

TIIA-TRIIN TRUUSA

The entangled gap:
the male Estonian citizen and
the interconnections between civilian
and military spheres in society



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Institute of Social Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

- Study I: Truusa, Tiia-Triin and Talves, Kairi (2018). What if they forget who I am? Fears of Estonian conscripts in connection with the service. *Sõjateadlane/ Estonian Journal of Military Studies*, 6, 170–195
- Study II: Truusa, Tiia-Triin, Kasearu, Kairi, Tooding, Liina-Mai (2018). The Effects of Conscript Service on the Recruitment of Professional Soldiers in Estonia. *Sodobni vojaški izzivi/ Contemporary Military Challenges*, June, 37–53
- Study III: Truusa, Tiia-Triin; Kasearu, Kairi; Strömpl, Judit (2021). Military spouses in contemporary Estonia: meaning-making in the stories of the wives and partners of active servicemen. *Journal of Baltic Studies*.
- Study IV: Truusa, Tiia-Triin, Kasearu Kairi, Trumm, Avo (2019). Estonian veterans in transition. In Taylor, P., Murray, E., and Albertson, K. (Eds.). *Military Past, Civilian Present: International Perspectives on Veterans' Transition from the Armed Forces*. New York, NY: Springer

Author's contribution

As the author of the dissertation; I have contributed to these publications as follows:

- I: In this study, I took the lead in developing the theoretical framework, and I also played a significant role in formulating the research questions. The analysis was conducted in close partnership with the second author. I led the writing of the article.
- II: This study was written in close co-operation with two other authors. I had a major role in developing the conceptual framework, interpreting the results, producing the discussion and contributing to writing the article.
- III: I was a major contributor in writing the study. I led the study concept development, was entirely responsible for the data analysis, and played a central part in developing the discussion and writing the article.
- IV: I was a major contributor in most phases of the study: starting from the research design, data collection, framing the research questions, the theoretical framework, and the discussion and writing of the chapter.

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This one is done now. It took more time than expected and considerably less time than feared. In hindsight it really seems like a small miracle, one that would not have been possible without my family being very supportive and surprisingly calm all through the quite unnervingly slow progress. Without my friends raising eyebrows, cursing and swearing alongside me when needed and cheering me on when possible. My co-workers who seemed sure – more sure than I ever was – that this process would actually one day be victoriously over. My fellow doctoral students wringing their hands, eyes filled with despair, only to sit down again with grim determination, pounding away at the keyboard in their solitary quest for knowledge. Without the members of research teams both Estonian and international. Networks of researchers, always brimming with interest and good cheer. Without solid sought-after advice from colleagues who are a little more than just colleagues. Without unexpected solutions from people who were never under any obligation to think with me, but nonetheless did – and of course most importantly without my supervisors, who serenely put up with all and everything that goes with the territory of supervising a PhD student. Thank you each and every one!

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INTRODUCTION

Estonia presents a compelling case for the study of civil-military relations because it is a small nation situated in a geopolitically precarious position and ascribes to a comprehensive defence paradigm where the whole of government and the whole of society are involved in defence and security issues. The country has consistently adhered to a blended model when it comes to armed forces, combining professional military service with a conscript- and reserve-based army, further augmented with units made up of voluntary defence organization members. Estonia has a densely networked society characteristic of many small nations, thus posing ample opportunities for the study of interaction between the civil and the military spheres.

In addition to its historical context and geographical location, the nation's size and economic capacity have dictated the choice of military model, membership in supranational organisations, and the variety of bi- and multilateral defence partnerships. The Estonian military and the nation's will to defend itself are also the focal points of the two most important patriotic holidays: Independence Day (24 February) and Victory Day (23 June), celebrated since 1934 to mark a 1919 victory in the War of Independence.

There is little doubt that armed forces are reflections of societies and their historical experiences (Young, 2017). Up until recently, the study of the military institution and civil-military relations has been in the purview of political sociology and political science. Refslund Sørensen & Ben-Ari (2019) also point out that the concern has been finding control mechanisms suitable and effective enough to keep the military capable yet acquiescent to civilian control so that it does not take over political, social, and economic institutions.

The discussion on civil-military relations that started between Samuel Huntington (1957) and Morris Janowitz (1960), spurred by the tragedies of the Second World War and was reinforced further by the professionalization of the armed forces. After the bulk of Western militaries (for example Germany, France and Sweden) suspended compulsory conscription and started the transformation to all-voluntary forces, concerns were raised of alienation of the armed forces from its parent society. Such alienation would present problems starting from recruitment and retention to upending hitherto working mechanisms of civilian control over the military. The feared alienation between the military and the civilian worlds became known as the civil-military gap (Avant, 1998; Caforio, 2007; Cohen, 2002; Feaver & Kohn, 2001; Rahbek-Clemmensen et al., 2012), which represents an analytical approach to civil-military relations. However, less attention (Refslund Sørensen & Ben-Ari, 2019) has been directed at the interconnections continuously formed and reformed between the individual and the military, a question more aligned with the research interest in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology. Although the civil-military gap focus does provide a fairly varied framework for analysing civil-military relations from the sociological aspect, it is fundamentally based on the dichotomous view of the world, a

Huntingtonian strict division between the civilian and military realms, which might not be the most suitable approach considering the complexity of civil-military relations in any given society.

The aim of the current doctoral thesis is to argue for an analytical framework that would allow the exploration of the diverse interconnections between the military and the civilian spheres influencing the male Estonian citizen during his life. I propose civil-military entanglements developed by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019), which I have further developed to explicate the micro-, meso- and macro-level of interconnections between the civil and military spheres, and augmented with a nexus as the point of incipency. In this thesis, I will refer to it as the “civil-military entanglements nexus analytical framework”.

Research questions

To fulfil the aim of my thesis, I have set up the following research questions:

- 1) Which civil-military entanglements shape the life of the male Estonian citizen?
- 2) How do the structure and dynamics of civil-military entanglements influence the life of the male Estonian citizen?
- 3) What are the conceptual benefits of applying the civil-military entanglements nexus as an analytical framework in investigating the civil-military relations of a nation?

The data used to answer the research questions is based on reanalysing the texts of the articles comprising the thesis. In other words, I conducted a qualitative content analysis of my texts in order to test the civil-military entanglements nexus analytical framework. This approach underlines the emergent character of social interactions and the constructed nature of civil-military entanglements.

In sociology, there have been several significant research focuses concerning civil-military relations: the structural-functionalist perspective (Cohen, 2002; Feaver, 2009; Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1960; Schiff, 1995), the conflict-statist (Giddens, 1985; Mann, 1988; Tilly, 1994), and the cultural construction of militarism (Enloe, 1983; Levy, 2016; Shaw, 1991). The latest wave is now examining how construction of the military and war affect the life-worlds of individuals (Refslund Sørensen & Ben-Ari, 2019), acknowledging the continuous dialogue between the civilian and military realms, a dialogue that depends on many different interrelations on personal (micro-), organisational and institutional (meso-) and societal or even global (macro-) level. Considering my academic training both in social work and sociology, my focus is directed towards the interactions of individuals with both the meso- and macro-level structures, placing the research in the last wave of sociological inquiry into civil-military relations.

In the first chapter, I will set the problem, discussing the prevalent approaches to civil-military relations research, introduce the civil-military gap framework

and discuss why this framework is not best suited to broach the contemporary complex field of civil-military relations. The second chapter is dedicated to the concept of civil-military entanglements, I also give an overview of the evolution of the civil-military entanglements nexus framework and the constituent texts of the thesis. In the discussion chapter, I will be testing the civil-military entanglements nexus framework. The thesis will end with a conclusion outlining the benefits and drawbacks of the proposed framework and suggesting certain premises to yield best outcomes.

1. SETTING THE PROBLEM

1.1 Approaches to civil-military relations research

This section aims to provide an overview of the theoretical perspectives and frameworks of research analysing interplay between the military and civilian spheres.

As mentioned, political science has thus far been the most interested in civil-military relations. For political science, the crux of the civil-military *problématique* is, as Feaver (1996) stated, to make sure that the military is capable of using force against the enemies of the state but at the same time is subjected to civilian control. The classical civil-military relations theories of the Huntingtonian (1957) “objective” and Janowitzian (1960) “subjective” civilian control over the military concentrate on societal power structures – the political and the military apparatus and their relationship. The discussion on the post-modern army theory (Moskos, Williams & Segal 2000), the normative theory (Cohen, 2002) and the agency theory (Feaver, 2005) are mostly arranged around the same tenet of civilian control over the military. Concordance theory (Schiff, 2008) brings into play the public and social culture, thus widening the subjects of interest from the political and military elite to the public and the cultural aspects of civil-military relations.

When studying the civil domain and the military sphere, it is, however, important to bear in mind that in addition to protection, the military can also be an instrument for advancing several other societal goals: execution of manpower-intensive tasks such as disaster relief, redistribution of wealth to particular regions or corporate interests, addressing social injustice by levelling the playing field etc. (Feaver, 1996). The research into these auxiliary powers and society’s relationship has steered the military research field into becoming interdisciplinary.

Research on civil-military relations, however, still quite often stems from the dichotomy, the opposition of the civil and the military sphere, a crucial point that was substantiated by Samuel Huntington (1957), who concentrated on the officer corps and military professionalism. As Feaver (1996) notes, Huntington advocated for the military’s separation from civilian society to maintain as capable as possible a fighting force against external enemies. Huntington believed that the objective of civilian control should be achieved through the recognition of autonomous military professionalism. The more professional the armed forces, he argued, the more surely it will voluntarily subordinate itself to civilian control and be less politicised and removed from societal concerns. Morris Janowitz (1960) was also concerned with the professionalism of the armed forces, but argued more for a military possessing the hallmarks of a constabulary force taking its behavioural lead from the police and underscored the necessary interconnection between the officer corps and civil society (Schiff, 1995). The same dichotomous approach is at the centre of the civil-military gap a research framework that was introduced by Feaver and Kohn (2001) and intended to discover whether there is a crucial gap, a breakdown in the interaction between the civilian and military domains, that threatens the balance of civil-military relations in society.

1.2 The civil-military gap

In late 1990, Feaver and Kohn (2001) raised concerns about a disconnect between the civil society and the military in the United States, indicating that transformation to an all-professional military and the post-Cold War environment might contribute to a widening gap between the American citizens and its military. Ground breaking research was carried out in the 1990s by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, aimed at determining whether there was a gap between the senior military leaders and civilian officials and if so, whether that gap would harm military effectiveness and civil-military co-operation (*The Civil-Military Gap*, 2014). Over the next decade, the interest in and research on the civil-military gap gained momentum. However, as an analytical tool, the civil-military gap concept was not very clear, as it was used to mean somewhat different things by different authors. In 2012, Rahbek-Clemmesen et al. proposed that the civil-military gap could be conceptualised in terms of four distinct variants, and their ideal types could be distinguished as follows: (1) cultural; (2) demographic; (3) policy preference; and (4) institutional. Though these distinctions help to make the concept clearer, it is still rooted in the apprehensions about the all-voluntary force becoming encapsulated, self-contained world, thereby harming a nation's civil-military relations.

Even though the civil-military gap already provides for a more diversified understanding of the civil-military relations of a nation, it is still based on the opposition or a divide between the civilian and military spheres, disregarding the complex nature of the contemporary world. Contemporary security and defence issues are intertwined with those of the global trends of climate change, mass migration, poverty, the vulnerabilities of the increasingly important cyber domain, social-media-influenced re-production of the social world, not to mention the more classically military threats of kinetic warfare.

1.3 The complexity of security and defence: the Estonian context

In order to tackle the increasingly more complex security environment and hybrid threats, nations are driven to develop more complex systems to withstand the threats and stimulate the development of a resilient state, governance systems, society and individuals.

The countries in the Nordic-Baltic region all use some form of total defence paradigm, a defence posture mostly adopted by nations bordering on hegemonic powers (Fiala, 2019). Countries like Sweden (*Objectives for Swedish Total Defence 2021–2025 – Government Bill ‘Totalförsvaret 2021–2025’ – Government.se*, 2020) and, to an extent, Lithuania (*National Threat Assessment*, 2020) have recently re-established total defence thinking, with modifications, aspiring to meet today's security environment. Countries like Finland and Estonia have adhered to total

defence principles throughout the post-Cold War re-workings of the Western European military systems (Szymański, 2020).

The total defence concept is not new and has changed over time in keeping with the changes in the security environment and the needs of nations ascribing to it. Estonia employed total defence thinking already during the first period of Estonian independence 1918–1940 (Jürjo, 2015), and after regaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, continued in the same vein.

States relying on the total defence concept most often have a number of defence-boosting principles that exist simultaneously and are reliant not only on the military and defence sector, but most often incorporate the large majority of the society in one or another form. As Fiala (2019) points out, the main difference between traditional defence and total defence lies in the extent to which the general population has a role in providing the nation's security and defence, with total defence demanding more involvement from the general public.

In the following subchapters, I will endeavour to give an overview of the principles and different aspects that constitute the Estonian defence paradigm. These principles in turn underscore how integrated it is with the whole of society, and how concepts used in defence interact with the individual.

1.3.1 The total defence concept

The Estonian defence policy is based on the broad security concept (*National Security Concept of Estonia*, 2017). The document states that:

[T]o facilitate consistent and effective functioning of national defence, Estonia develops six pillars: military defence, the civilian support for military defence, international action, domestic and internal security, maintenance of the continuous operation of the state and society, and psychological defence.

This means that national defence is expanded from a strictly military domain to encompass several other domains as well, so that both military and non-military capabilities will be combined (Veebel & Ploom, 2018). These principles align with total defence principles. Total defence aims to mobilise greater societal readiness for crisis and war through enhancing cooperation on all levels of governance, management, and leadership. It aims to deter by using multiple military and civilian instruments in a coherent manner. A broad view of defence and security issues is used, allowing for better decision-making in coordination and co-operation between different actors such as government agencies, public sector and non-government organisations, private sector enterprises and local communities (Essens, Thompson, Karrasch & Jermalavičius, 2017).

In a nutshell, total defence is a whole-of-society approach to national security intended to deter a potential enemy by raising the cost of aggression and lowering the chances of its success (Wither, 2020). As *Riigikaitse Arengukava/National Defence Development Plan 2017–2026* (2017) states, one of the main goals of

defence policy is to create credible deterrence. The central idea is that the whole of society – starting from the individual expanding to various sectors – will apply the entire range of interventions at their disposal (*Beyond Pandemics: Whole-of-Society Approach to Disaster Preparedness*, 2011). One of the more crucial underlying principles is that individuals are not only consumers of security and defence but are active participants in producing societal security and national defence.

Total defence combines military territorial defence with robust societal resilience.

1.3.2 Territorial defence

Estonian military defence is built in line with the territorial defence principle (*National Security Concept of Estonia*, 2017) and the initial self-defence capability is combined with the allied forces' collective defence. Territorial defence is a defensive military posture intended to deter by denial (Wither, 2020).

As a rule, the total defence system relies on large-scale mobilisation for manning the military units. In accordance with this rule, all male Estonian citizens between the ages of 18 and 60 are subject to a national defence obligation, and women can voluntarily take up this obligation (Military Service Act, 2013). The Estonian Defence Forces (EDF) units are comprised of active-duty personnel, members of the Estonian Defence League (EDL, a voluntary defence organisation) and reservists.

Reservists can be called up for training a maximum of once every three years. Members of the voluntary defence organisations usually volunteer for training and exercises more often than that, participating in exercises a few times a year or even more. In addition to territorial defence, the military arm of total defence, the paradigm involves institutionalised collaboration between government ministries, civic organisations, the private sector, and the general public (Wither, 2020). Already by employing total defence and territorial defence, the oppositional logic between the military and the civilian spheres is called under question. Territorial defence in its essence is a clearly military domain, but already here we see that in Estonia and by extension in other countries that apply a total defence paradigm, there is a plethora of interconnections on the micro-, meso- and macro-level between the military and the civilian domains. Next; I will discuss a concept that is less discussed in Estonia but which embodies the idea that in times of conflict, citizens will become actively involved in security and defence in an organised manner, the citizenry will form active resistance lines of action.

1.3.3 Resistance

Starting in 2014, US Special Operations Command Europe sponsored a series of seminars that, in co-operation with Nordic and Baltic countries, developed the Resistance Operation Concept (ROC), first published in 2019. The definition of resistance is: “/.../ a nation’s organised, whole-of-society effort, encompassing the full range of activities from nonviolent to violent, led by a legally established government (potentially exiled/displaced or shadow) to re-establish independence and autonomy within its sovereign territory that has been wholly or partially occupied by a foreign power “ (Fiala, 2019:15).

The ROC brings attention to the fact that governments – nations – need to work the idea of personal contribution to security and defence into commonplace understanding among the populace. In Estonia, the percentage of those willing to personally resist in case of an attack was 33.8% in 2020 (Andžāns & Sprūds, 2020).

Resistance thinking and processes will have to be established before any threat becomes a reality. In keeping with this idea, the EDL members and the Women’s Voluntary Defence Organisation (WVDO) are divided into combatants and non-combatants. The combatants belong to units organised for territorial defence. The non-combatants are mainly engaged in support, civil defence, and nonviolent resistance activities. The EDL has districts in all 14 counties in Estonia, plus a 15th in Tallinn, the capital. As a result the resistance units are already embedded and established in the local communities; organised resistance is therefore another locality-based layer of total defence, territorial defence being the first.

As I stated above, total defence combines the aforementioned territorial defence and robust societal resilience. Although resistance feeds into resilience, societal resilience is an important enough concept to security that it merits a short discussion on its own, if only to give further evidence of the complex interrelations between the civil and the military spheres.

1.3.4 Resilience and the will to defend

Today’s defence and security environment, especially after the 2014 events in Ukraine, has underlined the need for civil resilience, as hybrid threats target the civil sector and critical infrastructure that is largely in the hands of the private sector (*Resilience: The First Line of Defence: JWC – NATO*, 2020). Part of this recognition is NATO guidance for national resilience agreed upon at the NATO Warsaw Summit in 2016, stressing the following aspects: 1) assured continuity of government and critical government services; 2) resilient energy supplies; 3) ability to deal effectively with the uncontrolled movement of people; 4) resilient food and water resources; 5) ability to deal with mass casualties; 6) resilient communications systems; and finally 7) resilient transportation systems (NATO, 2020). All these aspects are inherent to total defence thinking. Bringing resilience into security and defence discussions and policies marks the

shift from a state-based to a society-based understanding of security practices (Chandler, 2012).

Thus, the governmental and private sector are tied into national defence and to meet these demands, the National Defence Act (2015) outlines work obligation for Estonian citizens whose work is essential for the performance of national defence tasks or support thereof. This way, civilians who are not connected to the military are obligated to fulfil national defence tasks.

The discourses of resilience describe the resilient subject, either individual or collective, as an active agent capable of achieving security goals through self-transformation (Chandler, 2016). Therefore, one of the cornerstones of resilience, especially in wartime, is the national will to resist an armed attack and the willingness to accept sacrifices (Wither, 2020); in other words, the individual's will to defend is essential for the total defence concept.

The will to defend is generally understood as a person's commitment to military service and security policy in general (Salo, 2008). Kosonen, Alisa and Teemu (2019) have found that the will to defend is a significant factor in maintaining general conscription. A comparative study among the Baltic states carried out by Andžāns & Sprūds (2020) highlighted that 66.6% of Estonians think people should take up arms and defend themselves, even if the outcome is uncertain, which was the highest result with 29.9% and 49% in Lithuania and Latvia, respectively.

The creation of the will to defend the nation is seen as an inseparable part of the citizen's personal growth and development; it has historical, social, psychological, and moral mechanisms (Valtanen 1954, through Salo 2008). One of the instruments used for supporting the growth of the will to defend in Estonia is an elective course on national defence at high schools and vocational schools (*Riigikaitseõpetuse tegevusprogramm aastateks/ National Defence Education Action Plan 2014–2018*, 2013). The elective aims to develop a sense of civic awareness and promote the will to defend. In 2019, 75% of all schools offering secondary education had the national defence elective on its curricula (*Defenders of the State*, 2021) and in 2021 it was among the top three electives offered in high schools; 17 vocational schools also have this elective (Poldre, 2021).

In addition, the task of EDL is to increase the population's will to defend the nation and its constitution based on free will and self-initiative (*Riigikaitse / Eesti.ee*, n.d.). The same values guide WVDO, the Estonian Defence League Boys' Organisation and the Estonian Defence League Girls' Organisation, as they are the structural units of the EDL (Estonian Defence League Act, 2013). Willingness to defend is strongly related to the concept of resistance, another notion that ties into total defence thinking and further underscores the malleability of the line between the civilian and the military spheres.

Implementing total defence principles demands a specific understanding of societal interconnectedness through the macro, meso and micro-levels. Compared to the traditional defence model, the total defence model faces fundamental organisational challenges and behavioural models needed to support the whole-

of-society approach. The total defence paradigm presupposes a more sophisticated interlacing of all societal functions (Fiala, 2019). Even though all defence systems practised are complex in their own right, the complexity of the total defence system from the governmental level down to the individual level is undeniable.

In conclusion, attention must be drawn to how security and defence issues feed from the level of supranational organisations such as NATO to the national governments to individuals, evidencing that classical civil-military relations frameworks that concentrate predominantly on the political and military elites are suboptimal for explicating and analysing the diverse interconnections within the security and defence dimensions.

1.4 Problem statement

From the normative point of view, which is interested in a positive end-state where the whole-of-government and whole-of-society approaches – total defence – are achieved, the civil-military gap framework, looking for and defining gaps in civil-military relations and developing courses of action to bridge these gaps would suffice. However, the framework of the civil-military gap lacks the necessary capacity to explain the conflicts and resistances through the macro- to the micro-level interactions that work against achieving the whole-of-society approach in total defence. There is a need for analytical tools that would allow us to identify and understand the tensions that people face in their everyday lives when navigating the formal and informal requirements that national defence places upon them and how the interrelations influence the nation's defence.

To sum up the topics discussed to this point, it is crucial to bear in mind that the total defence model is a complex system where national sovereignty is a whole-of-society aspiration. The structure of the defence apparatus is complex. Total defence systems also rely on the interconnectedness of the military and civilian sphere (Essens et al., 2017); therefore, it is counter-intuitive to look for gaps in civil-military interactions. A better understanding of the relationship would be achieved by revealing and studying the nature of the interconnections that are in place. Therefore, complexity needs to be integrated into theoretical frameworks and research designs; to recognise patterns in complex systems, one needs to become complex oneself (Tsoukas & Dooley, 2011).

2. PROPOSED ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In the following sections I will outline the civil-military entanglement frameworks as proposed by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) and will introduce the nexus as an analytical point of incipiency.

2.1 Civil-military entanglements

The central arguments of Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) are that the civil-military relations research in sociology has hitherto been based on institutional dichotomy. Its focus has been exclusively on Western nation-states (Refslund Sørensen & Ben-Ari, 2019). Arguably, the United States has been the hegemonic military power in the West and most research has been modelled upon its military, as Schiff (1995) also indicated with her Concordance theory. To bring in new perspectives, Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) propose a framework that draws on a number of authors predominantly from the field of anthropology. One of the authors whom Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari use as a departure point is Ian Hodder (2012), who used the term entrapments to denote that relationships between things (non-human entities) and humans are more than just connections. These connections are either enabling or constraining, and their nature can determine future outcomes of these relationships (Hodder, 2016). In other words, these dialectic relationships can determine path-dependencies that are difficult to break. This statement is also noteworthy because it makes the temporal and cultural aspects of civil-military entanglements both on the macro and micro-level an integral facet for understanding the current relationships.

Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019: 9) suggest to break up the research subject to look at

the actors, the sites, discourses, technologies, objects etc., that are mobilised and reconfigured in innovative ways and make up particular, sometimes unexpected manifestations of civil-military relations.

Another aspect of entanglements is dynamics which refers to the changing and emergent nature of civil-military entanglements, where Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari rely on Ingold's concept of entanglements. For Ingold (2008), the very concept of entanglement denotes a *meshwork of interwoven lines of growth and movement*; in other words, the idea of flux is built into the conception of entanglements between human and non-human entities.

At first, the idea of entrapment – that current events and interactions form certain future outcomes that are sometimes difficult to break and form a kind of sociological path dependency – seems to contradict the idea of dynamics; however, the complexity thinking can reconcile these two, as it holds that the subsequent course of events is not predetermined and every action is likely to produce unintended consequences. Entrapments can be simultaneously enabling

and constraining, and can be negotiated by applying resilience thinking and understanding of the social world.

The third aspect that Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari propose to incorporate in their set of tools is to analyse materiality and humans as parts of one system and processes. The authors concede that researchers on civil-military relations have not entirely ignored materiality. Still, it has so far primarily been focused on the intentional use of insignia, uniforms, weaponry etc., less on the seepage of “things military” into the everyday lives of people who are not directly connected to the military. It is also the aspiration to understand the civilian’s embodied experiences, memories and perceptions of “things military” (Refslund Sørensen & Ben-Ari, 2019). For example, how civilian spaces can be turned into temporary battlefields during large scale exercises or how weaponry is displayed, opened to the public during parades or other celebrations.

Civil-military entanglements constitute an analytical tool-set for breaking down the interactions and interconnections between the civilian and military spheres in any given society. The analytical tools proposed help open the black box on civil-military relations by revealing the diversity of these ties and exposing them to more discreet relationships. The entanglements framework allows one to look further and deeper into the multitude of overlaps between the military and civilian realms.

However, the civil-military entanglements framework as developed by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) needed a gradation showing the level (micro, meso or macro) of analysis and a clearer focal point to be a more successful analytical framework. The focal point that I propose is the nexus as understood by Scollon and Scollon (2004), in their book “Nexus Analysis”. I will discuss these aspects in the following section.

2.2 Further developing the civil-military entanglements

Scollon and Scollon (2004:8), suggest that a nexus could be used as a way to unify the micro- and macro-levels of analysis by identifying the nexus as a grounding point through which the macro issues of social organisation and activity cycle. The idea is that the most mundane actions reflect the meso- and macro-level structures and power relations in society and on the global level. Thus, for clearer structure I propose to add identification of micro- to macro-level entanglements. For example, civil-military entanglements that might occur on the micro-level are personal contacts with voluntary defence organisations or having a home close to a military base, where contact with military is daily. Examples of macro-level civil-military entanglements are the military model chosen by the state, historical events and others.

Deriving from the concept of nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), the entanglements framework also allows analysing interactions along the axis of time, revealing the preconditions for specific outcomes both temporally and

structurally. In the case of this thesis, I have used the lives of male Estonian citizens to bring in the temporal aspect of entanglements.

As for the focal point – one of the arguments for using entanglements nexus as a starting point for more holistic civil-military relations research is that the entanglements nexus will assure a more precise focal point and directionality of analysis. Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggested that the circumferencing approach expands from micro- to the meso- and macro- level, which would allow to include the global view of civil-military entanglements. Conversely, the direction can be reversed, with the nexus being placed on a global phenomenon and moving in a narrowing circumferencing manner towards outlining the micro- or personal-level entanglements. Complexity thinking, the understanding that the formation of connections between the civil and the military is dialogical in nature, is at the heart of applying the civil-military entanglements framework. The framework also stimulates considering how within the total defence environment, people, through their everyday actions, become the producers of security and defence.

The main lines of inquiry into the civil-military entanglements as put forth by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) are entrapments, dynamics and materiality. In the following I have elaborated somewhat on the conceptualisations of the three categories as set forth by the authors:

- Entrapments can be interpreted as preconditions to certain outcomes, experiences, social encounters and interconnections that lead to one or another more likely outcome; in a sense entrapments are path dependencies that are not always easy to change. Thus, entrapments also entail temporal aspects of entanglements. As my research (Study II) has indicated, children who have participated in the youth organisations of the EDL are more likely to have more rewarding experience as conscripts. However, as complexity thinking suggests, any purposeful actions will always have unintended consequences that can occur across domains and different professional sectors. For example, that same purposeful action on the parents' behalf to enrol their child in EDL youth organisation may more likely lead to a professional military career (Study II) although the decision was intended more at finding extracurricular activities that would increase the amount of time the child spent outdoors.

One of the more intriguing ideas within entrapments is that there is a dialectic relationship between enabling and constraining, thus underscoring that the nature of entrapment can in fact change. This steers us to the next category: the dynamics.

- Dynamics refer to the structure and dynamics of experience, looking at the continuous ongoing construction of civil-military relations at different levels. For example, at the micro-level, wives and partners renegotiate their own position towards the military when the professional military service member is reposted or rotated from their current place of service to the next. Questions come up: to move with the whole family, or to stay and reorganise personal life and family routines etc. Issues of power are investigated – the actor's

relative bargaining power in negotiations of boundaries and relationships. Taking the same example of rotation from the aspect of the professional military service member: is there leeway for him or her to negotiate with the military on where he or she is going to be posted? Here the negotiations are carried out on the meso-level. On the wider macro scale, the focus is more on the processes ongoing between the military and the society often concentrating on the process of militarism, militarisation, but also the reverse processes of demilitarisation and civilianising the armed forces. The dynamics on one level often influence the dynamics on other levels.

- Materiality as an entanglements category was not used in the thesis and I will limit the description to the one offered by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019). The category refers to both human actors and objects as entangled actants, where entanglements become amalgams of object-human systems. Materiality opens up a way to explore the spatial, temporal, embodied and sensory construction of entanglements.

Another addition that I propose for refining the civil-military entanglements framework is analysing all three categories of entanglements – entrapments, dynamics and materiality – as either constraining or enabling, depending on the directionality of the research conducted.

Directionality as used in this thesis derives from interpretative sociology, meaning that the researcher strives for the understanding of the subjects or objects perspective and also the aspirations of subject or object, only then can the enabling or constraining nature of the entanglement be ascertained. In other words, for example, dynamics are analysed, and then, depending on the nexus (subject or object of study), the same dynamics can be either constraining or enabling. Directionality could also be interpreted as a perspective; however, when the nexus is for example a military installation, when the materiality aspect of entanglements is analysed to understand the installation's interconnections with the surrounding areas, then "perspective" is less appropriate as a term.

For example, Study III discussed the fact that the Estonian Ministry of Defence is downsizing the accommodation available for families in case of rotation of the professional military member and favours private homeownership. From the organisational point of view in a longer perspective, such a decision is enabling economisation, saving on building and maintenance costs. It also provides a certain guarantee to the defence forces that the service member will have established civilian networks prior to transitioning from the military to civilian life after service. This also eases the burden of responsibility on the organisation after military service. At the same time, from the personal aspect of the service member, it is a constraining entrapment, locking the service member into weekendings, tending to make close relationships with family more difficult etc. Thus, the directionality is made visible. Directionality therefore is not connected with the position of the researcher; the positioning and perspective of the researcher are still the subject of personal reflection and remain a separate issue.

Ideally, implementing the entanglements nexus framework will allow us to choose a nexus and to design research so that all three aspects – entrapments, materiality and dynamics – can be investigated in a circumferencing manner either from the micro- to macro-level or vice versa, as has been depicted on Figure 1.

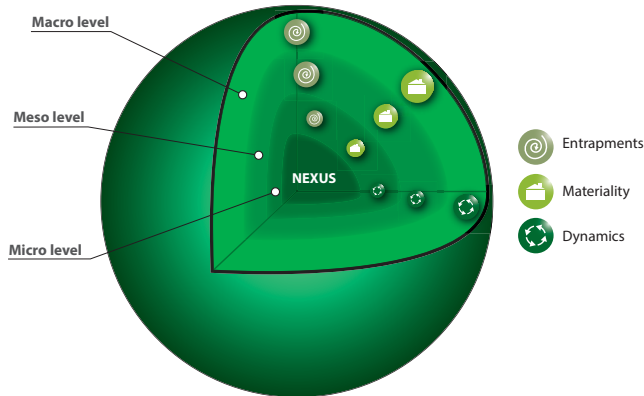


Figure 1 *The area of research when employing the civil-military entanglements framework*

Research design would begin with determining the nexus and the directionality of research, then move to combining the data gathering and analysing methods to coax forth the various entanglements in the form of entrapments, materiality and dynamics.

2.3 Process of analysis

I conducted a meta-level reading of the texts of the peer-reviewed articles and chapters included in the thesis, applying the civil-military entanglements as an analytical framework and the male Estonian citizen as the nexus. I conducted a horizontal directed qualitative content analysis, using the three civil-military entanglements dimensions (entrapment, dynamics and materiality) as coding categories.

The male Estonian citizen as the subject of study has been chosen for several reasons. As briefly stated above, today’s security concerns and perceptions call for a more dynamic approach to citizens in security and defence issues. Estonia has adhered to the total defence paradigm through the wave of professionalisation of militaries and has thus bypassed significant changes in the defence model applied. Total defence calls for more intertwined societal exchanges between the civil and the military spheres than in societies that ascribe to the all voluntary force model. In addition, in the small Estonian society, social networks tend to be denser than those in larger societies, making it essential to consider how these interconnections relate to each other.

It is challenging to trace entanglements that spring up over time; therefore, I have aspired to integrate a temporal axis by pursuing different civil-military entanglements that spring up in the course of an individual life of the male Estonian citizen. In the discussion section I have divided the periods of life loosely into childhood, early adulthood and adulthood.

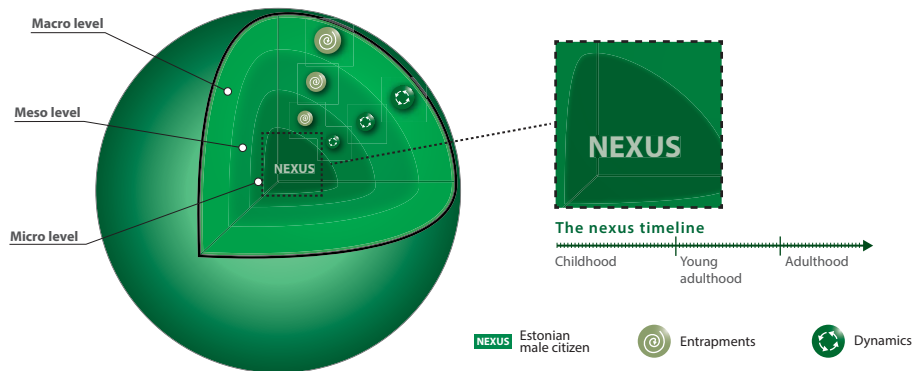


Figure 2. The civil-military entanglements analysed in this thesis, namely those of entrapments and dynamics on the micro, meso- and macro- level during the life of the male Estonian citizen.

Figure 2 shows the male Estonian citizen as the nexus of this research and the enlarged segment on the right exemplifies the temporal axis as his life. In my research I concentrated on the entrapments and dynamics categories and therefore only these two are shown on the figure. I traced the different entanglements through the micro- to macro-levels, as also depicted on the figure.

2.4 Reflection on the process of developing the entanglements nexus framework

My academic training is in the fields of social work and sociology, and hence my initial goal was to investigate how people connected to the military perceive their relationship to the organisation and to the defence sphere more generally. The first framework that I worked with was that of the civil-military gap. However, the deeper I penetrated into the realm of civil-military relationships of people living in and being a part of a nation dedicated to total defence principles, the more I became convinced that the civil-military gap, a dichotomous framework would be counter-intuitive to use. Partly based on the research conducted for my thesis, but also other defence and security related projects such as LSVUH18459 (RITA1/01-50-04) “MANTICUS APOLLO (1.09.2018–31.10.2020)” and on my own experiences as a long-time member of the WVDO, I became more interested in the connections and interrelations rather than gaps.

I had the opportunity to contribute with a chapter “Capable Patriots: Narratives of Estonian Women Living with Military Service Members” to Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari’s book, *Civil-Military Entanglements. Anthropological Perspectives* (2019). I was enticed by the possibilities of the entanglements framework, but felt the framework would be more effective as an analytical tool if there were a way of explicating the connections between the micro- and macro-level and a point around which to build research.

In my quest for a focal point, I first investigated the idea of nodes in network theory and in IT. However, the concept that I settled on – the nexus – allowed for a more dynamic approach in the research. In the beginning, my aspiration was also to show how different civil-military nexus show up on different Bourdieuan fields, considering that Bourdieu’s theories formed the basis my co-authors and I used to explain the military legacy concept (Laanepere, Truusa & Cooper, 2018). The Bourdieuan approach was also supported by the research I did with the wives and partners of professional military service members, where I concluded that the idea of a military spouse, though absent on most fields, including the military, comes up only when the professional military service member is deployed (Study III). However, combining the civil-military entanglements, the nexus and the fields as Bourdieu proposed became cumbersome and unnecessarily complicated. Consequently, I worked my way to the civil-military nexus. This framework connects the micro- and macro-levels and provides a focal point for the analysis.

2.5 Empirical grounding

In this segment I will give an overview of the peer-review articles and chapters that constitute the data of the thesis.

The constituent articles and chapters used both qualitative and quantitative data, applying different methods of analysis. As indicated in Table 1. Study I and II use data from the 2016 Estonian Conscript Survey (ECS) carried out in cooperation between the University of Tartu, the National Institute of Health Development and the Centre for Applied Studies of the Estonian National Defence College, under the project *Human resource-related sustainability of the Estonian Defence Forces*. In 2016–2017, the ECS pilot study was carried out in three survey waves among the conscripts who started their service either in July 2016 (11-month service) or in October 2016 (8-month service). The first survey wave was carried out in the first month of service, then after soldier’s basic training course (month 3–4) and during the last month before being released into the reserves. In Study I, we used thematic analysis of open-ended survey questions to gauge the apprehensions of conscripts about their service period.

Table 1. Overview of data collection and analysis methods in the four studies comprising the thesis.

	Data source/data collection	Methods/ Data analysis	Sample/ participants	Links with the research problem of the thesis
Study I	2016 Conscript Survey	Qualitative: Thematic analysis	N=2677 N=2084 N=989	Apprehensions about conscript service while in service.
Study II	2016 Conscript Survey	Quantitative: Structural equation modelling	N=2677 N=2084 N=989	Career paths of conscripts into professional military. Military propensity
Study III	Interviews with wives and partners of military service members 2014–2016	Qualitative: Narrative analysis	15 partners of military service members	Cultural and public narratives; positioning <i>vis-à-vis</i> the military
Study IV	2016 Veteran Survey	Quantitative: Regression analysis	N=1036	Social recognition of veterans and their military to civilian transition

The findings revealed that the fears and problems of conscripts today are connected to the fear of losing one's place in life and missing out on opportunities while fulfilling their conscription duty. This apparent misalignment of the needs of compulsory military service and the needs of draftees indicates that a better fit has to be worked out between how the military know-how and skills are being taught to conscripts and consider how to make use and incorporate the developmental and personal agency needs of present-day conscripts. At the individual level, compulsory conscription as a structural obligation tends to create contradictions in one's personal life plans. From the viewpoint of armies using conscription, a question arises: in the deinstitutionalized societal context – where one's agency, freedom and obligation to be actively in charge of one's life – how is compulsory military service matched with one's life plans and what trepidations do conscripts feel while undergoing military service?

In Study II, we used structural equation modelling to understand the various aspects that influence the conscript's attitudes towards becoming professional military service members. Our results confirmed that both those with previous familiarity with military culture and military organisations and those who pursue more intrinsic goals (patriotism and acquiring skills) during their conscription service are more likely to consider the military as a viable career path. Another factor that influences the intention of choosing a military career is the belief that Estonia is defensible. Thus, for conscripts with previous EDL experience, experiences connected to the military and the belief that defending their country

has the potential of being successful are the most important factors that influence willingness to become a professional military service member. For those with no previous experience in the EDL, satisfaction with their conscript period and skills acquired are the most important factors.

Study III used both written and oral interviews for data collection, yielding high quality data. The interview guide included open-ended questions where the interviewees were asked to give examples of their experiences. Thus, the data was rich enough, including in-depth answers and stories that were a good data source for narrative analysis. One of the more significant findings in this study was the understanding that Estonian society does not have a concept of military spouse the way it is perceived in the US and UK, arguably due to the universal social welfare system and adherence to a total defence paradigm. The wives and partners of professional military service members displayed strong feelings of patriotism and conveyed these feelings to their children through actions such as attending parades, celebrating national independence related holidays etc. They attributed their greater patriotism and knowledge of security and defence issues to their relationship with the respective professional military service members. However, without fail, they placed their position within the civilian domain, expecting and preferring support and help from civilian institutions and personal social networks. At the same time they displayed adherence to military cultural values also in their personal lives. The cultural norms of a nation-state are not conducive in making women identify with the military, although there is evidence in our sample that values can be similar, be it through contact with the military or historically and culturally accepted norms that are close to military norms and values.

The empirical basis for **Study IV** is data from the Estonian Veteran Survey, which was carried out by the University of Tartu in cooperation with the Estonian Ministry of Defence in March 2016. We used quantitative regression analysis to shed light on social recognition that veterans of the EDF experience and to better understand the experience of military to civilian transition. We concluded that the meaning of veteran is still fluid and that society attaches different connotations to the term. In the military sphere, the deployment-based definition of the veteran is internalised, but in society, the process is ongoing. Adjusting the understanding of oneself and finding one's place in society is difficult in military to civilian transition (MCT) in general, but the ambiguity of the term "veteran" in Estonia compounds the difficulties inherent to MCT. There is a cultural and institutional gap in the definition of veteran.

The results of the Veteran Survey highlight that only a negligible percentage of veterans use the specific policy measures that were developed in the framework of the Veterans Policy. Moreover, the usage and awareness of the measures is higher among those veterans who have stayed in the military. There is low transition literacy and compounded disparity of knowledge regarding the availability of support between civilian and military spheres. The results also indicated that life satisfaction is lower for those that have transitioned into civilian lives.

In summary, applying the civil-military entanglements nexus framework to these texts will allow analysis of the different civil-military entanglements during the life of the male Estonian citizen. Some of the data is directly connected to the male Estonian citizen but in case of wives and partners of the professional military service members, we can trace the reflections of the beliefs and actions of these women on the lives of their children and partners.

2.6 Limitations of the study

The idea for this thesis was developed a number of years prior to Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari's book on civil-military entanglements. This was the reason the research design was not based on the three aspects of entanglements outlined in the civil-military entanglements chapter. Therefore, the materiality category was left out in its entirety from this thesis, although in some cases aspects of materiality could be deduced even if they were not overtly described. Secondly, both entrapments and dynamics of the micro-, meso- and macro-level were not traced systematically. Instead, the texts were analysed according to the circumferencing principle of nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

As the civil-military entanglements framework was proposed only in 2019, a more comprehensive academic debate is hopefully still to ensue in the coming years. However, the concept of entanglements, a process of different entities and actants producing new forms, interactions and processes, accentuating the continuously emergent nature of the world, has become quite widely used in social sciences. A number of examples can be found in a variety of disciplines: human geography (Paddison, Philo, Routledge, & Sharp, 2002), law (Moncrieff, 2020), education (Letts & Sandlin, 2017; Zembylas, 2018), economic research (Ingold, 2008), material culture studies (Ingold, 2010), sociomateriality (Orlikowski, 2007; Bratteteig & Verne, 2012), etc., to name a few. The concept is so widely used, because the idea of everything being connected to everything else seems very intuitive (Thiele, 2017). The concept is sometimes used quite liberally, leaning on the colloquial understanding of the term (Hodder, 2018).

Therefore, it is important to stress the aspiration of Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) to clearly outline the nature of entanglements on which their framework is based. It is also imperative to underline that the civil-military entanglements nexus is based on the categories of entrapments, dynamics and materiality.

In addition, the analytical framework devised by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) for treating civil-military entanglements has been critiqued for its limited theory-creation application. In particular, it does not bring new civil-military *problématique* to the fore, as Boëne (2019) stated in his review of the work. In Moris Janowitz's words, Boëne also cautions us that dismantling that which differentiates the military domain from the civil sphere might inevitably lead to unanticipated consequences and militarisation.

This thesis is not arguing for the sameness of the civilian and the military, nor for a different civil-military *problématique*, but instead calls attention to the ties between the civilian and the military domain in societies and the need for these ties to be studied and understood. Although Boëne (2019) remains sceptical of civil-military entanglements' theory-making potential, I submit as a counter-argument to this critique that the civil-military entanglements nexus analytical framework has the potential for gathering rich well-saturated data that can be the basis for grounded theory creation.

3. MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Due to the more explorative and qualitative nature of the thesis, I shall be presenting the findings within the discussion. In addition, the findings are those that concern the testing of the civil-military entanglements nexus analytical framework. As for the directionality of analysis, this will take its departure from an individual's aspect and is directed towards understanding the enabling and constraining entanglements that arise from the different mesh-points of the civil and the military during the life of the male Estonian citizen. The different enabling and constraining entanglements are summarised in Table 2. The data in the table will be discussed throughout the third paragraph.

The first research question stemmed from endeavouring to apply the civil-military entanglements analytical tool to the research that I had conducted while still grappling with the civil-military gap framework. The two approaches have opposing premises, the one looking to find how and what separates the military and the civilian domains, the other looks at the subtle interconnections between these two domains. Hence, my first task was to determine how well the civil-military entanglements framework fits my material: *Which civil-military entanglements shape the life of the male Estonian citizen?* The second question – *How do the structure and dynamics of experiences influence the life of the male Estonian citizen?* – is closely tied to the first question; therefore, I shall be addressing these questions together.

The analytical point of incipency, the entanglements nexus, is the male Estonian citizen placed on a temporal axis, his life. Study II results were in line with the research that shows that military propensity, being attuned to military values, is most likely developed long before becoming a call-up selectee at the age of 17. Some of these values are, in Estonian society, connected to the notions of Estonian independence and patriotism (Study III).

Table 2. The macro-, meso- and micro-level entanglements during the life journey of the male Estonian citizen, analysed from the aspect of the individual.

<p>Male Estonian citizen as a nexus</p>	<p>Entrapments Temporal aspects. Seen on the timeline – preconditions Path dependency – not easy to change the set course Unintended consequences of a purposeful action Occur across diverse professional sectors The dialectic relationship between enabling and constraining</p>	<p>Dynamics structure and dynamics of experiences dynamic, contingent and emergent nature of entanglements Issues of power Actor's relative bargaining power Negotiations of boundaries and relationships Entanglement, disentanglements, militarism, militarisation, civilisation</p>
<p>Micro intra and interpersonal relationships</p>	<p>Enabling Childhood and early youth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family with a EDF or EDL member (Study III) • Participation in EDL youth organisations (Study IIB) • Young adulthood • Parental support (Study I, II) • Positive feedback from friends (Study I, II) • Joining with the class Adulthood</p>	<p>Constraining Childhood and early youth Young adulthood <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative feedback from friends/relatives (Study I) • Negative experiences from national defence elective Adulthood</p>
	<p>Enabling Childhood and early youth Young adulthood Adulthood</p>	<p>Constraining Childhood and early youth Young adulthood Adulthood</p>

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<p>Male Estonian citizen as a nexus</p>	<p>Entrapments Temporal aspects. Seen on the timeline – preconditions Path dependency – not easy to change the set course Unintended consequences of a purposeful action Occur across diverse professional sectors The dialectic relationship between enabling and constraining</p>	<p>Dynamics structure and dynamics of experiences dynamic, contingent and emergent nature of entanglements Issues of power Actor’s relative bargaining power Negotiations of boundaries and relationships Entanglement, disentanglements, militarism, militarisation, civilisation</p>								
<p>Macro political and global relationships</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="463 1116 504 1549">Enabling</th> <th data-bbox="463 695 504 1116">Constraining</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1116 1149 1549"> <p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve-based military model • National Independence Narrative (Study III) <p>Young adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve-based military model • National Independence Narrative (Study III) • Laws governing conscription (Study I) • Dependability narrative (Study III) <p>Adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve-based military model • National Independence Narrative (Study III) • Weak conceptualisation of reserve service in society • Weak military legacy • No military family/spouse concept in society (Study III) </td> <td data-bbox="504 695 1149 1116"> <p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve based military model. • Soviet military legacy (Study III) <p>Adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve based military model • Soviet military legacy (Study III) • Laws governing conscription • No military family/spouse concept in society (Study III) </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Enabling	Constraining	<p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve-based military model • National Independence Narrative (Study III) <p>Young adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve-based military model • National Independence Narrative (Study III) • Laws governing conscription (Study I) • Dependability narrative (Study III) <p>Adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve-based military model • National Independence Narrative (Study III) • Weak conceptualisation of reserve service in society • Weak military legacy • No military family/spouse concept in society (Study III) 	<p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve based military model. • Soviet military legacy (Study III) <p>Adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserve based military model • Soviet military legacy (Study III) • Laws governing conscription • No military family/spouse concept in society (Study III) 	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="463 376 504 695">Enabling</th> <th data-bbox="463 125 504 376">Constraining</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 376 1149 695"> <p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation state narrative (Study III) <p>Young adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supportive public opinion towards deployments (Study IV) <p>Adulthood</p> </td> <td data-bbox="504 125 1149 376"> <p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation state narrative (Study III) <p>Young adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young adulthood <p>Adulthood</p> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Enabling	Constraining	<p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation state narrative (Study III) <p>Young adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supportive public opinion towards deployments (Study IV) <p>Adulthood</p>	<p>Childhood and early youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation state narrative (Study III) <p>Young adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young adulthood <p>Adulthood</p>
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3.1 Childhood and early youth

In Study **III**, the wives and partners of military service members revealed that since they became partners with a military service member, they tend to exhibit more patriotic behaviour. They have a festive dinner with the family, and they take their kids to the Independence Day and Victory Day parades. The kids will see uniformed people – men, women, boys and girls – celebrating independence, equally standing in formation with the military units and saluting the president. At the same time, it is also a powerful message of civil-military partnership to the professional military. The post-parade mingling and wandering around, eating soldier's soup made in field-kitchens, looking at and climbing into and onto the military equipment, striking up conversations with domestic and allied soldiers attending the equipment – all of this interactions constitute a conducive setting for personal encounters with the military in a festive yet relaxed outdoor environment. These experiences are emotional and tactile, and people can become entangled in a bodily experience that links the civilian and military spheres (Ben-Ari, 2019). These are micro-level entanglements that echo the macro-level national traditions and culture.

The excitement and different emotional experiences counterbalance these relaxed, celebratory occasions during the extensive military exercise in spring, Spring Storm. This exercise takes place in different parts of Estonia, predominantly outside military installations, transforming civilian spaces such as cities, towns and countryside into temporary battlefields. Drawing attention to how the macro-level historical and geopolitical context influence and form the everyday lives of citizens and how the military aspect is brought into the civilian space. One of the ever-present questions within civil-military relations is whether civilian society is threatened by militarisation, an important aspect of the entanglements category of dynamics. Do these parades and large-scale exercises show an aspiration to militarise the society? Norwegian researchers Gustavsen & Laugen Haaland (2019: 82) have adopted Vagts's (1967) interpretation of militarism, considering it more fitting in the total defence paradigm, and they propose that when “things military” in the society begin to serve the military as an end in itself, then the society will become militarised. Arguably, it is a fine line to traverse, and the balance needs to be monitored; however, this balance is culture-specific. In the last decades, the societies in Western industrial democracies have become more critical over the use of military force abroad, which was also demonstrated during the Iraq and Afghanistan campaigns (Duel, Truusa & Elands, 2019; Græsvik, 2014). For historical reasons, the Afghanistan campaign met especially strong resistance and non-comprehension on the part of the public (Duel, et al., 2019). A nuance was added to the official discourse, emphasising that Estonian soldiers were honing their skills and acquiring knowledge, which would allow the EDF to be more effective in defence of the nation at home. Paired with the veteran recognition campaign (Study **IV**) and having no casualties at the time, public opinion turned more supportive of deployments (Duel et al., 2019), which in turn is a supporting factor of the well-being of veterans (Study **IV**). This

process appears to support that although security and defence oriented, Estonian society is not strongly militarised in the classical sense; instead, the parade is a way of building unity and willingness to defend. The Spring Storm exercise, while overtly serving the purpose of training various military aspects and displaying deterrence at the same time, sends to the nation the messages of societal resilience and, if need be, resistance. I have witnessed the elation felt by the EDL members when their unit has the opportunity to participate in Spring Storm exercise. It is a chance to test their skills and also reaffirm their will to be a part of the national defence. The actions of the members of the voluntary defence organisations enable and empower the nation's total defence paradigm.

The understanding that continuous communication between the military and the civilian society must take place is also visible in the strategic communication plan for the defence area. The plan includes many different target and age groups in society, including communication with kindergartens (Minister of Defence Order no. 476 of 22 November 2018). Some kindergartens go on field trips to battalions. They are given a tour, introduced to how soldiers work, and can try different equipment and experience the military base's atmosphere. This is a controversial approach and could be used in the current hybrid threat environment as a way of questioning defence and security practices of the nation. However, as Estonia does have compulsory military service and a total defence concept, it is more likely that the practice is viewed as a way of bridging and linking the military and civilian spheres. In this, we see the macro- and meso- level entanglements enacted.

Being from a family where the father serves in the military (Study **II**) can lead to a more patriotic and more security- and defence-aware household. The military influence is counterbalanced by the mothers of these families having a strong affiliation with the civilian sphere (Study **III**).

As mentioned before, the EDL has two youth organisations, one for girls and one for boys, which are not part of the military, but adhere to the values of patriotism and love of one's homeland. Open to members from age 7 to 18, they are the junior offshoots of the EDL (*Noorteorganisatsiooni Noored Kotkad Põhikiri*, 2013). The instructors in these organisations are predominantly volunteers from the EDL, WVDO or EDF, meaning that the members of these youth organisations can come into contact with and become habituated to aspects of defence and military culture at a relatively early age.

The knowledge and skills imparted and trained in the EDL youth organisations promote self-efficacy, decision-making, survival, entrepreneurial skills, and patriotic awareness through camps, hikes in nature, courses on Estonian history, culture and civics (*Noored Kotkad*, 2020). However, it must be stressed that the youth organisations are built on the legacy of the pre-WWII independence period organisations and have remained separate for boys and girls, thus also stressing the gender-role distinction inherent in the nation-state philosophy, something that I have more deeply discussed in Study **III**.

The youth organisations are a form of negotiation, falling under the entanglements category of dynamics, between the state and the individual, where the

power is still fully in the hands of the individual since their participation in both the youth organisation and its parent organisation is voluntary. The goals of these negotiations are undoubtedly manifold. However, one of these is to offer citizens an opportunity to become aware of their national defence responsibilities in the broadest sense and acquire the skills necessary to fulfil these responsibilities, to assume the personal responsibility to be self-sufficient and help the community during times of crisis.

The same principle applies to the national defence (*Riigikaitseõpetus*) elective course offered at high schools. The bulk of the programme focuses on governance, civics and understanding of the Estonian defence apparatus's aims and goals (*Mida annab riigikaitseõpetus/ What does the National Defence Elective entail?*, 2021). There is also a voluntary overnight camp, where students get a slight taste of the conscription period (Poldre, 2021). This course is usually taught by EDL or EDF members and teachers who have passed the corresponding 24 ECTS programme at the University of Tallinn (*Riigikaitseõpetuse tegevusprogramm aastateks / National Defence Elective Action Plan 2014–2018*). As with the youth organisations, the course is not obligatory. Schools can decide whether this course is elective or compulsory.

Kasearu and Tooding (2019) showed that those who have been members of a youth organisation or have had a positive experience with the National defence course are, in general, more satisfied with their conscription period. They are more likely to acquire skills that they deem beneficial not only in the military but also in their civilian lives. This tendency is an indication of an enabling entrapment where the negotiation power lies mainly with the individual. The individual is free to negotiate the boundaries and commitment to national defence. But it should be noted that if one has had a negative experience with the national defence course, then the effects on conscription are either non-existent or negative (Kasearu & Tooding, 2019). In that sense, we see constraining entrapment that will have negative consequences that reverberate through the male citizen's military life journey.

In these two instances, the voluntary youth organisation and the optional course are preliminary negotiations; the military as an organisation is not the main focus. It is more the idea of the military, the values it carries and perhaps most importantly, the inherent threat to one's life if one were mobilised for war and the idea of being tied to an organisation that has been given the right to kill and to be taught to kill (Study I).

3.2 Early adulthood

Male Estonian citizens become eligible to be called up for compulsory military service between the ages of 17–27 (Military Service Act, 2013). Those who are eligible for military service will be tied to the military for most of their lives. However, only roughly 1/3 of the whole birth cohort ends up being drafted (Kasearu, 2018). It is important to note that birth cohorts will be diminishing for the

next few years, with a slight rise beginning in 2024 (Kasearu & Trumm, 2016), and at the same time, the numbers of draftees will be increased from 3500 a year to 4000 (*Aruanne kaitseväekohustuse täitmisest ja kaitseväeteenistuse korraldamisest 2016 aastal*/Report on the fulfilment of the national defence obligation and organisation of military service in 2016). Thus, the number who can expect to be called up will rise, entrapping them at this point in their life into a civil-military entanglement that for some will be constraining but for others enabling. Absent an exemption from service very early on, one cannot be sure when or indeed whether they will be selected for service. Regardless, constraining entrapment persists – even if the prospect of being called up is only in the back of one’s mind – until the age of 27, the oldest age at which one can legally be called up.

EDF has promoted that the call-up selectees should be drafted right after graduating from high school or vocational school, a claim that research supports Mürsoo, A. (2018), Kasearu and Truusa (2018) and this understanding is also echoed in Study II. There, we demonstrated the long-lasting effect of being a member of EDL Boys’ Organisation or taking the national defence elective. We also showed that those who have been members of the EDL Boys’ Organisation are more likely to consider becoming professional service members (Study II). Their motivation to turn professional is carried more by intrinsic motivations than extrinsic motivators for those who had not been members of the youth organisation. Study I and Raid, Kasearu and Truusa (2019) have demonstrated that even the short conscription period can become a turning point or a disruption in the life-course. Still, when employing the entanglements nexus, we can see a particular entrapment, either enabling or disabling, that starts already before the individual comes into direct contact with the military as an organisation.

EDF has created a system where potential call-up selectees can pre-emptively enter the service by personal application, and indeed many do so (*Aruanne kaitseväekohustuse täitmisest /.../ 2016 aastal*/Report on the fulfilment /.../ in 2016). It is a practical, dialogical way of having some control over the relationship between a person eligible to be called up for military service and the armed forces. The potential call-up selectee and the Estonian Defence Resources Agency (EDRA) enter into negotiations over where and when the person would like to serve, these negotiations are an aspect of entanglements dynamics. It should be emphasised that these negotiations are carried out with a power imbalance, as the armed forces have coercive power over the individual. This imbalance is made more significant because once the call-up selectee has submitted his application to EDRA, his wish will be just an indication of personal preference as the decision ultimately rests in the hands of the EDF. Regardless, the male citizens have a fraction of influence over when and where they would like to serve. At the same time on the micro-level there are personal ongoing negotiations that the conscript has with himself, how to conceptualise the period of compulsory service, whether to try and gain as much as possible from the experience or to resist the experience with the small means available at the personal level, to concentrate on surviving an unwanted experience (Study I).

As I have described, young men are entrapped, and the power dynamic is severely to their disadvantage, but they are not entirely without power. The young men are quite eager to use that power, as demonstrated by Kasearu and Tooding (2019). In 2016 the percentage of those who started service by a personal application was 37%; and in 2020, 53% (*Aruanne kaitseväekohustuse täitmisest ja kaitseväeteenistuse korraldamisest 2020. aastal*, 2021). That indicates a willingness to enter into negotiations even at a significant imbalance of power. But it also means that EDF is improving its ability to accommodate and acclimatise to the changing societal circumstances. Another example of negotiating boundaries is the recent change in permitting leave from the unit's premises. Conscripts are issued permanent passes that allow them to leave the unit's territory; however, this right is not as widely used as expected (Leht, 2020).

Those who do not want to be conscripted can be entrapped during their service, to feel that they are being limited and cut off from the desired path on their life journey (Study I). Concurrently their conscription service also traps them, perhaps even more, in an identity they do not want (Study I). The dynamics of this entanglement are skewed, and the negotiating power is in favour of the military.

Study I also accentuated a reversed power dynamic where the military comes under pressure to "civilianise", consider the training it provides to be framed so that it allows conscripts to perceive the value it has for their life in general, apart from the military. A study conducted among Estonian employers (*Tööelu ja kaitseväekohustuse täitmise ühitamine*, 2019) investigated the attitudes of employers towards young men who have completed their military service and found that employers, like conscripts themselves, do not attach much significance to service in the military. Instead, it is seen as mildly positive, but it carries little meaning apart from explaining a résumé gap. The apparent indifference speaks to a lack of reflection on the societal level regarding conscript service's more general merits. More importantly, it speaks to the lack of dialogue in society, suggesting that conscription is seen as something inevitable, as was also pointed out in Study I, rather than an opportunity for independence and a more resilient society. That points to a lack of understanding of what the whole-of-society approach to security embodies. There are, of course, exceptions to every rule and one of them is the example of cyber conscription. In this area, close co-operation and intermingling of the civilian and military worlds do exist (*Tööelu ja kaitseväekohustuse täitmise ühitamine/Reconciling work and military service* (2019). The young men who wish to join as cyber conscripts are usually aware of this option before becoming call-up selectees (Hurt & Sömer, 2021). The EDF cyber unit introduces the conscription option already at high schools that emphasise computer sciences in their curricula (*IT-õppurid saavad ajateenistuses läbida praktika*, 2020), recruit straight from universities (*How Estonia Is Using Military Service to Bolster Cybersecurity Skills | CyberNews*, 2021) and have a social media presence (Hurt & Sömer, 2021). The young men apply for a position in the cyber unit, undergo testing and interviews. This particular process exemplifies dialogical power dynamics. One key element is that employers in the cyber domain are aware of cyber conscription and suggest to their employees who are still subject to conscription to join the cyber unit and keep the job position reserved for the person while they are in conscript service.

Research has shown that those favourably attuned to conscription have a greater chance of having a successful conscription period. Study II also underscored that those favourably attuned to conscription had had a good experience with the defence elective at school and those who have been a part of the WVDO or EDL youth organisations. These young people also generally consider EDF an important institution in Estonian society; the EDF has a good reputation in their eyes (Study II). These young people find it easier to comply with the EDF's organisational needs and overcome the difficulties they encounter while serving; in other words, enabling entrapment has occurred. However, those who have become entrapped in the military's negative aspects, those who find it difficult to see themselves as soldiers, end up gaining much less from the service than others. They are entrapped in the military's negative discourse and find it hard to turn the 8- to 11-month service to their gain, be it through acquiring survival skills, developing mechanisms for coping with stress or forming beneficial relationships.

Raid et al., (2019) showed that young people whose friends had good conscript service experiences and whose parents are supportive of conscript service have a more favourable attitude towards being conscripted and have better experiences themselves, because of their lower levels of ambivalence towards the military.

In addition, the EDF has a project that, loosely translated, is called "Conscription together with classmates". In her master's thesis, Nettan (2021) found that those enrolled through this project said that they felt more secure about starting conscription and felt strong support from their classmates.

Those who are entrapped by the notion that one year spent in the military might represent a year lost on the labour market (Study I) are liable to start looking for possible ways to avoid military service.

There are a number of ways that under the Military Service Act can be used to avoid entering military service, and it has been argued that "a system where about a half of call-up selectees find a way to avoid service is not sustainable" (Margus Pae *Suud puhtaks* 28.03.2018). However, research in Estonia also shows that those who complete their compulsory military service win in the long-run; five years after completing their service, they start earning more than their peers who did not serve as conscripts (Tööelu ja kaitseväekohustuse ühitamine, 2019). It should be pointed out that health reasons are the leading cause of being excused from military service (*Aruanne Kaitseväe kohustuse /.../ 2020*) and may also depress future earnings.

However, some employers, such as the police, the rescue services and the prison board (*Tööelu ja kaitseväekohustuse täitmise ühitamine, 2019*), look favourably upon young people who have done their conscription service. Joining one of these organizations also means that the person becomes exempt from reserve duty.

However one looks at it, the fact that military service is a compulsory part of a male citizen's life in Estonia has an entrapping effect for the rest of their lives. Whether it becomes a constraining or enabling entrapment from the perspective of an individual is influenced by a plethora of interconnections between the civil and the military spheres from early childhood on.

3.3 Adulthood

3.3.1 Reserve

At the end of compulsory military service, most young men are assigned to their reserve units – the units they would serve in during wartime (*Aruanne kaitseväekohustuse täitmisest ja Kaitseväeteenistuse korraldamisest*, 2020). Study I underscored that a large portion of young men might view conscription as an interruption of their normal life-course, and nor is being a reservist usually considered an organic, constant part of one's life. Young people who have completed military service sometimes mention it at job interviews, but mainly to explain the gap in their studies or employment (*Tööelu ja kaitseväekohustuse ühitamine*, 2019). This relatively modest interest in military service points to a mismatch between the military's expectations towards reservists and the societal understanding of reservists' role.

Reservists can expect to be called up to exercises about once or twice during their reserve service, and that is most likely too little to have a severe impact on their lives. The reason for this is also tied to the wealth of a nation, as military exercises are expensive, and also take manpower and time.

However, there might also be a more macro-level constraining entrapment. During the Soviet period, in the absence of a war or crisis such as the Soviet-Afghan war (1979–1989) or the nuclear reactor accident in Chernobyl (1986), the average Soviet conscript was done with their military service after the two-year conscription. Though it is not a central preoccupation and is weakly conceptualised, reserve service on the individual level constitutes a constraining entrapment. Those who serve do not conceptualise their service as a part of a more extended entanglement with the military. A more robust conceptualisation would create a more significant military legacy, something that Laanepere and Kasearu (2020) have stated could help to commit more extensively to reserve service.

There are some exceptions. For example, with cyber conscription, the cyber units prefer to call upon their reservists more often, especially if they have remained in the IT field (*How Estonia Is Using Military Service to Bolster Cybersecurity Skills | CyberNews*, 2021). Such an approach provides the currently serving conscripts with more experienced mentors, senior-level guidance of experts. Therefore, choosing IT as a field of study might be a funnel into military service or into a more robust military legacy, proving to be an enabling entrapment for the individual.

Those familiar with military culture and organisations and those who have autonomous motivation for completing service but who during service change their mind about becoming a professional military service member will still have benefited from the enabling entrapment. They will have seen their service experience as satisfying and beneficial (Kasearu & Tooding, 2019), allowing them to convert their expertise into service in the reserves.

3.3.2 Professional soldiers

A small number of conscripts continue their military path and become professional military service members. Most are young people with military propensity and to some extent positive civil-military entrapment trajectories from their pre-conscription life journey (Study II). The share of those who would consider joining active service is approximately 12% and remains stable throughout the service (Study II). The percentage of conscripts who intend to enter active service is 23% among conscripts with an EDL background compared to 10% among conscripts with a non-EDL experience (Study II). Still, the share of those who do not consider active service as a viable life-path will increase during the service (Study II).

Another vital aspect to be stressed from Study II is that military propensity combined with the trust that Estonia is defensible is the critical factor influencing willingness to become a professional military service member in conscripts with previous EDL experience. Pointing to the reinforcement of societal belief in self-defence that is the foundation of Estonian security and defence concepts (*Kaitsevõime areng / Kaitseministeerium*, 2020), coupled with enabling entrapment within the EDL trajectory, will produce a more productive conscript experience and the added will to continue active contribution within the defence system. However, those who would consider active service but have not been a part of EDL as a positive priming experience will consider active-duty primarily based on the EDF's merits. Study II also stressed that during conscription, the positive intention to join active service will change more than the intention not to join, and more in the direction of not joining the active service. The conscripts who feel that they have acquired EDF-specific skills are more favourably disposed to active service (Study II).

Interestingly, for the non-EDL background conscripts, the driving force behind the intention to join the active service are EDF's merits, which are also associated with service satisfaction and the intrinsic motivation of patriotism (Study II). The merits of EDF could also be seen as a proxy for the pride and EDF-related prestige. In previous studies, pride has been seen as one of the leading positive factors for remaining in the service (Moore, 2002).

Study II also accentuated military propensity. During their conscription period, those who pursue more intrinsic goals (patriotism and acquiring skills) are more likely to consider the military as a career option.

The choice of a career in the military comes with certain connotations. As previously discussed Study III revealed that there is no military spouse conception in the Estonian society, with partners or wives of military service members positioning themselves in the civilian sphere. This entraps these families in a seeming dichotomy, with the one side looking for support and understanding from the civilian sphere and the other from the military domain. Between them, they can develop a safe space where both are comfortable with sharing that which can be shared, and this seeming positioning on opposite sides can also be an enabling entrapment for a stronger family bond (Study III). However, it also

presents entrapments that can be constraining in terms of support to the service member. The partner will likely be also fully invested in their career, taking care of the household if the service member is constrained into week-ending (Jolly, 1992). If the family has children, the week-ending party is also entrapped into becoming a weekend member of the family with all the associated connotations: relinquishing handling of everyday matters to the party who is there, difficulties re-inserting oneself upon arrival, struggling to be in the same family information sphere etc. At the same time, the party who stays at home, as evidenced in Study III, might end up internalising some military values that, in their turn, can be both enabling and constraining, depending on the coping strategies developed. There is also a tendency to make a conscious effort to keep the family and military life apart (Study III). These different civil-military entrapments that wives and partners experience have an enabling or constraining effect on the family and on the nexus of our study, the male Estonian citizen.

Another consideration is that service members are confronted with the knowledge that their partners take pride in their chosen profession but are at the same time faced with unpleasant situations from everyday life. These are situations where, in personal cases, they feel misunderstood by friends, specialists or the general public because of the restrictions that their partner's chosen profession has on their daily lives. Study III shows that partners of professional military members strive for independence from the military, stressing their role as professionals in their field or as mothers; these women placed little emphasis on the fact that they are military spouses.

The military service members are perhaps unaware that their partners are carrying on a dialogue with the military, not fully aware of the struggle for self-identity separate from the "greedy institution" (Segal, 1986) that the military is.

3.3.3 Life after a military career: veterans

Having had a career in the military does not automatically mean veteran status in Estonia. Estonia has an exclusive (Dandeker, Wessely, Iversen, & Ross, 2006) definition of veteran, which means that predominantly only those deployed to an international mission will become eligible for benefits and services provided by the EDF to veterans. It also means that one can still be in the service but also a veteran. Study IV showed how remaining in the service constitutes an enabling entrapment for veterans. They are more likely to benefit from the EDF's services. Study IV showed that average satisfaction with life, in general, is lower among veterans in civilian life than it is among the ones still in the military. There are also structural obstructions to accessing the services because the Personnel Support Services Centre's premises are situated in Tallinn. For those living outside of Tallinn, contact could be challenging to establish, though not necessarily only because of the physical distance but also because of the military and civilian sphere's discursive distance. It is more of an emotional and intellectual distancing, a constraining entrapment, and prevents or discourages reaching out to the EDF.

The universal welfare system approach, the development of a military legal space and policy measures for persons with a military background is embedded in the broader societal context and welfare system (Nolte, 2003), thus producing a constraining entrapment trajectory. Study IV highlights that few veterans have used the specific policy measures developed in the Veterans Policy framework. Moreover, veterans who have transitioned out of the military have a lower usage and awareness of the measures than those who have stayed in the military. It suggests that there are differences between “insiders” and “outsiders”.

As most professional military members retire at a relatively young age, they will usually try to transition into a civilian career. As pointed out in Study IV, the transitional literacy of professional military service members is relatively low; those who have stayed in the military use more veterans services, which in turn points to a constraining entrapment through the disparity of knowledge – availability of support between civilian and military spheres. The disparity of knowledge is compounded by the phenomenon that veterans who are still serving feel a stronger sense of accomplishing one of the essential parts of being a soldier (Study IV). The exclusive definition of veteran makes them stand apart even more than the rest of the military. At the same time – exclusion from society is something else felt more by those still in the military.

Study IV showed that life satisfaction is lower for those who have transitioned into civilian lives. The military provides a particular safety net, but there are more variables at play – for example, the re-configuring of social ties as one leaves the service. As was shown in Study III, military service members, by necessity but often by choice, keep their work and home life apart, so close friendships might become less tight. Also, there are more failed marriages among those who have transitioned into the civilian sphere (Study IV).

Having veteran status in the military is connected to the completed mission profile, either peacekeeping or peacetime enforcement, whether the veteran served on a base or had to venture out on patrols (Study IV). After the military-to-civilian transition, the veteran’s status becomes less nuanced, as the small details of military service are not appreciated in civilian life. To some extent, veterans’ good standing in society is probably strongly connected to the status of the Defence Forces and professional soldiers in society, but certainly also on how well necessary the public deemed the mission to be. But more importantly, veterans’ perception of the meaning of veteran status might be influenced by retrospective re-evaluation of one’s experiences as a soldier, motivations for being deployed, the legitimacy of the deployment and its relative success or lack of success etc. (Daxner, 2018).

Considering the differences between the veterans in the military and those who have transitioned out, we see that their reported life satisfaction, perceived status in society and social recognition could stem from their different frame of reference (Study VI).

Entrapments can be both enabling and constraining; whether it is one or the other is difficult to ascertain, as it undoubtedly depends on the vantage point. Positive military-connected experiences lead to enabling entrapment when

fulfilling the conscript obligation, in turn, leading to enabling entrapment when continuing the obligatory reserve service. Laanepere et al. (2018) theorised that reservists, having contextualised their conscript period as “time well spent” obtaining valuable skills, and having conceptualised the merits of the armed forces they are a part of, would also have higher motivation while performing their reserve duties. This assumption has been found to have merit, as Laanepere, Kasearu and Tooding (2020) show in their study.

The study did not include older adults in order to focus on post-Soviet civil-military relations. That said, constraining or enabling entrapments of the Soviet military legacy are evident to this day.

The discussion can be summed up by saying that the different civil-military entanglements that shape the life of the male Estonian citizen are both entrapments that can be of an enabling or constraining nature depending on the goals and aims of the particular citizen, the social and personal ties and experiences. There are a number of different entanglements in childhood and early adulthood such as youth organisations, programs for familiarisation with the EDF prior to conscription, which can be used by both the person and the military organisation.

The influence of the structure and dynamics of civil-military entanglements on the life of a male Estonian citizen begins on the macro-level with the historical experiences and cultural understanding of the civil-military relations of the nation, the security and defence model that the country employs. These in turn are influenced by the wider global context. The dynamics, however, are not only from the macro-level towards the micro-level but also in the other direction. The personal choice of the call-up selectee to make a personal application fulfilling the military service obligation together with classmates pressures the military to find a way to keep the class together through the basic training. This has a bearing on how the units during basic training are compiled, inciting the meso-level negotiations between the individual and the institution.

4. CONCLUSIONS: CONCEPTUAL BENEFITS OF THE CIVIL-MILITARY ENTANGLEMENTS NEXUS

In this section, I will address the third research question, which is directed at bringing out the conceptual benefits for applying the civil-military entanglements nexus as an analytical framework in the Estonian context. Although the research itself is specific to Estonia, the civil-military entanglements nexus can well be used as an analytical framework in any society. The tool is universal and simple enough that the principle can also be used in designing policy, benefits or services. It can also be employed to analyse the impact of a variety of phenomena such as for example large-scale military exercises, military bases or being a member of a voluntary defence organisation. The entanglements nexus framework also allows the temporal aspect to be added, so that a phenomenon can be studied at various points in time. I would even go as far as to say that the civil-military entanglements nexus would also help focus and enrich the use of more traditional civil-military theories used in political sociology by giving a more structured approach to the analysis.

Bernard Boëne (2019) remained critical of the theory-developing power of the civil-military entanglements tool as presented by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019), largely due to the fact that in essence the civil-military entanglements analytical framework lacks focus, although yielding rich contextualised material. By employing the nexus as a starting point and using the circumferencing manner of data collection and analysis, the interconnections revealed are more clearly structured and would form a sound basis for theory development from the ground up, e.g. using the grounded theory approach.

In the case of Estonia – a small country with limited resources that employs the total defence paradigm and reserve-based military model – the civil-military entanglements nexus analytical framework provides a more nuanced understanding of the interconnections that enable and constrain the application of the whole-of-society approach to security and defence.

I added four elements to the original analytical framework proposed by Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019), which I will discuss in brief below.

First, I added a nexus as a point of incipency and focus for the analysis. The nexus also helped to keep the focus on the directionality of research, e.g. for whom the revealed entanglements prove to be enabling or constraining.

Second, enabling and constraining aspects were added for all three categories of entanglements. These aspects – entrapment, dynamics and materiality – allow a more concrete examination of the actual effects the various entanglements had on the nexus, though this thesis emphasises entrapments.

Third, the micro-, meso- and macro-levels that helped to structure the analysis and connect the different levels of influence for the nexus. The last addition was the temporal axis that revealed the continuous and emergent nature of the various civil-military entanglements during the life of the male Estonian citizen.

I applied the civil-military entanglements nexus framework to conduct a meta-analysis of my texts that initially were not intended to capture the various mesh points of the civilian and military spheres on the micro-, macro- and meso-levels. However, the analysis revealed several entanglements during the life of the male Estonian citizen that proved either enabling or constraining.

Applying the civil-military entanglements nexus framework had several advantages.

- 1) It provided a structured way of discovering the various interrelations that the civilian and military spheres have on the micro-, meso- and macro-levels.
- 2) It made it possible to reflect the interwoven nature of civil-military relations, rather than considering only the military and political elite, the most common units of civil-military relations research. It helped to clearly show the importance of the cultural and historical aspects.
- 3) The civil-military entanglements nexus does not have a normative end-state. The discovered entanglements of the nexus point to the possible enabling or constraining nature of the entanglement and are in compliance with the emergent nature of the complex world that we inhabit. The context will determine the interpretation of the entanglement uncovered and directionality will show whether it is enabling or constraining for the nexus.
- 4) There are very few limitations as to what could be designated as the nexus for analysing civil-military entanglements. It could be a military base, where various entanglements on the micro-, meso- and macro-levels are analysed, or an event such as the nationwide military exercise Spring Storm in Estonia.
- 5) The entanglements nexus can be used for analysing other social and institutional relations and also other social phenomena.

The greatest limitation on the current research is, as already stated above, the fact that research for this doctoral thesis was not conducted with the civil-military entanglements nexus in mind. As a result, some macro-level paradigmatic foundations of everyday actions were not very clearly indicated in some instances, such as the doctrinal approach of resistance in countries that use the total defence paradigm.

Further development is needed to produce guiding principles for designing a study using the civil-military entanglements nexus as an analytical framework. There are at least two aspects worth a short discussion. I would underscore that every entanglement point revealed and analysed will allow an actionable plan to be developed or designed to either mitigate the constraints or enhance enablement. I.e., once research shows that the fact that society lacks a concept of military spouse or military family leads to certain enabling or constraining entanglements on the micro-, meso- and macro-level, steps on the organisational and macro-level can be devised to either mitigate the harmful e.g. constraining effect or boost the enabling effect further if need. Likewise, for example, when

policy change is designed, steps can be taken to preserve the enhancing entanglements.

The framework could be appropriate for both qualitative and quantitative methods of data gathering and analysis. Often the micro-level entanglements might be better revealed using qualitative data. However, once explorative qualitative research has been conducted, the prevalence of certain entanglements can be operationalised and used for quantitative data gathering and analysis.

In summary, the civil-military entanglements nexus provides a sufficiently structured and clear way of analysing civil-military relations of any given nation while considering the historical, cultural, societal and personal aspects that influences civil-military relations in that context.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Tsiviil- ja militaarsfääri lõimitus Eesti meessoost kodaniku vaatest

Julgeolekupoliitikas on Eesti lähtunud juba mitmeid aastaid avarast käsitlusest, mis hõlmab kõiki julgeolekuks olulisi valdkondi ning mida viiakse ellu, lähenedes ühiskonnale ja valitsusele kui tervikule. Sõjaline kaitse on vaid üks sammas avaras julgeoleku-kontseptsioonis, kuid ka siin rõhutatakse, et Eesti riigikaitse toetub laiapindsuse põhimõttele. Teisisõnu, meie ühiskonna julgeolek ja kaitse on ehitatud üles nii, et ühiskonna eri valdkonnad panustavad järjepidevalt ning süsteemselt nii riigikaitseks kui ka julgeolekusse laiemalt.

Doktoritöö käsitleb meessoost Eesti kodaniku kokkupuuteid kaitsevaldkonnaga, tuues välja erinevad tsiviil- ja militaarsfääride lõimumise kohad tema elu jooksul. Tavateadmine sedastab, et valdav enamik Eesti meeste militaarsfääriga kokkupuudetest piirduvad vaid ajateenistuse läbimise ja mõne reservõppekogunemisega, kuid tõenäoline on, et neid põimpunkte on üksjagu rohkem, kuid nende iseloom ei ole nii selgepiiriline ja kohe äratuntav.

Tavapärased tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete käsitlemise raamistikud selliseks uuringuks väga hästi ei sobi, sest klassikaliselt on tegemist pigem politoloogia valdkonnast lähtuvate teooriatega, mille fookuses on eelkõige poliitiline- ja militaarieliit. Paremal juhul on ühiskond nendesse teooriatesse kaasatud vaid laiemal ja abstraktsemal viisil.

Tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete uurimine on üldiselt juhindunud teatud dihhotoomilisest ja vastandavast lähenemisest nende kahe sfääri vahel: ühelt poolt sõjavägi oma legitiimse õigusega kasutada surmavat jõudu ühiskonna huvides ja kaitseks ning teisalt tsiviilühiskond, mis peab säilitama kontrolli oma sõjaväe üle. Doktoritöö esimestel aastatel lähtusin minagi pigem sel kujul tsiviilühiskonda ja relvajõude teineteisele vastandavast kontseptsioonist. Olles väga tugevalt mõjutatud peamiselt just Ameerika Ühendriikides levinud käsitlustest ja kontseptsioonidest – head ja terved tsiviil- ja militaarsfääri vahelised suhted – suunasin uurimisteraviku sõjaväe ja ühiskonna vaheliste erisuste leidmisele.

Selle uurimissuuna esindajad keskenduvad oma töödes peamiselt kas demograafilise, kultuurilise, poliitilise või institutsionaalse lõhe uuringutele sõjaväe ja tsiviilühiskonna vahel.

Uurimistööga edasi minnes selgus üha enam aspekte, mis näitasid, kui võrd ebakohane on taoline dihhotoomiline arusaam ja kui keeruline on selle kohaldamine riigis, mis oma julgeolekulistes põhimõtetes lähtub avara julgeoleku ja laiapindse riigikaitse kontseptsioonidest. Arusaadavalt suurt rolli mängib siin ka fakt, et Eesti on väikeriik, mille inim- ja muu ressursid on selgelt piiratud ning mis asub geopoliitilisel keerulisel piirkonnas. Sellest tulenevalt oli oluline leida uurimisaastik, mis sobituks paremini tänapäeva reaalse olukorraga selles osas, kus ja kuidas sõjavägesid kasutatakse, ning mis võtaks ka suuremal määral arvesse Eesti konteksti.

Leidsin, et Refslund Sørensen'i ja Ben-Ari (2019) väljapakutud tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete läbipõimituse ehk tsiviil- ja militaarpõimikute analüüsi raamistik võimaldab arvesse võtta nii Eesti riigikaitse ülesehitust kui ka laiemat kultuurilist ning sotsiaalset keskkonda. Nende autorite poolt väljatöötatud, algselt pigem küll antropoloogiline analüüsiraamistik sünteesib mitmete autorite ideed, soovides juhtida tähelepanu asjaolule, et ka tsiviil- ja militaarsuhted on tunduvalt mitmekesisemad ning dünaamilisemad kui senised kontseptuaalsed raamistikud seda arvestada võimaldavad.

Tsiviil- ja militaarpõimikute raamistik lähtub arusaamast, et erinevad tegutsejad väljal ehk aktandid on omavahel pidevas suhtluses ehk suhestatuses, kuid see ei ole eeldetermineeritud, vaid on pidevas kujunemises, tuues endaga kaasa kompleksed pidevalt taastekkiivad suhted. On oluline märkida, et suhted võivad tekkida nii inimeste (elusate) kui ka esemaliste (elutute) aktantide vahel. Näitena võib siinkohal tuua ilmselt paljudele tuttavad vabariigi aastapäeva või võidupüha paraadid, kus teatud suhete võrgustikud tekivad näiteks väljapandud sõjatehnika ja seda uudistavate inimeste vahel.

Refslund Sørensen and Ben-Ari (2019) kasutavad oma raamistikus kolme kategooriat, milleks on kinnitumine (kinnijäämine) (*entrapment*), dünaamika (*Dynamics*) ja materiaalsus (*materiality*).

Neist esimene – kinnitumine (kinnijäämine) on sarnane sotsioloogias tuntud rajasõltuvuse mõistele. Tegemist on justkui eeltingimustega, mis loovad pinnase teatud tulemustele, suhetele või kogemustele. Kinnitumine avaldub pigem ajalisel mõõtmel, seda ei ole tavapärastelt lihtne muuta, kuid lähtuvalt kompleksse mõtlemise printsiibist ei ole kinnitumine ka absoluutne, sest kõik nähtuste või tegevuste vahelised suhestumised võivad endaga kaasa tuua ootamatuid järeldusi. Need suhted võivad olla nii võimustavad kui ka piiravad ning nende suhete olemusest sõltuvad nende suhete tagajärjed või tulemused. Näitena võib veel tuua ka minu töös (artikkel III) välja tulnud aspekti, kus lapsevanemad, kes suunavad oma lapsed liituma noorkotkaste organisatsiooniga, sest Noored Kotkad pakuvad piirkonnas head võimalust kooliväliseks huvitegevuseks, ei pea silmas lisaeesmärgina asjaolu, et uuringute põhjal on noorkotkaste kogemusega noortel üldiselt ka paremad kogemused ajateenistuses.

Teine Refslund Sørensen'i ja Ben-Ari poolt kasutatav kategooria on dünaamika, mis hõlmab endas kogemuste dünaamikat – võimu avaldumist erinevates olukordades ja aktantide võimalusi asuda läbirääkimistesse, tagamaks endale parem positsioon või soodsamad tingimused. Näitena saab siin tuua, kuidas tegevteenistujate abikaasad või partnerid mõtestavad enda positsiooni kaitseväärtuses olukorras, kus tegevväelane rotatsiooni korras muudab teenistukohta. Teatud piirini on ka tegevteenistujal võimalik mõjutada seda, kuhu teda rotatsiooni korras saadetakse; samuti ka seda, kas perekond tuleb kaasa või jääb senisesse elukohta (artikkel III).

Kolmandaks kategooriaks on materiaalsus, mida ma selles uurimistöös küll ei käsitle, kuid mis viitab materiaalsete asjade ja inimeste omavaheliste suhete võrgustikule.

Oma doktoritöös täiustan Refslund Sørensen'i ja Ben-Ari tsiviil- ja militaar-sfääride läbipõimituse analüüsiraamistikku mitme erineva aspektiga – esiteks on kõigis kolmes kategoorias alust analüüsida, kas antud suhted on võimustavad või piiravad, ning uurida neid kolme kategooriat lähtuvalt mikro-, meso- ja makrotasanditest. Lisaks võtan oma analüüsi lähtekohaks Scollon ja Scolloni (2004) poolt väljapakutud neksuse analüüsi eeskujul mõiste „põimpunkt” ehk „neksus”, milleks minu uurimistöös on meesoost Eesti kodanik. Neksust analüüsin kahe kategooria – kinnistamine ja dünaamika – lõikes, nii et uurimine lähtub põimpunktist ja liigub kontsentriilsete ringidena mikrotasandilt, mesotasandile ja sealt makrotasandile. Tervikliku analüüsi juures on kolmandaks kategooriaks materiaalsus. Soovi korral saab analüüsis liikuda ka vastupidi: makrotasandilt mikrotasandi suhete poole. Eelnevalt mainitud kategooriate võimustav või piirav iseloom lähtub just sellest, kelle vaates või kelle suunal uurimust läbi viiakse, sest lähtuvalt vaatest või suunast võib sama nähtus olla kas võimustav või piirav. Näiteks reservteenistusel põhinev riigikaitsemudel on riigi seisukohast võimustav, tagades võimalikult suure koguse väljaõppe saanud inimesi, kes süsteemselt panustavad riigikaitse, kuid üksikisiku vaatest on tegemist ilmselt pigem piirava, kinnitava protsessiga.

Kokkuvõtlikult on täiendatud tsiviil- ja militaar-põimpunkti analüüsiraamistik järgmine: esmalt määratakse uuringu alguspunkt ehk neksus. Lähtuvalt sellest analüüsitakse eri aspektide omavahelist läbipõimitust kinnitumise, dünaamika ja materiaalsuse kategooriates läbi mikro-, meso- ja makrotasandite.

Doktoritöö eesmärk oli tsiviil- ja militaar-neksuse analüüsimudelit kasutades tuua välja tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete mitmekesise lõimumise aspektid meesoost Eesti kodaniku elus. Selle eesmärgi teostamiseks püstitasin kolm uurimisküsimust:

- 1) Millised tsiviil- ja militaar-põimikud kujundavad meesoost Eesti kodaniku elu?
- 2) Kuidas tsiviil- ja militaar-põimikute struktuur ja dünaamika mõjutavad meesoost Eesti kodaniku elu?
- 3) Milline on tsiviil- ja militaar-põimpunkti analüüsiraamistiku rakendamise kasu riigi tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete uurimisel?

Analüüsiraamistikku kasutasin nelja artikli metaanalüüsis, mis olid selle doktoritöö andmestikuks.

Artiklite metaanalüüsis kasutasin analüüsimeetodina horisontaalset suunatud kvalitatiivset sisuanalüüsi, kus analüüsi tuumkategooriateks olid kinnitatus, dünaamika ja materiaalsuse kategooriad. Töös on esitatud vaid kinnitatus ja dünaamika kategooriad, sest materiaalsus ei olnud artiklites vaatluse all, kuigi vähesel määral oli võimalik ka materiaalsusega seotud suhestatusi välja tuua. Siiski olid need ebapiisavad töös esitamiseks.

Artiklid, mida analüüsisin, keskendusid erinevatele kaitsevägega seotud inimgruppidele: ajateenijatele, tegevteenistujate partneritele/abikaasadele ning

veteranidele, võimaldades konstrueerida kujuteldava ajatelje meessoost Eesti kodaniku elus.

Esimese artikli fookuses olid ajateenijad ning nende teenistuse ja teenistusjärgse eluga seotud hirmud. Uuringus selgus, et valdavalt olid hirmud seotud pigem just eluga pärast ajateenistust. Need olid seotud kartusega kaotada juba väljakujunenud sidemed: hirm kaotada oma koht ühiskonnas ning ärevus, et pärast teenistust ei õnnestu jätkata eluga nagu see oli enne kaitseväge astumist. Individuaalsel tasandil on kohustuslik ajateenistus ühiskonnast lähtuv sündus, mis võib minna vastuollu isiklike eluplaanidega.

Teine artikkel keskendus samuti ajateenijatele, kuid võttis vaatluse alla aspektid, mis mõjutavad noorte meeste soovi pärast ajateenistust astuda tegevteenistusse. Üsna ootuspäraselt kinnitasid ka selle uurimuse tulemused, et mõningane militaarkultuuri tundmine ja kokkupuuted kaitsevaldkonnaga on üks oluline aspekt, mis toetab otsust tegevteenistuse kasuks. Samuti mängib rolli see, kas ajateenija mõtestab oma teenistust läbi sisemiste eesmärkide, milleks on näiteks patriotism ja isiklik soov omandada teatud oskused. Mitte vähem oluliseks osutus ka usk, et Eesti riiki on rünnaku korral võimalik kaitsta.

Kolmandas uuringus kogusin tegevteenistujate partnerite ja abikaasade lugusid selle kohta, kuidas nad mõistavad oma rolli ja oma suhet kaitsevägega. Uuringu tulemusena selgus, et Eestis ei ole selget tähendust tihti kasutataval sõnade paaril nagu „sõjaväelase abikaasa”, mis on erinev teiste riikide teaduskirjanduses väljendatud arusaamadest. Eestis seostub mõiste „sõjaväelase abikaasa” kõige rohkem ehk vene kirjandusest pärit arusaamaga „ohvitseri prouast” ja osaliselt seostub ka kogemustega nõukogude ajast. Taasiseseisvunud Eestis on militaarkultuur välja kujunenud omal moel. Tegevväelaste abikaasad ja partnerid rõhutasid küll teatud määral oma patriootlikkust, kuid positsioneerisid end eelkõige siiski tsiviilsfääri kuuluvaks – kas oma töö kaudu või emadena – seejuures otsides tuge ja määratledes end peamiselt läbi oma isiklike või riiklike, kaitsevägele mittekuuluvate teenusevõrgustike.

Neljas uurimus on peatükk raamatust, mis keskendus veteranide üleminekule militaarsfäärist tsiviilellu. See analüüsib Eesti veteranide vastavat teekonda ja nende kogetud sotsiaalset tunnustust. Uuringu tulemused näitasid, et arusaam mõistest „veteran” on Eesti ühiskonnas veel selgelt välja kujunemata. See, keda peetakse veteraniks ja milliseid tähendusi mõistele omistatakse, on mõneti ebamäärane, olles täpsemalt, kuid spetsiifiliselt defineeritud militaardomeenis ja vähemselgelt arusaadav tsiviilsfääris. Mõiste ebamäärasus võib tekitada raskusi tegevteenistusest tsiviilellu siirdumisel. Üheks oluliseks siirdumist raskendavaks asjaoluks on nii Eestis kui ka paljudes teistes riikides ebaühtlane militaar- ja tsiviilsirde kirjaoskus ehk teadmised ja oskused, mida on inimesel vaja selleks, et siirdumine militaarsfäärist tsiviilellu oleks võimalikult sujuv.

Doktoritöö järeldustes toon välja, et meessoost Eesti kodaniku elu jooksul on täheldatavad mitmed tsiviil- ja militaarpõimikud, mis oma loomult võivad olla nii võimustavad kui ka piiravad. Need tõukuvad indiviidi soovidest ja eesmärkidest ning sõltuvad tema sotsiaalsetest ja personaalsetest võrgustikest. Töös on välja toodud, et lapse- ja nooruspõlve asetuvad tsiviil- ja militaarpõimikud on

näiteks noorteorganisatsioonid; programmid, kus tutvustatakse kaitseväge tegevust ja põhimõtteid juba enne ajateenistust jm. Struktuur ja dünaamika, mis neis põimikutes avaldub, on makrotasandil seotud rahva ja riigi ajalooliste kogemuste ja kultuuriliste arusaamadega sellest, millised peaksid olema suhted tsiviil- ja militaarsfääride vahel. Samuti on see seotud valitud julgeolekukäsitluse ja riigikaitsemudeliga, mis omakorda on mõjutatud globaalsest julgeolekuolukorrast ja -trendidest. Samas tuleb märkida, et mõjutuste dünaamika ei liigu ainult makrotasandilt mikrotasandi suunas, vaid ka vastupidi.

Noormeeste üha kasvav teadlikkus kaitsevääst ja soov kaasa rääkida neid isiklikult puudutavates kaitsevaldkonna protsessides on toonud kaasa ka muudatused kaitseväge töö organiseerimises ning ajateenistuse kujundamises. Kui eelnev lõik sisaldab vastuseid esimesele kahele uurimisküsimusele, siis viimane uurimisküsimus oli suunatud just tsiviil- ja militaarneksuse analüüsiraamistiku katsetamisele. Vaatamata sellele, et käesolevas töös on teravik suunatud just Eesti tsiviil- ja militaarsuhetele, on raamistik kasutatav ka teistes valdkondades ja riikides, samuti eri valdkondlike põimikute analüüsiks. Kuna sageli on nii, et vaid hetkeolukorra ülevaade ei taga sügavamat arusaama võimalike põimikute struktuurist ja dünaamikast, siis on raamistikku sissekirjutatud ka ajaline telg. Tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete mõistmisel võimaldab täiendatud tsiviil- ja militaar-põimpunkti analüüsiraamistik luua tihedamat andmestikku ja mitmekesisemat vaadet sellele komplekssele süsteemile, mille tsiviil- ja militaarsuhted moodustavad.

Toodud analüüsiraamistiku eelised on järgmised:

1. Stuktureeritud lähenemine erinevate tsiviil- ja militaar-põimikute avastamiseks mikro-, meso- ja makrotasanditel määratud põimpunkti lähtuvalt.
2. Raamistik võimaldab esile tuua tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete omavahel tugevalt läbipõimunud olemuse, ning ei keskendu ainult abstraktssele poliitilisele ja sõjaväelisele eliidile ning võimaldab selgelt välja tuua kultuuriliste ja ajalooliste aspektide olulisuse.
3. Tsiviil- ja militaarneksuse analüüsiraamistikul ei ole normatiivset lõppolekut. Pigem viitavad erinevad põimikud võimalikele võimustavatele või piiravatele suhetele, mis põimpunkti vaatenurgast avalduvad. See omakorda võimaldab arvestada kompleksse mõtlemise ja pidevalt muutumises oleva maailma analüüsi põhimõtetega.
4. Põimpunkti määratlemisel ei ole tegelikke piiranguid, selleks võib olla näiteks sõjaväelinnak või ka suurõppus Kevadtorm.
5. Põimpunkti analüüsiraamistikku saab kasutada nii teiste valdkondade sotsiaalse ja institutsionaalsete suhete analüüsiks kui ka teiste sotsiaalsete nähtuste analüüsiks.

Põimpunkti analüüsiraamistikus vajavad edasiarendamist juhised uuringukava koostamisel, mis võimaldaks paremini kategooriaid operatsionaliseerida. Teisalt on ilmne, et iga analüüsis välja tulnud neksuse puhul on võimalik astuda ka praktilisi samme piiravate aspektide leevendamiseks, vajadusel ka võimustavate mõjude suurendamiseks. Põimikute analüüsikategooriate edasisel operatsionaliseerimisel on võimalik põimpunkti analüüsiraamistikku kasutada ka kvantitatiivsetes uuringutes, hindamaks erinevate põimikute võimustavat või piiravat iseloomu laiemalt. Kokkuvõtlikult saab tõdeda, et tsiviil- ja militaar-põimpunkti analüüsiraamistik tagab piisavalt struktureeritud ja selge tsiviil- ja militaarsuhete uurimise toestiku ning teisalt võimaldab võtta arvesse erinevaid mikro-, meso- ja makrotasandi mõjutusi.

PUBLICATIONS

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Additional publications related to the doctoral thesis:

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Teadusorganisatsiooniline ja -administratiivne tegevus:

2019–2022 ERGOMASi president
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Doktoritöö teemaga seotud täiendavad publikatsioonid:

- Castro, Carl Andrew; Dursun, Sanela; Duel, Jacco; Elands, Martin; Fossey, Matt; Harrison, Kate; Heintz, Ole; Lazier, Raun; Lewis, Niel; Maclean, Mary Beth; Truusa, Tiia-Triin (2021). *The Transition of Military Veterans from Active Service to Civilian Life. Final Report of Task Group HFM-263. AC/323 (HFM-263)TP/970. STO NATO.*
- Truusa, Tiia-Triin; Kasearu Kairi (2019). *Capable Patriots: Narratives of Estonian Women Living with Military Service Members.* In: Birgitte Refslund Sørensen; Eyal Ben-Ari (Ed.). *Civil–Military Entanglements Anthropological Perspectives.* (42–62). Berghahn Books.
- Truusa, Tiia-Triin; Castro, Carl Andrew (2019). *Definition of a veteran: the military viewed as a culture.* In: Carl Andrew Castro, Sanela Dursun (Ed.). *Military Veteran Reintegration. Approach, Management, and Assessment of Military Veterans Transitioning to Civilian Life.* (5–19). Elsevier Academic Press.
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- Raid, Kadri; Kasearu, Kairi; Truusa, Tiia-Triin (2019). *I just want to be done with it! Estonian conscripts negotiating the tensions between military, family, and personal agendas.* In: Moelker, R; Andres, M; Rones, N (Ed.). *The Politics of Military Families State, Work Organizations, and the Rise of the Negotiation Household* (87–104). Taylor & Francis Group.
- Laanepere, Taavi; Truusa, Tiia-Triin; Cooper, Linda (2018). *Military Legacy: Use it or lose it? Sõjateadlane (Estonian Journal of Military Studies),* 6, 22–51.
- Thompson, Jim M.; Lockhart, Wendy; Roach, Mary B.; Atuel, Hazel; Bélanger, Stéphanie; Black, Tim; Castro, Carl A.; Cooper, Alex; Cox, Daniel W.; de Boer, Catherine; Dentry, Sarah; Hamner, Karl; Shields, Duncan; Truusa, Tiia-Triin (2017). *Veterans’ Identities and Well-being in Transition to Civilian Life – A Resource for Policy Analysts, Program Designers, Service Providers and Researchers Report of the Veterans’ Identities Research Theme Working Group, Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research Forum 2016.* In: Canada, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

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