

Army and society

Positive motivations for enlistment

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The findings in this report are not to be construed as an official Cyprus Ministry of Defence position, unless so designated by other authorized documents.

Foreword

This report describes a detailed research work on draft dodging, a project conducted for the Cyprus Ministry of Defence. The principal objectives of the study were (a) to determine the structure of reasons that lead to draft evasion, to then (b) propose policies for positive motivation that address isolate factors by building a new structure of reasoning for enlistment today, in a way (c) that prepares the nexus of discourses in society to then accept enlisting by choice in the future professional force.

This study involved the analysis and interpretation of four sets of data. (1) Data from an existing survey base-data from a sample of vvvvvvvv enlisted accessions and draft evasions/exemptions for various reasons that has been collected for the Department of Defence at regular intervals. VVVVVV statistical analyses were performed on the data. (2) Unofficial interviews with army recruiting officers informed the analysis mainly on effectiveness of current legal measures on draft dodging. (3) A set of interviews with conscript soldiers the author conducted (with permission from the Ministry of Defence) in a barricade of the National Guard in 2011 for the purpose of another research. (4) The analysis also draws from systematic critical discourse analysis of public discourses including media, policy documents that was conducted specifically for this study.

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Briefing note

Purpose:

The purpose of this briefing note is to present the results of a research on draft dodging and key considerations on recommendations of positive motivations for enlistment.

Background:

The Cyprus Defence Sector as a state institution bears a special importance for the Greek Cypriot (G.C.) community who since 1974 has lived in the constant fear of another military offensive by Turkey and of the complete occupation of the island. Therefore, developments that undermine defence are of utmost public and political importance with a significant impact on the public view of the state and government.

The military service has constituted one of the most important post-war G.C. national and social values. Since its appearance successive governments have aimed to deal with the growing issue of draft dodging. The main approach has relayed on the introduction of a stricter legal framework on conscription, which did not result to the desired outcome.

Current Situation:

- ◆ **The percentage of draft dodgers** according to classification has not decreased.

- ◆ **The prolonged issue of draft dodging** has an evident impact on the status of the army in society, the relationship of the community to the defense institutions and to some extent the public view of the government.

- ◆ **The pertaining phenomenon** has attracted significant attention by the media and political powers and has generated much concern for civil society and community.

- ◆ **The current Minister of Defence** introduced policies of positive motivation in conjunction to the previous measures. The pilot study of the new policies proved to be successful. The Minister has expressed concrete interest in continuing with the introduction of positive motivations and has recently introduced some more.

- ◆ **The presentation of the new policies** in the media has already begun contributing towards a more positive image of the Ministry of Defence and is positively impacting on the view of the government.

Key Considerations

- ◇ The approach of combating draft dodging through a stricter legal framework is potentially false.

- ◇ Draft dodging is a phenomenon created as a result of irreversible social and political developments. The issue should be addressed by speaking to the personal interest of the soldiers to serve, whilst also highlighting the service to the community.

- ◇ Policies of positive motivation will constitute a more productive service for young men, contribute towards restoring the relationship with the public and the status of the army in society as well as prepare the ground for professionalisation.

- ◇ Communication strategy is key in ensuring all the related objectives.

Acronyms

EU European Union

G.C. Greek Cypriot

T.C. Turkish Cypriot

RoC Republic of Cyprus

UN United Nations

About the author

Stratis Andreas Efthymiou is a sociologist with a specialisation on military and identity issues in post-conflict societies. Stratis holds a PhD from the University of Sussex, England, as well as an MSc in Comparative and Cross-Cultural Research Methods and BA Hons in Sociology. He has taught at the department of Sociology at the University of Sussex for a number of years. Stratis has been a head researcher for Transparency International (U.K.) Government Defence Index. He has been a Visiting Researcher, at the Defence Research Centre, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia and a Visiting Academic, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. Amongst other, he is a member of the Sussex Centre for Conflict and Security Research.

1. Introduction

This report addresses the socio-political aspect of specific issues that have arisen for the Cyprus Defence Sector in recent years; aiming to provide an in-depth examination of the phenomenon of draft-dodging observed in the National Guard in recent years. There is a clear need to deeply investigate the issue of draft dodging as this is a serious issue for a fully conscript army with a long reserve service. Since the creation of the National Guard under the enactment of the 1964 National Guard law that replaced the professional Cyprus army (established in 1960), the NG maintains up to present day a gradually reduced to 24-month conscription service. This is currently the longest period of conscription service in the European Union.

Conscription in post-war Cyprus has been a deeply entrenched axiom tightly linked to the pride of the family and the man himself. However, following the opening of crossing points on the Green Line, the accession to the EU and broader social developments there is a strong emergence of draft dodging conscription. Successive governments have attempted to deal with the phenomenon that has become of great concern for political leadership and society, yet with limited results. This report aims at giving an in-depth analysis of the emergence and sustenance of the phenomenon, and by reviewing current policies it will propose a set of policies that address the socio-political factors of its creation.

The report will focus on the implications of the late start to processes of modernisation and professionalization on enlistment in the context of recent societal and political developments in Cyprus as well as the financial crisis. Through the perspective that social and political developments impact the micro-society of the armed forces, the report will start with a brief overview of the wider European context before discussing the Cyprus context and implications of these contextual developments for the Cyprus National Guard. The author will then proceed to review existing policies on draft dodging and then make several policy recommendations

aimed at increasing positive motivation with a view to deal with the problem and to strengthen the relationship between the armed forces and Cypriot society. The recommendations also aim to protect the status of the army in society by addressing the effect that the long-lived issue has had on it. Therefore, the communication strategies proposed towards the end relate also to creating a more appealing image of the army in society. Areas for further exploration and research are also identified at the end of the report.

1.1. Research Problem

In a fully conscript military force, the strong emergence of draft-dodging in recent years necessitates the development of policies that will stop the expansion of the problem, limit the number of draft evaders and protect the status of the National Guard in society. The policy of introducing stricter legal measures and designing political and institutional discourses that alarm about draft dodging by reproducing the idea of the necessity of the service, has failed flat. Draft dodging has since the enactment of these policies increased by ... percent.

It is therefore necessary to develop optimal strategies for modernising the idea of conscription and increasing motivation to enlist by promoting an appealing service for the youth of today. In particular, it is essential to design and package reasons for enlistment that will attract different segments within the target audience. Therefore, as a second aspect of an optimal recruitment effort, it is desirable to identify demographic characteristics and other factors that may influence the ultimate decision of youth for enlistment and completion of their service as well as raising motivation during the service.

1.2. Literature Review on the Cyprus National Guard

Despite its political and cultural saliences, the National Guard in Cyprus as an issue of inquiry itself has attracted surprisingly little social science research. This absence is surprising given the defence necessities of the country and the high levels of militarisation that Cyprus has experienced following the war of 1974. Indeed Cyprus had been ranked in 2013 as the 6th most militarised country in the world (according to the Global Militarisation Index, GDI), and has from 1990 to 2013 generally been between the 5th to 8th position. Still, in academic literature the National Guard only appears in historical discussions regarding the appeal for union with Greece (for example see Bruce, 1985; Byrne, 2000), in discussions about defence spending (Kollias, Naxakis & Zarangas, 2004; Kollias, 2001), and defence acquisition (Tank, 2002). Moreover, post-war militarisation in Cyprus has been discussed by the author (Efthymiou, 2015 and 2014) and specifically in relation to the militarisation and engendering of a conflict heritage site: the Ledra Palace Hotel (Demetriou, 2012) and the relations between and amongst non-conflict British military personnel and local civilians (Higate and Henry, 2011). The modern Cypriot culture that supports or undermines conscription has been discussed by the author (Efthymiou, 2014). Therefore, there is no academic literature that addresses the National Guard specifically or factors that undermined conscription producing the unwanted phenomenon of draft dodging. The clear lack of academic and research literature on the National Guard directly guides us to the need for research in order to gain a substantive structural understanding of draft dodging.

1.3. Research Objectives

There are two major objectives of this research:

- (1) To identify the set of reasons that lead soldiers to evade the draft.
- (2) To identify factors that will positively influence the enlistment decision and completion of the service.

1.4. Scope

The scope of the research encompasses the requirement to perform analyses on existing survey information collected by the recruitment agency of the National Guard, in order to obtain a more extensive and sophisticated understanding of the phenomenon for excessive draft evasion. Additional requirements involve the review of existing policies and analyses of the reasons for the persistence of the phenomenon through understanding the broader socio-political background on which it emerged and developed. The analysis is concerned with the creation of the phenomenon to present day yet with a focus on the last four-years period. This focus relates to an assessment of the effectiveness of the enactment of the 2011 National Guard Law that has attempted to deal with the issue through stricter legal enforcement.

The research was performed in a "draft environment," therefore the findings with respect to factors affecting the decision to enlist may not be wholly applicable in the draft-free environment of an All Volunteer Armed Force. However, the proposals were formulated with the view of preparing the ground for future professionalisation. Therefore, the policy proposals will be setting also the basis for future research.

1.5. Research approach

Due to the lack of academic literature on the issues faced by the Cyprus Defence sector there is a clear need for the conduction of research. The inability of legal measures to deal substantively with draft dodging raises the need for a research that will identify specific reasons for such decisions made by youth. In order to unveil the set of reasoning of such decisions an approach that deals with the socio-political dynamics that made the phenomenon possible is necessary. This analysis will be used to then

formulate specific policies that will positively impact the decision for military service by speaking to such socio-political developments.

Items analysed included survey data on army And selected demographic data provided by the statistical service of the Republic of Cyprus. *For the first research objective, multivariate statistical analyses (factor analysis, hierarchical cluster analysis) were used to classify the 12 reasons for enlistment for the samples of [number] Army enlistees. For the second objective, other techniques (multiple regression, automatic interaction detection) were applied to data from samples of FY72 enlistees to These analyses were done to identify the factors most highly associated with a unpacking recruits reasons for evading the draft..... in the Army versus positive motivations for completing the service.*

The interviews with soldiers were conducted on understanding their experience and the meaning they attribute to the military service. The sections of the interview schedules were organised to move from socio-demographic questions about themselves and their families, to specific questions designed to draw out the soldiers' personal understandings, opinions *of* and experiences *in* the NG. The interview schedules with soldiers ended with the same question: 'How do you envision the Cypriot army in the future and how would you like it to be? Shall we continue with conscription or have a professional force?'

The Head of the force approved the interview agendas I used in the interviews in the NG.

The analysis also includes systematic critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 2001) I conducted of political speeches, policy documents made publicly available and media sources - dating from 2005 to 2015 - in order to understand the projection, reproduction and exemplification of discourses in relation to 'draft dodging'. In conducting critical discourse analysis I was systematically looking to relate the structures of texts and talks to structures of the socio-political context (Wodak, 2001).

A review of the international literature was performed in support of the two major research activities. The literature review focused on countries that have also not yet abolished conscription or faced similar issues before abolishing conscription and on countries that have both a professional force and positive motivations policies. The aim of this task has been to understand issues faced in the army of Cyprus also through their link to global socio-political processes. As well as to learn from shortcomings in the application of policies in similar to Cyprus cultural and socio-political contexts.

All the data analyses were designed and executed by the author of this report.

2. Results

2.1. Analysis of statistics on draft dodging 2008 – 2014

The strong emergence and increase of draft dodgers make it necessary to examine the socio-political context in which it emerged and developed.

2.2. Contextual analysis

This section of the report offers an analysis of the socio-political context in which draft dodging emerged in order to uncover the reasoning that drives a fraction of the conscripted soldiers to such decision as well as the broader current weakened motivation for enlistment. The section starts with a brief overview of the wider international and European context before discussing the Cyprus context and the implications for the Cyprus National Guard. The author will then proceed to review existing policies on draft dodging in the scope of the socio-political context.

2.2. International Context: The professionalization of armed forces

From the 1990s professional, smaller and more cost-effective forces have gradually replaced mass conscript armies. Most countries in NATO and the EU have already abolished conscription. Today, out of the 28 NATO countries only 5 have some form of military service. Out of the 28 European Union member-states only 6 do, and this includes Cyprus, which currently has the longest conscription service in the EU.

This change relates mostly to global political, technological, economic and social developments (Burk, 1992; Haltiner, 1998; Cohen, 1995; Van Doorn, 1975; Janowitz, 1960; Moon, 2005a). The formation of NATO, the rapid evolution of the European Union, the collapse of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact in 1989 have radically changed the image of threat in Europe leading to reconsideration of conscription-based armies. The EU accession in particular has been repeatedly identified as a catalyst for the professionalisation and modernisation of member state armies, (see: King, 2006). Moreover, the increasing demand for educated and specialised workforce in the neoliberal open markets of the west competing within and across state territories has brought extensive pressures on states to abandon military conscription and create professional armies in reducing the economic deadweight of the army, which was permanently detaining a proportion of the young work force from the market due to conscription. Yet, mass conscription armies had to be reconsidered also due to the widespread decline in the motivation to serve (see: Haltiner, 1998).

Changes in the military have historically tended to reflect broader social changes and vice-versa (Janowitz, 1960, 1957, 1984). In Western societies there has been a move away from traditional cultural values, which poses a serious challenge to state militaries, as they need to adjust to a rapidly changing society. Contributing to changing military values is the changing motivation of individuals based on current personal benefits and greater self-reliance (Kotnik & Kopac, 2002). These are clearly contradictory to the values of a military organisation, which is based on collectivism and camaraderie and commitment to the common good (Janowitz, 1960).

Draft dodging has formed an alarming issue for countries around the world precisely due to such socio-political developments. The literature on draft dodging is highly limited. A notable exception is the discussion of the case in the U.S. by Weedon (2014). This absence mostly relates to states effort to conceal their apparent inability to deal with the issue, yet also to very small number of scientists worldwide that could have looked into the phenomenon to offer an accurate interpretation of the situation.

Countries that maintained the military service in recent years have faced increased and increasing issues of draft dodging. Russia (Russian Defense Policy: The Sociological Center, 2015) and Israel (The Times of Israel, 2015), countries with strong military power, are amongst the examples of countries that are facing serious issues of draft dodging today. Ukraine, a (post)-conflict European country, after the sparking up of the conflict in Crimea in 2014 has called again for compulsory enlistment in order to increase the numbers of its force; she is now facing an increased number of draft dodgers.

Serious trends of damaging morale and draft dodging have emerged across the globe. Draft dodging has become fashionable to the extent that private companies have been established in certain countries that offer specialised help to soldiers and draftees in solving problems related to avoiding military service (see: Stolyarova, 2006). These include solicitor advice and medical care, amongst others. (??) States, on the other hand have also responded to the phenomenon.

Russia presents a clear example. In 2012 amongst other they announced an ambitious social package that will increase housing for service personnel, improve pay by 50% and conditions, including the possibility for conscripts to be sent to military training units based in their home regions (Sanders, 2012). It is clear that in an attempt to address these challenges policies of positive motivation have prevailed.

2.3. National Context: Issues created out of the late Modernisation

In the context of a divided Cyprus, the global pressure for modernization and professionalisation of the National Guard cannot be extricated from wider societal developments and the dynamics of the conflict. In the perceptions of the G.C. community, the conflict has an intricate relationship with the NG. In post-war Cyprus for the G.C. community, 'defence' was a national promise that the collective 'fighting spirit' for the liberation of Cyprus would be sustained against overwhelming odds and that, if political negotiations failed, the well-equipped and technologically advanced NG (with the will of the soldiers, reserves and militia to sacrifice their lives) would hold back the 'enemy' until the international community becomes involved.

Moreover, after the opening of crossing points on the Green Line between the North and South of Cyprus in 2003, the Cyprus National Guard (NG) is sustaining a, by definition, mass conscript army. This places the army both structurally and culturally in the nexus between the continuous dispute with the occupation force Turkey, European integration, army modernisation, opened crossing points on the Green Line, and reunification talks (Efthymiou, 2014). The late start of modernisation of the NG meanwhile has created a number of issues with regards to the enlistment of soldiers and policies of positive motivation, some of which are explored further below.

2.4. The emergence of draft dodging: socio-political factors

Armed service represents intensive meeting points between the individual and the collective. Therefore, in understanding the creation of the phenomenon of draft-dodging we need to look into the socio-political discursive frame in which it emerged. The culture of draft-dodging that has led to the phenomenon as experienced today can be easily located in the beginning of the new millennium. The accession of Cyprus to the EU (2004), the opening of crossing points on the Green Line (2002), the period of the UN Annan Plan for reunification (2004) on the one hand, and the strong Western and European cultural flows (that have intensified with the EU accession), on the other, have all had clear implications on the commitment of the community to the unified defence from Turkey through military service. In effect, the decline in

motivation to serve in the NG and the creation of the recent phenomenon of draft dodging represent the relative disengagement of the community from the idea of the military service as an absolute national necessity.

2.4.1. Opening of crossing points and military service

The active meaning of military service as a male defence duty against and for the ceasefire line (Efthymiou, 2015) becomes weakened against the opening of crossing points. The guarding of the borders has been the first priority of the NG since the events of 1974 and the symbolic meaning of military service has been a male defence duty to guard the ceasefire line. Following the opening of crossing points, the mission that is 'to react in order to prevent any offensive action taken by Turkey' has not changed but the mentality of the youth has. Being conscripted in an army predicated on guarding a ceasefire line, now with openings along with a relative humanisation of the 'image' of the enemy in the G.C. community, has become problematic for men expected to serve their duty towards the country. The 'distance' between 'self' and 'other' thus 'soldier' and 'enemy' which the closed borders provided was vital to the culture and ideology that maintained the military service as an absolute necessity. This distance is central to the "summoning of difference, thus the relativisation of the self against the 'other'", (Kennedy and Danks, 2001: 3). Thus the opening of crossing points also signified/represented an ideological lifting of the border that maintained 'soldier' and 'enemy' as clearly defined entities. This opening with the crossings it entails, in which the absence of ethnic violence has been noteworthy (Papadakis et al., 2006), has contributed to an underlying feeling of public security. This, together with the security in belonging to the broader and open space is weakening the purpose of the military service for youth today.

2.4.2. The Annan Plan and military service

Whilst crossings take place from the one side of the border to the other, the period of the Annan Plan comes to further challenge the understanding of security as tightly linked to the military service (see: Efthymiou, 2014). This was a period, hallmarked with both hope and fear for the future. The later included also uncertainty for the future of armed defence, thus contributing to the weakening perception of military service as an absolute necessity in the community. In this period the image of threat changes with the opportunity that another military offensive on the part of Turkey will in the near future exist no longer. In this period of intense hope for the reunification of Cyprus, the continuation of the NG was highly politically and publicly questioned, as the reunification plan provided the dissolution of the NG with the 'one state, one army' position), (see Palley, 2006: 223). This uncertainty about the need for military service has penetrated into both the armed forces and Cypriot society. Arguably, this is because the public and all men related to the NG had come to understand and live under the fear that there was a serious possibility that the NG would be dissolved and hence the RoC would cease to have its own army. The possibility of reunification in this period, therefore, is also contradictory to the ideology that supports the necessity of a strong armed defence and thus also of the role of men as 'defenders'. Whilst the Annan Plan was defeated, the intense periods of reunification talks thereafter maintain in the public perception the acquittal of the active meaning and role of the military service to protect against the threat of Turkish offensive.

2.4.3. The EU accession and military service

The weakening notion of threat created by the openings on the ceasefire line (2002) and the Annan referendum (2004) with the new rounds of negotiations took place in tight timeframe with the accession of Cyprus to the EU (2004). Even if the EU is not a defence union per se, the accession has created in the Cypriot community a new notion of security. The EU has experienced some demilitarisation and disarmament (Jauhiainen, 1997), whereas the idea of a unified European military co-operation is still being developed (Lutterbeck, 2005; Eide & Thee, 1980). Yet, the EU today provides a political deterrent force for countries outside of the union wanting to attack a EU

country member. The ontological security, felt in the G.C. community whilst sheltering under the EU in relation to the 'threat' of another military offensive by Turkey, is presented here to have contributed to the weakening of social investment in 'military service'. The reference to the 'large European family' became ever common in the community. This reflected the G.C. expectation of a new notion of security tightly linked to belonging to the EU and this has become most important for the community (Efthymiou, 2014). Supportive to this argument are also the figures available by a quantitative survey conducted by Lordos and Kaymak, (2007: 16) in May 2005. In their study, EU Security for G.C.s overruled (54.7 %) the security offered under the Annan Plan (32.9 %). This change in the public understanding of 'security' as 'belonging' to the EU significantly undermined the public anxiety of the possibility of a second offensive on the part of Turkey, contributing to the changing perception of the military service as an absolute necessity in European Cyprus.

2.4.4. Becoming 'Euro-Cypriot' and military service

In addition to the political developments, the strong appeal of a 'Euro-Cypriot' cultural identity and the intense cultural westernisation of Cypriot society, had repercussions on the military service. In Cyprus, the EU as a concept became more and more identical to the concept of Europe (Demetriou, 2005) and for G.C.s has created a deep yearning and a shift from the identification with the middle-eastern culture to becoming a 'Euro-Cypriot society' and adopting a Western-like lifestyle. In this space, the broader social adoption of a more European, Westernised individualist male identity signaled a relative shift away from collectivist patriarchal military values of the military service. Young men in Cyprus are aware of the fact that most other European citizens do not serve military service and also that they would need to compete in the European labour market with them. Whilst experiencing a society that no longer feels constantly threatened by the occupation forces and experiencing the T.C. in their everyday lives in the free areas of Cyprus, some began to question whether it was so necessary to serve their military duty.

Today, the emergence of the new understanding of G.C. society as made up of rights-bearing male individuals focused on their own personal goals arguably threatens the idea of a unified community committed to the project of defence through military service. Individualism has come to challenge the very understanding of the G.C. community in which G.C.s were committed to a collective need for military conscription. The motivation of individuals from current personal benefits and their primary reliance on themselves is part of the changing military values (Kotnik & Kopac, 2002). The greater acceptance of cultural pluralism and individualism and strengthening of consumerist and materialist values have contributed to the increasing focus of G.C. society on the individual's rights, goals and success. This social focus is part of the new privileging understanding of society, made up of such male entrepreneurial, image-oriented individuals focused on their professional success and personal benefits, that is challenging the subordination of individual considerations to collective goals of the community, thus most centrally the military service.

These trends can be understood, as Maman et al. (2001: 4) have argued in relation to Israel, as the transformation of G.C. society from a 'mobilised society' into a 'normal' Western society and have resulted in a strongly emerging culture of individualism and in attenuation of the state's capacity to mobilize those groups who were the carriers of the national defence project. The undermining of the post-war entrenchment of the culture that supports conscription is evident today in Cypriot society. The phenomenon of draft-dodgers is a clear reflection of the shift from the collective project of solidarity of the national struggle to the individuals' personal goals and understanding of success and illustrates that policy aiming to address the phenomenon should embrace these social trends rather than combating to limit their relation to the army-institution.

Moreover, whilst there is broader social acceptance of individualism, in the context of draft dodging it is most often criticised by civil society and community as it diverts young men away from their military service that is understood as the 'common good'. Therefore we can observe that this rising culture of male individualism that weakens the motivation for conscription which co-exists with the deep entrenchment of

collectivist and traditional values in the Cyprus society that call the male youth to remain committed to military service. This is a cultural 'mix-match' that becomes important in policy terms, in embracing the synergy of modern and traditional trends, of the individual and the community in order to optimise the wished outcomes. Policy proposals incorporating these will be discussed towards the end of the report.

2.4.5. The Family and military service

The relation of the family institution to military service is a crucial one. This relationship has historically been an integral one around the globe when it comes to conscription-based armies. However, in the case of Cyprus family acquires a very special importance with the son's service being a deep family value and honour. It was not long ago when families not only expected their son to serve, but draft-dodging brought shame and dishonour both to the young man and his family. However, whilst in the past the Cypriot family was a strong link between the army-institution and the national struggle, with military service as the affirmation of the family's social hypostasis interwoven with the national struggle, today family constitutes most of all a weakening link in this nexus (Efthymiou, 2014).

Today the family institution on the whole has undermined the importance it ascribes to military service. In synergy to the general public weakening fear of another military dispute with Turkey and the public disengagement with the NG, the family institution does not identify to the same extent with the national struggle as a man's duty served at any cost. The priorities that G.C. families ascribe for their sons override, to some extent, the collective purpose of the military service, which the army institution has traditionally mobilised. Given that the family institution has been central to the mobilisation of the ideology of what supports and reproduces conscription, this change contributes to the weakening motivation to serve and the notions of masculinity necessitated for military service (Efthymiou, 2015).

Nonetheless, it should not be overlooked that in smaller rural communities the social pressure for serving in the army is more sustained than in cities. Young men coming from villages, who are used to a less comfortable lifestyle are more adaptable to life in the army and do not tend to draft-dodge. Whereas those who are more likely to consider not completing their military service mostly come from socioeconomic backgrounds that offer them enough financial and professional security, as these points affect their decision and influence their future prospects.

A lot of the soldiers I spoke to in the army, point to the role of their fathers for the motivation to serve. The fathers almost without exception had served their military service in post-war Cyprus, and the soldiers commented on the fact that they were serving in the NG because they felt direct pressure on their masculinity by the fact that their fathers had served their military service and/or fought in the war. They feared that they would have perhaps let them down or shamed them by not completing theirs (this was the second most prominent narrative). For example, a conscript soldier (18, interviewed within the army) comments that:

“My father might think, ‘I served in the army for the sake of our country so why don’t you’”.

Since the war in Cyprus is relatively recent (1974), most conscripts have relatives who have fought in the war or directly experienced it. As a conscript soldier (18, interviewed within the army) explains:

“So we talked about it and since my dad had experienced the war in 1974, he told me he wanted me to enlist.”

The understanding of some older men, which provided a clear articulation of the post-war role of men in the national struggle, was most often contrasted with a criticism of the younger generation of men.

Today public support for the army-institution does not mean that the 'count me out' inclination among civilians has been overcome (Kuhlman, 2003).

In more general terms, the widespread assumption that military service for G.C. men is a natural, taken-for-granted matter (Sasson-Levy, 2003) has undergone serious decline. Military service is counter-posed now to the individual's needs and goals; young men's own career plans and aspirations, rather than the necessity of service to the community. In general terms, a central assumption now being questioned in G.C. community is that of the centrality of the military service to society and to definitions of G.C. manhood.

2.4.5. Greek Cypriot masculinity and military service

The growing phenomenon of draft-dodging conscription clearly illustrates that the military service today is not a desideratum rite-of-passage in becoming a G.C. man. Yet its intense emergence has further challenged the G.C. axiom that military service should be performed at any cost by men and that it is unconditionally a national and male virtue.

Military service for those that serve today is clearly a signifier of masculinity, yet as it will be argued here for the most part it is not of the old-style type of military masculinity. In the dichotomy of individual and collective purpose, the decision to serve is most often centred on the ways in which completing young men's service fits into the life goals they have set as an individual rather than for the 'common good'.

A lot of soldiers I spoke to in the army emphasised the need to serve because of the on-going political situation focusing clearly in their answers on the issue of threat the country is facing. However, the representative accounts below assist us particularly in understanding the changing military values that become important in policy terms.

The conscript soldier (19, interviewed within the army) below prioritises his reasons for serving:

“It takes courage to manage to complete the military service and also in order to be able to work afterwards because, it’s difficult to find a job without the military discharge paper. And of course for my country as well.”

Almost all the soldiers I spoke to in the NG highlighted the military service as a valued milestone for developing life-skills, acquiring experiences and maturing, and they raised the distancing from home as essential in this process. It is indeed often highlighted in studies of army and masculinity that the process of becoming a ‘man’ and a ‘soldier’ necessitates that recruits are separated from home. However, the ‘maturity’ described by young men was less concerned with traditional type of military masculinity and more with going through a difficult situation without giving up and gaining some life skills that will be helpful for them in their own lives. As a conscript soldier (19, interviewed within the army) explains:

“You learn to live somewhere alone, somewhere different than your home. You learn to live without family; you don’t have your mother to make your bed or to cook for you”.

The normative masculinity in Cyprus is changing in such ways that it is moving away from notions of collectivism and thus also from identification of young men with the idea of the military service. G.C. masculinity is becoming individualistic, image and financial-success centred and in effect individualism is traversing civil-military relations calling for the professionalisation of the force. Moreover, the understanding that military service uniquely contributes to a man’s personal development is a military collectivist traditional value that is still very present in the force and should in conjunction with the rising individualism be used in policy terms. Moreover, since the issue of draft dodging, as it has been illustrated, has been created through a synergy of irreversible social and political developments illustrated by the fact that enlisted soldiers’ (and not only draft-dodgers’) values of conscription are chiefly on the

grounds of personal development, the initial governmental idea that draft-dodging can be combated through stricter legal enforcement is patently false.

The privileging understanding of society as made up of male entrepreneurial, image-oriented individuals focused on their professional success and personal benefits gives space to the rising western and European like culture that expects the individual to work and contribute in tax terms and in return necessitating the state to serve the common good and this involves the issue of the army. This logic goes 'I contribute to the community in tax terms and the state should take up the responsibility of defence' which translates into the support of a professional force that draws from individuals' taxes rather than from individuals' time. Given that professionalisation is a long-term policy approach, in the meanwhile policy design should focus on the positive motivation for individuals to accept military service as a productive time for the community and for themselves. Thus, the agenda promoted should be 'you serve the community in military service and we contribute to your future'.

3. Review of existing policies on draft dodging

Since the emergence of the Problem, successive governments have repeatedly attempted to deal with the declining motivation to serve and the issue of draft-dodging. The draft dodging problem can be viewed in terms of the relative success with which the Armed Forces accomplishes two objectives: (a) the initial conscription of soldiers through compulsory enlistment, and (b) its success to keep soldiers for the whole duration of the service, through complicit cooperation based on positive motivation.

The Ministry of Defence has, since 2011, placed much effort in creating a resistance to the declining motivation to serve; optimising the use of the reserve forces, and raising the morale of the NG as well as its status in Cypriot society (see include **media sources**). This argument is supported by the statement of the Defence Minister at

the time, Demetris Eliades, on 3rd November 2011 (see include **media sources**), who expressed the need for "a joint effort by all to regroup the forces and to raise the morale so that the National Guard can play the role for which it has been assigned by the state."

3.1. Law of 2011 on draft dodging and conscientious objectors

The efforts of 2011 mainly resulted to the introduction of the National Guard Law that followed the 2007 and 2008 amendment to the National Guard Law of 1964. This new legislative plan is a key development in the legal enforcement of conscription, going further with laws on conscription and the introduction of community or civil service as an alternative to the military service. The new legislative plan voted on the 1st of November 2011 in the Cypriot Parliament aims to deal with the phenomenon of draft dodging in the force by imposing a stricter legal framework that reinforces the obligation of conscription.

The National Guard Law (2011) provides stricter measures for those who choose not to enlist, such as detainment of the right to vote between other citizenship restrictions. The given law poses great difficulties if one is to attempt to evade his service, with strict laws on conscription and the introduction of community or civil service as an alternative to the military service. The introduction of alternative service was a key policy as in the past soldiers diagnosed as unable to perform their military duties (due to health related issues, etc.) were after a certain process usually exempt from their military service. Further, the law instructed for strict diagnostic processes and several restrictions to those that due to health issues are granted temporary exception . Noteworthy is that the National Guard Law (2011) provides systematic and frequent check-ups of the given condition until the age of 30. Given that conscription is enforced for two years between the ages of 18-20, the above-mentioned law amendment extends this period to 12 years.

Under the discussed Law ‘conscientious objectors’ and ‘reserve conscientious objectors’- men who refuse to serve their military obligations to the NG- serve alternative military service or alternative civil service. Conscientious objectors have historically been an issue in Cyprus due to most conscientious objectors coming from religious segments and communities of the island, such as Jehovah’s Witness. Conscientious objectors under the 2011 Law on the National Guard serve either thirty-three months of unarmed service in the army or thirty-eight months of community work. In comparison, military service is twenty-four months. In the same way, soldiers who have served alternative military or civil service have an obligation to serve alternative reserve service.

Another new policy was to expand the concept of who is to serve in the NG. Previously, all males who have a father of Cypriot origin were called to conscript. Now, after the implementation of the 2011 law, also those whose mothers are Cypriot but not their fathers qualify for conscription. From 2008 onwards, all men belonging to the religious groups of Armenians, Latins and Maronites, the main ethnic minorities of Cyprus who were in the past exempt and could serve voluntarily, must serve.

Further efforts of the time included the establishment of the ‘Commission for the Prevention and Treatment of Draft-Dodging’, that had been established under the National Guard Law (2011). Also, in the face of growing distaste for military service among the new generation of recruits, political leaders stressed the pride of serving in the force and denounced draft-dodging (see include **media sources**). An example of this is the speech given by George Barnabas, Chairman of the Parliamentary Defence Committee, after visiting one of the main training camps of the force (KEN, Larnaca) in July of 2012: "we want to send the message to the recruit soldiers who have been conscripted in the National Guard, as has already been said by the Minister of Defence, is intrepidity ... ". To avoid one’s conscription, he noted, claiming some special reasons, it is considered weakness and cowardliness (Extracts of the speech taken from an article published by Sigma Live, 2012B).¹ A similar change in the ideological language

mobilized by the state to deal with a similar phenomenon was also observed in South Korea (see: Moon 2005, 78) and it proved to not bring the desired results.

Overall, the main approach to draft dodging by different governments exemplified in the introduction and design of new legislations for draft-dodging (see National Guard Law, 2011), emphasises on 1) prompt implementation, 2) stricter measures for those who choose to not enlist or evade the service 3) the introduction of a notion of punishment in the case of longer periods of community or civil service as an alternative for draft-dodging and for conscientious objectors. Where such an approach has been applied previously, such as in South Korea, it has proven inefficient in delivering to its promises. The analysis of the statistical data below clearly illustrate that draft dodging in Cyprus has not only not reduced since the enactment of these stricter laws but has on the contrary grown further.

Counter pose the introduction of legal policies to the percentage of draft dodgers that period.

Graph on draft dodging conscription

The above graph clearly illustrates that the policy of introducing stricter legal measures for draft evasion and denouncing draft dodging through political discourse have not resulted in reducing the number of draft dodgers. On the contrary draft evasion increased during this period.

Graph on draft dodging alternative service

The introduction of alternative service has also not had the wished results.

It is therefore clear that draft dodging cannot be combated through stricter legal measures because it relates to irreversible socio-political developments. What such an approach omits is the broader context, namely socio-political developments at the international and national context. Taking this into consideration I argue, therefore, that what we are observing in Cyprus, like in other post-armed conflict societies that have abolished or are considering abolishing conscription, is an attenuation of the state capacity to maintain the civil-military boundaries as fragmented. Further, considering the broader European context, we are also observing an emerging culture of individuals focused on their own personal goals and rights. This clear demarcation of the individual in turn views the state as an entity with its own and separate realm of conduct. We are observing individuals now exerting pressure on the state to take complete control and responsibility of the defence of the country. This dynamic between the civil and military domains is underscored by the globally strongly emerging culture of individualism that is strengthening the dividing boundaries between the civil and military domains. Similar changes studied in Israeli militarism have led to the emergence of new theoretical orientations that now emphasise on *the effort of the state* invested in order to constantly keep producing and reproducing its legitimacy (Kimmerling 1992; Lustick 1998; Rosenhek 1998). Draft-dodging is an issue created through a complexity of social and political developments and therefore it is paramount that policies which aim to address the phenomenon should be designed to speak to the social and political changes that create it.

3.2.2. Introduction of policies of positive motivations for military service

Policies addressing the military service in Cyprus have begun to incorporate the understanding of broader social context. The introduction of positive motivations bridges the gap between the individual interest and the communal one in military terms. The new government elected in 2013 aimed at reducing the numbers of draft-dodgers and in 2014 the Ministry of Defence announced a new series of measures based on strictness, justice and fairness for all on the one hand and on the other - on positive incentives to increase the productivity of the service (extracts from

Georgiadou-Kokkinou, 2014). As part of these measures the Ministry ran a pilot study on the possibility of University distance learning for soldiers with the Open University. The aim was to test the possibility of taking courses while serving and gaining credits towards their future degree. The pilot study proved the policy to be very successful (SigmaLive, 2015). Indeed, the policy touches on the crucial G.C. drive for higher education. The case is that, as the EU report on professional and academic education in Cyprus observes, the attainment of higher education qualifications in Cyprus significantly exceeds the average EU one (CEDEFOP - Cyprus, 2012: 13-4). The family plays a crucial role in encouraging and supporting higher education for the youth (Ibid: 13). Therefore, the above policy is also touching on strengthening the relationship between the army institution and the family social institution. It is raising the motivation for families to support their son's military service. This is a key aspect for the success of the policy and is incorporated into the policy propositions made further on.

This latest policy, in addition to the legal enforcement for conscription, is pivotal in the introduction of positive motivations as it takes an approach that deals with the socio-political factors, underlying the creation of the draft dodging. As the analysis has illustrated draft-dodging is an issue created through a complexity of social and political developments including individualism, the drive for professional and financial success and new notions of security within the G.C. community.

4. Policy Proposals

The findings above indicate that the state should adopt policies of a modernized professional army that speak to modern social and political developments and aim to restore and build a new relationship with society, thus structuring the relationship in such ways that also prepare the ground for future professionalisation. The profile of a modern army should be communicated to the public, which includes the positive motivation for enlistment.

4.1. Positive motivations for enlistment

The present study is concerned with the development of packaged appeals (reasons for enlistment) that will specifically and deeply speak to these socio-political developments and thus increase the positive motivation of men to complete their service. The importance of positive motivation is in raising the notion in society that the army re-adapts to new social and political parameters. The development of positive motivation is also taking a leading approach in creating a more positive environment for the soldiers overall and meet each soldier's needs in what is a globalised Cyprus context. These policies will also contribute to strengthening the relationship between the general public and defence institutions and thus the status of the army, improving its position in an image-oriented globalised G.C. society.

It is the case that positive motivations for enlistment are largely policies of modern and professional armies. Research has clearly shown that tangible (extrinsic) and intangible (intrinsic) motivators impact propensity to serve in the military (Griffith, 2008). Tangible motivators include undergoing self-development experiences, receiving money, and gaining job skill training that would aid civilian employment (Baker, 1990; Gade et al., 1984; Halverson, 1989; Westat, Inc., 1990). Intangible motivators include the desire for self-improvement (e.g., becoming more mature, responsible, or disciplined), desire to serve others, aspiration to serve one's country, and becoming disciplined and confident (Griffith, 2008; Lawrence & Legree, 1996). Therefore today in modern organized and democratic countries of the Western world combined influences of 'social, personal and organizational factors' affect the motivation for military enlistment (Mehay, 1990, p. 364).

Taking into consideration the socio-political context of Cyprus in the current time, the report will now proceed in recommending a set of incentives on which the Ministry should focus in addressing draft dodging and raising motivation to serve in the National Guard:

I. Enlistment incentives: career and educational.

Career, educational and financial support is amongst the most highly desired capital in modern society. The men who are to serve in the military would positively respond to the appeal of an army instituting and catering to those needs. The support, suggested below, that can be provided is technically viable and practically at a no or very low cost. It is mainly instituted through incentives.

Career incentives

For many soldiers, the decision of future career prospects has not been addressed professionally. Providing for this, Army Career Management Officers should (be trained to) consider each individual soldier's professional interests and be responsible for reviewing with and advising individuals on career-specific education and learning, career management, personal development issues. An individual plan should be made for: the skills each soldier should develop from the current military job; and training opportunities within the Army. The skills acquired during the time spent in the military should be transferrable skills that can be used in the subsequent civilian workforce. Similarly, building a robust portfolio of civilian qualifications that are valued by civilian employers should also be a focus, thus illustrating to young men that joining the army contributes to their career success.

Making the most out of the time in the service, trained career counsellors and education service officers using career assessment computer test can help soldiers find the career that matches their skills and interests. This will support their future reintegration into the prosperity seeking society, illustrating to the public that joining the army contributes to their career development. Career advisory services will be provided only in big military camps. In addition, a mobile unit (consisting of a career counsellor and laptop for the test) will go to smaller units and outposts. The purpose of this will be, within a given time frame, to provide all soldiers with the opportunity

and encouragement to do the test and discuss it with a counsellor. In this way, the concrete opportunity is given to soldiers of lower-socioeconomic groups to use the service (incentives that target specifically these fractions of the soldier population will be discussed in the following section).

To help for the professionally successful reintegration of the soldier back into the economy, a number of professional qualifications can be added to the pilot policy run by the Cyprus Ministry of Defence of taking courses at university whilst serving. The Army awards some of these qualifications while it also establishes links with many civilian-awarding organisations (such as universities, state agencies) that recognise skills obtained during military service. Military training and experience may qualify soldiers and/or conscript commissioned or non-commissioned officers for a wide range of civilian careers young men haven't considered, including:

- human resource management,
- office administration,
- maintenance,
- computer software engineering,
- air navigation control.

In addition to these, incentives that target specifically lower socioeconomic fractions of the soldier population will be discussed in the following section.

A career program should further be designed that will specifically connect soldiers with employers who understand the skill, discipline and work ethic that military service members bring to a business. This program will be a win-win opportunity. Thus the Army will help Soldiers find employment with companies who value the skill and discipline that comes with an Army career, and companies can draw from an endless pool of qualified individuals to cover their needs. The United States Army Partnership For Youth Success Program could be used as an example in establishing this policy.

Given the plan for future professionalization of the force, military career plans should be designed to lead from conscript soldier/conscript non-commissioned/commissioned officer to professional soldier or staff, illustrating to the public that the army is heading for gradual professionalization and creating jobs in the market for young men who will enlist.

Opportunities to earn certain non-professional diplomas should be provided for everyone that wishes, including:

- Driving instruction for car and/or truck
- Shotgun Licence

Educational incentives

In order to illustrate to the public that joining the army contributes towards one's academic education:

- A comprehensive system that encourages University studying while serving should be established (as a follow up to the pilot policy run by the Ministry of Defence). This policy should gradually encompass collaborations with more Universities allowing soldiers to take a number of courses at university while serving, contributing credit towards their future degree. This can be easily arranged due to the interest of the developed private university sector of Cyprus for advertisement and attracting more students.

Advertisements for the parties collaborating with the military would be the inclusion of the respective organisation's name/logo on the military website, in press releases, in public speeches or in naming the particular contribution as the organisation's name. These could be agreed in the process of collaboration.

- A university credit/award system (in addition to studying while serving) should be established by the army itself, which awards military soldiers' credit towards a degree based on training, coursework, and occupational specialty. This should be based on the American or United Kingdom Council on Military Education system. For example, the British military has established links with several professional institutes (such as the Chartered Management Institute) and educational ones (such as the Portsmouth University) that accredit trade skills and the leadership and management skills of soldiers obtained during military service.

- The Army should provide a small number of university scholarships or partial scholarships at the end of each conscription year to soldiers that consistently met or exceeded the standards, acting as an incentive for enlistment (a comprehensive scholarship system is proposed in the following section).

- Turkish language courses certified by a civilian organisation should be offered for soldiers that will be specialised as military interpreters.

- Foundation Degree in Environmental Management should be offered (based on the training provided in the proposed 'Green Force' discussed in the following section).

II. Mental Health Support incentives

The Mental Health Support Services should take an active part in the effort of addressing draft-dodging through additional services:

- The Mental Support Services should be equipped with enough staff in order to provide short, mid and long term support according to the needs of soldiers that face psychological and emotional difficulties.

- A Family Mental Health Care and Support Centre division should be established to provide direct access to soldiers and their families. This gives the opportunity for soldiers' parents to attend group sessions in cases where requested by soldier and psychologist. Particularly for soldiers that wish to be discharged from the service.
- A short training course on Psychological and emotional support is provided for a small number of military officers. These offices are located in big military camps and act in collaboration and under the guidance of the Mental Health, Support Services to ensure that enough support is provided to soldiers that face difficulty. In cases where necessary the Mental Health Support officer acts as the intermediate between the relevant service and military camp leadership so the appropriate circumstances are created for the soldier such as performing certain tasks and not others.

4.1.1. SCHOLARSHIP SYSTEM AS PART OF POSITIVE MOTIVATIONS

Scholarships for 2014A ESSO

This section will propose methods for the distribution of scholarships to soldiers within the given timeframe. The 2014A group is an important opportunity for setting the milestone and the promotion of university scholarships as part of the positive motivations policies that are to be awarded in the next discharge. Given the limited time before the discharge of the 2014A ESSO, a well-designed meritocratic assessment system and the board would be difficult to be set.

Considering this, few scholarships can be awarded to soldiers that have already won awards or quantifiable achievements. This approach cannot be challenged by the public or the media and has fair and solid grounds. The reason for which these soldiers were chosen in this precedent policy is explained by the fact that these soldiers have already officially excelled as the best and this is an act of gratitude and further support

from the Ministry. For example, amongst the 2014A, soldiers that can receive an award include:

- o Athletes of the force that have already won a specific competition (ΑΣΑΕΦ could advise on this).
- o Non-commissioned or commissioned conscript officers that have:
 - a) Attended the most military schools and
 - b) Received the highest grades in these in comparison to ones that attended fewer schools or attended the same number but overall received lower grades. (The data on grades and number of schools would be easy to retrieve from the administration system).

The Minister can award these scholarships at the end of the oath-taking of 2016A, where awardees will be invited beforehand. The Minister in light of the awards will talk shortly about the current policies of positive motivation and express the determination of the ministry to continue working towards this direction. He could then add that as a 'symbolic act' these scholarships are awarded and many more will follow for the next discharge. The system through which further soldiers will be able to compete for scholarships will be announced in September. Thus, the scholarships will be awarded as a signifier of the intention of the Ministry to support the personal development of all soldiers and award its best men and will concretely illustrate the seriousness of the policies that will be announced.

Scholarships for 2014B ESSO

For the 2014B, 10 academic scholarships should be given to the soldiers chosen as the best soldiers of the year. The remaining ones would be used for a set of competitions meriting the academic abilities of soldiers. The division of scholarships into these two categories serves the purpose of promoting both the merit of military performance and the value of continuing education and personal development during the military service. This gives a clear message that the army acknowledges both the military necessities and academic values in a modern European Cypriot society.

Academic disciplines for which soldiers can compete with projects that will also be beneficial for the Defence sector include:

- Law. For e.g. a topic could be 'Could a code of conduct suffice as a legal framework for defining transparency within the defence sector?'
- Politics. For e.g. 'Regional geopolitical considerations could be used in upgrading the role of the Defence sector of Cyprus in the area. Discuss'
- Social Sciences or Psychology. For e.g. 'Trust towards institutions of the state is a clear sign of strong social capital. Focusing on the issue of trust, provide an analysis of the relationship between Cyprus civil society and Defence institutions.'
- Design. For e.g. 'Design posters that promote modern messages about the military service'.
- Marketing Communication. For e.g. 'How could social media create a stronger community amongst the conscripts'
- Business (entrepreneurship). For e.g. 'How could the National Guard create mutually beneficial relationships with private business in Cyprus and draw in this way funds from the private sector?'
- Greek Literature or Language. For e.g. 'How is the Cyprus National Guard represented in modern Cypriot literature? Are these narratives related to discourses within modern Cypriot society?'

System of awards:

For this policy to achieve its optimum results; the scholarships should appeal to most of the soldiers intending to study. The scholarships currently secured are undergraduate scholarships. This poses the issue of limiting the audience that would be attracted to them. It is customary and expected that soldiers in Cyprus have already secured places at university. A way that this can be dealt with for soldiers who have secured a military scholarship is to offer them the choice between three options provided:

1. BA
2. Masters
3. Financial scholarships

For example, one could compete for a scholarship in Law at the same time as holding a place to study Law. This scholarship could then be exchanged for a Master in Law. This exchange for masters could be easily negotiated with the relevant academic institutions because of their lower value; it will probably also multiply the scholarships.

The financial scholarship is attractive to most soldiers and will ensure that a wide range of soldiers will become interested. In the case that one competes for a law scholarship yet does not wish to do a masters or wishes to follow another discipline, then he will have the opportunity to receive the financial one. In this case, the scholarship in law is then given to the one after him on the list. This will also leave satisfied the Universities, which grant the scholarships, as the second to the first will also be a competent student.

Strategy for securing financial scholarships from the Private Sector

Financial scholarships for studying in Cyprus or abroad can be secured from a wealthy Cypriot family or a well-established Cypriot company and name the scholarship after their name. Particularly at a time of financial crisis, there is a strong incentive for businesses to promote themselves through offering for a good cause that will help educate the future workforce of the country. Another incentive is that the money spent on scholarships will be economical advertising when compared to the costs of advertisements on TV or Radio. An option is to propose this idea to the Bank of Cyprus given that they will have a clear interest to link their new savings account for soldiers with such contribution that will, in fact, raise the status of their savings account in society.

It is important for the financial scholarship to be of a motivational symbolic nature with a mid-range amount that will be combined with products that support academic education secured from the private sector. For example, we can request for 50, 000 euros (an amount that can be easily secured when considering the advertisement provided for the beneficiary) and divide it into 10 scholarships worth of 5, 000 Euros. The scholarships will clearly be of a lower value than the academic ones just so it will support competition for all three types of scholarships and leaving this as the choice for soldiers that have already secured a place in a university of their choice. Thus, this scholarship should not exceed the financial worth of any other ones. Also, in this way the grant secured can be divided into more scholarships.

Due to the mid-range financial value of the scholarship, this will be topped up with products secured from companies from the private sector that assist in studies in Cyprus or abroad. This can include a laptop, two airplane tickets for European destinations, book voucher, and travelling suitcase.

Assessment of scholarships:

1. For the first set of scholarships GEEF will provide several criteria that constitute the best soldier. Then units will be instructed to recommend one soldier for their unit, writing an up to one-page report about as to why the soldier is recommended. The reports will then be assessed against the predefined criteria.

Scholarships should be distributed irrespective to specialisation. Thus, the best soldiers from any military specialisation will receive them. Adding in this way more transparency in the process and promoting best soldier practices in the whole force.

2. For the second set of scholarships there would be a three-step process:

- i. Soldiers will take a short exam on the discipline of the scholarship they are competing for.

- ii. The ones achieving the highest grades (perhaps 10 per discipline) will then take a course relevant to the topic of the essay or a customary introductory one.
- iii. The ones achieving the highest grades in the course (perhaps 3) will be asked to write an essay within a given timeframe.

An academic board, fully independent from the Army, will then assess the essays.

4.2. Positive motivations for lower socio-economic groups

The set of policy propositions that follows is supplementary to the above on 'Positive Motivation for Enlistment'. This section of the report particularly focuses on lower socio-economic groups and the implications of the late start to processes of modernisation and professionalization on enlistment in the context of recent societal developments in Cyprus and the financial crisis. It makes several preliminary policy recommendations aimed at increasing positive motivation for lower socio-economic fractions of the conscripted soldiers with a view to deal with the problem of draft-dodging and to strengthen the relationship between the armed forces and Cypriot society. The need for this focus addresses the social aspect of positive motivation policies dealing with specific issues that have arisen for the Cyprus Defence Sector in recent years.

Socio-economic segments of the conscript population

In a fully conscript based military force environment, increased competition for qualified individuals makes it necessary to develop optimal strategies for promoting the draft to all socio-economic groups. As a second aspect of an optimal recruitment effort, it is desirable to identify demographic characteristics and other social factors that may influence the ultimate decisions of youth for their future plans. These would

act as positive motivations for completing one's service through the contribution of the draft towards the soldier's personal and professional development. It is essential to design and package positive motivations for enlistment that will attract each segment of the target audience, including lower socio-economic groups. The previous section on Positive Motivation established that frequently endorsed reasons for improved motivation were opportunity for the service to contribute towards one's career, educational and professional ambitions as well as personal development in between others through the acquisition of university credit or a trade skill that would be valuable in civilian life and the opportunity for advanced education. The importance of career advisory services was highlighted as pivotal in the effective application of these policies and the effectual contribution of the service towards soldiers' development. Such policies which ensure the contribution to soldiers' professional and educational development have the effect of increasing the welfare of soldiers and thus reducing frustration, improving the relationship between the army and community and increase respect towards the army, as an institution of the state, and thus also towards the government itself.

In addition to the set of policies proposed above, this section will propose policies that specifically target lower socio-economic groups and related segments of the population. Policies for those with no plans or the opportunity for higher education will significantly support the overall effort for positive motivation as well as the enlistment of soldiers in the future professional force. Moreover, when it comes specifically to lower socio-economic groups the military service the introduction of specific policies can pose a unique opportunity for strengthening one's position in the market economy.

In this section, I focus on the fact that distinctive status configurations motivate young people toward military service within a framework of socio-economic ambition. Thus, I incorporate individual characteristics of socio-economic segments that are especially salient in a Cyprus society, when higher educational and economic prosperity has become a normative path to adulthood and life achievement. I draw on the hypothesis that social pressure to become professionally and financially successful will position the military service as a unique opportunity to ensure one's wishes where socio-economic factors have undermined access to educational and professional institutions.

There can be a clear relationship of Military Service and Higher Education since young men with inconsistent statuses (socioeconomic status of origin, cognitive ability and academic performance) are more likely to complete the service than men with consistent status profiles. It is thus important that the military service improves access to education for soldiers with inconsistent configurations. Indeed, the service in Cyprus can offer faster and more robust career development through the time spent in the service when compared to the same amount of time spent in the free-market economy. Therefore, policies aiming to increase positive motivation for enlistment by addressing a soldier's professional development can be particularly attractive and thus motivational for lower socio-economic groups. The army can offer them the opportunity to acquire skills and would provide them with certifications for skills that would have otherwise remained uncertified (thus increasing their professional opportunities). It can also provide them with opportunities for professional or educational diplomas that social factors had undermined in their pre-military service life and were thus envisaged as unattainable.

Vulnerable socio-economic segments and occupational choices

- These young men will enter a market where today the percentage of unemployment is ... therefore such policies will act as positive incentives for enlistment as they will protect these v socio-economic groups from unemployment.
- The percentage of soldiers that were working in vocational jobs before the army is ... The percentage of soldiers that will follow a vocational occupation following their discharge is
- ... Therefore, the army can offer them the initial or further training on their vocational choice and a diploma certifying it. As well as the opportunity for continuing professional development following their discharge.
- The percentage of young men that do not complete school education is ... and therefore we can assume the same percentage of soldiers has not graduated from high-school. The policies proposed below will be particularly beneficial for this segment of the population and therefore will raise positive motivation further. Policies

that specifically address soldiers that have not to graduate from high school are discussed at the end of the report.

The report proposes that for this policy to be effectively applied; division of labour within the army should be based on socio-economic criteria. Furthermore, it is assumed that soldiers of the middle classes will benefit from the academic and career development programs during the service. Thus, there arises the need to ensure that certain jobs should be reserved and assigned only to soldiers of lower socio-economic groups, ensuring in this way that the service will also contribute to their professional development and thus increase positive motivation. At the same time, given the plans for future professionalization of the force, these incentives will lay the ground for developing policies that will attract the workforce for professional soldiers.

The report proposes four ways in which the Ministry of Defence could ensure this with limited costs and in line with the already made proposals on Positive Motivation. The report addresses such socio-economic groups in the two yearly classifications, whilst some recommendations that target the A classification specifically are included towards the end of the report.

Policy recommendations on positive motivation: non-academic diplomas for those with no plans or the opportunity for higher education

The military institution and the career advisers will place significant attention to identifying and encouraging soldiers from lower socioeconomic groups presenting them with all the vocational training opportunities that the army can offer them. Advisers will also be trained in providing them with a clear direction as to the career such training can lead to, the demand for such professions within the market economy and an estimation of the financial rewards.

1. Military certifications for labour skills

Military units should be instructed to provide a division of labour based on socio-economic criteria and to identify individuals from lower social classes (a skill that military officers already acquire) that can benefit from vocational training in labour jobs. The chosen soldiers should be few in numbers and thus assigned all related jobs in big camps extending also to smaller units. Thus, providing more specialised force that will increase the quality of such work done within the army at the same time as providing a significant time of working experience for these soldiers. Labour jobs can include:

- Builder
- Blacksmith
- Painter

Trade vocational schools can be established that provide several soldiers with some initial training on skills such as basic engineering, construction, painting, or officers experienced on such work will teach the basics. The initial training will be enhanced by the number of working hours. Together they number of hours in skill jobs and the initial training will lead to a diploma that acknowledges their labour skills.

2. Certifications for military specialised jobs valuable in the civilian sector

Military units should be instructed to identify and assign individuals from lower social classes in certain specialised positions that are valued in the civilian sector and thus benefit from this experience, including:

- engineering
- auto mechanics
- welders (συγκολλητες)
- plumbers
- Computer Technician
- cook,

- driver,
- track driver,
- handling heavy machinery

These jobs, which specialised military training centres provide or staff knowledgeable in the field train, should lead to, a diploma issued by the military itself. Such diplomas should specify the training received and some specificities of the job that will strengthen the diploma such as the number of tasks completed such as type and number of the vehicle (s) repaired, handled, or driven, the number of soldiers for which cooked and the length of time for which held the position.

3. Educational (Civilian) Qualifications through military service

Collaboration is created between state institutions and the chosen soldiers that are to be granted with military certifications (for the specialised jobs outlined above) have: (a) the opportunity to begin attending further training during their service that will lead to a qualification awarded by a state institution, (b) are encouraged and supported to apply towards the end of the service for an additional civilian qualification that they will begin following their discharge from the army. Vocational state institutions that offer certifications for the above-mentioned examples are already in place.

Such collaborations should be made for example with technical schools that offer a one-year diploma for many of the vocations proposed above (including engineering, plumbers) and the Cyprus Productivity Centre (Κέντρο Παραγωγικότητας) that also offer diplomas for vocations proposed above. Other collaborations could be created with institutions such the Higher Hotel Institute of Cyprus so the soldiers that received a cook military qualification will be able to attend the 'Intensive Short Courses of initial training for Cooking and Food and Beverage Service' that are organised every year in all cities.

4. Evening and Technical school and Apprenticeships

Career motivation within the force should merit and encourage segments of the population that have limited education with additional school, technical and professional study, particularly in view of the continuing interest in the use of incentives for serving in the army as part of the effort for tackling draft dodging and increasing motivation.

The soldiers of the A classification who have not completed their high school education will be able to take courses at:

- A. Evening school (in Greek: Εσπερινό Σχολείο), in Nicosia and Limassol.
- B. The technical school (in Greek: Τεχνική Σχολή), which are based in all cities.
- C. two-year apprenticeship system (In Greek: Διετές σύστημα μαθητείας), offered in technical schools in all cities.
- D. One-year afternoon and evening apprenticeship (In Greek: Μονοετή προγράμματα απογευματινών και βραδινών τμημάτων των τεχνικών σχολών), offered in all cities.

The introduction of this policy aims to turn the military service as a positive motivation for the educational and professional development of this group of soldiers by reintegrating them back into school or professional education. The goal will be to encourage these soldiers to return to education through the support the military institution will be offering, positive motivation and educational and professional guidance; aspects of their socialisation that might have undermined their educational development. Thus, while the number of courses taken will be limited, the aim will be their gradual reintegration into school so after their discharge from the army they will attend full time and graduate. For this reason, the courses offered will be selected ones that will be most beneficial in this reintegration process, (for example Greek

language, Introduction to computers) and these can be agreed with the relevant schools.

Positive motivations supporting participation in these programmes:

- a. Apart of the career advisors, military officers will encourage these soldiers to take part in the program (an award will be established for the military units that have reintegrated most students, acting as a positive motivation for officers).
- b. A short afternoon leave will be granted to these soldiers once a week (in addition to their weekly day off) to attend the courses (the schools verify the attendance with the army).
- c. With the successful completion of a certain number of courses, a symbolic amount of money or a laptop will be given to these soldiers. This funding or products will be secured from the private sector.

The graduates of the evening and technical schools can then be admitted to the university. The graduates of one or two-year apprenticeships will have access to several regulated occupations (e.g. building contractors, electricians). Therefore, the encouragement for returning to education for this group of young men will act as a unique positive motivation for enlistment and will contribute to the educated, professional and specialised human capital of the country, giving a powerful message of the social contribution of the military service.

3.4. Positive motivations and financial costs

Positive motivation policies that were proposed in this report will be of no or very little financial cost to the army. These policies were specifically recommended in order to

be feasible and effectively and promptly applied in the present financial conditions. Likewise, given the financial crisis, a policy touching on financial needs that will be particularly attractive is to create a comprehensive system through which soldiers would be able to access a vast array of substantial discounts and deals throughout the private sector, which is easy to arrange due to the interest of private companies in increasing their clients and having free advertisement during a period of economic difficulty.

Moreover, upon the future recovery and growth of the economy, an extra set of positive motivations should be applied that will aim in further empowerment of the existing policies and strengthening further the links between the army and society as well as the relationship between the army and the market economy; a relationship that will become of crucial importance in the future professional force.

Such motivations should, amongst others, strengthen existing policies by providing funds for multiplying specific opportunities for soldiers, including the possibility for university education or professional training within the army and the number of scholarships offered. Moreover, funds should be used in adding positive motivations in the form of financial incentives or higher financial rewards for soldiers:

- (a) Conscript soldiers should receive pay that meets the minimum wage.
- (b) Special Duty Pay should be introduced for enlisted Soldiers in specialisation and jobs that demand extra responsibility or extraordinary effort.
- (c) Hardship Duty Pay should be introduced as additional compensation for Army Soldiers assigned to locations far from home or where living conditions are substantially low.
- (d) The soldier and his family should receive full medical and dental coverage when he is enlisted in the Army and for the full duration of his service.

(e) Active Duty Soldiers should receive free life insurance.

(f) The Army should make a wide range of specialist services available to families of soldiers. For example, the Army offers through its own professional services, money management services and affordable childcare services to its service members.

(g) Reserves should be paid a certain amount for each time called raising the motivation to attend. Pay for reserves also aims to raise the status of the reserve force. It can be easily argued that the pay will illustrate the respect and value that the army holds for the reserve force raising in this way the respect of the society towards the force itself.

(h) In addition, a tax credit can be provided for reserves as an annual reward and after having attended all yearly callings.

These funds can be included in the annual defence budget. However, they could also be drawn from the defence fund. The second option is preferable as it will raise the current status of the defence fund and illustrate to the public that the defence tax is sustained while the spending of the fund is used for modernised policies. Thus, the message is given that the fund remains and meets the new more modern needs of a force that is heading towards professionalization.

4.4.1. SEMI-PROFESSIONALIZATION AND OPTIONS FOR CONSCRIPTS

The legislative plan for semi-professionalization of the force could include:

- A policy for paying instead of doing military service. The amount will be calculated according to the money needed to employ a professional soldier for the same period. This will have the effect of sustaining the power of the force whilst giving a further

option to conscripted soldiers that do not wish to do their service. This option will significantly reduce draft dodging.

- The above policy should be applied in conjunction with sustaining the alternative service that could be included in the legislative plan as an option for conscripted soldiers. This will have a further effect of reducing draft-dodging as well as protecting the lower socio-economic groups from being disadvantaged against the ones that are able to pay instead of being conscripted.
- The legislative plan could further include a policy for the length of conscription to be determined by the specialisation or educational and professional qualifications offered during the service. Thus, soldiers that will benefit more will serve a longer service. In this way, the opportunity will be created to reduce the time that will be served by those that will benefit less, and the positive motivation for both groups of soldiers will be increased.

4.5. Committees and agencies

There is an apparent lack of a committee at the Ministry that deals specifically with issues that concern the Army and Society. The issue of draft dodging is a social issue that has clearly pointed to this need, and given the existence of such committee, the issue could have been dealt with from the very beginning or before it emerged. There is a clear need for the committee which will be increasing with time, especially given the plans for future professionalisation, where the relationship with society will be a new, more complex reality for the Ministry, and will need guidance informed by high-quality social science analysis.

The creation of the committee will strategically aim to pioneer research on defence issues concerning the Defence institutions of Cyprus and public concerns related to

Defence, minimizing in this way also the direct impact that external research institutions and universities can have on public opinion or Defence institutions.

The committee will examine social issues and public opinion that relate to defence matters will be updated on international research and will advise, propose and supervise research aimed at examining public opinion on issues concerning the defence sector and ways to strengthen the relationship between defence institutions and society and will overall work towards raising and maintaining the status of the army in society by forming a better relationship with society. Within this scope, the committee will deal with all the issues that fall under the category of army and society, including:

- Public opinion on new and developing defence policies.
- Public opinion on current defence issues.
- The public opinion of the armed defence
- The importance of specific social groups ascribes to military service.
- The public understanding of security and the place of the military within it.
- Public opinion of the diversion and management of resources towards military uses.
- The relationship of Euro-Cypriot gender identities to military roles.
- Any cultural, social or economic issues which would impact regulars and reserves.

The committee will also conduct reports and provide advice on long- and short-term communication strategies, as well as crisis communication strategy and tactics. It will do so especially where the army and society relationship is at stake.

The establishment of the committee is a communication tactic itself as it is a concrete message to society that the army cares for society and its relationship with it and thus establishes a committee that will aim to ensure a positive relationship. Therefore, the creation of the committee should be announced in the media.

4.5.1. PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT AGENCY

There is an apparent need for regular engagement of the army with a society that will contribute towards restoring the relationship between the two, a need that will increase, given the future professionalisation of the force. A Public Engagement Agency can be instituted to address this.

Under the guidance and supervision of the Army and Society committee, the public engagement agency will operate aiming to maintain engagement of the armed forces with society. This need will increase with the professionalisation of the army where the links with society become less clear and more complex. The agency will mainly operate on three principles:

- a) Provide regular engagement with the public
- b) Collect and manage comments for improvement and complaints by the public.
- c) Communicate with social groups with a vested interest in the link between the army and society, such as employers, families, universities.

4.5.2. ARMY PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT FORCE

There is an apparent need for long-term engagement of the army institution with the public that will contribute towards restoring the relationship between the two. The Force needs to be ensured through a regular and systematic presentation of the army within society. The Engagement Force should operate under the Army and Society committee. Below some ideas of how this can be achieved are listed:

- A public engagement service is established that will provide informatory and supportive services to soldiers' families mainly including the opportunity to come in contact in person or via the phone and Internet with army officers, in order to address questions or concerns with experienced personnel in relation to their son's service. Officers chosen for the 'open line' service would have a

clear record of high interpersonal abilities (The Canadian Armed Forces Military Family Resource Centres framework could be used as an example as it offers an established system of diversified support).

- An Army Engagement Group should be established that ensures the regular presence of the National Guard in society. The group tours the country delivering small-scale military fairs in major cities. It seeks to inform the audience and give them a greater understanding of the Cyprus National Guard, its military capabilities and needs through a powerful, multi-media presentation. The audience will then have the chance to meet and question some soldiers. Other leisure military-like activities are included in such fairs aiming for further engagement with the public.

- An environmental service of the army is created that is called “Green Force”. The service is equipped with a small number of officers that are trained by the environmental service of the army and a small number of soldiers that also receive some basic training. This increases the positive motivation of society towards military service by improving the image of the army in society through social contribution.

The service:

- The Green Force has a regular presence in society. It independently undertakes tasks of planting trees, removing illegally dumped materials from public spaces. The spaces that it does should regularly be areas around military camps. In this way, it improves the relationship between the army and the local community.
- It accepts to assist public initiatives of environmental activities such as community clean-ups, following public request and their review by the service.
- Takes care of environmental issues within the army including touring military camps where it helps to set up recycling services, advises military camp directors on further establishing or improving the use of renewable energy within the camp.

- It collaborates with state services and contributes to environmental activities.

Moreover, the force based on its experience informs policy design on army environmental issues such as recycling and renewable energy within the army. The presence of the 'Green Force' is promoted regularly in the media.

5. Media discourse analysis

Taking the perspective that draft-dodging is essentially a discourse reflective on what has become a 'fashion' for young men in European Cyprus. Thus it both relates to a tendency of avoiding service to the community (tightly linked to individualism) and to peer pressure exercise in the sense of 'why shall I serve since you don't'. Policy design on 'draft-dodging' should consider that the media has had a key role to play in the development of the phenomenon.

Due to the small size of the country it would have been difficult to conceal the phenomenon in the process of its addressing. However, due to the widespread concern of the community and political leadership on the issue, the excessive media attention and coverage of the draft-dodging (by all newspapers and TV stations in certain periods) and use in the political discourse of all political parties has significantly contributed to the creation of the issue. It is unclear of who introduced the concept of draft-dodging first, the media or the political powers, yet the excessive use of the concept has contributed to the reproduction of the phenomenon.

Draft dodging as a concept has been used in such ways as to discourage evasion relying on the negative social label the draft dodger would have then carried with him in society. This communication tactic has produced unwanted results and has indeed aided the growth of the phenomenon. The reasons for the backlash of this policy are more than clear.

What has come to be known as labelling theory (Wilkins's, 1967) explains that: 'self-identity and behaviour of individuals may be determined or influenced by the terms used to describe or classify them'. Thus, the labels applied to label individuals as draft dodgers influence their behaviour, particularly the application of negative or stigmatizing labels promote the phenomenon itself, becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. An individual who is labelled has little choice but to conform to the essential meaning of that judgment. Therefore, the use of the term 'draft-dodging' instructs the understanding of Self to the individual that is considering or enters the process of draft evasion that they are 'draft dodgers' – allowing limited scope for changing one's mind. At the same time, the use of the concept promotes a 'label' to society that becomes a fashion. Thus individuals with certain social and behavioural characteristics are prone to relating to this social label and become draft dodgers.

However, there are alternatives, which do not result in the unwanted results produced by labelling the young individual as a draft dodger. Political leadership can use more specific definitions and descriptions such as "young men who do not wish to complete their legal obligations to the state or community" to demonstrate more clearly the extent of its disapproval. Yet it is possible to prevent this social deviance of 'draft-dodging' via a limited social shaming reaction towards "labelers", thus replacing moral offence with mediation. Such an approach to mediation is the backbone to the policies on positive motivations proposed above. Instead of socially 'punishing' the "offender" this approach aims to empower him to choose to complete his service.

Then, the communication strategy proposed here is for the term of 'draft-dodging' to be avoided to the extent possible and instead introduce another positive set of language that will promote positive messages about conscription. The discussion of Policies of positive motivation should draw on the synergy of two messages: (A) a productive service for the youth that (B) is inter-connected to a more modernised and empowered force.

6. Communication strategy

The Ministry should use modern media and social network means to communicate policies of positive motivation. This is a sensitive time when communication strategy should coalesce closely with tangible results (thus promises of uncertain nature should be avoided). Trust is a step-by-step process that will be achieved through concrete improvements in the force and a careful communication strategy that will inform each one of the steps taken, achieving the objectives of positive motivation. The objective is a well-organised modern and trusted army that ensures positive motivation for a strong relationship with society.

This section will first discuss the proposition of an overall strategy and then move into discussing communication ideas for specific policies proposed above. This presentation of a modern appealing image of the Defence Sector of Cyprus should include:

- The Ministry should begin to promote the new policies through popular conventional advertisement means, especially in periods before and after the classifications. For example:
- It is most important that a tradition where the Ministry publishes a video, or several videos, a few times a year begins. The video should show shots from within the army and clearly promote positive messages about contemporary conscription that is offering to soldiers' personal, professional and educational development.
- Giant posters in key places present positive messages about conscription and what it offers to soldiers.
- Posters within the army promote new policies and provide information about them.

- Presentation of the Minister on TV shows, discussing the policies of positive motivation. The last part of this section focuses specifically on the presentation of draft dodging and positive motivations in political discourse in the media.
- Ministry announcements of the new policies in newspapers, describing the success of the policies.
- Presentation of current and new policies of positive motivations on the TV show of RIK 'Defence Your Country' preferably from a social scientist that will also present the social depth of the policies.
- Announcements of the new policies on the website of the Ministry presents detailed information in a clearly structured, organised and very presentable way.
- Current needs for security and the role of the military within them, emphasizing the new asymmetrical threats are communicated through popular conventional media means such as TV.
- The website of the Ministry of Defence, National Guard and the relevant Facebook site(s) should constitute the most up to date informatory means of the above incentives; promoting the effective ability of the Defence Institutions and touching on the importance of virtual reality for the generation of conscripts.
- Facebook should be used as a research tool to receive feedback on the development of certain policies.

6.1. Promoting to society a National Guard appealing to young men

This section in addition to the above communication strategy discusses communication propositions for promoting an appealing to young men military service through each specific policy.

6.1.1. COMMUNICATION STRATEGY FOR SCHOLARSHIPS

Academic scholarships based on competition should be published in the media in all stages. This communication strategy of the policy will contribute to positive motivation regarding conscription to the fullest extent. It will also build momentum regarding the scholarships, thus a publicly known process through which the winners are to be expected in due course.

Making the process through which the scholarships are awarded public will contribute towards the message to the public that the Ministry of Defence works and cares for transparency. In giving out this message:

- A short explanation about the best essays should be published together with the announcement of the winners.
- The announcement clearly explains that the academic board conducts a short report on each essay assessed that is retrievable on request by anyone.
- Similarly, when announcing the awardees, the criteria on which the best soldier scholarships were granted should be published in the media alongside an explanation of how the soldier met them. This will guide the public opinion towards understanding the complete transparency of the process and will also promote the best soldier practices to existing and future soldiers.
- Also, together with the above, a testimony of the awarded describing his experience of the competition and gratitude should be published.
- A number of posters are designed promoting the opportunity for all soldiers to take part in the scholarship competitions and are placed in all military camps.

6.1.2. COMMUNICATION STRATEGY ON POLICIES FOR LOWER SOCIOECONOMIC CLASSES

- A video-spot published by the Ministry of Defence should include a part where the opportunity for soldiers to be trained and receive a military job qualification or receive certifications of labour jobs will also be mentioned and/or shown through images.
- The video should illustrate that the Ministry cares for the wellbeing of the soldiers as well as their professional and academic development, for both soldiers that intend to study (thus have a more secure future) and for those who are better in labour jobs.
- A letter addressing personally the soldier and his family should be sent before the January classification informing the family about the opportunities for professional development offers by the army. This ensures that lower socio-economic strata that might have limited access to information technology are informed.
- On the websites of the Ministry and National Guard, these opportunities should be listed and described. Also, the Facebook site of the army could also be used in promoting these opportunities.
- Through popular media, the message should be given that the military service will actively help and provide for certain soldiers' unique opportunities as well as a trained vocational labour force for the market.
- Publish in the media the number of soldiers that began their reintegration into education at the end of every year.

6.1.3. COMMUNICATION STRATEGY ON THE PROMOTION OF STANDARDS

The Ministry should further adopt specific policies that address the need for the promotion of standards and promote the service to society. This should include:

- Publish in the media the 10 best soldiers of the year who will be awarded a distinction, listing the attributes and awards which will be skilled transferable to the professional market (discipline, organisation and effectiveness are what most employers look for).
- Award with a distinction for 'ethos and contribution' 3 soldiers per year and publish their name in the media.

Name the award after a notable G.C. politician, highlighting in this way the ethos of both the politician and the soldier and giving positive role models for soldiers and society.

- Send a letter to each soldier and parents prior to enlistment explaining the high standards of benefits that they and their son will personally receive by serving in the army.
- In the media it should be highlighted that soldiers are receiving pay, good food and clothing, acting as an incentive during this time of financial crisis.

6.2. Propositions on discussing draft dodging in the media

Discussions about positive motivations in the media should communicate their beneficial impact on the force and on soldiers themselves. Anticipating thus the risk of the policies being interpreted as undermining the competence of the force. Because such modernised policies are new in Cyprus the message should be given clearly that these policies illustrate 'our respect towards the service of the young men which is

beneficial for the state, the government and the economy, respect which we are returning by making the service as productive as possible for their future'. In effect, these policies will create a stronger, deeper relationship between the army, its officers and the soldiers whilst contributing towards both the modern and practical needs of the force, thus delivering a better force whilst contributing to these soldiers' careers. As has been discussed above, the terminology used when referring to draft dodging in political discourse should be cautious. In effect, the usage of certain terms in political discourse can unintentionally promote and intensify the issue. Suggestions on the discussion of the issue follow:

- The term draft-dodging should be avoided in all possible cases. When needed to refer to the phenomenon this can be done so descriptively.
- References to the phenomenon should always have a positive character giving the message that the army cares and offers to its soldiers that is evident by the success of current policies.
- References to the motivation to serve should offer comfort to the audience by explaining that the Ministry deeply values what young men offer to the country and rewards these efforts by securing their personal growth as well as their professional prospects. The professional and educational development of all soldiers through the service improves the workforce of the economy and thus clearly aids the economy.
- A way in which this positive relationship could be communicated is through a circle of success. Thus:
 - Present simple tense should be used instead of past simple or continuous. Thus the emphasis should be on what has been done at present to address the phenomenon and not on what has been happening or what the situation has been like in the past, thus avoiding dwelling negative questions.
 - Comparisons with the past should also be avoided. Comparing what has been done so far and what will be done differently now will give out a depth of time, thus suggesting that the phenomenon is continuous.
 - Where it is possible, enquires by the journalist in relation to draft dodging should be answered by shifting the focus of attention from the problem to the policies that

aim to offer towards soldiers' personal, professional and academic development. This might sound a bit like this:

Journalist: "At what levels is a draft-dodging at the moment?"

Discussant: "Our effort is to offer to soldiers as much as possible so the service will constitute a productive time for our youth and the economy"

"We want to give out a clear message that we care for all of our soldiers and their professional future as well as their families"

In cases where the journalist becomes insistent then the discussant can draw the bigger picture by clarifying that 'evading the service is an issue that has troubled Western democracies for the last years (thus it is not a Cyprus specific phenomenon)', and then shift the focus of attention by coming to the specifics of what has been done on the issue in Cyprus.

- Journalists that tend to ask less and more substantive questions might be a better choice for the periods before and after the classifications, instead of journalist that wish to cover all issues surrounding the defence sector of Cyprus.
- Female journalists might also be a better choice when it comes to draft-dodging, as they are less emotional towards military assertiveness and more emotional towards young men's personal and educational development. Thus they are more prone to share the emphasis on policies that contribute towards young men's development.
- Also, a female journalist will be probably missing specific information and the military experience that weakens their position when it comes to following up questions.

7. Proposed Timeframe: new policies and review

Policies of positive motivations have been proposed in two timeframe sets: Policies that will be introduced from now to January addressing both yearly classifications, and Policies that will be introduced from January onwards addressing the A classification specifically. A proposed time framework is proposed accordingly highlighting the needs for timely review:

- A) Present time to October: Selected policies are discussed and applied.
- B) October: A review of the success of current policies is conducted. The review is based on:
 - Feedback from the force and political and military leadership.
 - Short research conducted on a sample drawn from the force. This aims to complement the review with a Down to Top approach that will incorporate the views and experiences of soldiers on the service, focusing on policies of positive motivation and thus the empirical application of them.
 - An analysis of discussions on draft dodging in the media.
- C) October – early November: Incorporating the results of the review, the policies for January implementation are being prepared. Given the selection of policies relating to schooling and professional training, a substantial amount of time will be needed to establish institutional and necessary arrangements within the force.
- D) November: Communication strategy is agreed on the promotion of the current and new policies in the media. This begins to be applied promptly.
- E) January – March: new policies are applied on a pilot basis.
- F) April: An in-depth review of both sets of policies is conducted through the methodology proposed above. For these purposes, force-wide quantitative research is conducted. The review leads to a detailed report on the success and shortcomings of policies.
- G) May: Shortcomings are addressed, and the communication strategy is agreed.

H) June: The potent set of policies is communicated through media means.

8. Additional findings

This section discusses the additional finding that emerged from this report and should form issues for policy design by the Ministry. These findings with some preliminary thoughts on policy design follow:

A) Semi-professionalisation of the force appears to be a strong public wish. In addition to that, militarism globally is following that direction and leading it towards a professional and high-tech army. On the part of the Ministry, there needs to be on the part of the Ministry a very careful strategy that will anticipate and work with the pressure that civil society and research institutions, as well as the media as an actor themselves, are to exercise in order to move towards this direction. This pressure can have significant repercussions to the overall process if not addressed in time. This should be addressed before it strongly arises in Cyprus.

B) Transparency Versus Corruption has been a long and painful issue for the Cyprus public sector. The historic focus on Defence Institutions derives partly from the prominent importance of them for the G.C, society. As well as the large exposure of the public to the army because of the conscription and reserve service. In addition to current policies that are successful. The designing of policies that will strongly consolidate the feeling of transparency for soldiers should take place. This should incorporate the establishment of communication mechanisms between the Ministry and the soldiers and a thorough communication strategy for the issue of corruption.

C) A new ideology needs to be carefully designed that will encompass all of the new elements that today call for the existence of a Cyprus army. A thorough analysis and policy design will be necessitated including:

- A deep analysis and reflection that will be reviewing the initial ideology with which the force was established in 1964.

- Assessment of the applicability of such rhetorical reasoning in the scope of the military and political needs of the current time.
- The proposition of a modern military ideology that would be both appealing to a professional force and conscript force.
- A very careful, and timely step by step communication strategy of this approach that will be targeting the general public, current and future professional and conscript soldiers as well as political powers.

D) Alternative service needs to be looked at soon and in detail. The stricter alternative service as a measure of combating draft-dodging may become an issue between political powers. This may intensify in the scope of the semi - professionalisation. The Ministry should anticipate this. A report should be prepared that will be backed up by research reviewing the alternative military service, the ways in which it can be applied in conjunction to other policies, the efficiencies of alternative service in other countries, the applicability of it in the socio-cultural context of Cyprus. The lack of adherence to the directives of international bodies such as the EU and UN could serve as another political tool. Thus, the current policies should be evaluated and any thoughts on developing such policies further should be carefully researched.

E) Reserve forces today also face a weakening of their motivation for service. This has contributed to the current public opinion of the defence institutions, to the weakened status of the army in society and to the issue of draft dodging. The extended reserve service means that almost every family in the country has a son and/or a husband that is a reserve, which calls for immediate measures in order to raise the motivation and morale of the force. The recuperation of the reserve force will importantly contribute to strengthening the relationship of army and society and the status of the army in society. A research that will investigate the reserve forces and its relation to other issues facing at the moment is necessitated.

F) Bullying in the force appears to be of deep concern for soldiers and their families. The intense discussions of bullying taking place now in society appear to be more

linked to the increasing awareness on the issue than to a growth of the issue itself. Therefore, policy design on bullying should take place soon and focus on a socially sensitive communication strategy.

All future policies to be introduced should be researched and then reviewed through research following their application. A time frame of review and research for the policies proposed in this report has been put forward above. I can advise through detail policy proposals and research where necessitated on all the above issues of concern.

9. Conclusion

In the last years, the Cyprus National Guard has faced a persistent 'draft-dodging issue'. In the scope of social and political developments, the legitimization of the recruitment system under conscription in society is relatively fragile. The extensive political, media and public attention on draft dodging have failed to link the phenomenon to global social and political processes. This phenomenon observed in Cyprus is directly connected to wider global social, political, technological and economic developments. It is clear that today, in the West, the states which maintain conscription have faced a weakening motivation to serve and have had a similar struggle to Cyprus in addressing draft dodging. Indeed, states have to place greater efforts than in the past to preserve the legitimization of the draft system because of the justified concern that in the long run, it would have repercussions on the status of the army in society. There is a strong record by governments around the globe of the shift in policy design aiming to deal with draft-dodging, from tight legal measures to policies that aim to positively motivate individuals for military service. The key to success with such phenomena is the ability for sustainable pioneering action that results in tangible impacts in terms of policy change.

This report based on qualitative and quantitative research drawing from 4 data sets has extensively analyzed the phenomenon of draft-dodging from creation to present day. It reviewed the international context in which the issue has emerged in the West

leading to a deeper analysis of the issue and avoidance of setbacks that the application of policies has had in other countries. It evaluated the former policy on the issue and proposed specific policy ideas for addressing the constituent parts that form the issue of draft dodging. The report also put forward an overall communication strategy together with a specific one for each policy. Lastly, it proposed a timeframe for review and research on the issue and identified further areas for research.

In short, draft-dodging represents the crossroad between inevitable social and political developments and the late start of the modernization of defence ideology and armed forces. The concept of 'security' in Cyprus has developed from one deeply embedded in the community, to a notion of defence belonging to the EU – a greater whole. The report presented that the role of the Greek Cypriot community today in culturally reproducing the support of the conscription project has decreased. Given the vast criticism towards the effectiveness and quality of conscription under the current terms, the status of the army in society has undergone weakening. This situation has opened space where the demand for the state to reduce the time of the conscription service is growing.

The report also shows how the intensely political discussion and media coverage on the issue have expedited the growth of draft dodging. Political leadership attempted to address it through a series of measures. However, past policy design has been followed by the growth of the phenomenon. Former policy on the issue has focused on obligatory service, stricter legal frameworks and the discussion of the issue in the media in such ways as to label the phenomenon in shameful terms. The apparent inability of these measures to deal with the phenomenon in conjunction with the ways and intensity the issue has been discussed in the media, the report shows, have been a setback in the trust of the public towards the ability of the government to deal with the phenomenon.

The introduction of policies of positive motivations takes another approach: that of addressing the phenomenon through the socio-political developments that created it. These policies are providing long term and a modern positive set of factors aiming to motivate soldiers to complete their service, projecting a more appealing and positive image of the army in society and raising the morale in the force through creating a stronger and better relationship with the community itself. The policies proposed in

this report are also contributing towards building the ground for the semi-professionalisation of the force and will be applicable in the semi-professional force too. Additional provisional policies were also proposed which can be taken up following the semi-professionalisation.

In addition to the proposition of positive motivation policies, this report addresses the issue of communication. The national media have extensively discussed the issue of draft dodging in negative terms; failing to include in their analysis the inevitable factors that led to the phenomenon or the current government's will to deal with the issue through modern and well-informed policies. In such ways, the media have ascribed the responsibility onto the draft dodgers and the state. With promoting this constructed perspective, they have had a negative impact on the public view of defence institutions.

Communication strategy on the new policies is key, especially given the failure of previous policies to deal with the phenomenon and the negative media preoccupation on the issue. Specific proposals on communication strategy, on the discussion of draft dodging in political discourse and in the media, have been outlaid above. These take into consideration the need for a positive change in the public view of policy design on the issue as well as the importance of communication in positively motivating young conscripts. The later set of propositions have been made by incorporating the understanding of the significance of the media to society and of virtual reality and social networking to the generations of conscripts today.

Building on this report there are areas for further research and discussion. Certain policies that will be introduced in the future including the ones for the January classification will need more detailed research, discussion and design. There are identifiable public concerns that should be addressed such as the public notion of security, how this links to a change into professionalisation, issues of transparency, communication and care for the soldier. In the meanwhile, a more modern ideology of the force that will be touching on current political, social and military developments should be designed and carefully promoted through a well-established communication strategy aiming to contribute towards improving the status of the army in society and raising the morale of the force. This work would be necessitated for the semi-professionalisation of the force and the negotiations for reunification and

can begin having a positive impact from now. This report has specifically focused on positive motivations for dealing with the issue of draft dodging. It will constitute a basis for reviewing current policy and forming future policy on the issue. Policy design on other areas will also benefit from the report by drawing on the perspective, through which policy proposition was made, that looks at the relationship of army state institution and modern society.

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Appendices

Figures