



Integrating civilians into military organizations: Linking micro and macro levels of analysis

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: Western nations have increasingly moved to a blended military-civilian (mil-civ) workforce for their armed forces. Much attention to the use of civilians in military organizations focuses on a macro perspective (e.g., policy, military doctrine). This article addresses the paucity of micro-level analyses of American mil-civ blended armed forces organizations and develops a theoretical model to link these findings to macro-level outcomes important to military readiness. **Methods:** A systematic search of sociological literature was conducted to examine several key mil-civ integration micro-level outcomes. Results of this review are situated in a theoretical model that specifies how micro-level findings link to macro-level outcomes. **Results:** Connections between civilian contractors' social identities and pro-military values and behaviours is present but limited. Perceived contractors' effects on military culture indicates they are believed to have numerous benefits, but also key negative effects on elements such as clarity of mission, accomplishing mission, and maintaining good order and discipline. Mil-civ social comparisons were found to decrease organizational commitment and retention among uniformed personnel but not civilians. Finally, mental health issues for deployed civilians and mil-civ differences in mental health were identified. Systematic application of a proposed theoretical model illustrates how these varied findings can be understood in a more holistic way by linking micro and macro levels of analysis. **Discussion:** Significant challenges are examined across key domains that have relevance for military readiness at the macro level, but also important micro-level implications for health, safety, perceived cohesion, and satisfaction of military and civilian personnel.

Key words: American, armed forces, civilian contractors, civilian integration, cohesion, mental health, military culture, readiness, retention, social identity, theoretical model, United States

RÉSUMÉ

Introduction : Les nations occidentales font de plus en plus appel à une main-d'œuvre mixte militaires-civils (mil-civ) pour leurs forces armées. Beaucoup de l'attention accordée aux civils dans les organisations militaires est axée sur une macroperspective (p. ex., politiques, doctrine militaire). Cet article se penche sur le manque de microanalyse des organisations mil-civ de forces armées américaines et élabore un modèle théorique pour lier ces conclusions aux résultats à une macro-échelle pertinente pour la disponibilité militaire. **Méthodologie :** Une recherche systématique de la littérature sociologique a été effectuée pour examiner plusieurs résultats clés d'intégration mil-civ à une microéchelle. Les résultats de cet examen sont situés dans un modèle théorique qui précise la façon dont les conclusions à une microéchelle sont liées à des résultats à une macroéchelle. **Résultats :** Des connexions entre les identités sociales et les valeurs et comportements promilitaires des entrepreneurs civils sont présentes, mais limitées. Les effets perçus de la présence d'entrepreneurs sur la culture militaire indiquent qu'ils sont jugés comme apportant de nombreux avantages, mais qu'ils ont aussi des effets négatifs clés sur des éléments comme la clarté de la mission, la réalisation de la mission et le maintien de l'ordre et de la discipline. Selon l'étude, les comparaisons sociales mil-civ diminuent l'engagement organisationnel et la fidélisation chez le personnel en uniforme, mais non chez les civils. Finalement, des problèmes de santé mentale pour les civils déployés et des différences dans la santé mentale des mil-civ ont été notés. L'application systématique d'un modèle proposé théorique illustre la façon dont ces conclusions variées peuvent être comprises de façon plus holistique en liant les microanalyses et les macroanalyses. **Discussion :** Des défis significatifs sont examinés

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dans divers domaines clés pertinents pour la disponibilité militaire à une macroéchelle, mais il est aussi question d'importantes répercussions à une microéchelle pour la santé, la sécurité, la cohésion perçue et la satisfaction du personnel militaire et civil.

Mots-clés : Américains, cohésion, culture militaire, disponibilité, entrepreneur civil, États-Unis, forces armées, identité sociale, intégration civile, modèle théorique, rétention, santé mentale

LAY SUMMARY

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan changed how civilians are integrated in military units, which has key implications for both personnel and the larger organization. Examining micro-effects is important because they reveal unintended consequences of personnel policies based on macro-level goals and assumptions. This article reviews 15 years of sociological research on micro-level outcomes across several key domains. Extant literature presents consistent findings of negative impacts of civilian integration on social comparisons, retention, cohesion, and mental health. Conversely, mixed results are found on military-civilian (mil-civ) integration on military culture and customs. This article also proposes a novel theoretical model to explain how these micro-effects affect macro-level military readiness. Accordingly, this article provides a framework to organize extant literature and identify new research linking micro-macro levels in military organizations. It is clear mil-civ blended forces produce unintended challenges for military readiness and individual personnel. Moving forward, more research is needed to examine unintended effects based on race and gender representation in a mil-civ blended force. There is much still unknown about the micro-level effects of systematically integrating civilians — for both military and civilian personnel — but what is clear is that it produces numerous unintended challenges for military readiness and individual service members.

INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on a review of micro-level analyses (individuals and groups) of American military-civilian (mil-civ) blended armed forces organizations, and how these findings link to macro-level (institutional) outcomes important to military readiness. The article first presents a theoretical model that demonstrates how outcomes at an individual level influence institutional outcomes. In doing so, the authors show how mil-civ integration in military organizations serves a key diversity function. Once the model is presented, its utility is demonstrated in bridging micro-macro outcomes by reviewing literature across the domains of social identity, relative deprivation through social comparisons, perceived unit cohesion, and mental health as examples of the utility of the model. This study concludes by highlighting new lines of research suggested by the proposed integrated framework.

Mil-civ blended military organizations

Civilians have been incorporated in military organizations across the globe for a very long time. For example, the word contractor derives from the Italian *condottieri* who sold their military skills throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. Further back, private warriors fought for the Greek and Roman city-states, and for kings in Mesopotamia more than 2,000 BCE. Recognizing the broad historical record of civilian integration, the example of the U.S. military is taken as the empirical focus of this article.¹⁻³

Civilians have been part of America's total force structure since before the Revolutionary War. Accordingly,

the contemporary use of civilians is not novel. What is new in recent conflicts is the expansion in scope of duties civilians are performing.^{4,5} They are no longer restricted to rear detachment service-support roles. For example, for several decades now, civilians have been on the front lines in logistics, aviation, security and patrol, intelligence, and engineering roles. Since 2001, the U.S. military's official position identifies civilians as part of its total force, referred to civilians as force multipliers, and makes the argument that the U.S. Armed Forces depend on civilian personnel for operational effectiveness.^{6,7}

Over the last 20 years, there has been a lot of attention paid to the shift in emphasis and scope of civilian work in the U.S. total force from a macro perspective, highlighting issues related to civil-military relations, development of doctrine, and organizational effectiveness.⁸⁻¹⁰ Much less attention has been given in the scientific literature to the micro-level effects for mil-civ personnel on the increasing reliance on civilians. This article focuses on this under-studied, yet critical, area of civilianization of the military. It shows how these micro-level effects are connected to key macro-level military outcomes, including readiness and retention. In this pursuit, data from a range of civilian types are examined: federal civilians, civilian contractors, and civilian mariners. Findings are situated in a holistic theoretical model. While the article focuses on the American case to substantiate the model, its general principles can be used to examine military organizations across socio-cultural contexts.

This article addresses three key questions: 1) What are some key micro-level outcomes for civilians serving in military organizations? 2) To what extent do military and civilian personnel have similar experiences, perceptions, and outcomes across a range of domains? 3) What implications do these micro-level findings have for macro-level outcomes important to military organizations?

METHODS

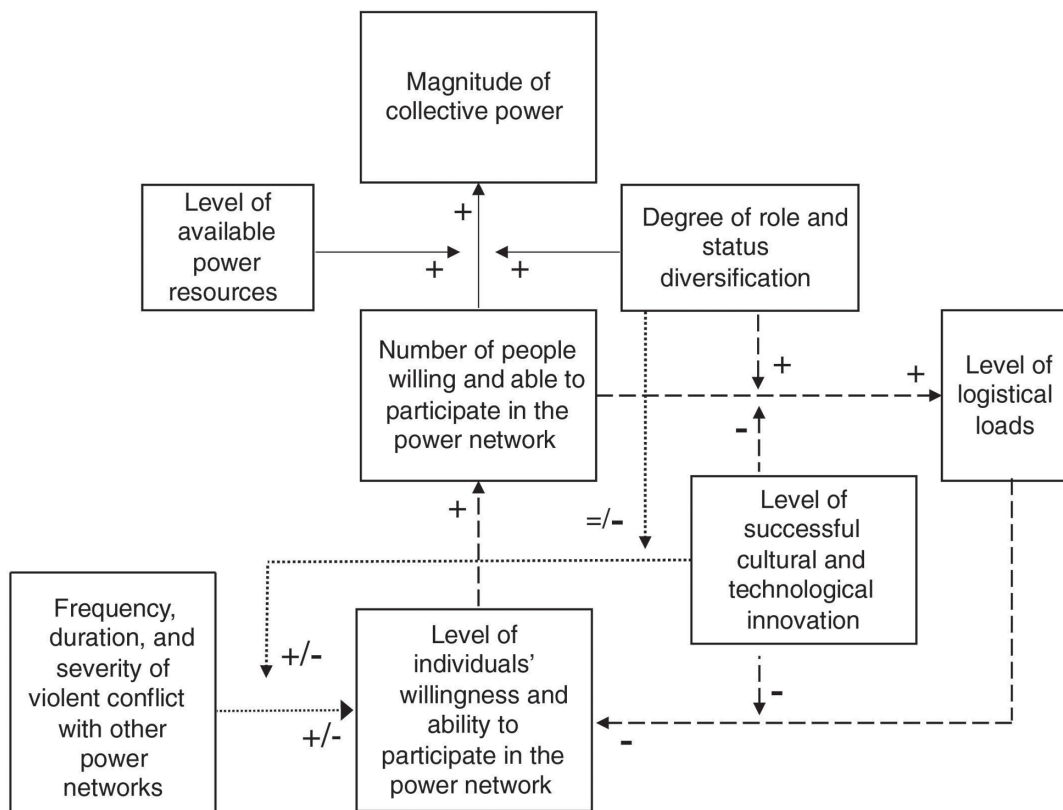
Review of the empirical literature

This article focuses on the synthesis of micro-level analyses in mil-civ blended military organizations. Results of this review are then situated in a theoretical model that specifies how micro-level findings link to macro-level outcomes. A search for articles was conducted using the criteria of being micro level in focus, empirically based, sociologically focused, analyzing the American military, and published within the last 15 years. The literature search was conducted across Google Scholar, JSTOR, and the RAND Corporation. Additional

search criteria focused on the key outcomes identified in several of the initial articles that met the above criteria. Key words used included civilian contractor and department of defense/army civilian, deployed civilian, defense civilian, social identity, military culture, cohesion, retention, social comparison, and mental health. A total of 19 articles were found that were directly relevant. They are included in this review and model application.

Theoretical model

The aim of this review is to create an analytical framework that can generate holistic explanations for the causes and consequences of collective military power (i.e., readiness). To accomplish this, the theoretical framework presented is an adaptation and integration of Turner¹¹⁻¹³ and Mann¹⁴ (Figure 1). Following Mann,¹⁴(p. 6-7) general collective power is defined broadly as occurring when “humans enter into cooperative, collective power relations with one another” in order to “enhance their joint power over their parties or over nature.”



KEY: + Positive association. - Negative association. +/- Nonlinear association (begins positive, turns negative after threshold is crossed). =/- Delayed association (negative association emerges after a threshold is crossed). Sub-models: Argument 1, solid lines. Argument 2, dashed lines. Argument 3, dotted lines.

Figure 1. Model of micro-to-macro linkages in military organizations

The model is divided into three parts. The model's first argument focuses on the macro level of analysis (depicted using solid lines). It argues that the magnitude of collective power is a positive function of 1) the number of people willing and able to participate in the power network, 2) the level of available power resources, and 3) the degree of role and status diversification within the power network. The term positive function refers to a positive association, such that an increase or decrease in the value of one variable correlates with a corresponding increase or decrease in the value of another variable. Specifically, the greater the number of people willing to participate in the network of cooperative and collective power relations, the greater the magnitude of power the network can generate.

This direct relationship is moderated by the amount of power resources controlled by the network and the network's degree of role and status diversification. The former association stems from the fact technologies of violence (e.g., guns, bombs, tanks, planes) dramatically increase the scale and scope of the network's lethal violence. The latter association stems from the fact complex divisions of labour and diverse stocks of knowledge, experiences, and perspectives increase a network's ability to innovate and engage in complex social actions.¹⁵

The second part of the model accounts for how the above macro-level dynamics interact with micro-level processes (depicted using dashed lines). Specifically, it argues that increases in the number of people in the network increase the magnitude and severity of the network's level of logistical loads — that is, the problems associated with the production and distribution of resources, and the motivation, coordination, and regulation of pro-organizational and goal-oriented behaviour.¹⁵ This positive association is positively moderated by the degree of role and status diversification as the number of different roles and the potential for role-based and status-related conflicts increase.

This second part of the model also argues that an increase in the level of logistical loads is negatively associated with the level of individuals' willingness and ability to participate in the power network, which is positively associated with the network's population size. In other words, the more individuals experience negative emotions and other negative experiences because they participate in the network, the less likely they are to be willing to continue to participate.

Over time, this lowered participation can lead to these individuals reducing effort on behalf of the

network — or increasing desire to leave the network, thus reducing its size. In either case, the result is reduced organizational readiness. However, this second part of the model acknowledges the ability of successful cultural and technological innovation to create norms, values, beliefs, procedures, and physical technologies capable of minimizing the magnitude and severity of the level of logistical loads. This is depicted in the model via the moderating effect of level of successful cultural and technological innovation on the positive association between number of people willing and able to participate in power network and the level of logistical loads.

The third part of the model (depicted using dotted lines) considers the effect of exogenous influences — that is, the positive and negative effects or the frequency, duration, and severity of violent conflict with other power networks on the level of the individual's willingness and ability to participate in the power network. According to this third part of the model, external conflicts initially increase the individual's willingness and ability to participate in the military's power network due to patriotism and collective identity. However, as the frequency, duration, and severity of conflicts increase, there comes a point when the association becomes negative due to excessive negative emotion (e.g., fear, anxiety, hopelessness), and increased rates of physical disability and death.

The level of successful cultural and technological innovation can negatively moderate this association by creating norms, values, beliefs, behaviours, and technologies to mitigate these harmful effects. However, the effectiveness of these cultural and technological innovations may be negatively moderated by the power network's degree of role and status diversification if the level of diversity precludes the development of standardized interventions. In other words, the greater the number of unique statuses and roles within the power network, the lower the probability a cultural and technological innovation will adequately address every individual's needs. For example, institutional innovations developed to help military members deal with stressors of military deployment may not be as effective for deployed civilians, requiring new cultural innovations targeting civilians' needs.

In the following sections, the model's second argument is applied to show how several of military sociology's micro-level research programs related to mil-civ integration (i.e., identity, mental health, cohesion, military culture, order, and discipline) help to form a cohesive body of knowledge that links micro-to-macro levels of military organizations. While this article focuses on the

micro-to-macro linkages, the model also allows for work that examines the macro-to-micro linkages and, as such, may be used to address a wide range of research questions across myriad topics within military sociology.

RESULTS

Social identities

Within blended mil-civ organizations, military and civilian statuses have important implications for perceptions and expectations individuals have of themselves and others.^{16,17} Identities tied to mil-civ statuses are highly salient in the rank-conscious institution of the military. In this model, developing and cultivating identities tied to the military institution (both military and civilian) is a form of cultural innovation that moderates the negative effect of logistical loads on the level of the individual's willingness and ability to participate in the power network by increasing the member's emotional connection to the network.¹⁸ According to Turner,^{12(p.93)} individuals experience positive emotions when one or more of their basic identities is verified. When individuals experience verification of one or more identity, they experience positive emotions that they then attribute to the groups, networks, and organizations of which they are a part.^{12(p.93)}

Over time, repetition of this process will increase their identity's perceived legitimacy and their emotional connection to it. The positive effects of this emotional connection will continue even after individuals formally leave the group, so long as they continue to identify with the group and experience vicarious rewards whenever the group succeeds.^{12(p.97)}

In recent years, arguments have been made that the socialization of a military identity serves as a mechanism of social control in an age of blended mil-civ staffing of the military. The idea is that, since many civilian contractors and Department of Defense civilian personnel previously served in uniform, the military identity they established as service members will continue to motivate desired attitudes and behaviours now that they are civilians. The key set of interests in this set of issues is facilitating ethical behaviour, orientation toward service, and commitment to the organization.^{18,19}

A study of more than 200 private military and security force contractors found there was a general sentiment that "security contractors' identities and operational responsibilities resemble largely those of constabulary or postmodern peacekeeping soldiers."^{18(p.283)}

Other studies found a less strong connection between prior military service and continuation of military identity among civilians working with military organizations.^{17,20} While the military continues to focus intensely on establishing and enhancing military identity among those in uniform as an informal mechanism to foster desired pro-organizational attitudes and behaviours, the same emphasis is not present among civilians within the total force. To the degree that military identities (for military and civilians) can be successfully innovated and established, the model suggests this micro-level outcome will affect the military's readiness through retention by reducing the negative effect of logistical loads on the level of individuals' willingness and ability to participate in the power network.

Military culture and organizational effectiveness

Several scholars and military operators have argued military culture provides a stabilizing foundation for a mil-civ blended force, especially since many civilians working for the military previously served in uniform. A study of U.S. Army soldiers and Department of Army civilians (DAC; federal civilians) found several potentially concerning outcomes of the integration of private military contractors on the unit's culture and organizational effectiveness.²¹ More than 40% of military and DAC personnel reported that contractors negatively affect the military's ability to maintain its customs and traditions. Approximately 30% of each group indicated civilian contractors decrease the ability to maintain good order and discipline. A quarter of service members and nearly one-third of DACs indicated contractors made identifying the mission of the unit confusing. In addition, more than one-third of soldiers and DACs reported decreased unit morale as a result of contractor integration. Finally, approximately one-fifth of military and DAC personnel reported the civilian contractors they worked with had decreased the unit's ability to accomplish its mission.

These seemingly contradictory findings can be accounted for in this model by acknowledging the countervailing influences the degree of role and status diversification and level of successful cultural and technological innovation have on the power network's emergent logistical loads. According to the model, a shared military culture could stabilize interactions between active duty members, civilian members with prior military experience, and civilian members with no prior military

experience by standardizing norms, values, beliefs, and behaviours and reducing logistical loads.^{11,13} However, the nature of the status and roles filled by both civilians with, and without, prior military experience inevitably create logistical loads within the power network to the degree the positions themselves require novel norms, values, beliefs, and behaviours that differ from those regulating the larger military network.¹³

Social comparisons and retention

Differentiation within the division of labour and its effect on social interactions can also affect logistical loads through social comparisons. One of the critical contributions of the seminal work *American Soldier*²² completed during the Second World War was the development of the concept of social comparisons and its application to issues of satisfaction and cohesion in military units. In contemporary military organizations, this concept has been effectively applied in examining the effect of mil-civ comparisons on key outcomes such as cohesion, job satisfaction, and retention.^{21,23-27} Service members report the civilians (i.e., civilian contractors and civilian mariners) they worked with were better off than they were across numerous work-related items (e.g., pay, leave, work/family balance, how hard they work). Civilians' social comparisons mostly replicated the findings from their military peers — they, too, thought civilians have better work conditions and benefits.

The social comparisons service members made between themselves and their civilian counterparts had significant negative effects on service members' job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and retention attitudes. This set of findings was robust across numerous military organizations (e.g., combat aviation, security forces, deployed naval ship, and logistics units). According to the model, service members reported relative deprivation based on comparisons with civilians elevates logistical loads by increasing the effort required to motivate, coordinate, and regulate pro-organizational and goal-oriented behaviour. Failure to secure desirable resources not only generates negative emotion per se, but also reduces commitment to the group and role distancing if the reason for the failure can be attributed to the group, organization, or institution.^{28(p. 142)}

Cohesion

Many have questioned the effect a mil-civ blended organizational context might have on unit cohesion — a critical variable for military readiness. Despite the concern raised on this issue, as of the writing of this article,

only two empirical studies were published that assess this relationship.²³ Service members' social comparisons with civilians were found to significantly reduce perceived unit cohesion among service members. Further, this perceived reduction in unit cohesion drove more negative outcomes for both job satisfaction and commitment to the organization — both of which, in turn, negatively affect the willingness of those in uniform to remain in service.

Once again, the model predicts negative emotions associated with the feeling of relative deprivation will increase logistical loads by increasing the effort required to motivate, coordinate, and regulate behaviour. Specifically, individuals will become increasingly angry with, and prejudiced toward, other group members in a blended force — and, thus, less willing to cooperate with them — if they perceive these individuals are responsible for the failure to secure desired resources (e.g., not completing their work).^{28(p. 142)} Given that cohesion has been empirically established as a buffer against negative health outcomes (e.g., anger, anxiety, depression) among deployed personnel²⁹ (see next section), this finding has implications beyond retention that can affect military readiness.

Mental health

As depicted in the third part of the model, mental health is a final key set of micro-level findings with institutional-level implications related to mil-civ integrated organizations. Numerous studies have established threats related to deployment in a theatre of active hostilities are a significant stressor.^{5,30-32} Additionally, several studies have determined that perceived threats lead to various adverse mental health disorders, independent of whether or not the threats are related to combat exposure.³³⁻³⁵ Though extant literature confirms connections between deployment threats, stress, and negative mental health,³⁶⁻³⁸ scant research has focused on civilians, and little is known about the extent to which military and civilian personnel may differ on deployment-related mental health outcomes.

Despite some evidence civilians have rates of diagnosable mental health issues at least as high as their military peers, they do not appear to have adequate resources to deal with the stressors of deployment.⁵ A study of deployed contractors showed only a quarter reported adequate mental health support during deployment in Iraq and Afghanistan.⁵ In studies using data from federal civilians in logistics units deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan, psychological resources used to deal with the ambient threats associated with deployment to theatres of war

found the presumed benefit of coping mechanisms are not always realized. Both cohesion²⁸ and mastery³⁹ (sense of control over one's life) were shown to have inconsistent moderation effects on the relationship between threats/stressors and negative mental health (i.e., anger, depression, anxiety) among deployed civilians.

An additional study focused on differential mental health outcomes between deployed federal civilians and military personnel.⁴⁰ Among civilians, there was no evidence social support moderates the relationship between stress and mental health (i.e., anger, anxiety, depression). However, among service members, social support was found to be a significant moderator for this relationship, though these effects were non-linear. At low levels of stress, high social support is most effective in reducing service members' mental health issues. However, at moderate and high levels of stress, this psychological benefit disappears.

Collectively, these studies focused on the mental health of deployed civilian and military personnel indicate a complicated relationship among variables assumed to promote psychological resilience. According to the model, increases in the frequency, duration, and severity of violent conflict with other power networks eventually reduce the level of an individual's willingness and ability to participate in the power network. In short, this association occurs as the excessive negative emotions associated with the experience of conflict accumulate to impact the individual's mental health. As this toll increases and more individuals become unwilling or unable to participate, military readiness is undermined as the number of people willing and able to participate in the power network decreases. Although the model acknowledges the military's ability to innovate cultural and technological solutions to mitigate the adverse mental health effects of conflict, the solutions must be tailored to the specific needs of the affected members. The reviewed research demonstrating different mental health outcomes for military and civilians indicates existing interventions do not provide civilians with the same level of salutary benefit seen among their military peers. Even among military members, benefits are likely not maximized.

DISCUSSION

The micro-level effects of mil-civ integrated military organizations are important for many key macro-level outcomes. One take away from the analytical model presented is that the military-as-a-macro-social-institution is subject to numerous internal and external social forces.

Some of these social forces act to promote social cohesion and effectiveness, while others increase the chance of disintegration. However, interventions to improve military readiness must account for possible unintended consequences because these social forces unfold and interact in complex ways, that is, via direct and indirect effects and through reciprocal feedback loops.¹⁵ For example, while it is true an increase in role and status diversification magnifies the effect of population growth on the military's logistical loads, the positive effects on the military's collective power associated with increased diversity (e.g., broadened perspectives, greater skill-sets, flexibility, and enhanced creativity or innovation) are equally real. Consequently, reducing mil-civ integration is not an effective solution for reducing the military's level of logistical loads, even if increasing mil-civ diversification is partly responsible for increasing logistical loads in the first place.

Instead, military officials and other vested parties should focus on increasing cultural and technological innovations that directly target either the logistical loads themselves or the moderating effect of diversification on logistical loads.

Notably, the model highlights how macro-level and micro-level dynamics within institutions reciprocally influence one another and how these interactions impact military readiness. For example, the level of successful cultural and technological innovation is a macro-level property of an institution. From a top-down perspective, cultural innovations that define situations, status, roles, and identities will organize micro-level dynamics by structuring individual courses of action, norms and values, expectations, and commitments. However, as this model illustrates, once these definitions are in place, modifications to cultural innovations occurring at the micro level can cause feedback that destabilizes the institution by increasing diversification.

The degree and distribution of role and status diversification within an institution is also a macro-level institutional property that affects micro-level processes. Specifically, the more diverse a population is, and the more uniformly distributed the diversity is, the higher the probability individuals will have an opportunity to engage in the social comparison process. As the proposed model indicates, these social comparisons can cause feedback that destabilizes the institution by increasing logistical loads.

Future research

While the examples in this article focus on a micro-level phenomenon, the model provides a framework

for identifying research questions across micro-macro levels that allow researchers to address policy level (i.e., macro) implications of micro findings, as well as testing micro-level effects related to institutional level changes in staffing, use of forces, or issues related to mil-civ relations. In particular, the authors urge the application of the model presented in future research to generate more holistic understandings of the causes and consequences of diversity and inclusion policies that span micro- and macro-organizational levels.

The review of literature for this article highlighted specific gaps in the literature on mil-civ blended organizations. More research is needed to understand mil-civ differences across various outcomes with an eye toward specifying the degree to which outcomes vary across different types of civilians in military organizations. The proposed model can also be generalized to frame future research examining the causes and consequences of increased diversity beyond a simple mil-civ dichotomy.

As one example, the model argues: 1) individuals experience positive emotions whenever one or more of their basic identities is verified, and 2) experiencing these positive emotions will increase a network's legitimacy in its members' eyes and their emotional connection to it — positively affecting retention and readiness. To examine how other identity (dis)confirmation processes affect military readiness (e.g., social identities related to the racial, ethnic, gender, religious, sexual, and class-based identities), one need only to instantiate the model for such cases. Specifically, one could examine the diversification of the military to include people with transgender identities. On one hand, the model would predict this inclusion will increase the magnitude of the military's collective power by increasing the diversity of ideas, experiences, and so forth at the network's disposal. However, the model also predicts this change would increase logistical loads as the military adapts to integrate transgender members into the network. While these logistical loads can be addressed with cultural and technological innovations, the model predicts gaps in service may emerge elsewhere in unintended ways. For example, innovations to offset the effects of conflict may not adequately meet the needs of transgender or cisgender members.

Given that military organizations take great care to try to recruit and retain a diverse workforce of uniformed personnel to reflect the societies they defend, a systematic effort should be undertaken to determine effects of civilian integration on retention of women and

racial minorities in both the military and civilian components of the total force. Gender and racial differences are also important to examine with respect to mental health outcomes, and the establishment and enactment of military related identities since the model presented suggests varying outcomes due to these key characteristics.

Conclusion

This article presents a theoretical framework to analyze micro-level outcomes and link them to macro-level effects in the larger military. By focusing on the abstract relationships between degree of role and status diversification within the military, the military's level of successful cultural and technological innovation, logistical loads, and level of individuals' willingness and ability to participate in the power network, this model provides a more holistic representation that links micro and macro levels of analysis and highlights critical similarities and differences between military and civilian populations. For example, by acknowledging how the degree of role and status diversification can complicate the effectiveness of cultural and technological innovation to address issues of identity, cohesion, or mental health issues, this model suggests new avenues of research to explain mil-civ differences in the literature.

Overall, the review of the literature across several micro-level outcomes has demonstrated the broad utility of this model to organize extant studies, to trace potential impacts across organizational levels, and to guide future research in military sociology that integrate micro-macro levels of analysis.

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