



## **Program and abstracts**

**16<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of ERGOMAS**  
in collaboration with the  
**ISA Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution**  
**Research Committee (RC01)**

**To be held at  
Tartu, Estonia**

**Institute of Social Studies,  
University of Tartu, Estonia**

**19 – 23 July 2021**

## Keynote Address: *The Urban Battlescape: twenty-first century warfare and the return of the siege*

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### **Anthony King**

We are delighted to announce that long-time time ERGOMAS member and contributor Anthony King will deliver the keynote address entitled *The Urban Battlescape: twenty-first century warfare and the return of the siege*.



Anthony King is the Chair of War Studies at the University of Warwick. He recently completed a trilogy on western military transformation in the twenty-first century: *The Transformation of Europe's Armed Forces* (2011); *The Combat Soldier* (2013); and *Command* (2019), which won the British Military Book of the Year Award 2020. His new book, *Urban Warfare in the Twenty-first Century*, will be published by Polity in July 2021. In September, he will start a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship, 'Urban warfare: past, present and future'. He has advised the British Army, Royal Marines and NATO for over a decade.

## Keynote Address Theme

There is nothing new about urban warfare. On the contrary, humans have been fighting and killing each other in cities for as long as they have lived in them about 10,000 years ago. However, in the last two decades, the most intense battles have occurred not in the field, as they tended to in the twentieth century, but in urban areas, as Mosul, Marawi and Aleppo show. The rise of urban warfare in the twenty-first century has raised important questions about what is new and what is enduring about combat in cities. There has been much scholarly debate. In order to explain the urban military revolution, most scholars have focused on demographic factors. They have overlooked military forces themselves, even though they have, in fact, played a major role in re-configuring urban warfare. Indeed, urban warfare cannot be understood without considering the mere size of military forces. Since the end of the Cold War, the mass armies of the twentieth century have been replaced by much smaller, often professional, forces almost everywhere. In the twentieth century, mass armies sometimes fought for cities but they operated principally in the field where they were so large they formed fronts to fight each other. Today, reduced military forces have converged on decisive strategic and operational objectives which are located inside urban areas. There, opposing forces have coalesced on specific locales to engage in gruelling micro-sieges as they struggle for single buildings, blocks or neighbours. Yet, the urban battle is by no means limited to the street fight. An elaborate aerial architecture has appeared above localised siege, as fixed and rotary-wing, piloted and unpiloted aircraft participate directly in the combat. Meanwhile, by means of social media and digital communications, participants from across the global urban archipelago are drawn into the siege, as the combatants seek to gain their support or to actively recruit them. The result is that while many of the features of contemporary urban warfare are very old and indeed ancient, the topography of the contemporary urban battle is distinctive. It has both localised and globalised: or in Neil Brenner's words, it has imploded and exploded.

# Program Overview

## ERGOMAS 16th Biennial Conference – Tartu 19-23 July 2021

Institute of Social Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia

	<b>Monday 19<sup>th</sup> Students Workshop Address: Lossi 36</b>	<b>Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> Registration (08:30-09:30) Lossi 36</b>	<b>Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> Registration (08:30-09:30) – Alternatively there is a helpdesk in WORKSUP open all through the conference Lossi 36</b>	<b>Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> Registration (08:30-09:30) Alternatively there is a helpdesk in WORKSUP open all through the conference Lossi 36</b>	<b>Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> Registration (08:30-09:30) Alternatively there is a helpdesk in WORKSUP open all through the conference Lossi 36</b>
9:30-11:00	<b>13.00-15.00</b> WRKS will also be in a hybrid mode with Kati Orav online.	<b>Plenary Opening Ülikooli 18</b> Address by ERGOMAS President, Tiia-Triin Truusa and President of ISA RC01 Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution Lindy Heinecken Welcome address by Commander of the Estonian Defence Forces Lt Gen Martin Herem Keynote address by Anthony King	<b>Parallel Sessions 4 Lossi 36</b> Military Profession – 1 (Room 305) Public Opinion, Mass Media and the Military – 2 (Room 306) Veterans and Society – 1 (Room 307) Morale, Cohesion and Leadership – 2 (Room 214)	<b>Plenary Session (Helena, Eyal, Celso) The University Library Helena Carreiras Chair</b>	<b>Parallel Sessions 10 Lossi 36</b> Technological Change and Future War (Room 305) Covid-19 – Implications for Defence and Security – 2 (Room 306) HRM and Defense Transformation (Room 214) Military Conflict Management and Peace Economics (Room 307)
11:00-11:15		<b>Coffee break Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>	<b>Coffee break Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>	<b>Coffee break Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>	<b>Coffee break Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>
11:15-12:45		<b>Parallel Sessions 1 Lossi 36</b> Gender and the Military – 1 (Room 305) Morale, Cohesion and Leadership – 1 (Room 306) Public Opinion, Mass Media and the Military – 1 (Room 307) Civilian Control of the Military – 1 (Room 214)	<b>Parallel Sessions 5 Lossi 36</b> Gender and the Military – 2 (Room 305) Warriors in Peacekeeping – 2 (Room 306) Recruitment and Retention – 2 (Room 307) Military Profession – 2 (Room 214)	<b>Parallel Sessions 8 Lossi 36</b> Military Profession – 3 (Room 305) Gender and the Military – 3 (Room 306) Violence & the Military – 1 (Room 214)	<b>Parallel Sessions 11 Lossi 36</b> Civilian Control of the Military – 3 (Room 305) Round Table 1: Patriotisms, Public Opinion and National Defence in Central, Eastern And Northern Europe (Room 306) Military Profession – 4 (Room 307) ROUNDTABLE: Constriction in the 21st Century in six countries in Europe (Room 214)
12:45-14:30		<b>Lunch Gunpowder Cellar</b>	<b>Lunch Gunpowder Cellar</b>	<b>Lunch Gunpowder Cellar</b>	<b>Lunch Gunpowder Cellar</b>

		<b>Lossi 28</b>	<b>Lossi 28</b>	<b>Lossi 28</b>	<b>Lossi 28</b>
14:30-16:00		<b>Parallel Sessions 2</b> <b>Lossi 36</b> Warriors in Peacekeeping – 1 (Room 305) Military Families – 1 (Room 306) Recruitment and Retention – 1 (Room 307)	<b>Parallel Sessions 6</b> <b>Lossi 36</b> Civilian Control of the Military – 2 (Room 305) Military Families – 2 (Room 214)	<b>Parallel Sessions 9</b> <b>Lossi 36</b> Recruitment and Retention – 3 (Room 305) Veterans and Society – 2 (Room 307) Gender and the Military – 4 (Room 214) Roundtable 2a: Covid & Domestic Military Operations (Room 306)	<b>Parallel Sessions 12</b> <b>Lossi 36</b> Roundtable 2b: Covid & Domestic Military Operations (Room 305) Violence & the Military – 2 (Room 306) Public Opinion, Mass Media and the Military – 4 (Room 307) Morale, Cohesion and Leadership – 3 (Room 214)
16:00-16:15	<b>Registration</b> Lossi 36 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	<b>Coffee break</b> <b>Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>	<b>Coffee break</b> <b>Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>	<b>Coffee break</b> <b>Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner</b>	<b>Closing Session</b> <b>Location</b>
16:15-17:45		<b>Parallel Sessions 3</b> <b>Lossi 36</b> Covid-19 – Implications for Defence and Security – 1 (Room 214) Total Defence Force – 1 (Room 307)	<b>Parallel Sessions 7</b> <b>Lossi 36</b> Total Defence Force – 2 (Room 305) Public Opinion, Mass Media and the Military – 3 (Room 306) Military and Police Relations – 1 (Room 307) Critical Military Studies (Room 214)	<b>Conference closing; Awards;</b> <b>start at Estonian National Museum at 17.00</b>	
18:00-20:00	<b>Opening Reception</b> Estonian Military Academy Riia 12		<b>RCO1 Business Meeting</b> <b>Lossi 36</b>		

# Program Overview by Day

## Monday, 19 July

### *Institute of Social Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia*

Registration – *Lossi 36, 1<sup>st</sup> floor – 16.00 – 18.00*

Opening Reception – *Estonian Military Academy Riia 12 – 18.00 – 20.00*

## Tuesday, 20 July

9:30- **Plenary Opening**

11:00 **Ülikooli 18**

Address by ERGOMAS President Tiia-Triin Truusa and President of ISA RC01 Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution Lindy Heinecken

Welcome address by Commander of the Estonian Defence Forces Lt Gen Martin Herem

Keynote address by Anthony King: The Urban Battlescape: twenty-first century warfare and the return of the siege

11:00- **Coffee Break**

**Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner**

11:15

### Parallel sessions 1

11:15- **GENDER AND THE MILITARY**

**MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP**

**PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA, AND THE MILITARY**

**CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY**

12:45

Room 305

Room 306

Room 307

Room 214

1. Work-life Balance in the Military: A pipedream?
2. Women, Soldiers and Mothers. A qualitative analysis of perceptions of motherhood in the Spanish Armed Forces
3. It's Not for Everybody" - Trial of mixed lodging of male and female conscripts in Finland

1. Doctrines, Training and Practices: First feedback on an international comparison?
2. Commanding in Territorial Defence Forces - Challenges and chances for improving the organisational culture of regular armed forces
3. Estonian's Conscripts Satisfaction with their Service – A multilevel approach
4. Diversity of approaches towards commander training for asymmetric warfare

1. Military Action Within Different 'Zones of Violence': The example of the Kunduz bombing
2. Attitude of the German Population regarding the Domestic Employment of Bundeswehr Assets
3. Public Attitudes on Armed Drones in Germany and their Determinants

1. Social Cohesion, Social Contracts and Military Covenants: Negotiated relations and solidarity in Estonia
2. Absence of Courts in the Civil-Military Dynamic and the Consequences for Discipline
3. Sociology of the Military in Ukraine: From systematic to case studies
4. Mapping Multinational Cooperation

**12:45-14:30 Lunch Gunpowder Cellar, Lossi 28**

**Parallel sessions 2**

14:30-16:00	WARRIORS IN PEACEKEEPING Room 305	MILITARY FAMILIES Room 306	RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION Room 307
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Introduction: The warrior concept</li> <li>2. The Army is No Place for a Warrior: Elite forces, atrocities, and professional military identity</li> <li>3. The Warrior in the Military: A concept that is misleading</li> <li>4. Emotions in War</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Mutual Adjustment of the Combat Commander and his Wife: The contribution of perceived social support</li> <li>2. “Nobody Wants to be the Needy Person Who Can’t Cope”: Stigma, militarism, and support-seeking</li> <li>3. Military Family: Risk factors for health and well-being</li> <li>4. The Work-Family Interface in Military Context: Current knowledge, future challenges</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Recruitment and Retention at a Canadian Reserve Regiment in 2020</li> <li>2. Assessment of the Refresher Course (RC) System of the Swiss Armed Forces from the Perspective of Company Commanders</li> <li>3. The Role of Leadership in the Retention of Talent: The case of the Portuguese Air Force</li> </ol>

**16:00-16:15 Coffee break Lossi 36, 4th floor coffee corner**

**Parallel sessions 3**

16:15-17:45	COVID-19 – IMPLICATIONS FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY Room 214	TOTAL DEFENCE FORCE Room 307
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Civil-Military Collaboration for the Construction of a Temporary Hospital for Corona Patients</li> <li>2. Between the End of the Great Recession and the Beginning of the COVID-19 Crisis: The armed forces, the state and civil society in Spain (2019-2021)</li> <li>3. “Operation Resilience”: The French Armed Forces and COVID-19</li> <li>4. Development of Civil and Military Emergent Crisis Organizations in the Netherlands in Response to COVID-19</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Adapting to Adaptive Adversaries: Defense institution building in Africa and absorptive capacity of African militaries</li> <li>2. Security in Similarly: Explaining variation in cooperation between state militaries and foreign militants</li> <li>3. Principal-Agent Problems: USG use of contractors to deliver Security Force Assistance (SFA) across Africa</li> <li>4. Best Practices from a Bad Crisis: Civil-Military relations and the protection of civilians during the COVID-19 pandemic</li> </ol>

**Wednesday 21 July**

**Parallel sessions 4**

9:30-11:00	MILITARY PROFESSION Room 305	PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA, AND THE MILITARY Room 306	VETERANS AND SOCIETY Room 307	MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP Room 214

1. The Portuguese Military Academy: Past and present challenges
2. An Analysis of the Education of Military Officers in the Turkish Armed Forces
3. The Challenges of the Education for Military Officers in Spain: Diversification and intensification

1. Afraid of Russia, Willing to Fight? How threat perceptions of Russia affect the public willingness in 11 NATO member states to honor Article 5 in case of a hypothetical military conflict with Russia
2. Perception of Security Threats and Armed Forces in Slovakia
3. Study «Security 2021»: Perception of threats and influence by domains of life affected by COVID-19
4. Humanising or De-Humanising Warfare? Estonian public perception about autonomous weapon systems

1. If Wishes Were Horses
2. Comparing UK and Austrian Perceptions of Veterans: Are “old age” and “war” the major determinants in the victimization of veterans?
3. Health Care Needs and Experiences in Military Operations: A comparative study between men and women.
4. Transformation of Veterans Policies in Taiwan – Comparisons of different-generation veterans
5. Veterans Associations in Russia: The products and producers of strategic culture

1. Deep Leadership in Military: Lithuanian case study
2. Making Sense of Military Ranks
3. The Reserve Platoon Leader’s Perceptions of their Role: Critical competencies
4. “You’ll Meet Your Team on the Plane Out” - The importance of shared experiences and superordinate goals in the creation of cohesion and social identity in task-organized military teams
5. How Food Contributes to Military Cohesion among Recruits in the Swiss Armed Forces

**11:00-11:15 Coffee Break Lossi 36, 4th floor coffee corner**

**Parallel sessions 5**

11:15-12:45	GENDER AND THE MILITARY	WARRIORS IN PEACEKEEPING	RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION	MILITARY PROFESSION
	Room 305	Room 306	Room 307	Room 214
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A look at the Portuguese security forces</li> <li>2. Gender Equal Opportunities at the Lithuanian Army: Why there are no female generals?</li> <li>3. Reasoning Behind Higher Female</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Conceptualization of Martial Races as Warriors in the Indian Armed Forces</li> <li>2. The Digital Commander</li> <li>3. Cyberwarriors: Warriors Among Warriors?</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Staying the Course: Latvia’s choices between conscription and all-volunteer force</li> <li>2. The Legacy Strikes Back: The Failure of Serbian transition to all-volunteer armed forces</li> <li>3. The Entangled Gap</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A “University with a Difference:” the Royal Military College of Canada and the Education of Junior Officers</li> <li>2. Patterns in Professional Military Education</li> <li>3. Sharpening the Competitive Edge in Democratic Japan</li> <li>4. Korea Military Academy: The cradle of the nation’s bulwark</li> </ol>



Participation in the  
Armed Forces

**12:45-14:30 Lunch Gunpowder Cellar, Lossi 28**

**Parallel sessions 6**

**14:30-16:00 CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY**  
**Room 305**

1. Threats, Militarization and Democratic Accountability in Japan: "Normalizing" the Japan Self Defense Forces?
2. South Africa: Moving from Militarization to De-Militarization to Re-Militarization
3. El Salvador - Old Habits Die Hard
4. France: Swinging Securitization Paths?
5. Spain: A War without an Army

**MILITARY FAMILIES**  
**Room 214**

1. Family-related Work Decisions Described by Finnish Military Spouses
2. A New 'Weapon of Mass Destruction'? 'Foreign Currency (FX) Loans' – and their socio-economic impact on hungarian military families
3. Reconciliation of Family and Military Service in Lithuania: Decision on reconciliation and involvement of personal networks' members

**16:00-16:15 Coffee Break Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner**

**Parallel sessions 7**

**16:15-17:45 TOTAL DEFENCE FORCE**  
**Room 305**

1. Civilian and Military Status of Reserve Soldiers and Willingness to Participate in Military Service
2. The Negotiation of Civilian and Military Lives: Balancing part time reserve service, family relationships and employment
3. Two for One? Flexing concurrent Reservist and civilian careers for individuals

**PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA, AND THE MILITARY**  
**Room 306**

1. Swiss Armed Forces in "Corona Deployment": Perception by the population
2. Just a Matter of Political Marketing? Information, communication and public support for military missions
3. The Effects of Social Media Usage on the Sense of Security of Finnish Youth – Aspect on societal security

**MILITARY AND POLICE RELATIONS**  
**Room 307**

1. The Missing Part of the Puzzle: Law enforcement missions of the Turkish military and CMR in Turkey: The EMASYA Protocol
2. Armed Forces and Internal Security in Portugal: Challenges and dynamics
3. The Periphery of Pragmatism
4. Specific Conditions of the Relationship of the Army with the Social Environment
5. Police Officer's Relationship with the Public

**CRITICAL MILITARY STUDIES**  
**Room 214**

1. The Politics of Trauma Studies: Women combatants' experiences of traumatic events in conflict zones
2. Civilianizing the Conflict, Reanimating the Conflict: Securitized civilian volunteerism in Israel
3. Whose Life Is Worth More? Hierarchies of Risk and Death in Contemporary Wars

4. Country Defence from the Perspective of the Civil Society in Lithuania: Attitudes, potential, and knowledge
5. Pandemic Responsivity: A comparison between Regular and Reserve Force personnel

## Thursday 22 July

**9:30-11:00** **Plenary Session** **The Impact of Social Research on the Military: Reflections and Critiques**  
**The University Library**

Helena Carreiras Chair  
 Eyal Ben-Ari - Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel  
 Gerhard Kuemmel and Martin Elbe  
 Celso Castro - Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Brazil  
 Laura Masson, National University of San Martin, Argentina

**11:00-11:15** **Coffee Break** **Lossi 36**

### Parallel sessions 8

**11:15-12:45** **MILITARY PROFESSION**  
**Room 305**

1. Perceptions of Officer Training among Newly Employed Officers and Specialist Officers in the Swedish Armed Forces
2. Social Integration of the military personnel in the Lithuanian Armed Forces (from the Structuration Theory Perspective)

**GENDER AND THE MILITARY**  
**Room 306**

1. 'I Want It to be Normal to be a Woman in the Army': Research into gender in the New Zealand
2. Transforming Force to Service: Engendering diversity and inclusion in international policing
3. Education Attrition and the Role of Gender among Cadets at the Belgian Royal Military Academy: A content analysis, 2013–2019

**VIOLENCE & THE MILITARY**  
**Room 214**

1. Irregular Forces in Transformation: A theoretical approach
2. Transformation of Urban Gangs after the COVID-19 Pandemic
3. Militias Then and Now: Charting pathways for Irregular Forces in Mindanao, Philippines
4. Frontline Informality: Paramilitary forces and pro-government militias in Thailand's deep south counterinsurgency

**12:45-14:30** **Lunch** **Gunpowder Cellar, Lossi 28**

### Parallel sessions 9

<b>14:30-16:00</b>	<b>RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION</b>	<b>VETERANS AND SOCIETY</b>	<b>GENDER AND THE MILITARY</b>	<b>ROUNDTABLE 1a COVID &amp; Domestic Military Operations – Large Countries</b>
	Room 305	Room 307	Room 214	Room 306
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Systematic Follow-Up of the Psychological Selection to the Swedish Armed Forces</li> <li>2. Warrior Neutrality? Reprising the relationship between defence policy and military identity'</li> <li>3. Exploring Experiences of Children of Migrant Workers in Military Service – A case study in the Israel Defense Forces</li> <li>4. Young Women and #teamarmee - The Swiss Armed Forces attempt to recruit young women via social media</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. We Do Not Agree on Who We Are: Roy Scranton's trauma hero redefines the veteran and civilian relationship</li> <li>2. Warnings against Romanticizing Moral Injury</li> <li>3. Relating to Moral Injuries: How mental (health) care professionals see the moral impact of military and police work on frontline workers</li> <li>4. What We Need: Evolving expectations and needs of Norwegian soldiers, veterans, and families before, during and after international deployments"</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pride or Prejudices? How "the institutional amplifier effect" shapes attitudes towards homosexuality in the Armed Forces</li> <li>2. Estonian Defence Forces through Masculinity Discourse and Gender Perspective Lens</li> <li>3. Russian Military-Patriotic Youth Organization 'Yunarmy': State-led identities in shaping</li> </ol>	<p>International roundtable (please see abstract in level 4 of the program)</p>

**16:00-16:15** **Coffee Break** **Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner**

## Friday, 23 July

### Parallel sessions 10

<b>9:30-11:00</b>	<b>TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND FUTURE WAR</b>	<b>COVID-19 – IMPLICATIONS FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY</b>	<b>HRM AND DEFENSE TRANSFORMATION</b>	<b>MILITARY CONFLICT MGMT AND PEACE ECONOMICS</b>
	Room 305	Room 306	Room 214	Room 307
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "A Room of One's Own" in the New War - Women soldiers in war rooms</li> <li>2. The Problem of Technological Determinism and Anthropomorphic Connotations in Discussing Intelligent Technologies</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Domestic Deployment of the Armed Forces in Covid 19 Crisis: The case of Slovenia</li> <li>2. Health and Well-Being of Cadets from the Portuguese Military Academy during the Outbreak Caused by COVID-19</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Punish and Perish : Cyber defense under the threat of the "weakest link"</li> <li>2. A Question of Time? Deployments, Dwell-time and Work-life Balance for Military Personnel in Scandinavia</li> <li>3. Secularism and Pastoral Care in the ADF</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Territorial Defense Forces in Poland in Public Perception</li> <li>2. Understanding Military Power Resources</li> <li>3. Central African Republic, France and Russia: A new balance of power for Africa?</li> </ol>

3. Towards Trustworthy Autonomous Weapon Systems: A compendium of ethical aspects

4. How to Make Conscription Count? Converting Competencies in the Estonian Case
5. When Things Are Not What They Appear - The role of military organizations in the integration of immigrants in Belgium and Greece

4. The U.S.–Lithuanian Defense Cooperation and Arms Acquisition from the U.S.

**11:00-11:15 Coffee Break** **Lossi 36, 4<sup>th</sup> floor coffee corner**

**Parallel sessions 11**

11:15-12:45

**CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY**

**Room 305**

1. The Ministry of National Defence in South Korea: Civilian control despite military dominance
2. The Expert and the Politician: Re-conceptualizing civilian control over the military in india
3. Military and Politics: Politicization still or again?

**ROUNDTABLE 2: PATRIOTISMS, PUBLIC OPINION AND NATIONAL DEFENCE**

**Room 306**

1. Patriotism: From political religion to (almost) religious politics
2. Fighting for the (step)-motherland? Attitudes among Estonians and Russian-speaking Estonians towards conscription in the Estonian Defense Forces
3. Fostering a Defense-Minded Elite: Threat politics and hues of patriotism in “National Defense Courses” in Finland 1967–2018
4. Opinion Surveys as a Source of Legitimacy in Public Debates on Citizens’ National Defense Duties in Finland and Sweden in the 2010s
5. Home, Religion, Fatherland - or Ethnicity? De- and Re-constructing narratives of belonging in military service in Finland

**MILITARY PROFESSION**

**Room 307**

1. Outsourcing Support Activity in the French Army, an Inevitable Change? The case of catering and aircraft maintenance in France during Nicolas Sarkozy’s five-year mandate (2007-2012)
2. The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on the Military Profession

**ROUNDTABLE: Constriction in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in six countries in Europe**

**Room 214**

**12:45-14:30 Lunch** **Gunpowder Cellar, Lossi 28**

**Parallel sessions 12**

14:30-16:00

**ROUNDTABLE 1b: COVID & Domestic Military Operations – Small Countries**

**Room 305**

International roundtable (please see abstract in level 4 of the program)

**VIOLENCE & THE MILITARY**

**Room 306**

1. Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO’s) in the “New Look” Russian Armed Forces: The limits to military diffusion

**PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA, AND THE MILITARY**

**Room 307**

1. Measuring The Security and Defence Culture In Spain: A review of previous indicators

**MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP**

**Room 214**

1. Special Units: Mechanisms and processes shaping commanders' Ethical

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|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. The Effects of Global Governance Approaches on Constellations of Power and Civil-Military Relations in Hybrid Orders</li> <li>3. Armed Forces in Public Security in Brazil</li> <li>4. Ambiguity and the Problem of Institutional Affiliation: Serbian Paramilitaries in the breakup of Yugoslavia</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Study «Security 2021»: Attitudes toward a Mandatory Citizen Service</li> <li>3. Reasons For and Against the Necessity of the Armed Forces in Switzerland – Results of two opinion surveys before COVID-19</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>from a political culture perspective</li> <li>considerations in light of emerging technologies</li> <li>2. Individual Moral Identity and Organizational Citizenship Behaviors in the Canadian Armed Forces</li> <li>3. Putting Leadership in Extremis into Practice</li> </ul> |
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## Program Titles by Day

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### Monday 19 July

16.00 – 17.45 Registration  
1<sup>st</sup> floor, Lossi 36

18.00 – 20.00 Opening Reception  
Estonian Military Academy Riia 12

### Tuesday 20 July

08.30 – 09.30 Registration  
Lossi 36  
Alternatively there is a helpdesk in Zoom open all through the conference

09.30 – 11.00 Plenary Opening  
Plenary Opening – Ülikooli 18

Address by ERGOMAS President Tiia-Triin Truusa & President of ISA RC01 Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution Lindy Heinecken

Welcome address by Commander of the Estonian Defence Forces Lt Gen Martin Herem

Keynote address by Anthony King

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break                      Location Lossi 36

### 11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 1

#### GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 1 - Work-Life Balance, Operations and Practical Issues

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1. **Work-life Balance in the Military: A pipedream?**

Stéfanie von Hlatky  
Queen's University, Canada  
[cidpgenderlab@queensu.ca](mailto:cidpgenderlab@queensu.ca)  
Bibi Imre-Millei  
Queen's University, Canada  
Anna McAlpine  
Queen's University, Canada

Heni Pupco  
Queen's University, Canada

**2. Women, Soldiers and Mothers. A qualitative analysis of perceptions of motherhood in the Spanish Armed Forces.**

Sheima Hossain-López  
[sheimahossain@gmail.com](mailto:sheimahossain@gmail.com)  
Dolores Ruíz-Berdún  
Universidad de Alcalá, Spain

**3. It's Not for Everybody" - Trial of mixed lodging of male and female conscripts in Finland**

Roosa Rahikka  
[roosa.rahikka@mil.fi](mailto:roosa.rahikka@mil.fi)  
Teemu Tallberg  
[teemu.tallberg@mil.fi](mailto:teemu.tallberg@mil.fi)

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**MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP - SESSION 1**

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**1. Doctrines, Training and Practices: First feedback on an international comparison**

Weber Claude  
[claudeweber@st-cyr.terre-net.defense.gouv.fr](mailto:claudeweber@st-cyr.terre-net.defense.gouv.fr)

**2. Commanding in Territorial Defence Forces - Challenges and chances for improving the organisational culture of Regular Armed Forces**

Sławomir Nowotny  
[snowotny@mon.gov.pl](mailto:snowotny@mon.gov.pl)  
Col Grzegorz Predel  
Ministry of Defence Poland

**3. Estonian's Conscripts Satisfactions with their Service – A multilevel approach**

Kairi Kasearu  
[kairi.kasearu@ut.ee](mailto:kairi.kasearu@ut.ee)  
Liina-Mai Tooding  
University of Tartu, Estonia

**4. Diversity of approaches towards commander training for asymmetric warfare**

Ausra Kaminskaite  
[destytoja\\_ak@yahoo.com](mailto:destytoja_ak@yahoo.com)  
General Jonas Zemaitis Military academy of Lithuania

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**PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY - SESSION 1: Between Force and Violence – The Use of the Military and Military Force from a German Perspective**

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**1. Military Action within Different 'Zones of Violence': The example of the Kunduz Bombing**

Nina Leonhard  
[NinaLeonhard@bundeswehr.org](mailto:NinaLeonhard@bundeswehr.org)

2. **Attitude of the German Population regarding The Domestic Employment of Bundeswehr Assets**  
Meike Wanner  
[meikewanner@bundeswehr.org](mailto:meikewanner@bundeswehr.org)
3. **Public Attitudes on Armed Drones in Germany and their Determinants**  
Markus Steinbrecher  
[MarkusSteinbrecher@bundeswehr.org](mailto:MarkusSteinbrecher@bundeswehr.org)

## **CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY - SESSION 1**

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1. **Social Cohesion, Social Contracts and Military Covenants: Negotiated relations and solidarity in Estonia**  
Kairi Kasearu  
[kairi.kasearu@ut.ee](mailto:kairi.kasearu@ut.ee)  
Eleri Lillemäe  
[Eleri.Lillemae@mil.ee](mailto:Eleri.Lillemae@mil.ee)  
Eyal Ben-Ari  
[eyal1953@gmail.com](mailto:eyal1953@gmail.com)  
The Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel
2. **Absence of Courts in the Civil-Military Dynamic and the Consequences for Discipline**  
Pauline Collins  
[pauline.collins@usq.edu.au](mailto:pauline.collins@usq.edu.au)
3. **Sociology of the Military in Ukraine: From systematic to case studies**  
Ivanov Oleh  
[dr.zanuda@gmail.com](mailto:dr.zanuda@gmail.com)
4. **Mapping Multinational Cooperation**  
Ina Kraft  
[inakraft@posteo.de](mailto:inakraft@posteo.de)

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

## **14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 2**

### **WARRIORS IN PEACEKEEPING - SESSION 1: Panel Warrior Conceptions in the Military – Helpful, harmful or even dangerous?**

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1. **Introduction: The warrior concept**  
Maren Tomforde  
[marentomforde@suedsinn.de](mailto:marentomforde@suedsinn.de)
2. **The Army is No Place for a Warrior: Elite forces, atrocities, and professional military identity**



Christopher Ankersen  
[christopher.ankersen@nyu.edu](mailto:christopher.ankersen@nyu.edu)

**3. The Warrior in the Military: A concept that is misleading**

Gerhard Kümmel  
[gerhardkuemmel@bundeswehr.org](mailto:gerhardkuemmel@bundeswehr.org)  
Martin Elbe  
[martinelbe@bundeswehr.org](mailto:martinelbe@bundeswehr.org)

**4. Emotions in War**

Sandy Brice  
[bricesandy28@yahoo.fr](mailto:bricesandy28@yahoo.fr)

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**MILITARY FAMILIES: SESSION 1**

**1. The Mutual Adjustment of the Combat Commander and His Wife: The contribution of perceived social support**

Zitronblat Limor  
[limorzit68@gmail.com](mailto:limorzit68@gmail.com)  
Prof. Rachel Dekel

**2. “Nobody Wants to be the Needy Person Who Can’t Cope”: Stigma, militarism, and support-seeking**

Emma Long  
[emma.long@york.ac.uk](mailto:emma.long@york.ac.uk)

**3. Military Family: Risk factors for health and well-being**

Janja Vuga Bersnak  
[janja.vuga@fdv.uni-lj.si](mailto:janja.vuga@fdv.uni-lj.si)

**4. The Work-Family Interface in Military Context: Current knowledge, future challenges**

Manon Andres  
[md.andres@mindef.nl](mailto:md.andres@mindef.nl)  
René Moelker  
[rene\\_moelker@yahoo.com](mailto:rene_moelker@yahoo.com);  
Tessa op den Buijs  
[tp.od.buijs@mindef.nl](mailto:tp.od.buijs@mindef.nl)

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**RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION - SESSION 1: Retention**

**1. Recruitment and Retention at a Canadian Reserve Regiment in 2020**

Stéfanie von Hlatky  
[cidpgenderlab@queensu.ca](mailto:cidpgenderlab@queensu.ca)  
Bibi Imre-Millei  
Queen’s University Canada

Anna McAlpine  
Queen's University Canada  
Heni Pupco  
Queen's University Canada

**2. Assessment of the Refresher Course (RC) System of the Swiss Armed Forces from the Perspective of Company Commanders**

Alessia Corso  
[alessia.corso94@gmail.com](mailto:alessia.corso94@gmail.com)  
Tibor Szvircsev Tresch  
[tibor.szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:tibor.szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch)

**3. The Role of Leadership in the Retention of Talent: The case of the Portuguese Air Force**

António Azevedo  
Military University Institute, Portugal  
Nuno Loureiro  
[nuno.a.loureiro@gmail.com](mailto:nuno.a.loureiro@gmail.com)

**16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break**

**Location**

## **16.15 – 17.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 3**

### **COVID-19 IMPLICATIONS FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY - SESSION 1: Civil Military Relations and Cooperation during COVID**

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**Chair: Lindy Heinecken**

**1. Civil-Military Collaboration for the Construction of a Temporary Hospital for Corona Patients**

Erik Hedlund  
[erik.hedlund@fhs.se](mailto:erik.hedlund@fhs.se)  
Camilla Lönngrén  
Swedish Defence University

**2. Between the End of the Great Recession and the Beginning of the COVID-19 Crisis: The armed forces, the state and civil society in Spain (2019-2021)**

Carlos Navajas Zubeldia  
[carlos.navajas@unirioja.es](mailto:carlos.navajas@unirioja.es)

**3. “Operation Resilience”: The French Armed Forces and COVID-19**

Saïd Haddad  
[said.haddad@st-cyr.terre-net.defense.gouv.fr](mailto:said.haddad@st-cyr.terre-net.defense.gouv.fr)

**4. Development of Civil and Military Emergent Crisis Organizations in the Netherlands in Response to COVID-19**

Huib Zijderveld  
[hzijderveld@gmail.com](mailto:hzijderveld@gmail.com)

## **TOTAL DEFENSE FORCE - SESSION 1: Security Force Assistance in the Era of Great Power Competition and COVID-19**

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### **Panel Chair:**

Whitney Grespin  
King's College London, Defence Studies Department United States  
[whitney@sloanmanor.com](mailto:whitney@sloanmanor.com)

- 1. 'Adapting to Adaptive Adversaries: Defense institution building in Africa and absorptive capacity of African militaries**  
Ashley Bybee  
[abybee@ida.org](mailto:abybee@ida.org)
- 2. Security in Similarly: Explaining variation in cooperation between state militaries and foreign militants**  
Melissa Carlson  
[melcarl@stanford.edu](mailto:melcarl@stanford.edu)
- 3. Principal-Agent Problems: USG use of contractors to deliver Security Force Assistance (SFA) across Africa**  
Whitney Grespin  
[whitney@sloanmanor.com](mailto:whitney@sloanmanor.com)
- 4. Best Practices from a Bad Crisis: Civil-military relations and the protection of civilians during the COVID-19 pandemic**  
Emily Knowles  
[emily@mangataconsulting.org](mailto:emily@mangataconsulting.org)

## **Wednesday 21 July 2021**

### **09.30 – 11.00 Parallel Sessions 4**

## **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 3 - Comparing Pre-Commissioning Officer-Cadet Military Education 1: Southern and Mediterranean Europe**

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- 1. The Portuguese Military Academy: Past and present challenges**  
Ana Romão, Academia Militar; CICS.NOVA  
David Pascoal Rosado, Academia Militar  
Helena Carreiras, Instituto de Defesa Nacional

**2. An Analysis of the Education of Military Officers in the Turkish Armed Forces**

Uğur Güngör, Başkent University  
Kadir Varoğlu, Başkent University  
Ünsal Sığırı, Ostim Technical University

**3. The Challenges of the Education for Military Officers in Spain: Diversification and intensification**

Silvia Vicente, University Center of Defense  
Rafa Martínez, University of Barcelona

**PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 3 - Threats and Threat Perceptions**

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**1. Afraid of Russia, Willing to Fight? How threat perceptions of Russia affect the public willingness in 11 NATO member states to honor Article 5 in case of a hypothetical military conflict with Russia**

Timo Graf  
[TimoGraf@bundeswehr.org](mailto:TimoGraf@bundeswehr.org)

**2. Perception of Security Threats and Armed Forces in Slovakia**

Dominika Cernakova  
[d.cernakova.d@gmail.com](mailto:d.cernakova.d@gmail.com)  
Karol Cukan  
Pavel Czirák

**3. Study «Security 2021»: Perception of threats and influence by domains of life affected by COVID-19**

Thomas Ferst  
[Thomas.ferst@gmail.com](mailto:Thomas.ferst@gmail.com)  
Jacques Robert  
[Jacques.Robert@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:Jacques.Robert@vtg.admin.ch)  
Tibor Szvircsev Tresch  
[tibor.szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:tibor.szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch)

**4. Humanising or De-Humanising Warfare? Estonian public perception about autonomous weapon systems**

Kairi Talves  
[kairi.talves@gmail.com](mailto:kairi.talves@gmail.com)  
Markus Otsus

**VETERANS AND SOCIETY: SESSION 1**

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**1. If Wishes Were Horses**

Moelker, Rene  
[rene\\_moelker@yahoo.com](mailto:rene_moelker@yahoo.com)

**2. Comparing UK and Austrian Perceptions of Veterans: Are “old age” and “war” the major determinants in the victimization of veterans?**

Rita Phillips

[r.phillips5@rgu.ac.uk](mailto:r.phillips5@rgu.ac.uk)

Vince Connelly

Oxford Brookes University

Mark Burgess

Oxford Brookes University

**3. Health Care Needs and Experiences in Military Operations: A comparative study between men and women**

Tessa P. Op den Buijs

[tessaopdenbuijs@hotmail.com](mailto:tessaopdenbuijs@hotmail.com)

Andres, M.D.

[md.anders@mindef.nl](mailto:md.anders@mindef.nl)

Moelker, R.

[rene\\_moelker@yahoo.com](mailto:rene_moelker@yahoo.com)

**4. Transformation of Veterans Policies in Taiwan – Comparisons of different-generation veterans**

Yuan Li-Chung

National Defense University

Taiwan

Felix Wang

Veteran Affairs Council

Taiwan

**5. Veterans Associations in Russia: The products and producers of strategic culture**

Jack J. Porter

[porterj1@citadel.edu](mailto:porterj1@citadel.edu)

**MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP: SESSION 2**

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**1. Deep Leadership in Military: Lithuanian case study**

Nissinen Vesa

[vesa@deeplead.com](mailto:vesa@deeplead.com)

Aiste Dromantaite

SMK University of Applied Social Sciences, Lithuania

Linus Dungveckis

Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania

**2. The Reserve Platoon Leader’s Perceptions of Their Role: Critical competencies**

Ülle Säälk

[Ulle.Saalik@mil.ee](mailto:Ulle.Saalik@mil.ee)

Kasemaa Antek

University of Tallinn, Estonia

3. **“You’ll Meet Your Team on the Plane Out” - The importance of shared experiences and superordinate goals in the creation of cohesion and social identity in task-organized military teams**

Stefan Schilling

[sschilling@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:sschilling@brookes.ac.uk)

4. **How Food Contributes to Military Cohesion among Recruits in the Swiss Armed Forces**

Stefano De Rosa

[stefano.derosa@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:stefano.derosa@vtg.admin.ch)

**11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break**

**Location Lossi 36**

## **11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 5**

### **GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 2 - Normative Framework towards Women in the Military (3 papers)**

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1. **Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A look at the Portuguese security forces**

Malheiro, Luís, University Military Institute, Portugal

[a15277@hotmail.com](mailto:a15277@hotmail.com)

Bessa, Fernando, University Military Institute, Portugal

Carreiras, Helena, CIES, Portugal

2. **Gender Equal Opportunities at the Lithuanian Army: Why there are no female generals?**

Jurate Novagrockiene

[jurate.novagrockiene@lka.lt](mailto:jurate.novagrockiene@lka.lt)

3. **Reasoning Behind Higher Female Participation in the Armed Forces**

Andres Siplane

[Andres.Siplane@kaitseministeerium.ee](mailto:Andres.Siplane@kaitseministeerium.ee)

### **WARRIORS IN PEACEKEEPING: SESSION 2 - Warrior Conceptions in the Military – Helpful, harmful or even dangerous?**

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1. **Conceptualization of Martial Races as Warriors in the Indian Armed Forces**

Mukhwinder Kaur Swain

[mukh.rattol@gmail.com](mailto:mukh.rattol@gmail.com)

2. **The Digital Commander**

Therese Heltberg

[anhe@fak.dk](mailto:anhe@fak.dk)

3. **Cyberwarriors: Warriors among Warriors?**

Saïd Haddad

[said.haddad@st-cyr.terre-net.defense.gouv.fr](mailto:said.haddad@st-cyr.terre-net.defense.gouv.fr)

## **RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION: SESSION 2 - All-Volunteer-Forces & Conscription**

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- 1. Staying the Course: Latvia's choices between conscription and all-volunteer force**  
Rostoks Toms  
[toms.rostoks@mil.lv](mailto:toms.rostoks@mil.lv)  
Gavrilko Guna  
University of Latvia, Latvia
- 2. The Legacy Strikes Back: The failure of Serbian transition to all-volunteer Armed Forces**  
Djokic, Katarina  
[k.a.djokic@gmail.com](mailto:k.a.djokic@gmail.com)  
Ignjatijevic, Marija  
[marija.ignjatijevic@bezbednost.org](mailto:marija.ignjatijevic@bezbednost.org)
- 3. The Entangled Gap**  
Tiia-Triin Truusa  
[tia-triin.truusa@ut.ee](mailto:tia-triin.truusa@ut.ee)

## **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 4 - Comparing Pre-Commissioning Officer-Cadet Military Education**

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- 1. A "University with a Difference:" the Royal Military College of Canada and the Education of Junior Officers**  
Howard Coombs, Royal Military College of Canada
- 2. Patterns in Professional Military Education**  
David Last, Royal Military College of Canada
- 3. Sharpening the Competitive Edge in Democratic Japan**  
Hitoshi Kawano, National Defence Academy
- 4. Korea Military Academy: The cradle of the nation's bulwark**  
Insoo Kim, Korean Military Academy

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

## **14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 6**

### **CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY: SESSION 2 - Mobilizing Force: Linking Security Threats, Militarization, and Civilian Control in Democracies**

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**Chair and Organizers:**

David Kuehn (Germany); [david.kuehn@giga-hamburg.de](mailto:david.kuehn@giga-hamburg.de)

Yagil Levy (Open University)

- 1. Threats, Militarization and Democratic Accountability in Japan: “Normalizing” the Japan Self Defense Forces?**  
Eyal Ben-Ari  
[eyal1953@gmail.com](mailto:eyal1953@gmail.com)
- 2. South Africa: Moving from Militarization to De-Militarization to Re-Militarization**  
Lindy Heinecken  
Stellenbosch University, South Africa
- 3. El Salvador - Old Habits Die Hard**  
Sabine Kurtenbach and Désirée Reder,  
GIGA Hamburg
- 4. France: Swinging Securitization Paths?**  
Chiara Ruffa  
Uppsala University and Swedish Defence University
- 5. Spain: A War without an Army**  
Rafa Martínez  
University of Barcelona  
Oscar Jaíme  
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

## **MILITARY FAMILIES: SESSION 2**

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- 1. Family-related Work Decisions described by Finnish Military Spouses**  
Hannola Anitta  
[anitta.hannola@mil.fi](mailto:anitta.hannola@mil.fi)
- 2. A New ‘Weapon of Mass Destruction’? ‘Foreign Currency (FX) Loans’ – and their socio-economic impact on Hungarian military families**  
Zoltan Laszlo Kiss  
[zoltan.laszlo.kiss.dr@gmail.com](mailto:zoltan.laszlo.kiss.dr@gmail.com)
- 3. Reconciliation of Family and Military Service in Lithuania: Decision on reconciliation and involvement of personal networks’ members**  
Vida Česnuiytė - General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania  
[vida.cesnuiyte@lka.lt](mailto:vida.cesnuiyte@lka.lt)

**16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break**

**Location**

## **16.15 – 17.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 7**



## TOTAL DEFENSE FORCE: SESSION 2

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- 1. Civilian and Military Status of Reserve Soldiers and Willingness to Participate in Military Service**  
Taavi Laanepere  
[taavi.laanepere@ut.ee](mailto:taavi.laanepere@ut.ee)  
Kairi Kasearu  
[kairi.kasearu@ut.ee](mailto:kairi.kasearu@ut.ee)
- 2. The Negotiation of Civilian and Military Lives: Balancing part time reserve service, family relationships and employment**  
Vincent Connelly  
[vconnelly@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:vconnelly@brookes.ac.uk)  
Zoe Morrison  
[z.morrison1@rgu.ac.uk](mailto:z.morrison1@rgu.ac.uk)  
Scott Tindal  
University of Greenwich
- 3. Two for One? Flexing concurrent reservist and civilian careers for individuals**  
Zoe Morrison  
[z.morrison1@rgu.ac.uk](mailto:z.morrison1@rgu.ac.uk)  
Vincent Connelly  
[vconnelly@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:vconnelly@brookes.ac.uk)  
Scott Tindal  
University of Greenwich
- 4. Country Defence from the Perspective of the Civil Society in Lithuania: Attitudes, potential, and knowledge**  
Vida Cesnūtytė General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania  
[vida.cesnutyte@lka.lt](mailto:vida.cesnutyte@lka.lt)
- 5. Pandemic Responsivity: A comparison between Regular and Reserve Force personnel**  
Irina Goldenberg  
[igoldenberg@sympatico.ca](mailto:igoldenberg@sympatico.ca)  
Carina Daugherty  
[Carina.Daugherty@forces.gc.ca](mailto:Carina.Daugherty@forces.gc.ca)  
Ann-Renee Blais and Caitlin Comeau  
Canadian Department of National Defence

## PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 4 - Challenges to Public Opinion Research in Military Sociology

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- 1. Swiss Armed Forces in "Corona Deployment": Perception by the population**  
Tibor Szvircsev Tresch  
[tibor.szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:tibor.szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch)

**2. Just a Matter of Political Marketing? Information, communication and public support for military missions**

Heiko Biehl

[heikobiehl@googlemail.com](mailto:heikobiehl@googlemail.com)

**3. The Effects of Social Media Usage on the Sense of Security of Finnish Youth – Aspect on societal security**

Juho Äijälä

[juho.aijala@mpkk.fi](mailto:juho.aijala@mpkk.fi)

Reetta Riikonen

Teija Sederholm

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**MILITARY AND POLICE RELATIONS: SESSION 1**

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**1. The Missing Part of the Puzzle: Law enforcement missions of the Turkish military and CMR in Turkey: The EMASYA Protocol**

Genç Yılmaz Ayfer

[ayfergenc@gmail.com](mailto:ayfergenc@gmail.com)

**2. Armed Forces and Internal Security in Portugal: Challenges and dynamics**

José Fontes

[jose.fontes.pt@gmail.com](mailto:jose.fontes.pt@gmail.com)

**3. The Periphery of Pragmatism**

Rasmus Dahlberg

[rada@fak.dk](mailto:rada@fak.dk)

Mette Volquartzen

University of Copenhagen Denmark

**4. Specific Conditions of the Relationship of the Army with the Social Environment**

Sabina Pająk-Danicka

[vsabinapajaks@gmail.com](mailto:vsabinapajaks@gmail.com)

**5. Police Officer's Relationship with the Public**

Zygmunt Dudek – police officer

[zygi-dudek@o2.pl](mailto:zygi-dudek@o2.pl)

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**CRITICAL MILITARY STUDIES**

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**1. The Politics of Trauma Studies: Women combatants' experiences of traumatic events in conflict zones**

Shir Daphna-Tekoah

Ashkelon Academic College, Israel

Ayelet Harel-Shalev

[ayeleths@bgu.ac.il](mailto:ayeleths@bgu.ac.il)

2. **Civilianizing the Conflict, Reanimating the Conflict: Securitized civilian volunteerism in Israel**  
Erella Grassiani  
[e.grassiani@uva.nl](mailto:e.grassiani@uva.nl)  
Nir Gazit  
Ruppin Academic Centre, Israel
  
4. **Whose Life Is Worth More? Hierarchies of Risk and Death in Contemporary Wars**  
Eyal Ben-Ari  
Center for Society, Security and Peace at Kinneret College  
Rene Moelker  
Netherlands Defence Academy  
Yagil Levy  
Open University, Israel

## Thursday 22 July 2021

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break                      Lossi 36

### 11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 8

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#### MILITARY PROFESSION - SESSION 6: The Professionals and their Self-Perceptions

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1. **Perceptions of Officer Training among Newly Employed Officers and Specialist Officers in the Swedish Armed Forces**  
Johan Österberg  
[johan.osterberg@fhs.se](mailto:johan.osterberg@fhs.se)  
Emma Oskarsson  
Swedish Defence University, Sweden  
Joel Nilsson  
Swedish Defence University, Sweden
  
2. **Social Integration of the Military Personnel in the Lithuanian Armed Forces (from the Structuration Theory Perspective)**  
Paulius Balsys  
[pauliuqas@gmail.com](mailto:pauliuqas@gmail.com)

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#### GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 3 - The Intersectionality of Gender and Culture in Defence and Security

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**Chair and Organizer:**  
Barbara Waruszynski (Department of National Defence, Canada)

[Barbara.Waruszynski@forces.gc.ca](mailto:Barbara.Waruszynski@forces.gc.ca)

1. **'I Want It to be Normal to be a Woman in the Army': Research into gender in the New Zealand Army**  
Beth Greener  
NZ Army
2. **Transforming Force to Service: Engendering diversity and inclusion in international policing**  
Lea Biason  
UN Women
3. **Education Attrition and the Role of Gender among Cadets at the Belgian Royal Military Academy: A content analysis, 2013–2019**  
Mathias De Roeck  
Belgian Royal Military Academy  
Delphine Resteigne  
Belgian Royal Military Academy

## **VIOLENCE & THE MILITARY: SESSION 1 - Irregular Forces in Transformation**

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1. **Irregular Forces in Transformation: A theoretical approach**  
Atsushi Yasutomi  
[atsushi.yasutomi@gmail.com](mailto:atsushi.yasutomi@gmail.com)
2. **Transformation of Urban Gangs after the COVID-19 Pandemic**  
Saya Kiba  
[saya\\_kiba@yahoo.co.jp](mailto:saya_kiba@yahoo.co.jp)
3. **Militias Then and Now: Charting pathways for irregular forces in Mindanao, Philippines**  
Rosalie Arcala Hall  
[rbarcalahall@up.edu.ph](mailto:rbarcalahall@up.edu.ph)
4. **Frontline Informality: Paramilitary forces and pro-government militias in THAILAND'S deep south counterinsurgency**  
Paul Chambers  
[pwchambers@gmail.com](mailto:pwchambers@gmail.com)  
Srisompob Jitpiromsri  
[srisompob@yahoo.com](mailto:srisompob@yahoo.com)

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

**14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 9**

## RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION: SESSION 3 - Recruitment

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### 1. Systematic Follow-Up of the Psychological Selection to the Swedish Armed Forces

Emma Jonsson

Swedish Defence University

Johan Lantz

[johanmlantz@gmail.com](mailto:johanmlantz@gmail.com)

Rose-Marie Lindgren

Anne Lindqvist

Swedish Defence Recruitment Agency; Swedish Armed Forces Sweden

### 2. Warrior Neutrality? Reprising the Relationship between Defence Policy and Military Identity'

Patrick Finnegan

[pf58@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:pf58@st-andrews.ac.uk)

Alex Neads

University of Bath, United Kingdom

### 3. Exploring Experiences of Children of Migrant Workers in Military Service – A case study in the Israel Defense Forces

Uzi Ben Shalom

[uzibs@ariel.ac.il](mailto:uzibs@ariel.ac.il)

### 4. Young Women and #teamarmee - The Swiss Armed Forces attempt to recruit young women via social media

Nina Nikles

[nina.nikles@hotmail.com](mailto:nina.nikles@hotmail.com)

### 4. Conscription in the 21st century in Six Countries in Europe

[Emma Jonsson, Mikael Salo, Thomas Ferst, Kairi Kasearu, Eleri Lillemäe, , Jurate Novagrockienė,](#)

[Johan Österberg, , Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Tiia-Triin Truusa](#)

## VETERANS AND SOCIETY: SESSION 3

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### 1. We Do Not Agree on Who We Are: Roy Scranton's trauma hero redefines the veteran and civilian relationship

Judith McNeely

[judie.britt@gmail.com](mailto:judie.britt@gmail.com)

### 2. Warnings against Romanticizing Moral Injury

Tine Molendijk

[t.molendijk@mindef.nl](mailto:t.molendijk@mindef.nl)

### 3. Relating to Moral Injuries: How mental (health) care professionals see the moral impact of military and police work on frontline workers

Teun Eikenaar

[t.eikenaar@fm.ru.nl](mailto:t.eikenaar@fm.ru.nl)

**4. What We Need: Evolving expectations and needs of Norwegian soldiers, veterans, and families before, during and after international deployments”**

Lene Ekhaugen

[lekhaugen@mil.no](mailto:lekhaugen@mil.no)

**GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 4 - Gender Roles, Military Identity and Attitudes (4 papers)**

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**1. Pride or Prejudices? How “the institutional amplifier effect” shapes attitudes towards homosexuality in the Armed Forces**

Morten Brænder

[mortenb@ps.au.dk](mailto:mortenb@ps.au.dk)

Vilhelm S. Holsting

Royal Danish Defence College, Denmark

**2. Estonian Defence Forces through Masculinity Discourse and Gender Perspective Lens**

Aas Sigrid

[sigrid.aas@mil.ee](mailto:sigrid.aas@mil.ee)

**3. Russian Military-Patriotic Youth Organization ‘Yunarmy’: State-led identities in shaping**

Alava Jonna

[jonna.alava@gmail.com](mailto:jonna.alava@gmail.com)

**ROUNDTABLE 1a: COVID & Domestic Military Operations – Large countries (Heinecken Organizer)**

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**5. The United Kingdom: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Robert Clark

[robert.clark@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:robert.clark@kcl.ac.uk)

Chris Galvin

[chris-galvin@hotmail.com](mailto:chris-galvin@hotmail.com)

The Henry Jackson Society & Royal United Services Institute

**6. Italy: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Karolina Muti

[karolina.muti@gmail.com](mailto:karolina.muti@gmail.com)

Francesca Sterzi

[francesca.sterzi@gmail.com](mailto:francesca.sterzi@gmail.com)

Italian International Affairs Institute

**7. South Africa: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Lindy Heinecken

[Lindy@sun.ac.za](mailto:Lindy@sun.ac.za)

Stellenbosch University

**8. Spain: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Enriqueta Expósito

Marién Durán

Guillermo López

Rafa Martínez

[rafa.martinez@ub.edu](mailto:rafa.martinez@ub.edu)

University of Barcelona

**9. Canada: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Christian Leuprecht

[christian.leuprecht@rmc-cmr.ca](mailto:christian.leuprecht@rmc-cmr.ca)

Royal Military College of Canada

## Friday 23 July 2021

### 09.30 – 11.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 10

#### TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND FUTURE WAR: SESSION 1

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Chair: Celso Castro

**1. A Room of One's Own" in the New War - Women soldiers in war rooms**

Ayelet Harel-Shalev

[ayeleths@bgu.ac.il](mailto:ayeleths@bgu.ac.il)

**2. The Problem of Technological Determinism and Anthropomorphic Connotations in Discussing Intelligent Technologies**

Auli Viidalepp

[auli.viidalepp@ut.ee](mailto:auli.viidalepp@ut.ee)

Kairi Talves

[Kairi.talves@mil.ee](mailto:Kairi.talves@mil.ee)

Wolfgang Wagner

**3. Towards Trustworthy Autonomous Weapon Systems: A compendium of ethical aspects**

Janar Pekarev

[janar226@ut.ee](mailto:janar226@ut.ee)

#### COVID-19 – IMPLICATIONS FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY: SESSION 2 - COVID and Military Deployment and Well-Being

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**Chair: Christian Leuprecht**

- 1. Domestic Deployment of the Armed Forces in Covid 19 Crisis: The case of Slovenia**  
Ljubica Jelušič  
[ljubica.jelusic@gmail.com](mailto:ljubica.jelusic@gmail.com)
- 2. Health and Well-Being of Cadets from the Portuguese Military Academy during the Outbreak Caused by COVID-19**  
Paulo Gomes  
[malheiro.lcr@gnr.pt](mailto:malheiro.lcr@gnr.pt)  
Rui Pereira  
Military Academy, Portugal  
Luís Malheiro  
Nélia Santos  
Paulo Carvalho  
Military Academy, Portugal

## **HRM AND DEFENSE TRANSFORMATION**

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**Chair: Kairi Kasearu** ([kairi.kasearu@ut.ee](mailto:kairi.kasearu@ut.ee))

- 1. Punish and Perish: Cyber defense under the threat of the “weakest link”**  
Didier Danet  
Military Academy of Saint-Cyr  
[didier.danet@gmail.com](mailto:didier.danet@gmail.com)
- 2. A Question of Time? Deployments, Dwell-time and Work-life Balance for Military Personnel in Scandinavia**  
Joakim Berndtsson  
School of Global Studies  
University of Gothenburg, Sweden  
[joakim.berndtsson@globalstudies.gu.se](mailto:joakim.berndtsson@globalstudies.gu.se)  
Johan Österberg  
Swedish Defence University, Sweden
- 3. Secularism and Pastoral Care in the ADF**  
Phillip Hoglin  
University of New South Wales  
[philhoglin@inet.net.au](mailto:philhoglin@inet.net.au)
- 4. How to Make Conscription Count? Converting Competencies in the Estonian Case**  
Eleri Lillemäe  
Estonian Military Academy/University of Tartu  
[elerilillemae@gmail.com](mailto:elerilillemae@gmail.com)  
Kairi Kasearu  
University of Tartu  
Eyal Ben-Ari



The Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee/Estonian Military Academy

**5. When Things Are Not What They Appear - The role of military organizations in the integration of immigrants in Belgium and Greece**

Prof. Gerassimos Karabelias

[geraskarabelias@gmail.com](mailto:geraskarabelias@gmail.com)

Prof. Georgios Kaffes

Colonel Ioannis Fytas

Panteion University, Greece

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**MILITARY CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND PEACE ECONOMICS: SESSION 1**

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**1. Territorial Defense Forces in Poland in Public Perception**

Małgorzata Zielińska

Military Office of Social Research, Military Center for Civic Education

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Joanna Zauer

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[j.zauer@ron.mil.pl](mailto:j.zauer@ron.mil.pl), [joanna.zauer@op.pl](mailto:joanna.zauer@op.pl)

**2. Understanding Military Power Resources**

Agniete Zotkeviciute Baneviciene

The General Jonas Zemaitis, Military Academy of Lithuania

[agniete.zotkeviciute@lka.lt](mailto:agniete.zotkeviciute@lka.lt)

**3. Central African Republic, France and Russia: A new balance of power for Africa?**

Rafael Farias

Brazilian Army-Meira Mattos Institute

[rafaelfarias.2672@gmail.com](mailto:rafaelfarias.2672@gmail.com)

**4. The U.S.–Lithuanian Defense Cooperation and Arms Acquisition from the U.S.**

Donatas Palavenis

[donatas.palavenis@gmail.com](mailto:donatas.palavenis@gmail.com)

**11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break**                      **Location Lossi 36**

**11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 11**

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**CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY: SESSION 3**

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**1. The Ministry of National Defence in South Korea: Civilian control despite military dominance**

David Kuehn  
[david.kuehn@giga-hamburg.de](mailto:david.kuehn@giga-hamburg.de)  
Insoo Kim  
Korean Military Academy, Seoul, Republic of Korea

**2. The Expert and the Politician: Re-conceptualizing civilian control over the military in India**

Anit Mukherjee  
[anit.mike@gmail.com](mailto:anit.mike@gmail.com)

**3. Military and Politics: Politicization still or again?**

Maja Garb  
[Maja.garb@fdv.uni-lj.si](mailto:Maja.garb@fdv.uni-lj.si)

**ROUNDTABLE 2: PATRIOTISMS, PUBLIC OPINION AND NATIONAL DEFENCE IN CENTRAL,  
EASTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: SESSION 1**

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**1. Patriotism: From political religion to (almost) religious politics**

Tamás Nyirkos  
[nyirkos.tamas@btk.ppke.hu](mailto:nyirkos.tamas@btk.ppke.hu)

**2. Fighting for the (Step)-Motherland? Attitudes among Estonians and Russian-speaking Estonians towards conscription in the Estonian Defense Forces**

Kairi Kasearu  
[Kairi.kasearu@ut.ee](mailto:Kairi.kasearu@ut.ee)  
Christofer Berglund  
[christofer.berglund@mau.se](mailto:christofer.berglund@mau.se)  
Juhan Kivirähk  
[juhan.kivirahk@ut.ee](mailto:juhan.kivirahk@ut.ee)

**3. Fostering a Defense-Minded Elite: Threat politics and hues of patriotism in “National Defense Courses” in Finland 1967–2018**

Linda Hart  
[Linda.hart@alumni.helsinki.fi](mailto:Linda.hart@alumni.helsinki.fi)

**4. Opinion Surveys as a Source of Legitimacy in Public Debates on Citizens’ National Defense Duties in Finland and Sweden in the 2010s**

Miina Kaarkoski  
[miina.kaarkoski@mil.fi](mailto:miina.kaarkoski@mil.fi)  
Teemu Häkkinen  
[teemu.r.p.hakkinen@jyu.fi](mailto:teemu.r.p.hakkinen@jyu.fi)

**5. Home, Religion, Fatherland - or Ethnicity? De- and Re-constructing narratives of belonging in military service in Finland**

Valdemar Kallunki  
[Valdemar.kallunki@laurea.fi](mailto:Valdemar.kallunki@laurea.fi)  
Teemu Tallberg  
[teemu.tallberg@mil.fi](mailto:teemu.tallberg@mil.fi)

## **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 7 - Developments of the Military Professions**

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- 1. Outsourcing Support Activity in the French Army, an Inevitable Change? The case of catering and aircraft maintenance in France during Nicolas Sarkozy's five-year mandate (2007-2012)**

Larrieu Violette

[larrieuviolette@gmail.com](mailto:larrieuviolette@gmail.com)

- 2. The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on the Military Profession**

Krystal Hachey

[Krystal.hachey@forces.gc.ca](mailto:Krystal.hachey@forces.gc.ca)

Tamir Libel

Zack Partington

## **ROUNDTABLE: Conscription in the 21st Century in Six Countries in Europe**

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Authors:

Emma Jonsson, Mikael Salo, Thomas Ferst, Kairi Kasearu, Eleri Lillemäe, Teija Sederholm, Jurate Novagrockienė, Johan Österberg, Frank Bruntland Steder, Sofia Svensén, Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Tiia-Triin Truusa

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

## **14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 12**

### **ROUNDTABLE 1b: COVID & Domestic Military Operations – Small countries (Heinecken Organizer)**

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- 1. The Netherlands: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Gerold de Gooijer

[GL.d.Gooijer@mindef.nl](mailto:GL.d.Gooijer@mindef.nl)

[Dutch Ministry of Defense, Netherlands Defence Academy](#)

- 10. Belgium: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Delphine Resteirgne

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[Royal Belgium Defence Academy](#)

- 11. Portugal: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Helena Carreiras

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Lisbon University Institute

- 12. Sweden: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Erik Hedlund  
[erik.hedlund@fhs.se](mailto:erik.hedlund@fhs.se)  
Swedish Defence University

**13. Lithuania: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Deividas Šlekys  
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University of Lithuania

**14. Latvia: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Guna Gavrilko  
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Tom Rostoks  
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Vitalijs Rakstins  
[v.rakstins@gmail.com](mailto:v.rakstins@gmail.com)  
University of Latvia & Latvian Defence Academy

**15. Estonia: the use of military forces during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Tiia-Triin Truusa  
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Estonian Institute of Social Studies

**VIOLENCE & THE MILITARY: SESSION 2 – Individual Presentations**

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**1. Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO's) in the "New Look" Russian Armed Forces: The limits to military diffusion**

Jack J. Porter  
[porterj1@citadel.edu](mailto:porterj1@citadel.edu)

**2. The Effects of Global Governance Approaches on Constellations of Power and Civil-Military Relations in Hybrid Orders**

Cornelia Baciú  
[cornelia.baciú@uni-konstanz.de](mailto:cornelia.baciú@uni-konstanz.de)

**16. Armed Forces in Public Security in Brazil**

Celso Castro  
[celso.castro@fgv.br](mailto:celso.castro@fgv.br)

**17. Ambiguity and the Problem of Institutional Affiliation: Serbian Paramilitaries in the breakup of Yugoslavia**

Iva Vukušić  
[vukusic.iva@gmail.com](mailto:vukusic.iva@gmail.com)

**PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 5 – Conscription and Other Forms of Public Service**

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**1. Measuring the Security and Defence Culture in Spain: A review of previous indicators from a political culture perspective**

Alberto Bueno

[albertobueno@ugr.es](mailto:albertobueno@ugr.es)

Adolfo Calatrava

Rafael Martínez

**2. Study «Security 2021»: Attitudes toward a Mandatory Citizen Service**

Thomas Ferst

[Thomas.Ferst@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:Thomas.Ferst@vtg.admin.ch)

Jacques Robert

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Tresch Szvircsev

[Tibor.Szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:Tibor.Szvircsev@vtg.admin.ch)

**3. Reasons For and Against the Necessity of the Armed Forces in Switzerland – Results of two opinion surveys before COVID-19**

Jacques Robert

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Thomas Ferst

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**MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP: SESSION 3**

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**1. Special Units: Mechanisms and processes shaping commanders' ethical considerations in light of emerging technologies**

Zipi Gushpantz

[zipi@gushpantz.com](mailto:zipi@gushpantz.com)

**2. Individual Moral Identity and Organizational Citizenship Behaviors in the Canadian Armed Forces**

Felix Fonseca

[feftyfons@hotmail.com](mailto:feftyfons@hotmail.com)

**18. Putting Leadership in Extremis into Practice**

Michael Holenweger

[michael.holenweger@vtg.admin.ch](mailto:michael.holenweger@vtg.admin.ch)

## Program Abstracts by Day

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### Monday 19 July 2021

1600 – 17:45 Registration - **Lossi 36, 1<sup>st</sup> floor**

18.00 – 20.00 Opening Ceremony at Estonian Military Academy, Riia 12

### Tuesday 20 July 2021

08.30 – 09.30 Registration

09.30 – 11.00 Plenary Opening – **Ülikooli 18**

Address by ERGOMAS President Tiia-Triin Truusa & President of ISA RC01 Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution Lindy Heinecken

Welcome address by Commander of the Estonian Defence Forces Lt Gen Martin Herem

Keynote Address by Anthony King from King's College London

**11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break    Lossi 36**

### 11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 1

#### **GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 1 - Work-Life Balance, Operations and Practical Issues**

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##### **1. Work-life Balance in the Military: A pipedream?**

Stéfanie von Hlatky  
Queen's University, Canada  
[cidpgenderlab@queensu.ca](mailto:cidpgenderlab@queensu.ca)  
Bibi Imre-Millei  
Queen's University, Canada  
Anna McAlpine  
Queen's University, Canada  
Heni Pupco  
Queen's University, Canada

Many of those who study military personnel have heard comments about work-life balance or lack thereof from military members. When it comes to work-life balance, most studies to date have focused on serving military members (usually men) or military spouses (usually women). Our study attempts to fill gaps in the research by using qualitative data from focus

groups and interviews with veterans in Ontario, Canada to focus on dual service couples and women serving in the military. We argue that the military, as an organization, still largely operates from a heteronormative construct which assumes that predominantly male soldiers will have support from their wife, who will manage the situation on the “home front.” This leads to women taking on greater caring burdens than their male counterparts in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), and a different kind of strain on their work-life balance. We propose that to retain women in the CAF it is necessary to approach work-life balance strain with a sensitivity to gender. We recommend the CAF employ a more holistic approach to family policy, and better train supervisors on how to model and incorporate healthy work-life balance.

## **2. Women, Soldiers and Mothers. A qualitative analysis of perceptions of motherhood in the Spanish Armed Forces.**

Sheima Hossain-López

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Dolores Ruíz-Berdún

Universidad de Alcalá, Spain

In 1998 Spain first allowed women to join the armed forces. At present, Spanish women are present in all units of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, without any restrictions limiting their functions. Nevertheless, there is a lack of research related to specific female issues, such as the challenges they face while pregnant or the impact of motherhood on their military careers, as well. While previous research, within NATO forces, quantified the impact of pregnancy and childbirth on the physical performance of women returning to service after maternity leave, no study to date has examined the narratives of these women. Therefore, a qualitative study was carried out by means of individual interviews which were subsequently analysed employing the interpretative approach of hermeneutic phenomenology. Five themes, and several subthemes, emerged from the analysis of the interviews:

- Anticipating the impact of motherhood on careers
- Being a pregnant woman in the military
- Back to service: Re-entry and parenting
- Pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum care
- Proposals for improvement

Understanding and addressing the needs of servicewomen during pregnancy, after childbirth or even before getting pregnant is crucial not only to both military and civilian healthcare providers but also to their command chain.

## **3. It's Not for Everybody" - Trial of mixed lodging of male and female conscripts in Finland**

Roosa Rahikka

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Teemu Tallberg

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Since 1995 doing military service has been possible for women in Finland on a voluntary basis. From the beginning, the female minority of conscripts has mainly been accommodated in barracks separate from the male majority. This has resulted in problems and gendered divisions in terms of interaction, communication and cohesion. To tackle this problem, and to perhaps

find tools for fighting gendered bullying and harassment, an ongoing trial on mixed lodging has been organised within the Finnish Defence Forces since the summer of 2020.

This study looks into the experiences and opinions of conscripts on mixed lodging and the trial. The study is based on a survey and interviews conducted during autumn 2020 in the two brigades where the trial was organized (n=1627). 67% of the responding conscripts gave their consent for participating in the trial, but only 13% (213 respondents) were living in mixed rooms. For the majority of conscripts, mixed lodging seems to be a preferred or satisfactory way of organising, but the trial brings up also more hidden undertones of gender and sexuality.

Keywords: Conscription, gender, mixed lodging

## **MORALE, COHESION AND LEADERSHIP - SESSION 1**

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### **1. Doctrines, Training and Practices: First feedback on an international comparison**

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The paper will present the first results of an ongoing international project devoted to an international comparison in the field of leadership. Based on an analysis of doctrines then their variation in terms of command / leadership training logics and, finally, practices in these fields within fifteen nations, the purpose will focus on establishing convergences, common points but also the possible singularities specific to each nation.

### **2. Commanding in Territorial Defence Forces - Challenges and chances for improving the organisational culture of Regular Armed Forces**

Slawomir Nowotny

[snowotny@mon.gov.pl](mailto:snowotny@mon.gov.pl)

Grzegorz Predel, Col.

Ministry of Defence Poland

Territorial Defence Forces (TDF) where volunteers serve parallelly with performing their civil jobs is a bridge between society and regular armed forces seen as systems. The study aims in comparing organizational culture (OC) of these two types of AF with focus on styles of leadership dominating in each. In regular AF both sides of commander-subordinate relation are professional soldiers. In TDF majority of subordinates are volunteers, nonprofessional soldiers maintaining their main civilian status. Checking if OC in the latter fits this specificity or rather reproduce typical military style of command, besides contributing to the general body of social military knowledge, may have practical value for improvement of command systems in regular AF.

The Polish case seems particularly valuable inasmuch as since 2016 TDF have been formatted here independently from the hierarchical system of regular AF. Their core professional staff has been recruited from among special forces officers and the component is supervised directly by the civil military administration (MoD), not incorporated into regular military command hierarchy headed by the General Staff and General Command. It provides optimal conditions for a comparative analysis.



### **3. Estonian's Conscripts Satisfaction with their Service – A multilevel approach**

Kairi Kasearu

[kairi.kasearu@ut.ee](mailto:kairi.kasearu@ut.ee)

Liina-Mai Tooding

University of Tartu, Estonia

This study aims to explain the adaptation of conscripts to the compulsory military service from multilevel perspective. In Estonia, conscription is compulsory for all male citizens and the society in general strongly supports the idea of conscription, but from individual perspective, the young men have difficulties to incorporate the military service into their lives. However, in recent years, the share of conscripts who start their service with personal application (volunteers) has increased and the attrition rate decreased. In this study, we follow multilevel approach and take into account that conscripts are nested to the units. Thus, we distinguish the individual (sociodemographic background, attitudes, previous connection with military related organizations, military rank) and unit level effects (ethnic heterogeneity of the unit, unit cohesion, perceived leadership) on service satisfaction. Data are from Estonian Conscripts' Survey completed in 2020-2021, in collaboration of University of Tartu and Estonian Defence Forces.

### **4. Diversity of approaches towards commander training for asymmetric warfare**

Ausra Kaminskaite

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General Jonas Zemaitis Military academy of Lithuania

Cross-national and national studies on leadership in asymmetric warfare done during last decade identified several problems concerning the commander's pre-deployment training. The research results from Lithuania data shows that commanders of various military ranks made various mistakes in the asymmetric war (Kuckailis, E., 2012). System of commander's pre-deployment training was mainly organized by military ranks and field of responsibility. The pre-deployment training for the unit commanders and the platoon commanders for the ISAF PRT in Afghanistan was organized within national armed forces facilities in Lithuania. Meanwhile pre-deployment training for the senior commanders took place outside the country. In the interviews some lower rank junior unit commanders pointed out that the pre-deployment training they additionally updated with information from various sources like experience of former Afghanistan "war", books, open sources, from NATO soldiers who had already taken part in operations. Respondent mentioned "All this was badly needed. I think we have been preparing for this for a long time and we have been ready to respond to various threats". Senior commanders (company commanders and battalion commanders) received different training before deployment at ISAF PRT in Afghanistan. Their training took place in various command and staff courses in Germany, for example the joint command and general staff course in the NATO school, or the practice with headquarter commander for a few weeks in Norway. Assessing the pre-deployment training, junior but especially senior commanders indicated that asymmetric warfare preparation requires not only military knowledge, but even more other non-military knowledge. This conference paper is based on the results extracted from the semi-structural interviews and survey data analysis of experienced asymmetric warfare commanders. Data was gathered during the years 2019-2020. Paper presents research questions such as: how to optimize pre-deployment training; have or have not military universities, military colleges and

military schools contribute to this training and why; why and how there is the diversity of approaches towards pre-deployment training.

## **PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY - SESSION 1: Between Force and Violence – The Use of the Military and Military Force from a German Perspective**

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**Organizer:**

Markus Steinbrecher

**Chair:**

Thomas Ferst

**1. Military Action within Different ‘Zones of Violence’: The example of the Kunduz Bombing**

Nina Leonhard

[NinaLeonhard@bundeswehr.org](mailto:NinaLeonhard@bundeswehr.org)

The starting point for this paper is the role of the military as an agency of the state’s monopoly on the use of force, which is based on the general authorization to exercise violence (‘to kill people and destroy things’) on behalf of and with reference to an existing legal order. The (not least publicly debated) question here is when under which circumstances which military action is permitted. However, the distinction between what is ‘permitted’, ‘prohibited’ and possibly ‘required’ is not set once and for all, but can and must be repeatedly defined and legitimized. In this paper, I will analyse such classification processes in relation to military action by using the example of the air strike in Kunduz, Afghanistan.

In September 2009, a German colonel ordered the bombing of two cistern trucks near the Kunduz River in Afghanistan, killing dozens of Afghan civilians, including children. This incident led to the resignation of the former defence minister and the dismissal of the head of the German armed forces as well as one of the state secretaries. In addition to criminal, civil and disciplinary proceedings, a committee of inquiry of the German Parliament (Deutscher Bundestag) was set up to examine the facts and shed light on the causes for this fatal military decision.

Based on the 580-page report documenting the results of this political inquiry, the papers aims at tracing the processes of establishing and adjusting the boundaries between the zones of ‘permitted’, ‘prohibited’ and ‘required’ violence, thus relying on the concept of ‘zones of violence’ introduced by Jan Philipp Reemtsma (2008). In this sense, the work of the parliamentary committee of inquiry can be understood as a space where the status of military force in the Federal Republic is symbolically negotiated. The paper will end with a discussion of the implications of this kind of ‘boundary work’ for civil-military relations in Germany.

**2. Attitude of the German Population regarding The Domestic Employment of Bundeswehr Assets**

Meike Wanner

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At the beginning of the 21st century, the world was shaken by a series of terrorist attacks. Following the efficacious attacks of September 2001 in the USA, terrorism has unfolded its terrifying effect across Europe. As a reaction to the increasing threat situation and the terrorist attacks also conducted in Germany, there were repeated discussions about employing the

German armed forces to combat terrorism within the Federal Republic of Germany and about an increased collaboration between the military and the police.

Since 1996, the Bundeswehr Centre of Military History and Social Sciences has performed an annual survey among the population, thus having acquired the longest and most current time series of attitudes towards security and defence-policy matters among the German population. Using empirical data analyses, the essay presented here is designed to highlight the following questions: How and by what do Germans feel themselves threatened? What position do the citizens assume regarding the questions whether and to what extent the Bundeswehr should be employed for strengthening the inner security of the country? The extent of approval or rejection regarding the assumption of domestic duties by the German armed forces shall be considered and the explaining factors behind this shall be elaborated in detail.

### **3. Public Attitudes on Armed Drones in Germany and their Determinants**

Markus Steinbrecher

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The equipment of the Bundeswehr with armed drones has been a topic of political conflict and public debate for several years in Germany. This contribution will look at German public opinion on this issue. I will identify the most important determinants of attitudes towards armed drones and will focus on foreign and security policy postures, political attitudes, and socio-demographic characteristics.

Germany's strategic culture is dominated by three aspects: 1) a clear multilateral orientation which means very close ties to NATO and the EU at the same time, 2) a consideration between the United States and a close transatlantic partnership on the one hand and a special relationship between France as Germany's most important neighbor on the other, and 3) a strong reluctance towards the use of military force. Especially this posture might be an important driver of attitudes towards armed drones and their use by the German Armed Forces.

The results of the analyses are particularly relevant because democratic politics and political decision-making in democracies are eventually dependent on the support by a majority of its citizens. In this vein, the contribution will provide important information with respect to potential limitations or opportunities for German foreign and security policy.

## **CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY - SESSION 1**

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**Chair:** Maja Garb

### **1. Social Cohesion, Social Contracts and Military Covenants: Negotiated relations and solidarity in Estonia**

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The Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel

This paper uses the case of Estonia to theorize the relations between the military covenant and social cohesion. The military covenant refers to the set of implicit but morally binding expectations that mark the relations and exchange between military, society and the state. In this study we address the relation between the military covenant and social cohesion and the social contract – two concepts centering on the questions of “how and what binds a society together”.

The basis of the relation between the military covenant and the social contract and social cohesion lies in its duality. While the military is like “any other” large public institution charged with delivering goods and services, its uniqueness lies in holding the monopoly over the management of legitimate organized state violence. Hence, the military covenant touches upon social cohesion and the social contract in three ways: civilian control of the armed forces, the military as defender of the national collective and the willingness of troops to sacrifice life and limb in violent encounters.

Estonia is in transition and marked by combined processes of democratization, rapid economic development, mediatization, juridification the spread of European values along with the continuation of some traditional values. This situation means that the negotiations over the terms of the social contract and the military covenant are an inherent element in the emergence of, and contestation about, social cohesion.

## **2. Absence of Courts in the Civil-Military Dynamic and the Consequences for Discipline**

Pauline Collins

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The highest Courts in Canada and Australia have recently examined the reach of military discipline. Both Courts have upheld a historical permission for the military to discipline its own, including for civilian criminal offences committed in a private capacity during peacetime. These decisions have strengthened the separate military control over a significant segment of society. The executive, legislature, and courts which are to ensure civilian control over the military, as exemplified by a balanced three-legged stool, now pictures a broken stool. *R v Stillman* saw the Canadian Supreme Court deny eight military personnel civilian court justice. *Private R v Cowen* sought the Australian High Court’s position on the legislature’s limits under the defence power in providing for the control of defence personnel. Both Court’s reasonings have arguably broadened the exceptional reach of military discipline. However, the decisions are not unanimous with questions remaining on the reach of military discipline. This paper argues the courts have missed an opportunity on two fronts. To bring military discipline in line with modern expectations in relation to human and worker rights and to ensure personnel are responsive to the demands of law and discipline.

## **3. Sociology of the Military in Ukraine: From systematic to case studies**

Ivanov Oleh

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Since the USSR's collapse Black Sea region, in which Ukraine is one of the central powers, has become in many ways important for European security. Today the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU) are the only state army that openly takes part in combat in Europe. After the war in the Donbas region broke out the AFU transformed both quantitatively and qualitatively: it increased

to almost 300 thousand active personnel and changes its marginal status in Ukrainian society. That is why we cannot but consider the social problems of AFU and their possible implications on its ability to ensure security in the region. The author summarizes his 3.5 years' experience of leading an applied sociological studies laboratory at the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine. Key organizational, methodological problems, and findings of sociological studies of socio-economic, gender, deviance, religion, and ideological issues in the AFU are presented. The main causes of de facto termination of systematic sociological studies in AFU are considered.

#### **4. Mapping Multinational Cooperation**

Ina Kraft

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Starting in the early 2000s multinational cooperation between European armed forces has been receiving increasing scholarly attention. However, academic interest in the topic suffers from a number of shortfalls. The concept of 'multinational' cooperation, to start with, has been taken over from the political sphere without sufficient investment in a thorough academic definition. Furthermore, research on military cooperation almost exclusively focused on structures such as corps, divisions, and brigades thereby overlooking other forms of cooperation such as mutual affiliations, joint armaments projects, common exercises, and multinational operations. Lastly, multinational cooperation served in many studies as a contextual or an independent factor to account for what was at the actual heart of research. This paper attempts to overcome these shortfalls by offering a theory-based definition as well as a classification of multinational cooperation comprising of the categories 'structures', 'processes', and 'activities'. In addition, the paper switches perspective and treats multinational cooperation as the explanandum. Based on theories of international and organisational cooperation it discusses first empirical insights as to why states engage in military cooperation in the domains of multinational structures, processes, and activities. The research presented is part of an on-going 10-years project on military cooperation.

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

## **14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 2**

### **WARRIORS IN PEACEKEEPING - SESSION 1: Panel Warrior Conceptions in the Military – Helpful, harmful or even dangerous?**

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#### **1. "Introduction: The warrior concept"**

Maren Tomforde

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Combat capability lies at the heart of the military profession. Soldiers need to be able to fight and kill and at the same time remain team fighters in a disciplined unit without turning towards an unregulated, martial culture that might be represented by harmful warrior concepts. "Warrior" is a multifarious concept and can stand for many, sometimes opposing notions and meanings in different socio-cultural contexts through time and space. This paper will first compare existing warrior conceptions of militaries and add to a clarification of terminology as terms connected to

the warrior concept such as warrior ethos, warrior cult or warrior traits are still loosely defined and can even have opposite meanings. Secondly, we will explore how militaries strive to immunize professional soldiers to shift away from discipline, rules and regulations towards individuals who are unaccountable to the law and who adhere to harmful warrior concepts existing within the military and beyond.

## 2. “The Army is No Place for a Warrior: Elite forces, atrocities, and professional military identity”

Christopher Ankersen

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The figure of the warrior appears to be appealing in contemporary militaries. Armies use it in their recruiting campaigns and use it to frame their ethical frameworks. The notions of toughness, perseverance, and aggressiveness fit well with the need to develop individuals into combat capable soldiers.

However, warriors are problematic characters. Across the Indo-European mythic and empirical landscape up to an, we consistently see warriors as:

- Being endogenously motivated;
- Having a troubled relationship with authority;
- Having a paradoxical relationship with the feminine; and
- Being given to rage, violence, and destruction.

The kinds of atrocities that we have seen committed in Somalia and Afghanistan, for instance, are consistent with the mythical warrior tradition, but wholly inappropriate for contemporary, professional militaries.

Using elite units in Canada (Canadian Airborne Regiment) and Australia (Special Air Service Regiment) as my focus, I will illustrate how militaries attempt to ‘cherry pick’ the positive traits they believe are associated with warriors, but are often of ignorant of, and therefore blind to, the negative traits. What is more disturbing, though, is that the concept of the warrior is often underspecified in these organizations, leaving a great deal of interpretation by individuals, often referring to imagery from popular culture rather than an ‘approved’ and institutional understanding.

## 3. “The Warrior in the Military: A concept that is misleading”

Gerhard Kümmel

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Martin Elbe

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The warrior is a concept that is intensely discussed in public and social sciences. There are many who see a need for soldiers to become warriors (again). In Germany, e.g., political scientist Andreas Herberg-Rothe advocates the ‘democratic warrior’ and historian Sönke Neitzel perceives a need for transforming soldiers into warriors.

Yet, we are skeptical and critical of the current warrior hype. Do we actually need warriors in the armed forces in liberal democratic countries?

There are numerous influencing factors on the professional role of soldiers today we will address in our paper. We agree that there is an obvious need for fighting capabilities in the military, but the implicit archaic notions in the debate about the return of the warrior should not be part of a contemporary conception of the soldier. This archaism carries a seed that leads to incidents like the ones described in the Brereton Report. By resorting to official documents, surveys and ego-documents of German veterans in our paper we will conceptualize the professional soldier today in sharp delineation to the concept of the warrior.

#### 4. Emotions in War

Sandy Brice

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The evolution of hybrid wars is leading to a deregulation of conflicts, which, added to the problems linked to the institutional mutation in the French armies, express a modification of paradigm, in the way of approaching confrontations. Faced with these organizational changes, the men and women who fight, also suffer from these changes. We note an increase in both post-traumatic stress disorder, psychotic and addictive behavior, suicides, as well as deviant behavior, which can be illustrated with the Firmin Mahé or Abu Ghraïb cases.

Why these soldiers trained and formatted to be the quintessence of the representation of moral values, to embody an ethical strict code, firmly taught, commit these atrocities? The first line of research lies in the idealized representation of the traditional virile warrior, of the hyper-technologized fighter, of the peace-soldier who saves populations, which feeds a risky myth. Secondly, the provision of sophisticated technological equipment and increasingly complex missions, particularly in terms of law, steer us to wonder about the treatment reserved for the morale of the troops faced with the evolution of mental health issues. Ultimately, we want to understand how soldiers' emotions are handled in the French armies.

### MILITARY FAMILIES - SESSION 1

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#### 1. The Mutual Adjustment of the Combat Commander and his Wife: The contribution of perceived social support

Zitronblat Limor

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Prof. Rachel Dekel

There are numerous effects on military couples whose face a demanding, unusual, and difficult lifestyle. One of the unique marital stress situations in Israel, with its complex security reality, is dealing with a spouse whose military service takes place in a combat unit. Social support may play an important role in the military couples marital satisfaction by buffering the effect of this situation with different types of support (emotional, cognitive, and instrumental provided by different "agents" (spouse, family, friends, or religious beliefs).

The present study examined the contribution of social support to the adjustment of couples in which one member is a combat commander. (N = 248). Dyadic analysis applying the actor-partner inter-dependence model (APIM) was used. Results showed that only the support provided by the wife to the husband was associated with marital satisfaction in actor effects

whereas support provided by family members to both spouses was significantly associated with marital satisfaction, especially in partner effects. Results highlights the importance of social support in these couples in which one member is a combat commander, as well as the need to further identify those agents and dimensions of support that make the greatest contribution to marital satisfaction.

## 2. **“Nobody Wants to be the Needy Person Who Can’t Cope”: Stigma, militarism, and support-seeking**

Emma Long

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There are complex networks of support available to military families - including state, military and charity-organised provision – aiming to mitigate disadvantage and hardship experienced due to their association with military life. However, whilst these options for support are available and organisations encourage military families to access them, support-seeking can be stigmatised across the military community. This presentation considers ways in which stigma associated with support-seeking among non-serving partners of members of the British Army is (re)produced. Whilst stigma might be perpetuated between army partners (eg. through their interactions), it is also (re)produced through gendered militarism which is embedded within military cultures and military-organised welfare policy and provision. Through analysis of (a) 26 army partners’ perspectives and experiences of support-seeking, (b) 26 formal support staff’s reflections on provision and attempts to address stigma, and (c) information provided to army partners by military-organised support during deployments, this presentation considers some of the ways in which stigma is (re)produced. It focuses on the rhetoric of prioritising operational effectiveness, constructs of hierarchies of deservedness, and attempts to tackle stigma. It calls for future research to take seriously how stigma happens within military communities, not through micro-interactions, but as made possible through militarised structures.

## 3. **Military Family: Risk factors for health and well-being**

Janja Vuga Bersnak

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At the Ergomas conference 2019 I have presented model of military-specific risk and protective factors for military families’ well-being and health outcomes.

Our research group empirically tested and modified the model and analysed the risk/protective factors on various (micro, meso, macro) socio-ecological levels. The health outcomes and well-being (relationship dissatisfaction, intimate partnership violence, parent–child relationship and child well-being, workplace relationships physical health and injuries, psychoactive substance misuse, depression and PTSD) were analysed and contextualised empirically by relying on mixed methods research, for both military and civilian samples, which allows us to distinguish those factors specific to the military and not shared with civilian families.

At the Ergomas 2021 conference I would like to present the results.

Purpose: Our purpose is: 1) to establish which risk/protective factors influence health outcomes; 2) to reveal whether (and, if so, which) risk/protective factors in fact stem from the military (are military-specific) and which are found in society at large.



Methods: We performed the mixed methods research: a) analysis of existing research; b) expert interviews with relevant military and civilian experts; c) developing the measurement tool; d) testing the model: the quantitative survey.

#### **4. The Work-Family Interface in Military Context: Current knowledge, future challenges**

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Organizing and combining work and private life has gained considerable attention in research and practice in the past several decades, in all sectors, including the military. In several respects, characteristics of the military profession can pose unique challenges in balancing work and private (including family) life. In the Netherlands, imbalance between work and personal life is one of the main reasons for personnel to leave the military. (Recent) research, in civil and military context, provides insight into antecedents and consequences, but also into the complexity and layering of the issue. The aim of this paper is threefold: first, to set forth the current state of knowledge on work-life balance, with a particular focus on the military context and including (recent) research findings from Dutch military personnel; second, to propose a perspective to approach the issue of work-life balance; and third, to identify future challenges and research directions.

## **RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION - SESSION 1: Retention**

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### **1. Recruitment and Retention at a Canadian Reserve Regiment in 2020**

Stéfanie von Hlatky

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Bibi Imre-Millei

Queen's University Canada

Anna McAlpine

Queen's University Canada

Heni Pupco

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The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has recently experienced difficulties in maintaining its desired numbers of personnel and has sought to remedy this with a renewed emphasis on recruitment and retention in order to boost numbers. Adjacent to this focus, the CAF is also attempting to reach the goal of 25% women in the CAF by 2026. To explore where these two goals of the CAF overlapped, twenty-two members of a Canadian infantry reserve regiment were interviewed between March and May 2020. The study revealed patterns about the CAF's broader recruitment and retention efforts as well as this specific regiment's effort. Further, some results point to specific changes which the CAF can implement, such as creating a more defined retention strategy for the reserves, the importance of focusing on mid-ranking individuals, and the positive impact of camaraderie and an affirmative and welcoming environment on recruitment. A key insight from the study was attitudes of young men in the reserves on women

in the military, sexual misconduct, and the general inclusion of underrepresented groups in the CAF. These findings are of particular importance for future policy and training on these issues, as this is one of the largest demographics in the CAF.

## **2. Assessment of the Refresher Course (RC) System of the Swiss Armed Forces from the Perspective of Company Commanders**

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Switzerland's Armed Forces (SAF) is based on the principle of conscription and militia. Thus, the majority of enlisted and officer grades are held by conscripted militia members and only a small percentage is professionalized. The training service model of the SAF includes a three weeks annual refresher course (RC) planned and conducted by company commanders. However, this RC system is coming under increasing criticism, also reflected in the high number of drop-outs of soldiers and cadres. Therefore, the aim of the research project described in this paper was to investigate the assessment of the RC system of the SAF from the perspective of company commanders. For this purpose, a quantitative online survey with 368 out of 605 company commanders was conducted.

Overall, the results showed that the company commanders support the RC system as the SAF's service model and largely reject alternative adaptations. Nevertheless, the analyses identified aspects that proved to be problematic and thus worthy of change: the high administrative and off-duty workload for company commanders, the incompatibility of military militia activity with civilian life, the preference of professionals for higher cadre functions, as well as the high number of postponements of RC and drop-outs by soldiers and also cadres.

## **3. The Role of Leadership in the Retention of Talent: The case of the Portuguese Air Force**

António Azevedo

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Nuno Loureiro

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Talent retention is a pressing concern for organizations in a globalized and highly competitive world. The leaders, due to the effect they can have on the performance and satisfaction of employees and their turnover intention, have an important role in this process. The Portuguese Air Force is also not unaware of this problem.

Through a quantitative strategy and deductive reasoning, based on a cross-sectional research design, this study aims to assess the influence of leadership style (LS) in retaining talent in Portuguese Air Force.

It is concluded that, in the perception of the Portuguese Air Force military, the predominant leadership style is Transformational, with a significant strong effect in increasing Effectiveness, Satisfaction and Extra-effort and weak effect in reducing the turnover intention; followed by Passive LS, with a significant moderate effect in reducing Effectiveness, Satisfaction and Extra-

effort and weak effect in increasing turnover intention. The Transactional LS, the least present, has no correlation with the turnover intention. Significant LS differences are also noticed between gender and between the military categories, and various strategies for retaining talent are discussed. The results thus indicate that the practice of a Transformational LS contributes positively to retaining talent.

## **RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION: SESSION 4**

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### **Conscription in the 21st Century in Six Countries in Europe**

Emma Jonsson, Mikael Salo, Thomas Ferst, Kairi Kasearu, Eleri Lillemäe, Teija Sederholm, Jurate Novagrockienė, Johan Österberg, Frank Bruntland Steder, Sofia Svensén, Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Tiia-Triin Truusa

There are predominantly two different sets of systems when it comes to the manning of armed forces; through conscription or through an all-volunteer force (AVF). There are different variables that have an effect on the selection of the military system. Mainly the geography and geopolitical location of the country, the size of the nation, the historical background and experiences, the perceived security environment, the number of citizens available for the defence, and the size of the defence budget. Conscription today differ quite a lot from the time during the Cold War, and conscription also differ a lot between countries with a conscript system. This study focuses on the conscription system and describes reasons, meaning and arrangements in six European countries (Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland) in the beginning of 2020. The paper includes a background on the topic of conscription, and the different concepts of today's conscription where e.g. Sweden and Norway have gender neutral conscription, and Switzerland and Finland still select a large proportion of the male cohort into conscription. Finally, the benefits and disadvantages of conscription to both the country and its citizens are discussed.

**16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break**

**4<sup>th</sup> floor Coffee Corner**

## **16.15 – 17.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 3**

### **COVID-19 IMPLICATIONS FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY - SESSION 1: Civil Military Relations and Cooperation during COVID**

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#### **1. Civil-Military Collaboration for the Construction of a Temporary Hospital for Corona Patients**

Erik Hedlund

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Camilla Lönngrén

Swedish Defence University

In early 2020, decision makers in Stockholm were concerned that intensive care units in Stockholm would be stretched beyond capacity because of the massive spread of the corona virus. Therefore, they decided that a group of doctors, a construction company and the Swedish Armed

Forces would build a hospital inside an exhibition hall located south of Stockholm. This study examines this project as an example of civil-military crisis management. Through field study observations and in-depth interviews, this study investigates what was successful and what was unsuccessful in terms of collaboration between different organizations during an escalating crisis. The conclusion is that the civil-military collaboration worked surprisingly well because of a common 'goal' and a sense that the project was important to society. However, among civil health-care actors there were challenges related to distrust and an unclear chain of command.

Keywords: Civil-military relations, corona virus, collaboration, crisis management

**2. Between the End of the Great Recession and the Beginning of the COVID-19 Crisis: The armed forces, the state and civil society in Spain (2019-2021)**

Carlos Navajas Zubeldia

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The COVID-19 crisis broke out in Spain when the effects of the Great Recession that began in 2008 had not completely passed, so that from 2020 two crises overlapped: the end of the Great Recession and the beginning of the COVID-19. Naturally, both affected security and defense policy and, by extension, civil-military relations in Spain. We have already analyzed the first in several previous studies in which the effects of the Great Recession in our country and the Armed Forces have been analyzed until 2018, while the second is the main contribution of this paper. Apart from this, we will also examine other relevant issues of recent years (2019-2021), such as, for example, the persistence of Neo-Praetorianism that began in 2006 and lasts until 2021, the first National Defense Directive of President Sánchez (2018-), the new organization of the Armed Forces, the manipulation of the demands of the military by the extreme right and other classic topics in this kind of research (military spending, material policy, personnel policy, international missions, etc.).

**3. "Operation Resilience": The French Armed Forces and COVID-19**

Saïd Haddad

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Launched on March 25<sup>th</sup> 2020, *Opération Résilience* is the Armed Forces contribution to the French government engagement against the spread of Covid-19. This "operation aims at supporting public service and the French people in the fields of health, logistics and protection, in France and overseas, while taking into account the need to pursue operations for the safety of the French people, on the national territory, in the air, on the seas, in the cyber space, as well in overseas missions" as mentioned in the press kit dedicated to this operation. This communication aims to discuss the deployment of the French militaries by describing the operations, the means implemented in a context of engagement overseas and in France. It will also discuss how the French Armed forces deployment was also an essential element of the government crisis communication and how the MOD dealt with the crisis when the French aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle and The Aeronaval Group of the Naval Action Force was reached by the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on the analysis of the legal and official documents and on a media corpus, this contribution will explore all these questions.

**4. Development of Civil and Military Emergent Crisis Organizations in the Netherlands in Response to COVID-19**

Huib Zijderveld  
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The COVID-19 crisis has severely impacted our lives and it has had devastating effects on vital functions of society (Boin, Ekengren, & Rhinard, 2020; Rouleau, Hällgren, & Rond, 2020). In the Netherlands, the government has called upon its military to support overstretched civil emergency services in response to the coronavirus (Kalkman, 2020). The military has reshaped to this end its national crisis coordination organization (Territoriaal Operatie Centrum) on a national level. This process was accompanied by an increase of tasks and a high influx of additional military personnel congregated across operational commands and training centers. In literature, this process is known as: 'group emergence' (Quarantelli, 1997). Moreover, during this crisis response, military officers have been engaged in the development of new emergent civilian crisis organizations as liaisons, crisis management advisors and active participants. These officers have advised civilian crisis managers in shaping the structure and modus operandi of new crisis organizations based on a military blueprint. Previous research has focused mainly on emergent volunteer organizations during the first phase of disaster response (Drabek & McEntire, 2003). This paper explores the roles that military experts play in the development of civilian emergent organizations during a long-lasting crisis. The research data is based on semi-structured interviews, fieldwork inside crisis coordination organizations, and document analysis. In doing so, this study takes a deductive approach and applies visual mapping (Langley, 1999).

## **TOTAL DEFENSE FORCE - SESSION 1: Security Force Assistance in the Era of Great Power Competition and COVID-19**

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### **Organizer and Panel Chair:**

Whitney Grespin  
King's College London, Defence Studies Department United States  
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### **Panel Abstract:**

Security force assistance remains a preferred method of pursuing strategic aims through a 'small footprint' approach, as building partner capacity replaces the need for to send forces to conduct missions in foreign territory by empowering partners. However, coordination and cooperation between partner nations, state militaries, non-state armed groups, and contracted surrogates remains highly elastic as military forces reorient towards Great Power Competition, and do so within the limitations of movement dictated by the COVID-19 pandemic. This panel will address the challenges of remaining engaged in security force assistance efforts with partner nations and maintaining civ-mil relations in an increasingly resource-scarce and physically limited environment dictated by shifting national priorities and public health allowance.

### **Panel Chair:**

Whitney Grespin  
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**1. Adapting to Adaptive Adversaries: Defense institution building in Africa and absorptive capacity of African militaries**

Ashley Bybee

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Defense institution building (DIB) is a practical discipline aimed at building or reorienting a nation's defense sector to be more effective, affordable, and accountable. Originally focused on Eastern Europe, DIB programs are now being implemented in regions far less developed, in countries with significantly less capacity, and where partners are either actively combating an adversary or are highly vulnerable to looming threats. Africa, for example, has seen a surge in DIB programs over the last five years. African states differ from those in Eastern Europe: they face a relatively higher threat, have significantly less capacity, and have a unique colonial legacy. Further, the United States has a growing constellation of security interests on the African continent. This work discusses tools and processes for developing successful defense institution building efforts in low-capacity, high-threat African states and recommends activities for increasing engagement with interior security or police forces in addition to partner militaries.

**2. Security in Similarly: Explaining variation in cooperation between state militaries and foreign militant**

Melissa Carlson

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Why do certain government-foreign militant partners provide each other with more costly forms of support while others do not? Conventional wisdom characterizes government-foreign militant interactions as one-sided, under-the-table provision of basic weapons to opportunistic rebels. While this is sometimes the case, governments and foreign militants frequently provide each other more costly forms of support like advanced weapons systems and deploying elite forces to conduct joint combat operations. Drawing from organizational sociology and military scholarship on command and control, I argue that, when state armed forces and their militant group partners are organizationally similar, they are more likely to provide each other these more costly forms of support. I test my theory through two case studies: US support for Syrian militants and foreign Shia paramilitary support for the Assad regime during the recent Syrian conflict. My case studies draw on one year of fieldwork in Jordan and 68 interviews with relevant government officials and militants. I supplement these case studies with analyses of a subnational dataset of the Syrian militant brigades that received US support and a subnational dataset of the foreign Shia paramilitaries that provided support to the Assad regime.

**3. Principal-Agent Problems: USG use of contractors to deliver Security Force Assistance (SFA) across Africa**

Whitney Grespin

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Although private contingency contracting firms can contribute to building partner military capacity and may be a useful foreign policy tool, the impact that these non-state actors have must be taken into consideration to avoid weakening the perception of the sponsoring (in this

case, the United States') government's legitimacy. Therefore, the question must be asked, "Why does the USG often turn to private firms and individuals in order to deliver training and advisory services to build the capacity of partner militaries, rather than relying on its own military personnel, and what challenges does this present the USG?"

One of the primary contributions of this work is its documentation that, despite significant interest misalignments between the principal (USG) its agent(s) (contracting firms), this project's research indicates that the value judgement has been made repeatedly by USG policymakers and practitioners to suspend concerns about such conflicts of interest to allow for the use of contractors (as surrogates of military/government personnel) to build partner capacity. On balance, the USG's use of contractors to supplant traditional approaches to building partner capacity has utility, but it is not unbounded nor without lasting repercussions that may hamper the efficacy of such programming in the longer term.

**4. Best Practices from a Bad Crisis: Civil-military relations and the protection of civilians during the COVID-19 pandemic**

Emily Knowles

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The COVID-19 pandemic has created additional challenges for the protection of civilians in conflict-affected countries around the world. Many civilian agencies experienced significant restrictions in their abilities to carry out the population-centric, community engagement activities that form the backbone of their protection programmes. At the same time, many militaries, national guards, gendarmes and police forces were pulled into enforcing strict containment measures to protect public health, in many cases challenging their relationships with the populations they are supposed to protect.

A year into the pandemic, what can we learn from civilian and military successes in adapting to the challenges of protecting civilians during a global health crisis? This presentation draws on in-depth case studies of civil-military programming under COVID-19 across Nigeria, Tunisia, Iraq and Afghanistan to identify examples of best practice that can be used to prepare for the next crisis and reduce civilian harm during health emergencies in conflict zones.

## Wednesday 21 July 2021

### 09.30 – 11.00 Parallel Sessions 4

#### **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 3 - Comparing Pre-Commissioning Officer-Cadet Military Education 1: Southern and Mediterranean Europe**

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##### **Panel Abstract**

The "military academy" has been a component of junior officer preparation for 150 to 300 years. However, the form, structure, and role of the academy and its contributions continue to evolve.

As part of this evolution, tensions have arisen about how to balance the academy's focus on military preparation against general academic education, between being a military training school and a university, that is. This phenomenon has given rise to a secondary tension whereby the academy now has to demonstrate its value to multiple stakeholders, both internal and external to the defence establishment. Internally, the academy has to demonstrate the merit of this path to officership to aspiring cadets. It has to demonstrate the value-added of the knowledge it generates, curates and disseminates to the profession of arms in general and to officers in particular. It has to show its utility to decision-makers in government who are responsible for defence and security policy as clients for the academy's faculty for expertise. Externally, it must compete directly or indirectly with the academic community in general and in particular civilian universities to attract strong students. It must also prove its value to society at large, especially to those who pay attention to where government funds are expended. These audiences construe the academy and thus its payoff in different ways – in their understanding, definition, and framing: the academy can be perceived as a military training school or a university; a typical university or a niche – and expensive – university; a university or a disguised government think tank. How audiences conceive the academy strongly influences how much value is ascribed to the academy's outputs and outcomes and perhaps more importantly even, how these are measured. Those who represent the military academy find it difficult to provide coherent answers that satisfy all audiences. The aim of the following panels is thus to examine how military academies from across the globe have addressed these issues in their particular historical, social, and political context.

#### **Organizer & Chair**

Christian Leuprecht

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#### **Discussants, (all panels)**

Morten Brænder, Lindy Heinecken, Al Okros, Delphine Resteigne, Joe Soeters

#### **1. The Portuguese Military Academy: past and present challenges**

Ana Romão, Academia Militar; CICS.NOVA

David Pascoal Rosado, Academia Militar

Helena Carreiras, Instituto de Defesa Nacional

The Military Academy, in Lisbon, is one of the oldest military academies in Europe. At present, it provides education and military training to the cadets that will join the permanent boards of the Portuguese Army and Gendarmerie. During the past 30 years, it went through major transformations. The admission of women started in the early 1990s, and a deep reform brought military higher education closer to the national and European university standards. One of the main challenges ahead lies in conciliating the specificities of military training with the requirements of a university system anchored on competitive research, according to international criteria. In this presentation we will focus on how this balance is being achieved.

#### **2. An Analysis of the Education of Military Officers in the Turkish Armed Forces**



Uğur Güngör, Başkent University  
Kadir Varoğlu, Başkent University  
Ünsal Sığırı, Ostim Technical University

Turkey has a strong army in terms of quality and quantity both in its region and at the NATO. The educational system of the Turkish military officers has its own tradition. Even though the military education system has a traditional background, the technological, environmental, and social change is affecting the traditions of the military itself and its training programs.

The main purpose of this paper is to examine “the education systems of officers in Turkish Armed Forces and understand how Turkish professional military education evolved since the establishment of Turkish Military Academy in 1834. It gives answer to the question of which factors influenced the Turkish military education system. In this context, cultural aspects of Turkish Military was explained in detail in this study.

The paper discusses the recent developments in Turkish Military Education Systems and the impact of the July 15 attempted coup in 2016 on Military Education. The military training, education activities and Physical Training and Sports Program at the Military Academy under the Turkish National Defence University which was established after July 15 attempted coup were also explained.

### **3. The Challenges of the Education for Military Officers in Spain: Diversification and intensification**

Silvia Vicente, University Center of Defense  
Rafa Martínez, University of Barcelona

The current system to train the future military officers in Spain implemented from academic year 2010-2011. The reform of the Military Training and Education System of the Officer Cadets of the Armed Forces achieves a degree provided by new institutions: Defense University Centers (CUD). They were created by the Ministry of Defense which exercises ownership of such centers through the Under-Secretary for Defense.

Every CUD is affiliated with a public university. For instance, Army Officers are formed in the Academia General Militar of Zaragoza, thanks to an Agreement of Affiliation signed by the Minister of Defense and the President of the University of Zaragoza. This agreement states that future officers of all branches must get the degree in Management Engineering for achieve reach the rank of lieutenant, although without excluding other degrees that could also be issued in the future. Ten years later, the integration between military and civilian knowledge is complete and new studies are being developed for continuing strengthen the professional performance of Spanish officers. The challenges for the future are the election of new studies for bachelor’s degree, master’s degree and doctoral studies if it would be necessary. The current system still has a long way to go in this regard although the foundations are well stabilized for the future.

## **PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 3 - Threats and Threat Perceptions**

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**1. Afraid of Russia, Willing to Fight? How threat perceptions of Russia affect the public willingness in 11 NATO member states to honor Article 5 in case of a hypothetical military conflict with Russia**

Timo Graf

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In recent years, Russia has re-emerged as a military threat to European security, thus confirming NATO's continued relevance as a Western military alliance. Importantly, NATO's credibility as a military alliance depends on the solidarity of its member states. However, public threat perceptions of Russia differ among NATO member states. Do these differences matter for NATO solidarity? It is hypothesized that perceiving Russia as a major threat to one's country significantly increases the willingness to use national armed forces to defend a NATO ally in case of a hypothetical military conflict with Russia. A multivariate analysis of nationally representative survey data from eleven NATO member states puts that hypothesis to the test while accounting for the influence of a wide range of both macro- and micro-level variables. The implications of the empirical findings for NATO's internal alliance politics and for theories of political psychology and international relations are discussed.

**2. Perception of Security Threats and Armed Forces in Slovakia**

Dominika Cernakova

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Karol Cukan

Pavel Czirak

The security environment is currently characterized mainly by instability, uncertainty and growing complexity, which presupposes its dynamic instability. Security threats and military risks, which have dominated in most countries, especially in the last century, have disappeared, but those have been replaced by threats and risks, which by their characteristics create complex, unpredictable and, in particular, more difficult situations. In today's society, threats and risks of a non-military and hybrid nature prevail.

As the nature of security threats and risks changes, so do the demands on the state's defense, and the public can reflect these changes in different ways. How does the public perceive this change in security threats in Slovakia? Which security threats are perceived to be the most acute, and can the onset of the predominance of non-military threats change the perception of the need or credibility of the armed forces?

The paper will focus on the analysis of trends in the perception of security threats, perception of the validity and credibility of the armed forces and will seek to find the causes of these trends based on long-term results of public opinion polls in Slovakia.

**3. Study «Security 2021»: Perception of threats and influence by domains of life affected by COVID-19**

Thomas Ferst

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The annual publication «security survey» shows the trends in the Swiss voting population's opinion towards foreign-, security- and defense policy based on a representative telephone survey. Next to the standard questions (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2020, 75), the current study «Sicherheit 2021» focuses next to others focus topics on attitudes on aspects of security, perceptions of threats and domains of life, which are affected by COVID-19. Within the study «Sicherheit 2021» the questionnaire of 2014 (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2014, 90–98) and 2015 (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2015, 80–87) on aspects of security and perceptions of threats was adapted to 2021. Because of the current and ongoing COVID-19 worldwide pandemic within one question, the influence of COVID-19 in certain domains of life (working life, physical health, mental health, financial situation, leisure behavior, family life, contact with friends) were measured too.

Compared to the results of 2014 (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2014, 90–98) and 2015 (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2015, 80–87), the authors expect 2021 a different order in terms of security aspects and threat types in 2021. Furthermore, they assume that areas of life that are perceived to be strongly affected by COVID-19 will exert a reinforcing influence on the security aspects and forms of threat. Based on the model of vulnerability the differences between sex, age, level of education, income and political orientation will be evaluated as well.

#### **4. Humanising or De-Humanising Warfare? Estonian public perception about autonomous weapon systems**

Kairi Talves PhD

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Otsus Markus

The present development of AI technology in weapons for warfare drives debates over the ethics and morality of autonomous systems on the battlefield. One of the most controversial ideas, both by its terminology and by its arguments is the 'humane warfare' concept, according to which technology can contribute to reduce human casualties. On one hand, sending machines to war instead of soldiers insinuates to avoid suffering and deaths of the soldiers. On the other hand, the outcome of technology replacing human soldiers is unclear and its ethical and legal aspects need serious discussions. As the militaries all over the world are seeking for the best technological capabilities to be prepared for possible military upsets, it is important to consider different aspects about using such technologies.

Besides military, discussions over technological innovations will become an important topic for the public. This study gains opinions from civilians about the development of autonomous systems and the public perception about its moral and ethical aspects. We use the results from focus group interviews carried out in Estonia, a country largely perceived as technologically open-minded. Results show the ambivalence in opinions, both in necessity of development such technologies and their ethical concerns. Technology is expected to ease the burden of human soldiers but also force out the emotional, human aspect of warfighting. Attribution that

technology could make war more humane, but less human is the disturbing notion for many, presented by questioning the trust in the machines and worries about loss of control over the weapon system, which can have most serious outcomes.

## **VETERANS AND SOCIETY: SESSION 2**

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### **1. If Wishes Were Horses**

Rene Moelker

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Equine Assisted Therapy or equitherapy is supposed to contribute to the well-being of people who need mental support. In the Netherlands, therapeutic horseback riding has only been applied for a short time and forms of equine coaching are also applied to groups of veterans (Visscher, 2017; Van Deth, 2018). A further exploration of the beneficial effects equitherapy has seemed desirable because the problems of veterans are sometimes difficult to treat. Some veterans are untreated and may benefit from, for example, a therapeutic assistance dog that assists the veteran in anxiety attacks, but active coping can be better achieved by gaining insight into one's own behaviour. This is an unexplored scientific field, which is why every research will have an exploratory character, in which a first attempt at explanation will be possible.

Questions are:

1. Does equitherapy lead to positive effects in the category of veterans with regard to general health and well-being?
2. Are the assumed positive effects of an adjuvant nature or are they rather insightful?
3. How does equitherapy activate active coping mechanisms, channel the subjective experience and address the traumatic experiences?

### **2. Comparing UK and Austrian Perceptions of Veterans: Are “old age” and “war” the major determinants in the victimization of veterans?**

Rita Phillips

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Vince Connelly

Oxford Brookes University

Mark Burgess

Oxford Brookes University

International trends suggest that members of the general public appreciate their military and veterans, but also overestimate the percentage of veterans suffering from mental and physical health problems. Cultural comparisons and variations of these trends have received little academic attention. British and Austrian public attitudes towards their veterans may vary between these countries due to the very different roles for their Armed Forces reflected in their recent history and operational deployments.

To understand similarities and differences in public perceptions of veterans a word-association task was undertaken by 234 British and 245 Austrian participants. The participants provided three associations to the stimulus-term “Veteran” and rank-listed these in accordance to their

perceived prototypicality. The associations were categorized with Content Analysis. A preliminary Hierarchical Evocation analysis on the categories suggests that victimizing and heroizing sentiments were central features in the characterization of veterans only in the British sample while veterans were predominantly heroized, not victimized in the Austrian sample. A further principal component analysis suggests that victimizing and heroizing associations are embedded within two different answering patterns in both cohorts but that national differences around victimization were linked to negative perceptions of “Old Age” and “War”. In conclusion this analysis confirmed that perception of veterans can differ by nation but to dissociate veterans from negative, victimizing sentiments, it may be necessary to dissociate veterans also from emotionally laden concepts relating to the destructive nature of warfare and old age.

### **3. Health Care Needs and Experiences in Military Operations: A comparative study between men and women**

T. P. Op den Buijs

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During military operations, men and women differ in experiencing risk and stress factors. The consequences also differ; women develop PTSD more often than men and female veterans seem to have more health complaints and problems compared to civilian women. Although not always clearly and significantly demonstrated, health care needs and health complaints also seem to differ between Dutch male and female veterans, as well as the way in which they deal with these health complaints (use of social support and coping strategies). Some female veterans seem to walk around with complaints for too long before going to the health care services and they approach health care differently than men.

In short, the health care needs of Dutch veterans show a diffuse picture and it is not clear whether female veterans have special needs for mental or physical health care compared to male veterans. There is also little understanding of how female veterans use resources such as social support and coping strategies differently from male veterans.

The aim of this study is therefore to provide a qualitative in-depth understanding of the differences between men's and women's health care needs, their experiences with health care, and the resources (coping and social support) they use before, during and after military operations.

The data in this study will be collected through focus groups, followed by interviews with at least 50 female veterans and 50 male veterans (active and post-active). We will present the design and some preliminary results of this study at the ERGOMAS conference.

### **4. Transformation of Veterans Policies in Taiwan – Comparisons of Different-Generation Veterans**

Yuan Li-Chung

National Defense University  
Taiwan  
Felix Wang  
Veteran Affairs Council  
Taiwan

Stipulated by the Constitution, looking after veterans is deemed by the Republic of China (Taiwan) government as an important policy. Taiwan has elevated veteran issues to the ministry level as the Veteran Affairs Council (VAC) was established and designated for planning and executing veteran policies. With budget allocation, VAC has been providing veterans medical cares, care homes, education, job training, employment assistance and other services for almost seven decades.

Nevertheless, due to much reduced number of aging veterans (first-generation veterans who came to Taiwan in 1949), the demographic structure of veterans in Taiwan has evolved to the second and third generation veterans who either retired from the military in recent decades or are still serving. Most importantly, the reform of military service system from conscription to voluntary force since 2009 demands more incentives in order to attract young men and women to serve. Enhancing welfares of veterans is one of the priorities. The main tasks of VAC have thus gradually shifted from providing first-generation veterans care homes and medical cares, to focusing on incentives such as education, job training and employment assistance provided to the second and third-generation veterans. In light of the transformation, this article aims to introduce and compare Taiwan's veteran policies based on three generations of veterans.

## **5. Veterans Associations in Russia: The products and producers of strategic culture**

Jack J.Porter  
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Scholars and analysts continue to debate the most appropriate way to define and apply the concept of strategic culture. Some (the so-called first generation) stress that strategic culture is best thought of as an independent variable that helps explain, inter alia, a country's somewhat unique security and defense policies. Others (the so-called third generation) regard a state's security "behavior" as a manifestation of its strategic culture and thus argue that state behavior needs to be interpreted in order to understand the country's strategic culture. However, a critical aspect that is neglected by these two approaches are the mechanisms by which strategic culture is produced or generated in the first place. With this in mind, the goals of the paper are two-fold. Theoretically, the analysis will contribute to the development of the concept of "strategic culture" by emphasizing its purposeful construction, maintenance and propagation by political leaders, decision-makers and relevant civic/military organizations. Empirically, the paper will apply this theoretical framework to contemporary Russian strategic culture and its constitutive relationship to veterans and veteran associations.

First, the analysis will provide a brief overview of the concept of strategic culture with an emphasis on one central mechanism behind its development and dissemination – veterans and veterans associations. In essence, the manner in which these organizations are created, their domestic status and the functions and activities that they perform offer key insights into a state's strategic culture. Second, the paper will apply this framework to contemporary Russia by investigating the evolution of veterans associations since the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989). Of

critical importance are the domestic politics and debates over their origins and subsequent political activities that they and their members perform. Tentative findings suggest that in Russia, veterans associations have been mobilized by the Putin government in support of a highly nationalistic, heroic and militaristic Russian strategic culture.

## **MORALE AND COHESION AND LEADERSHIP: SESSION 2**

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### **1. Deep Leadership in Military: Lithuanian case study**

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Aiste Dromantaite

SMK University of Applied Social Sciences, Lithuania

Linas Dungveckis

Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania

The aim of the research paper is to demonstrate the successful transfer of Deep Leadership program and coaching practice from Finland to Lithuanian military education. We propose that the universal nature and theory of transformational leadership is fully applicable to any military organization. Through enhanced learning, continuous feedback and interaction practices any military organization will achieve a permanent competitive advantage.

First chapter of the study will focus on the theoretical and practical framework of Deep Leadership program. The second chapter will discuss about the current status and unique features of Lithuanian leadership culture. The third chapter will report the empirical results of the two-year pilot project (The Case Study) in the Military Academy of Lithuanian, where the Deep Leadership coaching practice has been applied systematically.

The results are statistically significant and educationally inspiring. As a conclusion, further interest should be placed on troop level competence development and measurement, when enlarging Deep Leadership to all military education.

interpretation, meanings of prestige, proficiency, as well as a meaning of identity.

### **2. The Reserve Platoon Leader's Perceptions of Their Role: Critical competencies**

Ülle Säälük

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Kasemaa Antek

University of Tallinn, Estonia

The way military leaders perceive their role can affect their work performance, the subordinates' commitment to their duty and both leaders' and subordinates' work satisfaction (e.g. Bleda, 1977; Karakowsky et al., 2012; Mallick et al., 2016). As the Estonian Defence Force relies on the reserve army, the combat readiness of it is heavily influenced by the mindset and shared beliefs of everyone involved, thus the reserve platoon leaders' (RPLs) understanding of military leader's role may have even stronger influence on their peer-conscripts.

The RPLs' notion of the ideal military leader's role is studied using both, pre- and post course narratives of self-analysis. Following the story of someone taking an institutional role using the

descriptions of their experiences may reveal how such a role is generally perceived and treated in this institution, presenting a textual construction of professional identity (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 2000; Gergen, 1996).

The results reveal the relative importance of intra- and interpersonal competencies in the notion of a good military leader. Additionally, RPLs were concerned about relationships with former peers after adopting the RPL's role and how to regulate one's emotions etc. The training courses thus are expected to focus more on human-related competencies to support the adoption and execution of the RPL role.

**3. "You'll Meet Your Team on the Plane Out" - The importance of shared experiences and superordinate goals in the creation of cohesion and social identity in task-organized military teams**

Stefan Schilling

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The last three decades have seen substantial changes in how military operations are conducted, with soldiers increasingly deployed in task-organized ad-hoc created teams – alongside personnel they have not trained with, on missions they have not prepared for. This poses new and unforeseen challenges for the creation and academic assessment of cohesion and leadership in military teams. With few exceptions, studies on unit cohesion and military leadership thus far have eschewed such task-organized teams and instead focused on fixed platoons and companies (Ben Ari et al., 2010). The following research addresses this gap in the literature, by focusing on the experience of military personnel routinely deployed in task-organized or attached fashion. The study consisted of focus groups with enlisted personnel from specialised (n= 27) and attached arms occupations (n=32) as well as officers (n=24) from the Royal Marines, Royal Navy and British Army, supplemented with participant observations of two major military exercises. Using a social identity model to military cohesion and leadership in such teams, it argues that creation of cohesion as well as perceived leadership status depends on the successful integration of shared experiences as well as the development of locally created, team specific goals.

**4. How Food Contributes to Military Cohesion among Recruits in the Swiss Armed Forces**

Stefano De Rosa

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The Swiss Armed Forces are based on conscription for men. This goes along with people doing military service with very different levels of motivation and commitment. How is it nevertheless possible to manage a productive and purposeful coexistence during the 18 weeks of recruit school?

Strong group cohesion and loyalty are essential to make military service successful. The literature points to various ways on how solid group cohesion can be fostered, e.g. to build mutual trust, durable social networks, or a shared task commitment. In this contribution, the focus will be laid on a different incentive of group cohesion: the intake of food.



Eating is at the same time a very individual and a profoundly social act. Different social norms and expectations shape our eating behavior. Eating together is understood as a sign of closeness and confidentiality. Meals are highly ritualized in time and ambiance. Furthermore, food is individually as well as collectively associated with certain emotions. It is not surprising that the importance of food is highlighted also in the military environment, not only in terms of physical resilience but also in terms of mental strength.

In this contribution, the argument will be put forward that eating together helps to increase military group cohesion. In doing so, an important mechanism of how cohesion can emerge in the military will be demonstrated.

This argument is examined through qualitative interviews with 33 recruits of the Swiss Armed Forces. The same participants were interviewed twice, once at the beginning and once at the end of recruit school, about different aspects of their service.

**11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break**

**Lossi 36**

## **11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 5**

### **GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 2 - Normative Framework towards Women in the Military (4 papers)**

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Coordinator: Delphine Resteigne

#### **1. Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A look at the Portuguese security forces**

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Bessa, Fernando, University Military Institute, Portugal

Carreiras, Helena, CIES, Portugal

On the 20th anniversary of the Women, Peace and Security agenda [United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)], it is important to flag that despite the progress made, barriers to its full implementation persist in different Member States of the United Nations. As Portugal is not an exception, it is advisable and pertinent to reinforce the implementation of measures that allow the increase of the level of integration and effective participation of women in the international peace and security, especially in the range of action of the security forces.

Anchored in the methodologies of public policies and the results of a survey applied to 288 cadets of the two Portuguese security forces, supported by a rigorous and scientific evaluation, we aimed to explore this area of knowledge to better understand the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda in the Portuguese security forces and identify possible gaps. The answers to the question that guided the study can reinforce the implementation of the Agenda, provide recommendations for the next decade of action on women, peace and security and contribute indelibly to more peaceful, just, and inclusive societies.

#### **2. Gender Equal Opportunities at the Lithuanian Army: Why there are no female generals?**

Jurate Novagrockiene

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The presentation examines the situation of gender equality in the Lithuanian Armed Forces (LAF) comparing gender equality surveys in 2005, 2013 and 2020. According to the data, the situation of women in the armed forces, is getting better: they are not discriminated against in terms of duties, salary, labor relations, and social support. However, statistics of ranks in LAF by the gender proves that men predominate in the highest positions. No woman has been awarded the rank of colonel recently, no woman has not served as defense attaché, and there are no objective conditions for granting the rank of general.

The data allows us to state that women in the Lithuanian Army already enjoy equal rights, formally, but must overcome the preconceived notions of older soldiers about women in the forces as well as romanticized image of the soldier-warrior. The study is based on semi-structured interviews, official documents, and glass ceiling and glass wall metaphors to identify objective and subjective reasons that limit women's careers in the military.

### **3. Reasoning Behind Higher Female Participation in the Armed Forces**

Andres Siplane

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Most of the western countries have stated in one or the other way that they would like to see more women in their armed forces. Some of the countries have even set certain recruitment targets for that. When setting recruitment targets one must also write down some arguments what the targets are for. What is the intent of the policy? In my presentation I analyse different gender policy documents of several countries to see how the arguments are constructed and what type of reasoning has been used. I propose the utilitarian - value-laden continuum that helps to observe the countries and their policies when approaching the gender questions.

## **WARRIORS IN PEACEKEEPING: SESSION 2 - Warrior Conceptions in the Military – Helpful, harmful or even dangerous?**

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### **1. “Conceptualization of Martial races as Warriors in the Indian Armed Forces”**

Mukhwinder Kaur Swain

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The article examines the nineteenth-century ideology of 'martial races' in India: the belief that some groups of men are biologically or culturally predisposed to the arts of war. It explores the martial races of India seen and recruited in Indian armed forces. How and why Punjabi Sikhs, Nepalese Gurkhas became more popular discourse as the British Empire's fiercest, most manly soldiers. The article argues that the connections contemporaries seen between the Indian army Regiments demonstrate the historical instability of conceptions of 'race' as well as the political uses and contradictory purposes to which such conceptions could be put.

It also argues that the savage representations of masculinity that lay at the heart of martial race ideology were a crucial imaginative site upon which Indian military elites responded to and attempted to manipulate since 1945. How the caste-based Warrior concepts in Indian armed forces has been practiced till date.

## 2. “The Digital Commander”

Therese Heltberg

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The paper explores a new perspective on the conception of the commander-as-warrior. In recent years, armed forces of NATO member states have implemented digitalized Command, Control, and Information Systems, C2IS. C2IS enable the aggregation of information from the field and from external sources, providing all holders with a dynamic, synchronous, long-distance overview, thus making it possible for commanders to lead military operations while they themselves are located many miles from the battles.

In 2017-2020, I carried out a research project that followed the revision of the Danish Army planning doctrine, the Field Manual III, including document studies and in-depth interviews with key stakeholders. It was clear from the data that the conception and role of the commander was a central issue. This role seemed not only related to ideas about what was best with regards to achieving military goals, but was also linked to emotive images of what a commander should be - a physically present, brave, and determined role-model for his soldiers. The article discusses whether and how digitalization may be changing this traditional image of the military commander. With digitalized possibilities for planning and command, a pertinent question becomes whether our images of the commander-as-warrior are still adequate? Do we still need the commander to be leading at the front, or might she just as well be sitting before a computer screen in headquarters far away? And what are the implications for commander ethics?

## 3. “Cyberwarriors: Warriors among Warriors?”

Saïd Haddad

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Following our last contribution during the 15th ERGOMAS in Lisbon (2019) dedicated to the rise of France’s cyberwarriors, this communication aims to discuss the biographical trajectories of French soldiers (Officers and NCOs) involved in cyberdefence and how they are building or gaining a warfighter status (e.g., threat-oriented activities). Based on semi-structured interviews on militaries serving in joint structures or cyber units belonging to the three services, we will also examine how their identity as soldiers and cyber specialists is articulated too.

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## RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION: SESSION 2 - All-Volunteer-Forces & Conscription

### 1. Staying the Course: Latvia’s choices between conscription and all-volunteer force

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This study examines Latvia’s choices regarding conscription vs all-volunteer force since 2014. Latvia transitioned to an all-volunteer force in 2006, and this move took place as part of a wider context where many European countries undertook a similar transition since the end of the Cold

War. The conscription vs all-volunteer force debate reappeared, however, with the onset of the military conflict in eastern Ukraine. Latvia's southern neighbour Lithuania has reintroduced military draft, and so has Sweden, while Estonia and Finland never abolished conscription. The changing security environment in Northern Europe, the increased emphasis on the need to develop a more capable military, and the choices of Latvia's neighbours about conscription have increasingly put pressure on Latvian government and are an occasion for re-evaluating its choices against various conceptual arguments for and against conscription. This study discusses various arguments from academic literature on conscription and tests them against the position of Latvia's key decision-makers, government officials and experts from the defence sector. The empirical part of this paper is based upon interviews with decision-makers and defence experts and the available public opinion polls on conscription.

Keywords: conscription, all-volunteer force, military draft, Latvia

## **2. The Legacy Strikes Back: The failure of Serbian transition to all-volunteer Armed Forces**

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While Serbia would not be the first European country to reintroduce conscription, it is set to be the first one to explicitly do so because of personnel shortage after the transition to all volunteer forces (AVF) in 2011. The contribution reviews available data on recruitment and retention and establishes that the biggest challenge for personnel policy has been the increasing personnel attrition, which in turn negatively affects recruitment potential, as it further weakens training capacities. We find that the attrition is brought about not only by relatively low salaries in the defence sector, but even more by unpredictable career paths and perceived negative selection in promotion and posting, high work overload and burden of "kitchen police" duties. This suggests that the "legacy" organisational culture is painfully falling behind the concept of defence reforms and expectations of younger generations of soldiers. Still, military neutrality, public support for conscription, as well as economic and technological factors make it simpler for Serbian policy makers to reverse the transition to AVF than address the existing issues. Finally, we also discuss challenges of data collection on recruitment and retention in a country with decreasing transparency of the defence sector.

Keywords: Defence transformation; Retention; Conscription; All-volunteer forces; Serbia

## **3. The Entangled Gap**

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There is little doubt that the armed forces are reflections of societies and their historical experiences (Young, 2017). However, the study of the military institution and its impact on parent society has mostly been the purview of political sociology and political science (Sørensen & Ben-Ari, 2019).

Academic research conducted in Estonia has but a few studies that aim to map and connect the military's permeation into people's everyday lives. The past decade has shown that the range of

peace and security issues are more varied than hitherto considered. They stretch to include topics as diverse as poverty, corruption, and environmental issues, problems where only government-provided solutions are no longer sufficient (Lindberg & Sundelius, 2012.). In response, nations endeavour to enhance the understanding among their population that the efforts of the-whole-of-nation are needed to meet the challenges of the contemporary issues in security and defence.

Total defence calls for more intertwined societal exchanges between the civil and the military than in societies that ascribe to the all voluntary force model. Estonia with its total defence model and small society with dense social networks, makes for a compelling case study for understanding the interconnections of the civil and military in the everyday life of people. It is challenging to trace entanglements that spring up over time; therefore, I have combined the entanglements framework with the concept of life-journey to form the temporal axis in my research. The advantage of the life-journey conceptualisation is that it allows us to focus on individuals-in-context (social, cultural, and other contexts) along a timeline.

## **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 4 - Comparing Pre-Commissioning Officer-Cadet Military Education 2: Africa, Asia, and Western Europe**

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### **1. A “University with a Difference:” The Royal Military College of Canada and the education of junior officers**

Howard Coombs, Royal Military College of Canada

The Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) was established in 1876 and, since then, RMC’s objectives have progressed from (1) preparing its students for the exigencies of imperial forces, to (2) addressing the demands of a national military in the context of Cold War alliances, to now (3) producing bilingual leaders who possess the requisite abilities to operate in the contemporary security environment. RMC conducts an intensive research program and its faculty produces high-quality work that supports Canada’s defence establishment. RMC also operates efficaciously and economically, comparing favorably with the costs of Ontario civilian universities and American service academies. Additionally, RMC is evolving to better represent Canada’s diversity and values within its student population. Although RMC has faced various challenges, it has changed with the times. Ultimately, it continues to graduate individuals who contribute positively to Canada’s efforts, both domestically and internationally. RMC is therefore truly deserving of the title “university with a difference.”

### **2. Patterns in Professional Military Education**

David Last, Royal Military College of Canada

The papers presented in these panels (this volume) address entry-level pre-commission institutions. These must be distinguished from higher institutions preparing military leaders and their police and civilian security counterparts for responsibilities later in their careers (ETHZ, Jalili). Professional development is a staged and continuous process embedded in politics, economics, and society.

This paper puts the PME process in context, considers the long-term and more recent evolution of PME institutions as courses and campuses, and provides a framework for thinking about PME in the context of the demands for human security, national security, and international security.

### **3. Sharpening the Competitive Edge in Democratic Japan**

Hitoshi Kawano, National Defence Academy

The Japan National Defense Academy was established in 1954, when Japan Defense Agency and Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) were established. The joint-service academy accepts about 500 cadets annually. NDA is the only military academy in Japan to train the cadets of GSDF(Army), MSDF(Navy), and ASDF(Air Force) for 4 years, providing both academic education of civilian colleges and military education. NDA was under direct control of Defense Agency (currently Ministry of Defense). The characteristics of the new academy include the following: (1) civilian president, (2) joint-service education, (3) no obligation to serve after graduation, and (4) emphasis on natural and engineering sciences. In addition to the science and engineering departments, social sciences departments were established in 1974. Although NDA's major mission was to educate cadets at undergraduate level, NDA currently offers graduate degrees (MA/MS & PhD) in Graduate School of Science and Engineering, and Graduate School of Security Studies. Admission and selection processes are highly competitive, especially for the social science majors, and in particular for female applicants due to the limited number of admission available for them. As of May, 2019, NDA has approximately 1900 cadets in total, including 13% of female. In addition, about 5% of foreign exchange cadets are also enrolled. Civilian faculty members constitute a majority at NDA, and they are graduates of top ranking civilian universities in Japan. Since 1957, NDA has produced more than 25,000 graduates. NDA graduates are considered the elite officers in the Self-Defense Forces, dominating the top elite positions within the SDF, including Joint Chief of Staff, Chiefs of Staff in GSDF, MSDF, and ASDF. Some NDA graduates became members of the National Diet (Congress), and two NDA alumni had served as Minister of Defense, while others were elected as local governors, politicians and aldermen.

### **4. Korea Military Academy: The cradle of the nation's bulwark**

Insoo Kim, Korean Military Academy

The Korea Military Academy (KMA) has been called the cradle of the nation's bulwark. KMA graduates fought to defeat North Korean invasion during the Korean War (1950-1953) and lead the nation's modernization as militaries in other undeveloped countries did. However, two successful military coups headed by KMA graduates had a significant impact on the historical track of the KMA. After the transition of political power to civilians and the following purge of KMA graduates who took commanding positions of the army in the early 1990s created a centrifugal force to move KMA graduates away from the political sphere and toward professional military sphere. As a result, today's KMA has become a military school that offers bachelor's degree education, such as the United States Military Academy, but places a greater emphasis on military professional education.

## 14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 6

### **CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY: SESSION 2 - Mobilizing Force: Linking Security Threats, Militarization, and Civilian Control in Democracies**

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**Chair and Organizers:**

David Kuehn (Germany; david.kuehn@giga-hamburg.de)

Yagil Levy (Open University)

**1. Threats, Militarization and Democratic Accountability in Japan: “Normalizing” the Japan Self Defense Forces?**

Eyal Ben-Ari

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The relations between militarization and democratic accountability in Japan are problematic because Japan is still marked by a lingering anti-militarist ethos and legal restrictions on the use of the country’s Self Defense Forces. Yet Japan has a full-fledged military, advanced military technology, and a large military budget. Successive governments have consistently legalized more actions of the forces and increased the defense budget. These developments have been reinforced by discursive processes including persuasion about the necessity for militarization, distancing the forces from the Imperial forces of WWII, softening their martial potential and embedding it in a US alliance. Yet almost all the stages of militarization have been variously opposed or moderated. The key issue I address here centers on the mechanisms that have held Japan’s governments accountable for their actions and limited their leeway in militarizing the country. I argue that successive administrations have been constrained in their actions by a blend including a consensus on the legitimacy of a certain form of militarization and mechanisms of democratic accountability (electoral changes, internal ruling party pressure, parliamentary opposition, public opinion, and the media).

**2. South Africa: Moving from Militarization to De-Militarization to Re-Militarization**

Lindy Heinecken

Stellenbosch University, South Africa

Throughout the course of South Africa’s history, the military’s involvement in various conflicts intersected with domestic politics, shaping the character of the state and civil military relations. The most profound effect of the military on politics and society occurred during the apartheid era from 1948 to 1994. The need to counter both the ideological threat of communism and resistance to the political regime, heightened levels of militarism and militarization. During this period, civil control was weak and levels of militarization high, with the military exercising inordinate influence over state policies, decision-making and the citizenry. With the end of the Cold War in 1989, subsequent demise of apartheid, there was a decisive move to curb the power and influence of the military, demilitarize society and exercise civil control over the defence force. Subsequently, the military became both politically sidelined and contributing to the demilitarization of society. However, as the country became more politically more unstable due to rising levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, the military came to be deployed

in support of the police in public order and law enforcement duties. Under these conditions, one sees a rising authoritarianism, a weakening of civil control and an increase in militarization. However, this is not linked purely to the police and military, but a militarization of the private security sector and a wider discourse in society. The challenge is not purely about controlling the military, but rather the spread of militarism that advocates the use of force to solve problems beyond state institutions.

### **3. El Salvador - Old Habits Die Hard**

Sabine Kurtenbach and Désirée Reder,  
GIGA Hamburg

In January 2017, El Salvador celebrated the 25th anniversary of the comprehensive Chapultepec peace agreement, which ended the twelve year-long civil war. The extensive peace agreement was praised as a "negotiated revolution" (Karl 1992) and included the abolishment of the existing police forces and the creation of a new National Civil Police (Policia Nacional Civil, PNC) as well as the purge and subordination of the Salvadoran Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas de El Salvador, FAES) to civilian government. The missions of the FAES and the PNC were clearly separated. Whilst the FAES was responsible to "defend the sovereignty of the State and the integrity of its territory" (Chapultepec Peace Accord, Chapter I, No. 1 A), the PNC was "the only armed body with national jurisdiction" having the mission "to protect and safeguard the free exercise of the rights and freedoms of individuals, to prevent and combat all types of crimes, and to maintain internal peace, tranquility, order and public security in both urban and rural areas" (Chapter II, No. 1 A). Besides designing profound reforms of the core security institutions, the accords paved the way for the transformation of the former guerrilla organization FMLN into a political party, whose candidates were twice elected president (2009 and 2014). International democracy indices such as Polity IV Index constantly rank El Salvador as a consolidated democracy. On second glance, the ostensible success story of the transformation out of war blurs turning to the excessively high levels of homicides, criminal violence and repressive strategies applied in public security. In clear violation of the peace agreement, the Salvadoran governments of both major parties continuously used exceptional legislation to send the military to the streets to "support" the police.

### **4. France: Swinging Securitization Paths?**

Chiara Ruffa  
Uppsala University and Swedish Defence University

In this chapter, I focus on securitization processes triggered by use of the military for domestic purposes in the case of France. Longitudinally, I identify three distinct securitization phases unfolding in the country. They all entailed the use of both military (e.g., domestic policing) and nonmilitary (e.g., higher alert in governance) means as a response to a terrorist threat, but each phase had distinct consequences for civilian control. I identify three distinct types of securitization in three different phases: from 1995 to 1998 under Jacques Chirac, from 2015 to 2016 under François Hollande, and from 2017 onward under Emmanuel Macron. All three presidents dealt with a similar type of threat—transnational terrorism—and displayed what may look like a similar response, namely, domestic policing. Yet, on closer look, the type of securitization differed sharply under the three presidencies under study, with important ramifications for civilian control. I make two main, interrelated points. First, once it started, securitization persisted in ways that are surprisingly inertial and became ingrained, thereby



impeding a return to the preceding level of democratic control. Second, securitization differed sharply longitudinally.

## 5. Spain: A War without an Army

Rafa Martínez

University of Barcelona

Oscar Jaíme

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

From the beginning of the transition to democracy in Spain, it has been clear that the AFs were not a suitable tool for public security; and even if they were, they did not have enough support from the population to face the terrorism threat, even in exceptional. The AFs have spent the decades modernising and preparing to meet their new daily role: international missions and catastrophes and disasters. They are not involved or expected to become involved in terrorism issues, even though they are legally permitted to do so. It was only when an overall, holistic fight was undertaken that ETA's terrorist activities were eradicated. This counter-terrorism action meant that political parties, society, judges, the press and logically, police forces, intelligence services and international collaboration were all reading from the same page.

## MILITARY FAMILIES

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### 1. Family-related Work Decisions Described by Finnish Military Spouses

Hannola Anitta

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As a part of larger research project the family-related work decisions were studied among the Finnish military families. This study gained own separate conclusions but also updated previous studies conducted a decade ago.

All together 15 military spouses (13 women and 2 men) were interviewed: the interviews were supported by spouse's voluntary graph of their military life cycles. The spouses were 29 - 60 years old and some families consisted of small children. The spouses themselves were highly educated and full-time working. Three dual-military couples were included.

The content analysis was conducted in several iterations. On one hand, analyses based on the research data itself without theories, depicting for instance housing or family leaves. On the other hand, analyses were carried out based on the theories of family-related work decisions (FRWD; Greenhaus & Powell 2012) and work-family conflict (WFC; Greenhaus & Beutell 1985).

In the FRWD theory there are three work-domain decisions such as role entry, participation and role exit. In this study only role entry and participation were analysed. Findings suggest that the spouses could be divided into two 'generations' separated by age, family structure, spouse's occupation and willingness to relocate. The older spouses had adjusted totally to military requirements, relocated often and even sacrificed their own careers. The younger ones placed greater emphasis on family-related decisions, meaning that they were reluctant to relocate, being separated and acting solely as housewives. The younger spouses also emphasized strongly that decisions about military work and careers should always include family situation.

## **2. A New 'Weapon of Mass Destruction'? 'Foreign Currency (FX) Loans' – and their socio-economic impact on Hungarian military families**

Zoltan Laszlo Kiss

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The so called 'foreign currency /FX/ loans' or 'foreign currency / FX/ denominated borrowings' have been widely used in many Southern European countries (eg. in Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Italy) and in most of the post-communist Central and Eastern European countries: in the former 'Eastern block / Warsaw Pact socialist' countries of Central Europe (the later 'Visegrad Group' countries: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary) and South Eastern Europe (mostly in Romania, Bulgaria) in the three former Baltic republics of the collapsed Soviet Union/USSR (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) in the independent states in former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina), and even in post-communist Ukraine and Russia. These 'special banking products' caused serious socio-economic challenges in each national economies and societies with relative low level of financial knowledge.

However, nowhere became the socio-economic problems so serious, as in Hungary, where the entire economy and society still suffers, and the unsolved problems related to the 'FX denominated borrowings' might be later on a source of severe future social and political conflicts.

Because of the widespread use of the 'foreign currency / FX/ denominated borrowings' in all the civilian societies of the above mentioned post-communist CEE countries, many military families might have been also seriously affected.

That is why we would like to initiate a cross-national comparative empirical military sociological research on the problem, and seek for the potential solutions.

## **3. Reconciliation of Family and Military Service in Lithuania: Decision on reconciliation and involvement of personal networks' members**

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The research aim is to explore how military professionals reconcile service duties with their familial lives. We ask who – military service or family win during choice between them? And how members of personal networks contribute to such decision, as well, to practice of reconciliation? The research is based on the empirical data collected during implementation of the research project "Sociological Research of the Development of the Lithuanian Armed Forces in the Changing International Security Environment" funded by the Ministry of National Defence of Lithuania. Representative surveys of country population (18+ years) were conducted in 2016-2021.

The research results reveal that two thirds of women – military professionals did not take the paid parental leave to which they are entitled by law because didn't want to be transferred to the temporary reserve of professional military service personnel. But sometimes they refuse to go for trainings or international missions because don't want to leave the family for half a year or longer. In decision making, military professionals rely on rather limited personal network

consisting from nuclear family plus friends – also military professionals. Emotional and functional support from the personal network help to overcome the challenges of reconciliation of military service with the family.

**16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break**

**4<sup>th</sup> floor Coffee Corner**

## **16.15 – 17.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 7**

### **TOTAL DEFENSE FORCE: SESSION 2**

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#### **1. Civilian and Military Status of Reserve Soldiers and Willingness to Participate in Military Service**

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The cyclical movement between the military and the civilian field to participate in military training events is a natural part of reserve service. Various factors affecting reservists' commitment to military service have been previously studied but the influence of the change of the reserve soldiers' status when switching from a civilian role to a military role is largely unknown. While the military rank system provides a clear hierarchical status model, civilian status is often a combination of social and economic positions. Following Bourdieusian theory of fields, habitus, and hysteresis, we hypothesise that the bigger differences between reservists' military and civilian status would increase hysteresis effect and decrease military service readiness. The analysis is based on survey data collected from 1,248 reservists of the Estonian Defence Forces during the 2019 military exercise Spring Storm. The results of our study indicate that higher rank is positively related to reservists' service enthusiasm and a comparison of reservists' status-sets shows that increasing status would promote the reservists' willingness to serve while lowering status would decrease it. The association between status change and willingness to serve remains significant even when controlling for perceived complications at work and home and household composition.

#### **2. The Negotiation of Civilian and Military Lives: Balancing part time reserve service, family relationships and employment.**

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Scott Tindal

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The United Kingdom's Armed Forces are currently undergoing organisational change driven by the 'Whole Force' concept and part time reservists are a key component of this evolving military structure. The features of agility and flexibility within the military organisation are mirrored in how individual Reservists negotiate their military service in the context of their civilian lives.

This paper examines Reservists' practices in negotiating the various, sometimes competing, demands of military and civilian life. The analysis draws on a survey of Reservists (n=361) which interrogates the practices and routines which delineate Reservists' civilian and military lives. The encroachment of military life on family and work life is exemplified in the third of respondents who reported a relationship breakdown where their part time reserve service was a contributory factor and the quarter of respondents who reported changing their civilian employment so they could continue their part time reserve role. It was found that the odds of having a relationship breakdown where reserve service contributed or who reported changing their civilian employment were especially heightened in senior NCO's and senior officers but less so in those with previous full-time service. These findings and others are discussed in terms of current expectations of military service in the context of civilian lives.

### **3. Two for One? Flexing concurrent Reservist and Civilian careers for individuals.**

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Research into the experiences of part-time reservists in the United Kingdom (UK) has shown the importance of the concept of a 'military career' to their satisfaction and retention. This suggests that reservists may seek simultaneously to sustain a military career and a civilian one, introducing the possibility of concurrent careers for an individual who seeks to work in and beyond a single institution. Our research explored how UK reservists experience, and navigate, the intersecting and competing demands of civilian work and reserve service.

Thirty-five Reservists were interviewed twice over a year long period. We utilised semi-structured interviews with a life grid approach to generate retrospective longitudinal data on the intersections, divergences, tensions, and negotiations involved in navigating two careers over a sustained period of time. We discuss these data to illuminate the career strategies adopted by reservists conceptualised as the maintenance of one career across multiple employments and/or two concurrent careers as parallel tracks of employment. Our findings demonstrate there is a continued retention of a stable institutional logic of permanent, full-time careerist military personnel that has difficulty flexing to accommodate part-time service and the demands of a simultaneous civilian career.

### **4. Country Defence from the Perspective of the Civil Society in Lithuania: Attitudes, potential, and knowledge**

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Together with uncertainty of the global powers' distribution, demand for the military defence of the country is permanent. Together, question about potential in defence, including civil society, is arising. The research aim is to explore available civil society ready for country defence from possible external threats. The research is based on idea that positive results of the welfare state, ensure citizens' loyalty to the state, trust and readiness to defend the country.

Empirical data collected during the implementation of the research project “Sociological Research of the Development of the Lithuanian Armed Forces in the Changing International Security Environment” funded by the Ministry of National Defence of Lithuania. Representative surveys of habitants (18+ years) of the country were conducted in 2016-2020. The research results reveal readiness of civil society to defend the country in relation to attitudes on responsibility for welfare creation. Those believing that the people themselves but not the state should create welfare, are more than others ready to defend the country unprofessionally, or even by becoming military professionals. They also have larger networks of closed ones (family members, friends, etc.) who would be ready to defend the country in the face of threat.

## **5. Pandemic Responsivity: A comparison between Regular and Reserve Force personnel**

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Ann-Renee Blais and Caitlin Comeau

Canadian Department of National Defence

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) played a key role in Canada’s response to the COVID-19 pandemic. As part of Operation (Op) LASER, CAF members took part in unprecedented measures to protect the health and well-being of Canadians. CAF members’ attitudes and experiences related to Op Laser were assessed as part of the broader COVID-19 Defence Team Survey, administered in spring 2020 to help understand CAF members’ experiences and needs during the pandemic. A total of 13,688 Regular Force (Reg F) and 5,985 Primary Reserve (P Res) members completed the survey. A comparison of Reg F and P Res members’ responses indicated that one-third of P Res and 7% of Reg F respondents reported being deployed on Op LASER. For non-deployed members, readiness and willingness to deploy was high, especially among the P Res. However, some members had reservations about deploying. While family was a main concern for all members, Reg F members were more concerned than P Res members about lack of fit between their skills and the nature of the deployment, whereas P Res were more concerned about conflict with their civilian responsibilities. These results not only highlight the key role that CAF members played in Op LASER, but demonstrated the particularly notable engagement of the P Res members in the response to the pandemic. Understanding the unique concerns of members in each component will inform future preparedness and personnel support requirements.

## **PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 4 - Challenges to Public Opinion Research in Military Sociology**

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### **1. Swiss Armed Forces in "Corona Deployment": Perception by the Population**

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Due to the sharp increase in the number of COVID-19 infections in March 2020, the Swiss Federal Council declared an extraordinary situation on March 16, 2020. In addition to a series of intensified measures to contain COVID-19, the Swiss Armed Forces (SAS) were mobilized to support the public health system, perform logistical tasks, and relieve the police (deployment CORONA 20). In this paper, the differences in the perception and assessment of the population

on the SAS are shown in 2018 and 2019 compared to the survey in April 2020, i.e. in the period of the deployment CORONA 20.

It can be stated that the performance of the SAS is rated significantly higher in the period of the Corona crisis than in the two years before. Around three quarters of the Swiss population are very or rather satisfied with the performance of the SAS in April 2020. The population's assessment of the SAS performance is differentiated. During the Corona crisis, the support provided by the SAS to the civilian authorities was rated significantly higher than in 2018 and 2019, suggesting that these results can be interpreted as an indication that the Swiss population is satisfied with the "CORONA 20" mission.

## **2. Just a Matter of Political Marketing? Information, communication and public support for military missions**

Heiko Biehl

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Public support is essential for the legitimization of military missions in democracies. Only with the backing of society, wars can be waged. Over the decades, research has identified various reasons why citizens agree or disagree with military missions: casualty shyness, rally 'round the flag effects, perceived policy objectives (PPO), strategic postures etc.

This paper attempts to add an aspect to this long list that has hardly been considered so far. From a theoretical perspective, gaining citizens' support for military operations can be seen as a process of political communication and political advertising. Accordingly, from the government's point of view, it is a matter of convincing citizens of a deployment and providing them with (biased and non-biased) information about it.

Empirically, the paper tests the influence of citizens' level of information on their attitude toward military deployments. The database is a survey representative for the German population with more than 2,000 respondents. The result shows an independent and noticeable influence of the level of information on the approval of deployments. These findings suggest that future research needs to look more at top-down communication processes about deployments to understand whether civilian society supports them or not.

## **3. The Effects of Social Media Usage on the Sense of Security of Finnish Youth – Aspect on societal security**

Juho Äijälä

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Reetta Riikonen

Teija Sederholm

Sense of security, both physical and psychological, has been shown to be an important variable in maintaining personal and inter-personal functionality. Factors such as the perceived safety of the environment, interpersonal trust among and between groups, as well as psychological safety, have been shown to affect both the mental well-being of individuals and the capacity of organisations to function. Hence targeting the sense of security of a population could provide a mechanism of diminishing the functionality of a society, group or an organisation for those who seek to influence them via disinformation.

To better understand this threat, a more thorough apprehension of the link between usage of prominent digital environments where disinformation spreads (i.e. social media), the ability to detect disinformation, and the general sense of security is needed. While our earlier research has shown that overall young Finnish men display a high level of confidence in their ability to detect disinformation, the current research aims to further expand our understanding on the relationships between the use of social media, self-assessed ability to detect disinformation, and the general sense of security. The issue is approached via the qualitative interviews with Finnish police about their views on social media as a threat to individual and societal security.

## **MILITARY AND POLICE RELATIONS: SESSION 1**

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### **1. The missing part of the puzzle: Law enforcement missions of the Turkish military and CMR in Turkey: the EMASYA Protocol**

Genc Yilmaz Ayfer

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This article reaffirms the argument that internally oriented law enforcement missions of the military engender various pathologies in civil-military relations. The CMR literature on Turkey emphasizes abundantly the guardianship role of the Turkish military, its military interventions and the role of the National Security Council as the main institutional mechanism of the military tutelage. Yet, the existing literature on CMR lacks the necessary focus on law enforcement or policing missions of the Turkish military. To fill this gap, this study aims at discussing the EMASYA (Security and Public Order Assistance Protocol, Emniyet Asayiş Yardımlaşma) -a secret protocol-signed in 1997. Born in the context of political instability and military tutelage of the 1990s, the Protocol enabled the military to conduct internal security operations without any request from the civilian authorities and to reformulate its professionalism on the domestic sphere with a special focus on the war against rising internal threats such as political Islam and Kurdish nationalism. During this process, the Turkish military turned its face towards the internal domain with greater ambition, on a voluntary basis, to take on policing roles. The paper argues that the EMASYA Protocol provided for a sphere of “reformulated new professionalism” for the Turkish military and created enormous anomalies in civil-military relations in Turkey. The Protocol remained alive until 2010 despite the overwhelming civilianization efforts of the 2000s.

### **2. Armed Forces and Internal Security in Portugal: Challenges and dynamics**

José Fontes

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One of the most important issues that needs to be analyzed in a future constitutional revision in Portugal, — in the field of internal security —, is the one regarding the relations between Armed Forces and Police. The pandemic it was very demanding for both Portuguese public bodies.

### **3. The Periphery of Pragmatism**

Rasmus Dahlberg

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Mette Volquartzén

University of Copenhagen Denmark

Based on empirical findings from a current research project about military support to the police in Denmark 1968-2018, we propose an explanatory boundary model called “The Periphery of Pragmatism” designed to unpack the intricate relationship between armed forces and law enforcement co-operating in domestic security affairs. Our model describes an inner zone characterized by easy, pragmatic co-operation: While operating inside this zone, liaison officers, joint working groups, committees, operators etc. can produce common procedures and guidelines and work together without questioning the basic relevance, legality or legitimacy of the relationship between a military and a law enforcement authority. However, eventually any such case of co-operation may reach the limit of easy co-operation. This limit, which we term the “Periphery of Pragmatism”, is constituted of different fields such as legality (fx one part raising the question: “Is this legal?”), legitimacy (“Do we have the right to do this?”), economy (if one part refuses to cover the cost of a service because it perceives this service to fall under the auspices of the other part) and culture (if differences in ways of doing things at the tactical or operational level become irreconcilable).

We seek feedback for further development of our ideas before submitting a paper presenting the model to *Armed Forces and Society* later in 2021.

#### **4. Specific Specific Conditions of the Relationship of the Army with the Social Environment**

Sabina Pająk-Danicka

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Determinants of relationship between military and society are an indispensable element of dynamic change in contemporary militarism, as they are an essential element of military operations. Military-civil relations have been established for centuries, from the moment when military was distinguished as an instrument guaranteeing security. In my sociological study and empirical research, I thoroughly analyzed the scientific achievements of respected Polish and international Jan Maciejewski, Stefan Czarnowski, Aleksander Hertz, Morris Janowitz, Giuseppe Caforio, Charles Moskos, Samuel A. Stouffer, Marina Nuciari, Helena Carreras. However, in order to show social rooting of problem and present activities carried out in the field of relations, I will present results of a pilot qualitative research with a selected group of soldiers who actively participated in missions and were involved in activities in the local community zone.

The current problems related to the crisis caused by SARS-CoV-2 epidemic are a challenge for empirical researchers in military sociology and necessitate new scientific analyzes. More than any other situation in the world, pandemic has a dynamic impact on social relationships. Without thorough analysis and sociological knowledge, these processes will not proceed predictably, and may not all relations between military and local communities become "theater of human tragedies".

#### **5. Police Officer's Relationship with the Public**

PhD Zygmunt Dudek – police officer

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Among the dispositional groups of the state paramilitary security system, the police are perceived by society to the greatest extent as a restrictive institution. Representatives of this formation are often associated with demanding, controlling, interfering and punishing, although they were called to help citizens and care for public safety and order. Very important from the point of view of qualifications to serve in the Police, apart from the substantive and skilful



preparation of a policeman, is his approach to serving the society. A police officer, in order to be able to fulfill his official duties as honestly as possible, was provided by the state with a special scope of powers and duties, allowing for interference with the rights and freedoms of citizens. For this reason, when performing official duties, the relations of a police officer with the social environment take various forms, for example, intervention, contact with the victim or the perpetrator of the crime, as well as may be aimed at informing citizens about the threats of crime and ways to avoid becoming a victim of illegal behaviour. For these relations to be correct, it is important to trust a police officer, which he builds especially during his daily service, demonstrating his honesty, rule of law, but also empathy and personal culture, thus gaining respect.

On the other hand, the behaviour of members of society towards the policemen serving in their environment should be appropriate and characterized by understanding, restraint in expressing emotions and respect for the applicable legal provisions. Inappropriate reactions of citizens to official actions taken by Police officers, acting within the limits of their powers, may result in the escalation of bad emotions and often lead to the need to implement additional repressive measures aimed at persuading certain people to comply with the orders issued by law enforcement officers.

## **CRITICAL MILITARY STUDIES**

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### **1. The Politics of Trauma Studies: Women combatants' experiences of traumatic events in conflict zones**

Shir Daphna-Tekoah  
Ashkelon Academic College, Israel  
Ayelet Harel-Shalev  
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Wars, combat, and political developments triggered the study of trauma. Knowledge about trauma initially emerged from the experiences of men combatants in the battlefield. At a later stage, the study of trauma focused on women and children subject to violence and abuse. The current research suggests that additional aspects of trauma can be understood through the study of competent women exposed to traumatic events and not merely as victims of war or abuse. The study offers an analysis of women combatants' narratives of their exposure to traumatic events in conflict zones. Data was obtained from two focus groups and a series of 100 personal interviews of women veterans who served in the IDF. Interviewing women combat soldiers revealed a variety of narratives of their war experiences, including the intertwining of the emotional and the physical. The window to understanding the trauma was opened by analysis of the responses of the women combatants to potentially traumatic events rather than by focusing on post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) per se. We emphasize the need for a critical perspective in the study of trauma and combat trauma and propose that there is value in engaging with and listening to diverse narratives of trauma.

### **2. Civilianizing the Conflict, Reanimating the Conflict: Securitized civilian volunteerism in Israel**

Erella Grassiani  
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Nir Gazit

Ruppin Academic Centre, Israel

“Hashomer Hachadash” (The New Guardian) movement claims to fill a gap of security and moral education in the Israeli landscape. It frames itself as a bottom up organization that brings together people who feel connected to the land of Israel and want to volunteer and protect it against “agricultural terrorism” initiated by an often-unnamed enemy. On the face of it, it is a nongovernmental organization that prompts a novel ideal of civility that encompasses various sectors in Israeli society and transcends historical social and political cleavages. Yet, in the process of ‘civilianizing’ the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based on agricultural and securitized activities of ‘ordinary civilians’, the organization promotes a renewed Zionist ideology that redraws boundaries between the ‘civil’ (Jews) and the ‘uncivil’ others (Arabs). Ethos of voluntarism plays an important role in this process as it enables the organization to nurture a civilianized interpretation of militarism and neo-nationalism, outside the monopoly of formal governmental institutions. Although rooted in a particular sociopolitical context, the case demonstrates how civil-society discourse and practices of pacification and “security for all” may refuel ethnonational conflicts under an apolitical civilian disguise.

#### 4. Whose Life Is Worth More? Hierarchies of Risk and Death in Contemporary Wars

**Panel organizer:**

Yagil Levy, Open University, Israel

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**Chair:**

Eyal Ben-Ari, Center for Society, Security and Peace at Kinneret College

[eyal1953@gmail.com](mailto:eyal1953@gmail.com)

**Discussants:**

Eyal Ben-Ari, Center for Society, Security and Peace at Kinneret College

Rene Moelker, Netherlands Defence Academy

Yagil Levy, Open University, Israel

How are hierarchies of war deaths shaped and reshaped in contemporary armed conflicts? Using a wealth of empirical data drawn from the US, Britain, and Israel—democracies involved in prolonged warfare, in which policy-makers confront domestic constraints on the use of force—the book *Whose Life Is Worth More?* (by Yagil Levy, Stanford University Press, 2019) shows how states manage life and death by developing a death hierarchy, an ordered scale of value that they apply to the lives of their soldiers relative to the lives of their civilians and enemy noncombatants. This panel discusses these dilemmas.

## Thursday 22 July 2021

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break

Location Lossi 36

### 11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 8

## **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 6 - The Professionals and their Self-Perceptions**

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### **1. Perceptions of Officer Training among Newly Employed Officers and Specialist Officers in the Swedish Armed Forces**

Johan Österberg  
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Emma Oskarsson  
Swedish Defence University, Sweden  
Joel Nilsson  
Swedish Defence University, Sweden

Professional officer training in Sweden has gone through some major changes in the last 30 years. The current officer system is a two-category system, where officers complete the three-year academic Officers' Programme, and specialist officers complete 18 months of vocational training at the Swedish Armed Forces' training schools. The aim of this study was to investigate newly graduated officers' and specialist officers' perception of their officer training. Results showed that their perceptions could be covered by three overriding themes: identification, vertical vs horizontal career paths and the perceived relevance of the officer training. Furthermore, the respondents' officer identification seemed to have developed before officer training and the individual motivators concerned deliberate choices of becoming either an officer or specialist officer. Coaching was crucial for both officers and specialists. However, the officers stated that coaching came at an early stage of their basic military training, and specialists were coached at a later stage in their career. The implications for the Swedish Armed Forces is that identification and career path are issues that need to be addressed early in a soldier's military career and that officer training needs to be more focused on defining career paths, especially for specialist officers.

### **2. Social Integration of the Military Personnel in the Lithuanian Armed Forces (from the Structuration Theory Perspective)**

Paulius Balsys  
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This report is aimed at analysing the applicability of structuration theory perspective in the research of social integration of individuals in a nowadays Lithuanian armed forces. The transformation of a military organization that is known from early military sociology tradition (Janowitz 1960) is characteristic with civilianization in the background of commercial values, financial success, self-realisation challenges not only attracting but also retaining military personnel in a military service (Janowitz 1960, Nuciari 2006, Aleknevičiene et al 2015, Balsys 2019). Structuration theory which is widely used in organizations research shows that the heuristic approach of structural duality allows us to consider crucial aspects of social integration of military personnel through social reality reproduction not only at the individual or organizational level, but also in the context of military-society relations (Scott, Meyers 2010, McPhee et al. 2013, Ortlieb, Sieben 2014). Through this perspective structuration theory becomes relevant and enriching the understanding of tensions and conflicts that arise from the broad structural contradictions that nowadays military personnel faces adapting to culturally

diverse environments- institutional military and expectations from civil origin (Soeters 2006, Aleknevičiene et al 2015, Balsys 2019). The analysis of socio-cultural features of social integration through the sense of structuration theory in military organization is conceptually extensive. This perspective allows us to consider the aspects of solidarity and alienation of individuals performing military service from a wide angle- including micro-macro dimensions (Scheff, 2007).

Keywords: social integration, structuration theory, military sociology, civil-military relations

## **GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 3 - The Intersectionality of Gender and Culture in Defence and Security (4 papers)**

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### **Chair and Organizer:**

Dr. Barbara Waruszynski (Department of National Defence, Canada)

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### **1. 'I Want It to be Normal to be a Woman in the Army': Research into gender in the New Zealand Army**

Ms. Beth Greener

NZ Army

This presentation will discuss the New Zealand Army and how it has struggled to recruit and retain women in recent years despite the removal of combat exclusion clauses in 2000 ensuring that women can theoretically undertake every role within the organisation, and despite a number of internal and external reviews seeking to improve gender ratios. New Zealand also typically scores well on most gender equality indices, and the other services of Air Force and Navy have enjoyed marked increases in the number of women in uniform working for those organisations. Yet the numbers of women in the Army have remained low over the last few decades – typically comprising 12 to 15% of the service. This conundrum, ongoing low numbers of women in New Zealand Army, prompted the authors to initiate a new project on Regendering New Zealand Army in 2019, a project that gained high level approval and access to the institution in 2020. This chapter both describes previous research findings by members of the research team as well as outlining the aims and intended approach of this new, significant, project – one which seeks to identify how gender acts to constrain or enable personnel working within this context.

### **2. Transforming Force to Service: Engendering diversity and inclusion in international policing**

Ms. Lea Biason

UN Women

This presentation will explore how the concept of international policing advances a police in service of the community instead of a force for control and repression. Through an examination of the policy framework of United Nations policing, the presentation will outline how gender diversity and inclusion are crucial in this model of policing. In the past decade, the United Nations has adopted ten resolutions on Women, Peace and Security emphasising its criticality in international security matters. Yet, women's meaningful participation in the military and police components mandated to bring security and peace in conflict-ridden countries remain elusive representing only 6 per cent of the 80,000 deployed by the United Nations worldwide. Many

gains have been made by police components where women's participation as individual police officers increased almost four-fold from 7 per cent in 2009 to 27 per cent in 2020 and for formed police units a five-fold increase from 2 per cent to 11 per cent in the same period. The presentation will explore gender parity initiatives implemented within international police peace operations providing insights on effectiveness, gaps and recommendations for further research and practice.

### **3. Education Attrition and the Role of Gender among Cadets at the Belgian Royal Military Academy: A content analysis, 2013–2019**

Dr. Mathias De Roeck  
Belgian Royal Military Academy  
Dr. Delphine Resteigne  
Belgian Royal Military Academy

Education attrition, i.e. the voluntary or forced departure of cadets before the end of the study program, is one of the most serious and costly problems faced at the Royal Military Academy (RMA). This article investigates the key attrition motivations among cadets as well as how these attrition motivations differ by gender and evolve over time. Making use of Quantitative Content Analysis based on a full sample of attrition interviews (N = 290) of all leaving cadets between the period 2013 and 2019, the article finds that military culture constitutes a key attrition motivation among cadets, one that also strongly increases over time. Moreover, even though evidence is limited, the article finds that men rather than women refer to military culture as a reason for leaving the RMA, suggesting that especially men are affected by military culture's foes. The article furthermore demonstrates that besides military culture, study-related issues provide another reason for cadet attrition, yet without any significant gender differences. Finally, the article shows that although physical and psychological problems and discrimination are only secondary reasons for attrition, they nevertheless constitute "gendered" motivations, disproportionately affecting women rather than men, and hence contributing to women's attrition rate. The article adds to the literature on retention within Western armed forces by highlighting differential drivers of cadet attrition over time and by examining these drivers through a gender lens.

## **VIOLENCE & THE MILITARY: SESSION 1 - Irregular Forces in Transformation**

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### **1. Irregular Forces in Transformation: A theoretical approach**

Atsushi Yasutomi  
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This paper discusses how organisational theory applies to irregular forces in post-conflict states. Organisational theories explain how organisations alter their structures and objectives to survive changing circumstances. The paper thus examines how various organisational models, in particular contingency models, shed light upon irregular forces' post-conflict transformations, with particular focus on the reasons and processes through which their defining objectives change. The paper concludes by considering how the insights of organisational theory vary by type of irregular forces, by examining paramilitaries, militias, vigilantes, and gangs in the context of Southeast Asia.

## **2. Transformation of Urban Gangs after the COVID-19 Pandemic**

Saya Kiba

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The paper examines the patterns of the organizational transformation of the small-scale urban gangs in the Philippines. They continue their illegal and violent activities in a capital city; however, those groups are not targeted by the state-driven security sector reform (SSR) in the past. They survived over authoritarian to the democratic regime while they have been criminalized by the prosperous civil society organizations after the democratization in 1987. Although some studies show that various groups of violent extremism are strengthened in Southeast Asia during the states' security providers get sucked into the daily COVID-19 response, some urban gangs are getting more cooperative with the state and civil society organizations in providing community security, livelihood, and information to their neighbors. The paper tries to explain what determines their pathways.

## **3. Militias Then and Now: Charting pathways for Irregular Forces in Mindanao, Philippines**

Rosalie Arcala Hall

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The Philippines with its weak reach in peripheral areas has been home to many irregular forces. Amongst Christian settler communities and indigenous tribes in Mindanao, volunteer-based militias mobilized for community self-defense against "outside" threats are common. These militias have intermittent pragmatic ties with the military and police against a common threat, either operating jointly or providing intelligence information. In recent years, the Philippine government formalized its ties with militias by legalizing their existence and bringing them within the supervisory ambit of the local military and police. The Barangay Police Auxiliary Teams (BPATs), Special CAFGU Active Auxiliaries (SCAA), and sea militias are new iterations seeking to assert state authority in both ground and maritime spaces.

The paper maps the shifts in ties between state security forces and militias in the context of changing security environment in Mindanao, Philippines. Changes in the militia's organizational structure and local government control over their utilization are described. The paper will also examine the implications of these new irregular force configurations to prospects of peace in Mindanao.

## **4. Frontline Informality: Paramilitary Forces and Pro-government Militias in Thailand's Deep South Counterinsurgency**

Paul Chambers

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Srisompob Jitpiomsri

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In Thailand, auxiliary security actors have been irregular forces functioning in support of the military and police primarily for combat, protection or back-up for law enforcement. At present, they are mostly used in Thailand's Deep South counterinsurgency. In their functions, these forces have been divided between paramilitaries and pro-government village militias (PGMs), and even among different types of paramilitaries and PGMs. Why has the Thai state employed different types of auxiliary security forces? How are these groups structured? How are they

deployed in counterinsurgency operations? What are their advantages and disadvantages? This paper addresses these questions.

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

## **14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 9**

### **RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION: SESSION 3 - Recruitment**

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#### **1. Systematic Follow-Up of the Psychological Selection to the Swedish Armed Forces**

Emma Jonsson

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Johan Lantz

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Rose-Marie Lindgren

Anne Lindqvist

Swedish Defence Recruitment Agency; Swedish Armed Forces Sweden

The project “Systematic follow-up of the psychological selection to the Swedish Armed Forces” aim to improve the selection to basic military training in order to reduce attrition, and increase the numbers who reenlist, as well as to improve the feedback-loop between the Swedish Armed Forces and the Swedish Defence Recruitment Agency. However, the main focus have been to develop methods to obtain and analyze information about recruits and to evaluate if the methods are functional.

The project have operated both during the all-volunteer recruitment and during the re-established gender-neutral conscription. In 2021 the project will end and present a final report. At ERGOMAS we will present some of our experiences, advantages and disadvantages, findings and recommendations, including future studies.

#### **2. Warrior Neutrality? Reprising the Relationship between Defence Policy and Military Identity’**

Patrick Finnegan

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Alex Neads

University of Bath, United Kingdom

Military recruitment campaigns sit at the intersection between public and service concepts of martial identity, providing a window onto both. By comparing the narratives and politics of military recruitment between neutral and bellicose states, the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom respectively, we can assess the influence of national security policy. These policies can be seen as a reflection of democratic attitudes towards war and peace as well as illustrations of public and uniformed conceptions of military service. By revealing the ways in which the so-called “civil-military gap” is made and remade, this project aims to better understand the role of societal attitudes in the construction of military identity, strategic culture, and national defence policy. By comparing recruitment material from the British and

Irish cases it is possible to highlight both change and continuity between and within cases. These comparisons then present a puzzle as, although their defence planning and needs are radically different, they both pursue the same themes or respond in a manner more closely aligned with the other.

### **3. Exploring Experiences of Children of Migrant Workers in Military Service – A case study in the Israel Defense Forces**

Uzi Ben Shalom  
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The current research addresses the adaptation of children of migrant workers (SCMW) who serve in Israeli compulsory service. The first study included in-depth interviews with 13 soldiers to understand their narrative of being in the military. The second study collected questionnaires from 154 soldiers and compared them with 547 soldiers who immigrated from the former USSR (SIFU) two decades ago. Having no role model for military service in their families, the narratives of the soldiers present a "native" Israeli view of the military who were highly motivated to complete the service. They are highly adapted to the military system although they seem to be restricted to certain roles and seldom hold officer or academic positions. The article speculates that this group of migrants is highly adapted because of their unique life experiences and maturity, personal gain from the military, and self-selection for enlistment.

### **4. Young Women and #teamarmee - The Swiss Armed Forces attempt to recruit young women via social media**

Nina Nikles  
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Although young women also have the option of military service, the Swiss Armed Forces is characterized by a very low proportion of women, which can be explained by the masculinization of the identity of armed forces worldwide. Due to structural change and the parallel digitalization, many campaigns are now geared towards social media platforms. Social media is increasingly suitable for organizations, especially as a direct communication channel to young adults, who make up the main user group of social media. The Swiss Armed Forces is also increasingly using social media to motivate a young audience with military content. This paper shows to what extent the Swiss Armed Forces tries to recruit young women via social media. For this purpose, an empirical content analysis was conducted to investigate how female members of the armed forces are portrayed on social media. It was found that the representation of the femininity of the Swiss Armed Forces has changed fundamentally in recent years, which can be explained by the social change in the position of women. Female members are now increasingly portrayed as fully involved in the military organization. However, this overrepresentation overshoots the goal and new stereotypes of female members of the armed forces emerge.

## **VETERANS AND SOCIETY: SESSION 3**

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### **1. We Do Not Agree on Who We Are: Roy Scranton's trauma hero redefines the veteran and civilian relationship**

Judith McNeely



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This paper proposes to study the identity of the societal we encompassing veterans and civilians to consider how that disrupted identity interferes with understanding of the veterans' experience and the self's communal membership. This paper will focus on the writings of Roy Scranton, whose work revises the trauma hero myth.

In *Total Mobilization*, Scranton claims that cultural narratives emphasize the suffering of individual soldiers instead of systemic failures and the destructiveness of war (23-24). The soldier's sacrifice and suffering will in turn influence the civilian's self-understanding. If, as Scranton proposes, this myth has been distorted, self-understanding is thus also distorted, and the consequential societal narrative becomes disruptive.

If reconciliation is to be successful, discord in the communal narrative must be repaired. Hilde Lindemann's discussion of narrative repair describes identity as the creation of stories and story fragments. While studies consider how civilian society shapes the veteran's self-view, the sacrificing hero myth also shapes the civilian's self-view, intensifying the myth and interfering with reconciliation. This view inhibits clear analysis of political and societal choices leading to war and honest examination of war's ferocity.

## **2. Warnings against Romanticizing Moral Injury**

Tine Molendijk

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Moral injury, referring to the psychosocial impact of having one's moral expectations and beliefs violated, has received increasing attention in both research and policy on military trauma. Besides benefits, however, the concept's enthusiastic uptake has undesirable consequences. On the one hand, while the concept is rightfully praised for extending trauma theory beyond the individualizing and pathologizing focus of the clinical realm, most studies are nevertheless limited to diagnosis and therapy. On the other hand, the context-sensitive, non-pathological approach of some other studies takes the form of romanticization. Veterans are sometimes portrayed in Rousseauian ways as noble, blameless warriors rather than human beings, while risks of primary and secondary gain (subconscious advantages of being ill) are disregarded in the emphasis on recognition and justice. Also, in the promotion of moral injury, PTSD is often turned into a straw man. Expressing critical concerns about such tendencies is difficult in the face of the sensitivity of the topics of moral injury and trauma in general. Yet, doing so is vital, both for the sake of accuracy and the benefit of morally injured individuals themselves. Incorporating philosophical and social scientific knowledge in moral injury theory, I argue, can help tackle these and other problems.

## **3. Relating to Moral Injuries: How mental (health) care professionals see the moral impact of military and police work on frontline workers**

Teun Eikenaar

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In recent years the concept of moral injury has become a common term to describe the lasting impact of specific morally injurious events on frontline workers within the military. However, the application of the term in practice is far from evident, not in the least because it does not fall

squarely into one disciplinary domain. In addition to the burgeoning literature on this subject this paper attempts to broaden the academic debate on moral injury by involving applied views on moral injuries in the context of Dutch military and police organizations. To this end, the ideas of various mental (health) care professionals about moral injuries are taken as point of departure – such as mental care givers, social workers and clinicians. How do these professionals describe the moral injuries of servicemen and police officers and how do they think these should be approached? This paper shows that also in practice, views on moral injury diverge considerably. Furthermore, it argues that an analysis of this variety and contestation can both serve as an indication of possible ways to deal with moral injuries, and as a basis for a critical reflection on the implications these various approaches might have.

#### **4. What We Need: Evolving expectations and needs of Norwegian soldiers, veterans, and families before, during and after international deployments”**

Lene Ekhaugen

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The expectations of, and need for, care by Norwegian soldiers, veterans, and their families have evolved through the cold war and to today. The principle focus of this article is to study these groups’ own expectations for care – from their perspective. Mainly based on documentary and memoir literature and extensive archival studies, the article explores the level and kinds of care and support expected by these groups. The development in expectations and needs are discussed in light of broader changes within society, in particular the development of the welfare state, and reforms of the Norwegian armed forces.

## **GENDER AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 4 - Gender Roles, Military Identity and Attitudes (4 papers)**

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### **1. Pride or Prejudices? How “the institutional amplifier effect” shapes attitudes towards homosexuality in the Armed Forces**

Morten Brænder

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Vilhelm S. Holsting

Royal Danish Defence College, Denmark

Debates regarding the inclusion of sexual minorities in the Armed Forces entered the agenda once again when President Biden, immediately after his inauguration, overturned his predecessor’s transgender military ban. The overall conservativeness of military institutions would suggest that military personnel is less tolerant than the general population when it comes to accepting the rights of gays and lesbians. Whereas studies of the United States military personnel support this notion, data from other countries are far more diverse. In this paper, we claim that such differences are due to what we call the “institutional amplifier effect”, suggesting that individuals comply to the overall values of the institution they represent. We test this notion by comparing the attitudes of Danish Armed Forces cadets with those of the general population regarding the rights of gays and lesbians. Results show that Danish cadets are more tolerant towards homosexuals than their civilian counterparts also when controlling for relevant background variables and for other attitudes.

## 2. Estonian Defence Forces through Masculinity Discourse and Gender Perspective Lens

Aas Sigrid

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This study examines the case of Estonian Defence Force (EDF): in particular female participation in the organization and the existing masculinity discourse. Underrepresentation of females in state defence and military structures is common to national armed forces and military organizations; consequently, that is also the case in Estonia. Estonia has intensified the promotions and recruitment of females to military structures since 2017: when Estonian Ministry of Defence established first time in country's contemporary history the specific policy for increasing the participation of women in military service. The study looks into how the Ministry of Defence initiative has been adopted by the members of the organization: through the analysis of the gender identities, stereotypes and masculinities. Data for the study was gathered from the "Women in Estonian Defence Forces" survey and through EDF leadership interviews. The purpose of this study is to understand and comprehend the gendered nature of EDF through identification and analysis of masculinity- and gender stereotype discourse. The study argues that organizational barriers for gender balance compile a blend of organization rigidity and resistance to change, a fear towards the unknown and existing myths around female participation in the military.

## 3. Russian Military-Patriotic Youth Organization 'Yunarmy': State-led identities in shaping

Alava Jonna

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The Russian state pays increasing attention to the military-patriotic upbringing of children to elevate the patriotic spirit in society and to get a larger number of motivated young men to join the armed forces. In 2016, Yunarmy was founded to unite the country's fragmented military-patriotic youth organisations. By deconstructing the hegemonic discourse of military-patriotic education I analyse the linguistic modes in which the legitimization of Yunarmy is constructed. Discourses of heroism, masculinity, a beneficial and fun hobby, being citizen-soldier, and military traditionalism include key strategies of legitimization processes for influencing audiences. Discourses suggest that rather than preparing young people for immediate war, Yunarmy's purpose is to raise patriotic citizens who support the prevailing regime and contribute to solving the demographic crisis by repeating 'traditional' gender roles. The Russian state, church, and armed forces work closely together to reshape young people's values and identities in the direction they desire, appealing to threats, Russia's special position in the world, the confrontation between 'us' and 'others', and the importance of faith and sacrifice as part of modern civic identity.

Keywords: military-patriotic education, Yunarmy, Russia, patriotism, militarism, gender

## ROUNDTABLE 1a: COVID & Domestic Military Operations – Large Countries (Heineken Organizer)

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In the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, militaries in several countries deployed to support civilian national authorities. This demand for military assistance comes on top of a quantitative

and qualitative change in domestic military operations due to climate change, notably in containing wildfires and flooding and increasing deployment in public order duties in some countries. Enhanced demands and deployments have implications for operations, readiness, doctrine, policy, equipment, training, force generation, force employment, force structure, civil-military relations as well as federal and multilevel governance. This project intends to capture country specific observations, identify comparative findings, and draw out broader implications around the deployment of the military in domestic roles, whether law enforcement or dealing with other state emergencies. Here it would appear that the military's main task in domestic operations is not capacity building but capacity replacement – the ability to surge specific competencies on short notice, but without an ability to sustain this over the medium term.

Similarly, the Covid-19 pandemic has brought about forth many challenges to both human and national security, as the military deployed in tasks not normally associated with their mandated roles and responsibilities. For this project, we are particularly interested in establishing how and in what roles the military was deployed, what challenges this posed in terms of their capacity, as well as overall governance and multisectoral cooperation. On the one hand, politicians may want to be seen as doing something; so, they call in the military even though that may not be the optimal response. On the other hand, the military presents a moral hazard for politicians, especially where armed forces are ill-equipped, trained and prepared for these tasks, or found guilty of human rights abuses. But, depending on the nature of the deployment and roles performed, this deployment could also be an opportunity for the armed forces to enhance their public profile, image and value. In this regard, it is imperative to examine how the public perceives the deployment and what accountability measures are in place, if, or where abuses are reported.

The goal of this roundtable is thus to expose how countries with a population greater than 20 million have addressed the aforementioned issues and to foster dialogue on the matter. This roundtable is part of a larger project which will result in the publication of a comparative work on the domestic use of militaries during the Covid-19 pandemic and another round table will be dedicated on the 23<sup>rd</sup> between 14.00 and 16.00 to countries with a population smaller than 20 million.

## Friday 23 July 2021

### 09.30 – 11.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 10

#### TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND FUTURE WAR: SESSION 1

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1. **A Room of One's Own" in the New War - Women soldiers in war rooms**  
Ayelet Harel-Shalev  
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New technologies of warfare are transferring more and more soldiers, including women, from the sidelines into the heart of the battlespace. More women soldiers are thus becoming significant participants in war by virtue of their assignment to strategic war rooms. Even though such women soldiers are not located physically in the battlefield, they do indeed participate in war—by promoting ‘security’ for their countries and for their comrades in arms and by being responsible for injuring the ‘other.’ The stationing of women in war rooms located on the borders of conflict zones, which are equipped with the latest technologies that bring the reality of the warzone into the war room, may challenge traditional concepts of security, war, and gender roles. The narratives of women soldiers serving in such war rooms can thus provide critical insights into ‘experiencing war’ and ‘making war’ in battlespace. Personal interviews with women whose military service was spent in war rooms revealed multiple narratives of war, including the intertwining of protection, security, and insecurity. The paper thus sheds new light on the role of women in the military by exploring women “in a room of their own” in the new war.

Key words: war rooms, women soldiers, security, protection, Feminist IR.

## **2. The Problem of Technological Determinism and Anthropomorphic Connotations in Discussing Intelligent Technologies**

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Wolfgang Wagner

Technological determinism is an approach that presents technology as the constituting factor in societal development. In the deterministic view, technologies are seen as possessing autonomy and agency beyond human and societal control, leading to extremely utopian or dystopian consequences. In both the public and the academic discourse on technology, the development of intelligent systems (AI) is often portrayed as something inevitable and out of control.

Anthropomorphic projection is a way for human individuals to relate to the new and overcome the fear of the unknown. An inherent feature of human cultures, intuitive anthropomorphism is an understandable reaction to the technologies that are explicitly developed in order to delegate or replace certain cognitive or mental tasks carried out by human beings. On the other hand, anthropomorphic models engage additional connotative meanings and enable attributing human-like or animistic properties to machines, other than the ones that were explicitly modelled in their construction.

This presentation aims to analyse the anthropomorphic vocabulary present in the discourse on technology and make visible the connotations that come from perceiving certain intelligent technologies, and the behavioural consequences of such perceptions. The analysis is based on a focus group study regarding the Estonian public opinion on the use of unmanned ground vehicles.

## **3. Towards Trustworthy Autonomous Weapon Systems: A compendium of ethical aspects**

Janar Pekarev

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Weaponized artificial intelligence (AI) declares a revolution in warfare, as the development in autonomous weapons systems (AWS) is progressing rapidly. As a result, the notion of the weaponization of AI, where a weapon system that, once activated, can select and engage targets without human intervention, poses a serious challenge to international humanitarian law (IHL) enforcement. Moreover, the fundamental ethical question is whether people can delegate life-and-death decisions and accountability to artificial agents. Many authors have voiced a similar concern, but a comprehensive approach is lacking to reveal what are the main aspects associated with the development of AWS. This literature review outlines various factors and provides insight into the most common ethical aspects in the respective literature. The results indicate that compliance or non-compliance with IHL core principles is the most accepted factor in the corresponding discourse. However, the systematic approach reveals that AWS's characteristics, criminal liability issues, and humanity are more acute concerns comparing IHL principles. The existence of the accountability gap poses a strong deontological reason against AWS, although normative ethics represents only half of the theoretical argumentation. Still, after close examination, the deontological position would be in the vast majority in respective values and dominant discourses of ethical aspects.

## **COVID-19 – IMPLICATIONS FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY: SESSION 2 - COVID and Military Deployment and Well-Being**

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### **1. Domestic Deployment of the Armed Forces in Covid 19 Crisis: The case of Slovenia**

Ljubica Jelušič

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Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) has very long tradition of humanitarian assistance in cases of natural disasters (earthquakes, floods, pandemics, etc) and is legislatively recognised as second responder, meaning that the military units are called in after capabilities of Civil Protection are deployed. There are different State Plans, prepared in advance to meet all organisational needs of the country when different disasters break out. Among others, there is also a specific State Plan to react when pandemics is declared. In Covid 19 crisis, the mentioned State Plan was declared in spring 2020. The military was expected to deploy its logistic and medical capabilities mainly. In addition to the pre-described humanitarian assistance tasks, the Slovenian Government has decided to deploy the military forces for tasks that were foreseen by public opinion as not urgently Covid 19 tasks. Public thought that the Government would like to solve some other open state issues in the shadow of the Covid 19 urgent needs. That relates to the issue of illegal immigrants, whom the Government would like to stop from crossing the Slovenian border by help of the SAF, empowered by police powers on border control.

### **2. Health and Well-Being of Cadets from the Portuguese Military Academy during the Outbreak caused by COVID-19**

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Rui Pereira

Military Academy, Portugal

Luís Malheiro

Nélia Santos  
Paulo Carvalho  
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This longitudinal study aims to analyze the health and well-being of cadets from the Portuguese Military Academy during the outbreak caused by COVID-19, using data from a survey applied to all students who attended the institution in June 2020 and in January 2021.

It puts forward the question of whether the health and well-being of future military leaders reveal a pattern of convergence with the remaining students of higher education, or whether they depart from it, in terms of living conditions, workload, levels of stress, mental health and behaviours during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The investigation presents a portrait and the evolution of the cadets and compares it with the known results, identifying similarities and divergences. The data suggest that the measures implemented at the Portuguese Military Academy can be considered successful because of the student's perception and comparison with other realities in higher education. The absence of positive cases of COVID-19 (from March to July 2020), the promotion of some factors inherent to healthy lifestyles and the maintenance of workload and stress levels are evidence of this. However, during the second wave (January 2021), the deterioration in all indicators related to well-being and mental health was identified, suggesting the necessity to monitoring the students in more fragile psychosocial and well-being conditions.

Keywords: Military Academy; cadets; COVID-19; health, well-being.

## HRM AND DEFENSE TRANSFORMATION

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### Location

#### 1. Punish and Perish: Cyber defense under the threat of the "weakest link"

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The basic statement that reliable technology is crucial in military operations is all but new. But, it is today of utmost importance since IT technology is much more than just the infrastructure of weapons' systems and decision-making processes : it is now a domain of conflict in itself. Most IT security policies implemented in armed forces are still rooted in the "Weakest Link" theory in spite of the poor results outlined through numerous surveys.

This "negative culture" of security relies on two principles : (1) non compliant behaviors of users are the main flaw in a secure technical system ; (2) they must be deterred through disciplinary and criminal sanctions) Most computer charters are inspired from such "negative culture". We suggest that highly reliable IT systems rely on an opposite approach should be developed based on a "Non punishment" principle. Fighting cyber attacks is impossible if users do not report mistakes and errors because the fear of sanctions incite them to hide non compliant behaviors, which is the result of General Deterrence Theory as usually applied in cyber security

domain. Our goal is to suggest policy rules and organisational measures aiming at enhancing cyber security in armed forces.

## **2. A Question of Time? Deployments, Dwell-time and Work-life Balance for Military Personnel in Scandinavia**

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Johan Österberg  
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In recent years, interest in the different ways in which military employment affects individuals' work-life balance (WLB) has grown. At the same time, research on military organisations and personnel has increasingly included time-related factors such as deploy-to-dwell (D2D) ratios to help explain adverse health effects of overseas deployments. This paper explores the connections between organisational systems for regulating the relation between international deployment and dwell time and work-life conflicts and their negative effects for individuals. The aim is to pave the way for further empirical research into the impact of time-related factors on the health and well-being of military personnel, especially in the Scandinavian countries. Drawing on a model developed by Guest (2002), we focus on organisational and individual factors that shape the nature and outcome of work-life balance, including stress, mental health problems, job satisfaction, and retention. To explore these links, we draw on research on work-life balance in military organisations, as well as a review of research on the impact of deploy-to-dwell ratios on mental health and social relations. Finally, we turn to the regulation and organisation of deployment and dwell time in Scandinavia. Here, the ambition is to map out key similarities and differences, and to identify potential sources of work-life conflict and associated effects for deployed personnel. The results provide a basis for further research into time-related effects of military deployments.

## **3. Secularism and Pastoral Care in the ADF**

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Slowly and progressively over the last decade, the Australian Defence Force (ADF) has become less religious with 56 per cent of Defence members now no longer affiliated with a religion. This decrease in religious affiliation means that a significant proportion of Defence members are effectively unsupported by the extant Christian-dominated chaplaincy model. This article explores the advantages of secularism in a modern ADF, the changes in religiosity that have occurred over the last few years and the gaps in pastoral care that have emerged from an exclusively religious chaplaincy model. Suggestions are made on approaches for a secular wellbeing and pastoral care model that supports the all members of the ADF including Christians, non-religious and non-Christians.

## **4. How to Make Conscription Count? Converting Competencies in the Estonian Case**

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The Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee/Estonian Military Academy

In recent decades there has been a growing shift towards military jobs becoming more of a profession driven by occupational motivators rather than institutional ones. Conscripts, who are drafted, nevertheless still represent the institutional model, where the balance of material and symbolic rewards, as well as motives and goals differ from the occupational one. At the same time, expectations of conscription as a meaningful experience have arisen together with individualization and the spread of neo-liberalism. This development poses a challenge for conscripts as for militaries to meet both military specific aims and wider expectations prevalent in society. Drawing from two studies carried out in Estonia in 2019, we argue, that a central mechanism for addressing this challenge is convertibility, the ability to use competencies gained in one sphere in another thus increasing the value of conscription for recruits. Our study makes three theoretical contributions: first, by developing the concept of convertibility as a two-way process (where converting civil competencies to military sphere is as important as converting military gained knowledge to civil sphere) we take up an issue not addressed by previous research; second, by adding agency and motivation we extend the concept to the individual level; and third, by linking convertibility to societal expectations, we demonstrate how societies shape ideas of what is convertible and why.

##### **5. When Things Are Not What They Appear - The role of military organizations in the integration of immigrants in Belgium and Greece**

Prof. Gerassimos Karabelias

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Prof. Georgios Kaffes

Colonel Ioannis Fytas

Panteion University, Greece

Throughout history, the military organizations played an important institutional role in the integration of minorities and immigrants into their respective imperial or national identity. During the post-Cold War period, however, under the growing threat of religious terrorism and political extremism, western societies and states are forced to re-evaluate the competence of their institutions to perform the task of immigrants' integration. This is true for states like Belgium where religious violence has left its marks.

Belgium, a European state in the core of EU, geographically and politically, even though it has several institutions that promote respect to human rights, seems to encounter difficulties in the integration of its immigrants. Its military institution, due to the country's limited personnel needs, seems unable to play an important role in this process. In contrast, Greece, a state at the EU periphery, with less competent socio-political institutions and an ongoing economic crisis, appears to have successfully integrated the bulk of immigrants from the northern Balkan states that entered the country in the 1990s and its military institution played its role in it.

The cases of Greece and Belgium, countries which represent the core and the periphery of EU, seem to constitute an important challenge to the existing theories and views regarding the role

of the military in the integration of immigrants after the influx of a new wave of immigrants and refugees since the mid-2010s.

## **MILITARY CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND PEACE ECONOMICS: SESSION 2**

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### **Location**

#### **1. Territorial Defense Forces in Poland in Public Perception**

Małgorzata Zielińska

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Territorial Defense Forces were formed on January 1, 2017 and they are the fifth type of Armed Forces in Poland. The Command of Territorial Defense Forces took over and cultivates the heritage of the tradition of the Home Army Headquarters (1942–1945). In addition to defense activities, the purpose of this formation is also the implementation of tasks in the field of crisis management, combating natural disasters and liquidating their effects, and protecting property, as well as search and rescue operations. Functioning and activities of Territorial Defense Forces and behaviors of their soldiers are one of many interests to the Military Bureau for Social Research, which, operating within the structures of the Military Center for Civic Education, conducts social research in the military environment. So far, it has implemented several projects diagnosing the opinions and assessments of Polish professional soldiers and employees of the Ministry of National Defense on the TDF, the review of which will be presented in the proposed article.

In the year of the establishment of the Territorial Defense Forces, the majority of Polish society considered its creation as a support for the Polish Army. Poles who were asked believe that the tasks of this new formation primarily should be: assistance in actions to combat the effects of catastrophes and natural disasters, defense of local people and local infrastructure in the event of an armed conflict, preparation of land and local infrastructure in times of peace for crisis situations and also military operations carried out jointly with the regular army in armed conflicts. Civil defense service is voluntary and in the case of TDF, it is payable, so it has become an opportunity for young people in Poland to pursue their passions and at the same time to have financial support.

The third obligated issue of Territorial Defense Forces is engagement in the fight against the consequences of pandemic in Poland. The initiatives are based on: taking the swabs to the medical analysis and research of SARS-CoV-2 from people, doing the basic shopping for seniors and inmates from all social welfare Home, visiting combatants, taking care of patients in hospitals, sharing the knowledge of SARS-CoV-2 in schools, kindergartens. Apart from this, these forces are also focused on foundations', associations' and other citizens organizations' basic activities needed support in pandemic and hard time.

## **2. Understanding Military Power Resources**

Dr. Agniete Zotkeviciute Baneviciene

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The research aims to review the problems of interpretation of military power based on the synthesis of tangible and intangible resources and the possibilities of applying theories of political science and war studies to the analysis of military power. The application of positivist standpoints creates a particularly narrow framework of military power explanation defining military power as a certain sum-total result of material resources. In this study, author seeks to show that positivist standpoints do not necessarily deny the normative explanation while the theories of neoclassical realism and force employment becomes a means to substantiate this statement. The explanation of military power is consciously grounded on the synthesis of power as resources and power as relation perspectives. Also in seeking to reveal how the security environment changes military power, the author resorts to the analysis of military paradigms that reflects a change regarding the response to security environment changes.

## **3. Central African Republic, France and Russia: A new balance of power for Africa?**

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In December 2020, the presidential elections in Central African Republic (CAR) led to tensions that culminated in clashes between armed groups and the Central African Armed Forces (FACA), supported by Russia. The CAR was a natural space for France to project its power during the Cold War, a situation that lasted until 2010 decade, when the Operation Sangaris registered the seventh intervention in the country. As of 2018, the Russian presence in the former French colony has increased significantly, through training, arms supplies, and advice to the FACA, in exchange for privileged access to ore deposits and energy resources. The CAR's agreements with Russia placed on opposite sides France- historically hegemonic power in the region- and a nation that seeks to resume the influence exerted by the former USSR over the continent during the Cold War, but without the "socialist revolution" bias. Nevertheless, the Russians arrive in a continent with a strong presence of the United States of America and China, whose influence reaches an increasing number of African countries. This article aims to investigate whether the current dispute for influence areas in CAR between France and Russia might change the balance of power in the African continent.

## **4. The U.S.–Lithuanian Defense Cooperation and Arms Acquisition from the U.S.**

Donatas Palavenis

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The aim of the study is to characterize the U.S. and Lithuanian defense cooperation from 1990–2020 including arms procurements. Findings suggest close defense cooperation between countries at Presidential, Congressional, and Defense Ministry/Secretary levels. The most developed cooperation areas are joint participation in international operations, improvements of the Lithuanian Armed Forces' capabilities, and an increase of the U.S. military presence in the Baltic region. An analysis of Lithuanian defense procurements between 1990-2020 indicates that

the majority of defense armaments were acquired from the U.S. using the Foreign Military Sales venue while other options to obtain armaments were not used.

**11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break**

**4<sup>th</sup> floor Coffee Corner**

## **11.15 – 12.45 PARALLEL SESSIONS 11**

### **CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY: SESSION 3**

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**Chair:** Maja Garb

#### **1. The Ministry of National Defence in South Korea: Civilian control despite military dominance**

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Insoo Kim

Korean Military Academy, Seoul, Republic of Korea

Ministries of National Defence (MNDs) are the fulcrums of civil-military relations in democracies. Here, on a daily and ongoing basis, the civilian and military spheres meet and cooperate to prepare decisions in crucial policy areas of national security, defence, and military organization. As such, MNDs play a crucial role in ensuring effective civilian control and military effectiveness. However, even in consolidated democracies, MNDs are often dominated by active-duty and retired military personnel. How does this affect civil-military relations, especially in terms of civilian control and military effectiveness?

This paper addresses this question for the Republic of Korea's MND. Based on original data on the professional background of personnel, we evaluate the roles of civilians and (retired) military officers across five crucial decision-making areas: military promotions, defence strategies, weapons procurement and defence plans, officer education, and coordination, planning, and operations. We argue that even though the South Korean MND is dominated by (former) military officers, civilians still "get what they want" in terms of civilian control and effectiveness due to a parallel decision-making structure and the professional culture in the MND.

#### **2. The Expert and the Politician: Re-conceptualizing civilian control over the military in India**

Anit Mukherjee

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In December 2019, the government of India established the post of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) and a Department of Military Affairs (DMA)? Will these measures change the pattern of civilian control in India? More generally, how can we consolidate civilian control and military effectiveness in democracies? This question has been central to much of the literature on civil-military relations. This article revisits this debate and draws attention to three understudied aspects that shape the practice of civil-military relations: institutional design, civilian expertise and extent of military autonomy. Institutional design refers to the composition and nature of interaction between the military headquarters and the ministry of defense. Expertise refers to

the knowledge of civilians in defense policy and autonomy analyses the extent of freedom that the military enjoys in policymaking. I argue that the recent reforms measures, if properly instituted, can fundamentally alter civilian control for the better. At the same time there is a need to be cautious about a potential politicization of the military.

### **3. Military and Politics: Politicization still or again?**

Maja Garb

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The western societies are based (also) on civilian control of the armed forces. The principle has some adjustments across the countries (and political cultures), but the basic norms are clear. The fears of military coup are still present, however the coups are the reality today mostly in non-western world. What about the opposite process – an interference of politics in the military? When I wrote the master thesis on politicization of the military in the middle of 90s of the previous century (Garb, 1996), it turned out that the politicization of the military can be defined as process of forced and externally controlled interference of military in the politics or merging military and the politics. It is actually a passive process from the military point of view and active from the point of view of the political actors. Can we see this process in the western societies even today? Can we see it in Slovenia? The paper will present some cases through the lenses of the concept of politicization.

## **ROUNDTABLE 2: PATRIOTISMS, Public Opinion and National Defence in Central, Eastern and Northern Europe: SESSION 1**

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**Chairs:** Dr Linda Hart, Dr Miina Kaarkoski, Prof. Teemu Tallberg

### **1. Patriotism: From political religion to (almost) religious politics**

Tamás Nyirkos:

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The term “political religion” was arguably first used in its modern sense after the French Revolution. The worship of the new constitution, the cult of the fatherland and the feasts of civic virtues made patriotism the first successful attempt to take over the role of an already nationalized Christianity in modern Europe. Even enemies of the Revolution acknowledged that the triumph of revolutionary armies was a result of this patriotic faith that turned the struggle between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries into a war between patriots and émigrés. Patriotic faith and symbolism became pervasive all through Europe during the nineteenth century: from altars of the “immortal fatherland” to the idea of the “Christ of Nations” or the veneration of the relics of freedom fighters. By the twenty-first century, however, this form of patriotism has lost much of its vigor with the general weakening of religious leanings in modern societies. That is why some recent attempts try to redefine the relationship between patriotism and traditional religion (mainly Christianity) by presenting the latter not as a set of “articles of faith” but as the origin of such European ideas as that of the nation-state.

### **2. Fighting for the (Step)-Motherland? Attitudes among Estonians and Russian-speaking Estonians towards conscription in the Estonian Defense Forces**

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Social processes from globalization to mediatization have challenged the concepts of national identity, statehood, and patriotism. Besides national defense and combat effectiveness, social expectations towards conscription-based military service highlight wider aspects: integration processes of minorities, value transmission, and increasing cohesiveness of society. According to Estonian public opinion surveys, a vast majority of male citizens of both ethnic Estonian and non-Estonian origin, and even the majority of non-citizens, respond in the affirmative to taking part actively in defending Estonia in the event of an armed attack by a foreign power. This contribution examines to what extent there are differences in the views of younger generations of Estonians and members of the Russian-speaking minority. It examines adherence to patriotic values and national defense in Estonia, and how effective military service is in supporting the formation of sense of national belonging. Data are obtained from Estonian opinion polls "National Defense and Public Opinion" (2016–2020) and "Estonian Conscripts Survey" (2016–2020). The comparison of these datasets gives new insight into understanding the social contract and the power of socialization through military service.

### **3. Fostering a Defense-Minded Elite: Threat politics and hues of patriotism in "National Defense Courses" in Finland 1967–2018**

Linda Hart

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Among European States, Finland is in the margins: a small state outside NATO relying on male conscription, large reserve army, and territorial defense. Maintaining this status quo requires broad-based consensus on defense policy among Finnish voters, decision-makers, and state officials. This contribution analyses textbooks of invitation-based "National Defense Courses" organized by the Finnish Defense Forces aimed at the political, administrative, economic, scientific and cultural elite in Finland from 1967 to 2018. The analysis focuses on key themes in the textbooks: general rationale for defending Finland, 'psychological defense', and mass communications on defense issues. Conceptually, it is inquired how the data reflects a shift from times of the Cold War and "pluralist patriotism" referring to the political tightrope of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union to contemporary forms of building national unity and patriotic sentiment. The notion of "civic patriotism" as per Cécile Laborde acts as a notion against which divergent and competing views of patriotism are evaluated. Historically and sociologically, the analysis looks at how the textbooks offer temporally shifting characterizations of Finland grappling with its geopolitical challenges. What emerges is a narrative of necessity, building up a variety of forms of patriotic adherence with an emphasis on rhetoric of defending a modern and value-liberal democratic State.

### **4. Opinion Surveys as a Source of Legitimacy in Public Debates on Citizens' National Defense Duties in Finland and Sweden in the 2010s**

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Teemu Häkkinen

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In democratic countries that utilize conscription, maintaining supportive public opinion is crucial for the political legitimacy of the system. Finland and Sweden are countries that maintain conscription and have a tradition of surveying citizens' opinions on defense and security politics regularly. These surveys have indicated that a clear majority expresses strong and relative stable willingness to defend the country in case of an armed conflict. Opinion surveys on different aspects of defense and security politics are one of the most direct ways to concretize the potentially abstract relationship between the public and national defense. However, research is lacking on how numerical results of surveys have been adapted to ongoing political debates. Concentrating on the 2010s, this article discusses how results of these opinion surveys have been interpreted and referred to in political debates that concern the duties of citizens in national defense and principles of conscription. Using the results of public opinion surveys might serve as a political tool to seek legitimacy for political demands. Thus, this article will reflect on the rationale of these opinion surveys from the viewpoint of political decision-making processes.

**5. Home, Religion, Fatherland - or Ethnicity? De- and Re-constructing narratives of belonging in military service in Finland**

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Teemu Tallberg

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Conscription for men is a gendered institution that participates in reproducing the narrative of a united Finnish nation. Discourses around military service build on a continuum from the Second World War to this day through chains of male generations. As such, patriotic legitimization of conscription has changed and lately taken place in the rhetorical framework of the Finnish welfare state. Discourses in the political mainstream suggest that military service produces – in addition to military security – different 'societal goods', levels down social differences, prevents social exclusion and provides a channel of integration for naturalized immigrants. Finnish civil religious beliefs – maintained by military service, other institutions, and civil society – are related to the unity required for national survival, the sacredness of national symbols, and military service as a rite of passage. However, these beliefs are weakening, and military service may need to loosen its connection to social unity. This article investigates the experiences, views, and ties of belonging of conscripts. Empirical material to be gathered will consist of interviews and other data produced with conscripts with marginalized ethnic backgrounds and ties serving in the Finnish Defense Forces. The study will generate divergent narratives of military service and therefore pluralize the view of factors supporting and contesting military service.

## **MILITARY PROFESSION: SESSION 7 - Developments of the Military Professions**

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**1. Outsourcing Support Activity in the French Army, an Inevitable Change? The case of catering and aircraft maintenance in France during Nicolas Sarkozy's five-year mandate (2007-2012)**

Larrieu Violette

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This presentation will introduce, through the study of catering and aircraft maintenance outsourcing policies, the implementation of managerial reforms in the armed forces and the resistance encountered. Using political sociology, we intend to understand how, during Nicolas Sarkozy's five-year mandate (2007-2012), outsourcing projects faced difficulties. We highlight the resistance coming from the military and civilian staff at the Defense Ministry, in other words those concerned by the reform. We demonstrate how the state actors in charge of the reforms managed to adapt their discourse and actions in order to be able to overcome the opposition and to pursue their managerial objectives, prioritizing a "step by step" strategy and reaching compromises.

Our study draws on 80 semi-leading interviews and the analysis of a large corpus of primary sources. Our research highlights policies not often studied in the past. Focusing on private military companies, studies ignore most of the time support military activities, viewed as subaltern. The outsourcing is then taken for granted, as a consequence of the transformation of the armed forces.

Introducing some conclusions of our PhD thesis, defended recently, this presentation shows how the state actors consider outsourcing as an instrument of the public Defense policy and highlights how opposition and arrangements with other participants have taken place. More broadly, this presentation questions the transformation within the French Ministry of Defense, and how it has been affected by different state reforms since the 90s.

## **2. The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on the Military Profession**

Krystal Hachey

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Tamir Libel

Zack Partington

Technological change has always affected the military profession. Based on research conducted as part of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization panel, and subsequent publication in Springer, this presentation explores the impact of artificial intelligence, which seems poised to affect the military as a profession in profound ways. In particular, we review the construct of military professionalism, artificial intelligence, including its potential influence on the military, and offer a summary of the analytical framework developed by Snider and Watkins (2002). Finally, this presentation will also outline directions for future research on artificial intelligence and the military profession.

## **ROUNDTABLE: Conscription in the 21st Century in Six Countries in Europe**

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Chair: Mika Salo

Authors:

Emma Jonsson, Mikael Salo, Thomas Ferst, Kairi Kasearu, Eleri Lillemäe, Teija Sederholm, Jurate Novagrockienė, Johan Österberg, Frank Bruntland Steder, Sofia Svensén, Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Tiia-Triin Truusa

There are predominantly two different sets of systems when it comes to the manning of armed forces; through conscription or through an all-volunteer force (AVF). There are different variables that have an effect on the selection of the military system. Mainly the geography and geopolitical location of the country, the size of the nation, the historical background and



experiences, the perceived security environment, the number of citizens available for the defence, and the size of the defence budget. Conscriptio today differ quite a lot from the time during the Cold War, and conscription also differ a lot between countries with a conscript system. This study focuses on the conscription system and describes reasons, meaning and arrangements in six European countries (Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland) in the beginning of 2020. The paper includes a background on the topic of conscription, and the different concepts of today's conscription where e.g. Sweden and Norway have gender neutral conscription, and Switzerland and Finland still select a large proportion of the male cohort into conscription. Finally, the benefits and disadvantages of conscription to both the country and its citizens are discussed.

**12.45 – 14.30 Lunch**

**Gunpowder Cellar Lossi 28**

## **14.30 – 16.00 PARALLEL SESSIONS 12**

### **ROUNDTABLE 1b: COVID & Domestic Military Operations – Small Countries (Heinecken Organizer)**

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In the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, militaries in several countries deployed to support civilian national authorities. This demand for military assistance comes on top of a quantitative and qualitative change in domestic military operations due to climate change, notably in containing wildfires and flooding and increasing deployment in public order duties in some countries. Enhanced demands and deployments have implications for operations, readiness, doctrine, policy, equipment, training, force generation, force employment, force structure, civil-military relations as well as federal and multilevel governance. This project intends to capture country specific observations, identify comparative findings, and draw out broader implications around the deployment of the military in domestic roles, whether law enforcement or dealing with other state emergencies. Here it would appear that the military's main task in domestic operations is not capacity building but capacity replacement – the ability to surge specific competencies on short notice, but without an ability to sustain this over the medium term.

Similarly, the Covid-19 pandemic has brought about forth many challenges to both human and national security, as the military deployed in tasks not normally associated with their mandated roles and responsibilities. For this project, we are particularly interested in establishing how and in what roles the military was deployed, what challenges this posed in terms of their capacity, as well as overall governance and multisectoral cooperation. On the one hand, politicians may want to be seen as doing something; so, they call in the military even though that may not be the optimal response. On the other hand, the military presents a moral hazard for politicians, especially where armed forces are ill-equipped, trained and prepared for these tasks, or found guilty of human rights abuses. But, depending on the nature of the deployment and roles performed, this deployment could also be an opportunity for the armed forces to enhance their public profile, image and value. In this regard, it is imperative to examine how the public perceives the deployment and what accountability measures are in place, if, or where abuses are reported.

The goal of this roundtable is thus to expose how countries with a population smaller than 20 million have addressed the aforementioned issues and to foster dialogue on the matter. This roundtable is part of a larger project which will result in the publication of a comparative work on the domestic use of militaries during the Covid-19 pandemic and another round table was dedicated to countries with a population greater than 20 million.

## **VIOLENCE & THE MILITARY: SESSION 2 – Individual Presentations**

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### **1. Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO's) in the "New Look" Russian Armed Forces: The limits to military diffusion**

Jack J. Porter

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Beginning in 2008, the Russian government embarked on an ambitious set of defense reforms aimed at modernizing the Russian military, many of which were based on US or "Western" models and experiences. The goals of this project were/are sweeping; including profound changes to the structure and organization of the armed forces, drastic measures to modernize and increase production of military equipment, armaments and high-tech weapons systems, and significant overhauls to both the quantity and quality of Russian military personnel. While all aspects of Russia's defense reforms are critical to enhanced force projection and improved combat effectiveness, the focus of this analysis will be on the more specific personnel reforms geared towards improvement of the "NCO system" in Russia's "New Look" armed forces. The analysis will investigate four areas related to Russian NCO's. First, the paper will begin with an historical overview of the role and significance of NCO's in the Soviet Red Army and the challenges NCO's faced in the post-Soviet transition to the Russian armed forces in the 1990's. Second, the analysis will briefly assess the performance (strengths and weaknesses) of the Russian NCO corps in Russia's pre-reform combat operations in Chechnya and Georgia. Third, it will provide a more extensive analysis of the post-2008 Russo-Georgian war assessment by Russian defense officials and the specific defense reforms geared towards addressing the numerous shortcomings and failures. Finally, the analysis will conclude with an overview of the current state of Russian NCO's – progress made towards reforming the NCO system, remaining challenges (conscript versus contract) and what functions (technical specialization, command and leadership, etc.) NCO's are expected to perform in the context of Russia's approach to 21st century combat and warfare. How do Russian NCO's differ from NCO's in "Western" militaries and why were initial plans for a "Western" styled NCO system abandoned while other aspects of defense reorganization maintained?

### **2. The Effects of Global Governance Approaches on Constellations of Power and Civil-Military Relations in Hybrid Orders**

Cornelia Baciú

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This paper argues that while classical civil-military theories are helpful as a starting point to understand the relationship between military and civilians, they are not sufficient to explain military change and civil-military dynamics in insecure states in post-military transition, i.e. hybrid orders – which received only limited scholarly attention so far (Rosén 2009; Alagappa

2001). To address this gap, the paper proposes a framework of analysis of changing power dynamics in civil-military relations underpinned by absolute and relative gains. The argument put forward is as follows. First, reforms promotion and support by IOs and global governance actors, provided to insecure states through local actors, conditionality or financial support (e.g. aid, development projects) can generate absolute and relative gains and incentives for the militaries to change. Second, absolute and relative benefits can incentivize armed forces in hybrid orders to project democratic changes in their doctrines, in response to international demands of democratic security governance. Third, this change projection can have 'unintended' consequences in changing power dynamics between military and civilian actors, although in orders of limited statehood, where democratic institutions are not fully established, the de facto balance of power between military and civilian actors, might continue to be asymmetrical. Fourth, one crucial dimension of the normative change and transformation of security and defense institutions in insecure and fragile states is credibility. More vulnerable actors, such as civil society organizations receiving support from IOs and global governance actors are expected to be unevenly impacted by changing power dynamics and be placed under particular scrutiny by military institutions. This paper applies Pakistan and Mali as case studies.

### **3. Armed Forces in Public Security in Brazil**

Celso Castro

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Amid recurring public security crises, the employment of the Armed Forces has been increasingly demanded in Brazil, whether in a punctual manner or in security policies. In this context, institutional arrangements have expanded the term "security" to denote themes of a domestic nature. New interpretations of strategy have re-signified the terms "defense" and "security", allowing the Armed Forces to act in potential and / or implicit conflicts, of an internal or external nature, that could threaten state cohesion and the inviolability of national borders. In general, research on public security refers to the police institution. Those who study the military institution usually do not address public security as a research question, as this is not a traditional mission of the Armed Forces. Therefore, a gap is observed in relation to empiricism when analyzing the use of the Armed Forces in public security. In this context, the presentation seeks to understand the effect, on the Armed Forces, of its use in public security. The main research question is: what is the effect of the Brazilian Armed Forces, of the Army in particular, on their recurrent employment in public security missions, both in doctrinal terms and in terms of effective preparation?

### **4. Ambiguity and the Problem of Institutional Affiliation: Serbian Paramilitaries in the breakup of Yugoslavia**

Iva Vukušić

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There has been a proliferation of irregular armed groups in past decades, and an increasing number of conflicts worldwide are fought by such forces. States use paramilitaries, within the country and outside, often covertly, to outsource illegal and illegitimate violence. This outsourcing of violence, especially attacks on civilians, protects the state and its principals from diplomatic pressures, sanctions, and criminal prosecution. This makes such paramilitaries extremely useful to states in pursuit of political goals. My research in the archives of the

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, which has conducted numerous war crimes trials, answers important questions about how this outsourcing of violence works. Studying Serbian paramilitaries unveiled the different ways the state established paramilitary units, and the mechanisms of plausible deniability, i.e. how the state protects itself from being associated with attacks on civilians. The argument this paper makes is that one of these mechanisms is purposeful ambiguity, created through employment practices towards paramilitary members, and formal (but not actual) unit subordination to other actors. Given the realities of contemporary warfare, understanding how mechanisms of plausible deniability work is paramount, and ambiguity is a crucial component to comprehend.

## **PUBLIC OPINION, MASS MEDIA AND THE MILITARY: SESSION 5 – Conscription and Other Forms of Public Service**

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### **1. Measuring the Security and Defence Culture in Spain: A review of previous indicators from a political culture perspective**

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Adolfo Calatrava

Rafael Martínez

Since the 1990s, the security and defence political culture has tried to be promoted by the Spanish Ministry of Defence. Its goal is to raise awareness of the missions and task of the Spanish military in order to achieve a closer broader support, as well as more favourable attitudes among the public opinion, which has historically shown reluctance to the use of military force and defence spending. The main legal and political-strategic documents in the realm of defence policy have created different tools in order to socialize this policy. Various sociological studies carried out by the Ministry of Defence itself and other researchers have tried to determine indicators for measure this security and defence political culture. However, its values remain relatively unchanged. Consequently, this research explores if the problem of the lack of policy effectiveness responds to the indicators, or the tools, or conceptual deficit around political culture. Furthermore, this paper proposes new security and defence culture indicators in order to enrich the previous works and so, to advance the knowledge on this socio-political phenomenon related to public opinion and civil-military relations.

### **2. Study «Security 2021»: Attitudes toward a Mandatory Citizen Service**

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The annual publication «security survey» shows the trends in the Swiss voting population's opinion towards foreign-, security- and defense policy based on a representative telephone survey. Next to the standard questions (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2020, 75), the study current study «Sicherheit 2021» focuses next to others focus topics on attitudes towards a mandatory citizen

service in Switzerland. In the past, the mandatory citizen service was demanded mainly by politically left-wing circles. In 2020 the center party FDP.Die Liberalen put this demand back on the political agenda in the form of a motion (NZZ, 2020). Current research shows, that the militia system, which is based on voluntary work of Swiss men and women is hardly under pressure. Even most parts of political positions on the communal, cantonal and national level are alimented by militia forces and it's hard to find enough people (Freitag, Bundi & Flick Witzig, 2019). In Switzerland, there is a conscription system for military service, civilian services and civil protection service. Most of the military non-commissions officers and officers is militia personnel. Only 5% of the non-commissions officers and officers are professionals (Szvircsev Tresch 2010, 7).

Based on the Swiss neutrality the Swiss Armed Forces, the conscription and militia system are important for the Swiss society (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2020). Because a mandatory citizen service for all Swiss men and women could minimize the short personnel base and could be a solution to these political issue (NZZ, 2020), the authors of the current «security survey» decided to focus on this topic, by asking a general question of implementing such a service and furthermore posing some questions on three negative and three positive aspects.

Within this paper we discuss the results of our questions on the attitudes toward a mandatory citizen service in general and on the three negative and positive aspects. Furthermore, we show the societal importance of this issue by evaluating the differences between sex, age, level of education, income, political orientation and region (German-, French and Italian speaking parts of Switzerland).

### **3. Reasons For and Against the Necessity of the Armed Forces in Switzerland – Results of two opinion surveys before COVID-19**

Jacques Robert

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Thomas Ferst

Tresch Szvircsev

In the context of the annual trend study «security», the Swiss voting population are interviewed on foreign-, security- and defense policy issues. Each year, a closed-ended question measures on a bipolar 4-point scale how necessary the Swiss Armed Forces are considered. In addition to this standard question, an open-ended question was asked in 2009 and 2020 to determine the reasons for the rating of the surveyed persons.

Back in 2009, homeland security (43%) was cited as the main reason for the necessity of the Armed Forces, followed by the country defense (35%). Non-necessity was justified by doubts about its effectiveness, the costs and the actual low threat situation in Switzerland. While in 2020 the same weighting as 2009 were attributed to the three most important reasons against the need for the Armed Forces, a change has been measured in the two most important reasons for the necessity of the Armed Forces.

In 2020 the frequency with which the homeland security was mentioned as main reason remained unchanged compared with 2009 (43%,  $\pm 0$  percentage points), but respondents justified the necessity of the Armed Forces significantly more often on the grounds of the country defense (44%, +9 pp). The authors assume that global crises since 2009 may have influenced the

respondents to the effect that they increasingly assume a concrete threat to Switzerland from the outside, which as consequence makes the Armed Forces appear to be as much necessary for country defense as for the homeland security nowadays.

### **MORALE AND COHESION AND LEADERSHIP: SESSION 3**

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#### **1. Special Units: Mechanisms and processes shaping commanders' ethical considerations in light of emerging technologies**

Zipi Gushpantz

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The lack of ethical rules for emerging technologies is an issue that must be addressed. My doctoral dissertation and recently published book addressing the organizational culture in elite naval units in Israel reveal insights and conclusions regarding deviant patterns of conduct relevant also to those dealing with special technological units whose efforts to achieve technological superiority might reduce sensitivity towards serious ethical questions.

For decades soldiers in Israel's elite naval commando unit trained in the highly polluted waters of the Kishon River without any prior examination of its suitability as training area. Senior commanders and medical officers ignored both the severe physical signs of pollution at the site and the available monitoring data indicating the growing health risks involved.

How did this mental barrier take root within the senior command, among those expected to apply foresight, express doubt and ask questions? What mechanisms in the environmental and organizational contexts legitimized this ongoing deviation from ethical and safety rules in Israel's elite naval units?

Analysis of the organizational phenomenon from systemic and organizational perspectives reveals factors and processes that explain such deviations and suggest ways to prevent their occurrence in new units dealing with emerging technologies.

#### **2. Individual Moral Identity and Organizational Citizenship Behaviors in the Canadian Armed Forces**

Felix Fonseca

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The military profession values formal ethics to the detriment of informal and pro-social rules and behaviour. However, focusing solely on formal ethics does not provide an understanding of how soldiers view themselves as moral persons and how this influences the manner in which they engage in pro-social and extra-role behaviours. The goal of this presentation is to shed light on the relationship between moral identity and a form of pro-social behavior called organizational citizenship behaviours (OCB) within the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). OCB refers to pro-social and extra-role behaviors that contribute to individual growth and promote the smooth and efficient running of organizations. The relationship between soldiers' individual moral identity and OCB was examined using structural equation modeling analysis of military personnel data from the Canadian Defence Ethics Survey. More specifically, the study verified a model postulating direct relationships between moral identity and organizational citizenship behaviours, and a

partial moderation of this relationship by three characteristics: training, number of years of service in the CAF, and rank. A total of 1,028 CAF Regular Force members (officers=514; non-commissioned members=514) completed the survey. Results revealed that there is a significant and positive association between moral identity and the perceived expression of organizational citizenship behaviours ( $\beta = .560$ ,  $t = 13.452$ ,  $p < .01$ ). More specifically, both officers and non-commissioned members who exhibit more traits relating to moral identity are more likely to help their organization and colleagues at work. This presentation will further discuss the link between CAF soldiers' individual moral identity and OCB's factors and their role in establishing and strengthening soldiers' ethical behavior.

### **3. Putting Leadership in Extremis into Practice**

Michael Holenweger

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The military profession values formal ethics to the detriment of informal and pro-social "Leadership in extremis" is a concept loaded with diversity. It includes content and experiences such as leadership in extreme circumstances, high risk situations for example firefighters and typical small team reconnaissance operations behind enemy lines in a war, to mention but a few. Leadership in extremis also includes a demand on different levels, with different intensity in pure conventional war, guerrilla war, peacekeeping operations and new wars that include different doctrines, weaponry, enemies, operational circumstances and risks.

These different operational scenario's require different levels of skills, knowledge, competencies and experiences from different leaders.

This presentation will focus on leadership in extremis in the typical military environment in European countries. In the historical development there are indications that the selection and training process was originally based on the framework and philosophy of a leader - very subjective and at times without the necessary scientific foundation. As the process developed professionals, including psychologists, were involved during training and selection to provide a more scientific foundation on the assessment of personality profiles, prevention of psychopathology, skills to be able to deal with stress, anger and interpersonal relationships. Progressing from a ruthless and brutal aggressive approach to a more calculated job-fit approach, is suggested in this situation. The pressure on the European armed forces calls for a more scientific approach due to lack of competent (military) psychologists in most European countries.