skills. I have marked this as amber, primarily because one may have expected Rupert to have achieved sergeant rank by this time; so he may have to give some thought to properly account for his experience when talking to employers. Rupert has worked hard to achieve some good civilian recognised logistics management qualifications; these are indicated green. Rupert has a sound housing plan close to family networks and has access to good schools for his children.

Alastair: Structure the unconscious comfort blanket

I first met Alastair in January 2010; the meeting took place in an office in Germany. Alastair was in his Army uniform. He was well presented, neat, tidy and all you would expect from a soldier. He was a confident and self-assured young man, in his early 30s. It should be noted that this was not a misplaced confidence. The self-assurance was, however, noticeable to the point where one could say he had an almost 'streetwise' demeanour. Alastair was an older private soldier, and this probably accounted for some of his poise and streetwise portrayal. Perhaps this is also, in part, because Alastair had enlisted on several occasions; collectively Alastair had served in the British Army for over ten years. From an organisational perspective, Alastair was much more experienced than an ordinary private soldier; this raises the question of expectation management. Expectation management transcends both personal agendas and organisational agendas - the Army may have expected more from Alastair, but Alastair may have wanted more from the Army, particularly promotion. Alastair has trodden the resettlement path before and, as a result, I believe Alastair had given great deal of consideration before leaving this time and, to this end, he had prepared relatively carefully. Against the backdrop of this experience, he was wiser and less anxious of the outside world than his current peers entering into resettlement. Alastair had accessed several 'earn while you learn' schemes to fast track suitably experienced medical professionals to become qualified paramedics within various local health authorities. In a highly competitive environment, Alastair had successfully secured a placement within the West Midlands' trust.

Alastair's previous enlistments began in 1999. However, Alastair broke his leg during phase1 training and, as a result, he was medically discharged a few months into his service.

Perhaps unusually, this had a motivating effect and made Alastair more determined to re-enlist in order to prove he could cut it as a soldier and pass the demanding phase1 training. At the earliest opportunity, he re-enlisted to an armoured regiment. However, after serving for just four years, he became disillusioned with a military that seemed to limit his personal development. He refers to wanting to see what being a normal 23 year old was like. Thus, in a relatively short space of time, Alastair already compares himself to, and sees a difference between, himself and his civilian peers. This led to the realisation that his life was not normal. Although Alastair, at this point, had only served for four years, he had dedicated almost all his life to being part of a military environment. He grew up in service families' accommodation, mainly in Germany; Alastair's stepfather was in the Royal Horse Guards. Perhaps the sense of wanting a different version of normality was rooted deeper than his actual four years service; perhaps it was more unconscious and perhaps Freudian in origin?

"I joined the Army in 1999. But while I was in phase 1 training I broke my leg and had to be medically discharged. Err... from that it made me a little bit more determined to prove I could do it. So I re-enlisted at my earliest opportunity. So then July 2000 I served my required 4 years three months. And still being young, you know... when you think the grass is always greener on the other side, as people say. I wanted to see what being a normal 23-year-old, err.. I think, I was wondering what it would be like. Err, while I was out... Err I moved to Liverpool, and then I got a letter asking me if I would go to do a tour of Iraq. Money was a bit short, so I thought yeah, why not."

Conceivably, Alastair could be unconscious of the inculcating effect the long-term exposure to a military environment has had on his homoinis. On the issue of normality, social philosophy claims that most normal people want to pursue a good life; what constitutes a good life and therefore normality is a personal construct. Alastair appears to have trouble accepting his version of normality and the net effect of this is that he is always striving for something else.

At this time, after just four years of service in the armoured regiment, Alastair left the service and went to live in Liverpool. Alastair reveals that life on the outside was not as he expected it to be, or as rosy, because money was tight and he discovered fresh frustrations in his new job as a retail manager. The frustrations Alastair describes were centred on the management of staff. Alastair would ask individuals to undertake tasks and the said individuals would not complete them. This was an alien concept to Alastair's military conditioning; it is also highly likely that Alastair's upbringing was also centred on military discipline. Once again, Alastair was frustrated by the social situation he found himself in. Thus, when Alastair received a letter inviting him back to the Army as a reservist to fight in the Second Gulf War, he thought 'why not?'

It was whilst serving as a reservist in Iraq that Alastair really started to reflect and contemplate that 'Civvy Street' was not always any better and that perhaps he should have stayed in the Army after all. During his Iraq tour, Alastair was also subjected to a significant amount of military action, and

while this was not always fun, Alastair found combat exhilarating and the opportunity to do his job for real very fulfilling. Overall, Iraq was a good experience for Alastair and it prompted him to re-enlist back to the regular Army on his return. Including a call back as a reservist, this would mean enlistment number four was imminent.

"I think when I was in Iraq, I really, really enjoyed Iraq, it sounds a strange thing to say. But previously I had done large exercises in Canada and large ones in Germany but I'd never done my job properly and I got to do it for real. Err... which, don't get me wrong it was not always fun, getting shot at and loud bangs and what not, but as an overall experience. I did really, really enjoyed it."

Alastair's motivations for his earlier enlistments appear to be swathed in many deep-rooted anxieties and extrinsic motivations, including the death of his father, which, he reveals, was the first catalyst in his decision to join the Army. Alastair had experienced trouble with commitment; his older brother had suggested the military as a career, because it was more difficult to quit. His father's passing, combined with disillusionment with school, thus prompted Alastair's first enlistment. After recovering from his broken leg (phase 1 training accident) he was further motivated to demonstrate to others that he could make it as a soldier. Alastair enlisted again and completed recruit training.

Alastair was only 17 when he joined for the first time. Once he had entered into recruit training, he had to mature quickly and he found this tough mentally. Physically, he was always good at sports and the physical hardships were fine, but, at 17, mentally he had to mature quickly. At home, he had

always had his older brother looking out for him, but now he was away from home and it was tough.

"It made me grow up extremely fast. I'd say I wasn't the most mature of people and it also hardened me up slightly as well. I grew up having an older brother, looking out for me. And then when I got in the Army, all of a sudden, I had to look out for myself. Because, like in the Army people don't really care how old you are, if you are a 27-year-old private it is the same as being a 17-year-old private."

"I found the physical side, as in doing all the PT, the running and stuff, I excelled at that. Err.. It was, the more... I don't know, the dealing with people who were older than me, I just wasn't used to. As in coming from school, where I was used to dealing with people of my own age group, when I went into training... Everyone else was older; I was the youngest by about three years, I think... the next youngest person turned 21 whilst they were there. For phase 1 training it was uncommonly, a group of quite older people. I think the average age in the platoon was about 26, when normally the average age is about 19. So in that six months I had to grow up very quick."

After his reservist call up and exposure to war, this time, enlistment number four was different – he was older, he had seen combat, he had experienced transition to civilian life and he had realised that life as a civilian wasn't the envisaged panacea. Now, having laid some of his previous misconceptions to rest, he felt he was prepared to re-enlist with a greater sense of intrinsic motivation to carve a full career in the Army. From the transcripts, I believe Alastair, for the first time, recognises the good life. Hence, this time, Alastair enlisted with the benefit of more experience, being better informed and more knowledgeable of the Army. Equipped with this experience, he enlisted to a different corps, the Medical Corps.

In Iraq, Alastair had been involved in an intense battle and, despite being blown from his feet by a mortar blast, he had been able to react quickly and

administer first aid to several injured colleagues. Joining the Medical Corps was in part a reaction to this experience. Another incident confirmed to Alastair that this was the right career path to follow; he was first on scene at a road traffic accident and once again, he acted with proficiency. As a result, he was commended by the attending emergency services for his swift interventions. Alastair had found a career he enjoyed, and, more importantly, something that he felt he was good at. Matching this with an Army career seemed a logical step to take.

Alastair clearly displays much affection toward the Army and, although he has chosen to leave the Army for the fourth time, he announces that this decision is not so much about disenchantment, but more a need to develop his career as a paramedic. Alastair freely admits that he would have continued to serve if the opportunity for more career training had been available.

Researcher: "Tell me about the motivations for leaving the Army this time?"

"A large part is I want more training, and the Army can't give it to me. I have realised that I like what I do, medically. I believe I'm good at it, I had an incident in civvy Street, where I was the first guy there and the paramedics came along and they were quite impressed. And they kept me around to help them out. So, I can't be too bad. I need to be a full Cpl to be a paramedic in the Army, and I'm not so... well with my age now and time is getting along, getting married, want a family, a bit of stability and getting job satisfaction. I suppose."

Researcher: "So, I guess there are many motivations for leaving this time?"

"Yes, nothing negative towards the Army. I just want to better myself and I'm going about it the best way I think I can."

He acknowledges that he was frustrated by a system that will not allow him more room to develop because he has not achieved a specific rank. The depth of training Alastair wanted to receive was not available until he attained the rank of full corporal. As a private soldier, he has two ranks to climb and, even then, the training Alastair coveted was reserved for more senior full corporals. Organisational symbolic violence seemed to prompt Alastair into making decisions for change; by reviewing the story thus far, one can see a pattern emerging in Alastair's psyche. The Army appears to be a comfort blanket, a good life that is not quite good enough. The alleged 'greener grass' on the outside continues to tempt Alastair. Alastair is convinced that this time he has it right. His previous experience of service departure, combined with careful research into paid study opportunities, means that he has managed the risks to an acceptable level. Alastair still acknowledges that his decision to leave still carries risk; not least, it had been made clear to him that leaving the Army this time means that he would not be able to re-enlist again.

The security that the Army had always offered Alastair was no longer going to be there; he will need to study hard to pass the academic course in order to qualify as a paramedic. His own assessment was that he was not stupid – it would be tough, but this was to better himself. He was convinced that he would be successful. Developing his human capital and educational capital is a clear strategy Alastair has to break free from the symbolic violence, which appears to restrain him in his current cultural field. Alastair confirms that his colleagues are supporting his decision to leave the service for the fourth time because they also recognise his motives are ones of pursuing a good life.

Alastair wants to better himself and the people around him champion his cause.

"I'm taking a gamble, aren't I? I can't guarantee that I'm going to pass this two-year course, it's a Degree, it's not going to be easy. But I don't believe myself to be stupid at all, I've never struggled learning, so I'm not worried about that so much. It's just a gamble, I know I'm walking away from the Army, and I can't come back this time. It's 'auf Wiedersehen!' to a well-paid job and a very secure job. So, that's the Errrr.... Bit."

Whilst there appear to be many reasons for moving on, the Freudian slips continue to hint at Alastair's disenchantment with organisational symbolic violence and his desire for the 'good life' still seems to guide his consciousness. Moreover, it is apparent that Alastair continues to closely police his thoughts; this hints at a psyche undergoing some upheaval.

"I'm trying not to get the... I am all right Jack. Kind of attitude, because I have seen in other people when they choose to leave and that really annoys me. At the end of the day, I believe I am quite professional and if I'm getting paid to do it, then I shall do it to the best of my ability. As I said that really annoys me, and so I am being quite wary of myself that, I don't develop that kind of attitude."

As a private soldier, it is readily apparent that Alastair is at the full mercy of organisational symbolic violence. When probed a little more about these kinds of issues, Alastair discloses a wonderful insight into how this feature inculcates the habitus of the incumbents.

Researcher: "Do people share certain characteristics depending on the social group they are in?"

"Yes, but it depends on the hierarchy, because the hierarchy is always different. For example, the Sergeant Major I have now, is very different from my last one. On morning parades he does not expect us to be Guardsmen, he just expects us to be smart. You know, a bit of lint on your shoulder is not going to get you a show parade. Whereas the old

one, he would be in your face, screaming. It's a different approach. The new one would far rather we be good Medics, than good Guardsmen. So I think everybody's approach will now change; you noticed everybody now in the corridors reading books, you know people are starting to take a bit more interest in their own learning. Because, the hierarchy have started to take a bit more interest, because it is led by the Sergeant Major."

Some ten months later when I revisit Alastair, I was eager to see his development. I was eager to see if he had altered as a person and if he had discovered the good life.

I had arranged to meet Alastair between 10.30 and 11 o'clock. The time was closer to 11 o'clock when I knocked on Alastair's door, but there was no reply. I called the mobile number I had for Alastair; from outside of his property I could hear his phone ring. He answered, and from the tone of his voice, it was clear that he had just woken. His reply was "Yeah, I'll be down in a minute..." A couple of minutes later, Alastair appeared at the front door of his rented terraced property. The location of the house was on the fringes of a large city, in what can perhaps be described as not the best area to live.

The front window of his property was curtained in some ill-fitting black drapes, which were not really hanging correctly. Alastair invited me in. Whenever I step into somebody else's house, I generally have an inbuilt checking mechanism to establish polite protocols. From my rather middle England upbringing, it is usual to perhaps remove one's shoes, and maybe look for somewhere to place your coat. On this occasion, these kinds of protocols were not important.

As soon as the front door opened, I stepped into the first dayroom/sitting room. Simultaneously, I realised that the ill-fitting drapes, which shrouded the room in darkness, were for the benefit of the rabbit, which was kept in a large hutch in the first room. The concurrent acknowledgement of the pet rabbit in the first room was met with a rather strong odour of other animals - the kind of aroma that was really quite pungent.

Moving through the first room, we came into the main living room. Two dogs were behind a small wire barrier, which kept them in the galley kitchen area. I never went into the kitchen area, but it was viewable from the second sitting room. The fitness of the kitchen area was in keeping with what I had already witnessed. The main living area was in a sully appearance and Alastair only had basic furnishings, including a three-seat settee, which was beyond most people's appreciation of reasonable condition, and a 1970s sideboard display unit, which Alastair had converted to keep one of his three snakes. The other two snakes were in purpose-built aquarium type housings. Alastair gestured me toward the settee; he never offered to take my coat or to make me a drink. The interview was conducted from the settee.

In addition to the three snakes, the rabbit and the two dogs, Alastair also had a cat, which seemed to claw and snag at everything in sight. I fought against any reaction to demonstrate to Alastair any the judgements that I may have inadvertently given off by this somewhat crestfallen portrait. I saw my task as being one of suspending judgements, and being pragmatic enough to listen and to capture the story. What was already abundantly clear was the gloomy

social struggle in which Alastair was now living; initially there was not a clear parallel to the former soldier I had previously met in Germany some 10 months previously. There were, however, reminders, including a couple of photographs of Alastair in uniform, and his campaign medals were also on display.

Alastair had put on weight; he was unshaven, and his hair, which was long and unkempt, gave him a greasy appearance. Alastair had clearly come downstairs to meet me in a rush. His clothes also appeared to be poorly kept and badly creased. There was a definite sense of downward spiral, an atmosphere of poverty and, to some extent, deprivation. Once I started talking to Alastair it was clear that before me was the same articulate young person, who, whilst despite being in a less than favourable situation, was still pragmatic about life (it was the same person inside).

Alastair described how his well thought plan had collapsed around him. The success of securing a much-coveted paramedic training appointment was short-lived. Alastair was about to commence the course after successfully completing the final few entry tests, when his offer was retracted. In 2007, Alastair had been involved in a minor civil dispute; unfortunately, the fracas resulted in Alastair being cautioned for common assault (the common assault charge meant Alastair failed a CRB check – a key requirement for his future career). Alastair had been left bewildered by this rejection, and stated that he had left the Army for nothing. There had originally been a few other training options, one of them in the North East, but, as the 2010 recession began to

bite, and the caution for common assault became a reoccurring feature in the CRB check, Alastair's other options were also withdrawn.

"Err yes... it's all gone a bit wrong I got sorted out with a job, (Paramedic job being paid as you study) I past the last couple of tests and then got told, no you can't have a job because you have a caution for common assault. Which I thought yeah, but it wasn't for anything bad, I just pushed somebody because they punched somebody. Not the greatest crime in the world. But there was a policeman there at the time and I guess, if the policeman had done his job then I wouldn't of got arrested...Hence the caution for common assault." [Annoyance and a frustrated tone to his voice]

Soon, the savings Alastair had put aside ran out, and the joy of fresh beginnings became lost in the social struggle to find work and earn money.

On the other hand, Alastair declares that all other aspects of his life have improved, but anything remotely associated to money had deteriorated.

Alastair takes a remarkably pragmatic stance, as the effects of poverty clearly impact on all aspects of life. He constantly reveals the veil of scarcity throughout the dialogue of the second interview. For example, Alastair makes light of being able to look like a tramp for fun, and not cutting his hair and not shaving. While these features may well be reactions toward the previously imposed institutional regulations, or the experienced organisational symbolic violence, haircuts and razors cost money and I am unsure if these decisions are by choice or by circumstance.

"Anything remotely connected with money has got ridiculously worse; all the other side of it has got a lot better. And I have got to grow my hair [Alastair laughs] I don't have to, to shave everyday - it's great. Now I can get to look like a tramp for fun..." [Alastair laughs again]

Since leaving the Army, Alastair has married his long-term partner, Beth. Alastair had known Beth since they were six or seven years old. Indirectly, Alastair cites the Army as being the obstacle that prevented him marrying or cohabiting sooner. He cites the claustrophobic nature of the service community as the main reason. He likens the environment to the soap opera *Eastenders*, where everybody knows each other's business. As I did not speak with Beth, it was not clear if this was a shared view, or a perspective held by Alastair alone. Taken at face value, this disclosure appears tenable, yet it must be acknowledged that many families live very happily in service environments. Alastair persists with the need he has to divorce his professional career from his private life, or, at least, to conduct a private life without interference from the Army. Once more, I captured a sense that this anxiety was deep-rooted.

The various pets Alastair now keeps are a clear indicator of the kind of intrusion that Alastair found less favourable in service life. Simply put, he was not allowed to keep pets whilst living in Army single persons' accommodation. Curiously, if Alastair and Beth had married whilst Alastair was serving and they had chosen to live in service families' accommodation, then the restrictions on owning pets living in quarters would have been relaxed. No matter which way the reader contemplates these insights, one issue remains constant; the Army has a much stronger influence over the private life of its incumbents than that of many other civilian occupations.

Alastair cites the need for stability and privacy as being critical reasons for leaving the service. Formerly, it had been career progression that prompted his departure. This demonstrates the decision to leave the service is never simplistic and it is fraught with risk and ambiguity. Placing solvency above the need for a more secluded private life is, for some, worth intrusion; others may view this decision as a jeopardising one. All of us have varying levels of risk taking built into our psyche. Generally speaking, service personnel are known to be risk takers, thus managing this trait becomes important. Arrogance, pride and the propensity to take quick decisions are all features of a super ego and they all lower the level of risk homeostasis (Freud, 1917a).

Alastair's intended disassociation with his former Army life also extended to his past Army friends, with the deletion of his Facebook account. Alastair portrays several interesting features associated with this act. Firstly, he acknowledges that, in the modern epoch, the sense of community is fragmented by the speed driven lives of its incumbents. People have little time for each other, unless there is some shared point of reference (Sennett, 1999). Secondly, an organisation such as the Army, which draws its members from a commonwealth pool, provides a social belonging based on the shared values of the organisation. Losing this common thread means that the entity which was once a common bond is now lost. Alastair refers to the widespread saying that Army friends are friends forever as being a load of nonsense.

"I don't know - people say in the Army you make friends forever - I think it's a load of nonsense. Some people do, but most people, I have spoken to loads of them, and they have all said that when they're posted to other units. They always lose touch. Even with the best intentions in the world, there are far too busy to worry... a couple of

people have sent a good luck messages... you got married... well done and all that. But your lives are going in different directions, and you lose what you had in common. And what you had in common before was your job - you lose that and that is what you have in common..."

As the follow up interview draws to a close, the final point Alastair makes is that what you do for a living has a significant impact on who you are.

In making this final point, Alastair reflects on how he has changed as a result of leaving the service. He views his demeanour as being lazier than before; not experiencing the structure or routine of military life seems to be the most prominent reason for this affirmation. Adding value, being valued and taking part in a community are qualities of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1990) and it thus follows that disturbing that input quality conveys a bearing on the future output. *"Outlooks on the future depend closely on the objective potentialities which are defined for each individual on his or her social status and material conditions of existence."* (Bourdieu & Nice, 1979 p 65). By losing the structure and routine afforded by work and his former Army career, Alastair's future appears to be hampered. It follows that reinvigorating the structure and routine would perhaps support his future prospects. Gaining employment and keeping a roof over one's head are essential; Alastair is having significant trouble with both of these essentials.

Researcher: *"So, what you're saying is that everything has a knock-on effect; basically down to unemployment?"*

"Mmm... yeah, basically without a job... life sucks, with a job it's better."

Owing to the difficulties of employability, Alastair is considering an Afghan tour as a reservist. Once again, the Army comfort blanket appears to be a

reassuring crutch. Yet this time Alastair is married and Afghanistan is a very unforgiving place; Alastair jokes about being 'bombproof'.

"Now I have got two trades I could go out there with, I could go as a Tank driver or a Medic. I think I would go for medical route - slightly less chance of getting blown up [Alastair laughs] I've been hit by a mortar once - it wasn't pleasant - [Alastair gestures being blown through the air]. Al Amara, May 2006, it was the largest indirect fire attack since the Korean War. I went out to Iraq in April - I was there a fortnight and my Nan died, instead of RnR I took compassionate, because RnR hadn't started yet with only just getting there - which meant when I got back. I literally did six months straight"

"Within a couple of days of getting back from my compassionate. That's when we got hit by the mortar attack. I was on one knee at the time, because I was attending to a girl, who got hit by some shrapnel in the thigh - she had nicked her femoral artery. So she was bleeding quite heavily and that was when we got hit by the blast, and it just sent us flying. Ha - that was good fun!"

"That day, I discovered I was bombproof - I don't know if I'm bullet-proof. But I'm certainly bombproof -it happened right at the start the tour and I was fine. In 2006 Iraq was about as bad as it's ever been - it didn't bother me in the slightest. I got used to it - just sleep through it, there is nothing you can do about it. So it's just easier to ignore it."

This story demonstrates the principle importance of Bourdieu's structuralist perspectives and how power is exercised or experienced in different social fields. (Bourdieu, 1980) Alastair, complies with the power exercised within the Army structure, yet he finds dissatisfaction in doing so. Alastair demonstrates this by the rejections he makes. Simultaneously, the Army structure acts as a comfort blanket to Alastair and without the structure he appears lost. Unwittingly, Alastair is acting like a private soldier in the new civilian environment; he potentially needs to be told what to do. It must be emphasised, the researcher measures Alastair as a very capable individual, who wishes to increase his educational capital, however in the military he is constrained by his position in rank and in the civilian world he is constrained by the social judgements made by the failed CRB check. For Alastair, this is

not so much 'misrecognition' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p 13) he understands what is happening, but feels unable to break free of the distinction.

Fig: 5.4 Alastair's Resettlement Predictability Matrix

Predictability Factor			
Seriously Injured or experienced trauma		☒	
Served in Combat	☒ ☒		
Rank at time of discharge			☒
Human Capital: social networks, links to other structures (e.g. the church) Job transferability		☒	☒
Education Capital: qualifications, vocational experience, ability to articulate transferable skills		☒	☒
Predictability opinion	High	Medium	Low

- Caution of latent combat stress issues, referral contacts to combat stress to be considered.
- Caution of social exclusion, develop housing plan, proximity to family networks may need revision.
- Reasonable job transferability and good communication skills.
- Develop contingency plan should the paramedic training option fail.

Alastair: Predictability matrix explained.

Alastair's predictability matrix portrays a greater number of reds and as such indicates higher risks associated with service transition. Alastair's commentaries about his experiences in combat are very 'matter of fact' and do not appear too disturbing to him at this point. Morin's (2011a) data reveals that those who experience combat go on to experience greater difficulty after service departure. (See page 74) Whilst Alastair is not overtly displaying any adverse signs of disorder, the fact he has served in combat means he is, according to Morin, at risk and therefore recorded as red. I have made a subjective assessment to the level of 'predictability opinion' (High, medium, low) and scored Alastair with a medium red (I refer to when he was blown from his feet during the mortar attack). At the time of discharge Alastair is a private soldier, but he is also reasonably experienced (Through his multiple enlistments he had served for over ten years). Alastair's 'human capital factor', places both amber and red: he has rightly chosen to live near to the place he intends to study; however, he is not familiar with the area. Alastair has no family nearby to help support him. The amber demonstrates job transferability, although this does rest on him successfully completing the paramedic course. Alastair himself recognises this risk, see page 199. The red in education capital also relates to this point, there is a single point of failure; a great deal rests on Alastair completing his paramedic training. Alastair is very articulate and is well equipped to sell his transferable skills to potential employers. Unfortunately, his minor criminal record has proved to be a determining incident resulting in rather limited success to this point. I suggest

highlighting to service leavers these kinds of issues is of vital importance particularly when service leavers choose occupations that require a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check.

Marcus: Social reproduction

The first interview took place in an office environment in Germany; I met Marcus in 2009. At the time of the first interview he had only six months remaining in which to serve until his 22-year career point. Of the time served, he had spent 21 years of his Army career in Germany. Marcus had the appearance of an endurance athlete- lean, chisel-like jaw and a razor sharp military image.

Marcus felt apprehensive about staying in Germany after service departure, and he was thus preparing to return to the UK. Despite his spoken German language skills being fluent, his written language skills were not as well developed. Marcus had wrestled with the idea of staying in Germany, but the combination of his less than adequate literacy skills and his non-existent German qualifications meant that his work options in Germany were extremely limited. That said, Marcus did feel that he could get work in Germany, but he would not have a range of options or the support from his immediate family (mother, sister and so on). Consequently, not only does this period signify a change in career; Marcus feels that, in many ways, he is being forced to leave a country that he has come to recognise as his home.

What make matters worse for Marcus is that, during the 21 years spent in Germany, he had married a German national and he has three children. Unfortunately, the marriage broke down several years earlier and resulted in divorce, but he still maintains a very good and active relationship with the children. Substantial changes are stirring; moving careers, moving house, moving country and leaving an estranged family. Remarkably, Marcus is

composed, pragmatic and, in the face of the impending upheaval, he broadcasts a steady demeanour.

"I could have stayed here in Germany of course, and done the resettlement here. But I wanted to, sort of go back to where all my family and friends were from before I joined the service. I just thought that if I am going to need help. That's where I'll get it from."

Marcus enlisted a year after leaving school. He began to consider joining the Army early, while he was in the second year of senior school. The Falklands War was in progress and the images presented in the media appealed to him. Unfortunately, as a 16-year old school leaver, Marcus was only "...eight stone when wet." Therefore, he was turned away for being underweight, but, a year or so down the line, he was a bit broader and of a more robust constitution; the Army accepted his second application.

The Army presented a range of jobs, and there was a striking common bond that united the organisation. Marcus notes, "...they are all working to achieve one goal and I thought yeah, I'm up for that."

The shared community of practice which Marcus desired connection to has had the capacity to shape and construct his identity (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Whether consciously or not, Marcus aimed to define himself via a process of social categorisation and by membership of a group which permits his self definition by affiliation and regulation (Tajfel, 1982). In viewing the media representation of the armed services, he had decided he wanted to be part of this united organisation. As Foucault notes, discourse via group knowledge,

and the control of the inter-group knowledge and participation within the shared community of practice fuel identity construction (Foucault, 1979) (Foucault *et al.*, 1988).

Marcus confirms this positive social identity by remarking that, at his first posting, the “...*camaraderie there was brilliant. It was really good, and it showed me how I wanted to be in the Service at each Unit I went to work for.*” It seems that the careful placement of first postings has the capacity to define a soldier’s long-term identity. It also confirms the lasting effects of positive social identities, which Bourdieu might have called durable dispositions.

Significant emotional events have the effect of shaping our psyche (Freud, 1917a). Marcus explains that the First Gulf War altered his outlook on life. He philosophises that “...you just don’t know what is round the corner.” This disclosure may account for Marcus’s laid-back persona, taking each day as it comes. This is not to insinuate that Marcus is ambivalent about his future. On the contrary, Marcus is very proactive and is amongst the most measured of people when exploring his future career options. He decided “...*from day one I needed to get myself on the right track, get myself ready for the future.*” It would seem that Marcus comes across as a pragmatic realist, but he is also willing to take some risks and decides to reinvent himself by making a complete career change. He is to train to become a gas fitter.

In reflecting about his Army career, Marcus has, on occasion, felt inhibited by the Army’s organisational structures, and because he has remained within the

same structure for several years, he has felt motionless *"...so I haven't changed with the people I've been with because I have not had to change the way I worked."*

The word motionless is chosen carefully because Marcus, in his continuing dialogue, makes a paradoxical point. He says,

"... what I have learnt over the years has helped me in a big way and I will just hopefully be able to pass on the right information to the young soldiers coming in."

There is much loyalty toward the perseverance of the Army way in his dialogue; Bourdieu call this reproduction.

In the preceding paragraph, the word motionless is used because, although Marcus feels inhibited by the organisation- and thus, by definition, to a more or lesser extent, repressed- he confirms with his second point that he has learned new things. Analysis of these two points confirms that a change in behaviour has taken place over time. Henceforth it is the pace and depth of movement which Marcus refers to. Perhaps the pace appears slower and the depth more superficial than he would have liked; this issue could be linked to organisational symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

The Army has encouraged the creation of and has helped produce an identity for Marcus, but it has also kept his identity within acceptable boundaries for his rank. Marcus confirms this by assenting that you are what you are because of where you are.

Ultimately, Marcus became disappointed with the pace of career progression and, as a result, when the Army offered a two-year extension to his 22-year service he turned down the offer.

"I didn't fancy doing another two years for the sake of doing another two years at the same rank. I needed to make the break, while I was still young enough to look for work."

"There is apprehension about the impending discharge date because you can see it approaching and there is nothing you can do about it."

Marcus alludes to the stress which resettlement brings as it preoccupies much of his thoughts.

"...I just kept going over it with myself, making sure that yep, I'm ticking all the right boxes and hoping that things will go right and it will fall into place."

It is worrying to contemplate so much risk; moreover, it is the quantity and level of risk that a service leaver faces which is particularly problematic. The measured demeanour that Marcus presents is that of a highly polished and heavily policed performance. In the eye of all the risks and complexities that service departure offers, it is readily apparent that the service resettlement package has a considerable task to perform; everybody is different and everybody has different needs to fulfil.

Owing to the 21 years spent in Germany, Marcus has never had to deal with UK road tax, TV licence, council tax and the normal day-to-day process of living in the UK. This only adds to the apprehension. For this reason, Marcus had decided to return to the place where he grew up to be close to his former

family and friends. He feels “...that if I’m going to need help that’s the only place I’ll get it from.”

Marcus never felt any uneasiness about finding work, believing wholeheartedly that work was out there. However, going back to a country he had not lived in for 21 years was a concern.

Marcus, in considering his future career plans, decided to opt for a complete transformation in career anchor (as already noted, to train as a gas fitter), stating that “I needed a complete change on leaving the Army, to a new way of life altogether.” The level of detachment Marcus communicates is a sense of indifference toward the Army; yet, when asked directly about his time in the Army and its effects on him, he says, “I think it is a brilliant part to have within me.” The disengagement is perhaps the unconscious denial mechanism attempting to protect Marcus from the anxiety of leaving (Freud, 1917b). Marcus calls it “...starting afresh altogether.”

On the point of institutionalisation, Marcus reveals

“...the more and more time spent in the military and the more and more narrow everything becomes... it’s a life pattern you work along to. Each day in the morning, you must get up, be washed, shaved, in by a certain time, stood on parade, ready to rock and roll.”

In the military studies edited by Morris Janowitz (1964), it was found that institutionalisation within military structures occurred early on in a service career. The ritual of performing these daily behaviours over a 22-year career conditions the individual.

It must be emphasised that the Janowitz studies revealed that the military profession is not to be written off as a monolithic value structure because this applied a too simplistic view to the multiple values of its incumbents (this study acknowledges the same kind of observations). Whilst this study confirms that military personnel are not homogeneous, the conditioning effects are clear. How an individual responds to the conditioning effect and how it inculcates behaviour is also heterogeneous. However, this research details many recurring themes that have behavioural influence. Marcus notes that: *"There is no such thing, really, as going sick you work and that's it."* He feels that this is an important work ethic and one that he hopes will stay with him. Many soldiers just soldier on and this only serves to deepen the normalisation effects of service life. You just kind of get on with it.

On the other hand, Marcus makes a joke out of not having to shave every day and I wonder whether this will become a point of ownership Marcus exercises over his identity on departure. Marcus raises further points on the issues of institutionalisation, inculcation and conditioning, he notes:

"Not mind washed, but... sort of over a period of time... it becomes second nature." "...it's inbred... whether you think about it or not."

And when questioned about the durability of these dispositions...

"I think that it will be very difficult, as the military person is ingrained into you, and it may take some time for that military person to dwindle away."

It is now 12 months since I last met Marcus, and we meet for the second time at his newly purchased house on an established estate in the West Midlands.

The immediate focus of my attention when Marcus opened his front door was the fantastic goatee beard he now wore; it really suited him, and somehow it complemented his noticeably relaxed persona. When I had last met Marcus, he had presented a very steady manner and, at the time, I considered the performance to be so steady because it had been heavily policed (Foucault *et al.*, 1988).

The pragmatic Marcus was still there, but he had an altogether more relaxed manner. Marcus demonstrated this several occasions throughout this second interview. He talked about the freedom to do whatever he wanted to do; the sense of repression had been lifted. He talked about the relief that his time was done, yet, in the same breath, he upholds the Army as a bastion of virtuous values where you learn good discipline.

There appears a conflict in Marcus's mind, a 'love-hate' relationship, because later Marcus describes how the much-celebrated discipline begins to wear thin over time.

"It's the way you look at it sometimes, you've got these Junior Officers that are like 22 years old telling you, saying I've got to do this or I've got to do that and you think, hold on a minute here. You haven't got any experience of life never mind anything else and you're trying to tell me what I've got to do. I know what I have to do."

Marcus was glad he had served 22 years, but, for him, the time was right to leave. Perhaps this confirms that military service is for the young; if this is the case, then resettlement must continue to provide a relevant provision

because, when leaving after 22 years, an individual potentially still has 25 years left in which to work as a civilian.

Marcus had chosen to retrain as a gas fitter, and I wondered how this was working. Marcus disclosed a range of issues with such a bold reinvention. In the first instance, completing the course and gaining the qualification was very demanding, and he commented that, if it were not for the Army's flexibility, he would have never been able to complete the workbook portfolio. To demonstrate the range of competencies for his portfolio, Marcus had to compile his portfolio with a company placement. This was very time consuming and required more time away than the allotted resettlement graduated resettlement time (GRT). Without the Army's flexibility, Marcus comments "*...then it would have been impossible to complete that qualification.*" Next came the issue of credibility. Goffman claimed that a performance only becomes credible when it is accepted by an audience (Goffman, 1990). Marcus may have qualified as a gas fitter, but, unless an audience regards his performance as credible, then he cannot legitimately assume the identity of a gas fitter. Marcus concedes that if he had been an engineer and he had been practising that side of things throughout his career then "*...you have got that broad based knowledge and you can go and set up on your own.*" Marcus feels that it is the tacit knowledge of the wider field, not just the qualification that presents the credibility.

In hindsight, regarding his choice to retrain as a gas fitter Marcus states:

"I wouldn't go through it again." "...at the end I've just gone why didn't I think of something else, think of something else to have done?" "...I wish I'd have broadened my horizons..."

Marcus is currently doing some HGV driving; he secured this appointment via networking. Moving back to where he had grown up has really helped. His mother lives up the road in one direction and his sister up the road in the other, and, in terms of a job, Marcus works for a friend he went to school with. Being close to work and family suits Marcus. Marcus's daughter decided to move to the UK with her dad and Marcus discloses that: "...she goes to college... I think she is enjoying it now ... she was really nervous at first." The subtext to this line of the interview was that his daughter had grown up and had lived all her life in Germany; having his extended family close by had really helped his daughter settle in. This added dimension must have caused Marcus some anxiety; a single parent, in need of a job, looking for a house, trying to settle back in a country he had not lived in for more than 20 years, with his daughter who had never lived in the UK.

Marcus is measured; his pragmatic outlook has been the key that has helped him navigate these testing times. It would have not been unrealistic to expect many complex issues to have emerged from his repatriation; it is a credit to him that the transition has gone so smoothly. Marcus's final advice is to get people like him in to talk to those who are currently leaving. This way, people will get to experience what it is really like to leave the services, and, on the issue of what to do, *"...get your networking letters out as soon as possible and find work."*

This story registers with the social reproduction theories offered by Bourdieu; the 'certification effect' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p 165) refers to the abstract gap an academic diploma attempts to fill. Marcus successfully passed the gas fitters courses, which legitimately gave him access to the profession; however, social acceptance in this new career field was hampered by the scarcity of the required skills and experience he needed to perform with legitimacy. Marcus himself is suspicious of the 'certification effect' when he is discordant toward newly commissioned Officers. The young Officer's carry the appropriate qualifications to hold command, yet, in the analysis of Marcus' view, he is judgmental of being commanded by those with relatively little experience. The correlation between education, experience, labelling and acceptance is observable throughout the story; Marcus has twenty years experience of living in Germany, but no German qualifications, he has the qualifications of a gas fitter but no professional experience, he has the professional experience of soldiering but not the qualifications to hold a more senior rank. Ordinarily these features are hidden from public view, however, under analysis one is faced with the reality that class distinctions are perpetuated through social reproduction. Whilst Marcus discloses several good practical reasons for returning to where his mother and sister live and where he grew up and his friends are, this single act acutely demonstrates that even after twenty years of living in Germany the appeal of his primary habitus is irreversible. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p 42 - 43)

Fig: 5.5 Marcus' Resettlement Predictability Matrix

Predictability Factor			
Seriously Injured or experienced trauma			
Served in Combat		☒	
Rank at time of discharge		☒	
Human Capital: social networks, links to other structures (e.g. the church) Job transferability	☒ ☒ ☒		
Education Capital: qualifications, vocational experience, ability to articulate transferable skills	☒ ☒ ☒		
Predictability opinion	High	Medium	Low

- Caution of latent combat stress issues, ensure referral contacts are available.
- Re-skilling to gas fitter. In addition has a good range of other vocational transferability.
- Has good social and family networks in the chosen area to resettle.
- Seek opportunities to develop general ICT skills and interview skills.

Marcus: Predictability matrix explained.

In most respects Marcus demonstrates a low risk transition primarily due to his pragmatic and reflective approach to resettlement. There are many obvious greens. On page 215 Marcus talks about ticking all the right boxes. He has given deep thought to being close to family networks, about using his

home world contacts to gain employment and how socialising with the Royal British Legion may continue the service banter he has previously enjoyed. Marcus has made an accurate assessment of his transferable skills and has pitched himself well in the local employment market. Having local family connections and knowing the locality has helped him achieve this stability. In addition, he has chosen to compliment his education capital by training as a gas fitter; Marcus recognised that engineering experience is also required and he reflects that perhaps should have done something different. (Something in IT) This reflective approach serves Marcus well as this continuous cycle of system checks facilitates his adaptation to the civilian world.

William

The volunteered participant (William) had wanted to be part of the planned research programme from the outset, but life events took over and, as a result, several scheduled interviews were cancelled. After six months it became apparent that it would be very difficult to schedule face-to-face interviews. William was disappointed by these circumstances and without bidding opted to send me a biography.

As a result, there was a necessary change to the primary data gathering methodology. The data was not gathered via interview but by a personal biography written by the participant. Unwittingly, the amendment to the planned face-to-face interview technique provided a variation of method and a refreshing means of triangulating the data. The sentiment of the account is unaltered; I have treated the biography as if it were another interview transcript and I have incorporated the analysis into the following story.

William: Organisational symbolic violence and moral judgement

William retired from the British Army after a 16-year career as an officer in a branch of the Adjutant General's Corps. At the time of retirement, William was 39 and had reached his first pensionable point. Having joined the Army on a short service commission (a three to four year contract), William was granted a regular commission after two year's service (contracted until the age of 55). He has therefore now opted to cut that contract short and take voluntary discharge at the most convenient point for himself and his family.

For William, the point of dissatisfaction emerges over a period of time that implicates a role conflict between the military man, an idealised-self and a family man (Goffman, 1990), (Lawler, 2008). Un-reconciled dilemmas going unchecked present far-reaching implications for identity. William performs each of these roles as an amalgam of self and, as a result, an exiting role is an emotional ordeal; the decision to leave is not easy as it forces William to make life choices (Stier, 2007).

William joined the Army as a graduate and left with a postgraduate diploma in Arabic and a number of service accredited management qualifications and professional memberships, as well as the normal raft of military courses (which had not necessarily been mapped across to any particular civilian qualification). Ordinarily by this point in his career, William would have just completed a masters degree (in one of the specialist fields). His particular career profile meant that this would have been the next posting for him had he chosen to stay in service. The likelihood of a three year 'return of service' clause in his contract, should he have taken this option, prevented him from pursuing this any further.

The notion of symbolic violence becomes more concrete than abstract as the sanction of a return of service clause forces William into an ultimatum.

Foucault (1979, p 85) describes a subject who is subjected to is one who obeys, William reaches a point whereby the presenting role is now forced to obey for a further three years; this is not palatable to this subject who is already experiencing some degree of role conflict.

Williams' maternal grandfather served in the British Army during WWII and into the 1950s. William is a child of mixed ethnic origin (half Iranian, half British). That being said, William was raised by the British side of his family and, as a result, he feels that Great Britain made him what he is and which gave him amazing opportunities and privileges both as a child and an adult. These factors were probably the most compelling factors in him wanting to 'serve his country' and 'give something back'.

For William, the British Army had always stood as a bastion of what is best and traditional about Britain. It had a reputation for standing up for what was right and honourable and, in some respects, this harked back to a more revered time in Britain's history. In many respects, William has an idealised self; some may call this a romantic portrayal of a stereotype, and others may see this as a motivator to prove an idealised aim of Britishness. I gauge that William has a powerful belief in justice; he carefully polices his internal discussions and deliberates fervently about doing what is right and living with honour.

William demonstrates a remarkable sense of fair play and constantly displays a manner that is willing to serve as long as it is just. The self-reflexive nature of William means that he sees himself as a project to be conditioned as an ideal-self.

A reinforcement of his Britishness is something William himself goes on to say. As Anthony Giddens (1991, p 64) explains, guilt is an anxiety produced

when there is conflict between individual expectations and normative expectations. Guilt has a basis in the super-ego (Freud, 1917a) and it is therefore largely unconscious to the subject. Yet it seeps out through the Freudian slips and in the sentiments of moral uprightness, by which William repeatedly measures himself.

“As a relatively young man of 24 there was much attraction to the pomp and ceremony of Army tradition and in some respects I saw it as an opportunity for affirmation of my Britishness.”

Military ceremony and parade are elaborate performances displayed for the benefit of others; William cares deeply how others see him. William broadcasts an innermost ambition to have a bestowed identity that communicates his faithfulness to his British ancestors.

Much of William’s time in service has been fulfilling in terms of all these factors. However, in the last few years, he has begun to feel much more acutely a conflict between government and the MoD in terms of where and how the British Forces should be utilised and the lack of ability by the armed forces to ‘steer the right course’ or negotiate/manage effectively the terms of its missions, the budget it requires or its agreed potential future roles.

Yet again, the guilt axis is common in William’s discourse, as the discrepancy between the accepted routines of the ‘Army man’ clash with the super-ego’s violation of internal codes of proper behaviour (Giddens, 1991, p 59 - 69).

William has a sense of what he feels is just and right, and this internal map

begins to resemble, less and less the facing terrain, which the Army is forced to navigate.

As a young officer, these higher-level issues were of little consequence to him, but, as William grew older, the effects of these failings began to show more acutely in day-to-day matters and ultimately he felt that it had begun to affect his family and himself too much. William became unembodied with the romantic role of an army officer; continually acting out the role of the modern army officer became false in a changing reality. Eventually, he decided that the only real option was to seek alternative employment as he felt unable to reconcile these personal conflicts.

William was sad to leave the Army, but he has not looked back since. As observed with all the other participants within the study, an aspect of mourning takes place at the moment of leaving. The inculcating effects of loyalty, dependency and institutionalisation become visible at service departure (Bourdieu, 1980), (Goffman, 1961).

William and his family now live in the Middle East and he works as a training and educational consultant for a private company. William remains in contact with two or three colleagues from the Army through social and professional networking websites, but that is about the extent to which he still associates with his former colleagues.

"Strangely I have no real interest in keeping up to date with Branch Association matters or in returning to the UK for a formal Dine out. I

think now that I have made the 'break' from the Army I just want to concentrate on moving forward rather than looking back."

William appears shocked by his own indifference, almost as if his previous life had never occurred. Interestingly, all of the other study participants display a similar feature of indifference. I feel there is a characteristic of denial, which is employed to protect the psyche from change (as previously noted, the influence of the loyalty that the Army expects is deep-rooted into one's psyche). On the other hand, in the case of William, there is also much evidence to suggest a reflexive element, a feature of self-development that occurs simultaneously.

William is not so egotistical to make a claim of 'outgrowing' the Army, but, in many ways, this is what happens. The constraining structures controlled by symbolic violence prohibit development without obedience. For William, retirement is a form of social rebirth (Allison & Meyer, 1984).

"The decision to take voluntary discharge was not one taken lightly as I had become very comfortable with the certainty of Military employment and the relative ease of personal administration therein. Whilst I knew I would never earn 'rock star' wages, the overall lifestyle package was reasonably attractive."

Institutionalisation acts as an enabling force and concurrently serves to constrain the individual. Thus, the culture of dependency is fashioned out of the loyalty of its subjects, loyalty to other members, loyalty to its core values and loyalty to its tradition. Moreover, there is an allegiance to an Army whose concentration is to protect its own, to shield its families from operational stresses and to provide a human being with all their humanitarian needs; this

deepens the level of dependency and entrenches the inculcating effects.

Thus, leaving becomes even more difficult; there is much hidden guilt in the decision to divorce. In many respects, it appears like turning ones back on the hand that feeds. There is also an apprehension that is related to guilt. If the new life choices do not work out, this upheaval could be for nothing. In particular, military personnel are inculcated to serve, so there is reflexive-guilt through the apparent transgression of service. There is guilt and there is risk with service career transitions.

William declares that:

"...coupled with very little knowledge about living as a civilian and the uncertainty of so many factors of life as a civilian made the decision making process very slow and drawn-out (six months)."

Ultimately, he expected life 'outside' to be much more unpredictable, in terms of employment and the fact he could be jobless with only a month's notice; fear becomes a presenting symptom of a risky new life.

Owing to this justifiable paranoia about job security, William had expected to have a job lined up before he even declared his intention to resign. However, it is now his opinion that this was an unreasonable expectation and, in some ways, he needed to be clear that he was leaving for the right reasons:

"...I was leaving the Army because I wanted to leave the Army and not because I perceived the 'grass to be greener' somewhere else and was being pulled to something which may or may not have been any better."

The subtext here alludes to trepidation and apprehension about job security, turmoil over loss of role and status, fear of risk and fear of the opinions of others.

These concerns are natural and fully understandable when considered against the backdrop of the inculcating effects of Army life. However, there is a far more weighty issue to consider; the Army is, in the eyes of William, a just and proper body, the Army is an idealised and a revered entity.

William wants to be sure that he is not leaving due to temptation, but because he now wants divorce from the Army. This, I infer, is where much of the hidden guilt regarding the decision to leave is seated. This is not to suggest that the decision to leave is not the right decision, but it is nevertheless a guilty decision.

William is breaking up with the revered bastion of what he sees is best and traditional about Britain. I acknowledge that it is unlikely to be quite so simplistic, as there are likely to be combinations of impulses motivating the divorce, but where there is a feeling of guilt there is also a feeling of transgression (Giddens, 1991, p 67).

Once the unshakeable bond was isolated, William was able to focus much better on searching for a job and on how his future life might look once his intention to leave was formalised. Prior to making that psychological commitment, he was always only attacking the resettlement process in a

slightly half-hearted manner. Pending that seminal point, William was in the conflict stage, torn between ego states, his heart saying one thing and his head saying another.

During his resettlement period, William found himself conceptually almost back in the career's office, reflecting on what it was he wanted to be and do. After 16 years in the Army he was personally quite keen to have a complete change from what he had been doing professionally.

As an officer his professional focus has long been associated with his branch, but he found himself not wanting to look too hard at those sorts of jobs or indeed to utilise his resettlement grant to further specialise in that area of expertise. He did apply for several jobs in the training, educational and development fields, but he also took the rather unorthodox approach of doing something completely different with his resettlement grant. William undertook a suite of electrician's courses and qualified as a 17th Edition Domestic Electrician.

William has a project house and felt that this would be a useful skill to help with effective renovations. He actually thoroughly enjoyed the courses and the whole experience of learning a totally new skill and felt that the courses were very well delivered. The only part of the experience which was missing for him concerned spending some time gaining practical experience to consolidate what was a very intensive suite of courses. As Goffman notes, a performance only becomes accepted when it is authenticated by others, in

other words, William has to do the job for real. This is not just to practice his new skills, but to authenticate himself and to authenticate himself to others in his new career role (Goffman, 1990). Completing the courses does not signify that he is now an authentic electrician – it is performing the role of the electrician which authenticates (Mead & Morris, 1934).

“I felt that the time given for resettlement was not really long enough if one is looking for a complete change of direction in life and it is very easy for your current employment (last posting) to continue to interfere with resettlement (several people on courses with me were on the phone constantly back to work and generally resented having to be).”

William's final plan on leaving consisted of two options, dependent on his success in finding employment. If he received a suitable job offer he would take the job and move on. If he did not, then he would move back to the family home, take a part-time masters degree (William applied and received an offer from a University) and either try to get some work as an electrician or try to get some short-term contract work in a known field (supplemented by his pension). Events took their own turn and, in the event, William moved back home and he was three weeks away from beginning his course at University when he received a job offer. The job was acceptable to William and his family, and that was therefore the direction he took.

“Life post-Army has been a very interesting experience for me personally.”

William finds himself not missing day-to-day military service one iota nor wishing to return to service. Yet, strangely, he is still fiercely protective of the British Military and most importantly 'our boys and girls', perhaps more so than when he served.

"I do not hanker for old boys' dinners or reunions but do feel the need to expound the virtues of military service to all who will listen and feel more free to comment honestly about military/political issues that I did previously."

Professionally, William enjoys being an ex-military serviceman in the company of civilian co-workers. He feels a sense of kudos by virtue of the standards he once represented and to some degree (even as a retired officer) still upholds. The bestowed identity associated with the romantic ideal of an Army officer is a durable disposition that William displays with virtue. William has proved his Britishness and, owing to his time in uniform, the idealised vision of the emblematic British Army Officer communicates honour, integrity, justice and intelligence to others. William harks back to the nostalgia of which he is partly a product; he is now embedded in that history. I believe William finds fulfilment in this reminiscence.

William's current job is as a training, education and development consultant and, therefore, he has not used his resettlement training to any worthwhile degree thus far. However, the 'rest' he had from training during his retirement process has re-energised his enthusiasm for the educational field. It should be highlighted that, in this study, a recurring feature is that service leavers do not tend to directly use their resettlement training in their new employment.

Service leavers who attempt to make a complete re-train / career change find it difficult. Simply put, they need more time to experience the new role.

Service leavers who build on their transferable skills are perhaps more likely to directly use the honed skills in a new civilian career.

“The vagaries of civilian employment mean that job security is much less than when in military service but by the same token it also allows more flexibility to move should you not be happy with your lot. Having once feared it I now find this characteristic of civilian employment more emancipating than frightening.

I feel as if I have moved on to bigger and better things (this may yet prove to be completely wrong) but the family are happier and I see much more of them. We are very content with our lot and feel that our standard of living has definitely improved.”

The above extract demonstrates a substantial change in aspects of William's identity. Almost certainly, the feelings of guilt have dwindled and the fear of insecurity has given way to emancipation.

William concludes with a recent event that sums up where he is in his life right now. It also reveals the weighty moral component of justice and honour inbuilt into William's super ego; the durable disposition of military service bonded with his own sense of right and wrong.

“I recently attended a St George's Day supper at a hotel in Dubai with my wife. There were approximately 500 guests, it was hosted by the UK Vice Consul and the Royal Marines Band played a 'Night at the Proms' theme throughout. There were Royal Navy and Royal Marines personnel in attendance in uniform as well as many veterans who sported their miniature medals etc. Towards the end of the evening a tribute was paid to our Armed Services (serving and retired), for their courage and service to the British Nation. The whole ballroom stood and applauded and I have to say I was moved to tears. To experience that degree of support, so far away from home was truly humbling and made me proud to have been part of the British Armed Forces. I don't need to go back down that road, but I'm glad I walked it once. Not everyone can say that they did.”

William's story demonstrates symbolic violence, whereby in the eyes of the beholder, impositions of power relations and culture appear legitimate.

(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p 3 - 67), (Jenkins, 1992, p 104). A form of

misrecognition becomes visible as William associates the British Army culture with that of legitimising, and to a certain extent inculcating meaning, to his Britishness. At some point the arbitrary power exercised without due consideration emerges as a feature of dissatisfaction when William recognises the cultural arbitrary to be in conflict with his own moral judgements. Ultimately, William makes the decision to leave the Army; However, pedagogic action is durable, insofar as, William remains fiercely protective of the cultural practices that he found to be incompatible with his own principles of fulfilment. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p 16)

Fig: 5.6 William’s Resettlement Predictability Matrix

Predictability Factor			
Seriously Injured or experienced trauma			
Served in Combat		⊗	
Rank at time of discharge	⊗ ⊗		
Human Capital: social networks, links to other structures (e.g. the church) Job transferability	⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗	⊗	
Education Capital: qualifications, vocational experience, ability to articulate transferable skills	⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗		
Predictability opinion	High	Medium	Low

- Caution of latent combat stress issues, ensure referral contacts are available.
- Well developed social networks and excellent vocational transferability.
- Whilst re-skilling is potentially useful; under selling current vocational transferability is risky.
- Develop networks relating to current vocational transferability.

William: Predictability matrix explained.

William presents a significant range of greens, these mostly relate to education and human capital. William is well educated and through his social networks, being a commissioned officer and the wider access to opportunities

associated with rank he is well positioned for service departure. The only two ambers relate to serving in an operational theatre and the potential for some form of posttraumatic distress. The second amber relates to his decision to train as an electrician during his resettlement. It perhaps would have been prudent to have undertaken a resettlement activity to complement his current career anchor in training management. In contrast, William was sufficiently confident of his transferable skills that he felt capable of a more liberal approach to his resettlement activities. William has this level of freedom because of his notable human and education capital.

Narratives Summary

The narratives have demonstrated key features found in Bourdieu's writings and whilst it has been important to draw attention to what has been verified by using Bourdieu, accurate analysis required a broader set of tools. The theorists presented in chapter three have provided a comprehensive framework, thus offering the breadth of assessment necessary. Paradigms relating to human and education capital are readily observable, specifically there are stark contrasts between the opportunities of junior rank to those of a more senior rank. Positional power and authority play a determining role and features of social reproduction serve to imprison people to specific class divides. I do not suggest this is forever fixed incarceration; however, the narratives demonstrate the effects of symbolic violence, power, psychoanalytical responses and performance. Improving key sociological pillars (predictability factors) can help the individual rise above many of the limiting factors that uphold social reproduction. Whilst education is not the panacea, improving ones education capital is a seminal driver for enhancing

prospects and making changes to ones position in society. The contrasting narratives demonstrate how education unlocks opportunity; in response, it is reasonable to question a resettlement package that is based on time served. Justly, a more appropriate policy would favour a needs based package. This contradicts current resettlement policy, and whilst my evidence supports a needs based strategy, I would be wary a resettlement package that abandoned resettlement entitlements based on length of service. Specifically, this would send a morally wrong message to those who make the sacrifice and serve the United Kingdom in a full military career. Here I have exposed a discussion concerning a needs based resettlement package and job transferability; more research is required in this specific area to untangle these complex issues.

I suggest rewarding personnel based on length of time served is just and honourable; however, failing to deliver resettlement based on need is also unjust. The following section scrutinises the triangulated data and provides more information to respond the research questions.

Triangulated data

Data was gathered from various sources, including the Divisional Leavers' Survey, the 10th annual report from the Career Transition Partnership, 2009, the National Audit Office report, 2007, and publications by recognised charity organisations (RBL, Combat Stress, RFEA, Army Benevolent Fund, Forces Pension Society, SSAFA and Help for Heroes). Additionally, I drew on media

reports from newspapers and other broadcasts. This has strengthened the conclusions of my research.

Fig: 5.7 Divisional Leavers Survey 2009

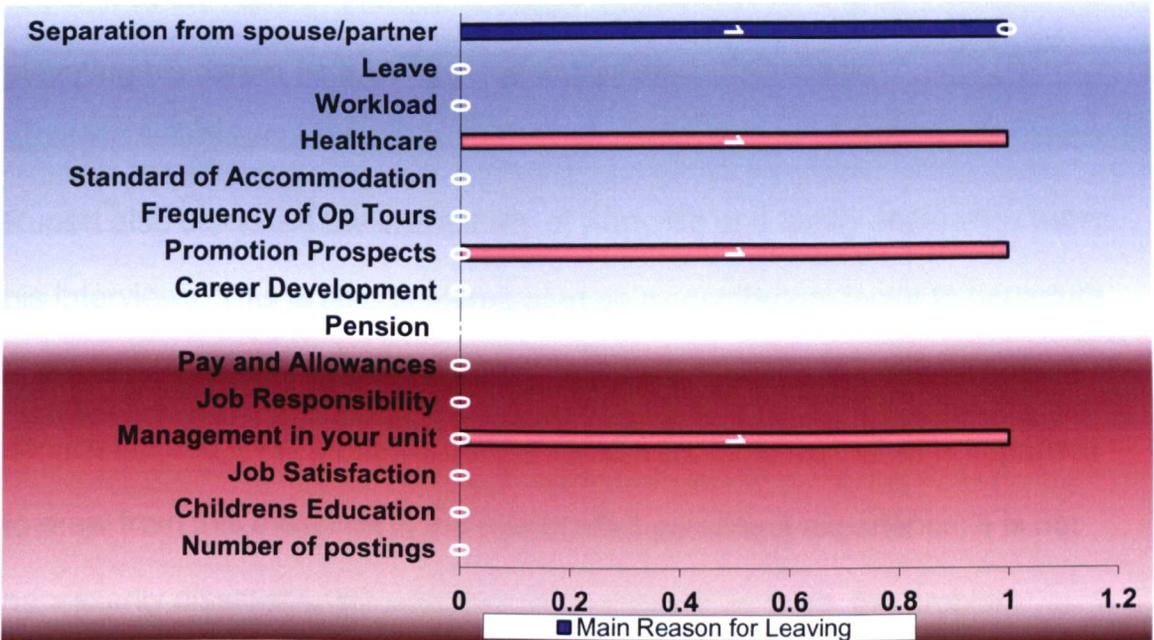


Figure 5.7 was generated from survey data conducted in 2009, which attempted to ascertain the reasons for one division's personnel leaving the Army. While the data was gathered independently of this doctoral study, it was collected during the same period as the fieldwork for this study. Against the backdrop of my study's findings, connections can be readily drawn. Evidence of promotion being a prominent causal factor for service departure can clearly be seen. This compares to the similar issues that Alastair experienced. Symbolic violence precluded Alastair's personal growth, the structure of the field made promotion difficult and, without promotion, the prospect of further medical training became the motivation for change. Had Alastair been afforded the opportunity for further training, even without assured career promotion, he may have served longer. In an era where

lifelong learning is strongly encouraged by central government, relating education to career promotion is perhaps simplistic. Alastair suffered at the mercy of organisational symbolic violence within the Army, and he continues to suffer at the hand of societal symbolic violence precluding him from elevating his career as a civilian due to his failed CRB check.

Rupert also disclosed the inevitability of Army life and family separation within his interviews. This is also demonstrated as a contributory factor to departure in the leaving survey graph. Arguably, separation is an occupational hazard of service life and it will probably always remain so. However, what is important to draw from this evidence is the role conflict personnel experience; it is not necessarily dissatisfaction with the military career as a job, the problem becomes the disembodiment with the other performances a person acts to perform a self. The use of Goffman's analogy of a performed self and the coalesced dialogue of Freud's repression are examples of a managed conflict that results in a 'conditionally' performed self. There becomes a point where soldiers cannot, or at least have trouble in, reconciling the competing interests of their multiple selves. Thus, a change is forced and a revised self emerges as an amalgam of durable dispositions of past histories, and as consequence of new social dispositions experienced in the new civilian setting. Personnel have to adapt to a new environment and, as a result, a fresh identity surfaces.

The graph also indicates that 'management by the unit' was cited as a significant reason for leaving, and here a comparison can be drawn with power, structure and symbolic violence. These are features that figure under

the management umbrella, especially for those with limited organisational power and who have a reduced capacity to question the organisational authority. This study has confirmed that, as a total institution, the Army has great regulatory power over its incumbents, and, as I have attempted to show in the literature, today's recruit is less deferential than yesterday's recruit. Societal changes produce noticeable clashes of symbolic violence, and reveal dissatisfaction in departure for some. In sum, people are better informed today, as a result of broader schooling, the wider availability of discourses in the internet and media, along with more organisational open reporting. Specifically, they are less inclined to accept poor personnel management.

Further examples of symbolic violence, and the limitations of incumbents who have less organisational power, are alluded to in the Career Transition Partnership's tenth annual report.

"...there has been an increase in time between registration and discharge across the board for Full Resettlement Provision. This continues to be the case especially for Senior Ranks who have seen longer service and know the system, can free up the time and will tend to devote the time to planning better as the impact is greater for them than others who may not have been in as long." (Directorate of Resettlement, 2009, para 34)

The specific disclosure *"Ranks who have seen longer service and know the system, can free up the time..."* pinpoints the effects of organisational symbolic violence; junior ranks, who are less experienced, who are at the beck and call of seniors have less opportunity to steer an ideal pathway.

Fig: 5.8 Outflow from the Armed Forces by age

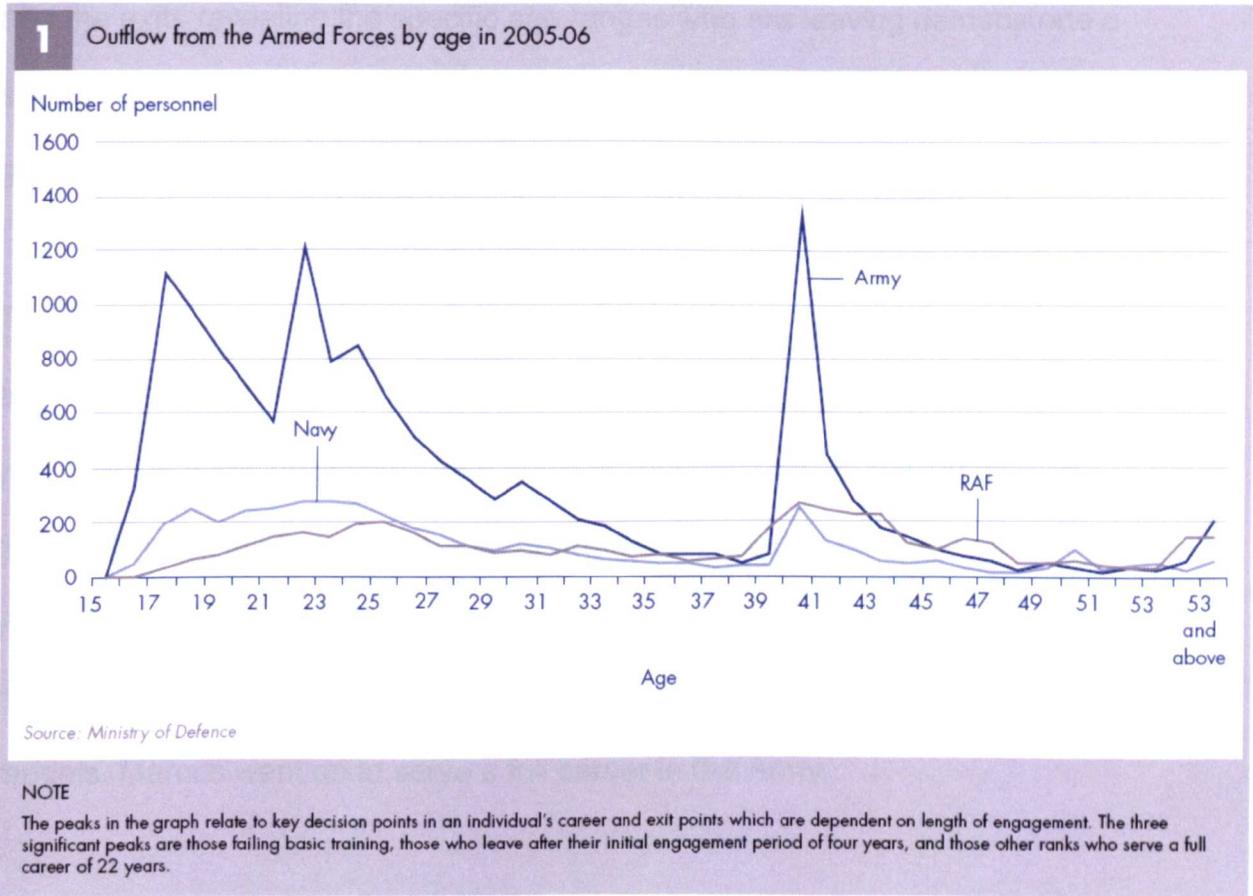
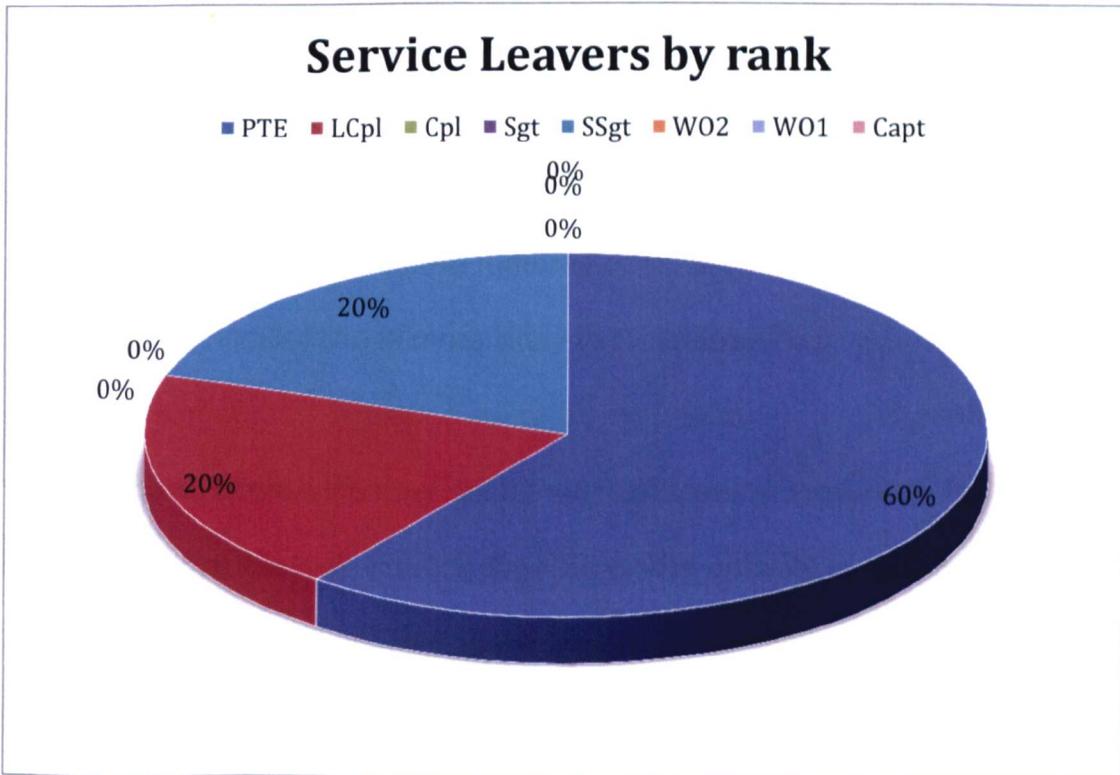


Fig: 5.9 Divisional Service Leavers By Rank 2009 (1 Division only)



The divisional statistics revealing the service exits amongst rank structures and the exits revealing the specific age ranges who are leaving demonstrate a similar pattern to the findings of the NAO report (2007). See the comparative graphs and charts above (Figs 5.8 and 5.9).

The significant exit peaks are during basic training, at the four-year point, and at the end of a full career, the 22-year point. For the younger soldier the, four-year point is a key decisional point. Alastair reported that, in leaving the first time around, at the four-year point, he wanted to see what being a normal 23 year old was like. On a comparable note, but opposite in reasoning, Marcus noted that his early career was influenced by early contact with positive role models. Marcus went on to serve a full career in the Army.

Combining the triangulated data with this study's findings further illuminates the need to manage the effects of being closed off from normal society. This is clearly important as the Army wishes to inculcate its durable dispositions into its new recruits; some choose to fight against the system, while others accept it. Consequently, if, in their early military career, the younger soldiers are guided by the of the positive features of service life, achieved by careful initiation, then inculcation is more likely to be successful.

In this regard, service life may not be normal by some measures, but this is not to state that it is less virtuous than life on the outside; in fact, Alastair found that the normality of civilian life wasn't as agreeable to him as service life. Secondly, in the example cited by Marcus, he reported that careful

placement on first postings was very important. Effectively, the first posting Marcus experienced established the tone for the rest of his Army career and, as has been stated, Marcus has continued to complete a full career of 22 years.

Service life is acknowledged as being closed off from normal society, a total institution, one that can involve a demanding and stressful lifestyle.

Problematically, the process of service departure has been, to a large extent, normalised. The charity 'Combat Stress' has reported an increase of 72% in the uptake of the services it provides over the last five years (Combat Stress, 2010). Whilst it is acknowledged that current military operations have had an impact on the issues surrounding post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (and other conditions, such as co-morbid depression), there are a large number of unmistakable anxieties presented at service departure that are not related to active service. Although Combat Stress report that, on average, it takes a veteran 14 years to seek help for stress related problems, the participants involved in this project may still request help at a later date. All the participants interviewed in this study experienced anxiety, stress, upheaval and torment in terms of loyalties at service departure. Whilst some participants managed these issues better than others, the point remains that departure has been unhelpfully normalised. All personnel are expected to deal with departure, because it is 'just' what happens; personnel enlist and at some point they leave. The National Audit Office accurately describe the anxiety of service departure; this research confirms the presence of these anxieties, and

it also demonstrates that service personnel are accustomed to coping with the problem of anxiety as if it is a normal occupational hazard.

“The transition to civilian life is for many Service Leavers a time of uncertainty and emotional upheaval. For many, it is not just the added pressure of moving to a new job but also finding accommodation and moving to a new home. Both these are stressful events in themselves but Service Leavers also have to adjust to civilian life, losing the military support networks and having to build social support networks within a civilian community.” (National Audit Office, 2007, p 30, section 5.1)

The triangulated data confirms many of the findings of my research suggesting they are likely to have applicability for a wider audience of service leavers. The next chapter discusses these findings against the backdrop of the literature.

Chapter 6 – Discussion and Conclusion

“According to the Hippocratic tradition, true medicine begins with the knowledge of invisible illness, with the facts that patients do not give, either because they are not aware of them or because they forget to mention them. The same holds for social science, which is concerned with figuring out and understanding the true cause of the malaise that is expressed only through social signs that are difficult to interpret precisely because they seem so obvious.”(Bourdieu et al., 1999, p 628)

Research questions discussed

- How do transitions from the British Army to civilian life impact on identity?
- How does an institutionalised identity, positioned by rank and structure have to adapt to civilian career transitions?

All the research participants in this study experienced, to a greater or lesser degree, some sense of bereavement about leaving the service. This sense of loss refers to mourning the loss of a role; I have argued that role is a key feature of identity, as we are constructs of our own stories. (See 'Transitions', page 65) All participants have looked back to their Army careers with fondness. This attachment is deep-seated and is inculcated via the course of institutionalisation and the experience of belonging (See page 18). The nature of service life is not entirely normal, and the research participants disclosed many examples whereby service life is consistent with this claim. This kind of disclosure is found in other military studies, Janowitz & Russell Sage Foundation (1964), Harries-Jenkins (1982), Jolly (1996), Heinemann-Grüder (2002), National Audit Office (2007), Penny (2010) and Morin (2011a) These writers draw on features linked with identity, yet they do not explicitly

investigate identity. For example, Morin draws on religiosity as a prominent feature to ease military departure (See page 72). This I suggest communicates an identity, religion is sometimes reflected over to help individuals understand who they are through order and belonging.

The Army expects its incumbents to be inculcated with its durable dispositions and this insistence becomes apparent at service departure. As the disclosure by Rupert noted (See Rupert's narrative page 171), with many personnel electing to undertake close protection careers outside the service, there is an issue, for some, which relates to transferability of a service career to civilian career. Moreover, this reveals an identity associated with a particular role.

There is a notable disparity here between different military career jobs. Rupert recorded that, when he did his career transition workshop, this was not problematic because he had the logistics trade to fall back on. Conversely, for the infantry, it has proved more difficult to mirror a civilian career function.

There is a tendency to bestow identities according to the knowledge and understanding of roles.

Some military jobs have become more civilianised than others; service logistic trades have looked toward the civil sector and industry to improve their practice. For example, logistics trades use lean processing, taken from the Toyota factory's principles, and place a greater emphasis on civilian accreditations and qualifications and adherence to relevant legislation such as health and safety. There is a similarity between the military jobs in this sector and the comparable civilian jobs. Other military jobs that require traditional

soldiering skills have less noticeable parallels. It is therefore plausible to state that some military jobs appear to generate less transferable skills than others. I suggest military career jobs with less transferability require special attention and should receive a greater proportion of resettlement resources. An individual from a traditional soldiering background has a greater challenge in re-identification.

On this theme of transferability, McQuaid & Lindsay (2005) have developed a comprehensive typology of employability factors. Amongst these, individual traits such as honesty, integrity, personal presentation, reliability, willingness to work, self-discipline and a positive attitude were highly sought. These are inbuilt characteristics for the majority of service personnel and form the backbone of a soldier's identity. McGrath's (2009) paper, 'What is Employability' claims that the skills most English employers valued were good literacy and numeracy skills, enthusiasm, commitment and timekeeping. Ensuring that service personnel recognise that these traits are highly sought attributes for civilian employment is clearly important, as is augmenting the traits with enabling factors. The enabling factors are, in the main, vocational, and are therefore largely labour market driven. Thus, personnel only become truly aware of the outside labour market when they are actually in it. This is perhaps where enhancements are needed to improve the education of veterans and their vocational capital. The National Audit Office (NAO) reported that "Most Service Leavers make a successful transition to civilian life, only experiencing minor problems." (2007, p 30, section 5). The NAO then goes on to disclose the stresses that the transition generates. These include

the required adjustments and the rebuilding of support networks, as well as the loss of military infrastructure that service leavers are forced to confront. This contradicts the NAO's own headline of, "...only experiencing minor problems." My research has highlighted this conflict. The research participants are managing to cope, but the process is by no means stress free, and there are many deep-seated anxieties that influence an uncomfortable change in identity. Even close family members experience trouble with transitional identities and miss seeing their partners in uniform and miss their commanding character and assumed confidence positioned by rank and military role (Jolly, 1996).

As an estimated £115 million is spent on resettlement across the three armed services, considerable provision is available and this contrasts with the claims made in certain media broadcasts and newspapers that service personnel are left to their own devices upon discharge (BBC, 2011). As chapter two demonstrates, this is not the case, although there are isolated occasions where the system appears to disappoint individuals. This relates to the point raised above on transferability; some service personnel require greater help.

The 'Panorama' TV documentary gave the impression that personnel were left with limited resettlement provision (BBC Panorama, 2011). Whilst it was not the task of the Panorama programme to reveal what happens in preparation to service exit, (I acknowledge the maximum audience impact needed to be achieved in view of the limited broadcast time available) the programme failed to mention any aspects of the Tri-Service resettlement provision, the Career

Transition Partnership or the Regular Forces Employment Association.

Nevertheless, such broadcasts do highlight failings in the provision of assistance to service leavers, and there will always be a need to improve the provision offered.

Specifically, my study is congruent with these media reports in that ex-service personnel have to deal with many stresses during career transition and service departure. These stresses vary across military jobs, are socially complex, and, problematically, sometimes give the appearance of being mundane – some issues have become normalised. Even the NAO report (2007) appears to understate the upheaval involved in resettlement.

Often a concern or reintegration problem is not directly combat related, it can be an issue as, (*apparently*) undemanding as talking to someone in an unfamiliar context. Awkwardly, for ex-soldiers, this involves talking with the proper civilian accent. Giving the right performance becomes difficult when in an alien stage environment; more exposure to civilian work attachments would help, as would greater exploitation of transferable skills and employability factors, whilst taking into account that some military jobs have a greater alignment to civilian jobs than others. This is about preparing the soldier for a process of re-identification and adaptation.

It has been claimed that identities change at service exit, and my research confirms this to be the case. My study has also found triggers that act as accelerators for the transformation. At times, these accelerators provide a

boosting effect, while, at other times, the accelerator pedal is in “tick over” mode, but always identity adjusts to the new environment. For example, “boosting moments” include the point of walking off camp for the last time, handing in one’s uniform, or when, as in Rupert’s case, employment is unexpectedly terminated by a temping agency. The kick down jolt demonstrated to him a cheap loyalty in the civil sector and marked a significant adjustment in Rupert’s behaviour and identity. Leaving also gave birth to emancipation, freeing the individual from the institution. This is not to suggest that they do not look back with pride and reverence; on the contrary, pride and reverence was very much a feature found in this research.

The unitary issue which tethers all my participants

The most significant changes occur largely **outside** the Service. Chapter five asserted that identity changes begin to occur sometime before service exit. I stand by this claim. Once again, this is a complex issue and it is not the same for all service leavers. Some personnel become disenchanted by the military, whilst others have to “switch off”, in order to protect the psyche from the anxiety of leaving (Freud, 1917b). However, what must be emphasised, and has become very apparent during this study, is that individuals only really know what is right for them when they are actually experiencing the civilian world, after they have left the Army. The NAO report found that those who have served less time generally find it more difficult to make the transition to civilian life and my findings confirm this (National Audit Office, 2007). In addition, personnel whose military jobs have less transferability also appear to be more vulnerable.

The research findings have prompted my consideration of two further research endeavours:

- An estimated £115 million is spent on resettlement prior to service exit:
Is this the best time to spend the budget, or should some of this money be reserved for when personnel have actually left?
- Should differing amounts of provision be made available to those military personnel who have military jobs with less transferability?

This study has demonstrated that life after service is the period when considerable identity changes occur, or at least where the issues become visible for the first time, and thus this is perhaps where some of the resources could be better directed. More work is required before a concrete assumption can be made, but at the very least the lens of identity, now used for the first time in this setting, has provided a fresh perspective on service transitions and where change happens.

This is not to suggest that prior planning or preparation for leaving the service should be abandoned, but it does suggest that greater provision should be made outside the service once personnel know what it is they want to do or they have a greater visibility of the civilian stage. The risk is that, if provision is made available outside the service, some personnel will be so busy in setting up their new lives that they may never get around to accessing the provision that is available to them. Adding to this risk, some new employers might resist allowing ex-service personnel time off to complete resettlement activities.

With high-level government backing, legislation could be put in place to protect our ex-service personnel's post-discharge resettlement. For example, legislation exists for maternity and paternity leave, and the same kind of legislation could be used to protect the right to resettlement from unsympathetic employers. More recently, the Prime Minister has been criticised for not protecting the Military Covenant in law¹⁶ (The Guardian newspaper 17 Feb 2011) and thus, perhaps the political will does not always exist to take this kind of moral stance. The government is now looking into re-writing the Military Covenant to fit within the law.

The proposal for post-discharge resettlement has the other benefit of reducing the torn effects, which all of the participants felt when trying to balance their operational requirements with their resettlement priorities at service departure. From an organisational perspective, the NAO estimated that resettlement activities using Graduated Resettlement Time is worth over £78 million a year (National Audit Office, 2007, p 13). The final piece of evidence to offer in support of post-service resettlement provision is that none of the research participants are using the undertaken resettlement activities in their current working environments. This raises the question of whether the resettlement activities were relevant.

¹⁶ "Jim Murphy, the shadow defence secretary, said: "This has been a bad week for our armed forces. Soldiers have been sacked by email, RAF trainees sacked by media leak and now the government has broken its promise to enshrine the covenant in law.

"Ten months in and they have lost the courage of their convictions. The charities and families who wanted a legally defined covenant and will be deeply disappointed. We will judge this government on actions not words and we will continue to campaign for a legally enshrined military covenant." (Online, Guardian news website accessed 19 Feb 2011)

At this point it is important to be explicit; I believe that it is vital that a quantity of pre-service exit resettlement provision remains, but, in considering the findings of this research, some provision (in addition to the Enhanced learning Credit, CTP consultancy and job finding) should be available post discharge. Like the enhanced learning credit, perhaps this post discharge resettlement provision could be made available for up to ten years after service exit. As already mentioned, if this were to be introduced, legislation would need to protect this entitlement. In addition, the government could consider tax incentives for companies that employ veterans. Once again, this an opportunity for our country to thank veterans, by broadening their employment prospects.

The claim put forward in this thesis is that which George Herbert Mead announced 'We are what we do'. Foucault sees identity as promulgated by growth; in other words, it is the interaction with discourse and the discourse setting that develops the individual. This feature is readily apparent in this study's participants. The findings of the research are also consistent with the claims of Freud's regressive identity theory, where individuals attempt to repress some of the ingrained characteristics that have been entrenched through institutionalisation of past histories. An example, is the divorce from an Army life and the process of mourning the loss.

Owing to the combination of Foucault's growth paradigm and Freud's repression paradigm, the actor is impelled to perform their identity as Goffman describes. The performance is on show for others and is presented in a mode

that the audience expects. Amongst these performed identities, different performances materialise as a result of Foucault, Freud and Bourdieu's superimposed structuralism that deploys symbolic violence across the varying fields of discourse. When there is a mismatch in terms of the performance, the actor's performance will fail. This study has found that these adjustments manifest themselves noticeably in service leavers during the months **after** service departure.

Reflections against the findings

The effect of transition from a deeply institutionalised environment, such as the Army, involves the need to learn to cope by adaptation, and a renewed requirement on 'Learning to be You'. In a follow up discussion with William, he disclosed that, at departure, he remembered: "...*having a sudden awareness of what lies beyond.*" It should be emphasised that William is a graduate, a member of the officer cadre and it can thereby be assumed that his level of awareness of 'what lies beyond' may well be greater than most. Yet, at departure, he was still hit with a sudden realisation of the outside world.

A useful metaphoric example is to imagine being enclosed by a rather large wall that obscured the presenting view. Peering over the wall one can see the skyline, the rolling hillsides and some of the orientating detail, perhaps a village or bridge in the distance. Only when the door in the wall is opened for the first time the full picture comes into view. Enthralled with this view, fresh, sights, sounds, smells and new experiences dovetail with the strange but familiar language which is both frightening and at the same time

emancipating. The speed at which the door is unlocked promotes the characteristic of denial, which all the participants in this study experienced in varying degrees. Having, no fixed onward destination, perhaps no home or no job means that a once very structured individual can become rudderless and drift; this has been the case for Alastair. Reflecting on the final 24 hours of a service career; on Monday an individual might be a Sergeant in the British Army, someone to who wears a symbolic uniform of Britishness, someone who has privileges associated with rank, but, with switch like momentum on the following Tuesday, this all stops.

Much is on offer through the resettlement package. There is a structured transitional process; and there are regimental associations that service leavers can join after departure. However, it has also been detailed that, for some, shutting themselves away from these helpful features is a coping mechanism. (Denial of leaving) This research has shown the stresses, anxieties and the depth of personal development that service leavers are compelled to cope with. What is more, these characteristics have become normalised, and, for some, the way to cope with this upheaval is to veto the transitional process. Rupert was the most obvious example of denial that was encountered in my research. Leaving the Army is an influential, life-changing event and as a result, identity changes do occur. For most, an emancipating sense of social re-birth begins to emerge.

In addressing the research question and sub question, a qualitative, longitudinal method was deployed that involved interviewing participants over

the period of a year. The theoretical framework for the study was deliberately based on the style used by Pierre Bourdieu's team of researchers in the study "The Weight of The World". I sought to try to capture the realness of the situation experienced by the service leavers, just as Bourdieu's team captured this form of authenticity in their study into the ordinary lives of the French working classes. Using a theoretical framework originally derived from Bourdieu's philosophy has been a key element in this thesis I believe this framework could be deployed in other sociological studies of this kind.

There have been limitations and risks involved in applying this methodology. In short, it was not easy to conduct this type of longitudinal research with service leavers. Specifically, for this research to be undertaken by a full-time career civil servant, working alone, as a part-time endeavour, within the confines of an Ed.D timescale was in itself a significant challenge. Keeping trace of participants after they had left the Army, whilst they had busied themselves setting up their new lives and moved to various locations throughout the UK and beyond, was very difficult.

The study began with six participants. Despite much effort two participants were lost. Nevertheless, I believe the research questions have been addressed effectively. This has contributed to current understandings of service career transitions and it is hoped that this research will enlighten those who are interested in researching a similar topic.

Advancing the knowledge of Army career transitions

This study made a determined effort to scrutinise the experience of soldiers moving through a career transition and it demonstrates the need for continued research within this field. There is not a well-developed literature relating to military career transitions from the British Army. In order to command a professional army, to ensure that its members do the extraordinary things that they continue to do, the services must continue to inculcate the durable dispositions of its past histories. In doing so, it calls upon deep seated psychological motives among its personnel. Consequently, the army entrenches a culture of dependency. More must be done to re-sensitise the process of leaving the service, and to develop a greater 'throughcare' ideology outside the service.

'Learning to be You' has been conducted across two countries, across different strata of society and in contexts that could not have been envisaged at the start of the study. The granularity of what is presented in chapter five is unlike any other studies that have gone before. By using the lens of identity, I have unearthed a field ripe for yet more enquiry.

There is little doubt that, if a team of researchers were assembled, feeding research back into the resettlement service, then this would undoubtedly lead to a more focused use of the estimated £115 million available to service leavers. In addition, continued research would provide the evidence the authors of the NAO report had difficulty in understanding when taking into consideration the value for money the resettlement service provided (National Audit Office, 2007). Although the NAO report was extensive with regard to

how resettlement money was used and how success and failure in resettlement were recorded, until now there has been not one single study that adequately covers how individuals change at the point of service departure. This work has started to fill this gap. Further research should demonstrate the value for money analysis that is required by the NAO, and it should also develop the use of predictability factors for easy or difficult transitions from service within standard resettlement practice. The following, final section synthesises the outcomes of this study, presents seven noteworthy considerations and demonstrates an example predictability factor matrix.

Conclusion

This section summarises the study's conclusions; whilst previous chapters have communicated a strong theoretical and reflexive message, this final section aims its sights more firmly toward policy and practice. As such, this work has cast light on the competing interests and the necessities that are required to manage service departure. It has focused in on identity and evokes the view that even the personnel who resettle '*successfully*', and I acknowledge that the term '*successfully*' is a subjective one, are learning to cope with many changes.

For those personnel who resettle due to normal discharge procedures, such as at the end of a full career or by signing off, and not by medical discharge or other means the general attitude amongst personnel is that service exit has been normalised. All service personnel know that they will have to leave the services at some point. However, when the time finally comes to leave, it

presents a rapid myriad of opportunities and dangers. There are four words that summarise the service departure: inculcation, bereavement, emancipation and adjustment

Reflections on the research process: Professional Contribution

This work was not written with a dusty shelf in mind; instead, it aims to encourage academics and resettlement practitioners to engage in this interesting area of social science. During the production of this thesis the appetite and interest in the discourse of British service veterans has increased due to the sustained operations in the Greater Middle East and the social situations that returning veterans encounter.

I have found constructing the narratives (chapter five) fascinating, sensitive, revealing and complex. A key learning point has been the production of the analytical framework presented in chapter three; without such a reflexive frame, making sense of the narratives would have been problematical. Thus, now the analytical frame is more readily understood, future research endeavours could benefit from a more advanced starting point.

This research has differed from other military transitional studies such as NAO (<http://www.dius.gov.uk/pressreleases/press-release-20070718a.htm>) or the Royal British Legion (2005) because it has focused on the biographical nature of transition. In doing so, it has revealed the inculcating effects of institutionalisation; the emerging pattern indicates that personnel unwittingly adopt similar civilian roles to those they performed in the military. Dispositions

are durable (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) yet, the thesis also reveals that we are what we do, (Mead & Morris, 1934). New learning does take place as identity adapts to the new terrain. This study has discovered several important themes that could sharpen the focus on service resettlement. In particular, developing interest in action research to improve the applicability of predictability factors for easier or harder transitions to civilian life would be worthwhile. Combining my research findings with previous studies, for example, James McDermott (<http://www.dius.gov.uk/pressreleases/press-release-20070718a.htm>) and Rich Morin's (2011) work makes the generation of a predictability matrix a likely enterprise to improve British Military resettlement practice. My findings (chapter five) demonstrate that a predictability matrix has ontological value. My aim is that a preliminary predictability matrix be offered to resettlement practitioners at the next available Resettlement Officers conference. I am optimistic that the matrix discussed in chapter three and demonstrated in chapter five, may in time establish itself within everyday resettlement practice and becomes a useful tool to help forecast vulnerabilities in service leavers.

The key conclusions made by the study

- Ex- service personnel have to adjust and modify their identity to fit to the new civilian environment. The adjustment can be painful, emancipating and it can be sudden to the individual.
- Stress and risk at the point of service departure has been normalised.
- Greater visibility of the civilian world is essential in order to make the best career choices and thus, the better use of public money.
- Some military jobs have greater transferability than others do, therefore, some military career functions need greater transitional assistance than others.
- A predictability matrix would assist practitioners' and service leavers assessment of the resettlement spectrum, pictorially defining how easy or difficult the transition may be for the individual.
- Whilst the research sample is small in terms of numbers of study participants, its indications point toward an increasing need to consider wider post-discharge resettlement provision.
- Further longitudinal resettlement research is required with the findings made available to key practitioners.

Resource CD

The resource CD is a companion to this thesis and contains a range of useful PDF documents, samples of primary data and a complete set of sanitised transcript data.

In order to protect privacy of participants, only samples of the recorded primary data are available; the transcripts have been edited to ensure ethical integrity.

Should a researcher wish to reanalyse the transcript data, permission of the primary researcher is required. In the first instance please seek advice from the University of Nottingham, supported by a research protocol.

Contents:

Sanitised transcript data

Copies of the transcripts that were used for analysis. The transcripts are anonymous in terms of the participant's real name; Fictitious name have been substituted.

Samples of transcript interviews in MP3 format

As the transcripts are anonymous, I felt it was important to give a sense of voice to the transcripts. Careful editing has continued to protect the identity of the participants. The MP3s are the real voices of the research participants.

MoD Ethics manual JSP 536

A useful document for researchers wishing to interview service personnel.

Tri-Service resettlement manual JSP534

Included to assist future researchers.

National Audit Office Report: Leaving the Services

Included to assist future researchers.

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