Occasional Paper

Morale and ethnicity in the military:
Psychological coping with conscription in the Estonian Defence Forces

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About the author

Merle Parmak has been working for the Estonian Defence Forces (EDF) as a military psychologist since 2003 when she started her career in the conscripts' unit. In 2005, she moved on to work with professional soldiers recruited for deployment. From the beginning of 2007, she has been actively involved in scientific research at the Estonian National Defence College, contributing to military psychology at an international level.

Since 2006, parallel to active duty in the EDF, she has been working on her doctoral thesis in Belgium to obtain a double PhD degree in psychology (KU Leuven) and social and military sciences (Royal Military Academy). The dissertation explores individual differences in psychological adaptation of soldiers in a military task environment. Its research plan aims to analyse whether the satisfaction of personality-based needs and expectations of soldiers from diverse backgrounds could act as a force multiplier in modern military organisations. The public defence of the thesis titled *'The role of personality in the context of operational deployments: Should all soldiers be sensation seekers?'* is scheduled for 31 March 2011.

Abstract

This longitudinal research explores morale, burnout and psychological well-being of ethnic Russians and native Estonians during compulsory military service in the Estonian Defence Forces. Differences in the dynamics of changes over the service period were observed. The results indicate that ethnic Russians enter military service with lower enthusiasm, but their enthusiasm increases significantly during the service. For ethnic Estonians, an opposite trend was identified – they are more enthusiastic in the beginning, but their optimism decreases during the service. The paper concludes that service in the national armed forces affects different ethnicities in different ways.

Keywords: morale, ethnicity, conscripts, conscription

Foreword

The armed forces are unique organisations in many respects. They are entrusted with an exceptional mission which, in turn, imposes very exacting requirements on those joining the military as full-time professionals or temporary draftees. Very few, if any, professions call for the same degree of self-sacrifice (to the ultimate point of dying in combat, if necessary), self-restraint, moral and physical courage, a collective spirit, the ability to overcome physical and psychological hardship, and many other traits, as the military profession. In addition, a military organisation develops its own distinctive organisational culture – military culture – to promote and support the desired values and behaviour patterns among its members. Some of those values, such as a profound sense of duty to the nation, courage, loyalty, self-sacrifice or *esprit de corps*, represent the idealist side of military service, which many civilians find appealing. But some of the characteristics of traditional military organisations – such as strict discipline, unconditional obedience, deference to hierarchy ('chain of command'), firm adherence to all the rules and orders (except illegal ones), the uniformity of thinking promoted by doctrines and manuals, and the collective's dominance over the individual – are less appreciated and have much less romantic appeal for outsiders.

It is therefore no wonder that not everyone is fit to be a soldier and able to full-heartedly embrace the personal challenges of becoming a well-integrated and highly performing part of the armed forces. However, if one accepts the notion that a national culture encodes a significant part of the personal worldview, character and behaviour of any individual, the question arises whether a national culture might be a factor that affects the way individuals react to and cope with the demands imposed upon them by military organisations. Referring to the work of perhaps the most famous social psychologist – Geert Hofstede – and the dimensions of culture defined by him,[1] one might suggest that representatives of cultures with a higher degree of 'power distance', 'collectivism', 'uncertainty avoidance' and 'masculinity' would find more enjoyment in their experiences in traditional hierarchical military organisations than members of national cultures characterised by lower 'power distance' and 'uncertainty avoidance' as well as higher 'individualism' and 'femininity'.

In this context, we are glad to present this ICDS Occasional Paper – an illuminating study by Merle Parmak, a researcher at the Centre for Applied Studies of the Estonian National Defence College. It is the first scholarly attempt to investigate whether there are differences in how representatives of two ethnic groups – the Estonians and the Russians –

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[1] See Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, or Hofstede G. & Hofstede G. J. (2005). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

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cope with the pressures of compulsory military service in the Estonian Defence Forces (EDF). The findings revealed that ethnic Russians were drafted into the EDF with much lower morale and enthusiasm for military service compared to their compatriots of Estonian origin, but that they left the service with a much improved sense of well-being and higher morale than they had started with, while the trend among the Estonians was in the opposite direction.

Interestingly, Russian national culture has a very high score on Hofstede's 'Power Distance Index' (93 points, compared to Estonia's 40) and his 'Uncertainty Avoidance Index' (95 points, compared to Estonia's 60), but a low score on 'individualism' (39 points, compared to Estonia's 60). The difference between the Russians and the Estonians in the dimension of 'masculinity/femininity' is smaller, but Hofstede's research still puts the Estonians closer to the feminine end of cultures (30 points; Sweden is the most feminine with 5 points) and the Russians to the more masculine end (36 points; Slovakia is the most masculine with 110 points).[2] If we use Hofstede's authoritative research as a basis, it follows that ethnic Russians should be more comfortable with hierarchical autocratic relations, assertive behaviour and a collectivist setting than the Estonians, but in order to operate effectively they should also have a greater need for clear, explicit rules and structured activities than their Estonian compatriots. This suggests that the opposite trends, which Merle Parmak identified and analysed in the morale and well-being of ethnic Russian and Estonian conscripts, could be explained by the cultural backgrounds of conscripts and their interaction with the military culture prevalent in the EDF.

Of course, everything is not that simple and straightforward in a complex world of cultures and behaviour patterns. For a start, the author of this paper acknowledges the study's limitations, such as a very small sample, the more so as the sample was from one particular EDF unit. To validate the findings, research would have to be expanded considerably and repeated over time. For instance, the most recent and a much broader study by Dr. Juhan Kivirähk, an ICDS Senior Researcher, does not show large differences in the dynamics of satisfaction with conscript service between ethnicities, but reveals big variations from unit to unit (still, the percentage of those who were 'very satisfied' was 23% among non-Estonians and only 14% among Estonians).[3] In addition, it is necessary to include safeguards against respondents telling researchers what they presume researchers want to hear: for acceptance purposes, ethnic Russians might be willing to appear more upbeat about their service experiences than they really are, while ethnic Estonians might have fewer reasons to hide their disappointment.

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[2] Scores are available at Geert Hofstede's website: http://www.geerthofstede.nl.
[3] The public presentation of the results is anticipated at the beginning of 2011.

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It is also all too easy to overstate cultural differences between ethnic Russians and Estonians: these might be smaller or greater in various regions of the country, depending, for instance, on how much the two communities mix together and how well integrated they are. Differences could exist within the two groups as well: urban Estonians might react to military service in a different way than rural Estonians; ethnic Russians from Ida-Virumaa might not have similar feelings about it than the Russians who come, for instance, from Tartu. This should be taken into account by achieving a greater degree of precision and by slicing the samples further.

Nonetheless, the paper's findings – particularly if confirmed by expanded and refined research in the future – have important implications. First and foremost, they tell us that being 'blind' towards ethnicity in the personnel policies of a defence organisation might not be the best way for learning how to attract, recruit, motivate and retain people. The 'one size fits all'-approach that stems from a commendable desire of the Estonian defence organisation to appear to be treating all Estonian citizens as equals, regardless of their ethnic background, may not work that well in practice. Indeed, it may lead to missed opportunities, for instance, in further enhancing and maintaining the reputation of military service in society or in using conscription as a tool to encourage young people to stay on and become professional soldiers.

Second, the paper's findings raise certain questions about the development trajectory of Estonian military culture. Why is its effect on ethnic Estonian conscripts so negative? Should the EDF explore new ways for leading and managing people who come from a more individualistic, critical, egalitarian and consensus-oriented culture, while still enthusing those who are more collectivist, obedient, hierarchical and assertive by virtue of their cultural background? In short, how should Estonian military culture accommodate differences in ethnic cultures and best utilise their respective strengths in order to maximise organisational effectiveness and to increase positive experiences concerning military service?

We very much hope that this Occasional Paper will stimulate the interest of defence stakeholders in further research on this subject matter and that it will also foster a broader debate on the characteristics of Estonian military culture and its relationship with the nature of its parent society and trends therein.

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Researcher, ICDS

Introduction

In today's world, many military operations are multidimensional – they are conducted in multicultural environments, in different situations and often with multinational forces that consist of soldiers from various ethnic backgrounds. While several studies have been conducted about the ability to cope with intercultural (Euwema & Van Emmerik, 2007) and inter-organisational issues (Ramarajan et al., 2004) as well as international assignments (Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2009), less emphasis has been placed on the effect of ethnicity on the adjustment ability of soldiers during their conscript service in the national armed forces. This question, however, deserves more attention because value systems of various sub-cultures within one society may differ significantly (Realo, 1999) and 'dual nationalism' of such individuals has been shown to impact on their attitude and behaviour towards the political system in their country (Staton, Jackson & Canache, 2007). It is important to note that the achievement of a balance between ethno-cultural self-determination and universal citizenship is complicated not only for ethnic minorities but for members of ethnic majorities as well (Codagnone & Filippov, 2000).

National identity and patriotic feelings are part of the attitudes and values that tend to be closely related to military service. For minority groups, this can cause ambivalence. Even though they may endorse patriotism towards the country where they hold citizenship, they may continue to be more committed to their own ethnic group (Flanagan et al., 2009), which may evoke ambivalent and unexpected behaviour in case of confrontation. This aspect should be particularly relevant in countries where military service in the national armed forces is compulsory, meaning that members of minority groups are forced to join the armed forces, which they might feel does not fit with their identity. However, they may develop positively as citizens because military service has been found to promote acculturation and cultural awareness of minorities (Leal, 2003). In societies where ethnic nationality is politically or historically a sensitive issue, compulsory military service may have a different impact on dominant natives and ethnic minorities. Stimulated patriotic feelings and attitudes towards their nation and fatherland may create on the one hand, a somewhat biased appraisal of the service in the national armed forces, and on the other hand, idealised expectations. However, as appraisal and expectations are instrumental in psychological adaptation (Adler & Britt, 2006), these illusive notions may compromise a person's coping with the service in reality.

During fifty years of the Soviet occupation of the Republic of Estonia, a large number of Russians were brought to Estonia by the occupying power. As a result, a substantial portion of Estonia's population, including its citizenry, is now ethnically Russian. According to

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population indicators and composition data, the majority of non-Estonians are Russians, who make up approximately 26 percent of the population, while all other ethnic groups taken together account for less than 6 percent (see Statistics Estonia, 2010). Despite constant efforts to integrate minorities, ethnicity-fuelled incidents take place from time to time (see Pääbo, 2008). The Constitution of the Republic of Estonia requires all physically and mentally able male citizens to serve in the Estonian Defence Forces. A significant number of ethnic Russians have become Estonian citizens and they are also called up for compulsory military service. The service lasts for 8 or 11 months, depending on one's education and later assignments (see Estonian Defence Forces, 2010).

In this paper, I present the results of my research on the ethnicity-based dynamics of morale, burnout and psychological well-being of conscripts in the Estonian Defence Forces. As they constitute a minority, ethnic Russians may have ambivalent feelings about the service; they might also fear harassment, discrimination or social exclusion in the service. It might be expected that if these fears do not become true or other processes (e.g. acculturation) take place, a positive shift should occur. Thus the Russians' identification with Estonia and their sense of citizenship should become stronger as a result of their service in the armed forces. In addition, military service and military status in general are evaluated positively among the Russian minority.[4] This may have a positive impact on morale and prevent the burnout of ethnic Russians in military service. In this paper, it is hypothesised that due to their national identity and patriotism, ethnic Estonians enter the service with a higher morale than ethnic Russians, whereas the morale and psychological well-being of the latter improve during the service.

Research method

Participants and the procedure

Our sample consisted of male Estonian citizens (n = 142) conscripted for 11 months of service in an Estonian infantry battalion. Of these conscripts, 119 were ethnic Estonians and the remaining 23 were ethnic Russians. Ethnic groups did not differ demographically (in terms of age and years of schooling). Ages of ethnic Estonians ranged from 18 to 24 years (_M_ = 21.2, _SD_ = 1.1) and their education from 12 to 17 years (_M_ = 13.7, _SD_ = 1.3). Ages of ethnic Russians ranged from 19 to 24 years (_M_ = 21.2, _SD_ = 1.2) and their education from 9 to 17 years (_M_ = 13.7, _SD_ = 1.8). The first batch of data was collected after two months of service during a stress debriefing lecture presented by the unit psychologist. The second batch of data was collected after 11 months of service, just before the conscripts left active duty. Participation was voluntary and confidentiality was guaranteed.

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[4] This is an opinion based on the author's personal observations.

Measures

To assess subjective well-being, an Estonian version of the five-item instrument *WHO-5 Well-being Index* was used. This scale has been proven to be reliable and valid in the general population (Bech et al., 2003) and in clinical samples (De Wit et al., 2007). The reliability of this scale was acceptable in our sample (α = .84).

Morale was measured with the *Morale Questionnaire* (Van Boxmeer et al., 2007). In addition to the scale for Morale (8 items), the instrument contained a scale for Burnout (8 items). Both scales were composed of two subscales: Dedication and Vigour for the Morale scale, and Cynicism and Exhaustion for the Burnout scale. In this form, the instrument was intended to assess the positive and negative poles of Well-being (Schaufeli et al., 2002). The reliability of our research was acceptable for the different scales and subscales: Morale scale (α = .82) – Dedication (α = .82) and Vigour (α = .69); Burnout scale (α = .77) – Cynicism (α = .60) and Exhaustion (α = .71).

As the soldiers came from different ethnic backgrounds, individual differences at baseline could have blurred the testing results at the end of the service. To prevent that, personality variables were included: the Big Five as a broad personality concept, plus Sensation Seeking and Need for Structure, which have been shown to be relevant in military contexts (Parmak, Mylle & Euwema, 2010). The Big Five was measured by the *SPQ-60*, which has been developed to assess the main dimensions of the so called Big Five – Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness (Goldberg, 1990; McCrae & Costa, 1995) – and composed on the basis of the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP; Goldberg, 1999). This inventory consists of 60 items, each evaluated on a 4-point scale ranging from *very inaccurate* to *very accurate*, and it is shown to be reliable in military populations (Parmak, Mylle & Euwema, 2010). Our sample achieved adequate reliability (Cronbach's α) for the SPQ-60 (α = .81) and its subscales – Neuroticism (α = .85), Extraversion (α = .89), Openness (α = .74), Agreeableness (α = .81) and Conscientiousness (α = .78).

The *Sensation Seeking Scale V* (SSS-V, Zuckerman, 1978; 2005) was used for the assessment of sensation seeking. The SSS-V is a 40-item forced-choice questionnaire that measures the degree to which a person seeks out novel and adventurous experiences. The instrument is psychometrically reliable (Roberti, 2004; Roberti, Storch & Bravata, 2003; Zuckerman, 2007) and has been proved to be cross-culturally valid (Zuckerman, Eysenck & Eysenck, 1978). It has also been tested in a military population in Estonia (Parmak, Mylle, Euwema, 2010). A higher score on the SSS-V indicates a higher sensation-seeking tendency. The reliability of the SSS-V (α = .77) in the research sample was satisfactory.

The construct of *Personal Need for Structure* (PNS, Thompson, Naccarato & Parker, 2001; Neuberg & Newsome, 1993) is found to be reliable in civil populations (Meiser & Machunsky, 2008) and military populations (Van den Berg & Soeters, 2009; Parmak, Mylle & Euwema, 2010). In this research, it was used for the assessment of the need for structure. This inventory consisted of 11 items of the original 12 (item 5 was dropped; see Neuberg & Newsom, 1993), which were evaluated on a 4-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree.* The instrument assesses the degree to which a person prefers simple structures, organisation and clarity. A higher score on the PNS scale indicates a higher structure-seeking tendency. The reliability of PNS ($\alpha = .68$) was sufficient for this study.

Results

Differences between ethnic Russians and Estonians

To assess the comparability of ethnic Russians and Estonians on the basis of control variables (personality measures), *t*-tests for independent samples were used. The analysis confirmed the hypothesis that no statistically significant differences can be detected between groups in any of the assessed personality traits. Results for Morale, Burnout and Well-being of ethnic groups at the beginning and end of military service are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Well-being and Morale of ethnic groups before and after conscript service.*

	Mean Estonians	Mean Russians	t-value	p	Levene F(1,df)	p Levene
At the beginning of service						
Well-being	14.21	14.00	0.20	.84	0.28	.60
Morale	21.62	19.77	1.77	.04*	0.67	.42
Dedication	10.57	9.36	1.81	.04*	2.69	.10
Vigour	11.09	10.41	1.25	.21	1.70	.19
Burnout	18.03	18.86	-0.82	.41	0.04	.85
Cynicism	9.36	9.23	0.25	.80	0.09	.77
Exhaustion	8.66	9.64	-1.61	.11	0.22	.64
At the end of service						
Well-being	14.86	17.32	-2.57	.01**	0.05	.83
Morale	20.20	21.90	-1.43	.16	2.20	.14
Dedication	9.31	10.43	-1.53	.13	1.01	.32
Vigour	10.89	11.48	-1.00	.32	1.39	.24
Burnout	19.34	17.29	1.92	.03*	1.42	.24
Cynicism	10.14	8.57	2.65	.01**	0.03	.86
Exhaustion	9.21	8.71	0.76	.45	0.03	.86

Note. At the beginning of service – assessed in the 3rd month; *At the end of service* – assessed in the 11th month.

* *p* < .05 level (one-tailed). ** *p* < .01 level (one-tailed).

As expected, Morale of ethnic Estonian soldiers was higher than that of ethnic Russian soldiers (t = 1.77, p = .04) at the beginning of conscript service. This was particularly due to a higher score on Dedication by native Estonian conscripts (t = 1.81, p = .04). No significant differences in Morale or Well-being were detected. After 11 months of service, ethnic groups differed significantly in Well-being and Burnout. Well-being was significantly higher for ethnic Russians than for Estonians (t = -2.57, p = .007), while Burnout (t = 1.92, p = .03) and especially Cynicism (t = 2.65, p = .006) were significantly lower for ethnic Russians than for Estonians. Levene's test revealed that the homogeneity of variances within ethnic groups was not significant for any assessed variable. In addition, a post-hoc test (Tukey's HSD for unequal N) confirmed that ethnic Russians felt better and less cynical (p < .05) than native Estonians in the last month of the service, suggesting that the unequal group size was not responsible for the differences found.

Differences between Morale and Burnout scores for native Estonians and ethnic Russians at the beginning and end of the service were additionally examined using one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA). Figure 1 shows the changes in Morale and Burnout according to ethnic groups.
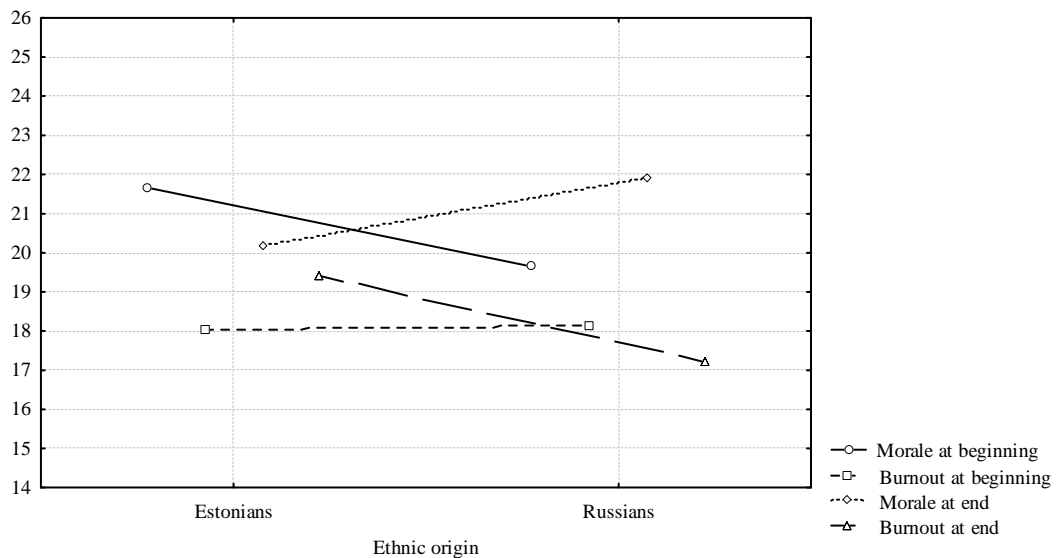

Figure 1. *The dynamics of changes in Morale and Burnout scales among ethnic Russians and Estonians at the beginning and end of the service.*

Differences between the ethnic groups in coping with military service were statistically significant: $F(4, 129)$ = 2.76, p < .05, Wilks' lambda = .92. The results confirmed that ethnic origin acted as a differentiating factor: Morale increased during the service for ethnic Russians and decreased for ethnic Estonians, while Burnout, which had been similar at the beginning of the service, decreased during the service for ethnic Russians.

Differences within the samples of ethnic Russians and Estonians

The dynamics of Morale-related changes within ethnic groups were assessed by *t*-tests for dependent samples (within-groups design). Differences between ethnic groups were confirmed. Table 2 shows that Well-being (*t* = -2.46, *p* = .02) and Morale (*t* = -2.33, *p* = .03) among ethnic Russians were significantly higher at the end of the service, compared to the beginning of the service period. For Morale, a tendency to differ (*p* < .10) was seen in both sub-scales. Although the means of the scores on the scales and sub-scales decreased, no significant differences were detected with respect to the Burnout indicators of the ethnic Russian group.

Table 2. *Differences in means in the 3rd and 11th months of service within ethnic groups.*

| | Ethnic groups | | | | | | | |
| | Russians | | | | Estonians | | | |
	T1	T2	*t-value*	*p*	T1	T2	*t-value*	*p*
Well-being	14.14	17.33	-2.46	.02**	14.19	14.86	-1.59	.11
Morale	19.65	21.90	-2.33	.03**	21.67	20.16	2.99	.00***
Dedication	9.30	10.55	-1.75	.07*	10.61	9.31	3.97	.00***
Vigour	10.35	11.35	-1.84	.08*	11.09	10.88	0.91	.36
Burnout	18.15	17.20	0.86	.40	17.98	19.35	-3.23	.00**
Cynicism	8.90	8.50	0.61	.55	9.33	10.13	-3.12	.00**
Exhaustion	9.25	8.70	0.68	.51	8.65	9.22	-2.18	.03**

Note. T1 means in the 3rd month of conscription; T2 means in the 11th month of conscription.
    * *p* < .10 level (one-tailed). ** *p* < .05 level (one-tailed). *** *p* < .01 level (one-tailed).

The results of the ethnic Estonian group were somewhat surprising. While Well-being remained basically the same during the service, the Estonians were significantly more cynical (*t* = -3.12, *p* = .00) and exhausted (*t* = -2.18, *p* = .03) at the end of the service, compared to the beginning of their military service. In addition, during their service period, Morale (*t* = 2.99, *p* = .00) and especially Dedication (*t* = 3.97, *p* = .00) decreased significantly.

Discussion and conclusions

Dual nationality affects individual attitudes towards the political system in one's country (Staton, Jackson & Canache, 2007). Therefore this factor should not be ignored when national defence issues are discussed. Even if we leave aside financial benefits, which undoubtedly offer strong motivation, soldiers have to believe in – or at least not to be in conflict with – what they are doing, so that they would behave predictably. Matsumoto (2007) has identified multiple factors that determine human behaviour and emphasised the moderating role of the situational context. The present research indicates that the situational context in a military environment or in society in general has a specific

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influence on different ethnic groups in the armed forces. The results supported the hypotheses: (1) compared to ethnic Estonians, the Russians express lower enthusiasm (especially dedication) at the beginning of their conscript service; and (2) a positive change in morale and psychological well-being takes place in the Russian group during the service. The outcome is consistent with previous findings about the positive effect of military service on the social integration and cultural identity of minorities (Leal, 2003). It might also indicate that social solidarity among ethnic Russians and their sense of citizenship became stronger and that they were more acculturated at the end of the service.

Excessive job demands and perceived opportunities for development have been found to be inversely related to burnout and morale indicators (Bakker, Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2006). The morale of ethnic Estonians was higher at the beginning of conscript service, but it decreased during the service, while the scores for burnout indicators increased. Conscript service is not an easy experience for everyone. Military training and restricted life in the armed forces might be perceived as meaningless (Clemmesen, 1999) and difficult to cope with. It may well be that the psychological meaning of conscript service varies between different ethnic groups. This supports the presumption that the Estonians idealise military service in the national armed forces and that when they become aware of a different and demanding reality, their psychological ability to adapt deteriorates. Their optimism decreases, whereas their cynicism and exhaustion increase during the service. While ethnic Russians value military status more than ethnic Estonians, they also feel more proud of their experiences and the successful completion of conscript service. This may work as a morale booster and prevent their burnout.

Practical implications and limitations of the present study

Morale is the enthusiasm and persistence with which a member of a group engages in the prescribed activities of that group (Manning, 1991). The practical implications of this study derive from its result that it should not be taken for granted that different ethnic groups in the national armed forces have equal enthusiasm and persistence to engage in prescribed activities. When morale-related questions become an issue in military units, it is important to consider this aspect of the willingness to serve. The role of morale is crucial in every military activity; its relation to military performance is clearly evidenced by research. The present study was conducted among conscripts and it revealed significant differences between the citizens of one society, pointing to a need for additional research. Today, most military operations are international and the forces involved are multinational, consisting of soldiers from various ethnic backgrounds. To enhance morale and to prevent ethnicity-based unexpected behaviour, the armed forces would benefit from further research on

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how the ethnic background of professional military personnel may affect their willingness to serve.

In addition, it should be point out that the present research has three limitations. First, the sample available for this study was small and ethnic groups were not equally represented – the number of ethnic Estonians in the sample exceeded the number of non-Estonians by about five times. Although different statistical procedures were employed to reduce the risk of biased results, caution is advised in their interpretation. The second limitation is related to the fact that the research was conducted only in one military unit and did not allow for the assessment of the potential effect of ethnically relevant features (e.g. personnel attitudes and behaviour) in the particular military environment. Finally, Estonia is not a highly multicultural society: basically, we have only one major ethnic minority group in our community – ethnic Russians. This aspect can also limit the validity of the present research in more ethnically diverse environments. Due to Estonia's recent history, the relationship between ethnic Estonians and Russians might be more complicated or tense in our society than it would be between ethnic groups in a different multiethnic society where ethnical diversity has developed differently and more ethnic groups are present. These limitations, however, do not decrease the value of the findings, which point to the largely ignored influence of ethnicity on the morale of soldiers in multinational military forces.

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