

Analysing War Experiences of Combat Soldiers in the Marawi Siege using Field Theory

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This study presents a perspective for the analysis of war experiences, particularly through the war soldier's habitus. Bourdieu's Field theory, will help in understanding the factors that affect survival through the concepts field, cultural capital and habitus. Habitus, in particular, will focus on the psychosocial aspects of the soldiers. Data comes from three combat soldiers who have private as ranks and were currently deployed in Marawi City. They were part of the first batch of reinforcement sent to rescue soldiers who were ambushed by the extremist group. The study emphasises the way in which the cultural capital, power relations, and dispositions that forms habitus represented war experiences and affected the practice of killing, and survival.

Key words: *Habitus, soldiers, Field Theory, Marawi City, University of Perpetual Help System-GMA Campus, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines.*

Introduction

The Marawi siege is considered to be the most serious terror event in Southeast Asia in the past 15 years (Morallo, 2017). Given the said situation, many families, communities, and individuals were affected by the crisis. The five-month war caused serious damage to the physical environment, the community, and individuals, not only physical, but emotional and psychological as well. At the centre of this, were the Filipino soldiers, being engaged in what is known as the longest urban battle in the history of the Philippines (France-Presse, 2017). The Marawi conflict claimed the lives of a total of 165 government forces and more than 1400 wounded (Manila Times, 2017). Limited to no information with how soldiers carry themselves in combat" or "In-depth information with how soldiers make sense of their combat experiences", specifically, the psychosocial processes that took place while they were in the warzone, or a new field.

Production of Violence

The experiences of the soldiers during war, specifically, in combat, have been studied in the field of social sciences, such as sociology, and anthropology. One way of understanding such is through explanations on how violence is produced. The theory of violence explains that violence can be normative, which is an effective and acceptable method for meeting needs with little to no lasting consequences (Polaschek, Calvert, & Gannon, 2007). It also states that violence is necessary to protect agency, maintain social order, and is a result of uncontrollable circumstances. Furthermore, violence is brought about by the social structure itself, such as the state versus terrorists. In the context of war, the violence produced is viewed as normal and justified, especially by the Government as the institution which operationalises violence, because it is deemed necessary for peace (Galtung, 1881). On the individual level, violence is ensued because of individual and group conflicts, such as terrorists who are perceived as the enemy of the state, which is represented by the soldiers (Christie, Wagner, & Winter 2001). Violence, therefore, is a precedent to killing, which is the main goal of soldiers at war.

Killing as practice

Killing as a practice in war has also been studied using a philosophical lens (Kilner, 1998), focusing on moral justification of killing in combat, with the conclusion that soldiers believe that they are not responsible or accountable for the death of their enemies during wartime. Leaders, in particular, have the obligation to explain the moral justification for killing and explain the morality of killing so soldiers can live with themselves in the years after combat (Kilner, 2002). These studies though, give an explanation on why soldiers kill; they do not take into account other factors that are intertwined in the complex process of taking another person's life in the context of war. Thus, we look into other factors that contribute to the practice of killing in the warzone, such as soldiers' experiences.

Soldiers' War Experiences

There is a plethora of research conducted on combat soldiers, mostly focusing on the effects of combat. Soldiers suffer from the adverse results of combat, affecting their psychological and social functioning (Henschel, & McDevitt-Murphy, 2016). Aside from the physical injury, negative changes to mood, emotions and behaviours are experienced by the soldiers, which are invisible to others, hence these effects are unrecognised (Tanielian, 2009). Research shows that they are more likely to suffer from a mental health problem if they are a part of a combat arms unit, engineers (assigned with explosive ordinance), transportation or a support unit (Castro, 2016). Being exposed to combat, especially seeing dead bodies, getting shot at, hearing that someone they know was injured/killed, and being

attacked or ambushed, increases risks for developing negative mental health outcomes like PTSD, depression, and anxiety (Castro, 2016). While these studies offer utility in psychology such as in the clinical area, it doesn't look into other factors that explain how the soldiers survive their ordeal, taking into account history, training, and the environment.

Using Habitus as a Frame in Understanding War experiences of Soldiers

This study attempts to contribute to the knowledge base by exploring the habitus of war soldiers in the context of the Marawi siege. This study also examines power, dispositions, and sense of self in the field. These elements are important in understanding mechanisms that drive or motivate them to survive in the field, and to reproduce the practice of killing. Power relations explain how the soldiers, together with the Maute (a major agent in the field), compete for dominance in the warzone through the acquisition and proper use of their capitals. Affective dispositions of soldiers will be included, to be used as a tool for understanding the affective dimensions of both privilege and disadvantage in the warzone. [define affective disposition] Sense of self is how the soldiers see themselves as capable agents in the field, and their efficacy to carry out their task or goals. The results from this could provide a better understanding on combat and a preliminary contextual analysis of the factors that enable an understanding of engagement killing and surviving that explores habitus, which is embodied through emotions, among them.

Field Theory as a Frame in Analysing War Experiences

This research will make use of the Field theory of Bourdieu (1887). Field theory is a theoretical construct consisting of a three of elements: field, capital and habitus (Wacquant, 2004). Cultural capital refers to the set of knowledge and skills which an individual possesses. It is not distributed evenly and cannot be acquired instantly, making its procurement difficult and putting its owners in an advantageous position in relation to those who lack it and cannot immediately obtain it. According to Bourdieu (1987), in the context of this study, cultural capital is found in three states, which are a) the embodied state, which are the military training and expertise in battle, b) objectified state, which are translated to guns and ammunitions, and c) institutionalised state, which is the soldier's state of being the protector of our nation, and having the legitimate right to kill.

Habitus is made up of the mental schemata that result from the incorporation of visions and objective social divisions that configure principles of difference and membership in certain fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this study, it is described as the soldier's practical learning that is neither conscious nor deliberate, as it is acquired through the embodiment of the practices, visions and values of the social space in which other subjects such as their family, the Maute group, and their comrades, operate. These are sometimes forgotten and

have, as a result, led to the association of the concept with something innate, whereas in reality it refers to something whose incorporation was involuntary, through the process of socialisation (Dromundo, 2007). The habitus of soldiers in the context of war will be examined and how they make sense of it given the situation that they are in. The concept of a cleft habitus (Reay, 2015) will also be explored; as soldiers enter a new field has a layer of affective aspect. The concept of field is described as a set of power relations between agents or institutions in the struggle for specific forms of domination and monopoly of an efficient type of capital (Gutiérrez, 1997), and in this study, it will be investigated how soldiers identify their capital as agents in the field against the rebels. Cultural capital refers to the set of knowledge and skills which an individual possesses (Bourdieu, 1987).

Bourdieu defines the concept of field as a set of power relations between agents or institutions in the struggle for specific forms of domination and monopoly of an efficient type of capital (Gutiérrez, 1997). This space is characterised by relations of alliance among its members (soldiers, family, comrades, and the rebels), who are on a quest to obtain the most benefit and impose as legitimate that which defines them as a group, and by confrontation of groups and individuals in the search to improve their positions or exclude groups. The space which the study refers to is the warzone. The position depends on the type, volume and legitimacy of the capital and the habitus that the subjects have acquired over the course of their lives, and how these vary over time. Hence, field, capital and habitus are concepts that are connected in this study.

Soldier's Habitus

Studies on combat soldiers' habitus, specifically, the dispositions and personal history, and preferences that they carry on the warzone, which is heightened by the emotions they feel, which will explain the context of their dynamics at war and the complexities of the backgrounds of soldiers, remain unexplored. Bourdieu uses habitus to reveal how a cultural economy of class is embodied and lived out in individuals, and will also include affective dispositions, as a tool for understanding the affective dimensions of both privilege and disadvantage in the warzone (Reay, 2015). Despite the numerous armed conflicts in the country, there is a dearth of studies that explored the Filipino soldiers' experiences, and in particular, their habitus. Habitus is made up of the mental schemata and practices that result from the combination of ideas and objective social divisions that configure principles of variance and participation in certain fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1995). It gives the subject with the skills and values needed for entry into a group, confers the ability to move, act and take a position or a strategic orientation in a situation without it being necessary to establish a plan of action, because all these are the result of a series of dispositions embodied in the course of a trajectory (Gutiérrez, 1997). For instance, a soldier, having been trained in the military school, experiences further training and work load, then receives a particular post

or position, thus, will act based on the dispositions he embodied through that course. The studies presented above uses different lenses that do not account for capitals, power relations, and dispositions essential for identifying a soldier's habitus. Hence, this paper would like address this gap. The author argues that war experience of combat soldiers should be understood as phenomenon connected with the subjective experiences together elements of the field theory such as power relations and capital. This argument enables the war experience to be understood beyond the existing approach in research on soldiers. Particularly, it focuses on the psycho-social processes which is the psychological and social structures and spaces in the formation of identity, action and relating (Hollway, 2006).

Methodology

This research utilised a qualitative design. Personal semi-structured interviews were used as the strategy for the data collection and thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006) was used in analysing the data collected from the transcribed interviews. Personal interview was the chosen format to allow for the participants a level of privacy and to make them more comfortable sharing private details. Semi-structured interviews were used to allow for leeway with any unforeseen but relevant data. Bourdieu's Habitus, Field and capital will serve as framework for explaining the experiences of the combat soldiers. The framework will also deal with concepts of power, practices and dispositions (Bourdieu&Wacquant, 1992).

The participants in the study were three combat soldiers who had private as ranks and were currently deployed in Marawi City. They were part of the first batch of reinforcement sent to rescue soldiers who were ambushed by the Maute extremist group. The limited number of participants was due to the difficulty in acquiring permission, and the ethical consideration of possibly unearthing negative emotions. The selected participants, after being interviewed, were subjected to debriefing procedures.

The researcher from the initial research study held separate, personal interviews with each of the five participants. The interviews followed a semi-structured format, where the researchers prepared a set of guide questions but depended on the participant's responses to dictate the flow. The guide questions opened with introduction questions to build rapport and paint a picture of the participant's context and background. After which, the questions were focused on probing experiences during the war. The interviews were conducted in either Filipino and Bisaya, whichever the participant was most comfortable with. The responses in Bisaya was translated to Filipino for the purpose of analysis.

Initial readings of all data transcripts derived from the 3 participants was done from an initial study. Transcripts were then selected based on the research question for the present



study. Data analysis was made to the purposely identified transcripts that describe the soldiers' habitus.

For the current study, the author did the data analysis. The thematic analysis approach by Braun and Clarke (2006) was utilised for the data analysis. Analysis was initially done with multiple reading of texts, making initial codes, and looking for initial themes. After the initial themes were subjected to further evaluation, the coded transcripts were reviewed again to identify final themes. The meaning of each final theme was then subsequently defined. The set of themes were then further analysed for the labels of the themes. Lastly, the final themes were then organised using the Field theory of Bourdieu, which includes Habitus as frame. Finally, the themes were arranged logically and explained in such a way that it shows the habitus of the combat soldiers during war.

For this study, validation was made through certain procedures. From the conceptualisation of the study until its final form, it was subjected to numerous critique, iterations, and questions for improvement made by psychology PhD graduate students and professors from the Ateneo de Manila. Revisions were made taking into account the comments and suggestions. As an individual with no personal experience of war, and using only the data and available literature as source material, I constantly check my reflexivity.

Results

In this study, using the Field theory of Bourdieu as a frame, the author attempted to answer the question, "What is the habitus of soldiers during a war?" Specifically, he answered the question "What is habitus of combat soldiers during the Marawi Siege?" Using the thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006), the data from the interviews were analysed, and used Bordieu's Field theory as frame. The final identified themes that explain soldiers' habitus are *dependency on God, social support and being a protector of the state*. The themes will be analysed and connected to capitals used, power relations, affective dispositions, and practices that lead to survival in the field.

Table 1: War experiences in relation of Field Theory

Theme	Capital	Power Relations	Affective Dispositions	Agents Involved	Practice
Dependency in God	Embodied Cultural Capital -	Symbolic power over enemies	Propensity to fatalism brought about	Enemy - Maute	Praying
	Faith in God		by fear and anxiety	God - Internalised	
Social Support	Cultural Capital	Alliances, shared power over	Resilience	Soldiers - Allies	Helping other soldiers
	Social Capital -	Enemies	Empathy	Family	
	Human Capital		Cooperation		
			Reciprocity		
			Trust		
			Contempt	Maute Group	
Being a Soldier	Institutionalised Cultural Capital	Violence towards each other	Moral superiority	Enemy - Maute	Killing
	Status in Society	to claim Marawi			
	Objectified Cultural Capital		Pride	Non Ally - Civilian	
	Ammunitions and guns		Visceral aversions		
	Embodied Cultural Capital		Ambivalence		
	Military Training and experience in battle		Distrust		

Dependency on God

In the warzone, soldiers are vulnerable to many kinds of danger, and are always exposed to the possibility of death. As they enter the war, soldiers carry with them their faith in God.

The social structure during wartime, which involves so much chaos, evokes internalised beliefs that God is in control of the situation. In a highly religious society, faith in God is considered to be a capital, which is embedded in the soldier's psyche. This belief gives a symbolic power over the enemies or the rebels, who are positioned to be the ones who are not following societal rules, and therefore are evil and source of chaos. It is interesting to note that even if the soldiers view belief in God as a capital, it doesn't translate to certainty of survival. For instance, if they survive, it's because God protected them from their enemies, but if they do not survive, it is because it is already their time, which is described as the propensity for fatalism. Agency in life is not present, but because of the belief, they become more courageous, and fear and anxiety is minimised.

It is shown that the soldiers' disposition is that they have no agency in life, but they put their trust in God all the same.

Soldiers recall how they survived the warzone, and it reflects the affective disposition of fatalism, wherein they just surrender whatever happens to them to God.

The situation that calls for propensity to fatalism, helps soldiers cling into something. Hope is felt and is instrumental for their survival. A soldier prayed for the weather to change to their advantage, and it did.

All of these texts reflect the religiosity of Filipinos which is strongly embedded in our culture. The habitus of soldiers is described in this theme as being able connect with God in times of difficulty, and use this as capital to face the adversaries. Being in the side of God helps soldiers think they have an advantage over the enemy and the situation. The practice of prayer, is identified in all texts, which is viewed as their protection against the Maute group. The use of having a "God" that soldiers can pray to is somewhat a defence, thus creates the illusion of superiority and false confidence, warding off fears of failure and inadequacy. (Ryan, 2006). It also reflects lack of agency in one's own life.

Social Support

Habitus in terms of social support is described in terms of how soldiers interact with allies and how they view this in the context of the field. For soldiers, these alliances, establish exchanges that allow them to form secure support and mutual recognition for what they are and what they produce (Bourdieu, 2000). Under this theme, agents include comrades and families as allies, and the Maute group as enemies. Families as internalised agents, are seen as cultural capital, and the anticipation of reuniting with them in the future gives soldiers a sense of hope. It is interesting though, that soldiers deliberately distance themselves from their families and loved ones, and contact is minimised. This is the struggle that they have to



make to affectively focus on their task. The absence of communication in itself is a strength or a capital.

Soldiers, as much as possible, want to be devoid of emotions during war. Thus, they do not want to see their family or loved ones getting worried or getting emotional, because they might bring the thoughts with them in the warzone, and this might affect their performance as a soldier.

On the other hand, soldiers also rely on comrades for their well-being and safety. Soldiers who are also agents in the field, share power to each other in the common goal to defeat the Maute. The care and support of soldiers for each other is very evident during the war. Having no one to turn to during the war is a hard, especially if you are in a difficult situation, like being physically wounded.

In the data extract, it is showed that a soldier encouraged another soldier to endure and fight even if they were in the middle of a difficult situation. This also reflects their disposition that as soldiers, they should not leave anyone behind, and in this instance, emotionally, they are there for each other. They provide emotional support and hope, until such time that they leave the warzone. Affective dispositions of empathy, resilience, and cooperation were reflected in the excerpt.

Soldiers who are facing difficult situations during deployments rely on battle buddies for survival. Part of their training to help each other, and in this context of war, their trust to their comrades is shown in the following narrative, wherein one of the soldiers relies on the expertise of the other.

The presence of the soldiers, and the anticipation of the help they will get is enough to give them hope. Knowing that they have comrades who will come to their aid makes them think that they still have power over the situation and their enemies. This is taught to them as soldiers, and shows affective dispositions of trust, resilience and cooperation. The strength of one, is the strength of all.

In the unique context of war, with the uncertain dangers brought about by the environment, in spite of the soldier's skills and training, there is still no certainly is they will survive. Part of the military discipline is to trust each other as soldiers, and just do what they can to accomplish the task assigned to them.

In the narrative, the soldier showed fear before joining the rescue team. Upon realising that it was inevitable, he agreed to go to the warzone, and help other comrades. The new field positions them as people who can help other soldiers, who are also agents in the field, thus is

a cultural capital in itself. The fear was caused by the possible defeat in encountering the Maute group, and being killed in an unfamiliar territory.

The struggle of claiming Marawi, and killing as many enemies as possible, was made possible with coordination and aid from allies. Soldiers are trained to show dispositions of empathy and resilience, and this was reflected. Working together as a unit, helped them perceive as as shared power over the enemy.

Protector of the State

Being a soldier means meeting certain expectations. These expectations are carried out through certain practices that prepare soldiers in the warzone. The process that they go through, if acquired properly, are considered as cultural capital. Training for combat and expertise in the handling ammunitions for one is considered to be a very important skill. These are considered as embodied capitals because these are internalised and become unconscious due to practice. Ammunitions and guns on the other hand are viewed as cultural capital in an objectified state.

The acquisition and ownership of ammunitions (guns and bullets), are considered as cultural capital by the soldiers. They see these objects as of high importance, and that possession of these will aid them in survival.

It is also recognised by the soldiers that these resources are limited, and since they have no sense of how long they will stay in the battlefield, it is important for them to use these capital wisely. Mario, one of the soldiers implied that he previously had. As also reflected in the text, the acquisition of ammunition has a psychological effect of increased morale, and in effect, results to having an edge over the enemy in terms of power.

Though the soldiers are prepared to go into war in terms of supplies, there are certain situations that strip them of these capitals. One instance is when they did not anticipate the position of the Maute rebel. In the succeeding text, it is shown that lack of supplies affected their strategy, and caused the death of one of the soldiers. Power is shifted to the rebels, who were in the advantage in terms of position and capital.

The soldier's training is also perceived as capital. As reflected in the soldier's excitement to go to the warzone, he wanted to practise his training and abilities. Bourdieu (1989) describes this comfortable ease of habitus in familiar fields as a fish in the water.

Even in the face of death, soldiers rely on their training and expertise in the battlefield as a means to survive. When the soldiers enter the battlefield, it is very clear to them that they can

die anytime, and that they have no agency of their own life. They are just placed in a situation that they have no control over, and do their best to stay alive, but also recognise that anytime, they can die. In the interview, it was told how the soldiers used the training he got, and the disposition of ambivalence is felt.

These capitals, as identified by the soldiers, are present in the identification of soldiers' habitus and are essential in understanding the relations that they have with other agents in the field.

In the context of war, the soldiers carry with them their personal dispositions, things that were taught to them, philosophies that were handed over by their superiors, and previous experiences that they carry with them. Entering a new field, power relations, capitals and sense of self is also affected.

This also reflected their never say die disposition, which was connected to their moral superiority over the Maute rebels. Even if the odds were against them, they still chose to fight and strive to overcome their predicament.

Killing the enemy is one of the most practised in this theme. Being the protector of the state, and in the context of martial law as a harsh and violent environment, they made it their goal to destroy or kill the enemy as their main goal, next to surviving. In the text below, anger as a disposition is apparent, and violence through killing is the manifestation of the power relations in the particular habitus.

Two of the participants even expressed happiness upon killing one of the rebels, reflecting the idea that killing the enemy is their responsibility and goal. The soldiers even expressed that killing the enemy is so important, that they need to do it while they still had breath. The warzone is a field, in which the soldiers need to compete for power domination, and the rule of the game is to kill or be killed.

Being in the midst of war, and being in a different territory means that soldiers will encounter different people. During the war, soldiers mistook certain Maute terrorists as civilians, and regretted helping them out. In the text below, anger is felt because of the regret that they were too trusting of the family member of the rebel posing as a civilian.

The text reflects the soldiers' disposition of distrust to anyone, much more people who are connected to the Maute group. Soldiers have sworn to protect the state, meaning, all of the civilians and citizens of the Philippines, but because of the context of war, the enemies are positioned as people not deserving of any form of mercy. Distrust, as an affective disposition

is very evident in the above text, and anger towards those who “tricked” them. In this particular text, in terms of power relations, because of the trust and mercy the soldiers gave to the civilians, it was evaluated as a success for the Maute, and a weakness for them.

Being exposed to training, soldiers were perceived to have an implied advantage over the Maute rebels. But during the heat of war, the soldiers also experienced fear of the enemy, and wondered where the enemies’ strength came from.

Part of the military training involves desensitisation and dehumanisation of the enemy, due to the fact that soldiers find psychologically a need to refer to the enemy as animal or other non-human beings. The process, if not assimilated, will make a soldier impossible to kill another human, even in combat or under threat to their own lives (Grossman, 1996). These affective dispositions, are also considered capitals, because it is easier for them to pull the trigger and kill someone, and the better chances they would complete their task as soldiers. Power relations, clearly are violent confrontations from both agents, and are treated with visceral aversions.

Due to a soldier’s knowledge about warfare, a cultural capital, soldiers learned not to trust anyone in the warzone, except for their superior and comrades. In the transcript, one of the soldiers expressed distrust towards the locals. They were also taught to be civil with the locals, but not to the extent that they will befriend them.

During war, even if the soldiers were sworn to protect civilians, they expressed their distrust in them just to minimise the possibility of being betrayed. This strategy is seen as an edge, and in terms of power relations, this disposition prevents them from the possibility of being ambushed or betrayed.

Discussion

Using Bourdieu’s field theory as a frame, this study aimed to identify the habitus of soldiers in a war. The concepts of habitus and field provide an idea of the mechanisms that affect combat soldiers’ experience in the warzone. Three major themes from the soldiers’ habitus emerged from the analysis, namely, *dependency on God, social support and being a protector of the state*

The first theme focuses on the soldier’s personal faith, and belief in God. Soldiers, upon entering the warzone see faith in God as a capital, and bring with them the belief that their fate is in the hands of God. It is acknowledged, that a soldier’s time on earth depends on God’s will. This belief also means that God is on their side, and they are the ones whom he is protecting. The Maute is viewed and positioned as enemies, for the soldiers have the moral

superiority because God is with them. This is related to the popular religious discourse in the Philippines that God protects the faithful, and punishes evil doers. This also results in the practice of praying, which is the manifestation of the soldier's faith.

The second theme under the soldiers' habitus, is social support which explains that soldiers need different kinds of support to survive. Comrades are viewed as essential for survival, because their survival depends on their trust and support for each other. In this theme, it is shown that soldiers keep their significant others with them in the warzone. Power is shared among them, and their degree of trust, cooperation, and resilience help them become more capable in defeating their enemies. Family, as an internalised agent in the field, also provide support, particularly, emotional support, but this is done by minimising their involvement with them while they are in the war. In this theme, it is shown that soldiers keep their significant others with them in the warzone. They are the only people to be considered in a positive light with their actions. Comrades and family is what keep the soldiers sane in the midst of the violence and chaos. The alliances, memories and connections are considered as social capital against the Maute group. For survival, the practice for social support is helping one another and supporting each other's need.

The last theme is being a soldier, which focuses on the habitus of soldiers that treat their enemies as people who need to be killed and eliminated. The act of killing, and all the negative attributes identified with the enemies are essential so that they can survive, and eventually return to their normal life. In this theme, the soldiers do not show any mercy, to the point of dehumanising the enemies, which makes it easier for them to kill, and eliminate the guilt that they would feel after. The important capitals to act out killing should be present, such as ammunitions, guns, military training and expertise, and the symbolic capital of being a soldier. Power is exerted through these capitals, and violence ensues. Different dispositions towards the Maute group and even civilians include ambivalence, distrust, visceral aversion and pride. These affective dispositions are identified as essential in the practice of killing, and of their survival in the field.

During wartime the soldiers strive to survive, but this depends on the congruence between the volume and type of cultural capital and habitus that they possess during the situation. In this respect, it is assumed that soldiers whose qualities are congruent with what the war demands, will have greater possibilities to survive and keep sane, whereas those who lack these attributes will have more difficulties building cultural capital. War habitus, in general, is also taught to soldiers. What they bring with them to the field is what their superiors gave them. In this study, all are survivors, and are thought to possess the proper habitus in the war.

In this respect, it is inferred that soldiers whose qualities are congruent with what the war demands, will have greater possibilities to survive and keep sane, whereas those who lack



these attributes will have more difficulties building cultural capital. War habitus, in general, is also taught to soldiers. What they bring with them to the field is what their superiors gave them, what they have learned from the military training, and also brought about by their experiences as soldiers. The research also looked into the psychosocial aspects of habitus, where changing structures, from the barracks to the warzone, affect a soldier's affective dispositions. Frequency and intensity of interaction agents such as comrades and family, and enemies are considered as important and essential for survival, such that minimal frequency and intensity for family is deemed right, while frequent and intense positive interactions are needed for comrades, and an inverse relationship with the rebels.

Given the limited number of participants in the study, because of the nature, sensitivity and difficulty of acquiring approval for soldiers' interviews, the study provided valuable insights into the experiences of soldiers in the warzone, taking into account the field and capital, thereby identifying their habitus. A more extensive study about Filipino soldier's habitus can be made, to verify the results of this study. Exploration of other Bourdieusian concepts can also be incorporated for a more comprehensive analysis of the soldier's experience.

Conclusions

The research gives valuable insights to the dynamics and interaction of different forces inside the warzone. These unconscious mechanisms act as regulation and required elements for soldiers who do not possess cultural capital or the required habitus. Habitus is a framework identified through the soldier's perspective; these capitals and habitus can be found helpful in providing support to certain areas, for example, there were numerous instances of demoralisation because of lack of guns and ammunition. A program supporting families of soldiers in dealing with their loved ones going to war is can also be inferred as a need. Another insight is to provide soldiers with appropriate psychological support in helping themselves and other soldiers in terms of crisis.



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