

# Civilian Control of the Military with Regard to Value-Based Issues in a World of Hybrid Conflicts

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Hybrid conflicts bring with them many varied situations in which the need to neutralize threats and ensure security on the one hand clashes with the need for restraint and moderation in the use of military force to achieve these goals on the other hand. In the many instances in which the IDF has had to operate under such tension and maintain its values in force application, it has often found itself at the center of social and political division, and without the backing of the political echelon. The question of civilian control of military force to achieve political goals becomes even sharper in the world of hybrid conflicts, highlighting the need to consider the way in which values influence the use of military force and to study the political echelon's involvement in defining the army's values. In the military context, values serve as guiding principles for the use of force and open-fire orders, and have the capacity to influence the achievement of political goals and the area of political maneuvering. The article argues that in the world of hybrid conflicts, the political echelon – by means of mechanisms of civilian control – must have a say and be involved in value-related issues that influence how military force is used.

*Keywords:* civilian control, hybrid conflicts, IDF values, constabulary missions, civil-military relations, socio-military relations

Hybrid conflicts and densely populated urban environments are just two aspects of conflicts involving Western armies in recent decades.<sup>1</sup> Different conceptualizations and terminology notwithstanding – e.g.,

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“hybrid clashes,” “post-industrial wars,” “popular wars,” “new wars,” “asymmetric warfare,” and others – there is general agreement that such conflicts are characterized by a “blurring of the categories of warfare.” This article uses the term “hybrid conflict,” which was first introduced by US military analyst Frank Hoffman.<sup>2</sup> The term depicts a situation in which an adversary, operating on its own or as part of a larger force, makes concurrent use of a wide variety of combat strategies and tactics. It is the combination of these components that gives the conflict its hybrid nature as an amalgam that does not fit the definition of any single kind of warfare. This mode of operation increases the uncertainty, dynamism, instability, and ambiguousness of the military situation that characterizes the use of force in military conflicts.<sup>3</sup>

These “new wars” have increased the importance of value-based issues in warfare, which are discussed along with and in parallel to the operational discourse.<sup>4</sup> Overall, value-based issues have become more urgent and more significant for a number of reasons, including: the extent and the manner of use of military force against civilians, the application and validity of the open-fire instructions vis-à-vis civilians, the degree of sensitivity that is required by each situation, rules of conduct vis-à-vis representatives of the media, and action taken against local inhabitants disrupting order (in the case of the IDF, Jews or Arabs).

In recent decades constabulary missions<sup>5</sup> and policing forces have emerged as significant elements in the military operations of Western armies across a spectrum of conflicts ranging from warfare at one extreme to law and order enforcement missions at the other, for the purpose of safeguarding proper everyday life. Civilians are the direct object of policing.<sup>6</sup> As in the case of other Western armies, constabulary missions are also not foreign to the IDF. Since 1973, there has been a 30 percent overlap in Israel in the missions of the army and the police,<sup>7</sup> to the point that in the West Bank,<sup>8</sup> the IDF is heavily occupied with constabulary missions.<sup>9</sup> IDF missions of this sort require moderation, restraint, and minimalism, as opposed to the *modus operandi* in classic battle arenas in army versus army conflicts.<sup>10</sup>

Constabulary missions increase the complexity of military undertakings, the salience of the army’s values pertaining to how to execute the mission, and the link between these aspects and civilian control of the military. This complexity raises the question: What is the significance of civilian control of the army regarding the value-based issues that affect the manner in which force is used in hybrid conflicts?<sup>11</sup> This question, which has not

been sufficiently addressed in the literature or in the actual world, is the subject of this article, which will focus on three examples from recent years.

The first case, that of “the Hebron shooter,” occurred in the Tel Rumeida neighborhood in Hebron in March 2016, when an Israeli soldier stationed in the city shot and killed a neutralized Palestinian assailant. The second case, “the Palestinian teenager,” refers to an incident in the Nabi Salih neighborhood in Hebron in December 2017 between an IDF soldier and his commander and a teenage girl who slapped the officer at the entrance to her home. In the video clip that was posted on social media, the soldier and commander retained their self-control and did not respond to the physical violence or verbal abuse leveled at them. The third case, “political activists on the border of the Gaza Strip,” occurred in April 2018, when Israeli political activists arrived on the Israeli side of the border area and began hurling provocative accusations against the military force that was present. In the video clip posted on social media, the officer did not react to the accusations, and instructed a soldier who was in the area to behave in similar fashion. Another soldier, not seen in the clip, requested the activists to leave the area, which was described as a “closed military area.” The three examples exemplify situations in which a dilemma of values arises regarding how military force is used in operational situations that can be classified as constabulary missions. The differences among the cases enable us to understand the relevance of the realm of values to the way in which force is used, and the significance of the mechanisms of civilian control with regard to value-based issues. They therefore help demonstrate the manner in which value-based issues become more urgent and significant during hybrid conflicts.

The principal contention is that the political echelon, by means of mechanisms for civilian control, should be involved in value-based issues that affect the application of military force. As values serve as guiding principles for the use of force in the military context, and translate on the operative level into open-fire instructions – and as the aim of civilian control is to ensure that the use of military force serves the political goals – the political echelon’s involvement in value-based issues is imperative.

### **Civilian Control and Military Values**

This article addresses civilian political control of the military in the sense of the control mechanisms of the senior political echelon – including the prime minister, the defense minister, and members of the political-security

cabinet – over the military echelon, or the senior command of the army, including the chief of the General Staff and the officers of the General Staff. Civilian control is a tool employed by the political echelon, through political instructions, aimed at suiting the military effort to political goals while safeguarding the considerations and preferences of the political echelon. With regard to the realm of values, the aim of civilian control of the military is manifested in the political echelon’s responsibility and authority for ensuring that military force is used in a manner that does not subvert political goals and provides it with the required room to maneuver.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, value-based questions have a direct bearing on the essence of civilian control and differ from questions on the mode of force, that is to say, from military practice, to the way in which the military organization shapes its image in a democratic country.

### **Value-Based Issues and Intra-Organizational Order in the Military Context**

Values are ideal criteria based on worldviews pertaining to issues of justice, morals, and truth. A value system is the product of a social environment and constitutes a basis for social goals and how individuals judge behaviors and actions.<sup>13</sup> Values can restrain natural instinctive behavior of individuals in society in situations in which there is a dilemma or a conflicting interest.<sup>14</sup> In this regard, a person who succeeds in overcoming his/her urges is perceived as a person with values. In the military context, values serve as a code for the use of military force and are therefore guiding principles for the behavior that is expected from soldiers and commanders operating within and on behalf of a military system. Open-fire instructions are a prominent example of setting the rules of operational conduct based on formative values, such as the “purity of arms,” for one.<sup>15</sup>

The tasks of a military organization are schematically defined as defending the borders of the country and its essential interests, the sovereignty of the state, and the security of its citizens. This responsibility means protecting the spatial order in the area that is under the control and the jurisdiction of a given state. This is achieved in part by shaping space in a manner that serves the interests on behalf of the government’s elements, on whose behalf the army operates. The basis of the legitimacy for implementing order in space stems from the army’s role as a legitimate means for the state’s use of organized violence.<sup>16</sup>

As part of the military socialization process and, inter alia, through operational and soldier training, soldiers and commanders learn that the effective use of military force requires intra-organizational order.<sup>17</sup> This is actualized in a variety of ways, such as safeguarding the organizational structure, maintaining the chain of command, communicating between echelons, and emphasizing the execution of orders and instructions (in normal times, during warfare, and in states of emergency). These are modes of operation that help an organization maintain its internal organizational operating framework, and at the same time, enable it to operate effectively in space (that is external to it) in order to produce suitable responses to various types of threats that have the potential to disrupt its undertakings.

Values are an inseparable part of the soldiers' training and exercises. During these processes, soldiers internalize the principles that guide the operations of the military organization in normal times and during warfare; they learn the values that guide military action, and the instruction that occurs in its wake. Values, therefore, are one of the means at the disposal of armies (like all organizations) for protecting the intra-organizational order and carrying out its tasks. Armies engaged in hybrid conflicts face a significant challenge in actualizing spatial order, due partly to the difficulty of defining political goals and translating them into military undertakings.<sup>18</sup>

### **Military Action in Constabulary Missions**

In Israel, the dilemmas involved with conducting constabulary missions highlight the debate regarding value-based issues, as the values code guiding these missions reflects an active conflict underlying the most contentious political division in Israeli society: the future of the West Bank. As part of a comprehensive study, this article examines the examples cited above through an analysis of six prominent characteristics of constabulary missions: a) the phenomenon of the "strategic corporal"; 2) tension between the values of the military and the need to neutralize threats; 3) the increasingly legal nature of the military operational environment; 4) tension between constabulary missions and the ethos of military combat; 5) the presence of the media; 6) sensemaking in complex military situations.

*The phenomenon of the "strategic corporal":* In hybrid conflicts, actions on the tactical level, and even on the level of the individual soldier, sometimes have strategic implications that go beyond the battlefield and may result in serious deterioration not only from a security perspective but also from a political perspective. This phenomenon is known in the literature as the

“strategic corporal.”<sup>19</sup> The meaning of the concept “is not that the corporal actually employs strategic considerations, but rather that his/her actions have immediate strategic significance.”<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the most important question in this context pertains not to the action of the corporal, rather to the reaction of the commanders, the political echelon, and the public echelon.<sup>21</sup>

*Tension between the values of the military and the need to neutralize threats:* Constabulary missions sharpen value-based questions as well as the need for civilian supervision of the military echelon, as the nature of the missions repeatedly highlight their complexity and volatility; the dilemmas stemming from the nature of the use of military force they require; and most importantly, their possible implications for political goals, strategic interests, and the freedom of action to maneuver that is required by the political echelon. As a result, constabulary missions constitute a challenge in both the military values realm and the political realm.

The military values challenge is manifested in the tension that exists between the need to neutralize threats and to shape spatial order, and the restraint and moderation in the use of force that also stems from the need to operate in accordance with the values of the IDF. The political challenge is manifested in the essence of establishing order in space through the measured and restrained use of military force in a manner that is meant to serve political goals. As the nature of the use of military force is also influenced by a value-based code of conduct, the political echelon is subject to an obligation to understand the resulting significance, outline its emphases, and ensure that they are represented in the formulation of the values of the IDF, and especially in the manner in which they are actualized and impact on the use of force. All of these must serve as significant pillars of civilian control of the army.

*The increasingly legal nature of the military operational environment:* According to the directives of the IDF chief of staff in 2009, legal counsel was affixed to combat operations and the preparations for warfare as part of the “operational whole.” This directive was a product of the changes that have come to characterize the IDF’s combat environment in recent decades; the global processes and “the spirit of the times” in the international arena vis-à-vis the expanded criticism of the actions of armies, according to criteria that emphasize human rights; and efforts to limit this damage through legal and diplomatic means.<sup>22</sup> These processes have also had an

impact on Israel, as IDF operations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip raise issues related to human rights.<sup>23</sup>

*Tension between constabulary missions and the ethos of military combat:* In constabulary missions in the context of hybrid conflicts, combat soldiers are required to change their modes of conduct – from modes of warfare that are aggressive by nature, to modes of enforcement of law and order. This transition demands a cognitive change from soldiers, high discipline, restraint, and versatility. Soldiers and commanders perceive constabulary missions as not providing them with glory or operational prestige, and therefore as non-rewarding from a professional perspective. Soldiers and commanders do not associate constabulary missions with high professional prestige and status in the army,<sup>24</sup> and they do not view them as the best way for them to advance their careers. As a result, they often do not ascribe importance to peacekeeping or constabulary missions.<sup>25</sup>

The three examples exemplify occurrences from contexts that deviate from the classical military missions embodied in warfare against a defined enemy with the aim of defeating it. All three occurred in the course of complex missions that required IDF fighters to exercise judgment and not act automatically; this mode of action is foreign to the classic combat soldier, whose professionalism is measured in part by the extent to which he is able to neutralize his thoughts and emotions and function automatically, like a machine.<sup>26</sup> In the cases of “the Palestinian teenager” and “the political activists,” the soldiers had to exercise high restraint in order to carry out their mission. This was reflected in the total lack of response, or extremely limited verbal response, both to the girl and the members of her family and to the political activists. In the case of “the Hebron shooter,” restraint was supposed to find expression in the fighter’s ability to control his emotions and not take out his anger on the person who attacked the IDF force that was present at the scene in a way that ran counter to the value of the purity of arms. These cases also highlight the cognitive change that is required of soldiers to carry out their constabulary missions, and the need to act in contradiction to the ethos of military combat.

*The presence of the media:* Constabulary missions are characterized by the prominent presence of the traditional and online media, including social networks. As a result, the actions of soldiers and commanders in the operational environment are filmed and photographed, documented, and disseminated immediately to wide audiences. Therefore, every action is subject to criticism and analysis, and this is also true in cases in which all

the relevant details have not yet been clarified. As a result of its dominant presence, the media plays a significant role in achieving and solidifying the legitimacy (internal and external) that governments try to secure for the actions of their armies and therefore it acts as a major force in the conflict on both a strategic and tactical level.

National and international legitimacy is influenced by images of “reality” presented in the traditional and online media. These images have become a formative force with an influence on the army’s use of force.<sup>27</sup> In each of the three cases, the media images of the events, which stemmed from the manner in which they were filmed and disseminated, played an important role in shaping the public debate that evolved around their publication. It also had an impact on the definition of military accomplishment, and as such, the fulfilment of political goals.

In all three cases, it is evident that the image that emerged in the media shaped the public discourse that evolved, to the point that the division surrounding the event pertained not to the crux of the matter underlying it but rather to the manner in which it was represented – that is to say, to its media image alone. Therefore, media image has become an additional element that militaries must take into consideration.<sup>28</sup> Due to the link between military accomplishment and political goal, the divisions created by the media image also have an influence on the political echelon and the way in which the public judges its ability to realize its political goals by means of the use of force. A negative image of an IDF action, and discord regarding operations and the erosion of the legitimacy (primarily international) of using the army, impairs the political echelon’s ability to advance political goals and limits its room to maneuver. Mechanisms of civilian control are supposed to reduce the potential for damage by ensuring better suitability between the use of military force and political goals.

*Sensemaking in complex military situations:* Leading subordinates in a complex reality presents commanders at various levels with a significant leadership challenge: mediating to their subordinates the “reality” that constitutes part of the sensemaking process.<sup>29</sup> This process is relevant to all leaders, including military leaders,<sup>30</sup> and is based on the assumption that the events that occur around us have no independent existence but rather are subject to the meaning we assign them. Through the process of sensemaking and sensegiving,<sup>31</sup> which are also based on value judgement and evaluation, commanders influence the way in which subordinates



generate interpretation of and meaning for different events (in routine day to day operations and during warfare).

Constabulary missions increase the importance of the commander's mediation of "reality" to subordinates. This is because such missions do not represent "classic" traditional military activity and instead are conducted vis-à-vis civilians, presenting dilemmas of values to the tactical echelon regarding the best mode of operation and learning the appropriate use of military force; because they are characterized by a high level of dynamism, which means that their situation assessments switch frequently, increasing the importance of the mediation of the "reality" in which they occur; and because, as constabulary missions are conducted in the presence of the media, the media coverage they receive may serve as a source of information that competes with that of the commander, thereby undermining his/her authority.<sup>32</sup>

The case of "the Hebron shooter" and "the political activists at the fence" exemplify the erosion of command authority by parties interfering in military situations. When interfering parties (for example, civilian parties who shout orders and can be found in abundance in contexts of hybrid conflicts) appear as competitors of the commander as the generator of meaning and the mediator of "reality," they disrupt the intra-organizational order.<sup>33</sup> In such situations, enforcement of order on the ground may also be disrupted. This actually occurs in hybrid contexts characterized by complex situations that are not unequivocal, due to the increasing importance of the commander as an instigator of intra-organizational order and a shaper of space. In other words, disrupting the activity of mediating "reality" therefore has the potential to disrupt the military mission.

Moreover, the weakening of command authority leads to a situation in which commanders' control over the necessary modes of operation is weakened. Such situations immediately raise a number of questions, including: Who is the sovereign on the ground? Who gives the orders – the civilians or the commanders? What system of values guides the soldiers' actions? And who interprets and gives meaning to what happens on the ground; that is to say, who mediates the "reality" from which the modes of military operations are derived? It is a situation in which a civilian system of values that is an alternative to that of the army can emerge and seep into its ranks. When the military echelon finds itself devoid of the political echelon's backing for its interpretation of the mode of use of military force and the spirit of the values of the IDF, the command authority at every level

of the military erodes; and where command authority erodes, so does the value system. As a result, the code regarding the use of military force is disrupted in a manner that could disrupt the actualization of political goals and limit the political echelon's freedom of action and room to maneuver. This explains the link between the essence of civilian control and value-based issues, and the need for civilian control by the elected political echelon as it applies to the army.

### Conclusion

This article considers the essence of the values of the army as a compass to guide the use of military force, as well as the challenge posed to the values of the military by a world of hybrid conflicts that are characterized by a broad and expanding scope of constabulary missions. The complexity and attributes of constabulary missions intensify dilemmas of values, and in places where a value failure causes the use of force to create damage with strategic significance, the ability of the political echelon's ability to further its political goals and its room for political maneuvering is likely to be significantly reduced. Moreover, wherever value-based dilemmas remain the domain of the military alone, the army becomes subject to pressures between the tactical echelons and the more senior echelons within the army, and between the army and society. Therefore, the political echelon leaves the military echelon without backing in a struggle over values, and contributes in practice to the undermining of the foundation of values underlying the training of the military force and the manner in which it is used.<sup>34</sup> This can be viewed as an outcome or symptom of the lack of effective civilian control. In this way, the political echelon contributes to a situation in which values no longer constitute an accepted code for the use of force but rather an issue of public division falling within the most divided and sensitive realm in Israeli society.

As the struggle over values in Israeli society is an expression of the struggle among different socio-political groups, it invites political leaders, and the shapers of public opinion within these groups, to make their voices heard. Such developments give public attention to the discussion of value-based questions and make them a subject of polarized political debate. This debate penetrates the military by means of socio-political pressure groups operating outside of it that try to advance their political ideas regarding the value-based discussion. In this way, they accelerate the politicization of the army.

Non-intervention on the part of the political echelon in a manner that emphasizes its responsibility for IDF values and the lack of support for the military echelon and the formative values of the IDF is indicative of weak civilian control. It may lead to a reality whereby the way in which military force is exercised can disrupt and even prevent the actualization of political goals and vital interests of the State of Israel, as they are understood by the political leadership. Therefore, in the spirit of the main argument advanced in the article, the political echelon – within the framework of its complete responsibility for civilian control of the army – must have a say and be involved in the value-based issues that affect the way in which military force is exercised. This is necessary to its ability to ensure that the use of military force serves its political goals.

## Notes

- 1 For example, see M. Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006); F. G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars* (Arlington, VA: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007).
- 2 This article uses the term most common in the literature, “hybrid conflict.” The term “hybrid” links the types of warfare and the nature of the actor (which can be an organization, militia, state, or any other group) with the various means used as a response for these types of warfare.
- 3 Carmit Padan, “Military Leadership in Israel: Juggling between Models of Leadership,” *Social Issues in Israel* 20 (2015): 80-107 [in Hebrew].
- 4 Roni Tiargan-Or, Meytal Eran Jona, and Rinat Moshe, “Morality and Values in Light of the New War,” in *Sociological and Psychological Aspects of Military Activity in the Civilian Realm*, ed. Meytal Eran Jona (IDF Department of Behavioral Science: Bamahaneh Publications, 2013), pp. 106-25 [in Hebrew].
- 5 Morris Janowitz coined this term in relation to the nature of the action of the US army during the Cold War era, including the prominent attribute of the use of limited force. See Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (New York: Free Press; original edition: London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1960).
- 6 Eyal Ben-Ari and Meytal Eran Jona, “Military Activity in the Civilian Realm: Hybrid Conflicts, Mixed Logics,” in *Sociological and Psychological Aspects of Military Activity in the Civilian Realm*, pp. 62-86 [in Hebrew].
- 7 Giora Eiland, “The Changing Nature of War: Six New Challenges,” *Strategic Assessment* 10, no. 1 (2007): 15-22.
- 8 Hadas Minka-Brand, “Bad Apples: An Organizational Approach to Commanders’ Contending with Soldiers’ Violence against Civilians,” *Sociological and Psychological Aspects of Military Activity in the Civilian Realm* (Bamahaneh, 2013), pp. 159-72.

- 9 The constabulary missions conducted by the IDF are executed in a context of ongoing conflict, whereas the constabulary missions of other Western democracies take place in remote arenas of conflict that are not related to the domestic political and social agenda.
- 10 Ben-Ari and Eran Jona, "Military Activity in the Civilian Realm."
- 11 Other IDF missions conducted in a civilian environment but not classified as constabulary missions include warfare against Hezbollah and anti-terrorism operations in the West Bank and against Hamas in the Gaza Strip.
- 12 Kobi Michael, "The Learning Failure in the Test of Suitability between Statesmanship and Militarism in the Fight against Terrorism in the Middle East," *Politika: Israeli Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 25 (2016): 99-136 [in Hebrew].
- 13 Meg J. Rohan, "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct," *Personality and Social Psychology* 4, no. 3 (2000): 255-77.
- 14 Avraham Even Shoshan, *Even Shoshan Dictionary*, 2004 [in Hebrew].
- 15 In the IDF-military context, instrumental (professional-organizational) values must be distinguished from universal values (of a socio-national character). Universal values such as adherence to the mission and camaraderie serve as military codes of conduct that shape and influence the mode of use of force. Universal values such as the purity of arms and the sanctity of human life also impact on how which force is used, including open-fire instructions. They therefore cannot be left entirely to the military echelon. As open-fire instructions are always necessary for the activity of armies – especially in realities of hybrid conflicts requiring, inter alia, careful judgement, and exacting restraint – the political echelon must be involved in their drafting.
- 16 Bernard Boen, "How 'Unique' Should the Military Be? A Review of Representative Literature and Outline of a Synthetic Formulation," *European Journal of Sociology* 31 (1990): 3-59.
- 17 Carmit Padan, "The Social Structuring of a 'Crisis Event': Commanders as Reality Constructors," doctoral dissertation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2017 [in Hebrew].
- 18 Eiland, "The Changing Nature of War."
- 19 The notion of "the strategic corporal" was introduced by General Charles Krulak in his article "The Strategic Corporal: Leadership in the Three Block War," *Marines Magazine* (1999).
- 20 Yagil Henkin, "The Death of the Strategic Corporal," *Maarachot* 464 (2015): 45-53 [in Hebrew].
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Tiargan-Or et al., "Morality and Values in Light of the New War," p. 120.
- 23 Ibid., p. 108.
- 24 Derek Lutterback, "Between Police and the Military: The New Security Agenda and the Rise of Gendarmeries," *Cooperation and Conflict* 36 (2014): 45-68.

- 25 B. J. Reed and D. R. Segal, "The Impact of Multiple Deployments on Soldiers' Peacekeeping Attitudes, Morale and Retention," *Armed Forces & Society* 27 (2000): 57-78.
- 26 Eyal Ben-Ari, *Mastering Soldiers: Conflict, Emotions, and the Enemy in an Israeli Military Unit* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1998).
- 27 In an interview, an IDF brigade commander said: "I understand that public opinion in Israel and around the world is another arena of operation to which I, as a brigade commander, am obligated. When such an event occurs, the schedule is set aside and it becomes the focus." See Yossi Yehoshua and Reuven Weiss, "The Sniper Functioned in a Super Value-Based and Professional Manner. Measures will be Taken against the Soldier who Filmed and Cursed," *Yediot Ahronot*, April 13, 2018 [in Hebrew].
- 28 One example is the order that was issued to the commander of the IDF Paratroopers Battalion to raise the Israeli flag as a sign of victory at the end of the battle in the western section of Bint Jbeil, in which dozens of IDF soldiers were wounded and killed.
- 29 Karl Weick, *Making Sense of the Organization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).
- 30 Carmit Padan and Uzi Ben-Shalom, "Sensemaking of Military Leaders in Combat and its Aftermath: A Phenomenological Inquiry," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 46, no. 2 (forthcoming).
- 31 D. A. Gioia and K. Chittipeddi, "Sensemaking and Sensegiving in Strategic Change Initiation," *Strategic Management Journal* 12, no. 6 (1991): 433-48.
- 32 Ofri Ilany, "Generals Have No One to Love Them," *Haaretz*, March 30, 2018 [in Hebrew]: "Patriotic inciters...roar 'way to go IDF,' but gain support at the expense of the army commanders themselves."
- 33 Competing elements with the authority of the commander over civilians on the ground, and military and political analysts threaten intra-army order and order on the ground. As said by the IDF Chief of Staff: "Those who attack us for events, such as the company commander who did not react when he was attacked...are people who have come to further an agenda. They are not concerned with the image of the IDF or the security of Israel. It is an extremely problematic phenomenon...There is a desire here to delegitimize the army. They want a different IDF than the one to which I am referring – a people's army that is state-focused, professional, and businesslike, and that needs to remain as such. When it is not this way, we will begin talking about an existential threat." See Amos Harel and Yaniv Kobovitz, "The Greatest Threat May Come from Home," *Haaretz*, March 30, 2018 [in Hebrew].
- 34 As Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Gadi Eisenkot frequently heralded "statesmanship," and named "statesmanship" as an internal organizing mechanism in face of the socio-political noise from outside. See Amos Harel, "The IDF's Secret Weapon in the Political and Cultural Battlefield: Statesmanship," *Haaretz*, March 16, 2018.