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Military Co-operation in Multinational Missions: The Case of EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Nina Leonhard
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(Eds.)

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Introduction

The Multinational Research Project about the HQ of MNTF SE in Mostar (BiH) – A General Introduction

Giulia Aubry

The French-German-Italian-Spanish project of analysing the multinational co-operation in the Multinational Headquarters Southeast (MNHQ/SE) in Mostar could be considered as a natural consequence of the academic relatively recent interest in studying military multinationality.

The end of the East-West conflict in general and the consequent increase of multinational military missions abroad – which include different types of operations from traditional war-fighting to peace-enforcement, peacekeeping and humanitarian aid – have led to a kind of “internationalization of military life” (Klein/Kümmel 2000: 311). In a multinational theatre – above all in peacekeeping operations – military personnel will be confronted with many different challenges which are no longer related to the operational or the combat level only but also to the sociocultural one. The “new soldiers” need to speak different languages (the English idiom is nowadays to be considered as a sort of “lingua franca” for the majority of the military personnel involved in missions abroad), to have intercultural competences, to be loyal to their nation and to integrate themselves into the multinational environment.

This new military intercultural environment could be an opportunity for better understanding each other and for a deeper co-operation between different countries in granting international security, but also a menace for the mission’s effectiveness if there is no adequate understanding and handling of the differences. To put it more simply, multinational co-operation in the complex situation of a mission abroad could create a better working environment on the one hand or, on the other hand, could reinforce misperceptions and stereotypes which could create a lack in communication and many troubles to the traditional military chain of command and control.

For all these reasons, the multinational research team has focussed on the specific situation of an European Union Mission like *Althea* in Bosnia-Herzegovina which can be considered not only as one more mission within the framework of the European Secu-

rity and Defence Policy but also as one more step toward a stronger military integration as envisaged in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997.

According to this general background the immediate practical interests in a study on interaction and co-operation within the MNHQ/SE in Mostar could be resumed as follows:

- to examine perception and practices among French, German, Italian and Spanish soldiers and the respective perceptions of each other;
- to identify the causes of possible structural deficits and disturbances affecting the unit's mission accomplishment;
- to analyse concrete processes of multinational military co-operation;
- and to analyse practices of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and potential future developments.

Obviously, this research design is not the first of its kind. The German Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences (SWInstBw), which initiated this project, has already worked on those issues in the previous years analysing, for example,

- the Multinational Corps Northeast in Szczecin (composed by Polish, Danish and German soldiers) (see Gareis et al. 2003);
- the German-Netherlands Corps (see vom Hagen et al. 2003 and 2006);
- the Italian-German co-operation in the KFOR HQ in Prizren (Kosovo), in co-operation with the Italian Chair of Sociology of Peace Processes in the Faculty of Political Science at the University Roma TRE (see Keller et al. 2008);
- and the French-German co-operation in France and Germany, in co-operation with the Centre d'études en sciences sociales de la défense (C2SD, Paris) (see Pajon 2006; Leonhard/Gareis 2008).

Therefore we can consider this work as a contribution to the study of European military multinationality which could be seen not only as a scientific analysis but also a tool for all those working on the creation of a deeper and more effective co-operation between different European countries in the field of European Security and Defence Policy.

1 The Composition of the Multinational Research Team

The idea of examining the specific situation of the mission *Althea* at the HQ in Mostar emerged from a similar Italian-German research on the KFOR HQ in Prizren (Kosovo) just mentioned (Keller et al. 2008). Considering the results and findings of this research, it seemed to be important to expand the analysis to a more complex multinational organization in a mission abroad, like the multinational HQ at Mostar in the European mission framework of *Althea*. Moreover the mission *Althea* is one of the first EU military missions, the biggest and most ambitious one so far, taken over from NATO deployment in a country which has experienced heavy international presence since Dayton agreements in 1995.

The “natural” partners for this project, because of their previous experiences in this research field, were the French Centre d’études en sciences sociales de la défense (C2SD) in Paris and the Spanish Unidad de Sociología del Ejército de Tierra (USET) in Madrid. It is important to underline that the four partners have different backgrounds (the German and French teams come from research institutions which have been studying the armed forces for many years, the Italian team comes from an academic institution well experienced in collaborating with the Italian armed forces and the Spanish team is responsible for sociological investigations on behalf of the Spanish Army Chief of Staff) and that their co-operation was made possible in large part by the approval (necessary for security reasons) and support that the four institutions received from their respective Ministries of Defence, which enabled them to conduct the research in the field.

At the first multinational working conference in Rome, in November 2005, each country was represented by one to three researchers. During the following meetings this number changed so that at the moment of the deployment on the field each national team was composed by two researchers.

In addition to the different nationalities represented, the research team also covered a large spectrum of disciplines within the social sciences from psychology to anthropology and from sociology to international relations. Considering the complexity of the research subject, this was an obvious strong point of the team, since it allowed a very differentiated and multi-faceted analysis of interaction in the HQ. For the same reason, however, the multinational team-building and working needed a long and intensive adjustment process. The use of English as the common working language, the technical jargon – characteristic of the different disciplines but also of the different countries –

and the differing research traditions of the participating institutions had direct effects on the research procedures and discussions. In this initial phase it was useful to start from the instrument and the guidelines of the previous Italian-German research project which were adapted to the specific situation of the quadro-national environment. In this context, it is also interesting to note that the format of the team mirrored the multinational structure of the EU Task Force *Salamander* and its complexity. The multinational research team met three times in Rome before the deployment on the field between September and October 2006 and had a final meeting in Paris in June 2007 for writing the common conclusions.

2 Method and Instruments

For the purpose of this research is important to explain the procedures and instruments employed and to underline that they are the results of a long process of negotiation between the different teams and researchers of the multinational team. At the very beginning of the work there was an evaluation of documents and data on EUFOR mission *Althea* in general and on the respective national contribution, which helped the researchers to better understand the general framework in which they had to work. The deployment of the national teams in Mostar took place in the period between the mid-August and mid-October 2006. For national logistic reasons it was not possible to do the fieldwork at the same time. So the national teams were present in Mostar as follows:

French team: August 23 – September 5, 2006

German team: August 24 – September 4, 2006

Italian team: September 26 – October 3, 2006

Spanish team: October 4 – October 18, 2006.

The survey instruments on the field consisted of:

1. Participatory observation

A particularly appropriate method for gaining deep insight in a relatively short time-frame was that of observation by participation. For this reason the researchers lived at the Mostar camp side by side with the soldiers (not only of the same nationality), participated in some activities during working hours and leisure time (from the medal parade to the German Beer Festival/Oktobertfest), and talked directly to the members of the mission.

2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are conversations pre-structured by the researchers representing a compromise between a purely narrative conversation and a standardised interview with a high theory-led steering element. In total 78 semi-structured interviews were conducted during August and October 2007 (30 for the Italian contingent, 22 for the German contingent and 26 for the French contingent. No semi-structured interviews were conducted by the Spanish team while the German team organised six group discussions for a total of 24 soldiers). Before leaving for Bosnia and Herzegovina the research team had created a form of interview that could give to the respondents the possibility to verbalise their perceptions and interpretations in a deeper way than in a closed questionnaire. This method helped the researchers to understand the perceptions and the challenges of the multinational environment from the individual soldiers' perspective.

3. Quantitative survey

The most important instrument of the project was a survey among the HQ members by means of a common questionnaire. This instrument was developed by the members of the research team on the basis of the previous Italian-German research in this field and administered to all soldiers of the four national contingents. Altogether, 551 soldiers answered the questionnaire: 289 Spanish soldiers, 138 French soldiers, 76 Italian soldiers and 48 German soldiers.

The questionnaires were collected with support by the administrative personnel (after a short instructional session) by the different units. Some of the questionnaires were directly returned to the researchers in Mostar, others were sent to the SWInstBw by mail for data evaluation.

In the following sections, the results of the qualitative and quantitative research will be presented. After a general presentation of the goals and structure of the EUFOR mission *Althea* (Manuel Casas Santero), first the characteristics of the four national contingents (Nadège Ragaru, Giulia Aubry & Valeria Rosato, Nina Leonhard, Manuel Casas Santero & Eulogio Sánchez Navarro) will be described. The chapters of the second part will then analyse similarities and differences between the soldiers of the four nations on selected issues, regarding dynamics of co-operation (Maria Luisa Maniscalco, Giulia Aubry, Valeria Rosato), national stereotypes (Heike Paschotta), leadership (Manuel Casas Santero & Eulogio Sánchez Navarro), motivation (Heiko Biehl), and European

integration (Nadège Ragaru). In this connection we would like to thank Andrea Fengler and Edgar Naumann at the SWInstBw for helping us to establish the manuscript.

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The European Union's Military Contribution to the Stabilization and Integration Process of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Family of European Nations

Manuel Casas Santero

The future of the western Balkans, in which Bosnia and Herzegovina plays a principal and significant role, is a matter that particularly concerns the European Union (EU). The military operation *Althea* is only one of the aspects used by the EU to meet this challenge, introducing a new feature to the political commitments already in place, the aid programs and the control and monitoring missions that are currently being carried out.

Althea is the third military operation and the most extensive one the EU has carried out so far. The European Military Force, known as EUFOR, symbolizes the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) which is considered to be the basis of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The CFSP, besides its objective to strengthen the European Union's security, has a vital mission to maintain international peace and security, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

1 The European Union's Military Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina: EUFOR Operation *Althea*

The EU started to execute a military operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUFOR operation *Althea*) in December 2004, following NATO's decision to finalize the SFOR mission. EUFOR conducted a wide range deployment of about 6,300 troops with the object of assuring the implementation of the Dayton Agreements (annexes 1 & 2 of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH [GFAP]) and its contribution to provide a peaceful and secure environment in BiH. These have been and still are the current key objectives of operation *Althea*.

This European Union mission is part of a coherent approach to the conflict, supporting to a large extent the political commitment of the EU and its aid programs (conducted presently by the police monitoring and observer missions), which aims at assisting Bos-

nia and Herzegovina to advance towards full European Integration within the framework of the Stabilization and Partnership for Peace Process.

Resolution 1575 of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), adopted unanimously on November 22, 2004, welcomed the intention of the European Union to launch a military operation in BiH. It authorized member states to act through or in co-operation with the EU to establish a multinational stabilization force (EUFOR) to legitimately succeed SFOR under a unified command. Thus EUFOR assumed the leading role in the military context for implementing peace and stabilizing the country.

Operation *Althea* has been implemented with the resources and capabilities of NATO in line with the agreement signed by the EU and NATO and termed “Berlin Plus”. The EUFOR Headquarters were set up in Sarajevo (Camp Butmir) and the corresponding “Status of Force Agreement” (SOFA) and Host Nation Support Agreements (HNS) were established. Moreover, an Integrated Police Unit (IPU) was set up with executive powers, drawn from the EUFOR mandate.

The objectives of the support efforts conducted by EU forces are

- to provide the necessary support to the International Criminal Court for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), including the arrest of Persons Indicted for War Crimes (PIFWICs);
- to provide a security environment wherein the police can fight organized crime.

2 Operation Process

With respect to the operations conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina the main tasks of the EUFOR personnel consist of

- disarmament;
- deterrence;
- support provided to local administrations, especially related to border controls and suppression of illegal activities carried out in border areas.

Disarmament

During the task of disarming, a great number of weapons and explosives have been seized or handed in voluntarily. Besides, de-mining operations on a large scale have been taken place in the Southern and Eastern parts of the country.

Deterrence

Deterrence functions have been conducted by means of a visible and constant presence all over the country. For example, EUFOR in co-operation with the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) supported the Bosnian authorities in law enforcement and stability operations in July 2005, marking the 10th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre.

Support for local administrations

One of the main objectives of operation *Althea* consists of confidence building measures adopted jointly with local administrations. Concerted actions to fight organized crime and drug trafficking as well as operations carried out in collaboration with the State Border Control Service through the Integrated Police Unit (IPU) of EUFOR are especially important in this respect.

Nevertheless, one has to point out that co-operation not always has been successful. For instance, when in 2005 the EU offered to establish joint training programs with the Bosnian armed forces as part of the EUFOR operational functions, the proposal was rejected by the Bosnian Ministry of Defense.

3 Objectives Achieved So Far

Operation *Althea* has successfully assured compliance with the Dayton agreement and has contributed to maintaining a stable and secure environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina through deterrence and security.

Deterrence and security are guaranteed by means of a visible presence and an effective exercise of authority. In pursuance of this policy, for example, EUFOR regularly has carried out significant weapons seizures all over the country, has investigated firms suspected of indulging in activities violating the General Framework Agreement for Peace

in BiH (GFAP) and has taken part in de-mining operations. Thereby EUFOR has co-operated closely with other protagonists of the EU in the theatre of operations, including the Special Representative of the EU (EUSR), the Police Mission to the EU (EUPM) and the European Union Monitoring Mission (EUMM). Moreover, EUFOR has provided overall support to the international community, and inevitably, to local authorities. EUFOR has conducted operations to support local agencies responsible for the implementation of laws fighting criminal offences (such as illegal clearing of forest) and organized crime. These operations, undertaken at the request of local authorities with full support by the EUPM (in accordance with the established common operational procedures), have helped to develop and strengthen the capabilities of local agencies to enforce the law. The EUPM in co-operation with EUFOR successfully has assumed a leading role in coordinating the steps intended to effectively deal with organized crime.

By supporting local agencies to implement laws against organized crime, EUFOR has also helped to neutralize public support for individuals accused by the ICTY and thus contributed to the consolidation of a stable and secure environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

EU & Bosnia-Herzegovina

The EU continues to provide full support for the European ambitions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The future of BiH lies in the smooth running of the state, which at the same time should be a stable multiethnic state, firmly based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law within its internationally recognized borders.

Operation *Althea* represents a factor of closely coordinated presence of the EU in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Special Representative of the EU strives to promote the political coordination and overall coherence of the European Union in BiH.

More than € 2.5 billion from European Community funds were assigned to Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1991 to meet war expenditure and post-war developmental projects (excluding bilateral aid received from European member states estimated at an amount exceeding € 1.8 billion for the 1996–2000 period). From 1999 to 2000, EU aid (ECHO, PHARE, and Obnova) focussed on projects related to the return of refugees and reconstruction work. Since 2001, however, attention has been focussed on strengthening institutional capabilities and economic growth in accordance with the Association and Stabilization Process targets.

Until now, the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has improved to the extent that the European Union was able to pass on to a transition process in operation *Althea*.

4 Transition

On February 27, 2007 the EU decided to restructure and transform operation *Althea* according to the enhanced security situation in the country. In view of the potential outcome of the security situation in the region, it was resolved that EUFOR would be reduced in size and gradually restructured but that the EU would keep a strong military presence as a part of its overall involvement in Bosnia- Herzegovina, thus contributing towards the maintenance of a stable and secure environment. In 2007, corresponding to the transition plan, EUFOR maintained about 2,500 troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina capable of providing an appropriate military response whenever necessary. Additionally, a multinational manoeuvre battalion was established in Sarajevo. EUFOR has kept its presence throughout the country through the Liaison and Observation Teams (LOTs). It has likewise maintained its response capability for the entire country in case of any security threat; the reserve forces also remained in a state of permanent readiness.

Through EUFOR the EU will uphold an effective military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with its peacekeeping mandate corresponding to chapter VII of the UN Charter (Security Council Resolution 1551). While clearly demonstrating that the responsibility of full co-operation with the ICTY devolves upon Bosnian authorities, EUFOR will also continue to provide support to the ICTY, including the arrest of persons accused of war crimes.

5 Structure of the Multinational Task Force Southeast (MNTF SE)

The Multinational Task Force *Salamander* is one of the three task forces deployed by EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina and consisting of troops from six countries (Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Morocco and Albania). The Headquarters were set up at “Base Europe” in Mostar-Otije. In 2006, at the time of this research, the total number of troops belonging to the MNTF SE amounted to 1,500 soldiers: the majority of them, especially from France and Spain, were stationed in Mostar, the others were located all over Bosnia-Herzegovina, in particular in Rajlovac (Germany) and Rogatica (Italy). The TF was commanded by a one star General. The post of the commander such as the posts

of the CoS, Operations Chief, and G3-Chief were held alternately by the Italian, French, German and Spanish contingents and rotated every six months.

The tasks of the MNTF SE can be described as follows:

- to maintain military power with a rapid response capability;
- to keep control of the (social, political and military) situation within their area of responsibility;
- to support the local authorities in fighting organized crime.

In 2006, the Multinational Task Force Southeast consisted of various companies and units (see figure 1).

Four tactical companies – **Company Alpha, Bravo, Charlie and Delta** – were designed to guarantee the rapid response capability. The first two were made up of Spanish forces and were stationed in Mostar. The HQ of Company Charlie was stationed in Rogatica (Srpska Republic) and was composed of Italian forces. The fourth company (Delta) was German and stationed in Rajlovac. All of them accomplished patrolling duties in their assigned areas and gathered information in specific operations to support the local authorities.¹

The operational capability of the Task Force (TF) *Salamander* was reinforced by the Italian **Heliborne Detachment** based in Rajlovac.

The **Engineer Company** of the MNTF SE was designed to carry out engineer combat missions and to monitor de-mining tasks. It consisted of one platoon with three mine monitoring teams, one platoon equipped with engineer equipment and one platoon of Italian military engineers.

The **Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance Unit (ISRU)** was assigned to provide information regarding different power structures, political parties, religious groups, etc.

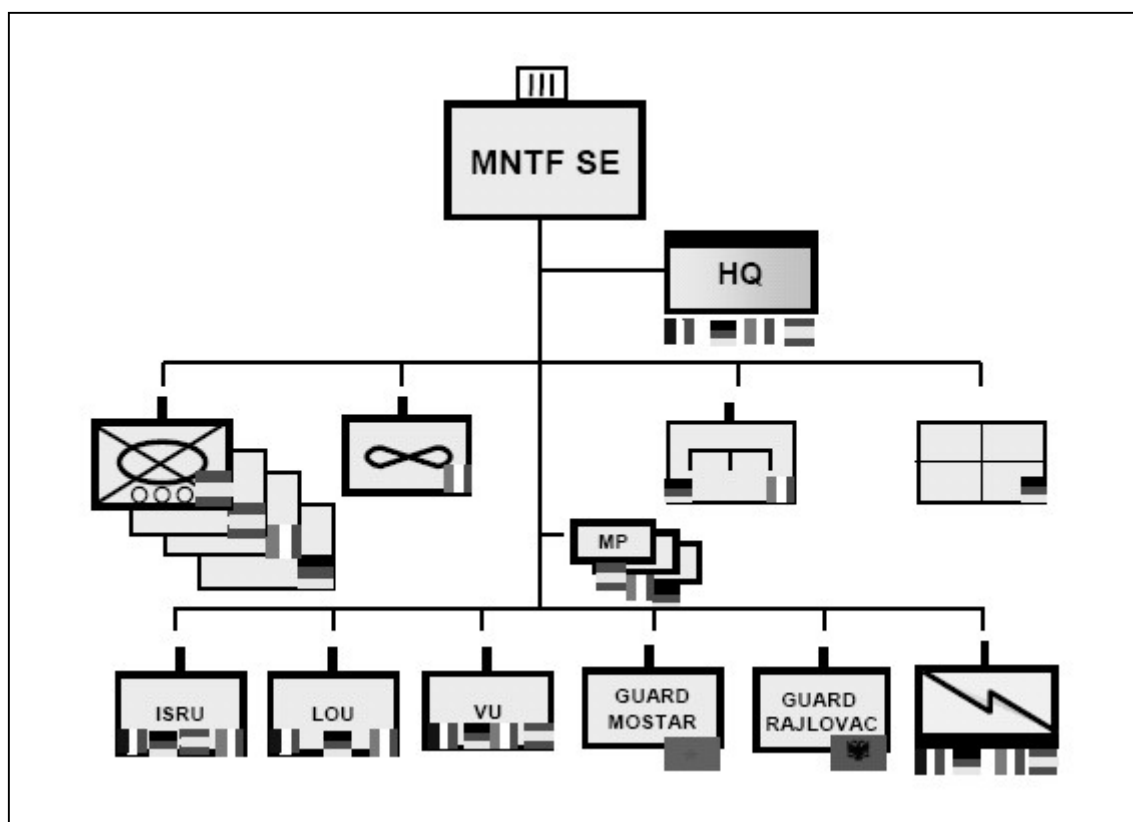
The **Verification Unit (VU)** controlled and coordinated the administrative activities related to weapons and munitions storage sites of both Bosnian entities (Croat-Muslim Federation and Srpska Republic).

¹ For instance, Operation “Spring Clean” was successfully carried out jointly by the MNTF SE with the local police, the State Border Services, Indirect Taxation Agency and the State Investigation and Protection Agency.

The **Liaison and Observation Unit (LOU)** was made up of 16 **Liaison and Observation Teams (LOT)**, four from each of the lead nations (Italy, France, Germany, Spain). The LOTs were located in different zones within the area of concern of the MNTF SE, which encompassed territory both of the Croat-Muslim Federation and the Srpska Republic. The soldiers belonging to the LOTs lived in houses among the local population. They were supposed to exchange information with the local authorities, institutions and civilian population, create a climate of confidence and identify potential security problems.

Last but not least, the **Communications Information System (CIS)** guaranteed the telecommunications link. The **Command Support Unit (CSU)** was responsible for logistics for the multinational HQ, the respective **National Support Elements (NSE)** provided logistic support for the national contingents.

Figure 1: Structure of MNTF SE



**Part I:
The Four National Contingents
of the MNTF SE –
General Remarks and
Characteristics**

The French Contingent of the MNTF SE in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Nadège Ragaru

1 France's Military Involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Perspective: Previous Multinational Operations in the Balkans

Since the outbreak of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Spring of 1992, France has been involved in the management of the Bosnian conflict and post-conflict situation in various capacities (Canivez 1993; Macleod 1997; Chenu 1997). In 1992, French troops were deployed within the framework of the UN operation in former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR)¹ where they participated in the protection of Sarajevo airport, in the delivery of humanitarian assistance and in the securization of the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs), that is, the demilitarized “safe-haven” enclaves.² Following the signature of the Dayton Accords (21 November/14 December 1995) that put an end to the war, the French military contributed to the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR)³ and took the leadership in establishing a military base at Mostar-Otiješ (Multinational Division South East, MND-SE). The French were responsible for the logistics, as well as for the management of the camp. Within the framework of operation *Althea* (launched on December 2, 2004), this mode of organization was retained.⁴ Beside taking part in UN-led and NATO-led international missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, members of the French military have been deployed to several other Balkan locations in the past decade, notably to Kosovo (KFOR after 1999), to Macedonia (within the framework of the first European Security and Defence Policy [ESDP] military mission, *Concordia*, from March 2003 to December 2003) as well as to Albania (at the time of

1 UNPROFOR totalled around 39,000 personnel in March 1995. For further information on the mandate and composition of UNPROFOR, see http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unprof_b.htm (last consulted on April 28, 2007).

2 France's participation in UNPROFOR steadily increased throughout the conflict. In August 31, 1992, 2,878 French soldiers were deployed in the UN peace operation. By August 1995, their number had grown to 6,955 (including 868 troops in Croatia and 1 soldier in Macedonia) (see Tardy 1999: 91). From June 1993 till March 1994, UNPROFOR was led by French general, Jean Cot. Later on, this position was assumed by French general de Sauville de la Presle. For an insider's outlook on the mission, see Cot (1999). For a critical balance sheet, see Tardy (1999); Thiéblemont (2001).

3 At the end of August 1996, France contributed 7,661 troops to IFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Adriatic Sea. For further information, see Tardy (1999: 93).

4 At the time of the mission (August-September 2006), French Colonel Michel Boyer was COMBASE at Mostar-Otiješ.

the 1997 crisis). This specific background is important with a view to understanding the profile of the personnel involved in EUFOR, their perception of their mission, as well as their understanding of the Bosnian security environment.

All in all, 44% of the French who worked with EUFOR at the time when our survey was taken, had already conducted a mission abroad with NATO; besides, 18% of the respondents had operated under UN command (see table 1). These results are similar to that of the other military contingents (German, Spanish and Italian) who participated in the investigation. The only difference has to do with the much larger number of national missions abroad in the French sample (44% of the interviewees had such an experience, far above the average, 22%). Two explanatory variables need to be considered here. First, France has a long tradition of military projection abroad,⁵ often within the framework of bilateral defence agreements with former colonies in Africa (as is the case with Ivory Coast and Chad) (Pascallon 1997; Paulmier 1997). Second, under the expression “external operations” (OP EX, *opérations extérieures*) many a respondent understood all missions accomplished outside continental France, including those in territories under French sovereignty (like Guyana, for instance). It might be interesting to note that, in face-to-face interviews, previous experiences in Africa often provided the backdrop against which both rank and file soldiers and officers assessed their experience with EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Table 1: Previous military experiences abroad (% , rounded up or down)

	At least one experience in a UN-led mission abroad	At least one experience in a NATO-led mission abroad	At least one experience in a French-led mission abroad	Total (in numbers)
French troops in EUFOR	18	44	44	191
French troops in Mostar	19	47	46	139
All French, German, Spanish, Italian troops in EUFOR (Mostar sample, average)	18	44	23	551

58% of the French soldiers surveyed in Mostar had a previous experience in the Balkans, a higher than the average result (49%) (see table 2). In most cases, they had

5 At the beginning of 2007, 7,600 French troops were deployed in the Caribbean area and in Guyana. Alongside the US Joint Inter Agency Task Force South, they played a role in countering drug trafficking. In addition, 10,000 French forces were present in the Pacific region and in the Southern Indian Ocean where they were controlling sea lanes. For further information, see “National Defense”, April 24, 2007, <http://www.ambafrance-us.org/atoz/defense.asp> (last consulted on May 2, 2007).

worked within a NATO environment in Bosnia or in Kosovo. Even among those troops who had not been previously deployed to the peninsula, memories from the 1990s wars were pretty vivid. Most of our interlocutors recalled the fact that France had suffered significant losses in the region (about 40 casualties). They also knew how demanding deployment to Bosnia had been, especially for the soldiers who had arrived in Sarajevo as “blue helmets” in 1992–1993, and had neither the mandate nor the equipment required to be effective on the ground (Thiéblemont 2002). Other soldiers still had come to Mostar at the end of the war and remembered a city torn between Croats and Muslims, whose major buildings bore traces of rockets and shots. The salience of these personal memories, the large French media coverage of the Yugoslav wars, and the exchanges of information back home with soldiers who had lived through the conflict, participated in shaping perceptions of Bosnia and Herzegovina among the French contingent in EUFOR. To some extent, this particular configuration led French troops to anticipate a much harsher situation than the one they found in theatre. Some personnel were relieved when they realized that security risks were lower than expected. Others felt frustrated they had come “too late”, at a time when the most pressing military tasks were completed and when their competencies could not be used to their fullest.

Table 2: Previous military experiences in the Balkans (% , rounded up or down)

	Previous experience in the Balkans	IFOR	SFOR	KFOR	Concordia
French troops	58	10	32	36	0
German troops	42	2	21	21	2
Spanish troops	43	2	26	13	0
Italian troops	61	5	17	43	0
Average	49	5	26	23	0

Finally, despite several stays in the Balkans, few soldiers had managed to acquire some knowledge of local languages. 86% of the respondents declared they had no understanding whatsoever of Bosnian language, 90% of Croatian and 95% of Serbian. Out of a total of 191 participants, only 2 said they were comfortable with the language. Interestingly enough, the study also found that most participants were not aware of the proximity between these three Slavic tongues (they used to be considered as one and the same language, serbo-croatian, in Tito’s Yugoslavia). The weak command of local languages was not specific for the French. The three other contingents faced similar diffi-

culties. The sole exception came from the German troops: Only 67% of the respondents stated they could not grapple with Bosnian at all (but 82% with Croatian and 84% with Serbian).

2 French Deployment in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Mostar

In the Summer of 2006, the European Union Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUFOR) comprised 5,949 troops (see table 3). 22 EU-nations' troops were deployed in theatre, making a total of 5,093 soldiers. The remaining members of the mission (856 soldiers) were made up of non-EU nations troops, the largest group coming from Turkey (344). In terms of overall contribution to the force, France ranked fourth with 524 troops, far behind Italy (882), Germany (819) and the United Kingdom (590), but ahead of Spain (495).⁶ Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into three military areas, each comprising EUFOR multinational task forces, reporting to the EUFOR HQ in Sarajevo. In addition, an Integrated Police Unit (IPU) covered the entire area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some theatre troops spread out over the country provided supporting services to these units.

Table 3: Major contributing nations to EUFOR (as of September 2006)

Country	Number of Troops
Italy	882
Germany	819
United Kingdom	590
France	524
Spain	495
Turkey	344
Other nations	2,295
Total	5,949

Source: from http://www.euforbih.org/organisation/050810_strength.htm

The Task Force Southeast *Salamander* (MNTF SE) – which stood at the core of our investigation – was commanded by French Brigadier Daniel Daehn, who came to replace his German predecessor, Brigadier Harald Fugger, while the study was underway (August 31). Brigadier Daehn had earlier been ACOS operations for *Althea* in Sarajevo at the EUFOR HQ (November 2004–May 2005). At the time of our field mission,

⁶ See http://www.euforbih.org/organisation/050810_strength.htm (last consulted on April 25, 2007).

MNTF SE was made up of about 1,500 personnel, out of which over 1,000 lived on the base, while the others were mainly settled in Rajlovac and Rogatica barracks. French troops were present in several locations, at Camp Butmir (both within the EUFOR HQ and in the NSE), at Rajlovac and at Mostar. The structure of the contingent reflected France's assessment of the post-conflict situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During discussions over EUFOR's mandate, the French authorities had tried to promote their definition of *Althea's* role: In their view Bosnian security issues were no longer of a military nature. Peace had slowly – but undoubtedly – returned following the signature of the Dayton Accords. In many fields (as in the military sector), reforms were finally moving ahead. Although intercommunity tensions persisted in some areas and there were limited risks of local unrest, the most pressing issues now concerned the fight against organised crime and corruption.⁷ Nevertheless, the local population and the local elites still needed reassurance. In such a situation, what was called for was an operation with a mostly dissuasive mandate. With regard to the composition of the force, France suggested that the “blue” segment (MSU)⁸ – formerly part of the NATO-led SFOR – to be withdrawn and placed within the existing European police mission (EUPM). In other words EUFOR would have comprised “green” actors only.⁹ This option did not win support from the Italians whose *Carabinieri* had earlier worked with MSU. The *Carabinieri* (who enjoy a status close to that of the French *gendarmerie*) were reluctant to be placed under a non-military command. In addition, the Italian leadership felt EUFOR should have a say in the struggle against organized crime. In the end, the French approach did not prevail. Yet keeping the “blues” in entailed greater logistical needs. It also meant that co-operation between EUPM and EUFOR would be of utmost importance if the Europeans were to be successful in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰

A second bone of contention had to do with NATO's future in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the time of SFOR, the Alliance was in charge of the reform of the Bosnian army. When discussions about EUFOR were launched, representatives of the French ministry of Defence wished to see *Althea* take over this task. Army reform was perceived as an extremely sensitive issue, one that was likely to shape the perceptions, the standards and the habits of Bosnian troops for the decades to come. Letting NATO manage this proc-

7 Interview with Gilles Pernet, Délégation aux affaires stratégiques (DAS), French Ministry of Defence, August 12, 2006.

8 Multinational Specialized Unit.

9 Interview with Thomas Bertin, former SFOR Political advisor (September 2003–October 2004), later EUFOR Political Advisor (October 2004–August 2006), Sarajevo, August 29, 2006.

10 On this issue, see Ragaru (2007).

ess was likely to favour the adoption of NATO standards and practices (and to give a significant room for manoeuvre to the United States) rather than a specifically “European” outlook on defence issues. With a view to the future strengthening of ESDP and considering that Bosnia and Herzegovina would sooner or later join the European Union (EU), the French believed that giving the Union a decisive role in Bosnia’s army reform represented a crucial investment for the future. Finally, NATO remained the lead organization in that sector.

France’s participation in *Althea* was also grounded upon the then predominant definition of French national and European interests. In the view of the military and political leadership, no exclusively French strategic interest was involved in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the French mental map, regions like Africa and the Near East still rank very high in terms of priorities. Yet, as a member of the European Union France had a shared EU strategic stake in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the French have long been supportive of the development of ESDP and they have consistently called for strengthening of the EU’s capacity to engage in crisis management operations throughout the world. In this context, the French military could not but participate in the mission and show a strong commitment to its success. At the same time, though, the army was reluctant to send manoeuvre units. They wished to preserve their projection capacities for other theatres, where needs were seen as more pressing (Africa, but also Afghanistan, and Lebanon following the Summer 2006 war).¹¹

Therefore, the low percentage of French soldiers amongst manoeuvre units in Bosnia and Herzegovina should come as no surprise. In Mostar, 26% of the respondents from the four national contingents belonged to manoeuvre units, 16% were working in the headquarters of the Task Force South East, and 6% in the HQ Coy (see table 4). Nearly one out of four worked in National Support Elements (NSE). The large share of “other” units (26%) is mostly made up of soldiers working in the Liaison and Observation Teams (LOT)¹², in the Engineer Coy, at the hospital or active in the field of military intelligence. At the time of our research, there were four tactical companies with MNTF SE, two of them were composed of Spanish soldiers based in Mostar, one made up of Italians (Rogatnica, Republika Srpska) and one of Germans (Rajlovac). This configura-

11 On issues relating to the possible discrepancy between France’s “global vocation” and its “mid-size power” (to use Tardy’s well-coined expression), see Coulomb/Fontanel (2005).

12 The LOT is a group of soldiers who do not live in military camp, but in civilian accommodation amongst the local population. They are supposed to provide situational awareness and contribute to the physical visibility of the soldiers as well as the reassurance of the local population.

tion explains the high percentage of Spanish manoeuvre units we find in the Mostar sample (47%).

Table 4: Unit or post in Mostar (Mostar sample, average 4 nations, in numbers and %, rounded up or down)

Unit or post	Numbers	%
HQ	85	15
HQ Coy	34	6
Military police	2	0.4
National Support Unit (NSE)	126	23
Manoeuvre Unit	142	26
Others	141	26
Missing	21	4
Total	551	100.0

By contrast, the French Mostar sample shows a very large percentage of soldiers working with National Support Units (38%, the highest percentage of all four groups) and an extremely small number of soldiers working in manoeuvre units (4%) (see table 5). Let us note that out of the 16 Liaisons and Observation Teams (LOT) then present in the area of responsibility of the MNTF (SE) – Mostar, Sarajevo, Rogatica, Rajlovac, Filipovici, Jablanica, Široki, Capljina, Trebinje, Bileca, Gačko, Višegrad and Pale – eight were French, four Italian and four German.

Table 5: Unit or post in Mostar (French Mostar sample, in numbers and %, rounded up or down)

Unit or Post	Number	%
HQ	19	14
HQ Coy	0	0
Military Police	2	1
NSE	52	38
Manoeuvre Unit	5	4
Others	54	39
Missing	6	4
Total	138	100.0

What was the profile of the French soldiers who were sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina? How long had they been in the military and under which kind of contract? Nearly half of the French troops who were taking part in *Althea* (Mostar sample) had a long record of military experience: 46% of them had been working with the army for over ten years,

a result 8% above the average. The Italians ranked second with 45% troops in the army for more than a decade, the Germans third (38%) and the Spanish fourth, with less than a third of the contingent having spent over 10 years with the military (33%). The picture does not change if one takes into account soldiers with over 6 years of experience in the army: A little under three thirds of the French troops (73%) had stayed with the military for more than 6 years (vs. 66% for all four contingents).

This, however, does not mean that the French soldiers were older than their colleagues: 57% of all respondents were below 30. Among French troops, the share of personnel under 30 was slightly lower (49%), while the 31–35 age group was a bit more significant than the average (21%) (see table 6). 12% only of the French participants in the survey were below 24 (23% on average). It might be interesting to note that women represented 11% of the French sample, slightly more than among Spanish respondents (9%), but significantly above the Italians (1%) and the Germans (0). This discrepancy may owe to the preponderance of logistics personnel among French troops – a professional domain where women tend to be better represented.

Table 6: Age (% , rounded up or down)

Age	French respondents	Average Mostar sample %
Less than 24	12	23
25–30	36	34
31–35	21	18
36–40	12	9
41–45	7	6
46–50	7	7
Over 50	3	2
Missing	2	2
Total	100	100

Finally, in terms of status, two elements stand out. First, nearly half of the French sample (48%) were professional soldiers (*militaires de carrière*). Second, the percentage of civilians was extremely low (0.2%) on Camp Mostar-Otiješ (see table 7).

Table 7: Status (French Mostar sample, in %, rounded up or down)

Status	%
Volunteer (one year contract)	5
rank and file, <i>sous-officiers</i> , <i>officiers mariniers</i> under initial contract	24
rank and file, <i>sous-officiers</i> , <i>officiers mariniers</i> under non-initial contract	21
Contract officer	2
Professional soldier	48
Civilian/other	1
Total	100

3 The Situation at Mostar and Butmir Base Camps from a French Perspective

Beside the survey, empirical data on the French troops' perception of operation *Althea* was collected in Bosnia and Herzegovina during a 12-day field mission in August–September 2006. Twenty six interviews were conducted with French soldiers (both rank and file and officers) in Camp Butmir, Camp Rajlovac and Camp Mostar-Otiješ. Informal discussions and participant observation further helped to get a better sense of the soldiers' attitude towards this specific operation, its workings and its effectiveness, as well as towards OP EX (*opérations extérieures*) at large. The following developments are mostly based on this interview material.

3.1 The Troops' Life on Base

Most French participants in EUFOR stated they were satisfied with their participation in operation *Althea*. Material conditions were positively assessed. As a rule, housing, food and leisure were deemed excellent in Butmir. The troops – be they rank and file or officers – emphasized the quality of their accommodation, the large physical space they enjoyed on their own, and their access to a personal TV set. The excellent gym/sport infrastructure was often celebrated. A few French soldiers even felt uneasy about these surprisingly good conditions. Although they enjoyed them, some interviewees explained they felt like on a vacation resort (“*C’est le Club Med ici*”), not on a military base. Others thought food was too diverse and too luxurious, as if part of the hardships associated in their mind with the idea of OP EX had been taken away from them, thus creating a sense of deprivation. Going abroad had to be tough. Otherwise why should they have

been entitled to higher allowances and indemnities? But there was no such feelings among soldiers in Rajlovac and in Mostar. In Rajlovac, about 50 French lived on base; the remaining troops were German, some Moroccans. A couple of Frenchmen came from the French-German Brigade; they were fluent in German and lived, or had lived in Germany.¹³ They felt extremely comfortable at the camp and expressed a sense of great proximity with the Germans. Members of the French contingent were housed in buildings, not in temporary barracks. Daily life was perceived as pleasant. In terms of social activities, the interviewees emphasized the welcoming attitude of the Italians who often organized pizza parties and knew how to make soldiers get together. Soccer games, other sports and recreation activities were perceived as a way of establishing contacts across nations. They were equally seen as a means to remain in good shape and to preserve one's sense of self as a soldier.

This aspect of daily life was all the more emphasized as the mission was perceived, particularly in Butmir and in Rajlovac (less so in Mostar), as pretty quiet, not to say boring. Some personnel stated that compulsory physical activities were limited and that every single soldier had to find in himself the internal strength to keep up with his training, to work on his body and to exercise. As one soldier put it:

“People here, they have nothing to do and they eat too much, all the time. They do not pay attention to their body. Whereas we have all the necessary infrastructure here. You got your own bungalow, your own room. Not like in Kosovo. The sports infrastructure is excellent. You can do all sorts of activities, including with other nations. In Rajlovac, they organized a Cross bike race. That was great. You can compare yourself to the others.”¹⁴

Others – especially among those who had already spent several months in Bosnia and Herzegovina – were starting to be frustrated with their extremely self-enclosed life on base. This feeling was most noticeable in Butmir:

“The only problem is that we cannot separate the professional from the personal life. Whether you have a TV or not in your room does not change much. During the day, you work with people and you see the same people in the evenings. You may decide you want to go to town, to go to a restaurant. But then you will go with your colleagues and it will still be the same. Of course we have permissions. But it is better if you remain in theatre. Because you get the indemnities of a mission abroad. If you were to return to France, you would lose them.”¹⁵

13 On the importance of the French-German Brigade experience, see Pajon (2006).

14 Interview 16, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

15 Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

Part of the sense of isolation and circularity owed to the rules imposed by the military hierarchy. From the onset the commanders of EUFOR established a very strict control over their troops, so as to make sure the latter would not be accused of any wrong-doing (such as participation in human trafficking networks), as some members of SFOR had. Rules regulating entrance and exit from/to the various bases were precisely defined. At Butmir, the soldiers had to return to base camp before 11.00 pm at night. The usage of vehicles was regulated, while the bicycles were in short supply. As one soldier explained, “the bicycles, they come with the job. Some positions are occupied by people who managed to get a bike. When they leave, their followers take over the bicycle.”¹⁶ As a result, members of the French contingent had few contacts with the outside world.

In informal discussions, issues of access to sexual partners were often raised:

“Yearning for sex depends on the person and on his/her age. It also depends on the situation, on how difficult the mission is and on how hard it is to access women. When you are in Guyana, you patrol all day long in the forest. Work is tough, there is very little rest and when you have free time you want to make the best of it. Plus you see the kind of girls they have. And there is rum. Everything gets hot much faster.”¹⁷

One interlocutor was even more explicit:

“Because people cannot go out and have to stay on camp at night, they drink a lot, at times until 2.00 am in the morning. They need to drink to hold on. Of course I prefer to see them drunk here than to think about what they might be doing outside in the forbidden places. Well, that is until the day when a guy fell into ethylic coma. In Africa, things are much more simple, much better organized. You have brothels for the men. They are well taken care of. The army takes care of its soldiers. The girls are clean, they get regular medical check up. Whereas here you never know, you may always catch a disease. And young men, it is not their fault, they just need it.”¹⁸

Some soldiers also suffered from the distance with their family back home. Yet separation was perceived as part and parcel of the destiny they had chosen when entering the military. A few military even felt relieved they could be amongst men, far away from family constraints and tensions. There was something about the virile OP EX atmosphere (the way they described it) they greatly appreciated, and felt they could not adequately explain to their spouses. For others still, wives and family were decisive pillars in their lives, but pillars they wished to protect from the harsh realities of their profes-

16 Interview 9, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

17 Interview 10, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

18 Interview 8, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

sion. In most cases, a clear distinction was drawn between the wives (women/mothers) and the “girls” with whom it was possible to have sex. More often than not the soldiers interviewed did not wish to see their wives and daughters join the military. They believed the job was too tough for them. Also they were aware of their comrades’ ambivalent attitudes towards women in the army.

Mostly, what the soldiers liked about *Althea*, was the opportunity they were given to work with people from other nations, to discover their habits, their ways of doing, and – at times also – to boost their own self-confidence in the process. Working in a European environment was as self-understanding and normal. Witness this testimony:

*“Working multinationally is fine. Nearly all the exercises we do back home are multinational, be it in France or in Germany. This has become part and parcel of our normal way of doing. Recently, we had an exercise in Germany with four countries. In the army, it has become banal to work together.”*¹⁹

While acknowledging the existence of greater affinities with certain working habits than with others, this soldier concurred with his comrade:

*“I have a Spanish guy and a German guy in my office. I had never worked in such an international environment before. It’s very nice. You learn the words one by one. Plus you discover new things. With the German, we are very similar. We have the same taste for rigor. The Italians and the Spanish, it is like day and night. With the Spanish guy, I have no problem. I give him orders. He obeys. But as a rule, they are more phlegmatic.”*²⁰

Some interlocutors alluded to the modest adjustments they needed to make and felt these might help them improve human resources management back in France:

*“You know what the biggest difference is: When you work with people from other nations, you have to be more pragmatic and softer. You cannot talk to a foreigner the way you address a French subordinate. You cannot be as harsh and as strong. You might hurt the person’s feelings. You need to be cautious. Some people are used to the same discipline we are. But not all of them. That may be useful to know when I go back to France. At the same time, it is tiring to have to be polite. To say ‘Could you copy these papers, please?’ instead of ‘Go and make 10 copies, now!’ If the guy does not do it, how should I react? With foreigners you have to be more cautious.”*²¹

The only limitations identified concerned the efficiency of collective work. Language, here, was a major concern. The vast majority of the troops confessed they had a hard time with English. Some soldiers declared this was no major impediment in their daily

19 Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

20 Interview 19, Mostar, August 29, 2006.

21 Interview 18, Mostar, August 29, 2006.

work thanks to the peaceful environment in Bosnia. Even when there were some misunderstandings, the latter were of limited impact. Yet most soldiers admitted their poor command of English limited social contacts across nations. One officer made it plain:

*“There is a generational effect involved here, plus a rank-related difference. Average soldiers, they can just order a beer in English. In most cases, they do not care to learn the language any further.”*²²

Another officer felt the issue had deeper roots:

*“Back home, they give you an English language certificate. They test your level of English, but this is formal. In reality, we build our knowledge of the language in theatre. Of course, it may block a few things. It is as if everyone was working slower. The British, they really know how to use this strength. They feel so comfortable, they can establish contacts with everyone. They are very sociable. But for some of us, language is a real barrier. Even at work, we do not get into details as we would if we were in France.”*²³

For want of a better knowledge of English, French soldiers often did not dare engage in social activities with their foreign colleagues. This situation led them to favour intra-French socializing after working hours:

*“When you do national support, you do not really interact with other nations. You are pretty closed onto your own people. But even after work, we do not interact much. We do not speak English well. The young do not speak English. The new generations. They cannot follow a discussion. So we stick together, the French only, together. Of course there are some activities, some parties at the bars where all nations meet. But for the most part, we do not mix. We just say ‘Hello’ and that’s it. Perhaps this has to do with the length of our mandate, too. Four months, this is too short for you to meet people.”*²⁴

Most interlocutors felt the French military performed worse than the other European nations present in Bosnia and Herzegovina on this score. Although a few militaries were surprised to discover that not all Germans spoke English well, they insisted that the troops who spoke English fluently – in particular the British and the Americans – had a clear advantage in terms of influence, as well as in terms of efficiency. Nearly all the interviewees stated that English should rank as a higher priority if the French army wanted to become more visible on the international stage and if the French wished to see a European army emerge one day. Yet, when it came to personal commitment, responses were more muted. Asked whether they would wish to receive further linguistic training, most respondents showed little motivation:

22 Interview 9, Mostar, August 28, 2006.

23 Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

24 Interview 14, Butmir, August 27, 2006.

“Back home, you can always get language lessons. They offer courses. But you need to enrol and you have to attend classes after your working hours. You already have so much work to do that in the end there is little incentive to learn English.”²⁵

Expectedly, the soldiers who expected to participate in future OP EX were most supportive. Those who did not expect to go abroad again anytime soon (either because they were reaching retirement age or because they did not intend to renew their contract with the army) were less committed.

3.2 A Post-Conflict Operation: “Is that what we are here for?”

Most French interviewees confessed they did not fully understand the goals of *Althea*. To some extent, they were aware that their presence did help to preserve peace and stability in Bosnia. Besides, as one officer explained,

“[...] we have an interest in securing Europe’s Southern flank. We must stabilize this zone enduringly. There could be collateral damage if things turned bad here.”²⁶

Nevertheless, most soldiers felt frustrated they did not see the concrete impact of their deployment more accurately.

“You know, when we arrived in Ivory Coast, there were villages that had been entirely burned, one soldier explained. There were bodies all over the streets. People were at a loss, and when we started leaving, the bazar had started working again, there were people on the streets. Life was returning to the villages. You could feel it. You could see it. That makes all the difference.”²⁷

By contrast, operation *Althea* was perceived as rather dull and uneventful. Quite a few soldiers declared they would have preferred to go to more “exciting” places such as Afghanistan, Lebanon or Africa. Informal discussions with individual members of the German and of the Bulgarian contingents suggest that this outlook was not ubiquitous. Some Bulgarians had just returned from Iraq. They were still traumatized with what they had seen there and were relieved to find a more congenial environment, where contacts with the local population were easier (notably because of the language proximity) and where they did not fear for their lives. Some Germans also appreciated the fact that the mission was not too intense. They were thankful for not being sent to more threaten-

25 Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

26 Interview 3, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

27 Interview 20, Mostar, September, 2006.

ing theatres, like Afghanistan. Two factors may help illuminate the dominant French standpoint.

In the first place, French soldiers from the ground forces (the *armée de terre* to which most of our interlocutors belonged) tend to share a representation of the army in which military combat occupies a central place. On the basis of our survey, it is difficult to determine whether such an understanding of contemporary militaries derives from the training soldiers receive or from their later experiences in their units. In any case, post-conflict management was not highly valued in their definition of their missions. The ideal type of OP EX entailed traditional military tasks (combat, peace imposition, territorial control). Working in a situation in which peace had already returned did not seem very attractive. As a rule, the French soldiers we interviewed seemed to have some difficulty adjusting to post-conflict stabilization missions. Aren't armies trained to wage wars? Some soldiers believed "reassurance" – one of the most often stated objectives of *Althea* – was a kind of task civilians should be responsible for. They did not like the idea of seeing the army used to fight organized crime, prevent corruption, support local police or prevent riots. In their perception, soldiers had to be deployed only in cases where security risks were of a military nature:

*"Enforcing peace is ten times more interesting than maintaining peace. What's the point of being here? Ok, because we are here there is peace here. But when you enforce peace, it is great because you feel war is near. You see that you are useful. You have a sense of doing something. Of course, there are still mines here and things can blow up anytime. But otherwise [...]. At the time of the war in Iraq, we were all excited. We hoped to go. We wanted to go and help. We would have checked on what the US were doing. Well, we did not go [...] Africa, we have been there for so many decades. We know it is a good cause. Lebanon, it is a good cause too. That we know."*²⁸

For others still, the frustrations at the ways in which soldiers were being employed by their institution needed to be traced to some broader changes in contemporary wars and in the make of today's societies:

"I remember when I was in Berlin. There was this young guy who had gone to the Balkans [in the early 1990s – N. R.]. When he returned he was totally traumatized. You know, he was not prepared to see that kind of a war. He had seen images of war on TV, he had imagined what it must be like. The young in particular they do not know what war means. Of course not the Marine troops who have gone to Africa. These troops, they know. But the new generations [...]. Also, we, the army, we do not know how to handle civil wars. It is difficult, you see. You

28 Interview 19, Mostar, August 29, 2006.

cannot know who is the enemy for sure. This is not the way we are trained. You got to know what is the good cause and what is not."²⁹

Recruitment policies also contributed to a sense of mismatch between what the kind of missions the participants in *Althea* wished to accomplish and their actual contribution to peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed a majority of the French soldiers present in Mostar, Butmir and Rajlovac had not specifically chosen to come to Bosnia. They wanted to go abroad and had looked for options. In some cases, the troops were sent with their unit; in others, soldiers came on their own. Often, they checked the list of positions available and made up their mind after negotiating their leave with their superior. One officer described his experience in these terms:

*"How did I get here? Well, it's simple, you want to go somewhere. You try to see which positions are available. Every applicant sends his documents. And then there is a meeting at the état-major des armées or at the état-major de l'armée de terre and they tell you where to go. I heard there was a four-months position available in Bosnia and that nobody had applied. I decided to go. I had already been to Kosovo in 2000–2001 and I would have preferred to leave for Afghanistan or for the Ivory Coast. You know, theatres that are a bit more active. But I took what was available. Plus the position was good. High level. It was something I had never done. So I said to myself 'why not?'. "*³⁰

Similarly, for this officer:

*"Well, in my profession, there are not too many specialists and in the office they do not always let people go easily. If you want to leave, the CFAT³¹ and the CFLT³² have lists of positions available. In Montléry, the Balkans are well known. I have colleagues who had already been to Mostar. They knew how it was. So I felt this was a good option. "*³³

Apart from the lack of choice in selecting the OP EX, one more factor contributed to a rather low morale among the troops. Most personnel felt the operation was nearing its end:

"Currently, we are facing a period of restructuring. There are countries that want to leave. They are going to change everything and to retrieve onto a minimal operation. Already there is a sense that the mission is slowly dying. Work is not as interesting as it used to be. Motivation is lower. You do not have too much pressure to work. It is a bit sad [...]. In a mission, the opening always is the most interesting phase. When you have to set up everything, when things are unknown. In

29 Interview 21, Mostar, August 28, 2006.

30 Interview 5, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

31 Commandement de la force action terrestre.

32 Commandement de la force logistique terrestre.

33 Interview 7, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

terms of work, in intellectual terms too, this is when you learn most. Afterwards, it all becomes part of a routine."³⁴

In this respect, the decision made by the French military authorities to encourage the troops not to wear their uniforms during leisure time was perceived as highly symbolical. Thus doing, the soldiers sent positive signals to the local population. They emphasized the fact that the security environment was now safe and that their mission was no longer of a military character.³⁵ Not all interviewees resented the preparation of an exit strategy. Far from it. Some believed the multinational forces should have long departed. Others felt the timetable for a reduction in the troop level had been well devised:

*"How long should we stay? You know, we are soldiers, we should not stay forever. We are just here to provide support to the local population. But we need to push people to take their destinies into their hands. Because this is a sovereign country. This does not mean we are going to abandon them. There will be continued vigilance and alert. But it has been long enough. We, the French, we have been here since FORPRONU came. Its has been nearly 15 years now. Of course, there are challenges. Elections are coming. Depending on the assessment of the elections, we shall fix the timetable for troop reduction. But the current tensions are mostly rhetorical. People speak up more, more radically because of the upcoming vote [...]. The calendar we have set up is good. It gives the possibility to react in case something happens. Besides one has to keep in mind that EUFOR is made up of national contributors. The countries are sovereign. We cannot refuse to let those who wish to do so withdraw."*³⁶

At the same time, the upcoming departure contributed to a certain laidback atmosphere on base. Asked whether they would accept to come back to the Balkans on another mission, most interviewees provided a negative response:

"I do not know. Bosnia, I have already seen what it is like. Plus it is nearing the end. Kosovo, people say it is different there. You need to be cautious. There are risks. Work is more interesting. Like in Afghanistan, you have to start from scratch. You need to set up everything. Whereas in Bosnia, from a military standpoint it is not very interesting. All is already here. All you can do is work on de-

34 Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

35 The French leadership also wished to keep a very low profile. As one officer explained: "The Germans, they wear their uniforms all the time. The French don't. They believe one should not try to tempt the devil. There are places where you should not go in uniform. It is too provocative. When we have something official, then we were the uniform, but most of the time during our free time we do not. 95% of the cases. For the soccer match, we had a long discussion to know whether we would appear in uniform or not. That was to show the French team that they did not only have civilian supporters. That there were military too." Interview 11, Rajlovac, August 28, 2006. On this issue, see also the contribution by Nina Leonhard.

36 Interview 3, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

tails. Soccer matches. The organization of the July 14, celebration. Finally we are giving national support a lot of work.”³⁷

Another soldier added:

“No, I would not like to come back here. I would like to go to Lebanon. But you see here, we have everything. A bed, hygiene, very good conditions. You could not want better. You can even go to the hairdresser if you like. But with all that, you get the impression you are on vacation. While Lebanon, I do not know. I’ve never been there. In Africa, there are no positions that fall within my specialty. But Lebanon, if they told me, I would go.”³⁸

In most cases, financial retribution had been a major incentive in coming to Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a rule, OP EX were perceived by the interviewees (especially the officers) as a necessary step in their military career. Refusing to go abroad for a long period of time could block your professional development. But it did not represent a significant contribution either. OP EX were essentially understood as a kind of financial and personal reward for the good work done in France. Several testimonies attest to this dominant perception:

“Until recently, things were fine with our indemnities. But recently our officers told us that a new law – passed on December 31, 2005 – would enter into force in 2007. They want us to pay taxes on allowances. It is something they negotiated back in Paris with the ministry of Finance. But we cannot accept it. If you have to go, it is normal that you should get some compensation. After all you are away, you leave your people. Of course they will always find some guys who will want to go no matter what. But that really was a harsh moral blow on us. Especially for the youngest. You know, when you are settled in life you consider other factors. You think of the mission, you want to see new places, you wonder about the things you may do there. In my field there are much better paid jobs in the civilian sector. And that’s ok. You also choose the army because you like the institution and because you have job security. Still you need some retribution – financial or else because when you return to France, you take up your previous job exactly the way you had left it. And nobody values what you did when you were away. It may be good to take this into account more. Because you have done things abroad. You have accumulated experiences. You know more. And they could consider this in your career. To some extent, we know it is part of the job. In the army, we are not like the gendarmes. When we enrol, we know we’ll have to go abroad some day. When you see guys that have been in the army for 25–30 years and have never been anywhere, you know there is a problem with them. At some point, their superiors assess it as a weakness. But our experience should be acknowledged.”³⁹

37 Interview 11, Rajlovac, August 27, 2006.

38 Interview 17, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

39 Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

3.3 Interactions with the Local Population and Mutual Perceptions

One last point which deserves mentioning here concerns the perceptions of the local populations by the French soldiers in Sarajevo, Rajlovac and Mostar. Nearly all the French interviewees declared they had no particular “problem” with the local populations, but that they did not interact with them much either. Some troops said they did not wish to; they felt it was better for their mission. Others would have liked to know the country and its peoples a bit more, but ranked the language barrier and the military way of life on base as two major obstacles. As one soldier explained:

“We do not go out much. We have this 11.00 pm limit. For security reasons, you always have to say where you are. Our movements are strictly regulated. You know, they wanted to make sure we would not go to places that are not permitted – the bars with the girls, drugs [...] It is very different from the time when I was working with EUMM [European Union Monitoring Mission – N. R.]. Back then we had our own cars, our own place, we were free to move, to meet people and to talk to them. You could really get to know people. They would invite you over for coffee. There was a sense of freedom, of not being stuck on base.”⁴⁰

A similar standpoint was encountered in other interviews:

“We would like to talk to the people. But we do not have time. We went two or three times to Sarajevo only. And when you do not speak the language, it is not easy. We went out for dinner. We talked to the waitresses a bit. It is ok, everything goes on fine. They are decent with us. But, in our work, we do not have a chance to be in touch with them.”⁴¹

Interestingly enough, the very tenuous relations between the members of the French armed forces and the local population did not preclude stereotyped representations. In actual facts, negative perceptions were more frequent than feelings of sympathy or of care. A few interviewees resented for instance what they perceived as the local inhabitants’ greed. “For a lot of local people, EUFOR is a source of work and of income like any other”, one soldier argued. “They are so used to seeing us here that they no longer what we are doing here. They are not really interested anymore.”⁴² One of his comrades went a step further:

“For them, we are nothing but for a milk cow. Just see the apartments they let to internationals. The moment we arrive here, prices double. There are too many organizations here anyway, they are redundant. At times people, they have a con-

40 Interview 9, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

41 Interview 10, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

42 Interview 11, Rajlovac, August 27, 2006.

tract, they work for us and that's all they care about. They just want to keep their job. This is what we are to them, job providers."⁴³

Cultural stereotypes were not absent either (see also the contribution by Heike Paschotta on this issue). Although a large share of the soldiers only had vague notions of local politics and local societies, they expressed clear-cut views of the Bosnian peoples, especially of the Bosniacs. As one soldier purported,

*"We cannot do anything here. You just have to see them. The Bosniacs, they are so lazy. I do not feel ashamed to say it. The moment you go to Muslim homes you see it. It is dirty, it is poor. Nobody takes care of anything. You immediately see the difference when you go to Serb homes. There, at least, people are more civilized."*⁴⁴

Some troops even felt intervening in Bosnia to stop the fighting had been ill-advised:

*"We are here, a soldier explained. This is all we can do for them. In any case, the mission is over. We cannot stay here forever just because they might start fighting again the moment we leave. In 1995, we should have let them finish the job and kill each other. That is sad to say. But war is like that. If people want to fight, they will always find a way to do so."*⁴⁵

Frequently, a stark contrast was drawn between the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those living in Africa (*the major reference point after Kosovo for the French soldiers*):

*"In Africa, that was a different issue. I was in Ivory Coast. There were rebels in the North. That was tough. But Africa, you know, is pretty simple. You can talk to people for half an hour and then suddenly, there is a riot, an explosion and they shoot at you. There were rebels on one side. You pushed them back, but when we left they just returned. Everything can get inflamed real fast because they communicate by radio. There are like in the Middle Ages, they are tribes. It's Africa. Everything goes on much faster there. But the people, you know, they are superb. I ate with these people. I had dinner at their place. Contacts are much easier. Plus they more or less speak French, so we get along. Whereas here, I work with Bosnian workers, civilians. If they want, they can understand French all right. I show them things on the map in French. At times we chat. Business chat. If you want them to work, you got to speak a little. But you never know whether they talk to you because of money. You got the impression they are looking for something. Not like in Africa. For me, there is no way this country can ever change. It is better to have decent relations if you want to work, but that's all. I do not go beyond that."*⁴⁶

43 Interview 17, Butmir, August 26, 2006.

44 Interview 22, Rajlovac, September 3, 2006.

45 Interview 4, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

46 Interview 20, Mostar, September 1, 2006.

A few soldiers, though, had developed feelings of empathy for the fate of the local populations. These militaries usually wished *Althea* did not retreat before establishing a long-lasting peace in Bosnia. One soldier, in particular, was saddened at the idea European troops would leave theatre (too) soon:

*“If we leave, I do not know what will happen here. Nothing is over yet. We have the necessary means to do more, but we do not use them. It is so frustrating to be here and to do nothing. We went to Mostar. The city is cut in two. Everything is divided. There are parallel structures at all levels of the administration and of the police. If we leave [...]. But, that’s life. They want to close the mission. If we do nothing here, then perhaps we’d better leave.”*⁴⁷

4 Conclusions

On average, French participants in *Althea* expressed satisfaction at their participation in the operation. From their standpoint, the greatest strength of EUFOR came from the opportunity it gave them to meet and work with other European soldiers, and to get to learn more about their working habits. Given the particular composition of the French contingent, this know-how mostly had to do with logistics as well as with human resources management. Most interlocutors, however, emphasized the existence of a linguistic challenge to further military co-operation at the European level. As they made it plain, had Bosnia been in a less secure environment, EUFOR would have faced major difficulties when attempting to devise and to implement a coherent policy for want of a common (English) language.

A second conclusion needs to be stressed here. The interviews conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in August–September 2006 suggested that some French ground forces might have a hard time coming to term with the type of tasks they are given in a post-conflict environment. Peace-enforcement missions fit better their military self-definition and their conception of the army than peacekeeping missions. Yet, in the future it is likely that European troops will be more and more often solicited to perform precisely this kind of missions: “reassurance” and support to policing. It might therefore be useful to think of ways to help the soldiers better grasp the salience of such missions and their contribution to enduring peace.

47 Interview 14, Mostar, August 28, 2006.

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The Italian Contingent of the MNTF SE in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Giulia Aubry & Valeria Rosato

1 The Italian's Military Involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina: History and General Framework *by Giulia Aubry*

Since the very beginning of the deployment of the international mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, Italy has been involved in the conflict and post-conflict management with different roles and tasks.

The Italian contribution to EUFOR mission *Althea* in Bosnia has begun on December 2, 2004 when NATO formally concluded its Stabilisation Force (SFOR) mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and handed over peace and stabilisation duties to a European union force.

In fact after the NATO summit in Istanbul in June 2004 and the decision of the European Union council in July 2004, the EU has begun the most ambitious military project, deploying the EUFOR operation *Althea* peacekeeping force in Bosnia-Herzegovina, composed by almost 6,000 soldiers.

The EU operation is part of a coherent EU approach. It has added in a significant way to the EU's political engagement, its assistance programmes (its ongoing police and monitoring missions) with a view to helping BiH make further progress towards European integration in the context of the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP).

The general key objectives of *Althea* are:

- to provide deterrence and continued compliance with the responsibility to fulfil the role specified in Annexes 1A and 2 of the Dayton/Paris Agreement (General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH);
- to contribute to a safe and secure environment in BiH, in line with its mandate, and to achieve core tasks in the Office of the High Representative's (OHR) Mission Implementation Plan and the Stabilisation and Association Process.

The key supporting tasks of the EU-led force are:

- to provide support to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and relevant authorities, including the detention of Persons Indicted For War Crimes (PIFWCs);
- to provide the security environment in which the police can act against the organised criminal network.

In this general framework, we can set also the political-military goal of the Italian participation to the EUFOR mission. The national key objectives are to reinforce Italy's national role within the European Union and to sustain the stabilisation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Italian strategic-military objectives are:

- to develop a significant role within European Union forces drawing up;
- to enable the stabilisation process of the Balkan area;
- to maintain excellent relationship with the Bosnian Government, mainly in defence and security fields.

1.1 The Structure of the Italian Contingent in Bosnia-Herzegovina

At the moment of our survey, the Italian contingent in Bosnia-Herzegovina was composed of about 600 to 650 soldier, the Italian headquarters being based in Camp Butmir in Sarajevo. The Italian forces included: one helicopter unit; four Liaison and Observation teams (one of them was based in Mostar) with supervising and monitoring tasks on the local organizations; one Integrated Police Unit with the task of supporting the fight against the organized crime.

The general structure of EUFOR on the field in September/October 2006 was articulated on a Division Command in Sarajevo and three Multinational Task Force: MNTF N/Tuzla, MNTF NW/Banja Luka and MNTF SE/Mostar, also called *Salamanca* Task Force, where we conducted our survey.

It is important to underline that after the ratification of the Political and Security Committee (PSC) on July 17, 2006 and of the CAGRE Transition Concept on December 11, 2006 EUFOR has begun to gradually decrease its presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The mission is transiting from the previous configuration, so-called Tactical Overwatch, to

complete withdrawal. In line with this plan the Italian MNTF SE DCOM has taken the command of the Mostar *Salamander* Task Force that was dismissed on April 24, 2007. This situation of de-mobilization was one of the elements that characterised the climate and the working environment of the Multinational Task Force in Mostar during our survey.

According to the EUFOR Transition plan the Italian contingent has been re-configured during 2007 with the reduction of the number of soldiers and the withdrawal of the helicopters unit. In this phase the national orientation has been focussed on a gradual empowerment of Bosnian local authorities which at the moment seem to be capable, both for the Armed forces and for the Police, to guarantee the stability of the area and the development of a normal democratic life. The next step will be a different way of bilateral co-operation in the main framework of euro-atlantic structures.

1.2 Specific Features of the Italian Presence in MNHQ/SE in Mostar

In September/October 2006, at the moment of our survey, the Italian contingent of the Task Force *Salamander* in Mostar consisted of almost 85 Italian soldiers working at the multinational HQ, the HQ Coy, the Support Unit, the Manoeuvre Unit and the Liaison and Observation Team (see also the following section on the structure of the Italian sample). For the purpose and the general understanding of this research it is important to note that in contrast to the French, German and Spanish contingents, those soldiers did not belong to the same Italian military unit. In fact they came from different military corps and structures dislocated on all the Italian territory. This is quite unusual for a mission abroad. It is related to the fact that in this specific phase, the operation *Althea* was considered as a low-intensity situation with administrative and monitoring tasks above all, and not as an operative mission – like for example the Italian missions in Afghanistan, Lebanon and even in Kosovo. For the same reason the Italian soldiers in Mostar did not necessarily develop this kind of close cohesion typical of medium and high-intensity missions (Keller et al. 2008; Aubry 2008).

At the same time, it is important to underline that each Italian soldier remained in Bosnia-Herzegovina for almost six months. Because of the different regional provenances, the replacement of the soldiers within the Italian contingent did not take place at the same moment but at different times. Thus when a rotation occurred, it did only interest the soldier individually affected by it and not the whole contingent.

Besides, as we will see in the more detailed analysis of the sample, it is also interesting to observe the specific distribution of the Italian military personnel in Mostar. In fact, the majority of the sample worked in the *Salamander* Task Force Headquarters or in units closely related it, which compared to other units were characterized by multinational structures at all levels. For this reason only very few of the Italian soldiers did not collaborate with soldiers from other nationalities.

2 The Structure of the Italian Sample

by Valeria Rosato

2.1 Sampling Method

In the present research we have used the simplest form of probability sampling: simple random sampling. Probability sampling differs from the non probability one. In fact in this specific case the probability that we have to extract for each unit is known and so it is possible to calculate the standard error. Thanks to sampling error we can get an idea of the precision of our statistical data and results. For a better understanding of the results of the survey it is necessary to underline that our sample includes nearly the entire population. This aspect is very important because we can reduce notably the standard error.

In September 2007 the standard questionnaire was administered to 76 Italian soldiers among a total population of 85. The random sampling method has also been applied to semi-structured interviews simultaneously administered.

Before describing the main elements of the Italian sample, it is important to point out a central gender profile aspect of this specific research. The Italian sample included just one woman, so aspects related to gender could not be taken into account for the final results.

2.2 The Italian Sample – an Overview

Age, service within the armed forces, rank and type of contract

We can observe that in September 2006 the majority of the Italian soldiers of the EUFOR *Althea* MN HQ in Mostar that belong to the *Salamander* Multinational Task Force was under 30-years-old (46%). This could be interesting for the purpose of this

research because as previous research in this field has shown (Keller et al. 2008), younger soldiers generally are more enthusiastic about an international working environment. 35% of the Italian soldiers were between 31 and 40-years-old, while only 19% of the respondents were over 40. This distribution reflects the disposition of personnel employed in missions abroad.

Figure 1: Age (% , rounded up or down)

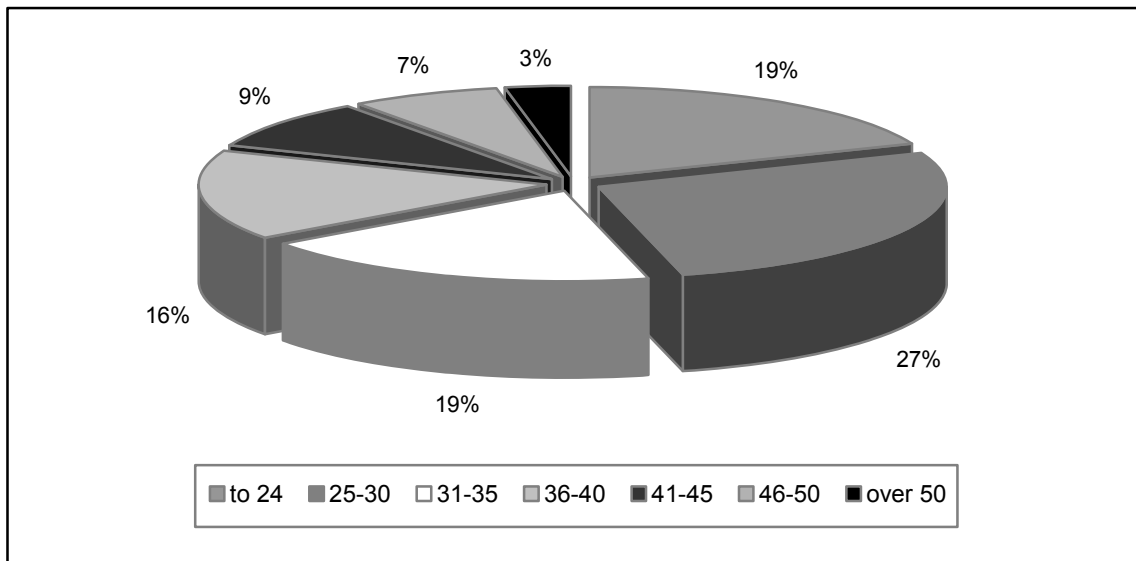
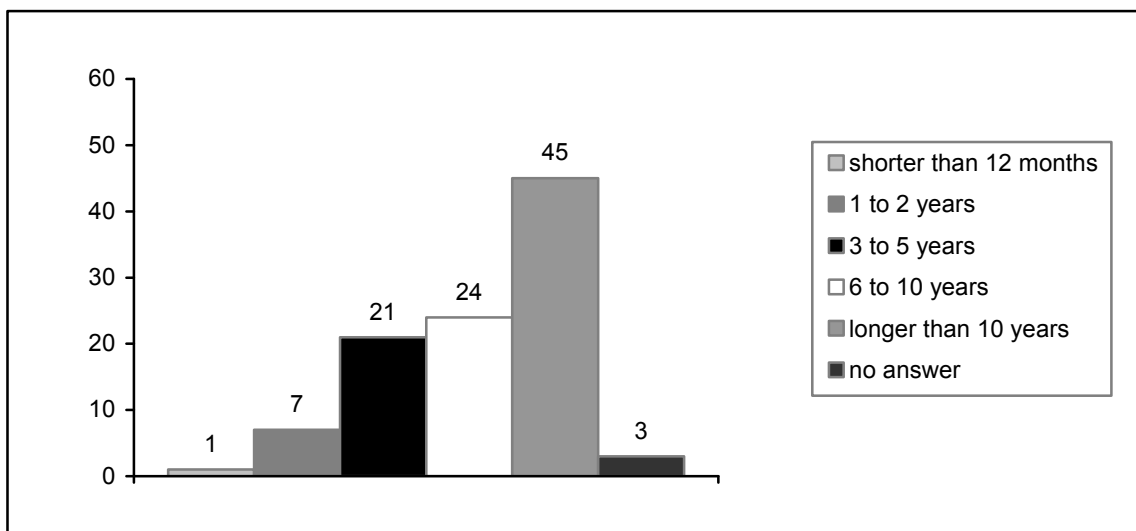


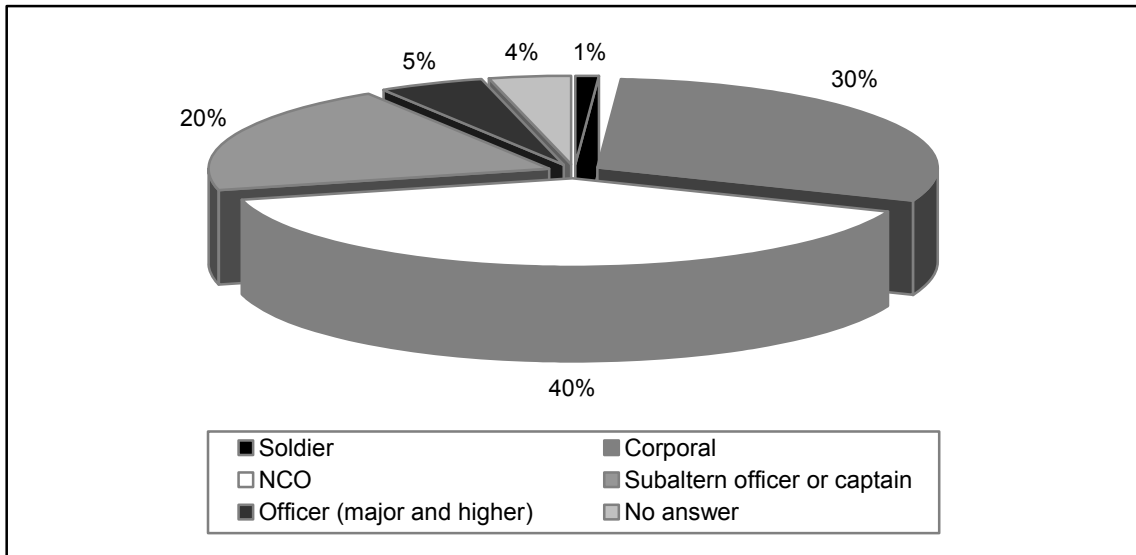
Figure 2: Length of service in the armed forces (% , rounded up or down)



For the purpose of this research is also important to note that almost half of the sample being present in Mostar (45%) had served the Italian armed forces for longer than 10 years, while 24% were part of the range from 6 to 10 years. The majority of the remain-

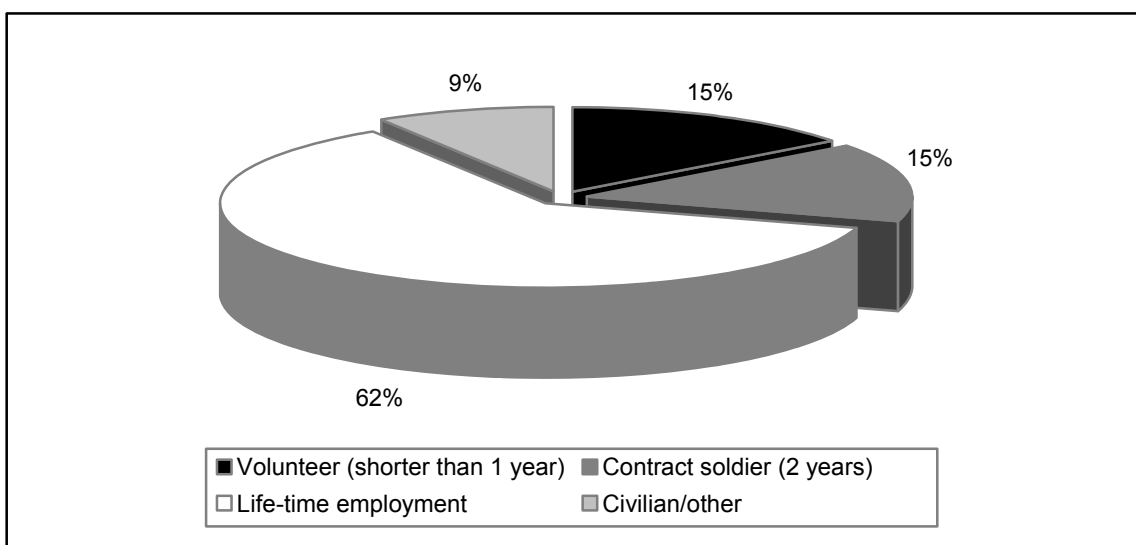
ing soldiers (21%) had been in the armed forces from 3 to 5 years, while only a very small number of Italian soldiers questioned was on duty for a term shorter than 3 years.

Figure 3: Rank (% , rounded up or down)



Concerning rank we must note that the overwhelming majority of the Italian sample was composed by NCO (40%) and corporals (30%), while only a quarter of the total sample was made up by officers. This last category included subaltern officers and captains (20%) and majors and officers of higher rank (5%).

Figure 4: Type of contract (% , rounded up or down)

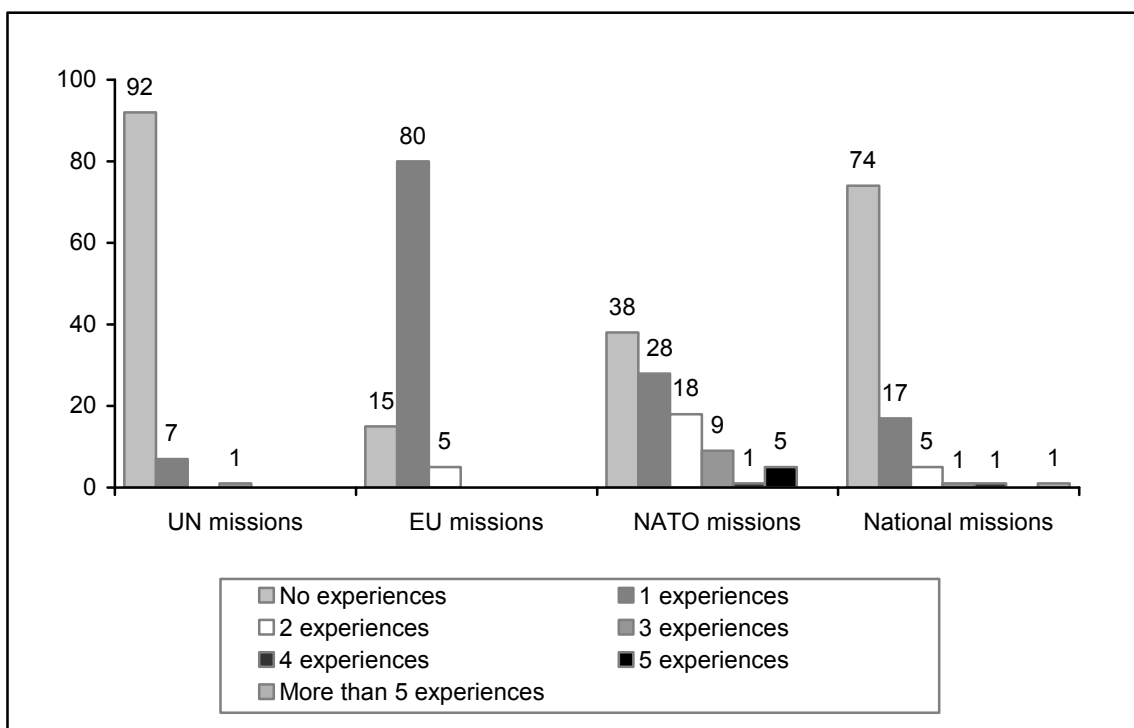


Regarding the different types of contract under whom Italian soldiers served in the Mostar HQ, we see that the overwhelming majority of the interviewees (62%) served under a life-time employment, while 15% of the Italian soldiers were volunteers with a contract shorter than an year and 15% had a 2-year contract. These findings could be of further interest since the different levels of experience might have an influence on the perception of the multicultural environment both for the working situation and the leisure time. The remaining part of the sample (9%) served under other unspecified contracts.

Previous experiences in missions abroad and with multicultural environments

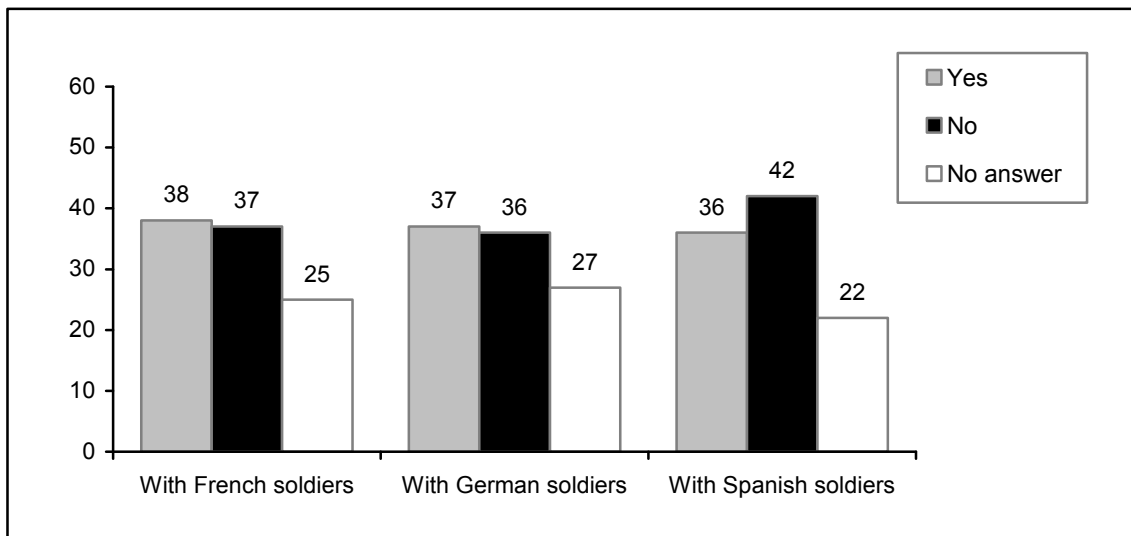
With regard to previous experiences in missions abroad we observe that the overwhelming majority of Italian sample had never participated in any UN mission (92%) nor any national mission abroad (74%). For 80% of the Italian sample the EUFOR mission *Althea* was their first EU mission, which of course can be explained by the small number of missions the EU has been implemented so far. On the contrary, it is interesting to see that a fairly good part of Italian soldiers had participated in one or two NATO missions (28% and 18%, respectively) and that these missions predominantly took place in the Balkan area.

Figure 5: Participation in missions abroad (% , rounded up or down)



For the purpose of this research it is particularly important to underline that many Italian soldiers had already cooperated with soldiers of other nationalities (in particular from France, Germany and Spain) during previous missions abroad. Percentages are nearly equal: 38% had already cooperated with French soldiers, 37% with German soldiers and 36% with Spanish soldiers.

Figure 6: Co-operation with soldiers from other nations (% , rounded up or down)



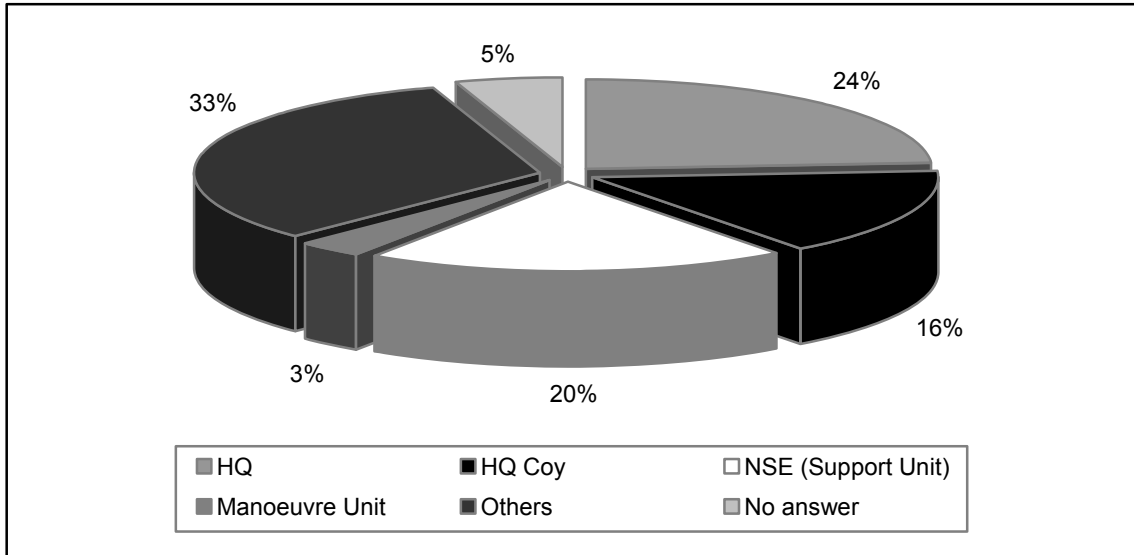
Finally, as it can be easily seen from the high percentage of people that gave no answer, it is important to point out that there was some confusion among the Italian soldiers about how to answer and interpret this question. This must be taken into account when interpreting the general results because it is more difficult to give a precise information about the change of perceptions due to effective multinational co-operation.

Distribution among units and length of presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Finally we have to consider the unit to whom the Italian soldiers belong and the time they have spent in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the moment of the interviews. For the purpose of our analysis is important to note that only the 24% of the interviewees worked at the HQ which is the most important multinational environment where soldiers from different nationalities met each other almost one time a day and worked in mixed groups. On the other side, 16% worked in the HQ COY and 20% worked in the NSE that are more nationally characterised. As it can be seen from figure 7, the relative majority of the sample (33%) said to belong to other unspecified sectors while only 3% said that they worked in the Manoeuvre. It seems that many soldiers saying that they

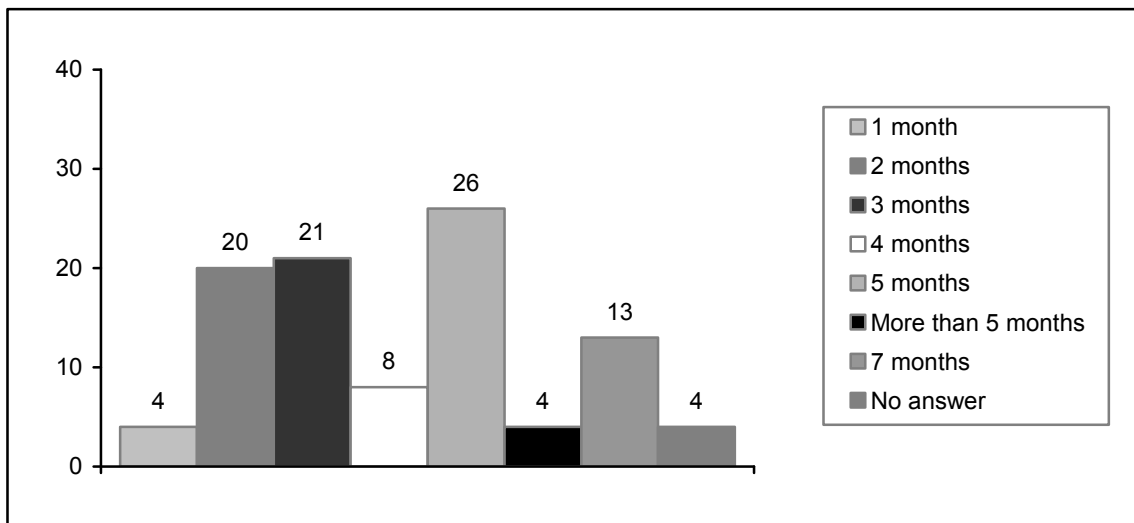
worked in other unspecified sectors nevertheless belonged to the manoeuvre sector with its different units. This particularity of the Italian sample could be related to the different denomination and organization of the specific contingent.

Figure 7: Unit or post in Mostar (% , rounded up or down)



Apart from that we can note that the overwhelming majority of the Italian soldiers to whom we administered the questionnaires in September 2006 had already spent between two to five months in Bosnia. About one fifth had been staying on Bosnia for more than 5 months.

Figure 8: Length of stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina (% , rounded up or down)



3 The Semi-Structured Interviews

by Giulia Aubry

3.1 Organization of the Interviews

The semi-structured interviews to the Italian Contingent in the MNTF SE/Mostar *Salamander* were conducted on the field by two Italian researcher during the first days of October 2006. Thanks to the organization and the good access to the contingent it was possible to make interviews with 30 Italian soldiers distributed in line with the percentages of the sample:

- 5 soldiers;
- 6 corporals;
- 11 NCOs;
- 5 subaltern officers or captains;
- 3 officers (major and higher).

The interviews were conducted in a good climate, with only the interviewer and the interviewed present, located in a separate room away from the daily work so that there were no interruptions or disturbances. Also the only female Italian soldier present in Mostar at the time of our survey was interviewed.

The semi-structured interviews – that were essentially a compromise between a purely narrative conversation and a standardised interview with a high theory-led steering element – were based on guidelines (see Appendix) developed jointly by the multinational research team. They consisted of six categories, each one of those subdivided into questions/conversation items:

- personal motivations;
- training before and during the mission;
- perception of the EUFOR mission *Althea*;
- co-operation in the multinational environment between soldiers from different nationalities;
- leisure time;
- personal consideration and perception of the European military co-operation.

It was attempted to cover all six categories during an interview, the order depending on the course of the interview. The interview partner had been chosen randomly, by using – as we have said before – a formula that considered their place in the hierarchy and their field of responsibility within the organization of the Task Force.

It is important to underline that the interviewees participated on a voluntary basis and that they were guaranteed full confidentiality for anything they might say during the interview. There were no refusals to participate in the Italian contingent. The interviewees were also allowed to choose whether the interview was logged by tape-recorder or by hand. Even if someone has appeared a little worried about it, all the interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The average length of time of the interviews was about one hour and the respondents were generally open and communicative. In some cases they had shown a real enthusiasm toward the initiative and wanted to talk about many topics also beyond the chosen items. The interviews were conducted in Italian.

It is interesting to emphasize that during the semi-structured interviews many of the respondents showed a more complex attitude toward the multinational environment of a mission abroad. Going beyond the simple answers of the questionnaire, they maintained the typical Italian enthusiasm but indicated also some problematic elements like the necessity of speaking in a different language and of creating social contacts between different nationalities that are still strongly tied to stereotypes and prejudices. This is not a surprise in a survey on multinational organizations. As Hofstede (1996) explains, intercultural encounters among groups rather than with single foreign persons provoke group feelings that are not automatically of mutual understanding. In fact, intercultural encounters usually confirm each group in its own identity. Hofstede (op. cit.: 212) states that “members of the other group are not perceived as individuals but in a stereotypes fashion: all Chinese look alike; all Scots people are stingy”. So when we talk about working in a multinational environment we have to deal with these stereotypes and with the idea that to reach a performance in this situation requires awareness of aspects of cultural interaction including perception of oneself and the others (see also the contribution of Heike Paschotta on this issue).

Hofstede (op. cit.: 213) also states that “establishing true integration among members of culturally different groups requires environments in which these people can meet and mix as equals”. For this reason he suggests that sports club, universities, work organizations and armies could assume this role. According to this idea the survey of the MNTF SE/Mostar could constitute an important moment of observation and verification of this

opportunity that could merge from a analysis based both on the quantitative and on the qualitative data.

3.2 Findings of the Interviews

Personal motivation

The overwhelming majority of the interviewees showed an evident distinction between materialistic and post-materialistic values from which their personal motivations start (Battistelli 1997). It is interesting to note that all the interviewees showed the desire to experience a new working situation in a multinational environment, to learn from it on a double track, both professional and cultural or personal. This is confirmed by the fact that almost every Italian soldiers declared during the interview that he preferred to go abroad in a multinational mission more than in an only national one even if with some distinction. Only very few soldiers said that money was the first motivation even when they were stimulated on this item.

The post-materialistic values, related to the cultural and professional personal enrichment, are preferred to the material values like the economic factor. At any rate it is interesting to note that only one or two among the respondents talked about what we can call “peacekeeper motivations”. Nobody has declared that they had wanted to go in the EUFOR mission *Althea* for helping Bosnian people or to contribute to the stabilisation of the Balkan area. This might be explained by the fact that as we will explain later on, the mission *Althea* is perceived as an operation which is not very useful anymore.

Training before and during the mission

All the respondents pointed out that the training before the mission must be improved. Above all soldiers belonging to the highest rank (subaltern officer and higher) highlighted the need for a more careful and correct training. This need is not only related to the military and technical issues, but also on the historical, political and social aspects of the operative theatre in which the soldiers must operate.

Almost all Italian soldiers we spoke to blamed the inadequate training in the English language which they consider to be the most important element for the daily work and for establishing an effective multinational working environment.

Perceptions of the mission Althea

Even if there is no specific reference in the personal motivations, the interviewees perceived the EUFOR mission *Althea* as a positive contribution to the peace and stabilisation process in the Balkan area. This feeling is more oriented toward what has been achieved so far for the Bosnian people than to the role the EUFOR mission was playing at present. In fact, if the general perception is positive, the Italian soldiers said that the mission had been useful for the local population but that, at the moment of the survey, the theatre was appeased and so they did not feel a need for the continuation of the international operation. In this context, it is interesting to underline that only a few soldiers perceived a real difference between the NATO SFOR mission and EUFOR mission *Althea*. In this sense there is no real perception of an European Union's independent role.

Co-operation in the multinational environment between soldiers from different nationalities

The Italian soldiers' evaluation of the multinational co-operation within the mission *Althea* is positive, like the results of the quantitative survey will show, too.

The Italian respondents underlined the difficulty of finding an effective communicative code in daily activities, both in working and in leisure time. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the sample needed a better knowledge at least of the English language and they also hoped to learn more French, German and Spanish words in order to better understand each other and to create social ties in order to better work together. As other works on this field (see, for example, Keller et al. 2008) have shown, it is important to point out that the Italian soldiers show a deep and general lack of self-confidence toward their skill of speaking English or other foreign languages.

Despite the general positive evaluation of the mission *Althea* during the semi-structured interviews the Italian soldiers identified some differences concerning mentality and organization of the different armed forces. According to this idea it has been possible to identify some typical characteristics for each nationality: the Germans are often associated with "accuracy", "precision" and "punctuality"; the French with the "formality" and "offish" or "cold"; the Spanish – that are perceived to be similar to the Italians' personality – with "friendly", "open-minded" and so on. It is interesting to note that the Italian self-perception is always related to the idea of being "more flexible and adapt-

able” than the others and that in general they put themselves near to the Spanish and far away from the French (see also the contribution of Heike Paschotta on this issue).

Leisure time

Italian soldiers consider the leisure time as a real opportunity of meeting and knowing the foreign colleagues in a different context from the daily work. The general attitude toward spending leisure time together with people coming from other countries is absolutely positive. Many soldiers have shown the desire to remain in contact with their “new” friends.

At the same time there is a general feeling of being perceived by the other nationalities like too expansive. Some of the respondents have underlined that in some situation French, German and Spanish seem to dislike Italian attitudes and behaviour, above all toward female soldier.

Personal considerations and perception of the European military co-operation

For this item there is an important difference between what is considered desirable and the real situation. A European military co-operation represents an important goal for the majority of the interviewees. For this purpose they underline the need for the implementation and improvement of communication channels between different national armies. It is not only related to a common communicative code but also to a better preparation, planning and operative dialogue between different nationalities. This it could be resumed in an effective European chain of command and control.

Despite the positive evaluation of the perspective of a European military co-operation, the overwhelming majority of the interviewees is rather sceptical with regard to the possibility of creating a real and effective European army.

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The German Contingent of the MNTF SE in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Nina Leonhard

1 The *Bundeswehr* in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Germany's foreign and security policy has changed fundamentally during the last 15 years. This becomes particularly evident when recapitulating Germany's role in the conflict management on the Balkans and especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. From a political point of view Germany contributed considerably to the international recognition of the states of Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 and also to ending the fighting between Bosniacs and Croats (Biermann 2002b: 325). Germany also made an important humanitarian contribution by hosting the largest part of Bosnian refugees (more than 350,000 people). But Germany and the German armed forces, the *Bundeswehr*, only played a minor role during the war in Bosnia itself.¹ In July 1994 the Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) had ruled in July 1994 that it was possible for German armed forces to take part in military mission out of NATO area. Only since then the *Bundeswehr* gradually began to take a more substantial part in the international conflict management in Bosnia, starting with German Tornados participating in the NATO-operation against positions of Bosnian Serbs in August – September 1995. Germany, with up to 4,000 troops stationed in Croatia (army) and Italy (air force), then was part of the NATO-led Operation *Joint Endeavour* of the Implementation Force (IFOR) (December 1995 to December 1996) acting under the Dayton/Paris Agreement.² The *Bundeswehr* also participated in the following NATO-led operations of Stabilization Force (SFOR) (December 1996 to December 2004).³ This time German troops (up to 3,000 soldiers) were stationed in Bosnia itself and were fully assigned to fulfil the SFOR mandate. Since December 2004, when NATO concluded the SFOR mission and

1 See Biermann (2002a: 351) for the details of the German support of the NATO- and WEU-led operations in former Yugoslavia before the Dayton/Paris Agreement.

2 Deutsche Beteiligung an den militärischen Maßnahmen zur Absicherung des Friedensvertrages für Bosnien und Herzegowina, Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 13/3122 vom 6. Dezember 1995.

3 Deutsche Beteiligung an der von der NATO geplanten Operation zur weiteren militärischen Absicherung des Friedensprozesses im früheren Jugoslawien, Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 13/6500 vom 13. Dezember 1996 sowie Deutsche Beteiligung an der von der NATO geplanten Operation zur weiteren militärischen Absicherung des Friedensprozesses im früheren Jugoslawien über den 19. Juni 1998 hinaus (SFOR-Folgeoperation), Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 13/10977 vom 19. Juni 1998.

the European Union (EU) launched operation *Althea* with the European Union Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR), Germany has been one of four nations (with France, Italy, Spain) to lead the Multinational Task Force Southeast (MNTF SE) *Salamander* until it was dissolved in April 2007.

Since the beginning of the German military commitment in Bosnia-Herzegovina – the first time since the end of world war II Germany provided armed forces to monitor and secure the peace process in the context of an international military mission– the *Bundeswehr*'s participation in international peacekeeping and/or peace enforcement operations has become “normal” for German soldiers. In 2006, at the time of our research, the EUFOR mission in Bosnia, then consisting of about 6,000 troops coming from 33 different countries (including almost 900 Germans), was one of several international military operations the *Bundeswehr* was engaged in.⁴ Compared to other international missions with German participation, like the NATO-led missions in Kosovo (KFOR) and Afghanistan (ISAF) or the UN mission in the Lebanon (UNIFIL), the EUFOR operation in Bosnia has become a well-known “routine” for the *Bundeswehr* from a military point of view. From a political perspective, though, the change from NATO (SFOR) to EU (EUFOR) command following the agreements of “Berlin plus” in 2003 still implies a political challenge for the EU and is considered to be an important step towards a common European security and defence policy (see Holländer 2005).

In this contribution, by relying on the results of the qualitative field research the German team did in Mostar and Rajlovac, I will focus on the EUFOR mission in Bosnia as a routine mission of the *Bundeswehr*. After a short overview of the structure of the German EUFOR contingent in Bosnia at the time of our field research and of the empirical basis of the German part of the study, I will analyse the situation of the German soldiers at the EUFOR base camp in Mostar-Otiješ and point out from a *German* perspective the problems and challenges resulting from the multinational context on the one and the specific situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the other hand.

4 See the official website of the *Bundeswehr* for more information about Germany's current military missions: www.bundeswehr.de

2 The Quantitative and Qualitative German Data Base

The German contingent of the MNTF SE at the time of our field research (24th August to 5th September 2006) officially consisted of 881 German troops in total. The majority of them (689 soldiers, including one manoeuvre unit) was stationed in Rajlovac, 58 soldiers belonged to the EUFOR Headquarters (HQ) in Butmir, and 134 to the base in Mostar-Otiješ where the HQ of the MNTF SE was located.

48 out of these 134 soldiers officially belonging to the Mostar-Otiješ camp answered the questionnaire. Compared to other studies about out of area operations of the *Bundeswehr* conducted by the Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences (SWInstBw), this rate of return (36%) is average. However, compared to the other three national contingents participating in this survey, the German rate of return is quite low. In this regard, one has to keep in mind that not every German soldier formally belonging to the Mostar-Otiješ base was actually there when we visited the camp, i. e. not everyone received a questionnaire (e. g. the German soldiers of the Liaison and Observation Teams [LOTs]⁵). Besides, since participation in the survey was meant to be voluntary, the distribution and collection of the questionnaires was organised by us and not via the official military hierarchy, which made it “easy” for the soldiers not to collaborate if they preferred not to. Despite the guaranteed anonymity, for example, well-known reservations against the questionnaire and some of its questions were voiced. Given the small number of Germans at the HQ and other units, some German soldiers seemed to be afraid of being identified and thus chose not to hand in their answers. Other reservations we encountered were related to the possible outcome of such a study. As we were told several times, many German soldiers had already participated in other kinds of surveys but never received any information about the results and therefore did not see the point in filling in once more a questionnaire. Finally and above all, one has to take into account that at the time of our visit the great majority of the German soldiers at Mostar-Otiješ were about to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina after having stayed there for four to six months. They were busy meeting their last obligations, writing their final reports and packing up their things. Mentally most of them had already “finished” with work and life in the MNTF SE and of course were looking very much forward to going back

5 A Liaison and Observation Team (LOT) is a group of soldiers who do not live in the military camp but in civilian accommodation among the local Bosnian population. See also the introductory chapter on the mission *Althea* in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Manuel Casas Santero.

home to their families and friends in Germany. Correspondingly, the interest in participating in the survey was rather limited.

The profile of the 48 German soldiers who answered the questionnaire and whose opinions, experiences and judgements will be compared to the answers of their Italian, French and Spanish comrades in the second part of this report can be described as follows:

Military status

The German sample consists of 17 soldiers, 7 corporals, 13 NCOs, 3 subaltern officers or captains and 8 higher officers, all of them male⁶. Half of German soldiers who filled in the questionnaire were contract soldiers, about one quarter had a life-time employment, one sixth was on the reserve list or served as civilian, and 2 soldiers were conscripts who had volunteered to extend their military service and go abroad.

Table 1: Rank (% , rounded up or down)

Rank	n	%
Soldier	17	35
Corporal	7	15
NCO	13	27
Subaltern officer or captain	3	6
Officers (major or higher)	8	17
Total	48	100

Table 2: Type of contract (% , rounded up or down)

Contract	n	%
Life-time employment	13	27
Contract soldier (2 to 12 years)	24	50
Conscript (volunteer, 10–23 months)	2	4
Reserve list	8	17
Civilian	1	2
Total	48	100

6 At the time of our visit in Mostar-Otiješ only two women were serving in the German contingent, who chose not to participate in the survey by questionnaire.

Age and military experience

Compared to a “normal” military unit or company, the average age of our German sample is rather old. Half of the German soldiers are under thirty, one quarter is between 30 and 40-years-old, one fifth is over 40-years-old.

Table 3: Age (% , rounded up or down)

Age	n	%
Up to 24 years	14	29
25–30 years	13	27
31–35 years	8	17
36–40 years	3	6
41–46 years	4	8
46–50 years	3	6
Over 50 years	3	6
Total	48	100

Corresponding to rank and age, our sample consists of soldiers with a fairly broad military experience: only one fifth had joined the armed forces one or two years ago; the others had all been serving in the Bundeswehr for several years.

Table 4: Length of military service (% , rounded up or down)

I have been serving in the military ...	n	%
for 1 to 2 years	9	20
for 3 to 5 years	9	20
for 6 to 10 years	10	22
for more than 10 years	18	39
Total	46	100

Almost half of the German respondents (20 soldiers) had participated in at least another out-of-area mission of the Bundeswehr: 5 soldiers reported to have participated in an UN-led mission, 17 in a NATO-led operation. For the others (26 soldiers) the EU mission *Althea* was their first out of area experience.

Unit or post assignment

A majority of the German respondents worked in a multinational unit, only a quarter belonged to the (German) National Support Unit (NSE). At the time of our visit the German general Fugger was still in command of the TF *Salamander*, which not only explains the high percentage of higher officers in our sample (see table 1) but also the high percentage German soldiers working at the HQ.

Table 5: Units or posts in Mostar-Otiješ (% , rounded up or down)

I am working at ...	n	%
HQ	15	32
HQ Coy	12	26
NSE	11	23
Others	9	19
Total	47	100

Finally, and as already mentioned, at the time of our visit a large part of the German contingent in Mostar was about to return home: Almost two thirds of the respondents had been in Bosnia-Herzegovina for more than four month, almost 90% of them had between one month or less to go before going back to Germany.

Table 6: Length of stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina (% , rounded up or down)

I have been in BiH for ...	n	%
less than 1 month	1	2
2 months	6	13
3 months	12	25
4 months	3	6
5 months	4	8
more than 5 months	22	46
Total	48	100
I will be staying in BiH for ...	n	%
less than 1 month	25	64
1 more month	9	23
2 more months	1	3
3 more months	2	5
4 more months	1	3
5 more months	1	3
Total	39	100

Apart from the survey by questionnaire the German team spend a week in Mostar and three days in Rajlovac in order to observe the work and life within in the MNTF SE on site and to talk with the soldiers themselves. In addition to many informal conversations and exchanges, the German team conducted 22 semi-structured interviews (21 in Mostar, one in Rajlovac) and six group discussions: three discussions were organised in Mostar with 10 soldiers participating altogether; one discussion with six soldiers took place in Rajlovac; two discussions were organised with 8 soldiers from two Liaison and Observation Teams (LOTs). The interviews and group discussions with these 46 soldiers were recorded and transcribed and/or documented in detail by notes taken during and/or right after the conversations.

By partly taking up issues also asked in the questionnaire, the conversations in both the interviews and the group discussions were focussed on:

- the professional background and the previous experiences in out-of-area missions of the interviewees,
- their duties and responsibilities within the TF *Salamander*,
- the forms and ways of national and multinational interaction the interviewees experienced at Mostar (and/or Rajlovac),
- the national features and working styles they observed, and
- good and bad examples of multinational co-operation the interviewees had encountered so far.

According to the principles of triangulation (see Flick 2004; Biehl/Tomforde 2005: 318 et sqq.) the qualitative part of our research was meant to deepen, enlarge, and complete the information we received by means of the survey by questionnaire. While quantitative methods permit to identify causes and general trends and developments, qualitative data provide an insight into context conditions, reveal differences and nuances, and especially allow to retrace and understand social perceptions and interpretations which shape our vision of “reality” and thus orientate our action.

The following sections deal with the German soldiers’ perceptions and interpretations of the working and living conditions at Camp Mostar-Otiješ, based on the findings of the qualitative data we collected in Mostar and Rajlovac.

3 The Situation at Mostar Base Camp from a German Perspective

As already stated, when we visited the base camp at Mostar-Otiješ the great majority of the German soldiers deployed there were about to leave after four to six months in Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the end of their time with EUFOR morale amongst the German soldiers was rather low, which was also reflected in the interviews we conducted. As other studies have shown, motivation among German soldiers during a mission tends to decline (see, for ex., Biehl/Mackewitsch 2002; Biehl 2005a). Besides, in interview settings soldiers are inclined to particularly stress problems and/or to express their displeasure over shortcomings of the military organization, etc. (see Biehl/Tomforde 2005: 326). The irritations we encountered with EUFOR at Bosnia-Herzegovina therefore should not be overrated, especially since no severe problems occurred during the contingent's time, as we were not only told by the responsible officers on the ground, but also by the Bundeswehr Operations Command (*Einsatzführungskommando*) in Potsdam (Germany). Still, it seems advisable to take seriously some of the negative feelings and experiences we observed because they are, as previous studies on SFOR suggest (cf. Biehl/Tomforde 2005: 320 et sqq.), rather typical and reveal general features and problems of a so-called low-intensity military mission which is petering out.

3.1 Irritations about Different National Standards and Regulations

The German soldiers' general perception of their situation at the Mostar Base Camp was shaped by a double comparison: On the one hand, the soldiers we spoke to contrasted the working and living conditions at Mostar with the circumstances at Camp Rajlovac (near Sarajevo), where most of the German troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina were (and still are) stationed. On the other hand, our German interlocutors compared themselves with the soldiers from the other nations staying at Mostar-Otiješ. Certainly, comparing oneself (or one's group) with others is a "normal" feature of social interaction and identity construction (see for example Soeters/Moelker 2003; Abel 2008b). Comparisons (like stereotypes – see the contribution of Heike Paschotta) do not necessarily tell us much about the other; however, they can tell us a lot about how the one who is making comparisons – in this case: the German soldiers – sees and interprets the world around him.

The picture of the situation in Mostar drawn by the Germans is ambivalent: Every German soldier we talked to affirmed to appreciate the multinational atmosphere at the camp and to clearly favour an assignment at Mostar over a post with the German contingent in Rajlovac. At the same time, most German soldiers considered themselves to be disadvantaged against their French, Italian or Spanish comrades with respect to service regulations and remuneration (and sometimes also to equipment).

Our interlocutors explained their preference for working in a multinational environment by pointing out the possibility of getting to know to other mentalities and traditions and of practising and improving their English language skills – or as one officer working at the HQ put it:

“You learn to lose your inhibitions, you learn to bite the bullet and just start talking in English.”

Moreover, many Germans said to enjoy being able to do things differently in Mostar than in Germany: “Working here is much more fun than at home because you have to muddle along with the others” or “In my work here I have greater freedom of action because there are not as many rules as in Germany”⁷ are typical remarks we heard. The frequent references to the greater flexibility and freedom of action experienced in the multinational setting at Camp Mostar also explain the negative image of Camp Rajlovac conveyed by our Mostar interlocutors:

“Rajlo? Thank God we are not there! [...] If one wants to be mean, one could say that Rajlo is imprisonment in an open prison. Here they treat you more like an adult. Especially the multinationals recognise that you have a certain autonomy, whereas the German disease consists of regulating every detail. [...] For the multinationals it is different. What matters for them is that the work is done and that the orders are carried out. All the rest, how you spend your leisure time, that's your own business.”⁸

At least a part of the answer to the question why “Rajlovac” was so strongly associated with a certain narrow-mindedness or lack of flexibility and considered in a negative way as “typical German” by the German soldiers in Mostar can be found in the division of multinational operational/tactical command/control and national administrative control. While all units of the TF Southeast were tactically subordinated to the HQ at Mostar, which at the time of our visit was commanded by a German general, it was not him but the commander of the German manoeuvre unit stationed in Rajlovac who had adminis-

7 Group discussion I with members of the Command Support Unit (CSU), Mostar.

8 Group discussion with members of the Verification Unit (VU), Mostar.

trative control over all German soldiers belonging to the Task Force, including the German soldiers serving in Mostar. All matters regarding military duty, such as the dress code during working hours and leisure time, were not ultimately determined by the Task Force commander or by his superior, the EUFOR commander (stationed with the EUFOR HQ in Camp Butmir), but by the respective national commanders – in the German case: by the commander of Camp Rajlovac. This is why during the time of our research disciplinary regulations for the German soldiers in Mostar differed from those of the other nations: As we were told, on Sundays the French, Spanish and Italian soldiers were allowed to leave the camp without uniform, as it was recommended by the commander of EUFOR at Butmir. However, until one week before our arrival the German soldiers were not permitted to take off their uniform neither on Sundays (if they wanted to leave the camp) nor in the evenings during the week, because they were considered to be on duty 24 hours a day.

“We are not on holiday. This is why I don’t mind being in uniform 24/7, but the others walk around in civilian clothes after 5 p.m. [...] We are the outsiders.”⁹

When we arrived in Mostar, this strict regulation had been eased, allowing the German soldiers stationed in Mostar now to wear civilian clothes on Sundays (inside and outside the base) like their Italian, French or Spanish comrades (although, unlike the Italian soldiers for example, they were still not allowed to take off their uniform and leave the camp in the evening from Monday to Saturday). This adjustment was appreciated by the German soldiers, but nevertheless considered to be more than overdue. It did not change the general disapproval of the decisions made by “Rajlovac” nor the feeling of generally being disadvantaged against the soldiers of the other three nations.

“We are the idiots! The Italians say: you get the least money, and you work your ass off. [...] Everyone’s shaking their heads about how we are commanded!”¹⁰

As expressed in this last statement, the impression prevalent among the German soldiers in Mostar of receiving less recompense for their efforts than the members of the other armed forces refers at first sight to the different national regulations concerning remuneration, extra pay and holidays while being abroad. German soldiers, for example, get around 53 Euro per day in Bosnia-Herzegovina in addition to their “normal” salary (in Kosovo and Afghanistan the extra pay is higher). Italian soldiers receive an extra pay of about 104 Euro per day while being in Bosnia, and French soldiers get 150% of their

9 Group discussion I with members of the Command Support Unit (CSU), Mostar.

10 Group discussion II with members of the Command Support Unit (CSU), Mostar.

salary during a mission and the time served abroad is especially taken into account for their pension. Because of the great number of German complaints, there even had been an official investigation about soldiers' remuneration in European countries by the German Ministry of Defence which, however, came to the conclusion that in various European countries (including Germany) all kinds of payments and benefits for soldiers serving in their own country and abroad (Kosovo, Afghanistan) eventually amount to more or less the same (cf. BMVg 2003). The German soldiers we talked to usually did not know about this investigation nor were willing to take into account – as we occasionally tried to point out – that compared to members of the *Bundeswehr* Italian soldiers, for example, get more extra pay when being on a mission abroad but receive (much) less when they are back home in Italy. Instead, our interlocutors persisted in pointing out the disadvantage of the German soldiers.

“Soldiers from other countries are offered other incentives to participate in a mission abroad. Ultimately this concerns the question: How does a nation deal with its soldiers who are sent somewhere to potentially being shot dead? Soldiers have a keen sense of this, and this becomes particularly evident in comparison with others.”¹¹

As statements like this indicate, the German soldiers' complaints do not only have a material, but also an (important) immaterial component. In fact, for the soldiers we talked to the question of extra pay for missions abroad seemed to be closely linked to other aspects regarding this mission: the German population's seemingly indifferent attitude towards the *Bundeswehr*¹² in general and in particular the poor recognition of the German soldiers contribution to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the ambiguous purpose of their work in Mostar and the unclear results and/or success of the EUFOR mission *Althea* as such.

3.2 EUFOR Operation *Althea* – the “Forgotten” Mission

When talking about the work they were doing in Mostar and/or Bosnia, the German soldiers we encountered seldom failed to mention with regret how little note the German public was taking of the mission *Althea* and its accomplishments. For example, in a partly ironic, partly irritated tone one non-commissioned officer (NCO) from the Ger-

11 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

12 As Biehl (2005b) has pointed out, most indicators show that the attitude of the public towards the *Bundeswehr* has never been as good as currently.

man National Support Unit (NSU) told us about an excursion he once had made – on a Sunday, in uniform – with a other members of the *Bundeswehr* to a local sight. At this place they met tourists from Germany who apparently were very surprised to see German soldiers in Bosnia and did not have any idea of what the *Bundeswehr* was (still) doing there: “Bosnia, that’s the forgotten mission of the *Bundeswehr*”, he concluded. “When did you last read anything about this mission in the newspapers?”

The description of *Althea* as a “forgotten” mission kept reoccurring during the interviews, with changing connotations. For example, while explaining their daily duties and responsibilities and the way co-operation with soldiers from the other three nations was working out, our interlocutors were very often referring not only to problems resulting from the constant post rotation between the four nations, but also to the respective national difficulties of replacement, which in their eyes showed how little attention was paid to the mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina even within the armed forces.

“Posts remain vacant for any length of time or are not replaced at all, because EUFOR is the last priority for all nations participating in this mission. In my department there is only two of us left, and I have to leave earlier. But I don’t think that there will be a replacement before the end of November.”¹³

The German soldiers we talked to often found it hard to define and evaluate the work they were doing in Bosnia-Herzegovina given the world public’s declining interest in Bosnia’s development and the military priority shifted to other conflicts such as Afghanistan and/or Iraq. A few of them explicitly expressed their doubts about the mission’s objectives and the chances of re-establishing durable peace in Bosnia.

“There is no coherent political plan for Bosnia. That’s why EUFOR is also referred to as the ‘forgotten contingent’.”¹⁴

“For me the political goals of this mission are different from what is discussed by those in charge of implementation on the military level. In my opinion the state of Bosnia in this form doesn’t have a future, because the people here don’t want to live together but are forced to do so by the European Union.”¹⁵

However, such comments referring to the general political strategy of the EU concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina rather were an exception. Instead, most of our interlocutors tried hard to explain the purpose of being here in Bosnia by pointing out the fact that

13 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

14 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

15 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

soldiers belonging to EUFOR were well received by the local population who wanted them to stay in Bosnia because otherwise

“[...] it will start all over again. There is still a lot of hate among the people.”¹⁶

At the same time, many German soldiers had problems with assessing the outcome of their daily work.

“What I do here is not very tangible, that is it is difficult to see the result of my work. This is very different from my experiences with the 1st [German] contingent in Kosovo, but of course when I returned there three years later a lot had changed as well. [...] You only pick up on a small part without getting the big picture, and at the beginning of a mission it’s easier to see some progress [than in the end].”¹⁷

The feeling of serving in a mission which has been “forgotten” or rated “second-best” in the public and the armed forces alike of course has an impact on the soldiers’ general assessment of the mission. It can explain at least to a some extent why the German soldiers in Mostar we spoke to attached so much importance to the question of remuneration and extra pay: it is the most visible and the most socially accepted symbol of social recognition of one’s work and it can be claimed more easily than other forms of respect. On the other hand, invoking other “national” standards (like those in France, Italy or Spain) also served to justify the mission *Althea* as a “real” military mission – despite, or one might even say: because of the very fact that our interlocutors found it difficult to define their role in a mission which from a military point of view has almost been finished.

3.3 How to Deal with a Military Mission that Has Come to Its End?

“What needs to be done now is not the job for a Task Force.”¹⁸

“The military mission is completed. And I have the impression that the soldiers [enlisted personnel, NCOs] have realized this, too.”¹⁹

As the officer quoted in the last passage presumed, most of the German soldiers we encountered were conscious of the fact that the character of the mission *Althea* was about to change, that the number of armed forces would soon be further reduced and that the situation outside the military base was almost “like at home”, i. e. presented little risk.

16 NCO, Joint Military Affairs (JMA), Mostar.

17 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

18 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

19 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

“This is no mission but integrated duty. [...] In principle we do the same things as at home. [...] If my family was here, I wouldn’t mind staying longer.”²⁰

On the other hand, the very fact that this was no “real” military mission involved other problems. As we were told several times, some German soldiers apparently expected the mission in Bosnia to be more dangerous and therefore had difficulties to adjust to life and work at Mostar.

“I had an NCO at the registry who at first was so afraid of the local population that he would only go out with his weapon and everything. Because usually if you stay around here and if you can be back at the base within an hour you are allowed not to take your weapon with you. [...] But not for him. He couldn’t accept that life is pretty normal here, that there is no risk. He wouldn’t believe it.”²¹

Indeed, a number of our interlocutors criticised the preparation at home for being centred too much on military training and raising false fears or/and expectations.

“[...] in Germany they don’t manage to properly prepare the people for this mission. This is something different than ISAF [in Afghanistan], where I have to carry out military tasks, where I do what I was trained for. Here you should rather – I think this is really necessary – acquaint the people with the circumstances [in Bosnia], with the political situation [...] so also from a motivational point of view you’ll be able to manage better. If there is little to do and you [ask yourself] what am I doing here you should know that you are here because ...”²²

The “boredom factor”, well known from operations other than war (Harris/Segal 1985; Segal/Tiggle 1997: 383–384) and brought up in this last passage, seems to have been a particular challenge for a number of German soldiers. Some of our interlocutors frankly acknowledged that they had a lot of and/or too much time for their daily duties, since the tasks of the Task Force were rather limited.

“I don’t bend over backwards [because of work]. Some people don’t know what to do with themselves when there is free time. But I’ve never had problems with this. [...] The general problem is that work here is unequally distributed. My branch chief [...], for example, has a great deal to do.”²³

Indeed, as we could observe and as another officer working at the HQ also explained to us, most of the soldiers at Camp Mostar (Germans and others) who were working at HQ and/or the respective support units took an extended lunch break and often left their workplaces in between for coffee breaks. At the same time, however, the majority of the

20 Group discussion I with members of the CSU, Mostar.

21 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

22 Higher Officer, HQ, Mostar.

23 Officer, HQ, Mostar.

German soldiers we talked to tried hard to demonstrate that they *did* work and fulfil their obligations and that *in contrast to* members from other national contingents (especially the Italians, but also the Spanish ...) they *did* take their duties seriously. While recognising the upcoming reduction of the military commitment in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for most of our interlocutors in Mostar apparently it was hard to link this knowledge about *Althea* to their image of what working in a mission abroad was about: living and working far from home in more or less dangerous conditions *in order to achieve something*. However, this mission consisting above all in preserving the status quo²⁴, and the results of the work of the Task Force altogether thus being difficult to grasp, the German soldiers tried to concentrate on and identify with their daily routine. But being confronted with – as they perceived it – a quite relaxed attitude towards work in and for the Task Force on behalf of the members of the other national contingents, it was hard for them to keep up this “working spirit” – especially since they had to acknowledge that compared to the *Bundeswehr* the other armed forces were well (or even better) experienced in military operations.²⁵

3.4 From Mostar to Rajlovac: Similarities and Differences

These observations of the German soldiers’ situation were partly confirmed, partly completed by our visit at Camp Rajlovac which was (and still is) administrated and dominated by German troops. Situated in former barracks build under Habsburg rule, Camp Rajlovac differed from Camp Mostar not only in the outward appearance²⁶, but also with respect to the working climate. In Rajlovac, as already mentioned, disciplinary regulations were in many ways stricter than in Mostar. Although in Rajlovac there had been protests against dress regulations as well (as we were informed informally), the soldiers we met there seemed to have come to eventually accept this as a “useful” measure to keep up discipline inside the camp and to protect *Bundeswehr* soldiers out-

24 “I was here in 1996, 1999 and now it’s the third time. [...] In the minds [of the people] there hasn’t changed a lot.” Higher Officer, Mostar.

25 As we were told, the Spanish contingent consisted of units who had just come back from Iraq. The greater experience of the French armed forces with military operations especially on the African continent was equally mentioned in the interviews.

26 Camp Mostar-Otiješ, build on an airfield with containers and administrated by the French armed forces, resembled a large camping site. On the contrary, Camp Rajlovac looked more like a German garrison because of its buildings, straight streets, and especially various German town signs placed in front of the buildings.

side the camp against attacks by the mafia.²⁷ Moreover, assuming that the workload in Mostar and Rajlovac all in all was more or less the same, it is interesting to note that soldiers deployed in Rajlovac seemed to have less difficulty in defining the “sense” of their work than their comrades in Mostar. While strictly distinguishing between work and leisure time – the latter often being referred to in a negative way as “jukuhu” (meaning to relax and have fun) –, our interlocutors in Rajlovac appeared to be quite occupied with daily routine and special activities (such as sports contests, but also charity runs for Bosnian school children) “invented” by the military leaders to fill the troops’ time (cf. Harris/Segal 1985: 239 et sq.). The fact that the organization of work and life in Camp Rajlovac was “controlled” by the German commander of the German contingent of EUFOR and discipline and administrative routine were fully established according to German regulations might be one of the reasons why we found the German soldiers in Rajlovac to be somewhat less doubtful and/or less irritated about the daily work they were doing, although reservations about the peace-building and reconciliation process in Bosnia were sometimes voiced in Rajlovac, too.

The frequent use of the expression “jukuhu” in Rajlovac, revealing once more the special importance attributed by German soldiers to “work” and especially to “working hard”, corresponds to the we heard in Mostar about the “relaxed” working morale of soldiers from other countries in Mostar – with one important difference: Confronted with seemingly different attitudes towards the mission and the daily duties because of the direct interaction with soldiers from other nations, the German soldiers at Camp Mostar found it hard to construct an overall meaning of their work. Consequently, the ambiguities and limits of the mission *Althea* were here much more visible than at Camp Rajlovac. In Rajlovac due to the comparatively little contact to members from other contingents and more generally to the world outside the base, it was easier for the German military leaders to establish a shared vision of what “duty”, “discipline” and thus “daily routine” was and/or should be about – even if in comparison with “reality” outside the base to us this vision appeared to be quite artificial in some respects.

27 As we were told several times, there had been a bomb attack at a bar in Sarajevo a few minutes after some EUFOR soldiers had left the place. It was said that the bar had been observed by men in a car who had waited for the soldiers to leave before they fired. In the eyes of our interlocutors this story proved that EUFOR (German) soldiers were protected by their uniform when leaving the Camp (since the Bosnian mafia did not want to interfere with EUFOR). This is exactly the argument used by the commander of the German contingent to explain why members of the German contingent unlike the members of other national contingents were allowed to leave the camp in uniform only.

3.5 Discussion

As we have seen, the orientations and perceptions of the German soldiers deployed with the EUFOR Task Force Southeast in Bosnia-Herzegovina are characterised by a number of ambivalences. Before coming to Bosnia, most of the German soldiers we encountered usually had done a general military training for missions abroad but had received no particular information about the country they were sent to and therefore expected to join a “real” military mission. After their arrival they were surprised and sometimes also disappointed to find out that the tasks they were assigned to were quite different from what they had expected. Working at Camp Mostar represented for most of them little “action” but rather administrative routine and, above all, idle time. Since apart from mines and car accidents there were no imminent risks for the members of EUFOR, German soldiers in Mostar showed little tolerance for German rules differing from the multinational regulations (regarding security regulations, dress code, etc.). Indeed, what is otherwise taken for granted or accepted is more easily challenged and needs to be better justified within a multinational framework. Because in a multinational setting the definition and perception of a mission are shaped in comparison and/or confrontation with others, it is more difficult to keep up special national standards than in a predominantly national context (Rajlovac). One might consider this as another facet of a “transnationalisation” of the armed forces (King 2005; Tomforde 2007), which has not really been taken into account so far²⁸ but which needs further exploration: the fact that in multinational contexts like at Camp Mostar the power of interpretation on the individual and organizational level is no longer limited to national borders and/or national authorities only but is influenced (and challenged) by standards and values of other nations.

Moreover, what was particularly striking in the conversations with German soldiers at Camp Mostar is the implicitly or explicitly expressed uneasiness about the vague sense and outcome of their work. This did not only concern the daily tasks and assignments but also the evaluation of the mission *Althea*'s general objectives. The frequent reference to EUFOR as a “forgotten” mission illustrates the great importance attached to general (social, political) recognition and respect for their work. In fact, and as other studies about morale and its components in the Bundeswehr in general (Klein/Lippert 1998) and about motivation in particular (Biehl/vom Hagen/Mackewitsch 2001) have shown, the way German soldiers assess the societal and political support of a mission is

28 See, for ex., the overview by Tresch (2007).

of prime importance for their motivation.²⁹ Irrespective of the question of whether this might be a “German” peculiarity, i. e. the result of the *Bundeswehr* philosophy of “Innere Führung” emphasizing the soldier as (politically and socially responsible) “citizen in uniform”, it seems admissible to claim that in operations other than war, which are typically characterised by little military “action” and idle time, information about the political implications and objectives of the mission is particularly important in order to give orientation to soldiers (of *all* ranks).

With respect to possible specific “German” features of military culture, it is important to finally point out the predominant German soldiers’ perception of “work” and/or “working morale”. The German soldiers’ apparent difficulty to (openly) accept “idle time” and/or a slow working rhythm as a “normal” feature of a certain kind of military operations raises the question of whether the military culture within the *Bundeswehr* might not indeed be particularly influenced by a certain protestant (working) ethic, regarding daily work as a kind of moral worth (vom Hagen 2005: 141 et sqq.). On the other hand, affirming to carefully perform one’s task and duty (and not to be relaxed/lazy like the Italians, Spanish³⁰ ... or to do “jukuhu” all the time) is also a way to assure oneself of the sense of being here (in Bosnia), of constructing a meaning of what one as a part of this mission is supposed to stand for. In this perspective one might say that the German soldiers we encountered in Bosnia-Herzegovina attached so much in importance to “work” and “working morale” since there was nothing else which for them could justify and motivate their contribution to this mission. If the Germans at Camp Rajlovac seemed to have succeeded better in creating a “useful” image of operation *Althea*, it is because they were confronted with less contradictions and/or different national “truths” than their comrades at the multinational Camp Mostar.

29 For example, among the factors determining the individual soldier’s motivation during a mission (such as trust in first-line and higher superiors, army-family-adjustment, voluntary enlistment, altruism or attractiveness of the duties), it is the support of the personal environment (family, friends) and the political judgement of the mission which have the greatest influence on motivation (Mackewitsch 2001: 68).

30 I refer here to perceptions and images of oneself and the others – and not to actual working practices. The question of whether German soldiers really do work “harder” than other soldiers (from Italy, Spain, ...), cannot (and should not) be answered here. As other works suggest, differences in working style should not be confused with differences in working morale (see, for ex., Keller et al. 2008). On the other hand, the German self-image of being hard working seems to have made some impression on soldiers from other countries. As Soeters/Moelker (2003: 65) point out, German soldiers are perceived by Norwegian and Britain soldiers working at the 1 German-Netherlands Corps “as being polite, working by the book and making the impression as if they are constantly giving orders. Besides, they work and work and work ...”.

4 Conclusions

The impressions from the German contingent of the EUFOR operation *Althea* in Bosnia-Herzegovina described in the precedent sections reveal some of the problems the military organization and its soldiers encounter when faced with a so called operation other than war which has been running for years and which from a military point of view has been finished, although the political situation is still far from being stable. The difficulties of establishing peace and democracy in societies ridden by war, ethnic conflicts, organized crime and corruption after a long-lasting armed confrontation has been ceased are well-known, but are still very hard to overcome. The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a very good example of what can be achieved by military means – and what are the (political, social) limits of a military intervention (see Biermann 2002b; Calic 2004; Fischer 2006; Herd/Tracy 2006; Solioz/Vogel 2004).

As I tried to show, the progress of a military operation other than war also has an important impact on the soldiers' perception of the mission and their self-image. Indeed, many of the irritations observed among the soldiers of the German contingent are closely linked to the character of operation *Althea* which now rather consists in administering the status quo than in shaping the future. This does not satisfy soldiers like the Germans who – even if they are not necessarily trained for “war” – are nonetheless prepared for establishing peace and democracy and expect to make a “useful” military contribution. Thus, it not only seems to be necessary for the military organization to better prepare soldiers for this kind of mission before sending them abroad, but also to convey to them more clearly the objectives, chances and limitations of their work during the operation.

With respect to the future of (European) military co-operation the differences we observed between Mostar and Rajlovac indicate last but not least that demanding from soldiers to (intensively) co-operate with members of other armed forces without establishing (or accepting) a common framework of rules tends to create more problems than benefits (see also Abel 2008a: 146 et sqq.). Sticking exclusively to one's own national standards contradicts not only the claim of an “integrated” multinational co-operation the idea of a European military integration is usually associated with. With an increasing number of multinational operations it simply has become almost impossible for soldiers *not* to get to know to other national rules and *not* to compare them to their own. On the other hand, it is obvious that for the military organization it is much easier to

construct and convey coherent meaning in a national setting than in a multinational one, where contradictions and ambiguities are an integral part of the daily work. For the individual soldier multinational co-operation first of all means production of complexity, particularly if national rules diverge from multinational regulations and/or recommendations. If one wants to continue or even intensify co-operation between European armed forces, therefore it appears to be indispensable in the future to define more clearly the possible common grounds on which co-operation could take place – starting with the definition of “risk” and “security” and the corresponding dress regulations.

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The Spanish Contingent of the MNTF SE in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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1 General Overview

Historical review of Spanish participation in BiH

Spain participated in the international missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the following periods and was part of the corresponding contingents:

1992 – 1995	UNPROFOR
1995 – 1996	IFOR
1996 – 2004	SFOR
02 DEC 2004	EUFOR

Structure and composition of the Spanish contingent

At the moment of this investigation the Spanish contingent belonged to the Multinational Task Force Southeast (MNTF SE) *Salamander* within EUFOR. The total number of the Spanish contingent assigned to Mostar was 389 people.

The structure and distribution of the Spanish contingent during that period (October 2006) was as follows:

Some Spanish soldiers were assigned to the MNTF Headquarters (HQ), whose chief of staff was a Spanish colonel.

- At the HQ 18 officers of superior rank and 5 non-commissioned officers (NCOs) were working.

Concerning the units, we can distinguish:

- 4 Liaison and Observation Teams (LOTs) with 36 soldiers: 12 officers, 16 NCOs and 8 troops personnel. Two teams were in Mostar, the other two in Trebinje.
- One section of reconnaissance (LRRP), integrated within the unit of surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR). It was composed by 32 soldiers: 1 senior officer, 8 officers, 16 NCOs and 7 troops personnel.

- A commander and HQ for the manoeuvre unit composed by 23 members, 5 senior officers, 6 officers, 5 NCOs and 7 troops personnel.
- Two infantry companies: one of marines, with a total of 100 members, distributed by military category in 5 officers, 10 NCOs and 85 troops personnel. The other company, belonging to the army, was composed in the same way.
- One Spanish National Support Element (NSE), with 80 soldiers: one senior officer, 8 officers, 20 NCOs and 51 troops personnel.

Gathered data

Concerning the process of collection of data, we must emphasize that in the Spanish contingent a total of 300 questionnaires were distributed, almost all of which (283) were validated. Nine of these corresponded to senior officers, 32 to officers, 49 to NCOs, and 190 to troops (83 out of these 190 people were corporal or first corporal).

We have to take into account that the military Spanish contingent in Mostar, at the moment of the collection of data, was working in the Zone of Operation just for one month. Only 23 of them (who were working in the MNTF HQ) had been in Bosnia for a longer time.

Another important issue concerns the experiences within the Spanish armed forces. We must indicate that one third of the Spanish soldiers who answered the questionnaire, i. e. approximately one hundred Spanish soldiers, had less than five years of military experience; the others had been serving in the armed forces for at least six years.

2 Qualitative Analysis of the Spanish Contingent in Mostar

The main aspect we must emphasize concerning the Spanish contingent is its big dimension comparing the other countries. For this reason, it seems to have a greater diversity in its composition and presence in a great variety of performance areas: In the HQs (the colonel COS was Spanish), in the scope of logistical support and especially in operative respects: two out of four infantry companies of the Task Force *Salamander* were Spanish.

The greater number of detached personnel also corresponds to a greater diversity in its composition: due to the great proportion of troops personnel, it is clear that the Spanish

contingent comprised a greater percentage of young people and female soldiers than the other national contingents.

Concerning the military categories a great diversity existed within the Spanish contingent in Mostar, with all the military ranks, from soldier to colonel, being represented. Besides, in addition to the general branches of the armed forces (Infantry, Cavalry, Marines, ...) the Spanish contingent included other technical specialties such as legal adviser, medical services, ecclesiastical, etc. With regard to the type of missions different modalities were covered: operations, logistics, command and control.

Another aspect to be considered was the “separation” between the Spanish contingent and those of the other nations. Although members of all nations involved were working and living at the base camp in Mostar, in the case of the Spanish soldiers it was very clear that except for the people working in the multinational HQ, and those that, due to their rank or mission, had to work together with members of other contingents, the members of the Spanish contingent usually had relations with their companions and the personnel of their country only. The geographical distribution of the national contingents within in the base camp contributed to this fact, because the zone of life and work of the Spanish people was far away from the zones of other countries. Under these circumstances it is normal that the Spanish soldiers tended to mix with their compatriots, especially with those belonging to the same unit or working at the same place (with the same daily tasks). In this respect, we should not forget either the difficulties with the languages. It is obvious that the diversity of countries working for the MNTF SE made it difficult for the soldiers deployed in Mostar-Otiješ to communicate with each other. Of course English was the common language used, but not everybody in this mission mastered this language, as it is shown in the database.

The places where members of the different countries mostly met were the points of sale of products, and the dining rooms or bars, but even in those places was very difficult to talk and make friends from other countries, because when the Spanish soldiers went there, they usually were accompanied by companions or close friends from Spain. Therefore most of the Spanish soldiers preferred to go to the closest bars in the Spanish zone.

Talking about the general perception about the members of the Spanish contingent, we observed a “good atmosphere” between the people. To us it seemed that the soldiers were taking a certain pleasure in participating in this operation, they seemed to be proud

of it, which is also stated in the data collected in the analysis of the survey. But we must take into account a very important aspect for the Spanish contingent: at the moment of the collection of the data, the soldiers were in first stage of their deployment, just one month after the beginning. We think this is a factor that favoured those sensations. The feeling of frustration and tiredness, very common at the end of these kind of missions, did not yet have emerged. Later, we were informed that things like that occurred at the end of the mission, fostered by the fact that this contingent was the last one being deployed in Mostar-Otiješ.

We would also like to emphasize that the conditions of life and the facilities that we could observe were in very good conditions – after ten years of mission this was not very surprising. All these aspects contributed to the well-being of the Spanish soldiers.

Concerning the working condition for the personnel of Spanish contingent, we can say that we observed a relaxed atmosphere and mutual understanding. Everyone seemed to know his job and the work assigned to it, the units were managed and prepared according to previous criteria, which favoured effectiveness or at least the perception of it. In addition, the jovial and communicative character of the Spaniards was perceived in the general atmosphere.

There also seemed to exist a good understanding with the civil personnel that made support tasks in the base, and with the local population of the city of Mostar and its surroundings. Nevertheless, we have to point out that some of the Spanish soldiers to whom we could talk to held somewhat pessimistic views on the possible reactions in certain places after the withdrawal of the EUFOR troops.

**Part II:
Problems and Features of
Multinational Military Co-operation –
Attitudes of Italian, French,
German and Spanish Soldiers
in Comparative Perspective**

Working Together

Maria Luisa Maniscalco, Giulia Aubry & Valeria Rosato

1 Working in International Environments

by Maria Luisa Maniscalco

1.1 Relations among Contingents of Multinational Units – Sociological Reflections: An Introduction

A progressive increase of multinational forces employed in several missions under the aegis of UN, NATO and, recently, EU represents one of the significant changes within the armed forces of European countries in the last decades. With the term “military multinationality” we usually mean any kind of co-operation among the military from different nations, but in detail we have to distinguish between horizontal co-operation and vertical integration (see, for instance, Gareis 2006).

In the last few years, in a trend towards a growing integration, soldiers of different nationalities have more and more interacted and co-operated under an integrated command structure. Particularly, this phenomenon was a matter for Western countries’ soldiers, but not only for them: the “internationalization of military life” (Klein/Kümmel 2000) is a global phenomenon. For instance, one of the most multi-ethnic and multi-cultural armies ever assembled was the UN’s peacekeeping force in ex-Yugoslavia, with troops from 44 nations representing almost all geo-political areas of the world. As far as this research is concerned, EUFOR, which replaced the NATO’s Stabilisation Force (SFOR) on December 2, 2004, is strongly characterized by multi-nationality, being supported by 33 countries, 22 of which members of the EU.

Co-operation and progressive integration represent a major challenge for the military organization, symbol of unity and national sovereignty and traditionally reluctant to change. It would not be rash to uphold that the European armed forces have played an essential role in the development of national identities and in the strengthening, even through wars, of the concept of nation-state. The idea that the armed forces are a symbol of national sovereignty and a “public good” of each country is still strong in the political and military thought of European elites and in public opinion in general (Maniscalco 2004).

However, turbulent and complex international scenarios ask for multilateral interventions at all levels, last but not least in the military sphere. At present the armed forces are called to operate in very different international contexts and in a variety of missions concerning a wide range of possibilities starting from war fighting to mere humanitarian actions. In other words the multinational dimension and the different cultural environments have become significant elements of military action. As to the military organization we can speak of a “post-nationality” field (Maniscalco 2006), that is to say a plural, social and cultural field where national identities match new senses of belonging and compete with differences in culture, traditions, procedures and languages. These differences are continuously mediated and renegotiated in order to share a common approach to the mission and to carry out the assigned duties.

These conditions need a high level of intercultural competence, the availability to adapt to changing and troubled environments as well as the capacity to analyse multiple senses of belonging and loyalty. In fact, as to their organization, the multinational forces are characterized by an unsolved tension among different national and transnational senses of belonging. This situation can be defined as an example of sociological ambivalence (Merton 1976): on the one hand the relationships among soldiers are very intense and need new legitimacy, new forms of loyalty and trust in foreign senior officers and comrades, but on the other hand the idea of national identity and national political control of the military are still deeply rooted. Such sociological ambivalence can be managed with some typical resources of the military profession; researchers (see, for instance, Moskos 1976; Elron/Shamir/Ben-Ari 1999) have shown for some time how military professionalism – that is to say skill and competence in dealing with violence as a whole – is based, beyond national differences, on a rather homogeneous organizing culture. The latter makes mutual understanding and mutual trust easier. In other words, the military mind and the military culture represent important resources to improve co-operation and integration.

At the same time we must take into account that the armed forces of different Western countries have had a long combined activity experience within NATO and they have gathered a common culture in peacekeeping operations. Consequently, the development of the European politics on security and defence has further boosted regional military co-operation, also considering its growing engagements in peacekeeping and post-conflict stabilization missions. It is likely that more and more soldiers from the European countries will work together with important consequences for their identity, cul-

ture, and sense of belonging. For this reason, it is crucial for the military organization to understand how soldiers from all ranks can manage cultural diversity, which may occur among national contingents when they work in a particular situation and with different people. Last but not least, the union of common European forces could contribute to develop a common European conscience.

From a sociological point of view, important questions arise: how are soldiers prepared for these intercultural experiences? What kind of challenge do the military have to accept during these missions and why? What do they think about co-operation among soldiers of different nationalities? Do they develop a different sense of belonging? And which kind of ambivalence do multinational contingents feel? Do they feel more European? Do they really experience true team spirit and mutual trust?

1.2 Working in International Missions: A General Overview on Mission *Althea*

This section shows an overview on the general results of the research. If we consider the specific composition of the sample, which is strongly unbalanced as to the Spanish and French components, it can happen that the general data presents strong differences compared to the data obtained for the single national components. We believe it can be useful to express some general considerations on the overall data, especially in order to analyse the background scenario where we can place the next comparative analysis. The presented results refer only to some sections of the questionnaire and have been divided into four areas, each of which analyses a dimension that is considered to be significant for understanding the socio-cultural aspects of the activities carried out within a multinational contingent.

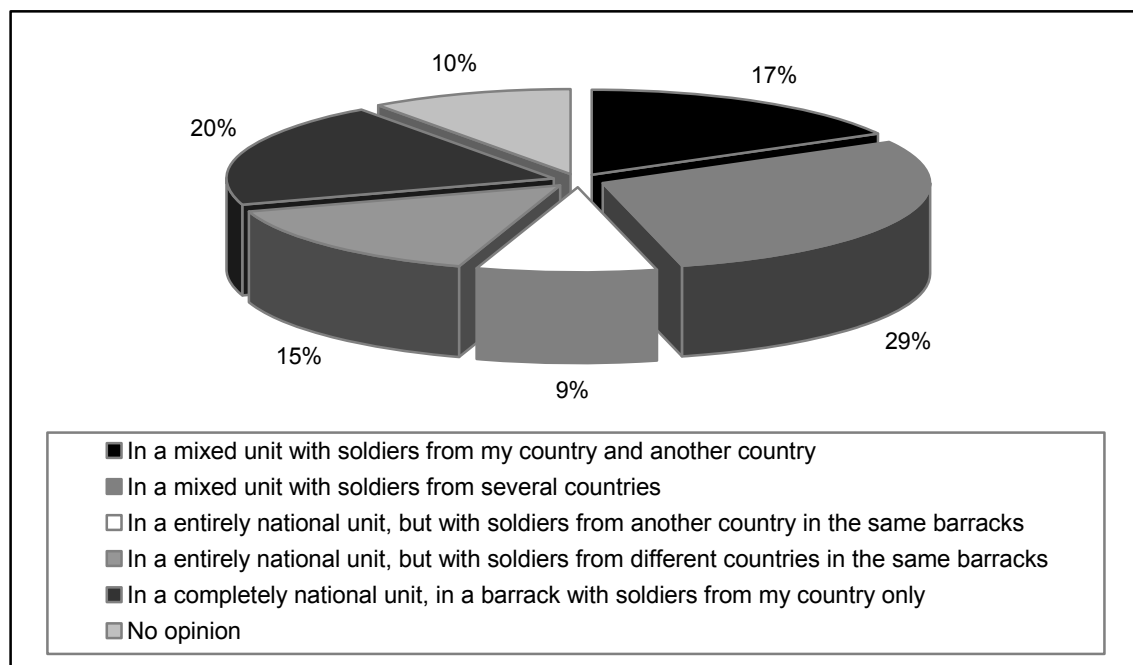
Working together with soldiers from other nations: problems and preferences

The first section refers to the availability to and the interest in working together with soldiers from other countries, the possible problems, the points of friction and the importance of some factors. The overall evaluation of the work performed together with members of other nationalities offers a background image about the individual dispositions to co-operation and integration. We must also remember that daily work, that is to say the concrete interaction, allows to develop the socio-cultural practices able to provide the resources necessary to create a transnational military identity (Maniscalco 2006).

During our research we have asked soldiers working in a multinational context a set of questions. The first of which was: “What do you think about your experience with soldiers from different nations?” They could choose among five answers: “I liked it very much”, “I liked it”, “I didn’t care”, “I didn’t like it”, “I absolutely didn’t like it”, or they could decide not to answer. The result of this research showed that the overwhelming majority of the interviewed soldiers enjoyed working in international missions (69% answered “I liked it very much” and “I liked it”) and only 0.5% answered “I didn’t like it”. A minority group (21%) didn’t care, while 9% had no opinion.

The interest in working in a multinational context is also confirmed by the answers given to this question: “If you had do decide to take part again in a multinational mission, would you accept?” More than a half of the interviewed people (53%) answered “absolutely yes”, 37% said “maybe I would” and only 3% stated “absolutely not”, 7% “maybe I wouldn’t”. These results reveal a positive attitude of the soldiers of the four reported contingents towards multinational co-operation. A significant percentage of them express however a preference to work with people of their own nationality. The results of figure 1 below show these differences at different levels.

Figure 1: Working preferences (% , rounded up or down)



If conditions are favourable, intercultural differences can be minimised and integration enhanced (see, for example, Gareis et al. 2003; Triandis 2002). In our research we also inserted some questions concerning the importance of nationality, rank, English language skills, social contacts, quality of the official channels of communication and the perception of various decision-making processes both at a national and a multinational level in order to analyse some of the conditions mentioned above. When the military actor has to deal with the ambiguity and ambivalence of multinational settings, what are the most important factors which he can rely on and what are the challenges he has to meet? The results concerning the first four variables are shown in table 1.

Table 1: Working conditions in a multinational setting (% , rounded up or down)

“How important are the following factors for your daily work?”	Very important	Rather important	Not very important	Not important at all	No opinion
Nationality	26	25	28	12	9
Rank	24	37	23	9	8
English language skills	37	35	15	6	7
Social contacts	35	38	12	5	11
Other factors	16	21	10	4	49

Communicative abilities and interactions arise as key factors during daily work. English language skills and frequent contacts with other soldiers are considered very important qualities in daily activities. While for more than half of the interviewed soldiers rank and nationality still maintain a great importance for their daily work, they are not considered to be so important by the members of multinational contingents.

The importance of knowledge of the English language, which allows to suitably interact in a multicultural context and to assert one’s own professionalism, is confirmed by the results of another question: a high percentage of the interviewed soldiers (80%) consider English a means to have a greater influence; only 6% of them completely disagree with the statement “Those who are best qualified to perform in English usually have the greatest influence”, while 15% only partially disagree with the previous statement.

But according to the interviewed soldiers the mission *Althea*, as far as integration is concerned, is not an example of a mature multinational organization because the overwhelming majority of the military personnel receive information from their own national channels and feel that national decision-making processes are more efficient.

These elements can obviously create barriers towards integration and make interaction with one's own fellow countrymen more preferable.

As to the data concerning the first aspect, it is interesting to see, for example, that asked through which channels they received the information they needed for their daily work, 73% of the interviewed soldiers said "through my official co-national superior", 12% answered "through informal co-national channels", while only 11% and 4% of the respondents answered respectively "through my official superior from other nations" and "through informal contacts with members of other nations". Answers related to the soldiers' opinion about the decision-making process seem to be along the same line, even if they are less intense. 43% of the interviewed soldiers reported to think that the decision-making process is "faster on national level than on multinational level", for 38% the decision-making process was "more efficient on national level than on multinational level" and for 40% "smoother on national level than on multinational level". If we consider that a large number of the interviewed soldiers did not express any opinion about these questions (37%, 37% and 40% respectively), it is possible to understand how important these answers are.

Multinational co-operation: evaluation and job satisfaction

The evaluation of daily collaboration among soldiers of different nationalities such as job satisfaction are important indicators of the quality of the social climate. In the military world relationships among comrades are considered as fundamental, especially during a mission abroad; one's own security and the achievement of common aims strictly affect the quality of a group as a whole and leadership efficiency. In an environment where the social climate is positive, it is easier to negotiate differences, make stereotypes less rigorous and get used to the new tasks and to multinational co-operation.

In general, the results of the research show that co-operation among soldiers of the four countries taking part in operation *Althea* in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been judged positively: 23% said it was "very good", 66% "good", only 3% and 0.2% judged it "bad" or "very bad" respectively. The interviewed soldiers are therefore able to manage the complexity of a multicultural context, to establish relationships and to act in co-operation with members of other contingents. As it has been shown by several studies (see, for instance, Moskos 1976; Elron/Shamir/Ben-Ari 1999), military professionalism and its pertinent organizational culture offer a context shared by the members of the armed

forces of every country where everyone can develop daily practices allowing to enhance the process of co-operation and integration. The process of military socialization, which is similar around the globe, obviously plays an important role: the culture of discipline, hierarchy, loyalty, trust, comradeship, military symbols, parades and ceremonies are part of the peculiarities of the military profession worldwide. Of course, variations exist among different countries, but the processes of integration and co-operation are much easier if they are inserted in a well-organized context based on formalized working procedures and ready to meet the needs of the military. This seems to have been the case with the mission *Althea*. In fact, soldiers expressed sufficient satisfaction with a wide range of aspects such as leisure activities and friendship relations, logistic situation, quality of food and drinks, pay and allowances, as it is shown in table 2.

Table 2: Job satisfaction (% , rounded up or down)

During deployment how satisfied are you with ...	Satisfied	Rather satisfied	Neither/nor	Rather dissatisfied	Dis-satisfied
current job activities?	37	35	18	7	3
personal development opportunities?	30	34	24	8	5
pay and allowances?	22	35	26	10	8
leisure time facilities?	24	34	27	9	5
accommodation in the camp?	32	41	19	5	2
food and drink?	32	31	17	10	11
contact with family and friends at home?	36	39	16	6	3
working conditions?	33	42	16	6	3

At Mostar the social atmosphere seemed to be positive: the sense of comradeship was good, the confidence in one's own immediate superior was very high and the confidence in one's own higher leaders was good. Although *Althea* has to be considered as a low-intensity mission, signs of boredom felt by the first contingents engaged in peacekeeping activities (Segal/Wechsler Segal 1993) did not appear in a very pronounced way: more than a half of the interviewed soldiers considered their work interesting and varied. Concerning the stress caused by the separation from their own family, the interviewed soldiers believed that this was especially hard for their families at home, which confirms that the involvement in a working activity makes separation more bearable. table 3 shows the percentages obtained from the different items:

Table 3: Evaluation of *Althea* unit (% , rounded up or down)

When thinking of your <i>Althea</i> unit, how do you evaluate the following statements?	Totally agree	Rather agree	Partly agree/ disagree	Rather disagree	Totally disagree
Comradeship is good in my unit.	29	47	16	5	3
I have confidence in my immediate superior.	39	35	15	6	6
I have confidence in my higher leaders.	18	40	27	9	7
My job is interesting, varied.	28	35	18	13	6
My job is mostly routine.	18	23	23	23	13
Being separated from my family makes me sad.	14	22	31	18	14
My family suffers because I am away.	24	32	22	13	8

Feelings of belongingness, double loyalty and mutual confidence

According to some authors (for instance Ben-Ari/Elron 2001) the achievement of successful military co-operation and the development of feelings of multinational belongingness, far from overshadowing the sense of national identity, help to enhance it. Multiple feelings of belonging and loyalty are so established: the creation of the identity of being a member of a multinational mission is parallel to both national and also corps identity. The exaltation of the last two identities becomes a means of communicating one's own identity and values to other groups. Considering the particular interest of this point, the research contains a set of questions about it. The results confirm what has been previously stated: on the basis of a strong national pride and attachment, the interviewed soldiers showed a strong sense of belongingness to multinational HQ/Force/Unit: about 23% of them even said they feel like part of a family in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit, while 38% rather agreed with this statement. Another statement ("The HQ/Unit has no personal meaning to me") partly confirms this position: in fact more than a half of the interviewed soldiers (68%) totally or partially disagreed with it. Positions are different concerning the statement "Working in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit is just a job for me": even though a good number of the interviewed soldiers (38%) totally or partly agreed with it, more than a half of them (about 52%) did not.

One can assume that the duties performed during the mission *Althea* were not the favourite activities for the majority of the soldiers sampled. This is due to the fact that in order to face the complex duties of pacification and reconstruction, which are more and more frequently entrusted to multinational forces, the military organization has been undergoing a deep cultural change as to its new role as a political instrument. Neverthe-

less the fact remains that the military imprint still persists in the professional identity of soldiers, whose main reference point is traditionally war. It is therefore obvious that an important percentage of the interviewed soldiers believe that the job performed during the mission *Althea* was not suitable for their professionalism.

It is also interesting that only a little more than a quarter of the interviewed soldiers did not feel a greater sense of loyalty to their own army than to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit. The vast majority of soldiers interviewed declared themselves more loyal to their own army. The presence of a definable field in terms of a sociological ambivalence in the opinions of the military staff on duty in multinational contingents is so further confirmed. table 4 shows the obtained results in more detail.

Table 4: Feelings of belongingness (% , rounded up or down)

	Agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Disagree	No opinion
I feel like 'part of the family' in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.	23	38	16	11	13
The HQ/Unit has no personal meaning to me.	5	14	19	50	12
I feel a strong sense of belonging to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.	19	39	16	11	14
Working in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit is just a job for me.	15	24	23	29	9
I feel more loyal to my own army than to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.	41	22	12	15	10

A first explanation of these results comes from another item aimed at verifying how daily work has contributed to change the opinions about professionalism of the contingents involved. The results show a polarity between Spanish and Italian soldiers; the interviewed soldiers improving their opinions about Spanish staff were about twice as much as those giving a better opinion about the Italian staff. As to the deterioration of opinions we have a similar situation. The results are shown in table 5.

Table 5: Evaluation of professionalism of the other national contingents (% , rounded up or down)

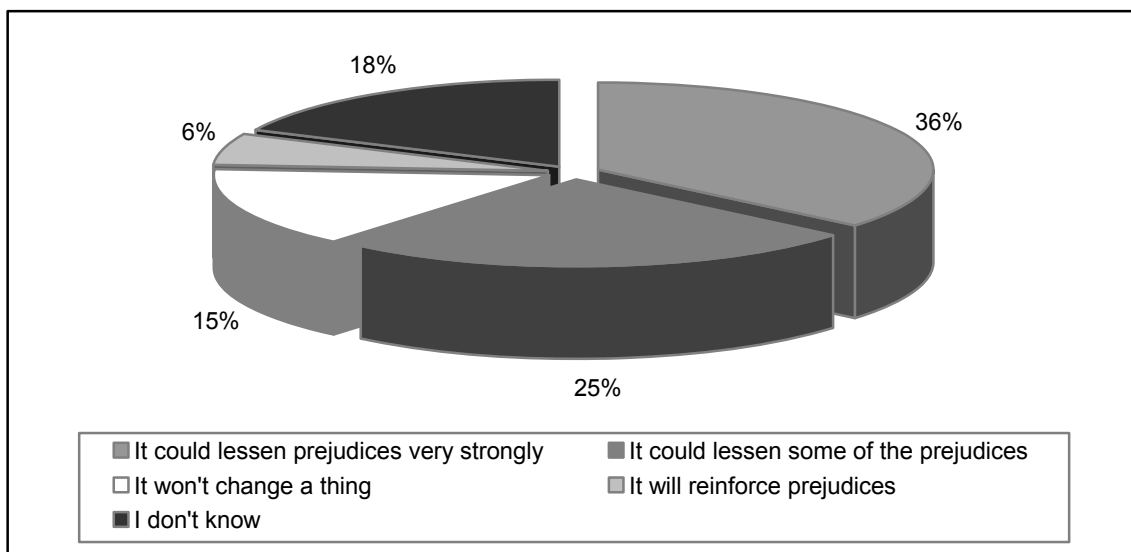
“During your deployment, how has your general opinion of the professionalism of the soldiers of the following nations changed?”	Improved	Remain the same	Deteriorated	No opinion
Italian soldiers	19	42	11	29
French soldiers	18	54	9	18
German soldiers	21	49	5	25
Spanish soldiers	37	43	5	16

It is interesting to notice that this question provoked a large number of “no opinion” answers. It means that the interviewed soldiers expressed their own opinion with great difficulty and reticence on this matter. But it is also possible that they chose the option “no opinion” because they had no possibility to improve their knowledge about other contingents and, for this reason, they decided not to answer. Considering the replies given to this item (please note the highest percentages on the indications “deteriorated” and “no opinion”), it is clear that the Italians have a greater difficulty to make themselves known and appreciated than soldiers from the other countries. It is probable that the different percentages depend on the different working location, but this needs further examination (see also the contribution by Heike Paschotta on this issue).

Will co-operation help soldiers to feel more European?

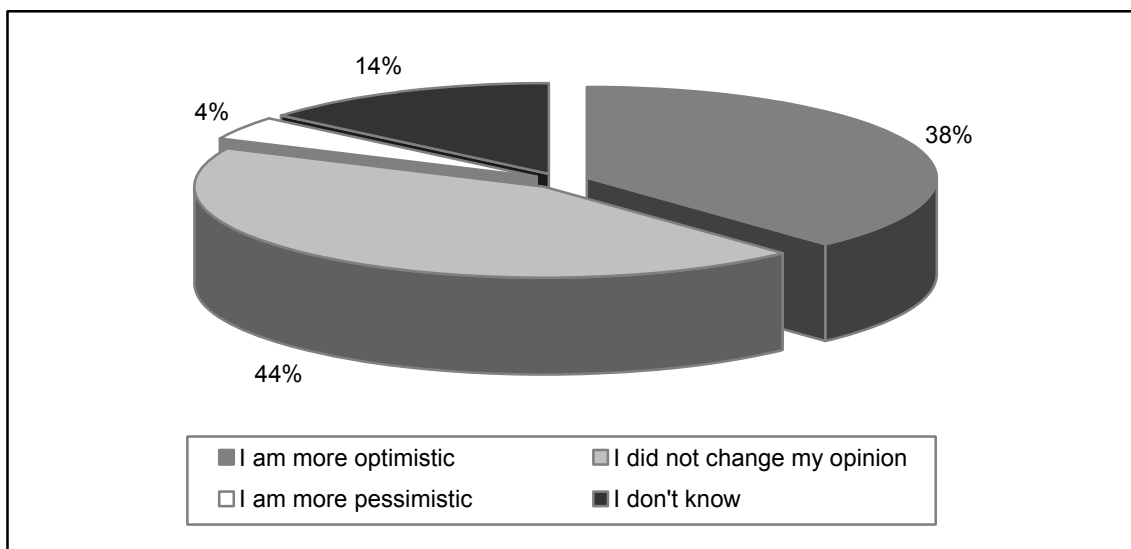
However, apart from the ambiguity concerning evaluations and perceptions, the common daily activities and the shared procedures and objectives help to overcome prejudices and improve the idea of the “other”. In spite of various problems and difficulties, living and working in a multinational contingent is an important occasion of meeting new people. According to the soldiers of our sample, collaboration in a multinational mission improves knowledge and can partly or strongly lessen prejudices.

Figure 2: Multinational co-operation and national prejudices (% , rounded up or down)



This data is confirmed by a certain optimism about the possibility to create deeper military integration among EU member states. 4 soldiers out of ten believe that this experience will to create the possibility to become more European also inside the armed forces.

Figure 3: Future European military integration (% , rounded up or down)



Altogether we can say that EU military missions are not only an important means to achieve the aims and objectives of European politics on security and defence, but they also give a new drive to mutual knowledge and integration. It is a way of creating

“Europe” by sharing the activities of daily life, running the same risks, even though minimal, and making an effort to build together new meanings for a different reality.

2 Working in International Missions: Comparing National Attitudes towards Multinational Co-operation

by Giulia Aubry

Following the framework of analysis suggested in the previous section, we can now focus our attention on a compared analysis between the results of every country. This comparison will help us to better understand national attitudes and the way in which this could influence not only the results of our research but also the international working environment and, above all, the effectiveness of the mission.

Giving a general overview on the national resulting percentage, we can immediately note that only in a very few cases there is a correspondence between the general results and the national ones. These differences create national profiles with specific national attitudes both on the side of the self-perceptions of each country and on the side of the image that each contingent has toward the other contingents, as we will explain in the next paragraphs.

2.1 Working Together with Soldiers from Other Nations: Problems and Preferences

Multinational co-operation between expectations and reality

As table 6 and 7 show, there is a deep difference between working with soldiers from other nations in theory and in practice.

Table 6: Attitudes towards service with soldiers from other nations (% , rounded up or down)

	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
I like it very much	32	41	63	50	17
I like it	37	26	29	32	46
I do not care	21	17	4	16	27
I more or less dislike it	1	1	2	0	0
No opinion	9	15	2	3	10

Table 7: Evaluation of co-operation between the soldiers from the four nations in operation *Althea* (% , rounded up or down)

	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Very good	23	13	13	34	26
Good	66	70	79	61	64
Bad	3	6	4	3	2
Very bad	0	0	0	0	0
No opinion	8	12	4	3	9

On an ideal level, as we have seen before, the overwhelming majority of our sample likes the idea of working in a multinational environment. But when they are asked to judge the situation on the field – specifically that of the Multinational Task Force in Mostar – some things change. This is particular interesting when we compare the results on national basis. For the first aspect the Germans seem to be the most enthusiastic. While the 69% of the general sample has answered “I like it very much” or “I like it”, even 92% of the German soldiers answered in the same way. Closest to this result are the answers of the Italian soldiers (82%), whereas the French and Spanish seem to be less enthusiastic (respectively 67% and 63% answered “I like it very much” or “I like it”).

On the other hand, when we talk about the assessment of the international co-operation in the mission *Althea*, we can see that even if the general evaluation remains good (23% of the general sample think that the co-operation is “very good” and 66% think that it is “good”), there are some aspects that we must analyse in a more deeper way. In fact, while the general sample “liked very much” to work with soldiers from other nations, in the assessment of the real multinational co-operation they choose to answer “good” more than “very good”. It is interesting to note that the decrease of enthusiasm toward the real collaboration in the field was above all due to the less positive answers of the Germans soldiers. Only the Italians (34% answered “very good” and 61% chose “good”) seem to have maintained their enthusiasm toward an international working environment both in theory and in practice.

Thus we can observe that even if the multinational working environment is desirable and it is considered as an opportunity by every soldiers, no matter to whom nationality they belong, during the daily work in a mission abroad co-operation with soldiers from other nations can create some troubles and tensions especially for some nations.

This can be confirmed by the answers to the question: “If you could choose, which of the following units would you prefer to work in?” German, Italian and French soldiers gave their preferences to a “mixed unit from several countries” (respectively 60%, 41% and 33%) while the 29% of the Spanish sample prefer “a completely national unit, in a barrack with soldiers from my country only” and 22% “an entirely national unit, but with soldiers from different countries in the same barracks”. To understand these results, it is of fundamental importance to underline that the Spanish soldiers were the most numerous in Mostar and that their perception of the situation and their answers influence the general result more than any other nationality (see also the contribution by Casas Santero/Sánchez Navarro on the Spanish contingent in Mostar). Correspondingly, the Spanish soldiers considered nationality as one of the most important factor for their daily work. For 34% of the Spanish respondents this aspect was “very important” and for 31% “rather important”. At the same time it is important to underline that the Italian soldiers considered nationality as an important factor for the daily work, too (30% answered “very important” and 24% “rather important”). This might seem contradictory because the Italian sample showed the greatest enthusiasm for an international working environment. But in this case we can refer to the qualitative interviews with Italian soldier which revealed the same ambiguity: on one hand the Italian soldiers wanted to work with other nationalities and were very open to this multinational experience, on the other hand they had the feeling that there was some incomprehension from soldiers of other nationality who seemed to not understand the “Italian way” of working and living. This self-image could help us to better understand not only some of the Italian positions which came forward in this research but also the attitudes of the other nationalities towards the Italians (see also the contribution by Heike Paschotta on this issue).

More in general, based on the analysis of these first questions we can design two groups of nationality according to their general attitude toward the idea of working in a multinational environment. On one side we find the Spanish and French soldiers who seem to be more sceptic of the effectiveness of the multicultural collaboration in the Mostar HQ. On the other side we find the Germans and Italians who appear to be more enthusiastic and open toward this kind of collaboration. This categorization of the sample is not only based on national characteristics but is rather related to the specific features of the national samples, the numbers of respondents for every nation and the role that they have in the organization of the Task Force. In this sense we cannot talk of typical national attitudes, because in different situations (see, for example, Keller et al. 2008 on the Ital-

ian-German co-operation) the same nationalities could adopt a very different attitude toward multinational collaboration. This kind of polarization we observed might also be influenced by the number of nations that participate in the multinational setting. For example, a multinational task force is more complex than a bi-national, but could also create “unusual” alliance between nationalities. Another factor concerns the general circumstances in which the Task Force was working. In fact, a low-intensity scenario creates a different kind of cohesion on the field and makes people more concentrated on bureaucratic aspects than on operative ones. Moreover, people have less to do – many soldiers from different nationalities underlined this aspect during the interviews – and so they have more time for rumours which might reinforce stereotypes and prejudices as it is typical of a large organization in a particular situation.

Communication and decision-making process in a multicultural working environment

To better understand the multinational dynamics in the working environment of the mission *Althea* and consequently the evaluation of the multinational co-operation we can also focus our attention on communication and decision-making processes. In larger, complex and multinational work units like those in Mostar, organization is a prerequisite for co-ordinated leadership. Organization in this sense means above all to bring order in who does what, how, and when. Role clarity is one of the fundamental elements for the success of a complex organization and it is strictly related to a defined formal structure, above all when different nationalities must to be coordinated. The perception of the multinational organization is heavily influenced by informal networks operating in parallel with official organizational structures. When there is no role clarity and a sort of uncertainty, individual members of the mission cannot engage in activities which make sense to them within the framework of the formal organization. So they will look elsewhere for meaning, sense and purpose, perhaps on national basis and this could change the opinion on the effectiveness of the multinational structure. Shortly they will accept – if not create – informal frameworks for carrying out perceived necessary organizational activities. To understand how different nationalities live (and sometimes perceive) this situation we can take a look at table 8.

Table 8: Communication processes (% , rounded up or down)

Through which channel do you mostly receive the information you need for your daily work?	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Official co-national superiors	73	85	62	43	77
Informal co-national channels	12	4	10	17	15
Official superiors from other nations	11	7	12	32	7
Informal contacts members from other nation	4	4	17	8	1

It is interesting to note that every national contingent received the information mostly through official channels represented by their co-national superiors. On the one hand the main use of official communication channels means that there existed a certain role clarity in the MNTF SE/Mostar. On the other hand this role clarity appeared to be still on national basis, a situation that is not very good for a multinational organization. Even if all the contingents received most information from co-national superiors, for the French and Spanish soldiers this seemed to be true even to a greater extent. This could be related to the fact that the Spanish are, as we have said before, the most numerous group on the field followed by the French. The Italians, who are less numerous and who were working above all at the HQ where the multinational organization was more defined, are the soldiers that received information almost to the same extent from official co-national superiors (43%) and official superiors from other nations (32%).

Due to this fact it might be surprising to see that the group who held the most national-centred views on the decision-making process were the German soldiers: 65% of the Germans answered that they “agreed” or “rather agreed” with the statement “In Mostar the decision making process is faster on national level than on multinational level” and 54% gave the same answer to the statement “In Mostar decision-making process is more efficient on national level than on multinational level”. In this respect they were the most critical, but it is important to underline two aspects. The first is that the German soldiers are the group with the highest percentage of information received through informal channels (10% and 17%). The second is that a great number of soldiers who did not give an answer on this particular topic (perhaps due to the perception of this question as too complex). Altogether one quarter of the Italian (24%), half of the French (49%) and more than one third of the Spanish soldiers (38%) did not answer this question, while only 8% of the Germans did not give an answer. This difference could be related to the fact that the relevance of the question was assessed very differently by the

four nations. At any rate it reveals the German perception of a lack of clarity concerning the multinational hierarchy and chain of command and control that will be explained in next paragraphs.

In addition to this we must consider the use of English as a common language. English was considered by every nationality the most important factor in a multinational working environment. All national contingents indicated that they “completely agreed” or “rather agreed” with the statement “Those who are best qualified to perform in English have greatest influence in the daily work”. In fact, the global percentage of the general sample is almost the same for every nation, even if Italians prefer “completely agree” (33%) to “rather agree” (45%). On the opposite side French soldiers answered “completely agree” for 20% and “rather agree” for 56%.

Table 9: Role of the English language (% , rounded up or down)

Those who are best qualified to perform in English usually have the greatest influence	General results	French	German	Italians	Spanish
Completely agree	28	20	27	33	31
Rather agree	49	55	46	45	47
Rather disagree	14	13	21	15	13
Completely disagree	5	6	4	7	5
Don't know	0	0	0	1	0
No answer	4	7	2	0	5

It is interesting to see that the soldiers belonging to the Task Force *Salamander* generally declared that their knowledge of the English language was not very good. In fact the majority of the sample thought their English was understandable (41%), while only 8% declared they were fluent and only 14% said that they spoke English well. But the most important data that could influence both the multinational working environment and the relationship between different nationalities concerns the differences between countries. The two contingents that fared worst are the French and the Spanish. Barely 5% of the French soldiers and 8% of the Spanish said they were fluent in English – less than the Italians (9%) and the Germans (13%). This hierarchy is confirmed if one refers to the segments of the troops who believed they had reached a good level in English: 9% of the Spanish soldiers fall within this category and 14% of the French, while 21% of the Germans and 25% of the Italians belong to this group.

Table 10: Assessment of English speaking abilities (% , rounded up or down)

Language level	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Fluent	5	13	9	8
Good level	14	21	25	9
Understandable	44	46	50	36
Rather bad	23	17	15	23
Very bad	13	2	1	20
No answer	1	2	0	3

In this respect it is interesting to see that the national groups who speak English best are those who also believe that the command of English is an utmost priority. Indeed, while only 37% of all the respondents declared English was “very important” in their daily work (35% “important”), as we have seen before, among the Italians the percentage reached a remarkable 62% (30% “important”) and 60% among the Germans (31% “important”). By contrast, a mere 19% of the French ranked English as a “very important” factor in their work (38% “important”).

It appears evident that the language issue is crucial for living and working in a multinational mission abroad. During the semi-structured interviews many soldiers from France, Germany and Italy (the Spanish did not make this kind of interviews) referred to this aspect. The overwhelming majority of the sample said that they needed a better knowledge at least of the English language. It is also important to point out that especially as far as the Italian soldiers are concerned there is a deep and general lack of self-confidence toward the capacity of speaking English or other foreign languages. This self-image influences the relationship between the members of different nations in particular at the beginning of the collaboration and in high-intensity situations, creating misunderstandings and a lack of confidence that could last throughout the whole mission.

2.2 Multinational Co-operation: Evaluation and Job Satisfaction

As we have seen in the previous paragraphs, the general assessment of the quadronational co-operation within the Task Force *Salamander* at Mostar is considered to be “good” by the overwhelming majority of the sample. It could be interesting to add here the observation that for this question there is a different polarization. On one hand we have the German and Spanish soldiers who answered “very good” and “good” respec-

tively for 92% and 89%, while on the other hand the French and Italian soldiers answered in the same way for 83% and 85%. By comparing the answers of the different nations, we have used this question for the previous discussion of problems and preferences concerning multinational co-operation, taking into account the specific typologies of answer and comparing them with the evaluation the general attitude towards the service with soldiers from other nations. When analysing the evaluation of the co-operation and job activities, it is again important to observe that the soldiers' attitudes are not only influenced by national culture but also and above all by socialisation within the military organization, which, at least in the Western world, has similar values, symbols, myths and heroes (see Hofstede 1996) contributing to create common forms for communication.

This aspect is also relevant for assessing the daily working conditions. As we have seen before, the troops deployed in Mostar enjoyed the kind of work they were asked to accomplish. 72% of the soldiers expressed satisfaction with their job.

Table 11: Satisfaction with current job activities (% , rounded up or down)

	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Satisfied	37	47	31	47	30
Rather satisfied	35	38	33	43	31
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	17	8	21	5	24
Rather dissatisfied	7	3	10	1	9
Dissatisfied	3	1	2	1	5
No answer	2	3	2	1	1

The national results show that there is again a difference between the French and Italians on one and the Spanish and Germans on the other hand. As usual the Italian soldiers seemed to be the most enthusiastic on almost all the aspects of the mission *Althea* in Mostar, while the German soldiers were the most sceptical with regard to the effectiveness of their job activities. This is particularly interesting if we compare this with the results from the semi-structured interviews, especially among the German contingent (cf. the contribution by Nina Leonhard). In fact many of the German soldiers underlined the fact that they had too few things to do in Mostar. Besides, in the interviews it was often observed that it was very strange to serve in a military mission with so many tourists spending their holiday at the same time in the same area (in Mostar, Sarajevo or Medjugore, for example). This particular role ambivalence could help to explain

the perception of the Spanish and German soldiers. As we can easily see from table 12 below, this attitude is confirmed by the answers to some questions related to the job evaluation.

Table 12: Evaluation of current job activities (% , rounded up or down)

My job is interesting, varied	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Agree	28	40	32	47	30
Rather agree	35	37	33	43	31
Neither agree nor disagree	18	16	21	5	24
Rather disagree	13	5	10	1	9
Disagree	6	2	2	1	5

My job is mostly routine	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Agree	18	9	19	13	24
Rather agree	23	21	23	26	23
Neither agree nor disagree	23	23	17	30	22
Rather disagree	23	32	27	16	20
Disagree	13	15	15	15	11

According to these answers the members of the four contingents mostly found their professional activities interesting, although some – above all German and Spanish, coherently with the previous considerations – regretted the existence of a certain routine.

With regard to other practical aspects of the mission, it is interesting to see that the accommodations were considered most “satisfying” by the French (46%), while the Spanish seem to be less convinced by the housing conditions (only 24% answered “satisfied” and 37% “rather satisfied”). As we have seen in the introduction of this section, leisure facilities appealed to 24% of the troops, while 34% of them were satisfied to some extent. It is interesting to see that the soldiers’ enthusiasm was rather limited concerning this aspect of the daily life in Mostar. In fact about half of the participants in the survey were not fully satisfied with the options available to them; the Germans seemed to be the least enthusiastic (only 19% declared to be satisfied). In this context, it is important to note that the organization and administration of the camp was French. This, together with the greater number of French and Spanish soldiers had an important impact on leisure facilities such as bars, pubs, etc.

We can find another interesting aspect analysing the satisfaction in respect of food and drink. The most relevant element in this regard was the fact that the canteen for the Italian, German and French soldiers was managed by the French; the Spanish had their own canteen. This is evident from the results shown in the table below:

Table 13: Satisfaction with food and drink (% , rounded up or down)

	General results	French	German	Italian	Spanish
Satisfied	32	59	19	4	28
Rather satisfied	31	35	23	21	34
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	17	5	21	15	22
Rather dissatisfied	10	2	13	23	10
Dissatisfied	11	–	25	37	6

The food can be a very important factor in the relationship between different nationalities in a multinational mission. As we have seen in other cases (see, for example, Keller et al. 2008), it can be both an occasion of good and bad interaction, both a space of cultural encounter and clash. In fact “national cultures are [...] represented by means of national foodstuffs such as pasta for Italy or beer for Germany” (Tomforde 2006). The question of food – which has not only a symbolic value – can create problems, above all for members of those nations that consider food to be something more than a basic need. It seems that the most problematic nation in this field is the Italian one. Not only the results of the questionnaires, but also the semi-structured interviews revealed that discontent concerning food can create disaffection toward the other nationalities in a very particular manner. Sometimes it is even difficult to understand if this attitude is a consequence of a problematic relationship or the cause of it. In any case it is possible that the Italian soldiers use the symbol of food to express their discontent which is less evident in other fields. For example, in the previous research on the German-Italian experiences in Prizren (Keller et al. 2008), when the Italians were asked to talk about their relations with the German soldiers, they pointed out that above all they did not “succeed in appreciating their food” (in that case the canteen was organised by the Germans). Another aspect related to food, which often emerged in the general evaluation of the mission (even if under a more logistical point of view) and which can influence the multinational working environment, is “time”. When the soldiers in Mostar were asked to talk about food they often referred to the problem of the timing which is very different from nation to nation. The schedule of the canteen – and more generally: the schedule of

daily work – can be a problem in particular between South European and North European countries. Every day the French and the German soldiers on the one and the Italian and the Spanish on the other hand had to negotiate and agree on a common time schedule, which does not completely exist in the framework of general military culture. According to this general observation based on the results of the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews, food and time are two elements which can cause problems in a multinational environment especially when there is no difference between working and leisure time as it is the case in a mission abroad.

3 Working in International Missions: Comparing National Attitudes against the Backdrop of European Integration *by Valeria Rosato*

3.1 Feelings of Belongingness, Double Loyalty and Mutual Confidence

In the previous paragraphs we have analysed the fundamental aspects regarding problems, evaluations and expectations towards the co-operation in multinational military environment in Mostar. Another important aspect in the study of multinational co-operation in the military context is the coexistence of a sense of both multinational and national belonging. As already observed in the previous part of this work, the complexity of new international scenarios and increasingly number of military multinational missions are inevitably transforming relations among military personnel coming from different countries that need new forms of legitimacy. Some authors talk about “transnationalism” in order to describe this internal process of creation of new identities which join, but not undermine national identities (King 2005). Others authors, in a more excellent manner, talk about “post-nationality” noticing, also in these new operative contexts, a sociological ambivalence given by the coexistence between hard national identities and new senses of belongingness in continuous negotiation (Maniscalco 2006). Following this approach we have tried to verify the presence of a new sense of “post-national” belongingness and the development of forms of mutual trust among soldiers coming from the France, Germany, Italy and Spain (see table 14).

Table 14: Feelings of multinational belongingness (% , rounded up or down)

I feel like part of the family in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Agree	23	27	5	33	28
Rather agree	38	31	34	45	38
Rather disagree	16	27	23	7	13
Disagree	11	8	20	5	8
No opinion	13	6	17	11	13

The multinational HQ/Force/Unit has no personal meaning to me	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Agree	5	10	4	3	6
Rather agree	14	15	19	8	14
Rather disagree	19	31	17	20	17
Disagree	50	40	41	59	53
No opinion	12	4	20	11	10

Working in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit is just a job for me	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Agree	15	19	9	11	18
Rather agree	24	6	28	8	29
Rather disagree	23	42	20	30	20
Disagree	29	27	30	46	25
No opinion	10	6	13	5	9

I feel a strong sense of belonging to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Agree	19	27	11	37	18
Rather agree	39	38	36	42	41
Rather disagree	16	21	21	3	16
Disagree	11	6	12	3	14
No opinion	14	8	20	16	12

First of all we asked the soldiers if they felt “part of a family” in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit. Observing the general results we can notice that 23% of the total sample “agreed” and 38% “rather agreed”. It is possible to assert that there is a great sense of “supranational” affiliation among soldiers of mission *Althea*. However, when comparing the results of the four nations, it is interesting to notice some marked differences. In fact, as we can easily observe from the table above, 33% of the Italian soldiers “agreed” and 45% “rather agreed” with this statement, while only 12% “disagreed”. On the contrary, only 5% of the French soldiers said to “agree”, 23% answered that they “rather disagreed” and 20% “disagreed” with this statement. The answers of the German

and Spanish respondents (58% and 66% said to “agree” and/or to “rather agree”) range in between.

The enthusiastic position of Italian soldiers in comparison to the soldiers of the other three nationalities is also evident when observing the answers given to the statement: “The multinational HQ/Force/Unit has no personal meaning to me.” In fact we can easily notice that, although the overwhelming majority of the general sample clearly disagreed with this statement, the Italian sample percentages showed a stronger sense of affiliation to the multinational military structure.

We can see the same trend when analysing the attitude toward the following statement: “Working in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit is just a job for me.” About half of the general sample attributed a remarkable meaning to the job in a multinational context but also in this case, observing national results, we can easily notice that Italian soldiers “disagreed” to a greater extent in comparison to the others. In fact 76% of Italians “disagreed” and “rather disagreed”, while only 69% of German, 50% of French and 45% of Spanish had the same opinion. As we have noticed before, there is an evident polarization: on one side Italian and German soldiers are more enthusiastic and optimistic about working in a multinational context, while French and Spanish soldiers have a more cautious position.

This polarization is also confirmed when analysing the results concerning the statement: “I feel a strong sense of belonging to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.” Considering that the overwhelming majority of the general sample said that they felt a strong sense of affiliation, we can easily observe that, also in this case, Italian and German respondents “agreed” to a greater extent than the French and Spanish soldiers: 79% of Italians and 65% of Germans “agreed” while 59% of Spanish and only 47% of French had the same opinion.

Finally, we wanted to evaluate the sense of loyalty developed towards the multinational HQ/Force/Unit. Considering that national loyalty is one of the basic values for military culture, we used a direct statement: “I feel more loyal to my own army than to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.” As we could have easily predicted, the overwhelming majority of the general sample “agreed” even if at different levels (41% “agree” and 22% “rather agree”). This result is particularly significant when we consider the high percentages related to the question about national pride. In fact the overwhelming majority of the respondents of the four nationalities expressed a strong feeling of national pride

(71% for Germans, 92% for Italians, 79% for French, 83% for Spanish). This result confirms our thesis on the presence of an ambivalent attitude inside the post-modern armed forces. Comparing those data to the table below, it is interesting to see that the Italian soldiers, who expressed the strongest feelings of national pride, are those who mostly declared, in apparent contradiction, to feel a strong sense of loyalty in the multinational HQ/Unit/Force.

Table 15: Loyalty (% , rounded up or down)

I feel more loyal to my own army than to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Agree	41	25	30	15	55
Rather agree	22	31	26	17	20
Rather disagree	12	31	12	16	8
Disagree	15	10	15	43	8
No opinion	10	2	17	9	9

These results seem to confirm the assumption of the sociological ambivalence which characterizes the new operational contexts where strong national identities and new senses of belongingness are coexisting. But also in this case it is interesting to note some marked differences that confirm the polarization already underlined between Italian and German soldiers on the one and French and Spanish soldiers on the other hand, and the strong “multinational” position of Italian soldiers. In fact, only 15% of Italians declared to feel more loyal to their own army in comparison with the multinational HQ/Force/Unit in contrast to 25% of Germans, 30% of French and even 55% of Spanish who said to “agree” with this statement. According to the results in table 15 the Italians and the Spanish represent antipodes in this respect, the Italians standing for “enthusiasm” *par excellence* concerning multinational co-operation in contrast to the “cold” position of Spanish soldiers.

Moreover, starting from an ideal level to a more concrete one, we wanted to verify if working with foreign colleagues improved the opinion about professionalism of other soldiers and, above all, if the collaboration during the mission contributed to develop a sense of mutual trust. A general overview shows that collaboration helps to deepen mutual knowledge and to change first negative perceptions or stereotypes. About half of the general sample answered that their opinion about the soldiers from the other nations remained the same, but we have to underline that one fifth of the sample also declared that their opinion had improved. As in previous cases, the comparison between the na-

tional contingents points out to some interesting dynamics developed during the mission. First of all it is interesting to notice that 31% of Germans and 22% of French declared that their opinion on the professionalism of the Italian soldiers deteriorated during the mission, while only 4% of Spanish respondents had the same opinion, which in general expressed more favourable views concerning their Italian colleagues (table 16).

Table 16: Evaluation of professionalism of the other national contingents (% , rounded up or down)

During your deployment, how did your general opinion of the professionalism of the Italian soldiers change?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Improved	19	13	14	/	24
Remain the same	42	46	30	/	51
Deteriorated	11	31	22	/	4
No opinion	29	10	34	/	21

During your deployment, how did your general opinion of the professionalism of the French soldiers change?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Improved	18	35	/	22	16
Remain the same	54	54	/	40	53
Deteriorated	9	4	/	25	9
No opinion	18	6	/	13	22

During your deployment, how did your general opinion of the professionalism of the German soldiers change?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Improved	21	/	22	34	17
Remain the same	49	/	42	46	53
Deteriorated	5	/	2	11	5
No opinion	25	/	34	9	25

During your deployment, how did your general opinion of the professionalism of the Spanish soldiers change?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Improved	37	52	26	51	/
Remain the same	43	31	35	36	/
Deteriorated	5	4	4	3	/
No opinion	16	13	36	11	/

The opinion on French soldiers' professionalism had improved for 35% of the Germans, for 22% of the Italians and for 16% of the Spanish soldiers. In this case it is interesting to note that the Italians are the only ones who declared to a greater extent (25%) that their opinion on French soldiers had deteriorated, confirming that during this mission collaboration between Italians and French had not been easy. But we also have to underline that a great number of soldiers, especially among the French and the Spanish, did not express any opinion on this matter.

The opinion on the professionalism of Germans soldiers had improved for 34% of the Italians, for 22% of the French and for 17% of the Spanish soldiers, but we also have to point out that 11% of the Italian soldiers answered that their opinion about the German soldiers' professionalism had deteriorated. Only 2% of the French and 5% of the Spanish expressed a negative opinion toward their German colleagues, but also in this case we need to note the high percentages of those who did not express any opinion.

Finally, a very high percentages of the German, Italian and French respondents declared that their opinion on the professionalism of the Spanish soldiers had improved: 52% of the German sample, 51% of the Italian one and 26% of the French. 16% of the whole sample did not express any opinion.

In order to evaluate the sense of mutual trust, we also asked the soldiers what they thought about the collaboration between different nationalities during an attack. The results seem to confirm the different dynamics developed among the four contingents during the mission *Althea*. With respect to the general results it is possible to note that there is a high-level of mutual trust, in fact the overwhelming majority of the general sample gave a positive answer. Looking at the table below (table 17), it is possible, however, to notice that despite the high level of trust Italians were still perceived to be less reliable by the French and German soldiers. On the contrary, the Italian soldiers expressed the greatest trust for all the others: 67% for the French soldiers, 76% trust for the Germans and even 80% for the Spanish colleagues, who were also considered as the most reliable by the French and the German soldiers. This is in line with the fact that, as we have seen before, all soldiers confirmed that their opinion on the professionalism of Spanish soldiers had improved during the mission *Althea*.

Table 17: Mutual trust (% , rounded up or down)

Suppose your platoon is attacked. Do you think that Italian platoon will come to your aid?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Yes, of course	39	31	27	/	48
Yes, probably	35	42	43	/	38
No, probably not	5	15	8	/	4
No, certainly not	3	6	6	/	3
No opinion	17	6	17	/	8

Suppose your platoon is attacked. Do you think that French platoon will come to your aid?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Yes, of course	49	54	/	67	41
Yes, probably	28	35	/	25	34
No, probably not	8	4	/	5	13
No, certainly not	2	–	/	1	3
No opinion	14	6	/	1	9

Suppose your platoon is attacked. Do you think that German platoon will come to your aid?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Yes, of course	51	/	44	76	45
Yes, probably	35	/	43	18	39
No, probably not	4	/	1	3	5
No, certainly not	1	/	–	1	2
No opinion	9	/	12	1	8

Suppose your platoon is attacked. Do you think that Spanish platoon will come to your aid?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
Yes, of course	70	54	41	80	/
Yes, probably	22	33	43	17	/
No, probably not	1	4	2	1	/
No, certainly not	–	–	–	–	/
No opinion	7	8	14	1	/

When considering the sense of mutual trust among contingents from different countries, an interesting element is the level of intensity of the mission. In fact, based on a first comparison with the results of the previous Italian-German research in Prizren (Kosovo) (Keller et al. 2008), it is possible to hypothesize that the theatre’s level of intensity has a deep impact on this aspect. In operation *Althea*, which has to be considered as a low-intensity mission, the level of mutual trust seems to be higher than the one emerging from the study on the KFOR which was a mission of medium intensity. It is also impor-

tant to underline the question of the knowledge of the English language, which, as we have seen before, is one of the most important elements in a multicultural working environment. Many soldiers admitted to not have a suitable level of knowledge and this could have a deep impact on the operative aspects of the missions. Misunderstandings during situation of risk could create serious troubles to the soldiers' safety and contribute to undermine the sense of mutual trust. We can also hypothesize that in situations of risk soldiers tend to feel more comfortable with their fellow countrymen, which could contribute to dismantle the sense of affiliation and trust in the multinational organization. In further studies on multinational military co-operation these aspects should be examined in more detail.

In conclusion, as we have already noted in the first part of this section, it is confirmed that on an ideal level Italian and German soldiers are much more optimistic and enthusiastic about multinational co-operation than the others. The results related to the relationship between the sense of national belonging and the supranational one in fact have underlined the polarization Italian-German versus French-Spanish. However, on a more practical level, expressed by the opinions on the professionalism of foreign colleagues and the sense of mutual trust, this polarization has not been confirmed. Instead we found more good-feeling, trust and mutual respect between Italians and Spanish on the one and between Germans and French on the other hand. We can hypothesize that this result is related to a cultural affinity reciprocally perceived among soldiers of these two couples of nationalities. For instance, it is interesting to see that during the semi-structured interviews, the overwhelming majority of Italian soldiers declared to have good feelings towards the Spanish colleagues, often using the expression "they are like us". On the other hand, with regard to the French and German soldiers, they pointed out the differences concerning mentality and behaviour.

Altogether we can confirm that there exists a strong sense of belonging to an supranational identity and also an increasing sense of mutual trust. The development of this "double loyalty" seem to be facilitated by the cultural affinity among the four European nationalities and could potentially help to create a deeper military integration among the EU member states. A comparison with the results of the research on the NATO KFOR mission in Prizren (Kosovo) on Italian-German co-operation has brought us to formulate a first hypothesis, eventually to deepen and verify through further studies, according to which the military collaboration in the EU missions is perceived by the European soldiers as more "natural" than in NATO missions. The enthusiasm expressed by the

military personnel in this research in comparison with the previous one would induce us, therefore, to be more optimistic towards the possibility that the military co-operation can contribute to the European integration process.

3.2 Will Co-operation Help Soldiers to Feel More European?

The changed international scene and new threats have imposed on the armed forces a substantial role and identity change. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) could be seen as an answer to this new challenging environment. The ESDP process is still going on. In this sense the Helsinki *Headline Goal* still represents an important step towards the realization of a European Rapid Reaction Force (ERRF) and its consequences could be resumed in the development of the *Battlegroup concept*, aiming at creating within 2010 of a nucleus of European forces characterized by an high operational readiness to respond to international emergencies and crisis. Considering this political process of military integration which strives to the creation and management of European armed forces, one of the goals of this study was to verify on a practical level if the co-operation among contingents of different European countries could contribute to create the basis of this project. For this reason we asked the soldiers of our sample if they thought that co-operation between different nationalities could help to feel more European. We wanted to verify if the idea of “working together” did have a real impact on developing a strong sense of belongingness to a multinational military organization and on its effectiveness, and consequently on the opinion of the soldiers toward the European military integration process. Starting from this hypothesis we asked the soldiers to express an opinion about the possibility that collaboration among soldiers from different nationalities could have an impact on the prejudices towards the other countries.

In accordance with the “pro-multinationality” positions which emerged on the other issues, the general sample showed optimism: 36% of the soldiers said that co-operation “could lessen prejudices very strongly”, 25% affirmed that “it could lessen some of the prejudices”, 15% thought that “it won’t change a thing” while only 6% responded that “it will reinforce prejudices” and 18% did not express any opinion. Also in this case it is interesting to point out the polarization German-Italian versus French-Spanish. The soldiers of the first couple confirmed their enthusiasm and their optimism towards the multinational co-operation. They seemed to be sure that working together progressively

helps to reduce prejudices. On the other hand the French and Spanish soldiers adopted a more cautious position. As it shown in table 18, the German sample is the most optimistic one: 69% of the German respondents affirmed that collaboration among soldiers of different nationalities “could lessen prejudices very strongly”. 49% of the Italians, but only 32% of the Spanish and 24% of the French soldiers expressed the same opinion. Again it is important to mention that about one fifth of the French and Spanish samples did not express any opinion on this issue.

Table 18: Multinational co-operation and national prejudices (% , rounded up or down)

Do you think that the collaboration of soldiers from different nations in one unit could have an effect on prejudice towards the other country?	General results	German	French	Italian	Spanish
It could lessen prejudices very strongly	36	69	24	49	32
It could lessen some of the prejudices	25	21	33	28	21
It won't change a thing	15	4	14	7	19
It will reinforce prejudices	6	4	7	3	7
No opinion	18	2	22	15	21

These results induce us to assume that according to the interviewed soldiers, co-operation and daily interaction help notably to erase or reduce prejudices towards the other nationalities. Following this idea it is important to note that an important part of the sample declared that the personal experience during the mission *Althea* had positively modified their personal opinion about the possibility to create a deeper military integration among EU member states. 38% of the general sample affirmed to be “more optimistic”, while 44% answered that it did not change their opinion. Also in this case, German and Italian soldiers (respectively 69% and 68%) held more optimistic views than their French and Spanish colleagues (respectively 29% and 33%).

In conclusion, we can confirm that the experience of European military co-operation in Mostar has been judged positively by the soldiers of all four nations. This clearly show that through daily interaction and communication it is possible to reduce mutual distrust and decrease obstacles which still seem to be present on the way towards further European military integration.

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Stereotypes, or How Do We See the Others?

Heike Paschotta

1 Cultural Orientation Patterns and Perceived Social Realities in Camp Mostar

As everybody knows, the most persistent prejudice is to be unbiased oneself (Nicklas 2005: 553). Therefore it can be observed over and over again during interviews that social perceptions, stereotypes and prejudices are seldom discussed about (cf. Weins 2004: 3). Among other things, this has something to do with social desiredness and increased self-attention in interview situations (Bierhoff 2000: 298). So one of the soldiers interviewed by us in Bosnia remarked accordingly: “You have to be in luck if somebody tells you honestly what he thinks about that [stereotypes].” Therefore it is not a surprise that within the framework of this study (see the introductory chapter by Giulia Aubry) the personal opinion on the other nations is not always reported openly and directly. Often it was mentioned only reluctantly or only after the end of the official part of the interview (bar talks).

Cultural orientation patterns and stereotypes are predominantly related to inadmissible generalizations and simplifications which are seen in contradiction to the personal differentiated self-assessment and to the general atmosphere in the multinational context – that is that multinationality as such is very positive and that the multinational co-operation between the soldiers works well.¹

Stereotypes and prejudices are often considered as disturbing and are often seen as the reasons for the lack of openness and discussional abilities. Negative prejudices and stereotypes seem to play a significant role when new potentials for conflict resolution and good co-operation seem to be impossible (cf. Thomas et al. 1997: 49 et sqq.; Bergler 1984: 239). Therefore it is not very astonishing that the majority of the soldiers interviewed do not answer critical questions referring to a comparison of the nations (see the missing analysis further down). However, socio-psychological and other theo-

1 71% of all soldiers interviewed indicated “to be proud to be a soldier of the *Althea* mission”, 89% assessed the co-operation between the soldiers of the mission *Althea* as very good to good, 89% would “very likely” go on a multinational mission again, and if soldiers were free to choose nearly 60% of the German soldiers, 41% of the Italian soldiers, 33% of the French soldiers, but only 17% of the Spanish soldiers would like to work in a multinational unit.

retical approaches make clear that every human being can always think only in categories (Thomas et al. 1997: 51 et sqq.; Wetherell 1996: 188 et sqq.) and that “every culture is a system of codes comprising rules of communication, patterns of every day behaviour, social and cultural standards” (Nicklas 1999: 21). If we are not already provided with ready-to-use systems of categories for realities encountered, we will either try to adopt given circumstances to our existing systems of categories or due to the incongruity will consider to extend or change our systems because otherwise we would be overwhelmed by the complexity of our environment (daily handling of complexity). However, it also could be possible that given facts are completely ignored and no longer observed if categorization is impossible for us (cf. Wetherell 1996: 192).

This short exposition is to explain that it is only human to think in ready-made categories and stereotypes. We all live with more or less positive and negative (exclusive and inclusive) systems of categories and stereotypes, behind which, among other things, the desire for dissociation and self-affirmation is concealed (Theory of Social Identity, see Tajfel 1982a). In the discussion about prejudices and stereotypizations one also should not forget the positive role of stereotypes Barmeyer (2000: 275) points out with reference to Adler (1991): Stereotypes can provide support for orientation in a new culture or between different cultures, respectively. The difference between primitive simplifications and complex categories, however, lies primarily in the conscious and differentiated way of dealing with the own pre-assumptions and/or categorizations. A more appropriate system of categories is distinguished by the fact that new events and experiences will modify old assumptions and contribute to the development of a more wide-ranging understanding for differences noticed. The open dealing with stereotypes is therefore not characterized by undifferentiated condemnation or prejudgments but rather by a permanent balancing and attempts of description (see also Ratiu 1983: 139). In the final analysis, behind every stereotype lies a code of conduct of a certain group, which is an expression of the discrepancy of values behind it, which also can be considered as a resource (Adler 1991: 71 et sqq.). A statement such as “the French are much too vague” conceals their flexibility to quickly fit new imponderabilities into the current planning. On the other hand, the statement that the Germans “sont plus rigides” hides the German virtue of solid advance planning, which often is highly appreciated.

In general, our study deals only with subjectively perceived realities, with the assessments of the soldiers. However, as just indicated, these assessments sometimes conceal normative validities which, however, will not be addressed in our article. This is be-

cause researchers such as Hofstede or participants in the extensive GLOBE-study have already dealt extensively with systematic state comparisons based on certain systems of categories (cf. Hofstede 2003; House et al. 1999).

The reflection of the own stereotypes and thus the perception of the divergence between the own and foreign patterns of perception and behaviour is therefore an enrichment for the working relations. According to Davis et al. (1997), it is especially the heart or morale courage to show one's own convictions and feelings towards the counterpart in a proper way that contributes to the real success of an executive acting on international level. Attributions (we have asked for in our study) are in the very end always a reality in human relations because they ease our burden – as “schematic forms of interpretation of reality” (Ulich/Mertens 1979: 28) to make the world more manageable. The articulation, communication and reflection of these attributions prevent half-cocked generalizations and simplifications, however, this shall not obscure the fact that it is difficult to draw the line towards stereotype systems and unreflected generalizations.

Intercultural, in our case quadro-national, communication is also important for the individual soldiers if the issue of a European Organization of combat missions is to be addressed. Despite the high identification of the participating soldiers with the mission *Althea* (cf. note 1) and the general European idea (75% of soldiers interviewed in Mostar see themselves as Europeans), it shows that concerning the question of military combat missions only a quarter of the soldiers would attribute high competence to the EU for such missions. This is in contrast to humanitarian missions where more than half of the soldiers express full confidence in the European Union (EU). When it actually comes to risky missions, real confidence in the fellow-soldiers (including known organizations, communication, etc.) is still rather more embodied in the national level and could not be described as European-common. On the one hand, a majority of the soldiers identify themselves with the multinational European mission, on the other hand, reservations and a lack of confidence can be observed in critical situations. The reasons for this are varied. Primarily they are not only related to the persons but also to the unknown organizational structures, communication processes and command styles. The question the following study is to answer, among other things, is which group identities can be observed on the basis of the respective ascriptions, where there is understanding for the respective other nation and where there possibly exists a certain need for corrective action. For the development of a joint group identity among the co-operation partners is considered to be a precondition for efficiency and in the end for the success of

the co-operation (Ashforth/Mael 1989; Shils/Janowitz 1948: 280 et sqq.; Perruche 2004: 26 et sqq.).²

Therefore our inquiry is to make a contribution to establishing an awareness of the different social perceptions and national patterns of perception in the multinational European context, especially for Camp Mostar, in order to take a closer look at the social co-operation of the four lead nations (Italy, Germany, France, Spain) and to show a potential need for action.

Specification of terms, state and interest of research

In the following, social perception is understood to mean the opinions of the soldiers interviewed in Mostar concerning their own culture and the other three national cultures. The question the soldiers were to answer in this connection was how they assessed their own compatriots and the soldiers of the three friendly nations. These assessments are always made with the help of the same list of characteristics. The respective adjectives serve the description of the military-social professional competence of soldiers. As our study does not have the intention to elaborate or even consolidate national stereotypes and prejudices, the different patterns of perception (stereotypes) of the soldiers shall be described as *cultural orientation patterns*. In this connection, we take into account the findings of Adler (1991) and Barmeyer (2000) that systems of categories are perception aids which in specific cases and in case of new intercultural meetings can adapt themselves to previously unknown realities in a flexible way.

Irrespective of the total view, a study on quadro-national co-operation almost inevitably always includes the comparison between the four nations studied and between their soldiers. Therefore it is to assume that in a multinational environment intergroup phenomena can always be observed, as they are also described in the Theory of Social Identity (Tajfel/Turner 1986) and in approaches of Elias and Simmel (cf. Neckel 1997). These group processes and perception structurings have an effect both on an interpersonal individual level and on the national (group) level (differences in perception related to the different nations) (Gareis et al. 2003: 75 et sqq.). In face-to-face interviews and during participating observations, mental states towards the other nations are often described as

2 Experimental studies could prove that individual efforts are considerably related to the fact how strongly members identified themselves with their group (cf. Haslam/Postmes/Ellemers 2003; Riketta/Landerer 2002).

subtle differences which are nonetheless “tangible” or also contain basic differences. The explanations mentioned for these differences include, for instance, traits of personalities, differences in cultural mentality, different legal norms, styles of leadership and work (Abel 2008; Abel/Klein/Richter 2006). Different national alliances such as co-operation on the one side and delimitation on the other, supposed selfish ethnocentric behaviour³ and coordination difficulties are, besides cultural misunderstandings and ignorance, classic topics that appear as challenges within the framework of international attempts of co-operation (Sherif/Sherif 1953: 13).

Within the multinational and European research on the integration of forces, time and again stereotypes and other cultural patterns of perception have been studied (Gareis et al. 2003; vom Hagen 2003; Keller 2008). A study as this one on a mission abroad under an exclusively European command has not been possible so far because *Althea* has been one of the first EU missions at all. With regard to the European idea and the aim of a common European defense the question is raised whether the change – from a mission under NATO command to a mission under European command – is also reflected in the perceptions. Co-operation within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance (NATO) means that nation-state rights of sovereignty remain essentially untouched. The keyword “Europe”, however, indirectly implies more often than not that national borders will at some time in the future diffuse or that the core of nation-state sovereignty as, for example, the exclusive right to use force will be transferred at least partly to a supranational level. Even if this is nowhere near a reality in Europe, the politically uniting idea of Europe is always evident in connection with “EUFOR”. Therefore the interviews concerning the social perceptions within a quadro-national led headquarters in Camp Mostar offer, among other things, new findings for the European integration of forces and military co-operation within the EU. The analysis and explicit presentation of the different cultural orientation patterns in the national comparison may thus, similar to previous studies on multinational co-operation, offer new findings for a joint Europe on good terms. The descriptive presentation of national orientation patterns illustrates how the different national assess and appreciate each other in the co-operation. This again could lead to conclude where co-operation works well and where it is not yet really ideal. The explicit presentation of differences in perception within the quadro-national led EUFOR mission is thus an exciting field of research allowing far-reaching insights into multinational relations.

3 Concerning the term ethnocentrism and its meaning see the remarks on Shweder (2002) further down.

Accordingly, the following questions are in the focus of our interest:

- (1) Which cultural orientation patterns can be noticed in the multinational Camp Mostar (with a view to the assessment of the professional social competence of soldiers) in each of the four “lead nations”?
- (2) How and by what do the self-perceptions and perceptions by others of the Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers differ? Are there peculiarities of the respective military cultural patterns of orientation?

After a short explanation of the methodic procedure, that is, a description of the instrument used for the acquisition of the construct of “cultural patterns of orientation”, the results of the statistical evaluation will be presented. In doing this, at first the response behaviour of those soldiers is considered who do not want to express their view on the “perception of the others”. After that, the respective patterns of perception of the four nations with respect to the different adjectives are presented, and then the respective differences in the patterns of perception are addressed. In the end, the respective research results are integrated into the overall view of the European integration of forces outlined in the introduction.

2 Methodological Approach

In order to be able to compare the different national perceptions, the interviewed soldiers were presented a list of features and asked to assess themselves (the own nation) and the members of the three other lead-nations respectively on a scale from 1 to 5. Category 1 of the answers corresponded to an assessment of “not typical at all”, 5 stood for “very typical”. The country-specific assessments are presented in figures 1a–d for each item.

The following items were presented to the soldiers (cf. questionnaire, question 10):

Question: “How fitting do you think are the following qualities ...”

... “*reliable*” ... “*flexible at work*” ... “*arrogant*” ... “*acting on own initiative*” ... “*comradely*” ... “*competent*” ... “*open minded*” ... “*courageous*” ... “*well prepared*” ... “*sociable*” ... for Italian soldiers, ... for French soldiers, ... for German soldiers, ... for Spanish soldiers?

This list of characteristics developed by the quadro-national research team contains nine positive adjectives (for example, reliable, courageous, see above) and one adjective with a negative connotation (arrogant) which therefore was reversed for the analysis (to: not arrogant). This list of characteristics describes aspects of the professional *social* competence of soldiers on the level of items. The adjectives serve the description of the professional self-image of soldiers (scale to record professional military social competence). The scale was used to record the respective national professional military self- and external ascriptions (4x4 multi-matrix-method with reference to Campbell/Fiske 1959 quoted after Fisseni 1997: 88). Items from previous social science inquiries on the self-image of soldiers (vom Hagen et al. 2003; Gareis et al. 2003) served as the basis for the property scale. The multimatrix inquiry design is presented in table 1 below. The samples vary in size between n=39 and n=215. On the left side of the table, the various national sizes of samples (total) of the four national groups are given in comparison.

Table 1: Multi-matrix inquiry design*

	Questions on "the Italians" n=455	Questions on "the French" n=466	Questions on "the Germans" n=463	Questions on "the Spanish" n=425
Group of Italian soldiers N=76	n=67	n=71	n=72	n=71
Group of French soldiers N=138	n=105	n=109	n=108	n=105
Group of German soldiers N=48	n=39	n=39	n=38	n=39
Group of Spanish soldiers N=289	n=244	n=247	n=245	n=237

* Multi-matrix inquiry design with specification of the respective sizes of samples (n) for the 16 subsamples with reference to the whole sample (N=551): the different subsamples are divided according to the four country groups (N) and the four different columns of questions for "Italians", "Germans", "French", and "Spanish" (4x4 design). The indications on the diagonals (gray background) represent the sample size of the respective self-evaluations. For an explanation of the sample, see the introductory chapter and the four national chapters of part I of this report.

The reliability analysis shows a mean Cronbach's Alpha of .83 (measure for the measurement accuracy of a scale, desirable are values of more than .70). The further analyses did show, that all items can be retained and that only the item "arrogant" (or in the re-

versed version “not arrogant”) did not fit into the total scale.⁴ In general this is thus a valid measuring instrument which covers the military social competence for all four nations in a good way.

3 Results: Perceived Social Realities in the Quadro-National Comparison

1st Conclusion: 12% of the soldiers did not answer the scale for the assessment of military qualities

As already mentioned in the introduction, it was found during the analysis of the questionnaire that questions referring to comparisons and preferences between the nations often are not answered – in contrast to other questions which show only a few missing answers. Based exclusively on the analysis of the insufficient responsiveness, it is thus possible to draw interesting conclusions on existing perceptions and behavioural tendencies because non-responsiveness also shows certain attitudes and possible tendencies in behaviour.

Related to the question for recording cultural orientation patterns, for the whole sample there is a mean percentage of 12% missing values.⁵ A separate analysis according to

4 The reliability analysis concerns 16 applications which result in a mean Cronbach's Alpha between .75 and .87. If selectivity is analysed, it proves that all items correlate at least .20 with the total scale, except the adjective “arrogant” (despite of positive conversion to “not arrogant”). In 11 out of 16 runs, the item “not arrogant” shows a selectivity of less than .188 down to negative correlations of -.141. The value of Cronbach's Alpha increased in 13 out of 16 runs when the item “not arrogant” was omitted. Only in the group of Italian soldiers did the item “not arrogant” fit into the total scale in three of four cases. In the French, German and Spanish subgroups, there is an improvement of the Cronbach's Alpha in each case when this item is excluded. Therefore the item “not arrogant” was excluded from the analysis of the total score. The “scale to record the professional military social competence” which continues to be used contains the other nine adjectives. Besides the item “arrogant”, an additional intercultural component in the understanding of the adjectives showed up for the item “acting on own initiative”, which does not fit completely into the total scale for the subgroup of the French soldiers. With this item excluded, however, Cronbach's Alpha improved only in the second to third decimal place and still reached values from .280 to .393 (item-scale-intercorrelation) in the selectivity analysis. For this reason, the item “acting on own initiative” has been retained for the “Scale to record the professional military social competence”. The final version of the scale now has a reliability according to Cronbach's Alpha from .812 to .910 (apart from one Italian subgroup which shows a value of .729).

5 In total every interviewee had to make 40 different assessments because 10 qualities each were to judge per nation (altogether 4x10 ratings). Up to 3 missing assessments per nation were completed by the mean value for the group, everything going beyond this was not taken into consideration and valued as missing for the respective total value (per nation). In the general missing-analysis those interviewees were classified as missing who did not assess at least one of the three foreign nations. During the post-processing of the missing values, it appeared that in total nearly 20% of the total sample did not fill in the complete scale. This is especially due to the Spanish soldiers as the largest subgroup in numbers: 20% of the Spanish soldiers did not complete all answers. During the following corrections,

national origin shows that in total only 5% of the Italians and 9% of the Spanish did not answer the question concerning the cultural patterns of perception. On the other hand, however, 21% of the French and 17% of the German soldiers did not answer this question (for the exact data compare table 2).

Table 2: Responsiveness related to the “scale of qualities”*

	Total sample	Italian soldiers	French soldiers	German soldiers	Spanish soldiers
Percentage of sample with no answers	$n_{\text{missing}} = 67$ $n_{\text{total}} = 551$ 12.2%	$n_{\text{missing}} = 4$ $n_{\text{total}} = 76$ 5.3%	$n_{\text{missing}} = 29$ $n_{\text{total}} = 138$ 21.0%	$n_{\text{missing}} = 8$ $n_{\text{total}} = 48$ 16.7%	$n_{\text{missing}} = 26$ $n_{\text{total}} = 289$ 9.0%

* Results of the missing analysis – for the whole sample to be analysed and split up according to nationality (gray background). The total scale value of the “Scale for the assessment of the professional social competence of soldiers” was used as basis for the calculations.

Interpretation of the non-responsiveness for the total sample and in the national comparison

That the scale of qualities was not filled in completely by one tenth of the soldiers may be explained in different ways: possibly the questions were perceived as inadmissible, as too generalizing. Maybe the motivation to answer complex questions was not (longer) there or the questions were assessed as politically inadmissible. Social desirability, a kind of anticipatory obedience or the reservation of the own pretension of an unprejudiced behaviour could be other possible reasons why these comparative questions were not answered.

In the qualitative interviews with the German soldiers, hints were given time and again that questions for stereotypes for which the scale of qualities stood were not really in accordance with the multinational open military self-image. In addition, it could be observed time and again that some of the soldiers tried really hard not to over-simplify the description of their relations to members of other nations but to deal with the individuals in their statements. Whether such a behaviour is really a contribution towards quadro-national understanding or whether holding back assessments just means a possible protective function within the international co-operation, can and shall not be answered at this point.

it became clear however that for more than half of the Spanish soldiers (10%) there were only selective cases of missing answers, that means less than three missing answers which as a result were nevertheless taken into consideration for the final analysis. For the Frenchmen there were 5% selective cases of missing answers, for the Germans 2% and for the Italians only 1%.

In addition to the analysis of the missing values according to national origin, it is possible to gain further findings when demographic aspects are considered.

Sociodemographic composition of the missing values subsample

Table 3 below shows the demographic composition of the sample of presented who did not (or not in an evaluable form) answer the scale of qualities. It should be noted in this connection that the percentage of those soldiers who did not completely fill in the scale of qualities, also left the questions for personal details unanswered to a higher percentage than the total sample. For example, just under 3% of the soldiers of the total sample (N=551) did not give details concerning their rank category, in the subsample of missing values, however, more than 10% did not answer this question. Nevertheless the presentation of the sociodemographic composition within this subsample is worthwhile as this analysis can serve the further generation of hypotheses.

Table 3: Demographic aspects of the missing values subsample*

Frequency distribution within the total missing values sample analysed according to ...							
Rank category		Place of work		Seniority		How long in B.-H.?	
8.80%	Other ranks	11.76%	HQ	4.47%	1–2 Y	< 1 month	10.20%
8.70%	Junior NCOs	2.94%	HQ Coy	8.65%	3–5 Y	1 month	0.35%
17.61%	Senior NCOs	17.46%	NSU	9.21%	6–10 Y	2 months	1.53%
4.83%	OFs	3.52%	Manoeuvre Unit	15.31%	+10 Y	3 months	1.66%
9.67%	SOs	12.05%	Others			4 months	9.23%
						5 months	0.30%
						+5 months	7.11%

Each percentage is given as a ratio of the total sample.*

* Demographic aspects of the missing values subsample. Interesting results are marked and highlighted. It is important to note that the percentages do not sum up to a total of 100% per column because the missing values have been related to the total sample. This means in relation to the data in the rank category column that the total sample (N=551) contains altogether 135 interviewed soldiers of other ranks, and in the missing subsample altogether 12 soldiers belong to the rank category of other ranks. This amounts to a percentage of 8.8%, i. e. 12 out of 135 soldiers of other ranks have not (or not sufficiently) completed the scale of qualities. This shows that there are relatively small numbers of cases in the various subsamples.

The consideration of the demographic aspects in the missing values subsample shows that with increasing rank category (and increasing seniority), along with the increasing burden of responsibility (group of officers and especially of NCOs), there is an increasing tendency not to answer the scale of qualities (roughly one fifth and one tenth of the command level). Responsiveness is also influenced by the assignment: A little less than one fifth of the soldiers of the National Support Units did not answer this question.

Mostly the units that work purely nationally as HQ Coy or the manoeuvre units have answered the question on the national assessments. One of the main reasons is the duration of the deployment on site because after four months (national deployment) and six months (multinational deployment) about 20 to 30% of the soldiers refuse to answer the question for the respective cultural patterns of orientation.

Interpretation of the demographic missing analysis

That the duration of the assignment has an influence on the answering of the question related to the personal attitude towards the other nations is an important hint for the general analysis of (multinational) surveys on missions. Motivation and focus of the soldiers depends strongly on how long they have already been on mission abroad or how close the return is. Thus the deployment duration can be considered as a significant mediator variable. The strong increase of missing values in a survey at the end of an assignment abroad can in general be interpreted as a lack of motivation on the part of the soldiers and as a change of priorities by the respective soldiers at that point of time (“not in the mood!” or “there are more important and more exiting things than the filling in of questionnaires”). This, however, has effects not only on the answers to single questions but could, among other things, also find an expression in different rates of return of the questionnaires. For example, 45% of the German sample had been for more than 5 months in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the soldiers were just before their flight home at the time of the survey, which is also reflected in the low rate of return for the German contingent (see also the contribution by Nina Leonhard).

The result that especially the National Support Units (NSU) rejected to answer the property scale is difficult to understand, however, the conclusion could be drawn that those soldiers who as in the NSU primarily work on a national scale and therefore only have casual and irregular contacts with the other nations in daily work, are aware of difficulties in connection with stereotypes. Maybe the soldiers of the NSU had, in contrast to soldiers in the Headquarters (HQ) who have daily contacts with other soldiers, no possibility to get to know the positive side of those automatic patterns of orientation and to state the change of the own stereotypes over time, thus tending rather not to answer those questions. Or the soldiers did not answer the question because they were aware of the fact that they, possibly due to the respective organization of work, did not have enough information about the others. Things turn out to be different with the Headquarters Coys (HQ Coy) and the Manoeuvre Units where most soldiers answered

the questions without reservations. Those units are raised purely nationally and therefore have due to their work only little contact with the other nations. Here one can assume that due to the experience made so far there is no sensibility for possible difficulties with stereotypizations and that due to the lack of real co-operation, no personal disagreements or discrepancies with other nations are noticed so that these soldiers articulate their assessments apparently freely, without possible further ulterior motives.

For the interpretation of the first demographic result that a reservation or refusal can be observed in the response behaviour of higher ranking, experienced soldiers, the analysis of the qualitative survey offers informative hints (see also the contribution by Nina Leonhard). On one side, the refusal to answer is connected with the general problem of the insufficient anonymity in inquiries, for the higher the rank the easier it is to identify those interviewees. Especially on the German side, the fear of identification or the insufficient guarantee of anonymity was addressed because the quadro-national questionnaire contained an extensive socio-demographic survey at the end, “which normally would not be approved by the data protection commissioner”, as one of the interviewed German soldiers stated. There were fears that in case that somebody from the personnel management inspected those personal details, he could possibly immediately draw conclusions about the person behind the data. In view of those fears, many soldiers did not want to give their view in a free way or did not want to answer all questions. In the end, the problem of insufficient anonymization concerns rather the soldiers with higher ranks because they are fewer in numbers, as well as those who in their further carrier depend strongly on the assessments given by their superiors. On the other side, from the result that older experienced soldiers tend rather not to answer questions related to the assessment of members of other nations, it would also be possible to draw the conclusion that the command level is more sensitive to possible delicate topics. However, that does not mean not automatically at the same time that those soldiers have a different or more discriminating attitude than the other soldiers who have answered the questions. For also in the interviews with higher ranking officers and NCOs, remarks were made such as “our Italian breakfast officer”, which would be suggestive of a certain value system (here: towards the Italian soldiers). Therefore one can assume that the inhibition to answer certain questions is not always accompanied by an increased understanding for the other nations (cf. Weins 2004: 19 et sqq.), but rather reflects an increased sensitivity of the command level to generalizations and simplifications. On the one hand, this serves as a positive example for other soldiers, who otherwise would not become aware of the

dangers of simplifications and generalizations. On the other hand, however, it would be regrettable if the same diligence of the command level would not be used as well for addressing and handling concrete difficulties and irritations in co-operation, for example with political educational events in every day service or other team meetings.

2nd Conclusion: The own nation is in general always assessed as the most positive

In the following analysis, the different national perceptions on the item level (10 adjectives each) are depicted for each nation separately in the mean value for the group: In every figure, both the self perception of the own nation and the perception towards the other three nations is depicted (for each nation one figure with four profiles: the self-evaluation as well as the way how the interviewees see the other three nations). The detailed presentations of the mean values for the groups of the four nations shall serve to create an awareness for nationally marked patterns of perception. At the same time, it provides a feedback for the participating soldiers and for soldiers working multinationally in the future that the different social perceptions of the nations towards each other are reflected in this analysis.

Figure 1a: Opinion of the Italian soldiers on the own nation (black line) and on the other three nations (gray lines)

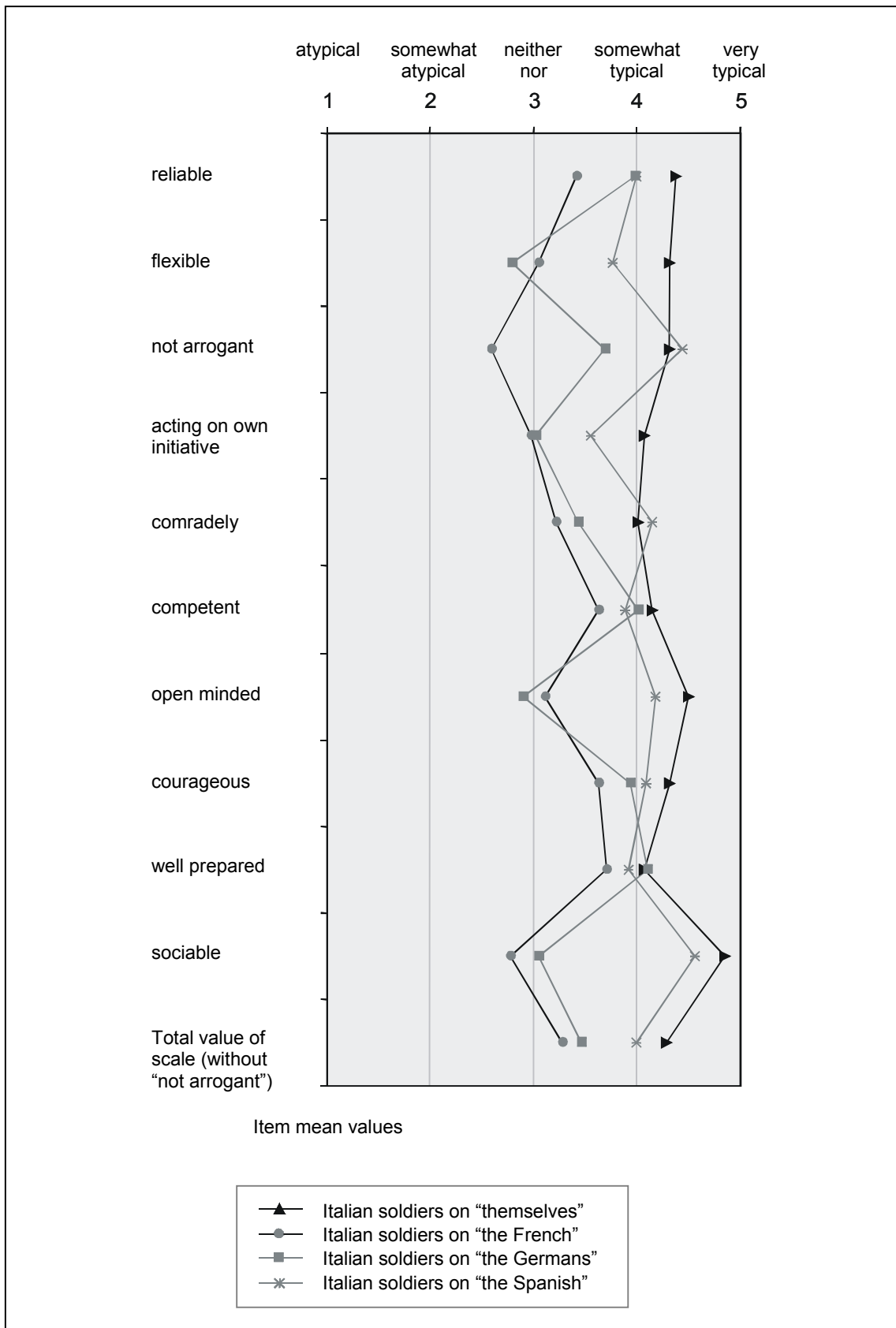


Figure 1b: Opinion of the French soldiers on the own nation (black line) and on the other three nations (gray lines)

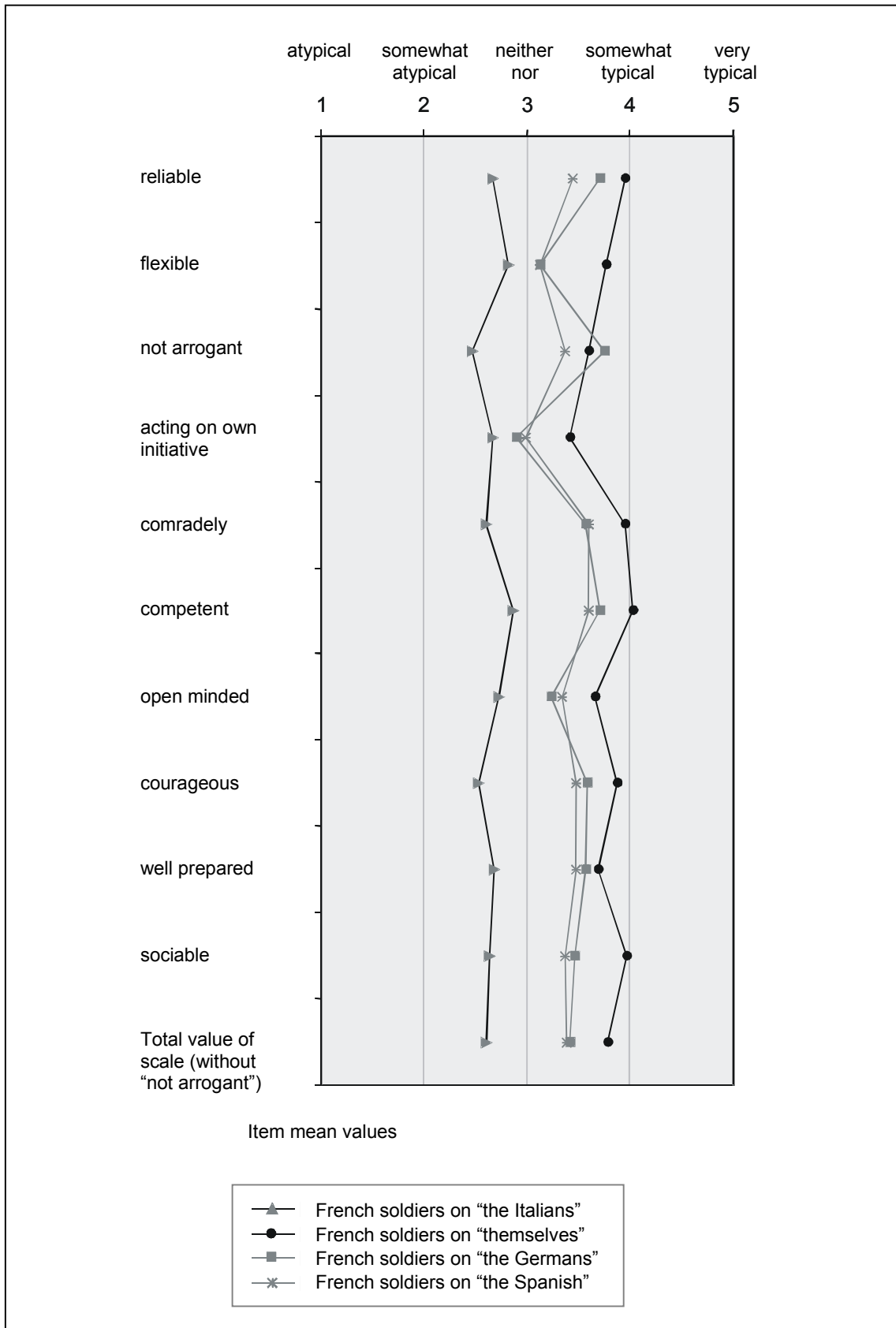


Figure 1c: Opinion of the German soldiers on the own nation (black line) and on the other three nations (gray lines)

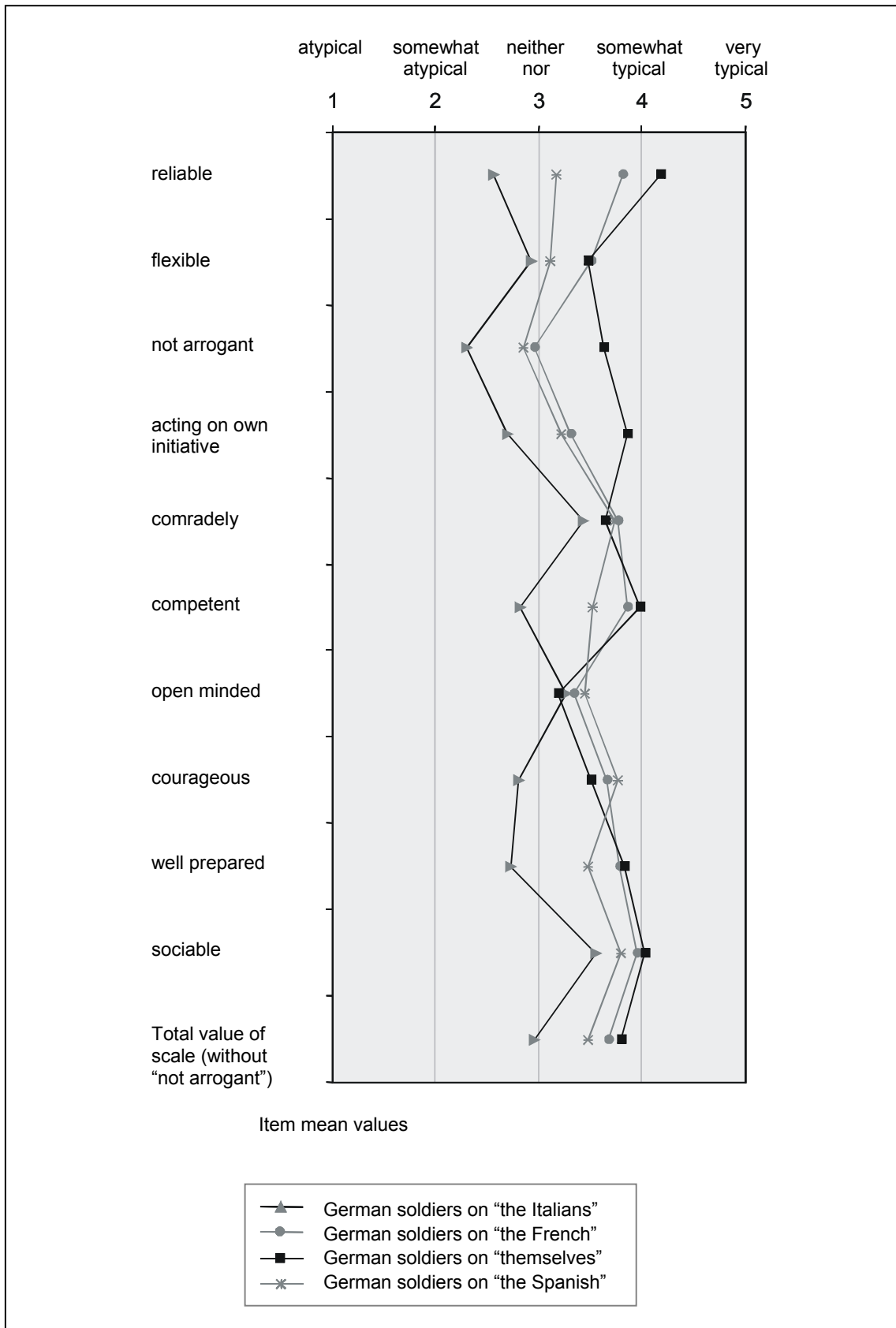
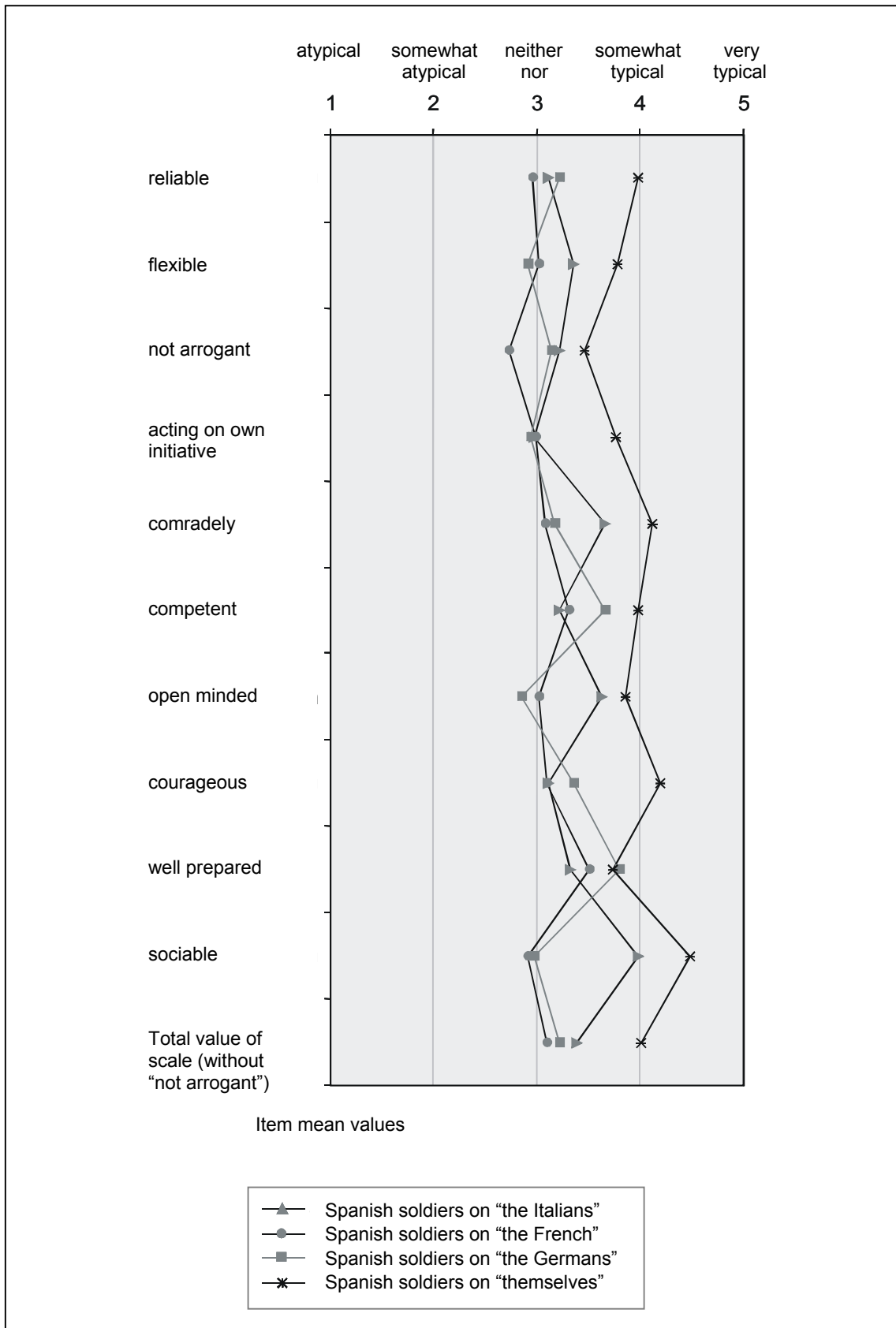


Figure 1d: Opinion of the Spanish soldiers on the own nation (black line) and on the other three nations (gray lines)



From the graphical presentation it is easy to see that for every nation the self-assessment (figures 1a–d: black solid line) on average stands out positively against the assessment of the foreigners. This becomes visible also in the total value of the scale which is always higher than that of the other three nations. With the words of a sergeant major, this result could be summarized as follows: „First of all I am German, then European. The Federal Republic sent me over here to represent Germany.” The other lead nations are appreciated as partners since negative assessments cannot be observed when the average values are compared (compare Result 5 concerning slightly negative tendencies).

Interpretation of favourite self-descriptions as a ‘normal’ outcome of social exchange and as an evidence of the universality of ethnocentrism

The comparison of the response behaviour of the individual nations shows that each nation rates itself more favourably than the other nations, although, given the fact that 75% of the military personnel interviewed in Mostar called themselves European, one might also have expected a different result, namely that possibly no nationally biased ascriptions were to be seen in the analysis. The combination of those two findings – that 75% of those surveyed feel European and at the same time rate their own nation more favourably than the other ones – reveals a polarity already described by Demorgon (1999: 32): On the one hand, one’s own national identity crystallizes favourably in the international context by becoming aware of the partial dissociation from the others. On the other hand, there is always a further development of another identity which is not directly foreseeable, but which may develop into a cross-national European (military) identity. “Wherever there are tendencies toward unity, cohesion, [...] solidarity, or community, the seeds of heterogeneity and conflict are shown as well.” (Gergen/McNamee/Barrett 2003: 70) Thus, the challenge to multinationality does not lie in ensuring a conflict-free community, but in preventing differences from inevitably leading to aggressions and extremes. The assessments of the “others”, which in general are mostly favourable or neutral, indicate that on the whole this was accomplished in Camp Mostar⁶.

The phenomena of dissociation and the crystallization of a positive, imaginary superior identity (judged by favourable ascriptions) which can be observed nevertheless, can be

6 However, in Camp Mostar there are also conflict areas and/or potentials to be identified, such as the slightly negative bias in the ratings given by the French and German military personnel to the “Italians” (cf. on this Result 5 and Figure 5 as a general sociogram of quadro-national co-operation in the camp).

explained socio-psychologically as normal results of social exchange (Gergen et al. 2003: 70). The members of a group (in our case of a Multinational Task Force, a cooperation unit or other national subunits) will always strive for a positive social identity. In the multinational context, the easiest way to achieve this is to rate oneself and/or one's reference group more favourably in the intergroup comparison than the other reference group(s). This corresponds to a positive social distinctiveness, which means to stand out positively against others by a cognitive comparison, as Tajfel (1982a) describes it in his Social Identity Theory. Which group one regards to be one's in-group or a reference group can vary, depending on context and situation (cf. Tomforde 2008). This phenomenon of a positive differentiation from others at the same time hides the "search for trustful co-operation" (Bierhoff 2000: 305) because the reduction of complexity and clarity always are an objective of categorization processes. One can find this most easily or primarily in one's own internal group because a shared experience horizon is to be expected there, which builds confidence and in return is the prerequisite for good co-operation. This "positive differentiation" from the "others", the accompanying favourable self-concept and the general confidence that exists within one's own reference group can be understood to be the purpose and the objective of belonging to a group. Attributes of a group membership become part of the individual self-concept (Tajfel/Turner 1986: 7 et sqq.), thus at the same time forming the basis of mutual trust (Brewer 1999: 429 et sqq.).

In this context it ought to be mentioned that an outward separation is not equivalent to social disapproval, but primarily implies an in-group preference (Allport 1954: 42, quoted after Brewer 1999: 429). The fact that all of us will always seek distinction seems to be a basic feature of one's own identity. Our survey by questionnaire, however, does not show which other reference groups in addition to the category of "nationality" are available to the soldiers to define their identity. Due to the way in which the questions were formulated it can only be stated that a soldier's belonging to a nation within our sample (as a group average) is a constituting factor for the respective positive military identity.

The desire for an own positive identity also supports other interim results of this and other studies on the topic of multinationality and deployments abroad, in which it is found out again and again that the majority of soldiers prefer doing service in a bi- or multinational environment to a purely national one (Franz/Klein/Lippert 1994; Keller et al. 2008). The reason for this is that the comparison with other armed forces is a gain for

the soldiers and can be accomplished more easily in the multinational context than in the purely national one. The one achievements can be newly and favourably rated in the international environment (“after all, it is not that bad”). According to the group mobility after Tajfel (1982b), those involved may otherwise try to join another group which they perceive to be more attractive if they have the chance to do so. The latter means for Camp Mostar that German soldiers, for example, prefer being together with soldiers from other nations to spending their time with their fellow Germans (findings of the participating observation on site and the interviews carried out). In that case, the “others” are experienced as better, therefore one rather wants to be part of this group. However, the result is the same both in the group whose members identified more strongly with the in-group and in the group whose members changed to another reference group: Favourable self-esteem and confidence in one’s identity.

This initial finding that the members of all four nations surveyed gave their own nations the most favourable rating also verifies the thesis that ethnocentrism is a very human feature which is to be met everywhere. Rating oneself, the members of one’s group and/or one’s fellow countrymen more favourably than others is thus not astonishing because understandably it is one’s own standards that anything else (initially) is compared to. This can also be seen from the interview analysis: one does not observe anybody in one’s own field of responsibility or even oneself behaving in a way to hamper co-operation, but mostly reports about the “others”. The cultural anthropologist Shweder (2002: 231) describes this universalism of ethnocentrism very appropriately as bias and a normal lack of empathy: “Many people all over the [...] world are caught up in their own varieties of a deep ethnocentrism, just as ourselves. Therefore, ‘others’ often do not understand us because they do not know what things mean to us, do not know what we are driving at and from their moral point of view cannot understand many aspects of our way of life, especially the peculiarities of our family life and our sexual ideals. They are as blind to our moral principles and our rationality as we are to theirs.”

3rd Conclusion: As far as the ascription of some distinctive features is concerned, Italians and Germans are more self-critical than the French and Spanish

The own nation is always seen to be the most positive one; however, one can identify country-specific peculiarities already there – both in terms of the own favourable self-rating and with respect to the way in which the soldiers surveyed see the other three nations.

The analysis of the opinion held by the *Italian soldiers* (see figure 1a) shows that they do not rate their own nation to be the most positive one in three items, but rate the Spanish very favourably in the categories of “not arrogant” and “sociable”, while the Germans on average are rated slightly more positive than their fellow Italians in the category of “well prepared”.

Taking a look at the opinions held by the *Germans* (see figure 1c), it becomes clear that the German soldiers rate some of the other three nations more favourably than themselves in four out of a total of ten items. For the feature of “flexible”, the French are rated more favourably, however slightly. As far as the features of “sociable” and “courageous” are concerned, the French and the Spanish are rated more favourably, while the Italians, the Spanish, and the French on average receive more favourable ratings than the own German nation in terms of the category “open-minded”.

In the analysis of the opinions of the *French soldiers* (see figure 1b) there is only one item, the rating as “not arrogant”, for which they rate the Germans more favourably than their own nation. As far as the item of “well prepared” is concerned, both the Spanish and the Germans are rated approximately as favourably as the own nation; however, also for this item the own French nation is on average still rated more favourably than the other ones.

The opinions held by the *Spanish* in Mostar (figure 1d) reveal that there is only one item for which the Spanish soldiers do not rate themselves too favourably. This is the category of “well prepared”, a feature they regard to be even more typical of the German soldiers than of themselves.

Interpretation of the differently developed self-criticism in the four nations

The comparison between the opinions held by the four individual nations shows (figures 1a–d) that both the Spanish and the French have a clearly favourable self-image concerning their own nations and regard themselves to be clearly more positive when compared with the Germans and the Italians. The German and Italian soldiers, in contrast, provided more heterogeneous opinions in so far as their own nations do not come out on top in all aspects used to rate their “professional social competence”.

Given this interpretation of the findings, the question comes up whether or not these differences in the national opinions are also accompanied by possible differences in the national identity and the identity of the personnel surveyed. The analysis of the responses to the questions on the national identity showed that,⁷ compared with the three other nations, the Spanish actually prefer working together with their fellow Spaniards. If they had a choice, only 17% of the Spanish would work together with soldiers from different countries in mixed units. Among the French, it is 33% of the soldiers surveyed, among the Italians 41%, and among the Germans 60% who prefer working in mixed units most. When asked whether or not they feel as Europeans, the answers were similar: 32% of the Spanish and 34% of the French soldiers felt *very* European, compared with 46% of the surveyed Italians and 62% of the Germans. The answers to the question what kind of armed forces the soldiers preferred showed a similar order: only 15% of the Spanish soldiers would prefer integrated European armed forces, while it is already 25% of those surveyed among the French, 29% among the Germans and even 38% among the Italians.

This might be seen as an indication of the fact that a more self-critical attitude towards one's own nation also entails an opening towards Europe. It is also interesting that a partially rather sceptical attitude towards one's own nation cannot be equated with insufficient national pride because 92% of the Italian soldiers are very proud to be Italians. At the same time, one might conclude from these findings that the general military identity of German and Italian soldiers is not as consolidated as that of the French and Spanish and/or differs from their military identity so that the comparison with other nations, which strengthens their military identity, promotes the self-concept of the Germans and Italians to a higher degree than it is the case with the French and Spanish military personnel.

7 On this issue, see the contributions by Maniscalco/Aubry/Rosato as well as by Ragaru.

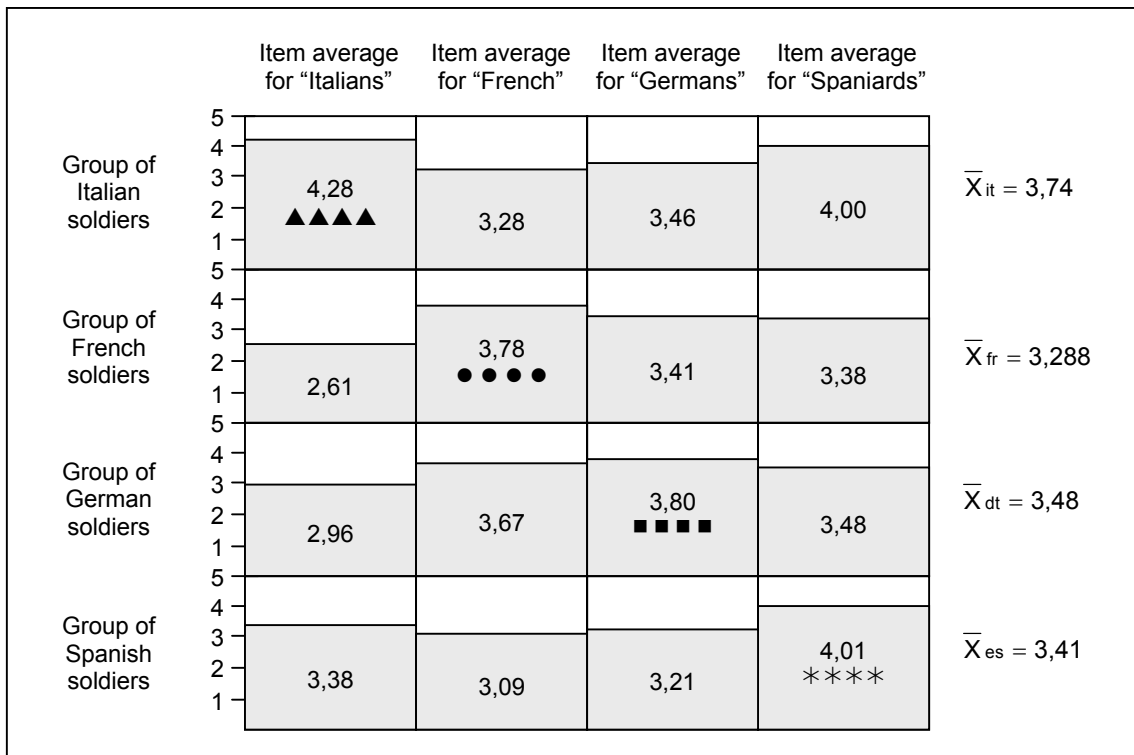
Another, even more plausible explanation for the clear separation between one's own nation and the others, as with the Spanish and French, refers to the command of the English language. The poorer my English is, the more uneasy I feel in the international community and the better I feel among "people like me" so that I rate my own nation much higher than the other ones. This thesis is supported, inter alia, by the findings on the knowledge of the English language:⁸ As a whole, about 22% of the total sample of the military personnel surveyed at Mostar assessed their command of the English language to be good to very good (fluent). However, as postulated above, clear differences between the Germans and Italians on the one side and the French and Spanish on the other can be identified. More than 30% of the Italian and German respondents, but less than 20% of the French and Spanish rated their English language skills to be good to very good. As far as those are concerned who assessed their level to be very low, this tendency becomes even more obvious: only 1% of the Italians and 2% of the Germans, but 13% of the French and 20% of the Spanish assessed their level in English (speaking) to be very low. Thus, these data strongly support the hypothesis that both giving preference to the own nation and the opening towards Europe are strongly connected with matters of everyday practice, such as for example the knowledge of foreign languages.

4th Conclusion: In every nation, both national preferences and likings as well as dissociations from others can be noticed

The graphs in figures 1a–d and figure 2 below, in which the scale averages for the individual nations are represented, show that each of the nations distributes its liking for the partner nations differently. In the overall rating (cf. figure 2, line-by-line comparison), the *Italians* feel closest to the Spanish, the *French* are almost equally close to the German and Spanish soldiers, the *Germans* assess the French to be closest to themselves, while the *Spanish* regard themselves to be closest to the Italians, although, when compared, the distance to the other three nations is relatively large.

8 On this issue, see the contribution by Ragaru on the French contingent.

Figure 2: Group averages of the property scale*



* Group averages of the property scale, separately for each of the four national groups (vertical) and the categories and/or item averages for the four nations (horizontal – Italians, French, Germans, Spanish: these are the responses to the question what their attitude towards the Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers was). Diagonally, the self-rating is represented: ▲▲▲▲ = self-rating of the Italians, ●●●● = self-rating of the French, ■■■■ = self-rating of the Germans, ***** = self-rating of the Spaniards.

Interpretation of national preferences and constellations

From national preferences and dissociations, conclusions for the intercultural cooperation and the mutual understanding among the nations can be drawn:

- The Italians feel similar to the Spanish, while distance and separation from the Germans, but above all the French, can be observed.

These opinions held by the Italians of the other nations are also reflected in the ratings given by the other three nations to the Italians, although with different accentuations.

- The same dissociation (partly even more pointed) can be observed in the group of the French soldiers, who distance themselves the most clearly from the Italians. However, they rate the German and Spanish soldiers similarly favourably.
- The group of German respondents rated the French as favourably as the German soldiers. On the whole, the German soldiers, similar to the French ones, rather dis-

tance themselves from the Italians. The rating of the Spanish soldiers can be found in the positive sector between the Italians and the French.

- The group of the Spanish soldiers clearly rates the own nation more favourably than any other one, while the attitude towards the other three nations can rather be called neutral, with the Italians being seen slightly favourably on average.

One can conclude from these constellations that there were different national parties or co-operations in Camp Mostar. On the one side, there were the Italians and the Spanish, with the Italians feeling closer to the Spanish than vice versa, while there were the Germans and the French on the other side, with the Germans being closer to the French than vice versa. On the French and the German sides, the least favourable attitude towards the Italians can be noticed (cf. figure 2). In these mutual ratings, the Spanish more or less seem to take on an outside position, which is also reflected by the overall rating they receive (figure 2, column-by-column comparison of the item averages): Out of all soldiers, the Spanish were given the highest point score on average and/or have not been judged very critically by any of the nations.

These formations of groups and/or preferences which can be observed in the empirical analysis are also reflected in the participating observations and qualitative interviews. There were misunderstandings again and again between the Italians on the one side and the French and the Germans on the other. In social psychology, such constellations are described as intergroup phenomena, in which competition can be observed rather than co-operation (cf. Tajfel 1982a). Not only was the Spanish contingent a little on the outside in the opinion formed by the other soldiers, but they also had a certain special status in the actual camp life: The Spanish had their own accommodations and their own mess facility so that they performed their military duty every day, but were not very much in evidence in the camp life due to their national places to which they would adjourn. Additionally, the Spanish were represented in Camp Mostar with national operational contingents, what made them superior to the other nations also in terms of strength. However, on the basis of this survey no further statements can be made on how the situation on site influenced the opinions and the co-operation of the soldiers in detail. It can also be noticed that the implications of the tendencies observed here on the quadro-national co-operation in everyday duty obviously were not too grave. The question whether this was due to the general “peaceful context” of the Bosnia mission or whether it would also have been like that in more difficult conditions cannot be answered either.

Talks to the Italian soldiers on site, however, show (cf. the contribution by Aubry/Rosato on the Italian contingent) that the Italians do sense that they and their way of working and/or living are met with a certain lack of understanding by the “others”. Although no grave impact of this misunderstanding of the Italians was to be noticed in the general co-operation, those affected developed a certain resentment. This shows that those attitudes must be expressed by the soldiers involved somehow or other. Even if the negative attitudes and convictions observed are not reflected immediately in the military action, they are perceptible by the Italians affected. This shows that critical attitudes towards others (in this case the Italian soldiers) are actually visible so that their effects should not be underestimated. This also corresponds to the findings made using the Attitude-Expectation-Value Model developed by Ajzen and Fishbein, which postulates that attitudes (indirectly) guide individuals in their actions by indirectly influencing their behaviour in the form of possible intentions to act (cf. Ajzen 1996).

**5th Conclusion: National differences can be noticed in the response behaviour.
On the whole, the Italians have the most positive attitude**

Figure 2 shows all group averages of the property scale for the four individual nations. The analysis of the response behaviour per nation (line-by-line analysis) reveals that on average the Italian soldiers give more favourable responses to all questions than those of the other nations (comparison of averages: $\bar{X}_{it} = 3.74$; $\bar{X}_{fr} = 2.89$; $\bar{X}_{dt} = 3.48$; $\bar{X}_{es} = 3.41$). A comparison between the national self-ratings (figure 2: Group of triangles, circles, squares and stars) also shows that the individual nations significantly differ from one another in their self-ratings.⁹ It turned out that the Italians rate themselves more favourably than the three other nations and that the Spanish soldiers on average also rate their own nation more favourably than the French (and/or German¹⁰) soldiers. There were no substantial differences between the self-ratings of the German and the French military personnel.

This comparison, however, does not yet consider the general national response behaviour. Including the line-by-line analysis of the responses concerning the four nations in

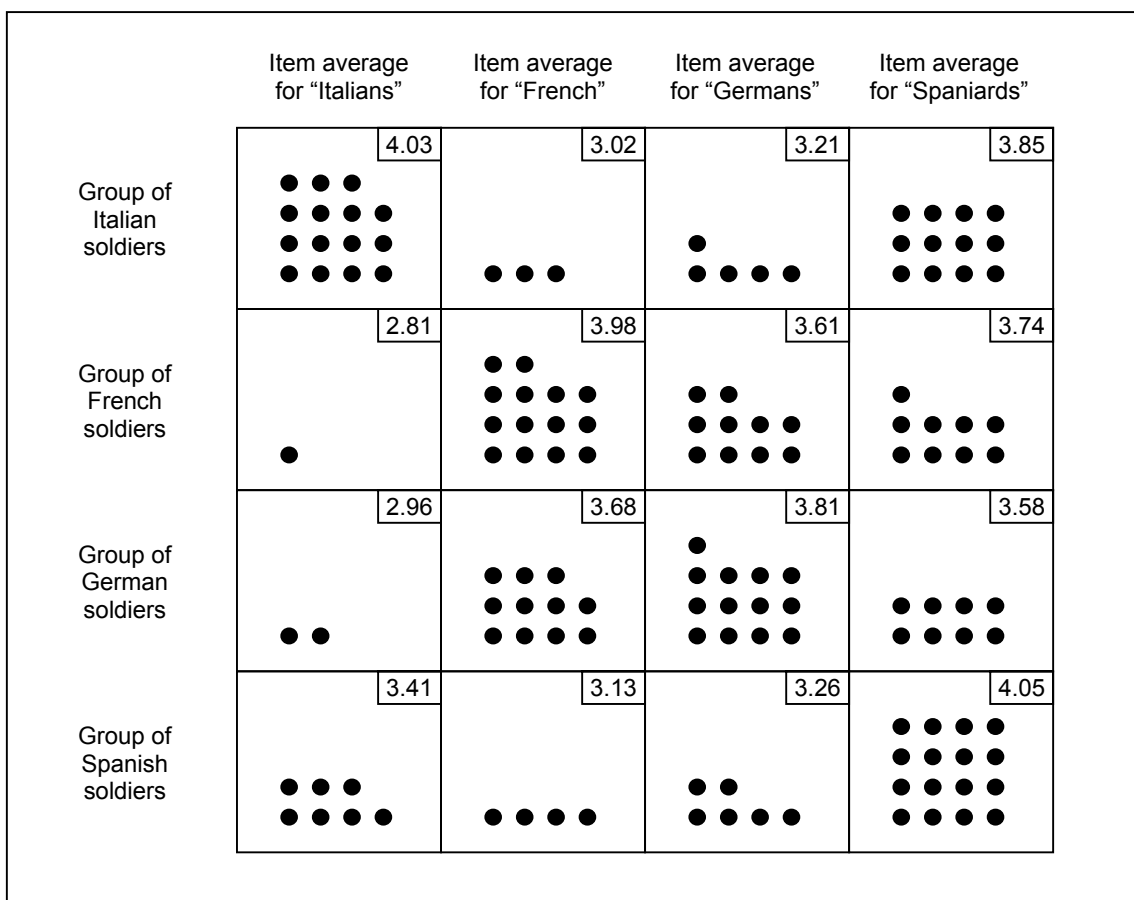
9 Unifactorial ANOVA, $F=8,7$, $df=3$. ANOVA is the abbreviation of the English term Analysis of Variance. An analysis of variance is an interference statistical procedure to compare average values. After the application of this method, the Post-Hoc Scheffé Test is used to check the internal average value differences for significance.

10 The difference from the German self-ratings proved to be insignificant in the Post-Hoc Scheffé Test.

figure 2 (\bar{X}_{it} , \bar{X}_{fr} , \bar{X}_{dt} , \bar{X}_{es}) into the analysis, one can see that the Italian soldiers both at the item level (cf. figures 1a–d) and in the overall analysis on average rate all the other nations more favourably than it is the case with the other nations. Therefore, the national response behaviour will be taken into account in the continued analysis.

Figure 3 shows those group averages in which the respective national response tendencies have been statistically adjusted (transformed averages as a function of the respective national response behaviour).

Figure 3: Representation of the transformed property scale*

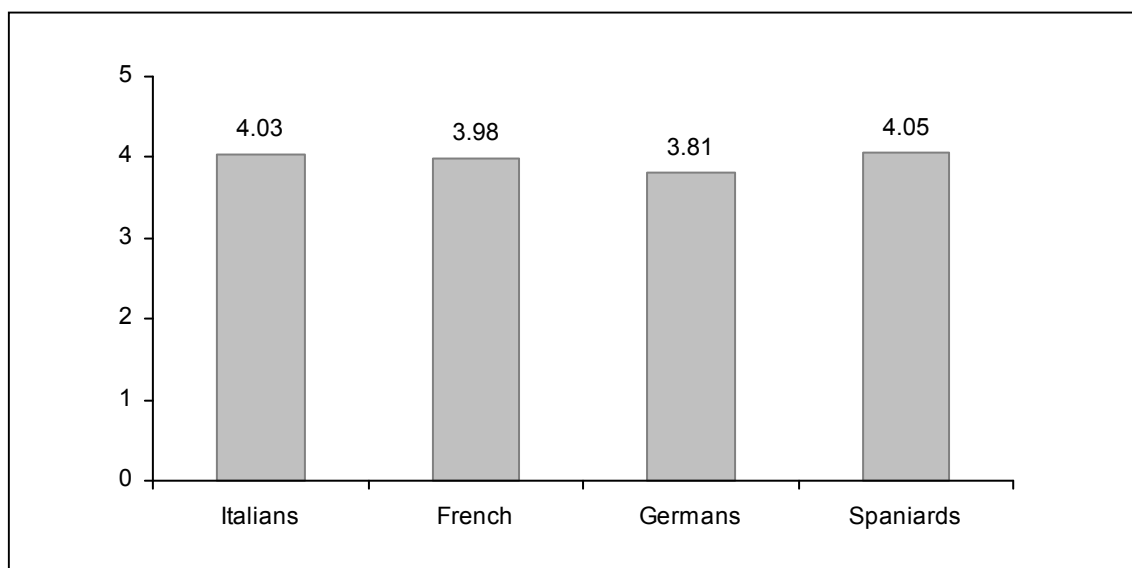


* Transformed property scale in a 4x4 design: in the top right-hand corner (in the small square) those group averages after the average transformation are shown which take the national response behaviour into account (the score of 1 is equivalent to the value of atypical/negative, while the score of 5 stands for very typical/positive). The different scores in the main subboxes (●) represent a ranking among the groups. 16 points stand for the most favourable overall rating, while one point corresponds to the worst average rating when comparing the groups.

From the transformed values, shown in figure 3, one can see that the slightly negative attitudes which the French and German soldiers hold of the Italians continue to exist, although the rather more critical response behaviour has been taken into account (averages of 2.81 and 2.96). The second-worst rating is the one given to the French by the

Italians ($X_{it-fr} = 3.02$). However, the average rating already lies in the neutral range, i. e. at a medium value of 3, which corresponds to the assessment of “neither typical nor atypical”. The rating which the Spanish give to the French on the whole also lies in the slightly favourable and/or neutral range.

Figure 4: Comparison of self-ratings with the country-specific response tendencies taken into account*



* Comparison of self-ratings following average adjustment: The transformed averages of Italians, French, Germans and Spanish for their own nations, calculated for the rating scale. The supposedly less favourable self-rating of the Germans compared with the other nations turns out to be insignificant after interference statistical analyses. Thus it can be assumed that the national self-ratings on average do not differ from one another (cf. footnote).

Figure 4 once again shows a separate comparison of the national (transformed) self-ratings (diagonal values of figures 2 and 3). From this graph it becomes apparent that the national self-ratings now do not differ from one another on average.¹¹ Thus, as a result it can be stated that on average all national self-ratings are equally favourable, independent of the nation.

Interpretation of national differences

The summarizing graphs in figures 3 and 4 once again illustrate the previous findings (1–4). Firstly it turned out that the national self-ratings in general, i. e. for all four nations, are favourable and that they are also more favourable than those given by the other nations. That means that ethnocentrism can be observed with all four lead nations.

¹¹ Unifactorial ANOVA, $F=1.5$, $df=3$, $\alpha=.208$ in contrast to ANOVA with untransformed values (see preceding footnote on ANOVA).

This phenomenon is not particularly striking nor to be judged negatively either because the respective ratings given by the other parties show that the general attitude towards the three other nations is primarily positive or neutral. This also applies to the two worst ratings given to others, i. e. the ratings given by the French and Germans to the Italian soldiers. At the same time, the two findings mentioned last can be perceived as an indication of the fact that there is an increased demand for communication between these nations. It is also interesting that the classical problems as they are known from the German-French military co-operation, such as, for example, problems between the German “Innere Führung” (leadership development and civic education) and an allegedly rather “authoritarian” style of leadership of the French (cf. Abel 2008) did not occur in Camp Mostar. Such problems are reflected neither in the qualitative interviews nor in the quantitative self-ratings of the Germans and the French and in the ratings given to the respective other side. This result indicates that many intercultural or intergroup phenomena depend on the actual constellations on site and the respective conditions rather than on pure peculiarities of military culture. Thus it is not the compatibility of national cultures as such, but rather the concrete context that seems to be the deciding factor for the success and/or the problems in the co-operation between different nations.

4 Interpretation and Discussion of the Findings

Ethnocentrism and social desirability

Looking at the questions that had not been answered, one could notice general differences between the countries, i. e. the French most frequently failed to respond to the questions on how they rate the other nations (21%), followed by the Germans (17%), the Spanish (9%) and the Italians, who left only 5% of the items unanswered. This ranking shows that those national groups which on average made the most critical statements – above all on the Italians (cf. figures 3 and 4) – were the ones who most frequently left the question about their orientation patterns unanswered. 21% of the French and 17% of the German soldiers failed to answer the questions on that scale or provided answers that could not be analysed. The Italians, on the other hand, who had rated the others the most favourably on average, were the ones who refused to provide their ratings to the lowest extent (only a total of 5% of the questions were not answered).

This might be seen as an indication of the fact that lacking answers concerning stereotypes are primarily *not* connected with negative attitudes that per se do not exist, but rather suggest an increased sensitivity and/or self-attention with respect to social desirability (cf. Weins 2004: 18 et sqq.). Thus one might conclude that those German and French soldiers who failed to answer the questions do have similar attitudes as their comrades who answered them.

We know from qualitative interviews with German soldiers that, for example, certain resentments towards Italian soldiers can be observed also among military leaders. These include, for example, the envy of the Italians who get a higher pay when employed abroad or the lack of understanding for the leadership behaviour of certain Italian higher-ranking soldiers. Observations like these were already made during other studies (Keller et al. 2008). However, statements with such delicate contents are mostly individualized rather than generalized so that one would not say that there were problems with “the” Italian soldiers (or members of other nations) as such, but that there are problems with a particular lieutenant colonel or colonel who was poorly chosen for his post or generally was not qualified. Still, our findings show that, although there are efforts made not to generalize such isolated problems, these individual national incompatibilities do reflect group biases and problems which find their expression in everyday work and the mutual esteem on the whole and therefore must not necessarily be neglected (cf. results 2–4). Thus, our analysis demonstrates that there will always be different group constellations in a multinational context (cf. figure 5 below) which (may) lead to mutual intercultural misunderstandings. Since superiors and subordinates are equally affected by intercultural encounters and co-operation, it becomes apparent that support immediately on site is required to improve the mutual understanding in everyday duty, both in terms of language and in the form of intercultural coaching or team development activities.

Quadro-national formation of groups in Camp Mostar

The tendency of the intercultural group constellation which could be observed in Camp Mostar can be summarized as follows (see figure 5)¹²: On the one side, there were the German and the French soldiers, facing the group of the Italian soldiers, from which the

¹² It refers to the relationship between the members of the four nations in their entirety, not to individual constellations in certain subunits, which were not considered in this presentation.

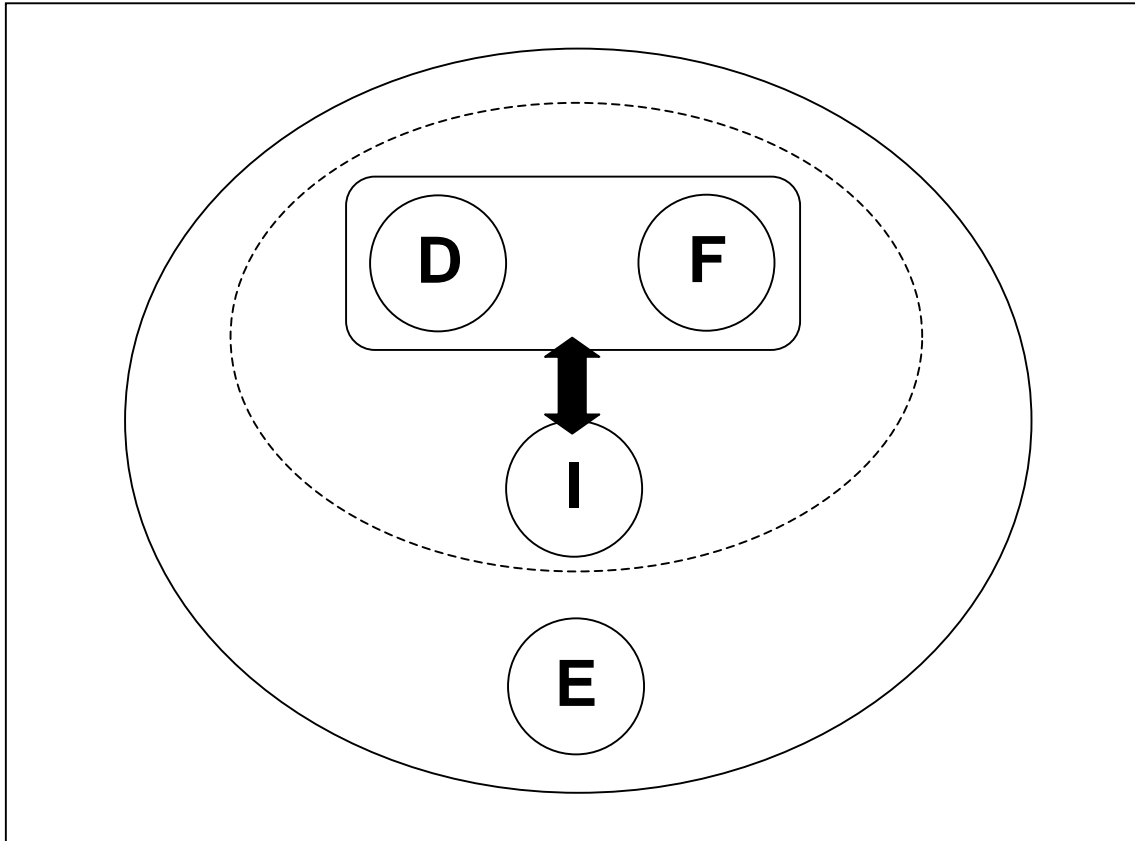
two groups mentioned first distanced themselves more or less significantly. As a group, the Spanish have the closest ties with the Italian soldiers, while standing outside this intergroup-constellation themselves, and entertain benevolent to rather neutral relations with the other three groups.

In this context it should be underlined again that the group constellation to be observed (see figure 5) does not depend on the cultures involved as such, but is to be seen as the result of a complex social process. Frictions and difficulties in highly different national relations of co-operation are known from intercultural research (Pateau 1999; Soeters 1998; Gareis et al. 2003; Thomas/Kammhuber/Layes 1997; Early/Mosakowski 2000). Those, however, mostly occur not between all the parties involved, but between two actors. In the famous community study by Elias and Scotson on the “Established and Outsiders” and in Simmel’s analysis of the role of the “third party” it is explained (quoted after Neckel 1997: 207, 210) that in social group processes “typical figurations occur which can be generalized in terms of their dynamic effects” (Neckel 1997: 206).

Also in our study on Camp Mostar, social figurations and group processes can be observed which are similar to those described by Neckel (1997), referring to Elias and Simmel. Originally, Camp Mostar had been a purely French camp into which the other military parties moved only as time went on. Thus one might call the French side originally established. The longer a unit (or group) has stayed in a region, the higher its group cohesion seems to be (Neckel 1997: 209). The German and the Italian soldiers joined them later, and as “subordinates” they are in this respect in a sociographically identical position in which they – with varying success – try hard to win the “recognition” of the party that is already established and/or to consolidate their own status. The Spanish contingent constitutes another party that came to the camp later. According to Simmel (1908/1992: 117 et sqq., quoted after Neckel 1997: 210), however, there are only several third parties (no fourth or fifth parties) because additional elements do not change the character of the previous figuration significantly. Thus, the Spanish assume the position of the neutral third party in Camp Mostar (cf. Neckel 1997: 211). On the whole, a *quadro-national dyadic triad* is formed: The German soldiers allied themselves with the established French (symbolic identification) and now seem to dissociate themselves together with them (more or less) from the Italians. The group of the Spanish is a little on the outside because they assume their separate own role in everyday camp life just due to their separate accommodation and messing. Thus the Spanish soldiers are involved in the quadro-national community, but do not form part of the imme-

diate triad or part of the constellation of two that tries to dissociate itself (German-French versus Italian).

Figure 5: Quadro-national dyadic triad*



* Representation of the group constellation in Camp Mostar, taking into account the four Lead Nations. The Germans (D) and the French (F) form a unit on the one side, while the Italians (I) form a unit on the other one. The Spanish (E) are included and appreciated by everybody, although they are somehow on the outside, in the outermost circle.

This concluding reference to sociological explanation approaches for group constellations observed in this study once again shows that intercultural difficulties and separations are not primarily connected with cultural incompatibilities, but always also constitute the result of social group processes, the composition of groups and constellations on site.

5 Conclusions

This study was designed to answer the question which cultural social perceptions prevail in the multinational European context, giving Camp Mostar as an example. It was our objective to make the reader aware of the social co-operation between the four lead

nations (Italy, Germany, France, Spain) and to examine it in more detail from a socio-psychological perspective. Both the self-images and the images of the others held by the Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers were compared. The property scale used (scale to measure the professional military *social* competence), which had been jointly developed by the quadro-national research team, proved to be very reliable with a Cronbach's Alpha between .812 and .910. A total of 12% of the soldiers surveyed failed to answer the questions concerning their attitude towards the four nations. This missing rate, however, varies depending on the nation to which the soldiers belong, on their rank, term of service and the period of time they have already spent in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The analysis of the self-ratings and the ratings given to the others shows that all respondents rated their own nations the most favourably. This suggests a universalized form of ethnocentrism, common to all countries, which, however, neither leads to any negative consequences for everyday duty nor hampers a general identification with the European idea. At the same time, it becomes apparent that an identification with the abstract ideals of Europe does not protect from stereotypes and thus does not necessarily promote an enhanced understanding. In spite of the favourable rating that is given to the other nations on the whole, tendencies of preferences and dissociations within the quadro-national Lead Nations become apparent. On the one side, there are the French and the German soldiers, who tend to dissociate themselves from the Italians, while there are the Spanish soldiers on the other, who feel closest to the Italians and are also appreciated by the other nations while rather enjoying a special status in the multinational camp.

Our analysis has shown that there are differences between the soldiers of the four nations surveyed as far as perceptions and national preferences are concerned. This verifies the assumption that stereotypes and/or firm cultural orientation patterns can be observed in the individual national contingents. Dissociation as postulated by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1982a) or sociological approaches (Neckel 1997) can also be observed within quadro-national group constellations and demonstrates that the cultural differences and difficulties perceived are not only due to intercultural misunderstanding, but also to the respective social configuration on site. It is interesting that, for example, certain prejudices which could be noticed in the German-French military co-operation were not observed in Camp Mostar in this form (cf. Abel 2007: 53, 56). This, however, does not mean that similar difficulties in co-operation cannot occur in individual work-

ing groups, as it is described generally in the intercultural research into the German-French co-operation. The analysis of the group constellation reveals that it is not possible to make a general prediction as to which nations will be a good fit for one another. This means for the European military co-operation that cultural differences and language difficulties may occur in spite of a generally favourable attitude towards the idea of multinationality.

Above all during the qualitative survey of German soldiers, it became apparent that even soldiers who are sensitive to ethnocentric generalizations show a lack of sympathy, for example, for the Italian soldiers that is similar to the one shown by soldiers who frankly speak about their reservations. Consequently, an increased sensitivity to ethnocentric statements does not yet constitute a contribution to the improvement of multinational co-operation, mainly also because all soldiers are equally involved in the social processes and constellations on site described above. Therefore it is to be clarified in which cases qualifying and sensitive behaviour when 'talking about other soldiers' is really accompanied by a profound understanding of others and in which cases this behaviour is used only as a kind of protection against the reproach of making sweeping statements and/or as a means to give the impression of behaving politically correctly. The thesis by Barmeyer (2000: 274) that a favourable emotional basic attitude decisively influences the intercultural competence and the assumptions of Adler (1991) and Ratiu (1983) that the use of stereotypes in connection with curiosity about other patterns of thinking and acting characterizes good leaders refer to aspects of intercultural competence which in the future could and should be examined in more detail in context with soldiers working in a multinational environment.

It would also be interesting to answer the question what an appropriate intercultural support to be provided to the soldiers involved on site should look like: Which activities do soldiers welcome? What is appropriate to the level of officers and what do the NCOs need? Which measures can be implemented in which way in everyday work in a multinational environment? The different training programs and the pre-deployment training which the soldiers receive could be examined with respect to stereotype perceptions. Here the differences in education and training (inter alia the treatment of stereotypes) between the Italian, French, German and Spanish armed forces would also be interesting because they might offer complementing views and other aspects for the findings of this study.

These more extensive research issues might also help to extend and specify the social identity theory, which explains aspects of efforts to secure one's identity and attempts at dissociation in groups. The consequences of the different compositions of multinational groups and their impact on the effects postulated so far should be examined in more detail in the future. During prolonged field studies, it could be examined which factors promote the co-operation between all parties involved and which conditions make it more difficult. It would be appropriate to have a closer look at the relations both at team level and at Task Force level when conducting this study on European co-operation. Our current quadro-national research project can be seen as a first building block for such an extensive research assignment.

Although the Task Force Southeast which we inquired into has been disbanded in the meantime, the more exact scientific evaluation of cultural orientation patterns remains relevant because with our quadro-national research approach they can now not only be analysed and adopted on an individual basis within one nation, but actually by means of a quadro-national comparison in all four armed forces involved. The explicit comparison of the different attitudes towards the other nations can also be important for future missions. For military experience is always based on all previous lessons learnt. In the end, this analysis has shown that national differences and distinctions still do exist and therefore should also be taken into account by the leaders.

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Leadership in Mission *Althea* 2006–2007

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1 Considerations about Leadership

In the social sciences the concept of “leader” is defined as a person who is capable of making others follow him, without actually revealing the methods used to achieve his goal. It is common to use the term leader in the military context with two implications: first to refer to “good” commanders; those, who in addition to being formal commanders, earn the respect of their subordinates and the orders they give are duly followed by them beyond their strict call of duty. Secondly, the term leader is also used to denote those persons who without actually holding the rank of formal commanders have the capacity to influence others in a certain way (due to their competence, friendly approach, personal appeal, etc). The first are called “formal leaders” in scientific literature as their role is planned and supported by the organization in which they serve or fulfil their duties (in this case the army). The latter are called “informal leaders” due to the fact that they appear spontaneously within the organization, without being planned or approved by it.

Consequently, we can conclude that not all commanders are to be considered as leaders; nor any other individual who without being a commander has the ability to influence other people. Commanders who are able to encourage and lead their subordinates effortlessly beyond what is expected or required are to be considered as leaders. Concisely, there are two conditions which define leadership qualities in an individual: In the first place, a leader needs to be officially appointed, which means, he needs formal designation. Secondly he has to earn the support, enthusiasm, and confidence of his subordinates. In other words, only good commanders are regarded as leaders and leadership traits in commanders are held in high esteem while carrying out their duties. Thus the term leadership may well be defined as follows: “A commander’s capability to influence his subordinates beyond his call of duty, without conveying a sense of coercion.”¹

1 Mando de Adiestramiento y Doctrina (MADOC) 2006: 1–3.

With regard to this contribution, it is worth pointing out that we only wish to deal with the role of the commander/formal leader who holds a post within a formal structure of the organization, in this case consisting of the units taking part in the mission *Althea*.

On the other hand, a combination of two concepts must be taken into account when defining the actual role of the commander. The way a military commander, which means the officer in command, is perceived by his subordinates, also refers to the role model of a desired commander, in which case it evidently seems to imply to the ideal role of a commander for all, hence we may speak of an exemplary “leader” found most suitable to serve as a senior commander.

In dealing with all these cases we unmistakably refer to the personal opinion of those interviewed, and not to objective assessments, as suggested by several authors, like Bolman/Terrence (1995).² In our own case, this approach is considered, as we shall observe that the four role models of commanders proposed herein, are regarded valid as individuals, though a certain type of leader prevails over the rest of them, and within the different groups a certain model gains priority over another, though it does not necessarily match the same model according to the groups.

Before providing a detailed description it is finally important to clarify that most of the variables we are going to deal with are of a qualitative kind and are nominally structured.

To proceed with the logic and the structure of this research we will now go on to define the typology of commanders and leaders outlined in the project.

2 Bolman/Terrence (1995: 396) quoting Senté (1980: 197) write: “Authority is not an object; it is a quest for soundness and a sense of security based in the strength of others from an objective view”, for Bolman and Terrence this assessment is valid for the leadership they describe: “It is not a thing. It exists only with something one imagines and the concept of the parts of a relationship. It obviously carries different meanings for different people, though the list of meanings is unending.”

2 Types of Commanders

We must begin by clarifying that it is a matter related to the kind of superior regarded by military personnel of the different contingents stationed in Mostar in operation *Al-thea*. We also have to clarify the concepts used to define senior ranking military officers commanding a given unit or assigned to a post in the armed forces. Especially referring to immediate superiors and the middle and lower ranks in the military structure, the term superior or commander is used in accordance with the formal organization procedures that require official acknowledgement.

While dealing with this subject a definition was provided of the classification of the type of superior according to the way he makes his decisions and the kind of relations and modes of communicating he has with his subordinates in order to adopt decisions and giving orders.

Accordingly four types of superiors may be denominated as follows: authoritarian (type 1), paternalistic (type 2), participative (type 3) and democratic (type 4), the respective definitions also appear in the questionnaire used in Mostar.

Superior 1: *Is, in general, quick in decision-making and communicates the decisions clearly and plainly to the employees. Expects them to carry out the decisions loyally and without trouble.*

Superior 2: *Is, in general, quick in decision-making, but tries to explain them first of all to his/her employees before continuing. Gives the reasons for the decisions and answers any questions.*

Superior 3: *Consults, in general, his/her employees before taking a decision. Listens to their advice, weighs pros and cons, and then announces the decision. Expects everyone – even those who were of a different opinion – to carry out the decision loyally.*

Superior 4: *In general organises a meeting with all employees first before taking a decision. Explains the problem to the group and encourages discussion. Accepts the opinion of the majority as the decision.*

The questionnaire deals with the issue from two points of view. On the one hand it asks what type of superior of those listed would be desirable. We consider this as the kind of **desired superior**, who we may identify as a leader, following the comments of Bolman & Terrence provided above. On the other hand, the questionnaire asks how the immediate superior is to be rated with respect to the types listed above, who can be considered as the type of **perceived superior**.

To submit an analysis of the results obtained on the subject of leadership we shall follow a structure that is linked to the questions and the issues raised: First, we will address the issue that is defined as the type of desired superior is dealt with. Secondly, we will deal with the type of perceived superior. Next the degree of trust placed in the immediate superiors and the high-ranking officers is analysed. Finally, some comments are provided regarding specific features that may be related to these issues.

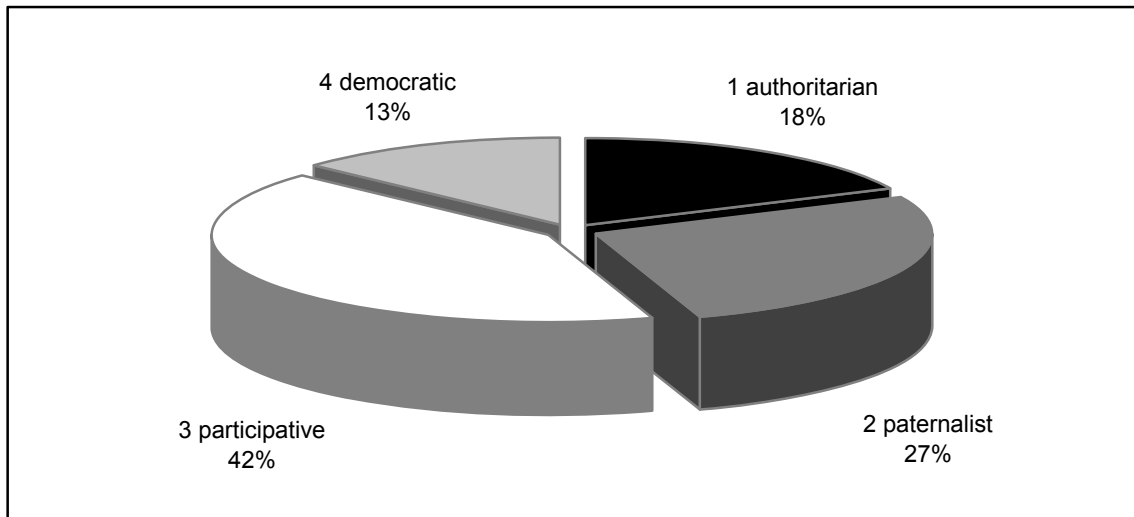
3 Desired Type of Superior

In general, the soldiers preferred mostly (42%) the participative type, followed by the paternalistic type (chosen by 27% as the ideal type), the authoritative type (preferred by only an 18% of those interviewed) and finally the democratic type (preferred by only a modest 13%). The low rating for the democratic type of superior may be due to the specific nature of the military profession and military culture, where it is assumed that decision making is a special feature of the commander's authority and should not take place on a collective basis.³ The reason why the participative type is so widely accepted reveals some changes in the way of thinking of military personnel nowadays. Nevertheless, the noteworthy influence of the paternalist role, chosen by 27% of those interviewed, is substantial and a historical limitation that does not meet the standards of professional relationships in modern military organizations. The fact that 18% of the interviewed soldiers indicated to prefer an authoritative commander, refers to the doctrines of relationships learnt during socialization within the military establishment, where discipline and obedience of the commander's authority constitute a basic premise, though a

3 It should be considered that the inference of leadership roles not accepted, or assumed as appropriate by certain organizational cultures, as in the case of military culture, may give rise to unexpected reactions by its members, and reduce its effectiveness. On this issue we can find several approaches in the context of sociology of organizations, but worth quoting are those found by Marin/García Ruiz (2002), in particular chapter 11 dealing with the subject of the culture of organizations.

number of major reservations on this issue are revealed while conducting a detailed survey of this feature, especially when the variable of military rank and post are included.

Figure 1: Type of superior desired in general (% , rounded up or down)

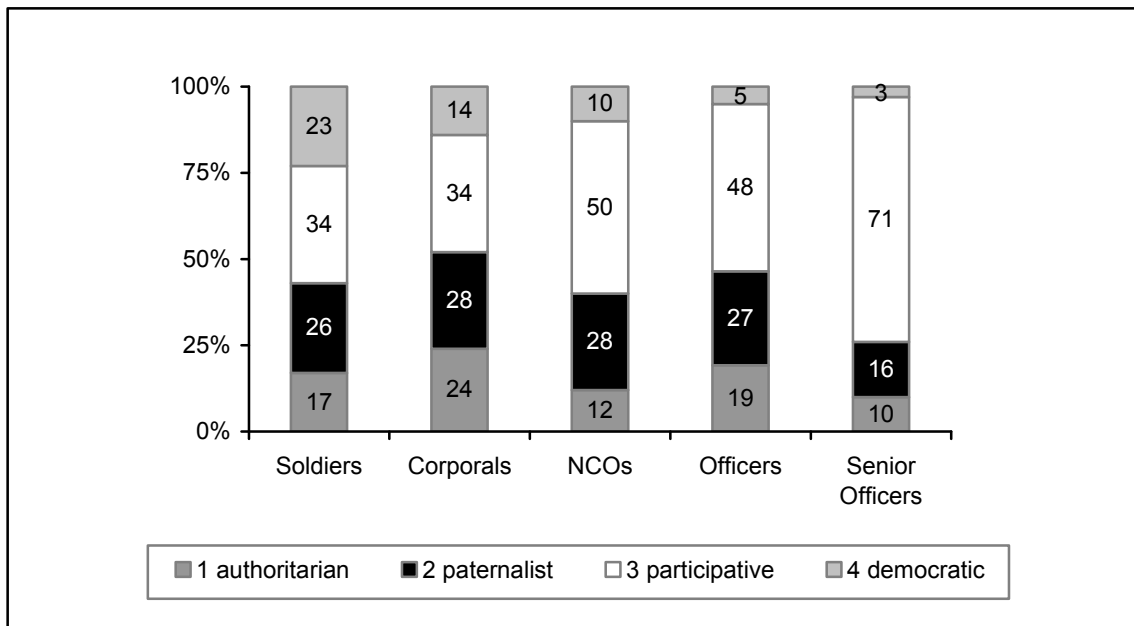


Another significant feature of this research work is the fact that a large part of those interviewed are commanders (except privates), who may act as commanders or as subordinates (leaders or followers), as analysed in detail by Robert Kelley (1992). This fact enables us to consider that in some cases the soldiers' assessments of concerning the ideal commander does not necessarily correspond to the type most effective for the military organization, it rather consists of the actual role model of commander, which means the way in which the individual discharges his duties as a commander, which adapts to the type that he personally regards as most satisfactory for all.

In this context, we should point out that the role models chosen are closely related to the military rank of those interviewed, which is linked to their duties, tasks and responsibilities of each one of them, detailed as follows.

Shown below are some considerations of the relation between the type of commander desired and the rank of the canvassed individuals.

Figure 2: Type of commander as desired by rank* (% , rounded up or down)



* There is a correlation between military categories and the type of commander desired. Only nine exceptions are to be found.

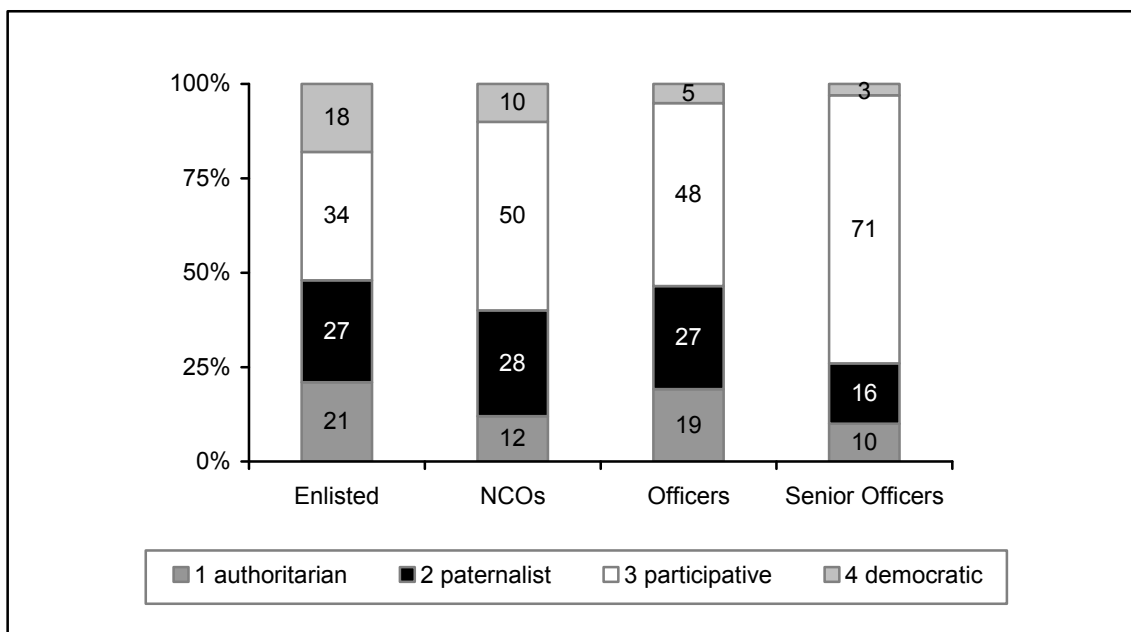
The differences we can observe can be explained by some of the special features linked to the status and roles of the reference groups and those which the interviewed persons belong to. It is obvious, however, that the functions and duties of a senior officer essentially differ from those of a sergeant of an operative unit, or those of a logistic group captain. On the other hand, the tasks assigned to each one of them are directly related to a lesser or greater degree to their mission in so much that is related to decision making or task execution. Therefore, it is normal that in climbing up the military hierarchy the degree of decision making increases while the degree of directly executed actions decreases.

We must also assume that, although decision making may be the task of each and every rank, according to the circumstances, it is common that decisions taken at lower levels are executed with less delay and affect smaller units compared to those taken at senior rank levels. For this reason, senior commanders require greater information with respect to matters on which they have to take action. They must hold a wider and more complex view of those elements on which they take decisions, that makes it advisable to seek complimentary points of view, and, as appropriate, the creation of teams to deal with these issues due to their complex nature and the importance of their decisions, which makes the participative and democratic types of commander appear more efficient, and

probably more feasible. However, at the more operational levels, decisions are to be taken at times swiftly, and it is expected that those in a position of taking decisions meet the conditions and have the necessary knowledge and information to assume such responsibilities, for which their subordinates confide in these factors and prefer a paternalist type of commander or an authoritative one. This appears in the data we have analysed.

Henceforth we shall **place soldiers and corporals and lance corporals in troop category**, as their appreciation on the whole does not vary substantially and this regrouping enables us to establish a system of categories that are more consistent with the structure of military units. As such, four basic groups will be distinguished: enlisted, NCOs, officers, and senior officers. The results obtained are shown in figure 3.

Figure 3: Type of superior as desired by military category (%) (%, rounded up or down)



Type of desired superior by countries

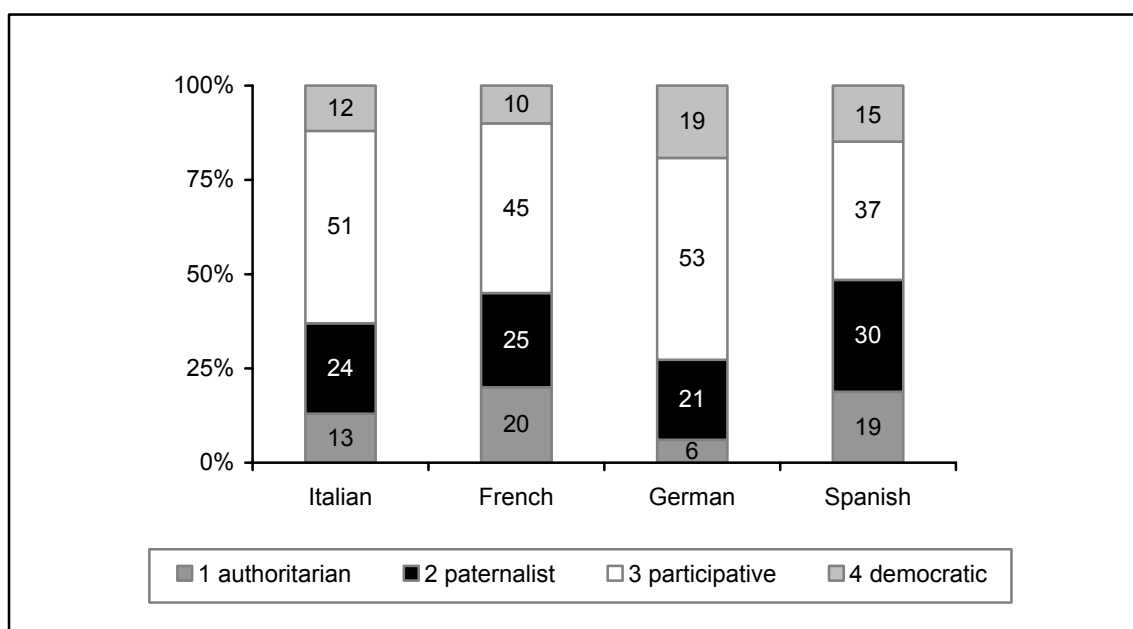
Before analyzing this aspect, we wish to specify that while treating any aspect by countries, the values derived may be subject to facts that the military category of contingent members of the different countries may vary significantly, and as specified earlier, the military category appears as an important variable related to other variables. The differences in military categories by countries vary substantially; while the Spanish contingent has 190 members, the Italian contingent has only 24, similar to the German, which

is also the case when dealing with the other groups; while the German contingent has only three officers, Spain has 32, thus modifying the data recorded when dealing with the issue by categories and countries.

Table 1: Country contingent and military category (% , rounded up or down)

			Military Category					Total
			Enlisted	NCOs	Officers	Senior Officers	Missing	
Country	Italy	n	24	30	15	4	3	76
		%	32	39	20	5	4	100
	France	n	46	67	12	10	3	138
		%	33	49	9	7	2	100
	Germany	n	24	13	3	8	0	48
		%	50	27	6	17	0	100
	Spain	n	190	49	32	9	9	289
		%	66	17	11	3	3	100
Total		n	284	159	62	31	15	551
		%	51	29	11	6	3	100

Figure 4: Type of superior desired as leader by countries (% , rounded up or down)



The type mostly preferred by all soldiers of the four countries is the participative type, but the German contingent shows the highest rate of preference with 53%. This might be explained by the homogeneous distribution of its members by military category,

since the German sample has the highest proportion of senior officers (8 out of 48) of all four countries.

Statistical figures, however, are not available in this respect; hence we are in a position only to comment on the fact that the German contingent shows the widest approval of the participative and democratic types, and is least favourable towards the authoritarian type. Besides the composition of its members the reason for this might be that it is a contingent in which authority is not highly regarded in itself and its members are fully aware of being part of the contingent and fully accept their commitments in matters of overall concern. So while stating their preference for types of leaders listed, they also express their wish of taking part in decision making and their views should be regarded by the commander when making decisions.

The Italian contingent displays values very similar to those of the Germans: It consists of 4 senior officers and 15 officers, some of whom may be carrying out duties similar to those of senior officers of the rest of the contingents. This might be the reason why they also preferred to a large degree the participative type.

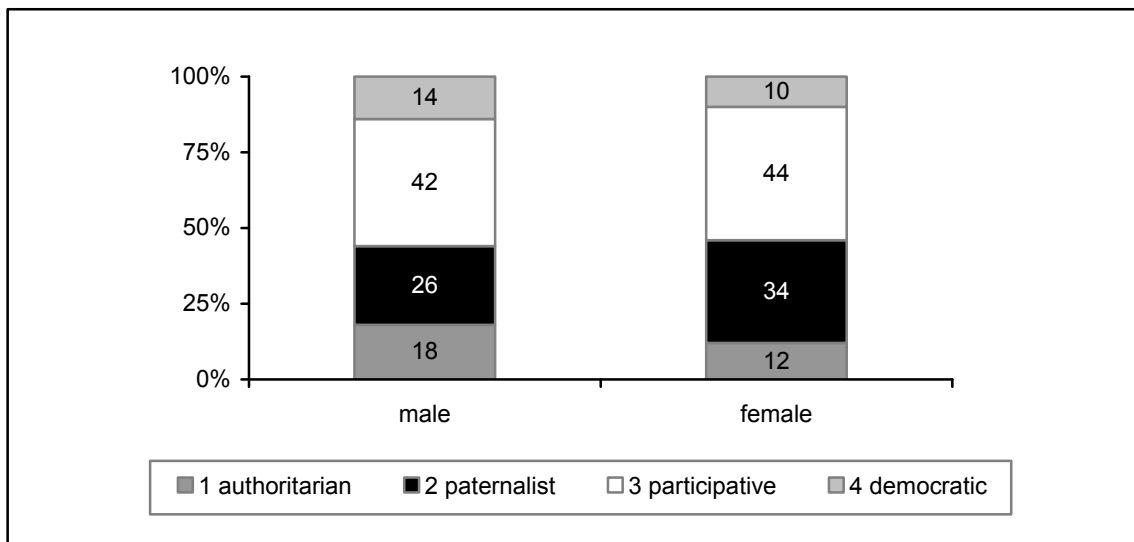
The French contingent has the largest number of NCOs (Non Commissioned Officers) (67), and is second in the number of enlisted personnel, 46, which may explain that they adopt positions similar to the Spanish contingent, which has the largest number of troops (190) and is second in the number of NCOs (49), which explains the reasons for large numbers of them to support the paternalist and authoritarian types.

The Spanish contingent, we must emphasize, reflects the most proportional distribution: a high number of Spanish soldiers support the paternalistic type, (30%) while support for the majority type of all groups is low, i. e. the participative (37%), it also reflects wide support for the other two types, the authoritarian (37%), and the democratic (15%). In general we may assume that these ratings are influenced by the special features of the contingent. It is the largest group with a slight difference, having the highest number of female members and enlisted personnel, among which we find members who do not have a permanent commitment to serve in the army. Moreover, it has the largest number of serving personnel under 25 years of age (of 126 under 25 interviewed, 81 were Spanish); the largest contingent of operational units, – two infantry companies were interviewed. Furthermore, it has large numbers of personnel serving in logistic support units. Finally it is worth pointing out that the Spanish and French contingents make up practically the better part of the interviewed female members.

Preference of commander by gender

On analyzing the likely differences between the types of superior desired by male and female soldiers a number of minor differences were observed, though it is unlikely to establish a precise correlation between these variables, because as we have noted the most significant variable is inevitably the military rank, and in the female group a proportional representation of different military ranks is not found (25 are enlisted, 12 are NCOs, and there are only four officers, and no senior officer), a very limited number, only 41 compared to 495 males. Hence, we shall only submit overall figures with respect to gender difference, with some brief comments.

Figure 5: Type of superior desired by gender (% , rounded up or down)



We can only emphasize that in the group of female soldiers a slightly higher percentage shows a preference for a paternalist commander (34%) compared to the figures representing the group of males (26%), and in general, it is regarded at the crossroads with this variable, revealing a very high percentage that chooses this kind of a commander, which may be related to some typical features of gender differences, and the special features of military culture. This means, that within the army the custom of male military members treating female military members in a protective manner still exists, and in a way a given percentage of them view this role model ideal for female members. We however wish to insist that the figures shown are based on rough estimates and not on an extensive research, and moreover they lack statistical value.

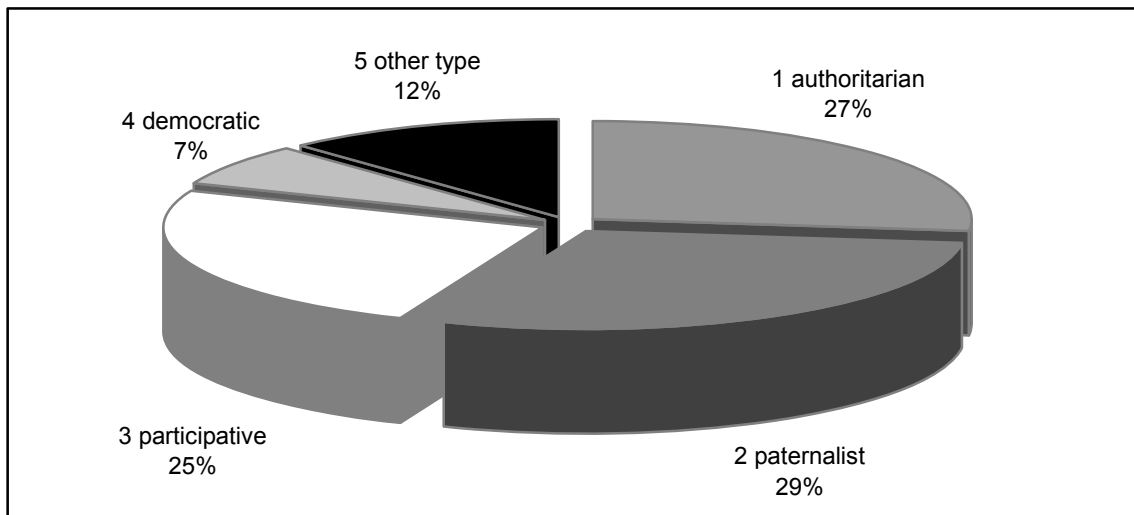
Type of superior desired by units based in Mostar

Being assigned to one kind or another kind of unit in the Mostar detachment is closely related to the military category, which is logical, due to the fact that the total number of senior and other officers, the highest percentage, regarded proportionally, are assigned to the Headquarters, whereas in the support units there is a high percentage of NCOs, the operational units and forces make up the largest number of enlisted personnel. For this reason it does not seem to be necessary to conduct a detailed survey regarding the kind of unit and estimations about the type of commander wished or perceived, because to a large extent they match the estimations made in respect of the military category of those interviewed.

4 Type of Superior Perceived

One must insist, when considering this aspect, that the commander may be perceived as a leader or not, depending on his conformity with the standard desired by each individual. One must point out that even if we are considering a specific commander, the opinions stated by those interviewed are always subjective judgments.

Figure 6: Type of superior perceived (% , rounded up or down)



With respect to the role of commander perceived, one must point out that apart from the types used as standards when considering the role of commander desired, the option “other type” has been included. This is in response to the need to increase the options

available since the structure in relation to which the role of desired leader was drawn up according to criteria set out at the beginning, which reflected what could be considered as the ideal role, but one is aware that, in reality, one can find types of commanders who do not fit in any of the ideal roles described. On this subject, one can state that the idea has been correct since 12% of persons interviewed chose this option. This is per se already a significant result since, even though we may not be able to define the characteristics of these possible modes of action as commanders, we do know that they do not correspond to the roles described.

In the first place, one ought to point out that the distribution of the results shows a particular order indicating that for the most soldiers the commanders they have do not correspond to the ideal type of superior at least a priori. There are clear differences between the percentages of the two assessments, but this will be addressed in more detail further on.

It is interesting to see that the soldiers of our sample perceived their commanders mostly as paternalistic (29%) and/or authoritarian (27%). These results seem to confirm the assumption advanced at the beginning that behaviour patterns traditionally accepted as valid for commanding – the paternalistic or authoritarian role – still persist within the military. For even if the commanders did not actually behave according to these roles their subordinates nevertheless viewed, them as such.

Another aspect to be underlined is that one out of four soldiers of our sample perceived their commander as participative, which can be interpreted as a good sign, since, as considered above, this was the type of leader mostly desired. Doubtlessly this gives an idea of certain changes in the way commanders act in missions abroad. One must nevertheless insist that we deal here with value judgments concerning how the “better” or “ideal” leader should act and behave, which as pointed out before does not mean that an ideal or even valid role for all circumstances exists, even though one might consider that in general terms it should be possible to decide which role is better than another one. One must also insist that the ideal role of commander that an individual may have may also differ according to the individual’s personal circumstances. This will be further analysed below when considering jointly the role of commander perceived and wished.

Going back to the data obtained, it can be pointed out that only 7% consider their commander as democratic. Such a role is not in line with the criteria already indicated with respect to the peculiarities of the military structure and the decision-making processes in

use within a military organization. Even so, this result indicates that some commanders consider that, due to the peculiarity of their postings or duties, even though this role is not very much in line with military tradition, it is adequate in some cases.

After these remarks on the type of commander perceived, we will analyse, in the first place and jointly, the differences found between the roles of commander perceived and wished; this contrast will provide information on a possible source of conflict at different levels: personal, professional and institutional/organizational.

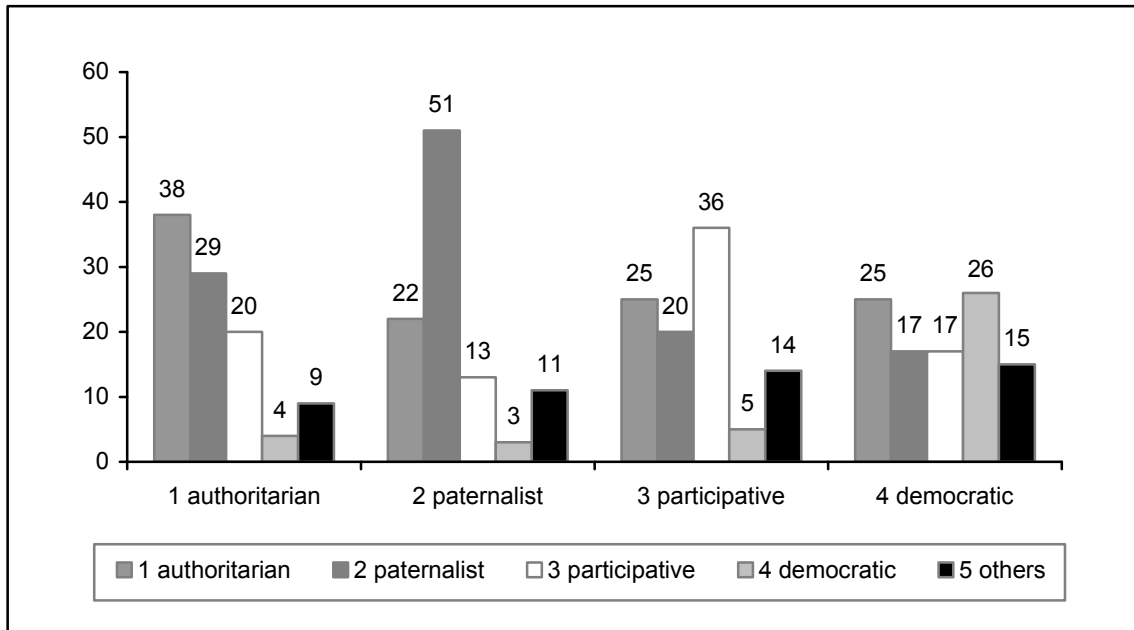
5 Analysis of the Relationship between the Desired Type of Superior and the Perceived Type of Superior

From the comparison between the desired commander and the perceived commander one can deduce *grosso modo* that a reasonable proportion of our sample can be considered as fully satisfied in this respect, since about 40% of those interviewed said that they had a commander whose way of acting corresponded to the type of commander they would wish to have. One could underline that those who would like to have a paternalistic leader are those with a greater degree of concurrence with their perceived leaders (51%) whilst those who would like to have a democratic leader only achieve a proportion of concurrence of 26%, but one must point out that these results are not very significant within a general context since, as stated before, it is a minority group that preferred this last type, which does not diminish its importance in each particular case.

In the case of the remaining soldiers of our sample variations are found between the role wished and the one perceived affecting, to a greater or lesser degree the individual's satisfaction as a function of the difference between the commander desired and the role perceived and the characteristics of the commander has. This means that the greater or lesser "distance" or "similarity" between the characteristics that define each role – between the specific roles as perceived or wished – affects to a greater or lesser degree the individual as far as his personal satisfaction is concerned.

We thus deduce, that soldiers preferring a democratic commander, though they feel that presently they have a participative commander, are likely to feel less frustrated than if their perceived commander was more on the authoritarian side. Following this logical explanation, we may analyse in detail each individual case, though this description does not match the intention of this research. Hence, we shall deal only with the facts and proceed with an overall analysis of the figures.

Figure 7: Comparison of type of superior desired and perceived* (% , rounded up or down)



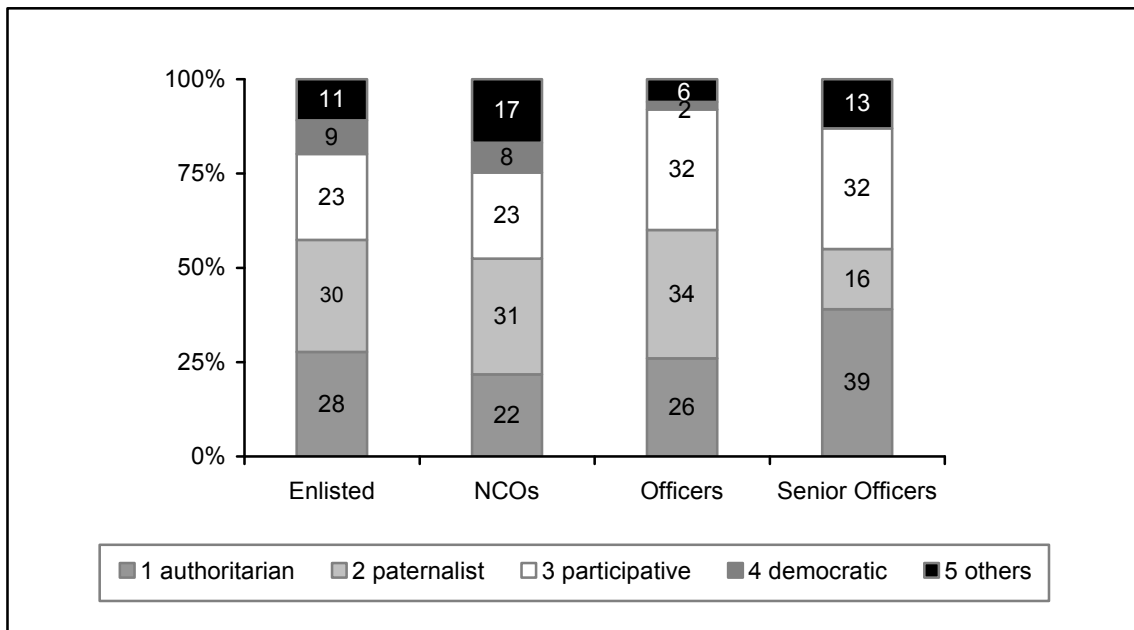
* Values are shown as a percentage for each of the categories of the desired role of commander. A correlation exists between these variables.

With regard to leadership we would like to conclude by saying that the data taken into account in this study must be understood within the context they have been produced. We say that because the data come from a concrete reality, in time and in place. In this way, the models built with this data could not fit other models in other places or circumstances. In addition, we must remark that the models built with the data based on the experiences in Mostar could be quite different to those which are proposed as “ideal” in the doctrine of different countries. This, for example, seems to be partly the case of the German contingent. The high number of German soldiers preferring the democratic (19%) or participative (53%) leadership model could be explained by the principles of the “Innere Führung”, emphasizing the responsibility and/or the sense of responsibility of both superiors and subordinates. However, when it comes to judging the daily behaviour of their superiors in Mostar, only a fifth said that the German leaders acted according to either of these two models, whereas 37% of the German soldiers who answered the questionnaire perceived their (German) leader as paternalist and 24% as authoritarian.

Next, we shall analyse more exhaustively the type of commander perceived according to the military category the soldiers of this sample belonged to since we consider that this variable may be significant. Given its influence in each individual case and the dis-

inctions made between the aspects we are dealing with can affect the operation and the efficiency of the organization in widely different ways, according to the military category of those concerned. However, we assume logically that at an individual level the effects produced in each individual may acquire similar features and implications.

Figure 8: Type of superior perceived by each military category (%) (%, rounded up or down)



On analyzing the type of commander perceived by military categories, the first aspect we want to point out concerns the democratic type of superior. It is interesting to analyse those soldiers who think that their immediate commander acts in accordance to a democratic role model of commander. As already mentioned, this concerns 7% of the whole sample. In this case we observe that those who hold this opinion belong to the group of enlisted soldiers or NCOs, which is based on the specific relationship between the soldiers and their immediate superiors. The results refer to the nature of the job or duties performed by members of this group and may require greater teamwork and mutual confidence that otherwise do not exist. This by no means contradicts the types of established relationship patterns and military structure of the organization.

With regard to the participative role model, we observe that percentages of NCOs and enlisted personnel appear to coincide, as in both groups 23% of the soldiers affirm that their immediate superiors are participative. In the case of high-ranking officers and officers, the figures are identical: 32% of both these groups consider that their superior is participative. Broadly outlining the issue, we find that the 10% difference observed be-

tween the two groups reflect the actual logic of structural relationship of the parties, which means that it does not seem inconsistent that amongst high-ranking and other officers a large number of those polled view their commander as participative. Due to the nature of their assignments or posts, they have to interact with their commanders representing the participative model, in which they are part of the decision-making processes, though ultimately the commander decides. This has to be considered as relevant because all groups regard it as an ideal role model. This apparently implies that those who have this type of commander are satisfied in their job, though this aspect will be dealt with later on.

The 23% decrease observed in the NCOs and enlisted personnel can be explained by a number of aspects pointed out earlier like the nature of formal relationship or the duties performed, which do not permit a specific leadership role model, or recommend other role models, such as the authoritarian one.

With respect to the paternalistic role model we can state that the distribution amongst the categories of officers, NCOs and enlisted is very similar, as almost 30% of the three groups feel that their commander matches this role model. This result in principle cannot be regarded as good or bad, although it shows how many commanders prefer adopting the paternalistic role model when dealing with their subordinates. Moreover, we must bear in mind that in many cases those who judge their commanders in this way may act likewise when dealing with their own subordinates, since they, too, in turn serve as commanders, as explained earlier.

In this case, we find that problems arising from the stated leadership role models show more the discontent of some of the subordinates who feel underestimated for not being treated according to professional standards, than real problems in the personal dealings of subordinate commanders. On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that in the referred groups 27% define this role model as ideal. Those who are likely to come across more problems when dealing with this role model of commander not wished would rather prefer the authoritarian role model commander. These viewpoints may be considered as opposing.

In this section however, perhaps the most important remarks are found when dealing with the data concerning high-ranking officers, despite the fact that they represent, the smallest group, (only 31 persons of our sample belong to this category). The contradictions or differences found in this group, however, may specifically have a major impact

on the mission's efficiency given the importance of their decisions. The degree of satisfaction they find while dealing with their superiors has a direct or indirect impact on the vast majority of the military personnel engaged in operation *Althea*.

Perhaps the most significant result is that in this group we find more differences between the role model of commander wished and the commander perceived than in the other groups. Eric Berner (1961) may consider this in his theories on transactional analysis that may influence the behaviour of these groups, as 22 of the 31 high-ranking officers (or 71%) supported the participative type as an ideal role model leader.

As we go on to analyse these groups in greater depth we conclude from data obtained that 10 of the high-ranking officers assert that their commanders match the role model commander they actually wish, which may be regarded as a reasonable percentage though somewhat below the total average. The likely problem arises amongst those who state that their commanders are authoritarian (11 in total), since only one of the high-ranking officers we interviewed considered this model as ideal. This result perhaps is placed in its proper perspective when considering the facts as a problem, but we need to highlight its value, while adding how despite the way in which the discontent arising from the differences pointed out affects this group. We must also take into account that we are dealing with a high average age group, fully mature, with a sound professional background. We therefore wish to point out that though the obtained figures do not reflect a perfect situation of this group, we must avoid random speculating on the significance of these facts.

We wish to conclude by pointing out that a good number of high-ranking commanders are assigned to multinational headquarters; the type of these posts, the multinational environment, the complexities and the variety of issues dealt with, the responsibilities involved, the different periods that members serve in these missions, and the temporary nature of these constitute a series of factors that makes most of the high-ranking officers regard their immediate commanders as authoritarian in the way they command, even though in reality they may act otherwise.

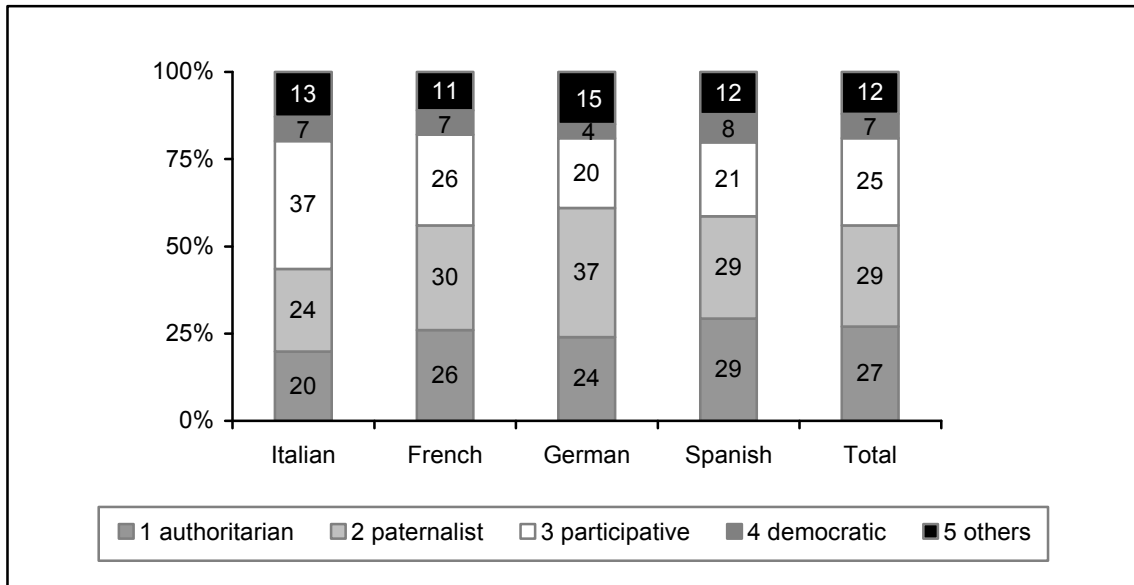
Type of superior perceived by countries

In analyzing the type of commander perceived by countries we must take into account that, though presently a number of more or less common patterns exist in the commanding patterns of modern armies of European countries. In every country some specific features exist that distinguish them, which as a matter of fact also occurs within the various army units of the same nation. Therefore, the opinions expressed about the way a given commander performs his command functions will in some way be influenced by the reference role model of each case, which will be applicable to both the reference role models of different countries, as well as to the actual army and units, and even in accordance with the latter's internal rules. Hence, the same commander may be regarded as paternalistic by one subordinate and participative by another. This is due to a number of factors; besides those already pointed out one must keep in mind that next to formal relationships there also exist informal relationships that influence the dealings and forms of relationships of individuals at all times and circumstances, regardless of the category or status of each one of them.

It must also be considered that the same commander may act differently according to the kind of subordinate he approaches, or according to the type of duties each one performs, depending on the relationship within the existing hierarchy between the parties concerned, since for example an officer may treat an inexperienced soldier differently than a veteran corporal.

Having explained this we go on to analyse the manner in which the soldiers of our sample perceive their immediate commanders, adhering to the provided data as far as possible.

Figure 9: Type of superior perceived by countries (% , rounded up or down)



Overall, we note that vast differences between the soldiers of the four countries do not exist. It may reveal that the Italians appear as a role model of distribution that sets the trend to classify them as more modern, or more in keeping with the role models of leadership very typical of modern organizations in which the participative and democratic models tend to stand out, and the Germans may be placed on the opposite side, due to their style of command representing more conservative models of traditional army commanders as the type of paternalistic and authoritarian commanders prevail. Even though the views of the Spanish contingent are somewhat more drastic, since 29% of its members think that their commander is authoritarian. But the distinctive make up of the contingents by nationality requires special emphasis, concerning, for example, the number of enlisted personnel and commanders of each contingent. The Spanish contingent vastly differs from the German one in this respect as already pointed out before. The French contingent is very similar to the Spanish one as far as their viewpoints are concerned, perhaps due to the similarity between the types of the armies of the two countries.

In any case, after conducting a specific analysis, we may conclude that the differences arise from the facts that that the immediate commanders of the members from every nation vary to a certain extent, as far as their nationalities are concerned. Hence, if this factor is analysed we conclude that while the Italians affirm that only 53.3% of their commanders are Italian, the Spanish contingent figures reach 95.4% as shown in the following table.

Details regarding the nationality of immediate superiors of the soldiers of our sample are shown in table 2.

Table 2: Country wise contingency table and immediate superior's nationality*
(%, rounded up or down)

			Nationality of immediate superior				Total
			Italian	French	German	Spanish	
Country	Italian	n	40	20	5	10	75
		%	53	27	7	13	100
	French	n	1	127	7	1	136
		%	1	93	5	1	100
	German	n	4	4	34	4	46
		%	9	9	73	9	100
	Spanish	n	2	8	3	269	282
		%	1	3	1	95	100
Total		n	47	159	49	284	539
		%	9	29	9	53	100

* The boxes highlighted in grey show percentages of commanders of the same nationality of the respondents from each country.

Relation of the degree of satisfaction with the kind of job and the type of commander perceived

No significant relationship is drawn between the type of the actual commander (perceived commander) and the fact of considering the job each one performs as interesting and varied. In this context it may be stated that all the **military personnel interviewed accept their tasks and duties with a professional spirit in Mostar**, and do not relate their job description to the fact that their commanders adopt a specific role model of leadership.

These facts are also verified when referring to the ideal type of commander wished, since significant differences in this respect were not observed.

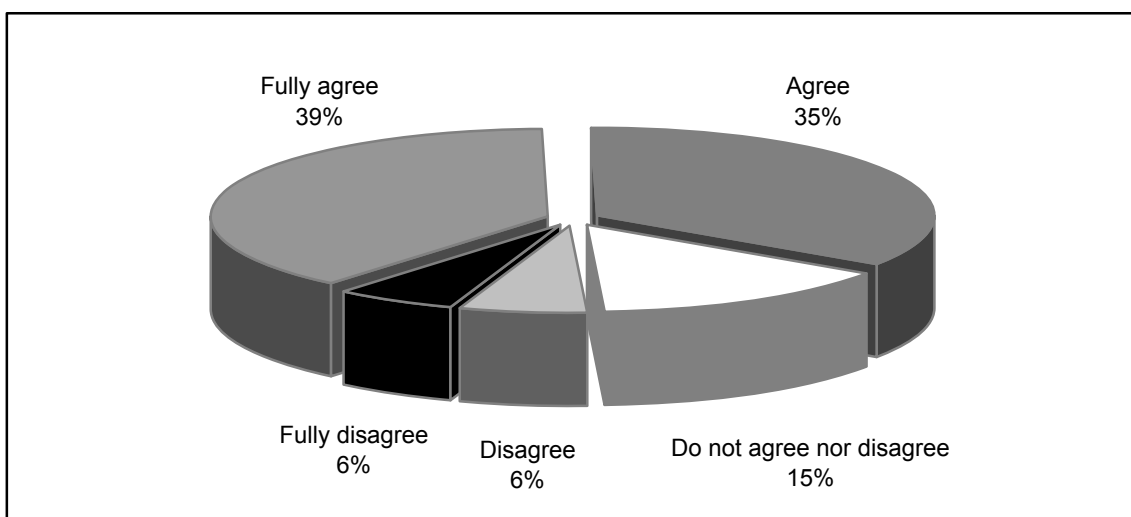
It would be worthwhile to emphasize that another feature related to the time that those interviewed had been in the area, since as soon as the questionnaire was handed out the majority of our sample replied to the initial stage of their stay in Mostar, stating that they still did not show signs of excessive fatigue or apathy as a result of performing a given kind of task or duty, regardless of its nature. We wish to point out that in other

research work⁴ conducted on missions in foreign countries, a major difference of attitudes and viewpoints held by individuals while serving in their duty tour. At the same time, it is understood that in case a commander shows an inappropriate conduct in his official dealings, the relationship period thereof will not be taken into account as an essential element while indicating a serious grievance by a subordinate.

6 Trust Placed in Superiors with Respect to the Proximity Relationship with the Latter

Below we shall analyse the degree of trust that the soldiers of our sample state to have in their direct commanders on the one hand, and respect for “high-ranking” officers. To deal with this issue we have tried to categorize these values with regard to what may be defined as a degree of closeness of the parties concerned, that is to say a sense of closeness or distance with respect to the immediate commander, and respect for “high-ranking commanders”. We deduce that the immediate commander’s rank may significantly differ in each case, and on the other hand, the assessments forwarded on these views concerning to “high-ranking officers” should meet the circumstances and the individual personality of each one of them, as shown below in a detailed analysis of these figures.

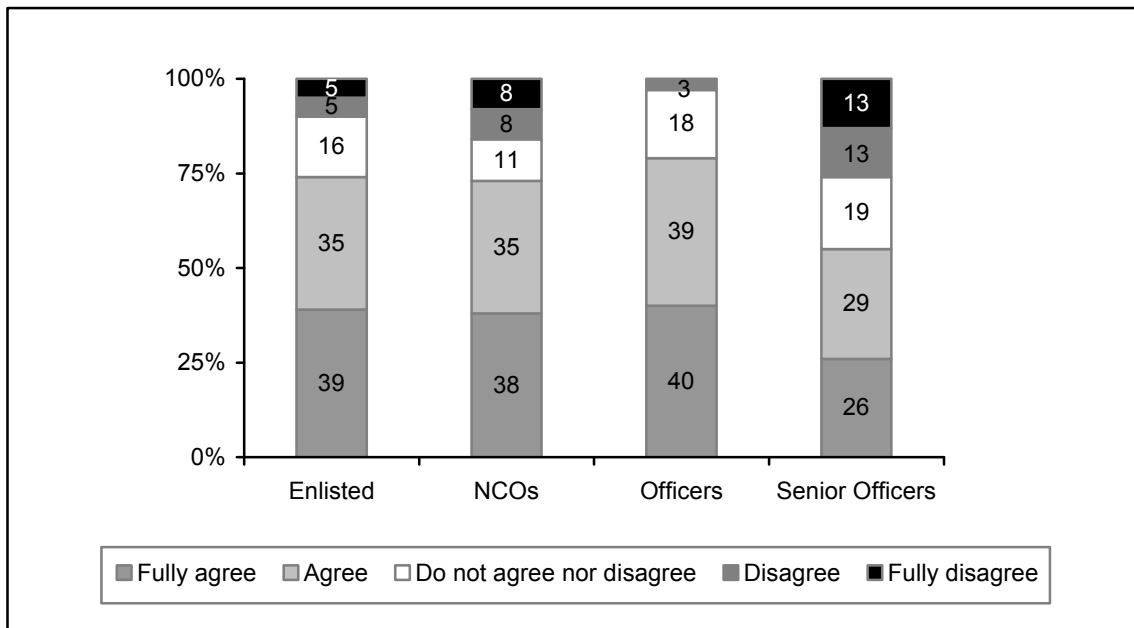
Figure 10: Trust placed in immediate superiors (% , rounded up or down)



4 We specifically refer to the work done by Martínez Paricio and Sánchez Navarro (1999: 195 et sqq.).

Firstly, we wish to point out that, in general, the majority of the military personnel stationed in Mostar (74%) said to trust their immediate commanders, 15% did not express an opinion on this issue, and only 12% stated that they did not trust their immediate commander. The very low percentage of those who stated they did not trust their immediate superiors reveals a high degree of coherence among the military personnel based in Mostar. Concerning those who stated not to trust their immediate commanders, we may assume that some of them did so due to circumstantial or situational reasons that may have influenced, the relationship between the commander and his subordinate. In the other cases, however, there are several arguments due to a variety of factors, like a clash of personality, disagreement on the way of doing things, etc. Nevertheless, due to their minimum impact on absolute values, they are not regarded as a problem or a major source of conflict that might have interfered with the mission’s efficiency in conducting routine activities of the detachments stationed in Mostar.

Figure 11: Trust placed in immediate superior by military category (%), rounded up or down)



In analyzing this feature by military categories, we find that there is very little difference in this respect between the enlisted, NCOs, and officers. Only the answers of the high-ranking officers differed with respect to other ranks. The percentage of the latter holding this opinion decreases by 55%, which is due to a number of factors pointed out earlier, giving rise to great confusion, diversity and uncertainty about the tasks accom-

plished by them. The relationship between these commanders lasts for a short period, which is very different from the relationship that in turn lower ranking officers and enlisted personnel have with their own commanders. In most cases, they are national commanders in their own countries. On the other hand, this fact should not be overestimated, as we have pointed out on a number of instances, the number of high-ranking officers is very limited and their opinions are based on several factors.

We shall not conduct a detailed analysis by countries of the immediate commander's evaluation, since the ranks of their members and those of their commanders significantly differ, as pointed out previously on several occasions. Hence, the country wise differences will be influenced by this factor.

Table 3: Country wise contingency table and immediate superior's category (% , rounded up or down)

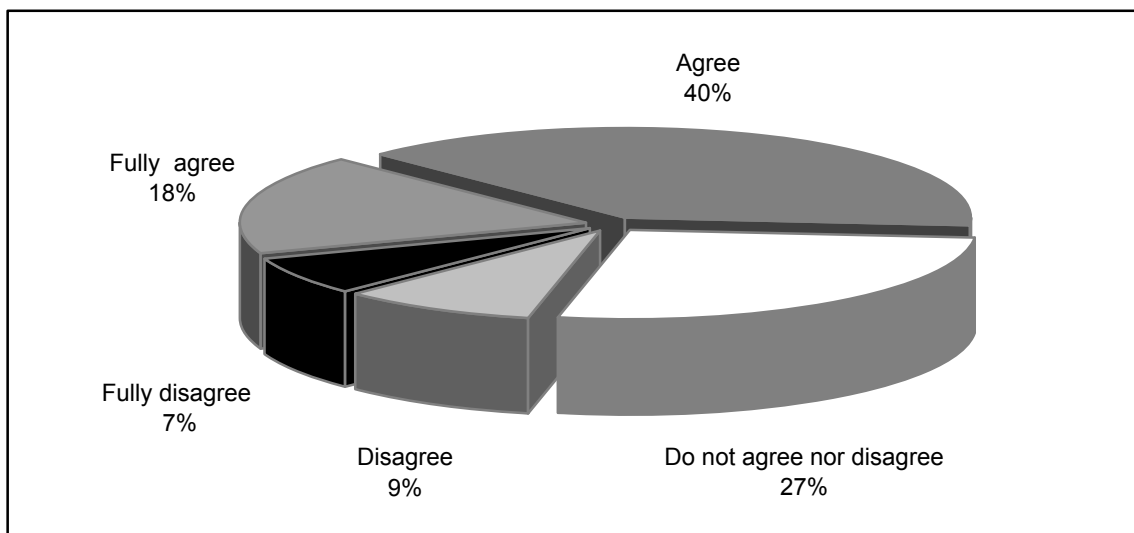
			Immediate superior's category				Total
			Corporals	NCOs	Officers	Senior Officers	
Country	Italian	n	0	24	19	33	76
		%	0	32	25	43	100
	French	n	2	31	61	43	137
		%	2	23	44	31	100
	German	n	0	18	5	25	48
		%	0	38	10	52	100
	Spanish	n	68	98	81	32	279
		%	24	35	29	12	100
Total		n	70	171	166	133	540
		%	13	32	31	24	100

7 Trust Placed in High-Ranking Superiors

In an overall analysis (see figures 10 and 12) we may point out that the soldiers who answered the questionnaire place greater trust in immediate superiors (74%) than in higher ranks (58%) whom the majority regard as far off and distant. The number of those who do not express an opinion also display these views, since its increases from 15% with respect to the immediate superior to a 27% for a distant commander. This reveals that a more neutral opinion in the second case, or in its absence, shows a somewhat more consistent assessment. The majority of those who do not adopt a stance may

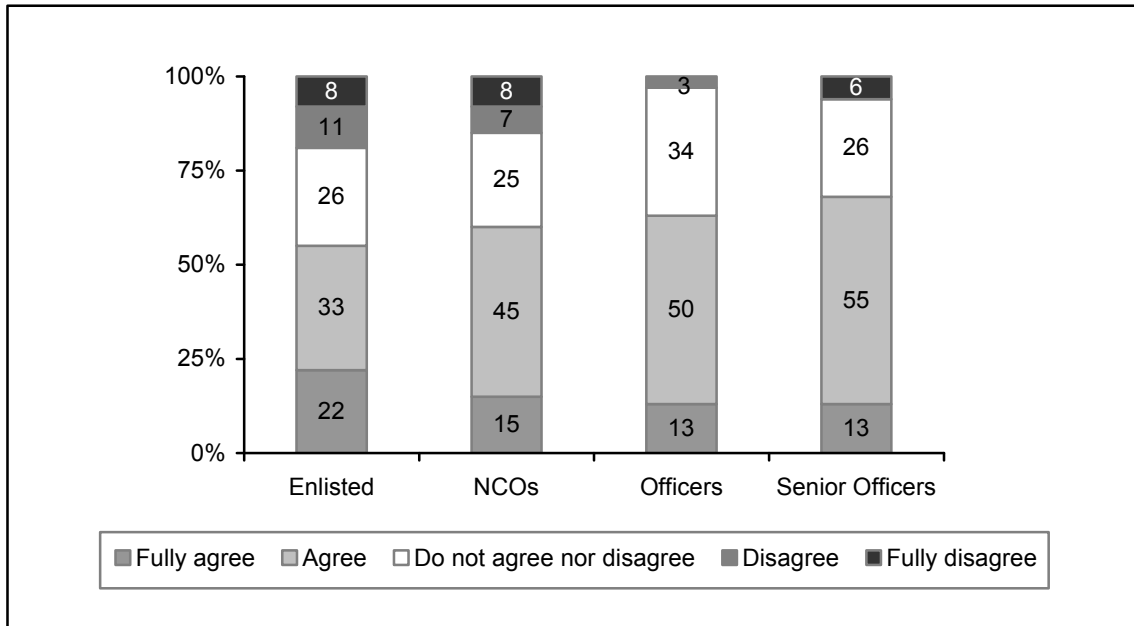
do so because they do not know these commanders personally and are thus not in a position to express their degree of trust in them, even though it is a legitimate opinion poll. It may be pointed out that trust is shown despite the fact that in several cases the perceived role model commander does not match the desired role model commander. We thus conclude that, overall, trust placed in a commander is directly related to experience and day-to-day dealings. Proximity tends to promote trust even though the forms of relationship may not be considered as “ideal”. We must also consider that in military circles a role model commander different from the desired type maybe regarded as efficient, if he meets the functions and circumstances of the assigned mission. These results reveal that acceptance and respect for the commander have to be regarded as distinctive values, “the rule of loyalty to the commander”, emphasizing military thinking.

Figure 12: Trust placed in distant high-ranking officers (% , rounded up or down)



Nevertheless, these results acquired a different dimension depending on if the commander is accepted as close, linked to the daily lives of all concerned, or far off, distant and without any direct relationship. Thus, the importance of human relationship is obvious, and even informal relationships, as factors of consistency and mutual trust, have to be regarded as essential in working relationships within organizations.

Figure 13: Trust placed in distant high-ranking commanders by military category
(%, rounded up or down)



On conducting an analysis of the high-ranking commanders, who we have initially considered as “distant”, compared to the immediate commanders, hence regarded “close”, we observe that there are a number of differences between the groups that make up the different military categories. Thus it can be stated that in general trust is placed in high-ranking commanders, since in all categories over 50% of the respondents favour this opinion. This percentage however varies to a certain degree among these categories, as seen in figure 13. The percentage increases as we go from lower military categories to higher ones, ascending from 52% in the enlisted group to approximately 68% in the case of high-ranking officers, which shows that the concept of closeness is closely related to the military category.

It is obvious that higher-ranking officers have greater contact with senior commanders, and feel the need to confide in them, since their decisions may affect them in a more direct manner than lower ranks and enlisted personnel.

To conclude the section we present some comments on aspects that are related to the opinions expressed about leadership, dealt with in other sections of this research paper, nevertheless, we provide them here in order to get a better view of this concept.

8 Observations of Aspects Related to Leadership

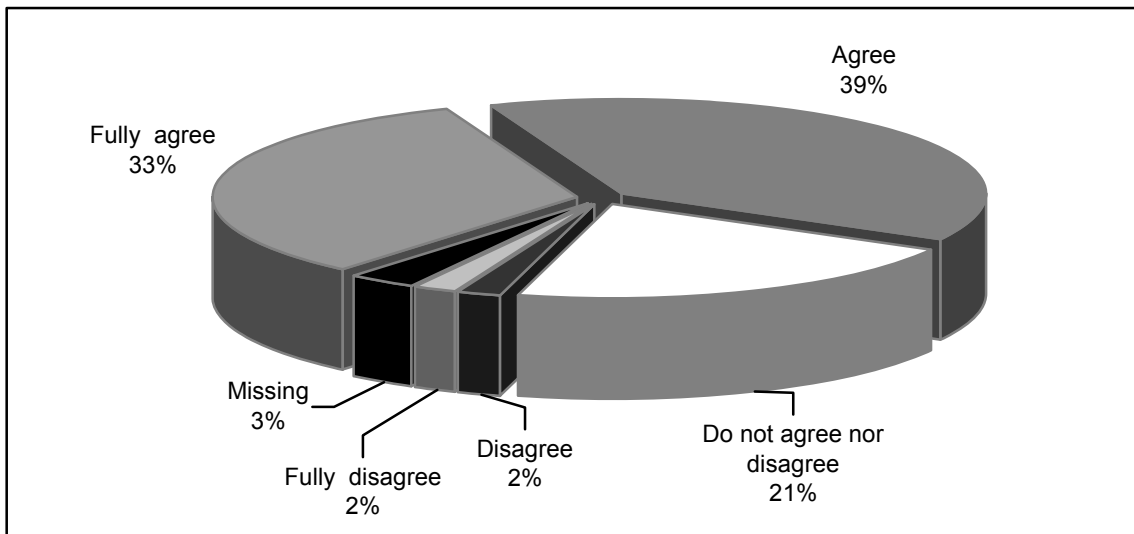
There is a correlation between the military category and the importance given by the respondents to nationality as a factor to be regarded while assigned to the mission *Althea*. Senior commanders least appreciate these factors while soldiers belonging to lower ranks consider this factor essential. We can thus conclude that the relationship between high-ranking commanders is smoother and less influenced by the military category, and we can assume that the other soldiers readily accept orders and decisions of officers of higher rank, regardless of their nationality. In the lower echelons of the organization, however, the officer's nationality plays an essential role in the way his decisions and actions are regarded or supported. It appears that lower ranks are more biased in this respect.

Military rank as an influencing factor at a working level has similar repercussions; hence, high-ranking commanders feel that this factor is less essential when assigned to the mission *Althea* than lower ranking officers do. This is based on the fact that for officers of higher ranks it appears that decisions and tasks are accepted more readily by the others, whereas at lower ranks individuals regard the military rank as an essential factor while performing tasks and duties that each one deems appropriate. Lower ranking personnel also feel that their views are taken less into account.

The gender of the respondents is not considered as an essential variable in this research while analyzing different factors, especially those related to leadership, since the number of female soldiers participating in the mission *Althea* is much smaller than the number of male soldiers. Moreover, their distribution amongst the different countries as well as in those countries in which women represent different military categories is not proportional. We have therefore dealt with this variable in general terms, without extra details, to conclude that significant differences between male and female members belonging to the same group have not been found in respect of the factors related to the type of commander perceived, and the role model leader desired as commander.

The **degree of enjoying participation in the mission *Althea*** is a factor that is not related to the desired type of commander since almost all soldiers of our sample stated that they liked to serve in this mission, or instead, they adopted a neutral stance, which is the case with almost all ranks. Hence it is not considered as a discriminatory factor when analyzing the kind of commander wished or perceived (only 28 respondents expressed their views in this way).

Figure 14: Attitude to serving in the mission *Althea* (% , rounded up or down)



In general, we may state that the majority of the respondents feel satisfied in all the aspects of participating in the mission *Althea*, which is clearly summed up in their **will- ingness to serve in future multinational missions**. Hence factors such as the degree of satisfaction of taking part in the mission, satisfaction in the kind of tasks and duties performed do not tend to discriminate when defining the type of existing commander, nor are they essential in defining the ideal type of commander.

9 Summary

In dealing with the topic of “leadership” a definition was provided of the classification of the type of superior according to the way he makes his decisions and to the kind of relations and modes of communicating he has with his subordinates in order to adopt decisions and to give orders. Accordingly, four types of superiors may be denominated: authoritarian (type 1), paternalistic (type 2), participative (type 3), and democratic (type 4).

In general, most soldiers preferred the participative type as ideal leader (42%), followed by the paternalistic type (chosen by 27% as the ideal type), the authoritative type (pre-ferred by 18%) and finally the democratic type, which was only preferred by a modest 13%. The low rating of the democratic type of leader may be attributed to the specific nature of the military profession and culture, where it is assumed that decision-making is a special feature of the commander’s authority and should not take place on a collec-

tive basis. At the same time, the fact that the participative type is widely accepted reveals some changes in the way of military thinking nowadays.

Another significant feature of this research is the fact that a large part of the interviewed soldiers were commanders, who may act as commanders or as subordinates (leaders or followers), as analysed in detail by Robert Kelley. This fact enables us to consider that in some cases the soldiers' assessments concerning the ideal type of commander do not necessarily correspond to the type of commander which is the most effective for the establishment, or for the relevant organization concerned. It rather consists of the actual role model of commander, which means the way in which the individual fulfils his duties as a commander according to the type that he personally regards as most satisfactory for all. In this context, we should also point out that the role models chosen are closely related to the military rank of the respondents, which is linked to the duties, tasks and responsibilities of each one of them.

The type mostly preferred by all soldiers of the four countries is the participative type. The German contingent shows the highest rate of preference for this type with 53%. This might be explained by the homogeneous distribution of its members by military category, since the German sample has the highest proportion of senior officers of all four countries.

When asked to characterize their actual superior, it is interesting to see that most soldiers described their commanders as paternalistic (29%) or authoritarian (27%). These results seem to confirm the assumption advanced at the beginning that behaviour patterns traditionally accepted as valid for commanding – the paternalistic or authoritarian role – still persist within the military. At the same time, one should not forget to underline that one out of four soldiers of our sample perceived their commander as participative, which can be interpreted as a good sign since, as stated above, this was the type of leader mostly desired. Doubtlessly this gives us an idea of certain changes in the way commanders act in missions abroad. One must nevertheless insist that we deal here with value judgments concerning how the “better” or “ideal” leader should act and behave, which does not mean that an ideal or even valid role for all circumstances exists, even though one might consider that in general terms it should be possible to decide which role is better than another. One must also point out that the image of the ideal commander which an individual has may also differ according to the individual's personal circumstances.

From the comparison between the desired commander and the perceived commander we can deduce *grosso modo* that a reasonable proportion of the soldiers who answered the questionnaire can be considered as fully satisfied in this respect, because about 40% of them indicated that they had a commander whose way of acting corresponded to the type of commander they would like to have.

Concerning the degree of trust which the soldiers of our sample stated to have in their direct commanders, and their respect for “high-ranking” officers, we tried to categorize these values with regard to what may be defined as the degree of closeness of the parties concerned, that is to say a sense of closeness or distance in regard to the immediate commander, and respect for high-ranking commanders. The majority of the military personnel stationed in Mostar (74%) affirmed to trust their immediate commanders, 15% did not express any opinion on this issue, and only 12% stated that they did not trust their immediate superior. In analysing this feature by military categories, we found that there was very little difference between the enlisted soldiers, NCOs, and officers. Only the answers of the high-ranking officers differed from the others. Those had less confidence in their superiors (55%), giving rise to confusion, diversity and uncertainty about the tasks accomplished by them. This might be explained by a number of factors. The relationship between these commanders existed for a short period only, which is very different compared with the relationship between lower ranking officers and enlisted personnel. In most cases, they served as national commanders in their own countries. On the other hand, this fact should not be overestimated since the number of high-ranking officers was very limited and their opinions were based on several factors.

In an overall analysis we may point out that the soldiers of our sample placed greater trust in immediate superiors (73%) than in higher ranks (58%) whom the majority perceived as far off and distant. The number of soldiers who did not express an opinion also reflects these views, since it increased from 15% with respect to the immediate superior to 27% for a distant commander. This reveals a more neutral opinion in the second case, or in its absence, shows a somewhat more consistent assessment. The majority of those who did not adopt a stance might have done so because they did not know these commanders personally and thus did not want to express an opinion.

Trust placed in a commander is directly related to experience and day-to-day dealings. Proximity tends to promote trust even though the forms of relationship may not be considered as “ideal”. We must also consider that within the military a commander differing from the desired type might be regarded as efficient, if he meets the functions and

circumstances of the assigned mission. These results reveal that acceptance and respect for the commander are regarded as distinctive military values, “the rule of loyalty to the commander”, thus emphasizing military thinking.

In conducting an analysis of the high-ranking commanders we initially considered as “distant”, compared to the immediate commanders, hence regarded as “close”, we observed a number of differences between the different military categories. Thus it can be stated that in general trust is placed in high-ranking commanders, since over 50% of the soldiers of all categories favoured this opinion. This percentage, however, varies to a certain degree among these categories, i. e. the percentages increase as we go from the lower levels to the higher ones, ascending from 52% in the enlisted group to approximately 68% in the case of high-ranking officers, which shows that the concept of closeness is closely related to the military category.

Finally, the general attitude towards participation in the mission *Althea* is a factor that is not related to the ideal type of commander, since almost all soldiers of our sample said that they enjoyed serving in this mission or they adopted a neutral stance.

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How Much Common Ground is Required for Military Cohesion? Social Cohesion and Mission Motivation in the Multinational Context

Heiko Biehl

1 Multinationality between Political Necessity and Military Practice

Co-operation of military forces from different nations has become standard. Armies are no longer integrated only in political alliances or cooperate on a high military level. Now they cooperate also in peacetime and in the missions – partly down to the working level. This intense form of co-operation between armed forces is not the result of a military initiative but legitimated politically – in some cases even enforced by politics. Therefore the main objective is not the increase of military functionality and efficiency but the participation of a lot of states, if possible even ensured by a mandate of the United Nations, is to increase the legitimacy of military missions. In addition, for some years the tendency can be noticed to establish multinational structures already prior to missions. Therefore various integrated structures were established in Europe at the division and brigade levels. That way the armed forces are faced with the task to organize the co-operation of soldiers from different nations in an effective and functional manner. However, such an intense co-operation always leads to some objections which can be categorized roughly with the following three arguments:

1. In view of the national nature of the military, reference is made to the fact that there are substantial differences concerning equipment, training, structure and organization. Those differences are said to be so substantial that they complicate deepened co-operation or even integration or make them impossible. Usually in this connection reference is made to the efforts of NATO to establish uniform standards in its armies, which were established decades ago bringing forth only limited success.
2. The desired interoperability and combinedness of the armed forces is said to be complicated by the fragile communications basis. Military procedures and decision processes are sometimes bound to fail due to the inability to communicate sufficiently with soldiers from other nations. It is true that the tendency can be noticed that the English language gains acceptance as a joint code also in the military con-

text. This, however, has by far not yet reached the point where all soldiers participating in multinational operations and structures are able to articulate themselves in such a way to make themselves understood in detail or under time pressure. Correspondingly, Sven Bernhard Gareis and Ulrich vom Hagen (2004: 90) in their study on the multinational Corps North East in Szczecin identified a good command of the English language as a “means of power”.

3. A third problem concerns the social level of multinationality. Sometimes the assertion is made that comradely relations between soldiers from different nations are not so stable that those soldiers could rely on each other also in a crisis situation. Especially if one’s own life was at risk, a lot would depend on mutual confidence and internal cohesion. Those are said to be indispensable prerequisites for the operability of armed forces.

The latter concern, in the end, conceals the suspicion of an unstable loyalty. The identification of soldiers is thought continue to be oriented first and foremost to their own armed forces. As a consequence, the bonds to fellow-soldiers from other armies could never be as stable and reliable as those to soldiers from the own army because there was a lack of common ground. They do not speak the same language as the international fellow-soldiers, they have not passed a comparable training but made other experiences, they are not assigned to the same political direction, etc. Hence, indispensable prerequisites for the development of a resilient fellowship are missing. Subsequently, also the motivation of soldiers is thought to suffer since it is primarily an expression of a successful resilient fellowship. This again is said to weaken the efficiency of armed forces and thus, in the end, the military chances of success.

Such concerns are present especially among soldiers because they are based on notions deeply rooted in the armed forces. At the latest since the classic studies on fighting morale from WWII, the conviction is prevalent that fellowship is of paramount importance for the motivation and proficiency of the soldiers. However, close social ties between the soldiers could only develop on the basis of a common ground – be it the same origin, a similar social background or joint experiences. All this is said to lack in the framework of multinational co-operation – let alone if the respective units and soldiers first meet in the country of deployment only.

In the following, it is studied on the basis of a quadro-national study of the mission *Althea* in Bosnia with the example of Multinational Task Force Southeast (MNTF SE)

(Mostar) whether this scepticism is justified. So far, in military sociology research there is no study dealing with the co-operation of soldiers and the effects on mission motivation and cohesion on the basis of such a comprehensive data situation. Should the analysis really prove that deficits exist with respect to the coherence between soldiers from different nations and that they affect the motivation of soldiers, then there would be massive objections from a military-practical perspective against the politically desired co-operation and integration of armed forces. Should the concerns, however, prove to be unfounded, then current multinational operations could also produce new forms of military fellowship and co-operation leading the way for the further development of the European Armies. Therefore, three issues are of interest with a view to the co-operation of different armed forces on missions:

1. What is the importance of fellowship among the soldiers for their motivation?
2. Does the co-operation with fellow-soldiers from other armies reduce mission motivation?
3. Is cohesion possible between soldiers from different nations?

In order to answer these issues, at first the scientific discussion on the topics of *mission motivation, cohesion and multinationality* is outlined (Subs. 2). This is followed by an explanation of the existing database and the designed construction of the variables. The empirical evaluations are oriented towards the issues described before (Subs. 3). Finally, the collected findings are grouped with respect to further research on mission motivation as well as on multinationality and are discussed with a view to practical aspects of military co-operation (Subs. 4).

2 The State of the Research on Mission Motivation, Cohesion and Multinationality

Two areas of military sociology are of importance for the issues studied. Research on mission motivation and cohesion deals with the issue why soldiers fight and with the role played by cohesion among them in this connection. Certainly this is one of the oldest branches of research in military sociology, but so far the question of co-operation of soldiers from different nations has been only of minor importance, although it is perfectly possible to find examples in military history (Müller 2007). Specific studies on multinationality are mostly of more recent origin and have gained in importance in parallel with the development of military alliances. Meanwhile a large number of studies

on the topic of military multinationality is available, the question of the motivation of soldiers, however, is mostly examined only marginally. In the following, both fields of discussion are outlined and focussed on the issue whether military cohesion between fellow-soldiers from different nations is possible and which role it plays for mission motivation.

2.1 The Importance of Cohesion for the Motivation of Soldiers

An important branch of military sociology deals with the actions of soldiers in war and conflicts. In this connection, the question for the reasons for the readiness to fight was and is in the centre of interest: Why do soldiers fight? Why do they withstand life-threatening situations and act sometimes even in the direction of danger?

On the one hand, war and struggle are almost historical constants, as there were and are in all times and cultures (mostly) men who were prepared to use military force and to risk and, if necessary, sacrifice their own life. On the other hand, the readiness to kill and make sacrifices seems hardly to go without saying but to be extremely in need of explanation, as the desire to survive can be considered an anthropological constant which serves the preservation of the both the individual and the species.

First empirical surveys which systematically and empirically determined fighting morale are from the 1940s and deal with US soldiers as well as German prisoners of war. During WWII, the US army asked a group of sociologists to study the morale of the forces and to submit proposals for the improvement of the motivation of the soldiers. The members of the team of researchers headed by Stouffer included some sociologists who were well known already or in the years to come (e. g.: Lazarsfeld, Janowitz, Merton, Guttman). The results of those works are published in four big volumes (Stouffer et al. 1949), setting standards concerning method and research design for sociology as a whole. Furthermore, by means of interrogations of German prisoners of war Shils and Janowitz (1948) investigated the question why some units of the Wehrmacht offered resistance in the struggle against allied forces to the very last moment despite of the hopeless overall military situation. Both works reach more or less the same conclusions. The identification with the political aims of the mission is less important for the fighting morale of the soldiers but it is primarily the cohesion of the *primary group*. In this connection, both the relationship to the same ranks (horizontal cohesion) and the commitment to the superiors (vertical cohesion) contribute to the willingness to carry out mis-

sions – in the words of the authors: “The fighting effectiveness of the vast majority of soldiers in combat depends only to a small extent on their preoccupation with the major political values which might be affected by the outcome of the war and which are the object of concern to statesman and publicists. [...] [A]s long as he [the soldier, HB.] felt himself to be a member of his primary group and therefore bound by the expectations and demands of its other members, his soldierly achievement was likely to be good.” (Shils/Janowitz 1948: 284)

Furthermore, Shils and Janowitz explain that fellowship is based mainly on a common ground. That can comprise shared military hardships and wartime experiences, pre-military similarities, however, also make fellowship among soldiers easier. The authors point out that units with soldiers with different social and cultural backgrounds have proved to be less efficient in battle. Ideally, the composition of military units should be as homogeneous as possible. Differences in the age structure, in the ethnic or cultural background, however, could turn into “disintegrating influences of heterogeneity” (ibid.: 287).

From a practical point of view, the importance of those findings hardly can be overestimated. Up to the present day and related to all services there are still widespread ideas whose scientific basis is formed by the studies of WWII. Thus the declared objective of Bundeswehr to send, if possible, self-contained units on missions, is based not only on the prospect of smooth procedures but also on the assumption that these units feature a higher degree of fellowship (and thus a higher combat efficiency) in comparison to composed units (cf. Oetting 1990: 96–98). The analyses of the US sociologists serve an image of fellowship which has always been cultivated in the military. In this connection, fellowship is not interpreted as a relationship between members of an organization based on functional considerations but affective idealizations prevail. This is well illustrated by a quotation from the leading German Manual on fighting motivation: “Group cohesion in the sense of fellowship can not be comprehended on a purely rational basis but also goes back to emotional relationships which are generally accepted in group dynamics [...]. Selfless dedication of one family member to another or the other members has been described many times and hardly can be denied. Much the same can also be found in the military field where the parallels are which are often drawn to family bonds are not purely coincidental. It might prove difficult to record with the means of sociology selflessness for the benefit of family members or fellow-soldiers up to the

personal willingness to make sacrifices, this, however, does not affect the fact that it exists.” (Oetting 1990: 110 et sqq.)

The number of scientists who in the tradition of Stouffer et al. as well as Shils and Janowitz recognize the social ties between the soldiers as decisive for their readiness to fight, is reaching into our present time. Wong et al. (2003: 10–14) stress, for example, in their survey on US soldiers in Iraq the central importance of social cohesion. They also start from the point that a common ground – even with respect to time – strengthens the cohesion among the soldiers: “The bond of trust between soldiers takes weeks and months to develop.”

Some studies drive the approach of focusing on social cohesion even further. Sometimes the aim is no longer to evidence the influence of comradely cohesion on the fighting morale – this is implied – but possibilities to increase social *cohesion* are in the centre of attention as documented, for example, by the title of an essay of two American authors: “Cohesion. Who Needs It, What is it and How Do We Get It To Them?” (Ingraham/Manning 1981).

2.2 Critique of Social Cohesion

It is in the nature of scientific disciplines that such a narrow argumentation cannot remain uncontradicted. Therefore voices have been noticed in military sociology for some decades now which put the concept of cohesion into perspective. Criticism sets in at three points: *Firstly*, cohesion is undergoing an extended connotation. Comradely cohesion is not longer considered as a purely emotional relationship but functional and task-specific aspects are added. *Secondly*, the significance of social cohesion for fighting motivation is qualified under an empirical premise. *Thirdly*, conditions – and concomitant organizational-political implications – are discussed, which enable the development of close contacts between soldiers. In the following, these critical extensions are presented and discussed with a view to the cohesion and motivation of soldiers in a multinational context.

a. *Different connotations*

In Stouffer et al. as well as Shils and Janowitz, the cohesion between the soldiers shows a strongly affective component, which was once more reinforced by its military disciplines, as impressively illustrated by the quote of Oetting mentioned above. Often the

family as the natural and unquestioned social primary unit is used as a comparative framework. Sometimes this transfiguration of relations among soldiers goes so far that David Segal and Meyer Kestnbaum (2002: 445) justly state a “romantic mythology”. At least since the Vietnam survey of Charles Moskos, a noteworthy alternative interpretation of relations between soldiers has been available. The author based his survey on experiences and observations collected by him during several weeks of visits to American soldiers in Vietnam. In addition, he held a small number of standardized interviews. As a result, Moskos (1968: 200) draws the conclusion that fighting motivation is “the result of the combination of individual self-interest, processes in the primary group and the joint convictions of the soldiers”. This listing shows already that Moskos mentions also the primary group as a motivating factor, which, however, is supplemented by other explanatory factors. In addition, cohesion, considered as a socially integrating authority by Stouffer et al. as well as Shils and Janowitz, undergoes a functional connotation. According to this, “the instrumental aspects of the primary group relations in combat units which refer to the personal interest are to be taken more strongly into account. For the single soldier inevitably has to develop primary group relations and participate in them if he wants to increase his own chances of survival.” (ibid.: 208) Thus comradely cohesion is the result of special strains the soldiers have to face. Everyone is dependent on support and assistance by the others, be it moral, physical or technical support. Accordingly, the military primary group turns into a partnership of convenience: “Thus the primary groups of the soldiers should be understood rather as pragmatic and situational reactions than as semi-mythical bonds of comradeship.” (ibid.: 219) As proof for his theory Moskos takes the fact that most relations between soldiers disintegrate as soon as they have returned to the homeland. This phenomenon, which is also known from other wars and armed forces, suggests that the social bond between soldiers is to be understood as a situation-specific reaction to the extreme conditions of a military mission. If the dangers and threats, however, cease to exist, the basis of military cohesion is diminishing. The soldiers, however, by no means have to be aware of this functional and calculating moment of internal military relations, they can absolutely consider comradeship as a real and deep social relationship.

In continuation of Moskos interpretation of cohesion, in the 1980s a view has (re-)established which emphasizes the relevance of the task which is undertaken jointly. Thus cohesion of a military group is not based on the social relations in the group but on the collective aim. Therefore the close interaction of the soldiers serves the realization of a

shared aim. Accordingly, MacCoun (1993: 291) says: “Task cohesion refers to the shared commitment among members to achieving a goal that requires the collective efforts of the group. A group with high task cohesion is composed of members who share a common goal and who are motivated to coordinate their efforts as a team to achieve that goal.”

Similar to Moskos, this view accentuates the functional and temporary aspects of cohesion. The orientation of a group towards an aim is finished once this aim is reached.

Such an interpretation of cohesion can be connected with the findings of the Vietnam survey of Moskos, who supplements social cohesion with other explanatory factors. With the term “latent ideology” Moskos (ibid.: 209 et sqq.) also (re-)introduces collective target orientations into the debate on military motivation. This refers to the inner conviction that his mission is correct. This conviction must not be an expression of detailed reflections. It is rather decisive that the soldier has the basic feeling to serve “a good purpose”. “It is not necessary to express this conviction formally, possibly it is not even necessary to be aware of it. However, it is necessary to a certain degree that the soldier considers, if not the specific aim of the war but at least the state of the social system he belongs to as good and acceptable.” (ibid.: 210)

These findings of Moskos are finally confirmed by an often-quoted survey of Brian Mullen and Carolyn Copper (1994). In a meta-analysis they evaluated 49 surveys which deal with the effects of social und task cohesion on group performance. As a result it shows that “it is task cohesion, not social cohesion or group pride, that drives group performance” (MacCoun 1993: 292). This understanding turns the view towards the empirical importance of social cohesion for mission motivation.

b. Empirical relevance of social cohesion

Besides the importance of the content of the cohesion, its empirical relevance has been in dispute for quite some time. In fact, there are hardly any voices which deny comradesly cohesion any meaning for the fighting motivation of soldiers. However, the debate is meanwhile dominated by qualifying assessments both in present day studies as well as in historical (re-)analyses of the findings from WWII.

Omer Bartov (2001 [1992]), for example, in his work “Hitlers Wehrmacht” evaluates the finding of Shils and Janowitz on comradesly cohesion among the German soldiers. In a first step, the author criticizes the methodology of the American sociologists. He

thinks that the statements of German prisoners of war are an extremely questionable data source. After all, one could easily understand that those soldiers preferred to indicate the co-operation with the fellow-soldiers as an essential element of their fighting morale rather than their own fanatic loyalty to National Socialism (ibd.: 56). In addition, the theory of primary groups was applicable at the outmost to the soldiers of the Wehrmacht in US-captivity who had fought at the Western front. Due to the high losses of the Wehrmacht at the Eastern front, the explanations of Shils and Janowitz do not apply according to the judgment of Bartov. The permanent exchange of command personnel, the repositioning of units and formations and the continuous replacement of soldiers had destroyed close social relations or prevented their development (ibd.: 51–92, chapter 2). Instead Bartov (ibd.:163–266) takes the view that the ideological motivation, which led to a degradation of the enemy, in combination with aggravated disciplinary measures (ibd.: 93–161) was the guarantor for the continuing combat power of the Wehrmacht.

In present surveys on military missions, cohesion factors are joined by other factors which exert influence on military motivation. In this connection, the relevance of the family is to be mentioned foremost. This is hardly surprising as the soldier on a mission is torn from the usual environment of the family and subsequently exposed to psychological and emotional strains. In this context, it is initially irrelevant in which type of family constellation the soldier lives. Irrespective of the fact whether the relation to the partner (married or not married), the relationship to the children or especially in the case of young soldiers the relationship to the parents and brothers/sisters is concerned, the family as a rule is the central emotional context of the soldier – and this in two respects: On the one hand, the soldier suffers emotionally from the separation in distance from his family, on the other hand it is motivating if the family has a positive attitude towards his participation in the mission as well as towards the whole mission and supports it. The soldier would like to feel approved in his feeling “to be doing the right thing”. For example, Bartone and Adler (1999: 104) report in connection with ongoing missions on a serious impact of the family on the cohesion. In their survey of a medical unit of the US army which was deployed in former Yugoslavia, the authors come to the conclusion that the cohesion of the unit absolutely depends on the perceived situation of the family. The survey of Segal et al. (1999) proves that the relationship of the soldier to his family is one of the decisive determinants of military motivation. Especially young soldiers are most strongly affected by the experience of the separation while higher ranks get over

the separation more easily. Rohall et al. (1999) show with their survey of two units deployed for different periods in South Korea that for young soldiers not the duration but the mere fact of the separation is of central importance. Also this survey draws the conclusion that older and senior soldiers cope more easily with the separation from home.

Besides family factors, there is a whole range of further factors which exert influence on military motivation. Surveys on German soldiers in Bosnia prove, for example, that financial incentives are crucial for the decision to participate in a mission on a voluntary basis (Keller et al. 2004). Moreover, the identification with the work on the spot as well as the approval of the operational aim extends the readiness of the soldiers to commit themselves in the interest of the military organization (Biehl/Mackewitsch 2002). This understanding confirms the relevance of task cohesion and the latent ideology as represented by Moskos.

Due to the frequently proven relevance of further factors, the focusing on social cohesion can hardly be maintained from an empirical perspective. It is undisputed that this is essential for military motivation but it can be supplemented or compensated by other factors. Due to the fact that the importance of social cohesion in the literature has been relativized already for quite some time, the question arises why the military side still attributes such a central role to it.

c. Prerequisites and consequences of military cohesion

Already Shils and Janowitz emphasize the effects of a common ground with a view to the prerequisites for military cohesion where, however, pre-military characteristics (similar background conditions, same native region, same sex, etc.) and military experience (joint training, preparation for the mission, combat experience, etc.) are complementary. They claim that subsequently the joint basis is endangered by soldiers who are “different” and therefore do not fit into the dominating group culture. Accordingly, Shils and Janowitz (1948: 287) warn about the negative influence of heterogeneity.

These findings and their adaptation in the armed forces form the basis for a critical reassessment by Segal and Kestnbaum (2002). In their opinion, scientific and military literature often lacks the eye for the actual findings of Stouffer et al. as well as Shils and Janowitz. In their detailed analysis of the original texts, Segal and Kestnbaum draw the conclusion that these surveys only partly meet the current scientific standards. “This research was seminal in the 1940s, but crude by contemporary standards.” (ibid: 445)

Like Bartov, they criticize the questioning of German Wehrmacht soldiers. Just for self-interest, the prisoners “cite primary group bonding rather than Nazi party loyalty as their justification for fighting” (ibd.). In addition, there was a misinterpretation of the research results from WWII. In the classic surveys, cohesion did not take a central position but was “*one* of the most important factors sustaining men in combat” (ibd.: 446, highlighted in the Orig.). Besides, Stouffer et al. proved, for example, the influence of religious convictions or of the desire to finish the mission. According to Segal and Kestnbaum, the misperception is not at all pure coincidence but part of a political instrumentalization of the studies. Especially the military willingly took up the (alleged) findings of Stouffer et al. as well as Shils and Janowitz, which suggested that the establishment and maintenance of fighting morale was an internal task of the military.

Military motivation could be optimized through internal organizational measures. That required a strong cohesion of the soldiers among each other and confidence in the superiors. Both could be ensured in the best way through greatest possible homogeneity because social conformity was the prerequisite for cohesion. As a result of those assumptions – this is the accusation of Segal and Kestnbaum – the emphasis of cohesion and primary group turned into a political argument in order to impede access of certain groups (for ex. afro-Americans, women and homosexuals) to the armed forces (ibd.: 445–448).

Therefore Segal and Kestnbaum suspect political-instrumental intentions behind the misinterpretation of the classic studies diagnosed by them. In view of the fact that well into our time we hear the reproach that the integration of female and homosexual soldiers disturbs comradely cohesion, quite a bit supports this thesis.

Besides this conceptional criticism, there are empirical objections against the thesis that military cohesion is based on a common ground. More recent surveys qualify the interrelation of heterogeneity, cohesion and performance. Mackewitsch (2001: 52 et sqq.), for example, proves for the *Bundeswehr* that the confidence in superiors is only slightly and mission motivation is not at all influenced by the fact whether the soldier was subordinate to the superior already in the home country.

Ben-Shalom et al. (2005) give evidence for the armed forces of Israel that also units tailored for one special task can absolutely rely on each other and cooperate successfully. A prerequisite for this is the existence of a “swift trust” (ibd.: 73) which develops if a professional role understanding and a joint orientation towards the task exist. Espe-

cially in modern conflicts, the re-grouping of military units and the adaptability of soldiers without a common background is of outstanding practical importance.

Accordingly, MacCoun (1993: 307) summarizes the state of research related to the question whether heterogeneity does have an influence on cohesion and performance in an ambivalent way: “On one hand, heterogeneity can breed social tension, and due to its effects on social cohesion, homogeneity sometimes has adverse effects on task motivation, particularly when work activities are extended over long periods of time. On the other hand, heterogeneity can enhance the quality of group problem-solving and decision-making, and it broadens the group’s collective array of skills and knowledge. Because of these conflicting tendencies, heterogeneity has no net effect on performance.”

The understanding that a purely internal orientation of social groups could be counter-productive for their efficiency is not restricted to military organizations. Also in the civilian world of employment, there is an increasing realization of the dangers of a hermetic sealing against new ideas and vitalizing influences, and the outward orientation of groups and goal orientation are considered as essential for the potential of the group (Kiviat 2007).

Consequently, multinational co-operation offers the opportunity for armed forces to compare themselves with others, to become familiar with new procedures, flows and organizations and to develop further. Research on military co-operation has both elaborated these chances as well as the existing problems.

2.3 Findings on Military Multinationality

New studies on military multinationality prove that there are indeed possibilities for the trustful co-operation between soldiers from different nations. Moelker et al. (2007) analyse the German-Netherlands Corps basing on a total of 4 surveys performed between 1995 and 2003. For the authors, mutual sympathy presents the decisive factor for the functioning of military co-operation. Especially in critical situations it is essential to be able to count on the soldiers from the other nation. According to the presented results of the surveys, a majority of both the Dutch and German soldiers is convinced to get support from the other side in a case of emergency (ibd.: 509, table 3). Furthermore Moelker et al. prove that increased contacts support mutual sympathy (ibd.: 511, table 5). Thus there are indeed possibilities to generate a reliable cohesion even between soldiers from different armed forces.

On the other side, multinational co-operation is tied to certain prerequisites as indicated by the survey of Gareis and vom Hagen (2004) on the co-operation of Germans, Poles and Danes in the multinational Corps North-East. Certainly, the interviewed soldiers identified strongly with their unit and did have confidence in their superiors. But at the same time a parallelism of official and unofficial, that means as a rule national, structures, can be stated, with the latter being used especially in volatile situations and under time pressure. The lacking aim of the Corps has an aggravating effect (ibid.: 115). The soldiers from the participating nations connect different aims with the Corps, therefore the lacking task cohesion prevents a deeper cohesion between the soldiers.

Apart from this, also Joseph Soeters and René Moelker (2004) report on difficulties during the mission of the German-Netherlands Corps in Afghanistan. Based on their observations in Kabul, they were able to examine reports in the media on differences between German and Dutch Soldiers on the ISAF mission and the reasons behind them. The authors emphasize that the differences have occurred as a surprise because in the home countries co-operation was judged as relatively good. This was proved by various surveys as well. Soeters and Moelker attribute the differences to strategic, structural, cultural and procedural reasons and describe a separation of the soldiers into “us” and “them” along the national identities. This finding as well as the experiences from the March-unrest in the Kosovo in 2004 refer to the fact that co-operation on a mission, due to its special volatile nature, is exposed to a harder stress test than during daily routine work at home. Should it subsequently be possible to prove a strong military cohesion in a multinational operational contingent, then this would be a proof that fellowship between soldiers from different nations is possible in principle.

The findings on motivation, military cohesion and military co-operation show how controversial the question whether soldiers from different nations are able to act in a cooperative and functional way also in a crisis situation, is discussed. The debate centres on the core issues formulated above which so far have not yet received final answers from military-sociological research. Thus it is still contentious to which extent the cohesion among the soldiers really has an influence on their motivation. While the older research work and the military disciplines to this day attach central importance to social cohesion, more recent surveys elaborate the influence of further factors (task cohesion, family, etc.). In addition, it is still unclear which effects on military motivation are caused by the co-operation with members of other armies. On the one hand, relevant literature emphasizes the attractiveness of multinational assignments for the soldiers, on the other

hand especially in crisis situations national patterns and textures of interconnections seem to step into the foreground. Finally it is an open question whether cohesion between soldiers from different nations is really possible – or formulated in a more general way: How much common ground is required to establish military cohesion?

The reason for the open questions in research is not least the circumstance that so far only a small number of integrated multinational surveys on multinational missions exist which are based on comparable instruments. With the data stock of the project on multinational military co-operation within the framework of MNTF SE in Mostar it is for the first time possible to analyse the motivation and cohesion of soldiers from four European nations with the same set of questions in a comparative way.

3 Database, Construction of Variables and Evaluation

3.1 Composition and Characteristics of the Sample

The following evaluations are based on written, standardized interviews of soldiers from four countries which were performed during the mission *Althea* in the MNTF SE in Mostar. Here Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers work together in order to stabilize the country and to guarantee public order and structures.

Table 1: Composition of the group of interviewees (number and %, rounded up or down)

Nation	%	N
Italians	14	76
French	25	138
Germans	9	48
Spaniards	53	289
<i>Together</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>551</i>

The sample is characterized by certain peculiarities to be taken into account during evaluation and interpretation: the different nations are represented rather varied in the group of interviewees. Out of altogether 551 soldiers who have filled in a questionnaire more than half are Spanish, one quarter is French, 14% are Italians and less than 10% are Germans. Certainly this way the different presence of nations in Camp Mostar is reflected also in the sample. A disadvantage, however, is that separated evaluations are possible only to a limited degree (compare table 5). Moreover, one has to take into ac-

count that soldiers are assigned or employed in rather different ways. For example, about half of the Spanish soldiers are deployed in the infantry and quite naturally have a different relation to matters of cohesion and motivation than soldiers serving in the headquarters. The major part of the available literature on motivation and cohesion is based on classic line assignments in military units and formations but is, however, transferable on integrated staff work which is typical for the present multinational co-operation on missions. Especially the staffs are composed on a multinational basis, and there are daily contacts with soldiers from other nations. Thus the sample contains mainly soldiers who cooperate in the HQ of the MNTF SE in a concrete and integrated way. So 6% of the Spanish, 12% of the French, 43% of the Italian and even 69% of the German soldiers declare to have daily official contacts with members from the other nations.

3.2 Construction of Variables

Due to the research tradition in the fields of mission motivation and cohesion it was possible to fall back on proven instruments from previous surveys for the questionnaire. The basis was formed by the survey of the Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences (SWInstBw) on German soldiers on the Balkans and in Afghanistan (cf. Biehl/Mackewitsch 2002, Keller et al. 2004). Another advantage is that the instruments have already been used in the international context (for Switzerland cf. Bennett et al. 2003; for Slovenia cf. Jelusic/Garb 2005). Because of that there is the possibility – if useful – to compare present findings with older results and to elaborate specific features of the mission *Althea*.

Dependent variables

In the following, mission orientation is considered as a factor with both scientific and practical military relevance. Accordingly, the scale used for mission motivation contains items which cover both concrete actions and attitudes determining the behaviour. In doing this, it follows a definition which considers military motivation as an important determinant for both individual and collective military efficiency (cf. Biehl 2005; Griffith 2007). The consideration of manifest actions and/or intended actions thus prevents

that mission motivation appears as a latent factor only, without a concrete relation to military practice.¹

Approval and disapproval, respectively, in reference to the respective statements is depicted by means of a five-digit scale. In the following tables 2 and 3, the percentages of those are summarized who agree with the respective statement (sum of ‘agree’ and ‘rather agree’) In addition, interrelations between agreement and nationality of the interviewee are depicted by means of chi-square and eta. Depicted are the wordings used in the German questionnaire, which for the interviews of soldiers from other nations were adopted to the respective special points. The scale with the three items used offers a solid internal coherence (Cronbach’s alpha: .72).

Table 2: Dependent variable: Items of the scale of mission motivation (agreement and differences between nations, reliability)

Scale	Item	I	F	G	E	Tot.	Chi ²	Eta
Mission motivation (Cronbach’s alpha = .72)	I am proud of being an <i>Althea</i> soldier.	86	84	74	65	73	53,2***	.22
	I would advise my buddy to volunteer for <i>Althea</i> .	89	79	65	57	77	59,8***	.27
	If I could, I would return home immediately (repatriation).*	4	5	2	18	12	95,9***	.37

* Item adopted for scale.

Explaining variables

In the meantime a whole range of factors is considered as important for mission motivation (cf. chapter. 2). The survey at hand intends to take these factors into consideration to a large extent and to empirically to evaluate their influence. In literature, there are different approaches to operationalizing and categorizing the explanatory factors for military motivation. In the following, preference is given to a structure differentiating five areas. This structure follows the military-sociological discussion on mission motivation and makes a distinction between those aspects which have been established as central in research. Firstly, the material incentives of the mission are considered: payment, material benefits as well as the expected influence on the further carrier. In a second block, ‘classical’ military factors are summarized. Among these are social cohesion (both horizontally towards fellow-soldiers on the same level as well as vertically as con-

1 Comp. the criticism of King (2006) about the mainstream of cohesion-research and the following debate: Siebold (2006); King (2007).

fidence in superiors) as well as predeployment training and satisfaction with the work in the mission country. Family aspects (pain of separation, support from the family) form a third group together with the backing by the public in the home country. The fourth category, here called task cohesion, conceals in the very end nothing else but the identification of the soldiers with their mission objective and the purpose of the mission – thus a collective objective, which Moskos calls latent ideology. Furthermore, in a fifth category socio- and military-structural control items are summarized (sex, rank, nationality, remaining service time in Bosnia).

Table 3: Explanatory variables (agreement and differences between nations, reliability)

Scale	Item	I	F	G	E	Tot.	Chi ²	Eta
1. Material incentives								
Money	During this deployment, how satisfied are you with your pay and allowances?	79	66	23	52	57	62,5***	.31
Infrastructure (Cronbach's alpha = .71)	During this deployment, how satisfied are you with leisure time facilities?	75	69	52	50	58	30,0**	.21
	During this deployment, how satisfied are you with the accommodation in the camp?	83	92	80	62	74	54,2***	.30
Career	I expect my career prospects as a soldier to improve.	69	37	36	67	55	89,2***	.33
2. Military items								
Social Cohesion (Cronbach's alpha = 0.71)	Comradeship is good in my unit.	84	86	64	70	76	28,1**	.16
	I have confidence in my immediate superior.	84	79	56	71	73	n.s.	.17
	I have confidence in my higher leaders.	83	70	48	47	58	58,1***	.26
Training (Cronbach's alpha = 0.76)	Before coming to Bosnia, I was specially trained for the <i>Althea</i> mission.	39	41	50	57	50	65,9***	.22
	Before coming to Bosnia, I got specific information about the <i>Althea</i> mission from my superiors.	63	51	38	65	59	86,5***	.23
	Before coming to Bosnia, I got a general training for military missions abroad.	53	75	89	65	68	112,0***	.25
Official duties (Cronbach's alpha = .68)	My job is interesting, varied.	83	77	67	53	63	50,3***	.27
	My job is mostly routine.	40	29	42	47	41	26,3*	.17
3. Family and social influences								
Emotional strains (Cronbach's alpha = .74)	I suffer from being separated from my family.	30	28	21	44	36	38,0***	.20
	My family suffers because I am away.	59	54	43	60	57	18,6*	.10

Scale	Item	I	F	G	E	Tot.	Chi ²	Eta
Support by the family (Cronbach's alpha = 0.62)	My spouse/partner supports my participation in the <i>Althea</i> mission.	57	51	53	56	55	36,5***	.12
	My friends think it is right for me to be in Bosnia.	57	54	52	43	48	22,5*	.08
Public support	The majority of the German public supports the operation of the Bundeswehr in Bosnia and Herzegovina.	45	20	28	50	40	66,9***	.25
4. Task cohesion								
Task cohesion (Cronbach's alpha = 0.90)	The <i>Althea</i> mission will successfully bring peace to Bosnia.	85	55	50	54	57	44,3***	.16
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to supporting multi-ethnicity.	47	38	50	35	39	29,6**	.12
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to ensuring human rights.	87	64	65	60	65	42,9***	.19
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to fighting organized crime.	48	40	40	46	44	n.s.	.08
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to arresting war criminals.	55	38	46	39	42	32,4**	.16
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to making Bosnia a member of the European Stabilization Association Agreement.	59	53	50	52	53	43,1***	.12
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to collecting weapons.	57	43	56	55	52	38,6***	.19
	The <i>Althea</i> mission supports refugees in returning to Bosnia.	63	42	37	50	49	49,4***	.22
	The <i>Althea</i> mission contributes to de-mining Bosnia.	87	61	42	59	62	54,3***	.21
5. Control variable								
Age	Up to 24 years	19	13	29	29	23	32,5*	.16
	25–30 years	28	37	27	36	34		
	31–35 years	19	21	17	17	19		
	36–40 years	16	12	6	6	9		
	41–45 years	9	7	8	4	6		
	46–50 years	7	7	6	7	7		
	Over 50 years	3	3	6	1	2		
Sex	Female	1	11	0	9	8	11,2*	.14
Rank/grade	Privates	1	7	35	39	25	116,5***	.32
	Junior NCOs	32	27	15	29	28		
	Senior NCOs	41	50	27	18	30		
	Officers	21	9	6	11	12		
	Staff officers	6	7	17	3	6		
Time spent so far in present mission	Less than 1 month	0	2	2	16	9	654,6***	.76
	1 month	5	3	0	79	44		
	2 months	24	2	13	1	5		
	3 months	25	67	25	1	23		
	4 months	10	10	6	1	5		
	5 months	32	0	8	2	6		
	6 months	5	17	46	0	9		

3.3 Evaluation

Table 2 reveals differences in the motivation of the soldiers from the different nations. So Italians and French most strongly express their pride to participate in the mission *Althea*. The majority of the Germans and Spaniards express themselves accordingly – however on a somewhat lower level. The share of interviewees who would advise their buddies to participate in the mission to Bosnia is remarkably high in comparison with earlier surveys. A total of about three quarters of all soldiers (and nearly 90% of the Italians) give corresponding statements. In surveys of German contingents in the Kosovo in the years 2000 and 2001, this share amounted to just between 26 and 33%. On the other hand, only a rather small number of soldiers would terminate the mission immediately if possible. Only among the Spanish interviewees is the respective value slightly higher with 12%. Considering the results, one can assume a – in comparison with other surveys based on the same set of instruments – a high motivation of the soldiers.

In view of the debate on the prerequisites for cohesion it is interesting whether the frequency of contacts with soldiers from other nations has an influence on military motivation. Should multinational co-operation exert a negative influence, then soldiers with daily contacts ought to show a lower motivation compared to soldiers with no official contact to members of other armed forces. For this purpose, in a first step the motivation values are compared as a function of the frequency of contacts.

Table 4: Mission motivation as a function of the frequency of contacts with soldiers from other nations (mean values, number of cases, correlation)*

	Every day	At least once a week	Less often than once a week	Never	Total
Mean Value	1,67	1,86	2,17	2,38	2,04
n.	93	24	94	150	520
r.	.28***				

Significance level: p.

* The table indicates only mean values of the scale for mission motivation for the natural values of the contact scale. The contact scale presents the arithmetic mean of the frequencies of contacts to the respective other three nations. Based on this calculation some mean values emerge which lie between the natural figures and remain unconsidered in table 4.

Table 4 explains that mission motivation is all the higher, the more frequently somebody has contact with soldiers from other nations. This qualifies not only the assump-

tion that multinational co-operation weakens military motivation but changes it really to the opposite. However, it is to be taken into account that the contact with members of other armed forces is only one – and probably not the central – factor which affects mission motivation. Relations to the family, the acceptance of the mission objective as well as the confidence in superiors and fellow soldiers should – as known from literature – determine military motivation even stronger. Seen in that context, the positive connection between multinational contacts and motivation could be a matter of a composition effect. Maybe this is merely due to the fact that soldiers who in duty have more frequent contacts with members of other armed forces at the same time cope better with the separation from their families, support the mission objective more strongly or have a higher confidence in other soldiers.

At the same time, certain discrepancies between the participating nations occur. This can be attributed to a number of possibilities: this could be because of the different composition of the national groups of interviewees. So the majority of the Spanish soldiers is deployed with the infantry while the German soldiers mainly work in the headquarters. However, there could exist in general different national levels of motivation or the factors of motivation could have a different relevance according to the nationality of the interviewees.

In order to examine those assumptions, a regression analysis was performed. This method examines to which extent a variable to be explained (in this case: mission motivation) is determined by a set of explanatory items (material, military, family and social factors as well as task cohesion) (Backhaus et al. 2005, chapter 1). As an analysis instrument to examine the structure, it allows for the statistical interrelation of the different items among each other and determines the net effect of the determinants, which is checked for the influence of third variables. Due to these advantages, regression is a widespread analysis instrument in the social sciences (cf. Meulemann 2000: 226–228). It shows with the help of *declared variance* (R^2) to which extent the entity of the studied variables is able to determine the dependent item, by means of which statements on the quality of the theoretical explanation patterns are possible. Conclusions about the influence of single determinants are provided by the standardized coefficient *beta*. The coefficient categorizes the explaining variables irrespective of their scale length. Thus it is possible to differentiate between strong and weak determinants.

The scales and variables documented in table 3 form part of the following regression analysis: economic incentives, military items, family and social influences as well as

ties with the mission. Moreover, the intensity of official contacts with soldiers from other nations is taken into consideration in the regression in order to examine whether military motivation is raised or reduced by a close multinational co-operation.

Table 5: Influencing factors for mission motivation (regression analysis, beta coefficients with significance levels, declared variance)

		Regression		
		A All survey respondents	B French	C Spaniards
Material incentives	Money	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Infrastructure	.13***	n.s.	.18**
	Carrier opportunities	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Military items	Social Cohesion	.21***	.18+	.29***
	Training	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Official duties	.11**	.23*	n.s.
Family and social influences	Support by the family	.23***	.27**	.22***
	Emotional strains	-.15***	n.s.	-.16**
	Public support	.08*	n.s.	n.s.
Task cohesion	Task cohesion	.10**	n.s.	.13*
Control variable	Sex	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Mission time so far	n.s.	n.s.	
	Rank/grade	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Nation reference category: (Spaniards)			
	Italians	.12**	n.b.	n.b.
	French	.13*	n.b.	n.b.
	Germans	n.s.	n.b.	n.b.
	Frequency of contacts with other nations	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	R ² (corr.)	.49	.29	.49
	<i>n</i>	445	105	251

Dependent variable: *mission motivation* scale, cf. table 2. explanatory variables, cf. table 3.

Significance levels: +: $p < .10$; *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$, n.s. = not significant, n.b. = disregarded.

The items taken into consideration considerably determine motivation, as verified by the high value for the declared variance (Regression A). Yet, especially factors are decisive which are already known from literature as essential control values (cf. chapter 2).

Of central importance are relations to the family at home, the identification with the purpose of the mission and comradely cohesion. Besides, backing by the society as well as the satisfaction with the concrete work and the infrastructure become apparent.

By means of the items taken into consideration it is also possible to explain the higher motivation of the German soldiers in comparison to the Spanish soldiers, but not, however, the lead in motivation of the Italian and French soldiers. In this case, obviously factors – for example of cultural nature or a generally more positive respondent behaviour – play a role which so far were not sufficiently considered in the literature on multinational co-operation (but cf. contribution of Heike Paschotta, chapter 3).

The frequency of contacts to soldiers from other nations, however, has – checked for other items – no influence on mission motivation. That means, with reference to the readiness to commit oneself for the organization, for example, to participate once again voluntarily in a mission or to recommend a fellow-soldier to participate, it doesn't make any difference whether the soldiers have rather more frequent or more rarely contacts with members of other armed forces.

In the evaluations performed hitherto, soldiers from different nations always were considered together. Naturally it is of interest whether the motivation of Italians, Frenchmen, Germans and Spaniards is fed from the same sources – or whether there are specific patterns: If common stereotypes are used, it could be assumed that the relationship with the family has an even higher importance for the South European soldiers. On the other side, the German soldiers could be presumed to have a higher orientation towards official affairs. It is possible to verify these assumptions with regression analyses performed separately for each nation. However, with more than 100 interviewees the number of cases is sufficient only for the Frenchmen and Spaniards to perform stable and convincing regressions.

As documented by Regressions B and C in table 5, which were separated for French and Spanish interviewees, the factors of central importance are mainly the same. Thus support by the family has the same essential importance for military motivation as social cohesion. For the Spaniards, there are in addition infrastructural circumstances, strains caused by the separation from the family as well as the identification with the purpose of the mission. On the other hand, the beta coefficient for official duties reaches a statistical significance as far as the Frenchmen are concerned. The frequency of co-operation with soldiers from other nations however has – with the other variables controlled – no influence.

If the general picture is considered, the regressions prove that military motivation is not affected by the co-operation with members of other armies. Other factors which were

already extensively described and analysed by literature are more essential for the commitment of the contingent: in this connection especially the influence of the family as well as task and social cohesion are to be mentioned.

Due to the high but not exclusive influence of military cohesion on military motivation, it will be examined in the following whether military cohesion depends on how intensely the interviewees cooperate in official duties with members of other armies. A proof that an intense co-operation restrains the confidence in fellow-soldiers and superiors would be an essential objection against the integration of military units and staffs.

Table 6: Interrelation between social cohesion and intensity of official contacts

	All survey respondents	I	F	G	E
Scale of social cohesion					
Tau'b	.10**	n.s.	n.s.	.15	.15**
<i>n</i>	530	74	129	48	279
Item "confidence in comrades"					
Tau'b	.07*	n.s.	n.s.	.31**	.11*
<i>n</i>	533	74	131	48	280

If the interrelation between social cohesion and intensity of official contacts is calculated, then a slightly positive value appears for all respondents (table 6). That means that the confidence in fellow-soldiers and superiors is increasing in line with the increased frequency of contacts with foreign comrades. This is contradictory to the allegation that a joint national basis is required in order to build mutual relations. So there are in fact possibilities to generate reliable cohesion also between soldiers from different armed forces.

In the social cohesion scale, horizontal bonds with fellow-soldiers on the same level and vertical relations to immediate and higher superiors are integrated. As a result it is interesting to state whether there are difference as to the social bonds with superiors and fellow-soldiers. If the frequency of contacts with soldiers from other nations is related to the assessment of comradeship, it shows that comradeship is rated all the better, the more intense the contacts with foreign soldiers are (table 6). Certainly this interrelation is only faintly developed for the whole sample, it is, however, statistically significant and for the German respondents even more strongly developed and is inconsistent with

the opinion that a national identity is supportive or even indispensable for comradely relations.

With a view to vertical cohesion, one has first of all to take into account that even in a multinational headquarters as in the HQ of MNTF SE in Mostar, the majority of soldiers has a direct superior from the own nation (table 7) – this, however, varies a lot depending on the respective nationality of the interviewee. In total between 53 (Italians) and 95 (Spaniards) of the soldiers have a member of the own armed forces as superior.

Table 7: Nationality of interviewees and of the immediate superiors (% , rounded up or down)

	Nationality of the interviewee				<i>n</i>	
	I	F	G	E		
Nationality of the immediate superior	I	53%	1%	9%	1%	47
	F	27%	93%	9%	3%	159
	G	7%	5%	74%	1%	49
	E	13%	1%	9%	95%	284
<i>n</i>	75	136	46	282	539	

Table 8: Share of interviewees with a strong confidence in their immediate superior – differentiated as to the origin of superiors and interviewees (% , rounded up or down)

	All survey respondents		I		F		G		E	
	Nationality of the superior									
	own	other	own	other	own	other	own	other	own	other
Chi ²	74%	69%	85%	83%	76%	70%	65%	36%	71%	65%
<i>n</i>	462	77	40	36	123	10	34	14	265	17
	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	

The confidence in the immediate superior, however, does not depend on the fact whether he has the same nationality as the respondent (table 8). In fact, it is possible to identify deviations of the level of confidence – especially concerning the German soldiers – however, these deviations never reach statistical significance. It remains left to later studies to find out whether the tendencies observed here will consolidate into statistically proven findings (compare for this purpose also the contribution on Leadership by Casas Santero/Sánchez Navarro).

The results of the mission *Althea* confirm the assessments on the confidence in superiors gained by Mackewitsch (2001) on the basis of interviews of German KFOR soldiers. According to that, also on the national level the confidence in the superior is determined less by structural patterns (knowing each other before the mission, rank, branch of service) but by his concrete character traits, actions and relations to his subordinate soldiers. Therefore it is largely up to every superior to see to it that his subordinates have confidence in him, irrespective of his and their nationality.

In view of the sensitivity of the relations between military superiors and subordinates as it stressed in literature, it is generally a remarkable finding that the confidence in the superior does not depend on his nationality. Thus the often-claimed necessity that a common ground is required to establish military bonds has finally lost its plausibility. In the end, superiors and subordinates from different armed forces lack a whole scale of shared patterns: there exist neither the same military experiences nor the same characteristics nor does one know the others from the home garrison – at times there is even a lack of a joint language, and communication is totally based on the English language. Despite all these restrictions, there are obviously enough starting points to quickly develop profound social relations in a shared situation.

Surely one reason for this is provided by the situation in a mission, which almost enforces joint action and intense coordination. The pressure from the outside makes it easier for the soldiers to establish intense professional and social relations – in fact across national boundaries. This understanding, on the other hand, suggests a functional reading of military cohesion, as reported by Moskos for US-Americans from the Vietnam war.

That soldiers are able to build reliable relations among each other rather quickly is proved by the already mentioned study on the Israeli armed forces (Ben-Shalom et al. 2005). This will hardly surprise, as armed forces are organizations with a high turnover of personnel, thus soldiers are used to cooperating with newcomers during their whole service time. An important prerequisite for the development of a ‚swift trust‘ is the existence of a transnational military culture (cf. vom Hagen/Tomforde 2005). Obviously there exists more common ground between diverse armed forces and soldiers as they would believe themselves. Like within the own forces, soldiers at first often recognize differences to other services, branches, rank groups, etc. The vast number of things soldiers have in common – also with other armies – is often ignored. Therefore it would be

a worthwhile challenge to elaborate in future even more precisely what all soldiers have in common and what the characteristics of *the soldier* comprise.

4 Multinationality: Military Practice with a Security-Political Perspective

Evaluations have brought about the following scientifically interesting and militarily relevant findings with respect to the core issues developed at the beginning:

1. Cohesion among soldiers is essential for their motivation. However, it is not at all the only item on which the performance of the soldiers depends. Aspects of the family have turned out to be even more important. Especially in the armies of today which are made up of volunteers – with a view to the missions this applies also to the Bundeswehr – every soldier must be able to explain to his family his participation in a mission and the involved separation from home. New communication technologies which meanwhile enable a permanent, almost real-time exchange of information between the home and the mission country, do not inevitably contribute to easing of the strains caused by the separation. They can also have the opposite effect and become part of the problem themselves – in particular if both soldier and partner know the difficulties of the other side without being able to solve the problems. Anyhow, a successful arrangement between family and army is of central importance for the soldier. Other essential points are an attractive duty as well as an appropriate infrastructural support for the soldiers. The factor of consent to the mission that was central to previous surveys (Biehl/Mackewitsch 2002; Keller et al. 2004) is also of importance for the multinational group of interviewees. Thus the integration of soldiers is performed for a certain part also through the joint task and the intended aim.
2. Furthermore it becomes visible that the official contact to soldiers from other nations has no effect on the motivation of the soldiers. Therefore, from this perspective there are no reasons speaking against the deep integration of military units. This, however, does not rule out that frictions in multinational units may indeed occur due to communicative misunderstandings, not well-established procedures, different approaches, unclear objectives, etc. The motivation of the soldiers, however, is not impaired if they work together with members from other nations.

3. It is even possible to reduce this statement to the effect that the cohesion among soldiers does not depend on the fact whether they act together with members of the own army or with foreign soldiers. Comradeship and confidence in superiors depend first and foremost on the acting persons, not on their nationality. This is another indication against the traditional idea that social cohesion in the army is based on a common ground as broad as possible. From the point of view of the armed forces, this is really a more than positive finding, which proves that for the politically intended co-operation of soldiers from different nations the prerequisites for military efficiency and operational readiness exist, at least with a view to mission motivation.

In view of these findings, which are positive for further multinational co-operation, in future everything depends on making use of the available potential. Three proposals shall serve to illustrate which prerequisites are to be established in order to make co-operation and cohesion between soldiers from different nations a success.

1. Military procedures, proceedings and structures are to be standardized more and more. Thus the knowledge about foreign armed forces is increased, making orientation for the soldiers easier within the framework of multinational co-operation. Essential steps have already been initiated through joint structures (among others through NATO Response Force [NRF] and EU *Battlegroups*) within NATO and EU. Furthermore, mission experience should contribute to a harmonization in the sense of “best practice”.

In this connection, also the further development of the English language skills should be emphasized. This is a prerequisite for a further deepening of communication, serving an improved coordination as far as content as well as personal exchange is concerned.

2. In the armed forces often the idea prevails that a military or social common ground is essential for military cohesion. At the same time numerous studies at hand prove the opposite. Thus for the armed forces it is important to accept the findings at hand in a positive way instead of continuing to further cultivate traditional convictions. At the same time, the “professionalism in co-operation” demanded by von Bredow (2005) applies in every respect. In the present missions, soldiers have to be able to cooperate both with the own and foreign fellow-soldiers, with locals, with representatives from other agencies and the international community, with the media and with relief organizations. This proves how flexible and broadly soldiers should be

trained and sensitized. A purely internal orientation – reinforced by an emphasis on homogeneous tendencies – is diametrically opposed to this.

3. Mutual acceptance appears as an important prerequisite for military co-operation. It is essential that the soldiers from different nations experience each other as on a par and equal. This does not at all exclude the awareness of and the pride in national peculiarities – which however may not go so far that others feel degraded.

These proposals and hints could promote multinational co-operation. They are certainly not sufficient. However, they are necessary because every security-political analysis proves that in future military missions for the European armies will be characterized to a large extent by multinationality. This is why the armed forces should make better use of existing opportunities than before. The difficulties which will undoubtedly appear in multinational military co-operation are first and foremost of a structural nature and thus can be reduced or remedied through suitable organizational measures. Cultural barriers which often are considered as major hindrances in the armed forces are obviously perceived by the soldiers in a hypersensitive way and are overestimated as to their impact. Consequently, it is also a task of the political leadership and the military command to counter existing prejudices against a transnational co-operation and to prepare the soldiers uncompromisingly for a future of the armed forces and a security policy characterized by multinationality.

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Perception of EU Military Co-operation: Present and Future

Nadège Ragaru

In this segment of the survey, the goal of the investigation conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina was threefold:

- First, the research teams examined the troops' perceptions of the EU dimension of operation *Althea*. To what extent was European/multinational co-operation deemed successful? Could EUFOR fulfil its mandate in a satisfactory manner? Answering these questions required that one take into account the workings of the "Berlin plus" arrangements.¹ In addition, co-ordination between EUFOR, NATO and the other European actors present on the field (EUPM² in the first place, but also the EUSR³ and EUMM⁴) had to be evaluated.
- At a second level, based on their experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the participants in operation *Althea* were asked to provide a wider assessment of EU capacities. Did they believe the European Union was able to live up to its ambitions in terms of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)? In the future was the EU

1 The so-called "Berlin plus" arrangements are a package of agreements made between NATO and the EU in December 2002 that allow the EU to draw on some NATO assets in its peacekeeping operations.

2 The European Union Police Mission (EUPM) was deployed to Bosnia and Herzegovina in January 2003 for an initial period of three years. EUPM followed on from the UN International Police Task Force (UNITAF). A consultative mission devoid of executive capacity, EUPM was designed to monitor, advise and support police restructuring as well as police accountability. EUPM II took over from EUPM with a redefined mandate and a reduced format (from January 2006 onwards). On EUPM's balance sheet, see Hansen (2006).

3 Since March 2002, the High Representative (HR) in charge of implementing the policies of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been "double hatted". The HR is at the same time European Union Special Representative (EUSR). In that capacity, he co-ordinates EU policies, provides political advice to the ESDP missions in the country (EUFOR and EUPM), and facilitates progress in the implementation of the Dayton Accords as well as in the Stabilization and Association Process (SAA). See <http://www.eusrbih.eu/gen-info/?cid=2000,1,1> (last consulted on March 9, 2008).

4 The European Union Monitoring Mission (EUMM, formerly ECMM, European Community Monitoring Mission) has been operating in the Western Balkans since late 1991, providing information, situational awareness as well as a form of reassurance to the local population (through regular contacts and interviews). In November 2006, the European Council decided to close down the mission by the end of 2007. For further details, see: <http://www.eumm.org/EUMM%20Files/CouncilJointAction2006-867-CFSP.pdf> (last consulted on March 9, 2008).

likely to conduct operations covering the whole range of the “Petersberg tasks”⁵, including peacemaking?

- Finally, how did the troops assess chances for further EU military integration? Under which format did they envision this integration? More broadly, how far could the europeanization of military crisis management go? The survey also aimed to determine to what extent the soldiers deployed within the framework of *Althea* identified as Europeans and how important this identification was in relation to their sense of national belonging.

1 The European Dimension of EUFOR: How Does it Work?

Appreciations of the daily workings of EUFOR were mostly gathered during field research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the questionnaire did not specifically target such complex issues. On the ground, there was a widespread perception among French troops, for example, that EUFOR could not be entirely understood as an EU-mission.⁶ First, under the “Berlin plus” arrangements, most of the logistics came from NATO (military vehicles, communication and information systems, etc.). As one officer made it plain,

*“[...] at a practical level, the operation depends on NATO heavily. European defence is trying to move ahead, but the Europeans are tiptoeing. We are currently implementing an EU operation, yes, but with a NATO leach [un fil de l’OTAN à la patte]. All the communications systems come from NATO. So do most assets and capabilities. The EU finances 75% of the logistics here. But this is perhaps a necessary step.”*⁷

Moreover, the *Althea* HQ was located in Butmir, a US-built camp, where NATO HQ was still operating. Both HQs were co-located in one and the same building. The French soldiers working at the headquarters were thus in daily contact with their NATO colleagues. This physical set up did bear upon their perceptions, as it did upon the under-

5 Set out at in the Petersberg declaration adopted at the Ministerial Council of the Western European Union (WEU) in June 1992 and later included in the Maastricht Treaty, the “Petersberg task” cover humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat force in crisis management (including peacemaking).

6 As agreed amongst the four research partners, every team was asked to conduct interviews with their co-nationals. Beside a sample of French troops deployed in Camp Butmir, Camp Rajlovac and Camp Mostar, interviews were organized with civilian personnel (notably French and EU Political Advisors, French representatives at EUMM, members of EUPM, members of the EUSR). Other interviews had taken place at the French ministry of Defence in Paris ahead of the mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The results presented here thus mostly concern French assessments of the operation.

7 Interview 5, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

standing of operation *Althea* among the Butmir local personnel (waitresses, cleaners, translators, drivers, etc.).

Second, interactions with NATO structures outside Bosnia and Herzegovina were key to the daily operation of EUFOR. The EUFOR HQ contacted regularly with SHAPE (Mons, Belgium) and had looser ties with the JFC (N) (Naples, Italy). As one officer recalls:

*“In principle, Naples is in charge of the concrete, effective, day-to-day operation of the mission. But in reality they cannot handle it. They are totally understaffed, overwhelmed. In reality, we mostly work with Mons. All the issues relating to budget, personnel, and to the political aspects of the mission are taken care of in Mons. Besides, unlike in Mons, in Naples there are no national representatives. In Mons, they are used to working with us and they have a political vision.”*⁸

More importantly perhaps, the composition of EUFOR’s top leadership was seen as one more proof of the close connection between *Althea* and the Atlantic Alliance. Within EUFOR, key positions had been attributed to military officers with a long career in NATO who were “double-hatted” for the circumstance and were widely perceived among French troops as reporting first and foremost to NATO.

Third, NATO standards often provided the only common ground between the nations (both European and non-European) participating in operation *Althea*. As a French military put it:

*“‘Berlin plus’ has had a twin impact here, on the definition of the operation and on the countries that send troops. Some people come from EU member states, but there are also NATO member states, like Turkey, with an important contribution here. And this configuration has an impact because the only standards these states have in common are NATO standards. So everyone is trying to apply NATO terminology, techniques and practices, and the countries that are unfamiliar with them are doing their best to catch up. In the end, we all apply NATO standards.”*⁹

Fourth, the transition from NATO-led SFOR to EUFOR had not entailed a termination of NATO’s presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁰. In most French soldiers’ perception the Alliance had in fact managed to retain the most interesting tasks, such as the arrest of war criminals (PIFWICs), Bosnian army reforms and the fight against terrorism. As one of the interviewees emphasized,

“[w]e inherited from SFOR. NATO took over what they wanted, like the war criminal issue and the army reform. They gave us the leftovers. The United States

8 Interview 3, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

9 Interview 1, Butmir, August 23, 2006.

10 At that time of our mission, the 150 US troops deployed in Tuzla were on the leave.

have a vision for Bosnia. It is a strategic place for them. In Butmir, they are the ones who built the camp. They were supposed to turn over the keys to us, but they dragged their feet. There are still a few things they have not given us yet.”¹¹

Fifth, local perceptions of EUFOR reflected the existence of a certain amount of confusion between NATO and the EU. At the time of the conclusion of the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) and the launch of the European Union’s follow-on EUFOR in December 2004, members of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been cautious not too overly stress the element of change. The communication campaign organized beforehand had emphasized the continuity between the two operations. Symbolically enough, one of the posters featured a car whose label “SFOR” was being replaced with a “EUFOR” label. The car itself remained unaltered. This strategy was fit for the kind of challenges *Althea* then faced. The European Union’s military credibility started from a rather low point in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For most people – be they Bosniacs, Croats or Serbs –, NATO and the United States were the only credible security providers. Memories from the early 1990s when the Europeans had failed to prevent and later on to stop the war, were still alive. Wisely enough, EU actors managed the shift from a NATO to an EU-led operation in a moderate and balanced way. Two years later, though, average people were not fully aware of the division of labour between the two organizations. Moreover regardless of the efforts made by many EU actors on the ground to change the EU’s image, the European Union remained associated with financial assistance to reconstruction and with perspectives of a better life (through EU integration) rather than with military tasks.

More broadly, among French troops co-ordination across international actors was assessed as sub-optimal. This remark holds true for co-operation between EUFOR and NATO. According to one officer, for instance,

“[...] the problem is that EUFOR’s tasks are not clearly defined. In principle, EUFOR is supposed to be working jointly with NATO when it comes to looking for war criminals. If there were to be a very important arrest, NATO would do it. We might just support them. But in January 2006, some people here wanted to play cowboys and decided they wanted to catch a big fish, a war criminal. And it ended up in a mess.”¹²

11 Interview 3, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

12 Interview 1, August 23, 2006. In January 2006 EUFOR personnel killed the wife of war crime suspect, Dragomir Abazovic, as they sought to arrest him in Rogatica. Abazovic and his 11-year-old son were wounded in the operation. EUFOR officials claimed that Abazovic, his wife and son fired first and that Abazovic’s head wound was self-inflicted. EUFOR said it was acting on an arrest warrant from Sarajevo Cantonal Court. The case was later taken up by the State Court, which released Abazovic from custody in February without charge.

Similar remarks went to intra-EU co-ordination. The January 2006 disastrous operation was often seen as illustrating the absence of adequate EUFOR/EUPM/EUSR articulation. Some French officers nonetheless called attention to recent positive developments:

“Two months ago, EUFOR and EUPM signed an agreement to settle rules for co-operation. They all wish to see the local authorities take over a greater share of the responsibilities. In case there is a problem local actors are supposed to act in the first place. If they do not manage on their own, they turn to EUPM. And if this solution does not work out, EUFOR is solicited as a last resort. We had a recent illustration of such co-operation. Somebody had found an explosive device in Sarajevo that requested a specific type of expertise. EUPM asked EUFOR for support and EUFOR sent its own specialized teams. Earlier, things were not all that clear for want of rules. It was also a question of people and of personal relations between the EUFOR commander and the chief of EUPM.¹³ EUFOR is supposed to have a mostly dissuasive presence and to maintain a safe and secure environment. But that depends on how people interpret that mandate. On opportunities too. Some people here felt they had an opportunity to catch a war criminal and they gave it a try.”¹⁴

Despite these limitations, EUFOR was overwhelmingly perceived as an interesting experiment. There was a sense of a new beginning, something in the making:

“What is interesting in EUFOR is the existence of a common HQ. You make people from different nations work together. With different languages, different habits. This gives us an opportunity to get to know each other. It is very different from NATO, because in NATO you have a clear lead-nation, the United States. In KFOR too, at the beginning they were the lead-nation. Today things are different. You know, EUFOR is as if you had NATO with no lead nation. You have to forge procedures by yourself. You have to negotiate all the time and to make compromises. You need to invent new standards. You innovate all the time. Many of us do not have that much experience in a multinational HQ environment. One of my guys was in KFOR before. But for most of them, this is new.”¹⁵

Other interviewees pointed out that

“[...] it is interesting to be in an EU mission even though we depend on NATO very much and even though NATO participates in the operation a lot. It is good for the image of the European Union here. Of course, we are not sure we are very efficient. We have a very limited autonomy in relation to Brussels also. It is they who decide on everything, not the HQ here. Even when it comes to negotiating the

13 At the time of the incident, the heads of EUFOR and of EUPM were both Italians. Most interviewees we met believed that the close personal ties between the two figures helped to explain why they had set up the arrest operation in the first place and why other EU actors (notably the EUSR) had not been adequately informed of the project.

14 Interview 5, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

15 Interview 3, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

redeployment of the troops on the theatre.¹⁶ They tell us what to do. But there is no real problem. Because in the end, we always use and work with the same forces on the ground. We have a given number of troops; at times they work within a NATO framework, at times they work within an EU framework. But there are still the same people in real life. Finally, what matters is not the EU format. What matters when you want to make things work, is the fact that we are all Western nations and that we know each other. We have worked together before. We know what it is like. We know what we can expect from people, their military culture and their habits. After you conduct a certain number of missions abroad, you create ties, you see. In the end, when you deal with a country, you do not immediately wonder whether that country is part of NATO, whether it is a member of the EU, integration happens all by itself in a natural way.”¹⁷

In these circumstances, to what extent can EUFOR serve as a model for future crisis management operations? In the four-nation questionnaire as in the French-focussed interviews, the soldiers said they were supportive of further and more ambitious EU military operations. Their work with *Althea* had reinforced their belief in the feasibility of European crisis management as well as in EU defence integration. Yet opinions on the actual will and capacity of the EU member states to engage in such partnership diverged.

2 The European Union’s Capability to Conduct Crisis Management Military Operations Abroad

Based on their experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina, military personnel who responded to the survey were asked whether they believed the European Union had the capability to successfully conduct operations pertaining to the “Petersberg tasks”. Every single “Petersberg task” (joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue task, military advice and assistance tasks, peacemaking and post-conflict stabilization, combat forces acting in a context of crisis management) was tested in turn. The results came as no surprise. As could be expected, humanitarian operations came first, followed by military advice/assistance and post-conflict stabilization operations:

- 79% of those responding said the EU was able to conduct humanitarian operations (81% of the Spanish, 81% of the Italians, 73% of the French, 72% of the Germans);

¹⁶ At the time of our field research, EUFOR restructuring was under discussion, including a sharp personnel reduction. The transition to a smaller EUFOR was approved in February 2007.

¹⁷ Interview 4, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

- 70% declared the EU knew how to provide military advice and assistance to the armies of the countries where European troops are deployed (74% of the Italians, 73% of the Spanish, 65% of the French, 57% of the Germans);
- 69% said the EU was able to conduct peacemaking missions and post-conflict stabilization operations (76% of the Italians, 60% of the French, 71% of the Germans, 70% of the Spanish).

The survey offered a more multi-faceted picture of disarmament capabilities. Of the respondents, only 63% said the European Union had a real capacity to conduct disarmament operations (69% of the Spanish, 62% of the Italians, 55% of the French, 45% of the Germans).

The greatest reservations concerned the EU's ability to undertake combat missions in order to enforce peace: only 47% of the respondents did believe the EU had the capacity to conduct such missions. National differences are significant here, too: 62% of the Italians and 51% of the Spanish gave positive responses, but only 36% of the French and 24% of the Germans.

On average – all questions take together – variations across nations were slight. Typically, the Spanish and the Italians appeared much more confident in the capacities of the EU. By contrast, the Germans and the French gave more sober appraisals of the European Union's aptitudes. As suggested above, differences were the greatest regarding combat missions: Less than one fourth of the Germans and only a little over one third of the French thought the EU could conduct this type of operations.

Table 1: EU military capabilities (% , rounded up or down)*

Does the EU has the ability to conduct ...	1	2	3	4	5
joint disarmament operations?	4	7	26	27	36
humanitarian and rescue tasks?	3	3	15	27	52
military advice and assistance tasks?	2	7	21	29	40
peacemaking and post-conflict stabilisation tasks?	3	8	20	27	42
tasks of combat forces undertaken for crisis management?	8	16	29	20	26

* 1 = lowest to 5 = highest ability.

The interviews conducted with the French troops in Butmir, Rajlovac and Mostar may help us put into perspective answers to the questionnaire (see also my discussion of the

situation of the French contingent). First, among French soldiers operation *Althea* was perceived as a very specific mission – some kind of “end of game” deployment. The majority of the soldiers we talked to assessed the mission as a success, but they relativized the implications of that success. In their perspective, *Althea* could not be perceived as a real test of EU capacities because Bosnia and Herzegovina was already at peace. The weaknesses they identified in the field of co-ordination, English language command, interoperability, transport equipment, etc. were not perceived as preoccupying because they were not likely to have severe consequences. In the words of one officer:

“Ok, EUFOR is working. In part it is working because you have European soldiers who are used to working together, who have common experiences and values. But it also works because the theatre is pretty stable. Bosnia is no real test. Of course I am not calling for war. Nonetheless we cannot test our capacities in such a situation. How would we perform in a high intensity crisis? We have no clue. And if anything were to go wrong here, we do not even know whether we would be able to manage [...]. See for instance, the communications here. All the military networks are NATO and the civilian networks are not protected. It is ok because we can use professional mobile telephones, and they work everywhere. But the encrypted mobile telephones we have are managed on a national basis. And we do not know whether we would have full interoperability. Plus they are much more expensive.”¹⁸

Worries over the EU’s ability to manage crises effectively were shared by other French troops:

“Ok, we want to strengthen EU co-operation. But when a country is at war, when they are people who die, who suffer, you need to get in between the lines if you wish to impose a cease-fire and to enforce peace. This is a tough job. And those politicians who decide for us, I don’t know, do they have the slightest idea about the realities of war? Now, it is all right because the mission takes place when there is no crisis anymore. You know, there is no risk here. But they should not believe they can transpose what they are doing here, say, in Congo. In Africa, you just cannot replicate what you are doing in the Balkans. You got peace here.”¹⁹

With view to future EU military operations, several interlocutors also stressed the need to provide a clearer mandate. In many respects, EUFOR’s mandate was perceived as blurred or inadequate. Was *Althea* supposed to deter possible violence, to reassure average people and/or to solve their actual problems (that is, mostly socio-economic issues)? In addition, several interviewees regretted the fact that demining did not rank higher as a priority:

18 Interview 5, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

19 Interview 1, Butmir, August 23, 2006.

“I do not know whether we did not get mistaken with regard to the needs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The problems here are not security related; they are social and economic. You see all the stigmas from the war. People do not have jobs. But this is a different issue altogether and a military mission like EUFOR cannot do much in this regard. Yet there are things EUFOR could do. We all know this country is full of mines that can blow up anytime. It is polluted with mines. But we [EUFOR personnel] told them [local authorities], they should deal with the problems on their own. Yet there is no way they can do it. Demining requires a lot of competence and skills, and it is always risky. There is no way they can do it by themselves. They do not have manpower for that. That should be one of our priorities. But all we have are small teams that do information and training. They can hardly be found on the ground, or only as a support unit for EUFOR patrols. Of course it is a question of budget and of personnel. Demining is very costly. And we [European states] feel we need our experts and have to think twice before deploying them to some country.”²⁰

Similar views were aired in Mostar, a region where intercommunity tensions remain high:

“It is a real frustration to be here. We feel the operation is about to finish. People want to go home. But the mines are still here and we are not even allowed to help the local people. Our mandate is only to collect the weapons people accept to turn in and to destroy them. Often there are people who come and see me, they tell me they have a mine in their field. And they think I am going to come and to help. But we are not allowed to do this. Our job is to protect EUFOR soldiers when they go out. Now we say local people have to be in charge. Ownership. But there has not been any information campaign targeted at the kids for years and there are a lot of kids here who have never seen a mine and do not know what may happen to them. With the COMBASE, we took it on ourselves to organize a little training session. We brought some kids here to see the camp, to see what mines look like, we set up a little demonstration spot. They were very happy. Why are we here if we do not want to do anything? Just to pretend? To be able to write in our reports that we did demining and that’s it?”²¹

Information gathering also brought a certain amount of criticisms from EUFOR soldiers and civilians alike. Two issues stood out, insufficient co-ordination amongst members of the intelligence community and the limited effectiveness of the Liaison and Observation Teams (LOT) as information providers (let us recall that the LOTs are not doing intelligence, just situational awareness):

“You have all these people who are trying to collect intelligence. They all come from different nations. They all have different criteria and techniques to interpret the data they get. How do you want to assess the situation here? Besides, here, at Butmir, you have NATO intelligence units. They have their own barracks. They

²⁰ Interview 1, Butmir, August 23, 2006.

²¹ Interview 22, Mostar, August 27, 2006.

are entirely separate from us. Their unit is surrounded with wire fences. You never know whether they are inside, nor what they are doing."²²

Since the launch of *Althea*, the LOTs have been presented as one of the most original features of EUFOR. Several seven-eight member teams are spread throughout the country, and live for the most part amongst the local people. Everyday, wearing their uniforms, they talk to average citizens with the help of their translators, and tour villages and small cities. Several interviewees underlined the sense of freedom members of these units enjoyed in relation to their colleagues based in Camp Mostar and in Butmir. On their ability to assess the situation in the places they visited and lived in, though, opinions were more diverse. As one civilian, familiar with developments in Mostar, made it plain:

*"They come here, they often do not know the country, they do not know the people, they do not speak the language, they stay for 4 to 6 months [this depends on the contributing nation – N. R.]. There is no way they can provide an accurate assessment. If you want to understand local politics, it takes you at least a year. Not to speak of the fact that they do not have the right training. They are soldiers. They do not do politics. And they are not police officials either. The work they are asked to do is not part of their background."*²³

Some French soldiers working outside the LOTs were equally cautious:

*"What may happen after we leave? It is 50/50. To be honest there is no way we can have any idea. There are some soldiers who say they know because they have contacts with some civilians and that helps. But it is always easy to provide seductive arguments. Yet the truth of the matter is that we do not know. We do not have the necessary data. We are foreign to this society."*²⁴

Others preferred to define the role of the LOTs in a less ambitious way:

*"The LOTs get some data about the overall environment, just to see what the atmosphere is like. They mostly act as a bridge between EUFOR and the local mayors. You know, in operations like *Althea*, many important things take place at the political-civilian level. It has to do with public opinion, too. When it comes to more precise information, that's the job of the IPU [International Police Unit]. They get precise data and they do riot control."*²⁵

Military and civilians alike also drew attention to the exceedingly high personnel turnover. They said it hampered the EU's efforts at being efficient and felt this was one of

22 Interview 1, Butmir, August 23, 2006.

23 Interview 19, Mostar, August 30, 2006.

24 Interview, 8, Rajlovac, August 26, 2006.

25 Interview 5, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

the issues that needed to be addressed in case the European Union wished to engage in more ambitious crisis management operations in the future:

“At the HQ, it is pretty difficult to work, not because of the various nationalities, but because the turnover is too high. Every three months we have people coming and leaving. By contrast, the US National guards units are here for one year. In a year you can really build cohesion. You know which positions are decisive and you learn how to place your guys. With the Europeans, positions are allocated on a rotation principle and the periods are so short that it favours the national chains of command and loyalty over the European ones. In addition you have so many different rules concerning the personnel you employ, the place where you may send them, all the national caveats. It is extremely complex.”²⁶

Finally, in the event of further co-operation, EU actors and decision-makers were advised by military personnel who participated in the interviews to work further on defining the goals they want to achieve:

“I am a deeply committed European. I am very happy to be working with other nations, even with the European countries that are not part of the EU. This is no problem. We can always understand each other and co-operate. But what for? Where is the EU’s political will? What does the EU want to achieve? If you want to accomplish a mission, you need to set out clear objectives, and to find the necessary means to put your ideas into practice. If they say the goal is peace and reconciliation, I am sorry, but I am not sure we have the necessary tools. You cannot come here and say the Serbs were responsible and try to arrest war criminals. You need to see beyond this. During this war, there were horrors on all sides. Besides, part of the responsibility for the war laid with the United Nations, not only with the Europeans. If you want to achieve reconciliation, you have to work on history. There is no way an EU military operation can do this.”²⁷

Several interlocutors went one step further and said European institutions and EU members states might not be ready to garner the financial resources needed to further EU military integration. While speaking in favour of a more ambitious ESDP, some national governments could be tempted to use EU integration as a pretext to push forward budget reductions at the national level:

“Further EU military operations, everybody talks about it, everybody wants it. But at the same time, we have all these discussions about budget cuts. We won’t be able to act as a counterweight to the United States if we do not have proper capabilities. All the people who favour EU military integration, what are they looking for? Do they believe they can save money this way? Because these are

26 Interview 3, Butmir, August 24, 2006.

27 Interview 2, Butmir, August 23, 2006.

two contradictory purposes. Either you want to build European capacities or you want to save money. You cannot do both."²⁸

Another officer concurred with his colleague:

*"We do not need to invent hot water twice [réinventer l'eau chaude, French saying – N. R.]. We do not need to do something European just for the sake of having a European toy. Things have to work too. If there are competent people within NATO, then we should work with these people. If the question is 'Do we wish to emancipate yourself from NATO', the answer is 'Yes'. But if we ask 'Is it possible', the answer is more difficult. Currently we do not have a united political vision among EU member states and we do not have strategic coherence. Not a single EU country wants to increase its military spending. The French say they want a common European defense, but for them it is a way to make economies of scales and to reduce French expenses. We cannot build on sand. If every state reduces its budgets, whatever you put together adds to nothing. If we cannot find more funds, we'd better reconsider our objectives."*²⁹

All in all, explicit goals, better co-ordination, more willpower and adequate budgets were thus perceived as essential components if the European Union wished to expand on its crisis and post-crisis management operations. Yet, as we shall now see, the troops' experience with EUFOR did change their perspective on the likelihood and the desirability of further EU military integration.

3 Operation *Althea*'s Impact on the Soldiers' Perspective on Further EU Military Integration

On average, participation in EUFOR has reinforced the French, German, Italian and Spanish troops' belief that deeper military integration among EU member states was not only desirable but also feasible. Before the operation, 41% of the respondents believed it was possible, and 47% found this perspective desirable, but endowed with difficulties. The Italians were the most optimistic, 55% of them believing in the possibility of deeper EU military integration, followed by the Spanish (44%) and the Germans (30%). Both the Germans and the French, while wishing to see further EU military integration, were more reserved with regard to its feasibility. 67% of the German soldiers said it would be difficult, as did 54% of the French participants in the survey. At the same time, the Germans most explicitly rejected the statement according to which further EU military integration is "not desirable because it will not improve military operations" (only 2%

28 Interview 17, Mostar, August 29, 2006.

29 Interview 5, Butmir, August 25, 2006.

chose that option, as opposed to 11% of the Spanish, 8% of the French and 7% of the Italians).

Following their deployment, over a third of the 4-nation sample (38%) declared they had become more optimistic with regard to EU military integration. 44% said they had not changed their mind. Only 4% of those responding were more pessimistic. It is worth noting that national perceptions vary significantly here. While over half of the German (58%) and the Italian (58%) respondents harboured greater hopes of future EU military integration following their participation in EUFOR, a mere 28% of the French and 34% of the Spanish soldiers shared their views (table 2).

Table 2: Opinion on future European military integration (% , rounded up or down)

How did your personal experience during the mission change your opinion about the possibility to create deeper military integration among the EU member states?	Italians	French	Germans	Spanish
I am more optimistic	58	28	58	34
I did not change my opinion	32	38	33	52
I am more pessimistic	3	6	4	4
I don't know/no answer	8	28	4	11
Total	100	100	100	100

4 Tomorrow's Military: National and/or European?

Considering the answers provided by the members of the French, German, Italian and Spanish contingents deployed in Mostar, time for national armies only seems to be over. Indeed a mere 10% of the military personnel who participated in the survey said they favoured this option. By contrast, a vast majority of the interviewees (87%) were proponents of some form of European military integration. The preferred option was a situation where national armed forces would continue to exist, but where the EU would develop in parallel a standing Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) (38%)³⁰. Interestingly enough, though, over one soldier in five (22%) wished to see a European army emerge that would totally replace national armed forces (see table 3).

30 At the Nice European Council (December 7–9, 2000) the then 15 member states of the EU formally decided to create a Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) of 60,000 troops.

Table 3: Looking at the future, what kind of armed forces would you prefer? (% , rounded up or down)

	N	%
An integrated European Force instead of singular national forces	120	22
A standing European Rapid Reaction Force parallel to the National Armed Forces	209	38
National Armed forces, Rapid Reaction Forces on an <i>ad hoc</i> basis	89	16
Only national armed Forces	57	10
No Armed Forces at all	8	2
Missing/no answer	68	12
Total	551	100

However, this broad picture needs to be put into perspective. Variations across nations are significant:

- Members of the Italian troops were the most enthusiastic when it came to developing a common European army that would substitute former national armies: 38% of the respondents supported that project.
- The Spanish soldiers appear to be the most sceptical in this regard (17%). Meanwhile, support for national armies only was the highest among the Spanish respondents (12%).
- The French and the German troops presented rather close profiles, with respectively 25% and 29% supporters of an EU integrated army, 41% and 46% opting for a European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) alongside national armies.

Besides national belonging, which variables did affect the soldiers' preferences? Contrary to expectations, age alone does not seem to provide a powerful explanatory tool. The youngest soldiers were not always the most supportive of an integrated EU army. Only 19% of the soldiers below 24 favoured that option, just like the troops aged 25–30 (19%). In fact the share of proponents of a European military increases with age. They represented respectively 26% of the military personnel aged 31–35, 39% of the 36–40 group and 43% of the 41–45 group (see table 4).

Table 4: Age groups and preferences in terms of future armed forces (% , rounded up or down)

Age	Integrated EU army	RRF plus national armies	National armies and <i>ad hoc</i> RRF	National armies only	No army	Total (N=481)
< 24	19	39	22	20	0	100
25–30	18	48	20	13	1	100
31–35	26	46	19	8	1	100
36–40	39	39	17	5	0	100
41–45	43	33	13	7	3	100
46–50	33	39	9	6	12	100
> 50	40	50	10	0	0	100
Average	25	44	19	12	2	100

The impact of career length in the army is more difficult to interpret. On the one hand, a long experience with the military means an extensive socialization to the institution and, one might argue, a closer adherence to its prescriptions. At the same time, the soldiers' initial experiences are likely to have taken place at a time when national armies were perceived as essential symbols of national sovereignty. The results of the cross table seems to support this first hypothesis (see table 9).

Table 5: Seniority within the military and preferred model for future armed forces (% , rounded up or down)

How long have you been in the army for?	Integrated EU army	RRF plus national armies	National armies and <i>ad hoc</i> RRF	National armies only	No army	Total (N=474)
< 1 year	34	0	67	0	0	100
1–2 years	18	43	16	23	0	100
3–5 years	18	48	18	14	1	100
6–10 years	22	42	23	12	1	100
> 10 years	32	42	15	8	3	100
Average	25	43	19	12	2	100

5 National vs. European Feelings of Belonging?

Answers to questions related to self-identifications are interesting (on this issue, see also the contribution by Maniscalco/Aubry/Rosato). An overwhelming majority (82%) of the respondents to the questionnaire, no matter which country they came from, declared they felt proud to be respectively French, German, Spanish or Italian (see table 6). This

question is often encountered in quantitative sociological surveys conducted amongst the military. Responses are stratified per country in a way which is not atypical:

- Members of the German contingent were the most cautious when it came to speaking about national pride, with 73% of the interviewees feeling “very proud” and 19% “somewhat”;
- the French rank second with 78% and 17% respectively;
- both the Spanish (84% “very proud” and 11% “somewhat”) and the Italian (92% “very proud” and 5% “somewhat”) troops who participated in the questionnaire appear to stand above the average in terms of national pride.

Table 6: National pride (% , rounded up or down)

Are you proud to be ...	French	German	Spanish	Italian	Average
Very	78	73	84	92	82
Somewhat	17	19	11	5	12
Not very	1	0	1	1	1
Not at all	0	2	0	0	0
No opinion	2	4	2	0	2
No answer	2	2	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Yet, there is no systematic and direct link between the level of national and the feelings of loyalty and belonging expressed towards Europe. In fact, although the contingents that expressed the lowest degree of national fervour also ranked on average higher when it came to asserting their sense of Europeaness (for instance, see the case of the Germans in table 7), the correlation was not systematic (as illustrated with Italian respondents). In the end, the survey showed the following distribution of answers per nation:

- 63% of the German respondents felt “very” European and 23% “somewhat”, a result that stands unparalleled. Let us remind the reader, though, that the sample was narrower than that of the other national contingents. This result is nonetheless impressive.
- Nearly half of the Italians declared they felt “very” European (46%) and 41% “somewhat”.
- French European self-definitions turned out to be more timid, with only 34% of the participants identifying as “very” European and 41% “somewhat”.

- Finally the Spanish soldiers were less than a third to declare a strong European identity (32%) and 39% to say they felt “somewhat” European.

Table 7: Do you feel European? (% , rounded up or down)

	French (N=138)	German (N=48)	Spanish (N=289)	Italian (N=78)	Average (N=551)
Very	34	63	32	46	37
Somewhat	41	23	39	41	39
Not very	10	4	16	8	12
Not at all	4	4	4	3	3
Don't know	8	0	6	3	6
No answer	3	6	3	0	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Conclusions

Qualitative and quantitative research revealed that the troops who participated in operation *Althea* were aware of the peculiar status of the operation resulting from the “Berlin plus” arrangements. They felt the EU depended heavily on NATO assets and NATO support. Nevertheless they were proud to serve in an EU operation and thought this was a necessary step towards building EU military experience and capabilities. In most cases, co-operation with the Atlantic Alliance was not perceived as an issue. Besides the interviewees were not always convinced that the EU needed to develop redundant capacities in fields where NATO was efficient (notably in the domain of satellite communications). Many soldiers rather believed in the virtues of pragmatism and insisted that the Europeans had to focus on defining their own priorities and on asserting their political will.

With regard to the EU’s capacity to engage in the various “Petersberg tasks”, most of the respondents to the survey were positive. Over a majority of the military personnel believed the EU was able to conduct both peacekeeping and peace enforcement tasks. However, there were significant divergences between nations. The Italians and the Spanish were the most optimistic. Fewer were the French and the Germans who actually believed the European Union was able to manage high intensity crisis and to enforce peace. In their views, further efforts needed to be undertaken (including in the field of English language) in order to guarantee interoperability and an efficient response to crises.

Finally, a large majority of the participants in the survey favoured further EU military integration. Most of them were satisfied with a model in which EU developed Standing Rapid Reactions Forces alongside national armies. But nearly one fifth of the respondents supported the development of a European integrated army that might supersede national armies one day.

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Conclusions

Multinational Co-operation within the MNTF SE in Mostar – General Conclusions

Nina Leonhard

European armed forces have been undergoing a fundamental change in the last decade, based on processes of “concentration” and “transnationalization”: As Anthony King (2005: 321; see also Haltiner/Klein 2002) summed up, in Europe defence budget and resources have been focussed on specialist military units, organized into joint rapid reaction forces, which are co-operating at an increasingly lower level with similarly concentrated units of other countries. In this way European states have been trying to meet the new economic pressures and strategic challenges of the post-Cold War era characterized by the “new”, “asymmetric” and “globalized” wars (Kaldor 1999; Münkler 2002). In theory, military multinationality helps to save expenses, to share political and military responsibility with other states, and to foster European integration in the field of defence and security politics. In practice, however, the question how multinationality affects military performance and influences the outcome of a mission still needs to be answered. Whereas the idea of “Europe” as a symbol of common values such as human rights, democracy and economic welfare which should be pursued and defended jointly by political, economic and – if necessary – also by military means finds general approval, many military and political leaders remain quite sceptical concerning the perspectives of further European military integration because of the existing political and cultural differences between European countries.

Against this background, the research project on co-operation between Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers within the Multinational Task Force Southeast (MNTF SE) of EUFOR operation *Althea* aimed at examining interaction and communication processes between soldiers of the four countries, at identifying factors which encourage and/or hinder efficient co-operation, and thus at defining and evaluating conditions of multinational military integration from a specifically European perspective. The field research focussed on the conditions of work and life at camp Mostar-Otiješ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the HQ of the EUFOR Task Force *Salamander* was stationed. Each of the four national research teams spent one to two weeks on site in order to conduct interviews and to distribute and collect the common questionnaire. In the following

the principal insights of what has been analysed in the previous chapters will be discussed along six points.

1 Range of Significance of our Findings

There is no such thing as a “standard” model of military multinationality. In line with Gareis et al. (2003: 25 et sqq.) we can distinguish between “horizontal co-operation” and “vertical integration”. In reality, however, these models of military co-operation overlap and appear in very different forms according to the number and type of partners involved. The question how military multinationality works therefore needs to be answered on an empirical basis, with respect to conditions and phenomena in practice.

This research on multinational military co-operation draws upon a case study about processes of interaction and communication between members of four specific national contingents (Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers) at a specific moment and at a specific site. Due to the heterogeneous composition of the four national samples and the particular context of EUFOR operation *Althea*, the results of the comparison between the four contingents first of all refer to the situation at Mostar and cannot claim to be immediately valid for the armed forces of the four countries altogether. When considering the differences and similarities between the four national contingents, one also has to bear in mind that the national response behaviour might not always have been the same. For instance, with reference to the national images of oneself and the others, Heike Paschotta found out that the Italian respondents generally answered the questions in a more positive manner than the soldiers of the other three countries. National characteristics of response behaviour should be given more attention in future cross-cultural research because they are important for correctly assessing and interpreting different national results.

Given these qualifications, our findings concerning the circumstances and dynamics of multinational co-operation at Mostar nonetheless are to be regarded as “typical” insofar as most of these factors constitute common features of military multinationality in missions abroad: The size of the countries participating in such a mission usually is not the same – like in Mostar, where the number of German and Italian soldiers was much smaller than the size of the French and Spanish contingents and where the type of personnel involved (concerning rank, branch of service, etc.) differed between the countries. The resulting imbalance of responsibilities, influence capabilities, and status may

have an impact on the relationship between the members of respective groups, as it could be seen at camp Mostar and elsewhere.¹ Likewise the coexistence of (official) multinational procedures and (informal) national communication channels and networks we noticed in Mostar is a characteristic trait of multinational military co-operation.

Especially with respect to the findings concerning motivation and cohesion (see further down), it is finally important to recall that our observations refer to multinational co-operation within the framework of a peacekeeping and/or low-intensity operation only. Such operations imply a limited use of organized violence and thus do not correspond to the traditional combat role of the armed forces. However, they represent the type of missions the European Union has conducted so far and probably will continue to focus on in the next years.

2 Multinationality and Military Effectiveness

Motivation and cohesion usually are regarded as two of the main factors influencing military performance. As Heiko Biehl and others indicated, motivation for operation *Althea* generally was quite high among the soldiers of our sample – although certain national differences were observed. For instance, the Italian soldiers displayed the highest and the Spanish soldiers the lowest level of motivation, leaving the French and German soldiers in between. Irrespective of these variations Biehl was able to show that military motivation was not lowered by the co-operation with members of other armed forces. Other factors, which have been extensively described and analysed by literature before, are more essential for the commitment of the members of the Task Force *Salamander*: the influence of the family as well as task and social cohesion. As far as the latter is concerned, it is interesting to see that multinationality does not play a major role here either. So the idea, influential in military sociology as well as in the armed forces up to now, that cohesion can only develop within a socially and culturally homogenous group, has been proved wrong by this research. In line with other studies on diversity within the armed forces, Biehl's results show that cohesion among soldiers (concerning comradeship, trust in superiors, etc.) in fact does not depend primarily on national affiliations.

1 On this issue, cf. the comparative study by Soeters et al. (2006).

These findings as well as the observations by Manuel Casas Santero & Eulogio Sánchez Navarro on images of and experiences with leadership within the MNTF SE indicate that the individual's personal skills and qualities rather than his (her) nationality make his (her) colleagues and subordinates trust and follow him (her). From this perspective we can conclude that multinationality does not represent an obstacle to military effectiveness *per se* – although certain cultural differences between soldiers of different countries of course do exist which may lead to misunderstandings and/or problems (see Soeters/Moelker 2003; Abel 2008a). As other studies on cross-cultural military cooperation suggest (see Elron/Shamir/Ben-Ari 1999; Abel 2008b), in order to prevent this it seems to be of utmost importance to strengthen common procedures and practices. These assist multinational military units to develop what Ulrich vom Hagen (2006: 57 et sqq.) has called “collective drills & skills” which create professional trust and result in task cohesion. This corresponds to research findings on diversity within international organisations which also indicate that personal contacts as well as frequent and direct interaction and communication are essential both for individual and organizational performance (cf. Podsiadlowski 2002).

3 Cultural Differences: Reality and Perceptions

For soldiers participating in a multinational mission national resp. cultural differences – ranging from different features in the outward appearance (uniform, symbols) to differing conceptions of formal authority and discipline (see Burk 1999) – often are the most noticeable and most noticed characteristics of multinational co-operation. However, the perceptions of leadership studied by Casas Santero & Sánchez Navarro give reason to wonder if there might be less cultural differences between the different military organisations than most soldiers expect – given the fact, for example, that the ideal types of leadership of the soldiers of the four countries did not differ very much. Therefore, in order to define more clearly cultural differences and similarities of military organisations it could be useful for future empirical research to take into account concrete behaviour rather than to concentrate exclusively on the individual soldiers' perceptions of oneself and the others. In this way it would also be possible to examine how and to what extent perceptions actually shape individual actions and reactions.

In this context, it is important to point out that in Mostar certain tensions developed between the German and French soldiers on the one hand and the Italian soldiers on the

other hand, i. e. the Italian soldiers had some difficulties to win respect and recognition on the part of the German and French soldiers. In fact, the reservations we observed on site were reflected by the images of oneself and the others recorded by questionnaire:² The Italian soldiers said to feel more close to the Spanish soldiers than to the Germans and French, who displayed a positive attitude towards each other as well as towards the Spanish soldiers but regarded the Italians as “different” and somewhat less “reliable”. Given these subjective perceptions, it is interesting to observe that the German soldiers, for instance, felt they had more in common with their French than with their Italian colleagues. However, their positive views on multinational co-operation and European military integration mostly agreed with the equally positive position of the Italians, whereas the French soldiers turned out to be almost as sceptical as the Spanish soldiers. In line with other research on cultural differences and national perceptions (Keller et al. 2008; Abel 2008b) this example shows that the question which difference is considered significant by the members of a group thus cannot be answered with reference to allegedly “objective” national or cultural differences. Intergroup phenomena depend on the actual constellations on site rather than on distinctive national or cultural characteristics. In other words, the way multinational military co-operation works is not only influenced by cultural factors, but also depends on structural conditions. In the case of the Task Force *Salamander*, for instance, the Spanish position of a “neutral third party” among their Italian, French and German fellow soldiers at camp Mostar could be explained by the bigger size of the Spanish contingent, its particular composition (including manoeuvre units) and its distant location within the base camp. By contrast, the Italians and the Germans, both smaller in number, mostly worked in multinational units and were quite dependant on the French who were responsible for the camp’s administration including the canteen.

As Heike Paschotta observed, national stereotypes and ethnocentric perceptions constitute a “normal” feature of social relations and do always play a role in intercultural interaction and communication. Thus the question which has to be answered is not how to avoid stereotypes but rather how to develop curiosity about other patterns of thinking and behaviour, the flexibility and serenity to accept other views (without necessarily adopting them) in order to attain a common goal. For this, however, it is also necessary to consider the structural circumstances under which intercultural encounters take place

2 On this issue, see the contributions by Maniscalco/Aubry/Rosato and Paschotta.

and to further explore the factors and conditions resulting in “smooth” or “strained” multinational co-operation (Soeters et al. 2006).

4 EUFOR Operation *Althea*: A Step towards European Military Integration?

The armed forces represent both an instrument and a symbol of the nation-state and state’s sovereignty (see Kantner/Sandawi 2005). The study of military multinationality can give important insights about transformation of the state today (King 2005: 323), but it can also highlight changing senses of national loyalty and belonging. As pointed out by Maniscalco, Aubry & Rosato, for soldiers as representatives of the state and its people military multinationality constitutes a particular challenge for their national and professional identities. In line with other studies on military multinationality the results of this research confirm the assumption that identification with a supranational institution, such as the EUFOR mission *Althea*, does not reduce or replace but rather complete and even strengthen national affiliations.

Furthermore, by taking up the distinction between a “multinational” and a “non-national” version of “trans-nationalism” developed by Eyal Ben-Ari & Efrat Elron based on a study of UN peacekeeping forces (2001: 297 et sqq.), we can conclude that up to now European military co-operation has worked (and still works) according to the first type. With regard to our case study on operation *Althea*, this is reflected, among other things, by the fact that national channels of communication and exchange of information prevail both as far as informal and official processes and structures are concerned. Today it is still open if in the course of future European integration military co-operation will and/or could also develop along “trans-” resp. “non-national” lines (in the sense of Ben-Ari/Elron). For this, however, the creation and strengthening of other and/or new forms and procedures of co-operation would be vital. In this respect, the importance the soldiers attach to language skills, i. e. to good knowledge of the English language, might serve as a first vehicle to transcend national borders. Agreeing on common rules in respect to discipline and security issues as well as applying them on site in the same way could be another step towards a deeper, more “transnational” European integration.³ However, as long as co-operation between soldiers of different nations is organized along the principles of “multinationality” respecting and preserving

3 See my discussion of the situation of the German soldiers at Mostar.

mental and material national borders, we can assume that the process of European military integration will rather follow the model of increasing interdependence of national institutions and organizations (as described by King 2005) than lead to the creation of integrated, truly “transnational” European armed forces evoked by the advocates of an integrative “Europe”. By the way, this also corresponds to the attitudes of the soldiers who participated in this survey. As Nadège Ragaru observed, most soldiers opted for a European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) alongside national armies when asked what kind of armed forces they would prefer for the future.

5 Challenges of Military Operations Other Than War

As stated by Maria Luisa Maniscalco, Giulia Aubry & Valeria Rosato, military operations like *Althea* have been and still are a challenge for the military organization and its soldiers whose main reference point has traditionally been combat and war but who now have to face complex duties of pacification and reconstruction which they are not necessarily prepared and/or trained for. Besides according to Moskos (1968) and Gal/Manning (1987), the political context and/or identification with the objectives of the operation lose significance with increasing combat intensity. Given the results of this research, one can inversely assume that in a low-intensity mission like *Althea*, which at the time of our research mainly consisted in administrating the status quo without immediate risks for EUFOR soldiers, the general “sense” of the mission gains in importance, in particular if daily activities are not very demanding and/or consist to a large extent of routine. For the German soldiers who participated in this study this seemed to be particularly true.⁴ But doubts about the significance of the specifically military contribution to the peace and stabilization process in Bosnia and Herzegovina were voiced by members of the other national contingents, e. g. the French, too.⁵

For this reason, it is important to underline the necessity to better prepare soldiers for this kind of low-intensity missions. Preparation in this sense does not only concern language skills and intercultural competences, but also touches upon professional military self-perceptions. Although European armed forces have increasingly become entrusted with “constabulary” duties and responsibilities (Janowitz 1960: 418 and sqq.) over the last fifteen years, many soldiers still find it very difficult to reconcile the actual tasks of

4 See my discussion of the situation of the German soldiers at Mostar.

5 See, in particular, the contribution by Nadège Ragaru on the situation of the French contingent.

an operation like *Althea* with their image of what the military is supposed to do. It therefore seems indispensable for the military organization not only to convey more clearly to the personnel engaged in a peacekeeping mission the objectives, chances and limitations of their work *during the operation*, but also to even better adjust military training and education *at home* to the various, sometimes contradictory requirements of today's military missions. Furthermore and as Ragaru's discussion of the French soldier's perceptions of the EU's crisis management in Bosnia and Herzegovina suggests, it also seems to be vital from a political point of view not only to define more clearly the common European goals but also to revise and/or improve co-ordination on the ground between EUFOR and NATO as well as between military and civilian actors.

6 Perspectives of Future Research on Multinational Military Co-operation

As already mentioned above, in order to enhance multinational co-operation and to foster intercultural understanding it is important to establish and extend common practices and procedures, since common skills and standards as well as mutual trust and cohesion mainly develop by "doing" co-operation, through concerted action in practice. However, cultural differences and obstacles do not only influence co-operation between soldiers coming from different countries but also are an important factor determining the relations between the armed forces of an international mission (like EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and the local population. Up to now we know very little about how soldiers see and behave with people they are supposed to protect and/or bring peace to⁶, nor how those conversely perceive the role of the international military actors in their country.⁷ In low-intensity operations like *Althea* aiming at supporting the peacebuilding and democratization process in a particular country or region the duties and responsibilities of the international armed forces consist to a great extent in keeping contact with the local authorities and other international actors. In this case an operation's success also largely depends on how interaction and communication between the parties involved works out. For this reason future cross-cultural research on low-intensity military operations should not only focus on problems and challenges within

6 See, for instance, Nadège Ragaru's observations of the different perceptions of Bosnian Serbs and Muslims by French soldiers.

7 See, for example, the assessment of the contribution of international actors in Afghanistan by the local population Koehler/Zürcher (2007).

the multinational military organisation alone, but also extent to analysing the relationship between multinational armed forces and their environment, i. e. other international institutions, the local authorities and the local population. For in the end this might turn out to be as important for achieving a mission's goal as a well-functioning co-operation of the various members of multinational armed forces.

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Appendix

Table of Acronyms

C2SD	Centre d'études en sciences sociales de la défense
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSU	Command Support Unit
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force
EUMM	European Monitoring Mission
EUPM	European Police Mission
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
GFAP	General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina
HQ	Headquarters
HQ Coy	Headquarters Company
ICTY	International Criminal Court for Former Yugoslavia
IPU	Integrated Police Unit
ISRU	Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance Unit
JFC (N)	Joint Force Command Naples (Italy)
KFOR	Kosovo Peacekeeping Force
LOT	Liaison and Observation Team
LOU	Liaison and Observation Unit
MNTF SE	Multinational Task Force Southeast
MSU	Multinational Specialized Unit
NCO	Non-commissioned officer
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSE	National Support Elements
OP EX	Opérations extérieures
PIFWIC	Persons Indicted for War Crimes
PSC	Political and Security Committee (EU)
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process

SFOR	Stabilization Force (in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SOFA	Status of Force Agreement
SWInstBw	Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USET	Unidad de Sociologia del Ejercito de Tierra
VU	Verification Unit

Questionnaire

Space for different logos

Questionnaire English blueprint Mostar
070806.doc

This survey is led by order and approval of the(registrationnr:xxx)
The participation is anonymous and voluntary.

Please notice: **HINTS FOR FILLING IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

This questionnaire is a so-called standardized one, i. e. for most of the questions, you just have to choose among the given answers the one that, in your opinion, will suit the item concerned. Where asked for your estimation please fill in the appropriate number in the given square. Please, first read carefully the question and all the given optional answers and decide then your response. Grey rows indicate examples or questions which do not concern the end-analysis.

Please fill in with a black or blue pen or pencil!
It must be readable by a computer.

Finally, there is some space left at the end of the questionnaire for your remarks.
We thank you for giving us your thoughts and propositions to the subject.
Thus you will help us to ameliorate the survey.

1. In how many missions abroad - including this mission - did you participate up to now? (please, indicate the number for each umbrella organisation)			
<i>Example: if you had participated in four missions</i>	0	4	
a) United Nations			
b) Nato\Otan			
c) European Union			
d) National			

2. Have you had previous professional experiences in the Balkans?
(sign as many answers as you need)

a) No	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Yes, with IFOR	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Yes, with SFOR	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Yes, with KFOR	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Yes, with Concordia	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Yes, with Operazione Pellicano	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Yes, with EUFOR	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Yes, with EUMM/ECMM	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Yes, with others	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Do you understand, speak, read languages from the Balkans?
(rank: 0 = no knowledge, 1 = little knowledge up to 4 = very good knowledge)

	<i>understand</i>					<i>speak</i>					<i>read</i>				
	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
a) Albanian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Bosnian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Croatian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Serbian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Other Balkan languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. How did you come to BIH? (one answer only)

I volunteered to go to BIH.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I volunteered to go abroad.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was individually commanded by my superiors to go.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was sent with my unit.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other conditions.	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. During other missions abroad, have you already worked together with ...

	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
a) ... Italian soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... French soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... German soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... Spanish soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) ... Soldiers from other countries?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. What is your attitude towards your service together with soldiers from other nations?	
I like it very much.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like it.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I do not care.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I more or less dislike it.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I dislike it very much.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have no opinion.	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. What is your personal opinion about the following people ...					
	<i>very positive</i>	<i>somewhat positive</i>	<i>somewhat negative</i>	<i>very negative</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) ... the Italians?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... the French?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... the German?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... the Spanish?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. From the information you have gained from the media, what is your opinion about the following countries?					
	<i>very positive</i>	<i>somewhat positive</i>	<i>somewhat negative</i>	<i>very negative</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) Italy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) France	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Germany	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Spain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. What is the main image existing in your country about ...					
	<i>very positive</i>	<i>somewhat positive</i>	<i>somewhat negative</i>	<i>very negative</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) ... the Italians?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... the French?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... the Germans?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... the Spanish?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. In the following, you find a list of qualities which generally can be applied to soldiers. Please, asses for each quality how typical it is for Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers respectively, by using the numbers 1 to 5.

(5 means that the quality concerned is very typical, 1 means that it is not typical at all)

	Italian soldiers	French soldiers	German soldiers	Spanish soldiers
Example	4	5	1	1
a) Reliable	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
b) Flexible at work	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
c) Arrogant	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
d) Acting on own initiative	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
e) Comradely	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
f) Competent	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
g) Open minded	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
h) Courageous	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
i) Well-prepared	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
j) Sociable	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

11. How do you assess the co-operation between the soldiers from the four nations just mentioned in the Althea operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in general?

Very good	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bad	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very Bad	<input type="checkbox"/>
No opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree on the following statements:

	<i>agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) I feel like 'part of the family' in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) The HQ/Unit has no personal meaning to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) I feel a strong sense of belonging to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Working in the multinational HQ/Force/Unit is just a job for me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) I feel more loyal to my own army than to the multinational HQ/Force/Unit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. The following descriptions refer to four types of superiors/managers. Please read these descriptions first.

Superior 1: *Is, in general, quick in decision-making and communicates the decisions clearly and plainly to the employees. Expects them to carry out the decisions loyally and without trouble.*

Superior 2: *Is, in general, quick in decision-making, but tries to explain them first of all to his/her employees before continuing. Gives the reasons for the decisions and answers any questions.*

Superior 3: *Consults, in general, his/her employees before taking a decision. Listens to their advice, weighs pros and cons, and then announces the decision. Expects everyone – even those who were of a different opinion – to carry out the decision loyally.*

Superior 4: *In general, organises a meeting with all employees first before taking a decision. Explains the problem to the group and encourages discussion. Accepts the opinion of the majority as the decision.*

a. Which type of superior would you prefer to work for? (one answer only)

Superior 1	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superior 2	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superior 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superior 4	<input type="checkbox"/>

b. Which of these four types of superior does your own superior resemble most? (one answer only)

Superior 1	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superior 2	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superior 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superior 4	<input type="checkbox"/>
He/she resembles none of the four types	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. In your personal opinion which of the four types of superior is most frequently encountered in the armed forces of the following countries? (Just one mark per line)

	<i>Superior 1</i>	<i>Superior 2</i>	<i>Superior 3</i>	<i>Superior 4</i>	<i>I don't know</i>
ca) Italian armed forces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cb) French armed forces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cc) German armed forces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cd) Spanish armed forces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. To which nationality does your first-line superior belong?

Italian	<input type="checkbox"/>
French	<input type="checkbox"/>
German	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other Nationality	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. To which rank category does your first-line superior belong?

Corporal	<input type="checkbox"/>
NCO	<input type="checkbox"/>
Subaltern officer or Captain	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officer (major and higher	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Through which channels do you mostly receive the information you need for your daily work? (one answer only)

Through my official co-national superior(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through informal co-national channels.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through my official superior(s) from other nations.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through informal contacts with members of other nations.	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Please assess the following statements concerning your opinion on the decision-making process in Mostar:					
	<i>agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) In Mostar the decision-making process is faster on national level than on multinational level.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) In Mostar decision-making process is more efficient on national level than on multinational level.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) In Mostar decision-making process is smoother on national level than on multinational level.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. Suppose that during a real military operation your platoon and a platoon of another nation are deployed next to each other. And suppose your platoon is attacked. Do you think that the other platoon will come to your aid ...					
	<i>yes, of course</i>	<i>yes, probably</i>	<i>no, probably not</i>	<i>no, certainly not</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) ... if it is an Italian platoon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... if it is a French platoon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... if it is a German platoon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... if it is a Spanish platoon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. During your working hours, how often do you collaborate with ...					
	<i>every day</i>	<i>at least once a week</i>	<i>less often than once a week</i>	<i>never</i>	
a) ... Italian soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b) ... French soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c) ... German soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d) ... Spanish soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

20. <u>While being deployed in Bosnia</u>, how often do you have had contact with ...					
	<i>every day</i>	<i>at least once a week</i>	<i>less often than once a week</i>	<i>never</i>	
a) ... Italian soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b) ... French soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c) ... German soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d) ... Spanish soldiers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

21. Have you made friends with soldiers from other nations with whom you will keep in touch after deployment? (sign as many answers as you need)

a) Yes, with Italian soldier(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Yes, with French soldier(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Yes, with German soldier(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Yes, with Spanish soldier(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Yes, with soldiers from other nations.	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) No.	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Are you proud to be Italian/French/German/Spanish?

Very	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not very	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>
No opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Do you think that the collaboration of soldiers from different nations in one unit could have an effect on prejudice towards the other country?

It could lessen prejudices very strongly.	<input type="checkbox"/>
It could lessen some of the prejudices.	<input type="checkbox"/>
It won't change a thing.	<input type="checkbox"/>
It will reinforce prejudices.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't know.	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. During your deployment, how has your general opinion of the professionalism of the soldiers of the following nations changed? Just one cross per line.

	<i>improved</i>	<i>remain the same</i>	<i>deteriorated</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) Italian soldiers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) French soldiers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) German soldiers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Spanish soldiers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Looking at the future, what kind of armed forces would you prefer? (one answer only)

An integrated European Force instead of singular national forces	<input type="checkbox"/>
A standing European Rapid Reaction Force parallel to the national Armed Forces	<input type="checkbox"/>
National Armed Forces, Rapid Reaction Forces on an ad-hoc basis	<input type="checkbox"/>
Only national armed forces	<input type="checkbox"/>
No armed forces at all	<input type="checkbox"/>
No opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. Before being deployed, what was your opinion about the possibility to create a deeper military integration among the EU Member states?

A deeper military integration is possible and will improve a lot of things.	<input type="checkbox"/>
A deeper military integration is desirable but difficult to implement.	<input type="checkbox"/>
A deeper military integration is not desirable because it will not improve military operations.	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. Based on your experience in Bosnia-Herzegovina, do you think that the European Union has the capacity to conduct, in the future, other kinds of mission pertaining to the Petersberg tasks? (Choose on the scale: 1 – lowest up to 5 – highest)

	1	2	3	4	5
a) Joint disarmament operations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Humanitarian and rescue tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Military advice and assistance tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Peacemaking and post-conflict stabilisation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Tasks of combat forces undertaken for crisis management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. How did your personal experience during this mission change your opinion about the possibility to create deeper military integration among the EU member states?

I am more optimistic.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I did not change my opinion.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am more pessimistic.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't know.	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Do you feel European?

Very	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not very	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>
No opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>

30. How do you assess your English abilities in regard to performing your duties?					
	<i>fluent</i>	<i>good</i>	<i>understandable</i>	<i>rather bad</i>	<i>very bad</i>
a) Speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Listening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. How do you assess the following statement in relation to the daily work in the HQ: “Those who are best qualified to perform in English usually have the greatest influence.”	
Completely agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rather agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rather disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Completely disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

32. Would you like to learn or to improve ...		
	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
a) ... Italian?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... French?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... German?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... Spanish?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) ... English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. If you could choose, which of the following units would you prefer to work in? (<u>one</u> answer only)	
In a mixed unit with soldiers from I,F,G,S [my country] and another country.	<input type="checkbox"/>
In a mixed unit with soldiers from several countries.	<input type="checkbox"/>
In an entirely I,F,G,S [national] unit, but with soldiers from another country in the same barracks.	<input type="checkbox"/>
In an entirely I,F,G,S [national] unit, but with soldiers from different countries in the same barracks.	<input type="checkbox"/>
In a completely I,F,G,S [national] unit, in a barrack with soldiers from I,F,G,S[my country] only.	<input type="checkbox"/>
No opinion.	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. If I had to decide again to come to a multinational HQ/unit, I would come again ...

... without hesitation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
... rather yes.	<input type="checkbox"/>
... rather not.	<input type="checkbox"/>
... certainly not.	<input type="checkbox"/>

35. How important are the following factors for your daily work?

	<i>very important</i>	<i>rather important</i>	<i>not very important</i>	<i>not important at all</i>	<i>no opinion</i>
a) Nationality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Rank	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) English language skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Social contacts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Other factors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

36. During deployment how satisfied are you with ...

	<i>satisfied</i>	<i>rather satisfied</i>	<i>neither/nor</i>	<i>rather dissatisfied</i>	<i>dissatisfied</i>
a) ... current job activities?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... personal development opportunities?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... pay and allowances?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... leisure time facilities?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) ... accommodation in the camp?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) ... food and drink?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) ... contact with family and friends at home?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) ... working conditions?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. Seen your experience with the Althea mission so far, how do you evaluate the following statements?

	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>partly agree/disagree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) I enjoy being an Althea soldier.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) I would advise my buddy to volunteer for Althea.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) If I could, I would return home immediately (repatriation).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. How would you evaluate the following aspects of recreation and barracks life?					
	<i>very good</i>	<i>rather good</i>	<i>partly good/bad</i>	<i>rather bad</i>	<i>very bad</i>
a) Barracks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Availability of consumer goods	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. How do you evaluate the Althea operation for you personally?					
	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>partly agree/disagree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) I expect my career prospects as a soldier to improve.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) The deployment allowance makes it easier for me to deal with the unpleasantness of deployment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) For my family, the deployment is not easy to live with.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) I expect myself, as a person, to improve during this employment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. When thinking of your Althea unit, how do you evaluate the following statements?					
	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>partly agree/disagree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) Comradeship is good in my unit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) I have confidence in my immediate superior.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) I have confidence in my higher leaders.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) My job is interesting, varied.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) My job is mostly routine.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Being separated from my family makes me sad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) My family suffers because I am away.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. The following questions aim at the attitudes of your spouse/partner and your friends:					
	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>partly agree/disagree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) My spouse/partner supports my participation in the Althea mission.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) My friends think it is right for me to be in Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. What is your personal opinion regarding the following statements?					
	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>partly agree/ disagree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) Italians/French/Germans/Spanish are not interested enough in what the Italian/French/ German/Spanish Contingent is doing in Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) The Italian/French/German/Spanish public supports the operation in Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

43. Please, assess the following statements regarding the <u>objectives of Althea mission</u>.					
	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>partly agree/ disagree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) The Althea mission will successfully bring peace to Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) The Althea mission will successfully support multi-ethnicity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) The Althea mission will successfully help to ensure human rights.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) The Althea mission will successfully help to fight organised crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) The Althea mission will successfully help to arrest war criminals.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) The Althea mission will successfully put Bosnia in European Stabilization Association Agreement.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) The Althea mission will successfully collect weapons.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) The Althea mission will successfully help refugees to return to Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) The Althea mission will successfully help de-mining Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

44. Concerning the work you have done in Mostar so far, how much do you think <u>you</u> have contributed to the following objectives?				
	<i>very much</i>	<i>a bit</i>	<i>little</i>	<i>not at all</i>
a) To bring peace to Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) To support multi-ethnicity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) To ensure human rights.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) To help to fight organised crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) To help to arrest war criminals.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) To put Bosnia in European Stabilization Association Agreement.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) To collect weapons.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) To help refugees to return to Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) To help de-mining Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. Please assess the following statements				
	<i>totally agree</i>	<i>rather agree</i>	<i>rather disagree</i>	<i>totally disagree</i>
a) Before coming to Bosnia, I was specially trained for the Althea mission.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Before coming to Bosnia, I got specific information about the Althea mission from my superiors.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Before coming to Bosnia, I got specific information about the Althea mission from other comrades having already been to Bosnia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Before coming to Bosnia, I got a general training for military missions abroad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Before coming to Bosnia, I informed myself about the Althea mission.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. How old are you?						
<i>to 24 years</i>	<i>25–30 years</i>	<i>31–35 years</i>	<i>36–40 years</i>	<i>41–45 years</i>	<i>46–50 years</i>	<i>over 50 years</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. Are you ...	
... Male?	<input type="checkbox"/>
... Female?	<input type="checkbox"/>

48. Your rank is?	
Soldier	<input type="checkbox"/>
Corporal	<input type="checkbox"/>
NCO	<input type="checkbox"/>
Subaltern officer or captain	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officer (major and higher)	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. Which Unit or Post?	
a) HQ	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) HQ Coy	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Military Police	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) NSE (Support Unit) (France has them too)	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Monouver Unit	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) others	<input type="checkbox"/>

50. How long have you been a soldier?	
Shorter than 12 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 to 2 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 to 5 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 to 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
Longer than 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/>

51. Under what kind of contract do you serve?	
Italian questionnaire	
Volunteer (shorter than 1 year) (not this case for Spanish Army)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contract soldier (2 years)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contract soldier (3 years)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Life-time employment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian/other	<input type="checkbox"/>
French questionnaire	
Volontaire sous contrat court (un an)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Homme du rang, sous-officier ou officier marinier sous contrat initial	<input type="checkbox"/>
Homme du rang, sous-officier ou officier marinier sous contrat non initial	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officier sous contrat	<input type="checkbox"/>
Militaire de carrière	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civil de la Défense/autres	<input type="checkbox"/>

German questionnaire	
FWDler (10-23 Monate)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Zeitsoldat	<input type="checkbox"/>
Berufssoldat	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reservist	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanisch questionnaire	
Personal de tropa profesional no permanente	<input type="checkbox"/>
Personal de tropa profesional permanente	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oficial de complemento	<input type="checkbox"/>
Militar de Carrera (oficial o suboficial)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civil/otra	<input type="checkbox"/>

52. How many months have you already spent in Bosnia Herzegovina?	
Less than 1 month	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 month	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
More than 5 months	<input type="checkbox"/>

53. How many more months will you stay in Bosnia Herzegovina?	
Less than 1 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 month	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 months	<input type="checkbox"/>
More than 5 months	<input type="checkbox"/>

54. It is possible that certain things you find of importance were not discussed in this questionnaire. If so, please state them below. We are interested in your personal comments.

Many thanks for your kind co-operation.

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About this report: Between December 2004 and April 2007, Italy, France, Spain and Germany were sharing responsibility for the Multinational Task Force Southeast (MNTF SE) within EUFOR operation *Althea* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the first large scale military mission carried out by the European Union (EU). Against this background, the *Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences* (SWInstBw) in Strausberg (Germany) in co-operation with the *Chair of Sociology of Peace Processes/Master of Peacekeeping and Security Studies – University Roma TRE* in Rome (Italy), the *Centre d'études en sciences sociales de la défense* (C2SD) in Paris (France) and the *Unidad de Sociología del Ejército de Tierra* (USET) in Madrid (Spain) conducted a research project on multinational co-operation within this Task Force. The aim of the study was to examine interaction and communication processes between soldiers of the four countries, to identify factors which encourage and/or hinder co-operation, and thus to define and evaluate conditions of multinational military integration from a specifically European perspective. The field research, based on a quantitative survey by questionnaire among soldiers of the four countries as well as participant observation and qualitative interviews on site, took place in 2006 (August–October) at camp Mostar-Otiješ where the HQ of the MNTF SE was located. The results of this research are presented in two forms: First, the characteristics of the four national contingents of the MNTF SE are described respectively. Secondly, the attitudes of Italian, French, German and Spanish soldiers regarding dynamics of multinational co-operation, national stereotypes, military leadership, motivation and cohesion as well as future European military integration are analysed and discussed in comparative perspective.

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About the Institute: On behalf of the Federal Ministry of Defence, the Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences (Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr; SWInstBw – “SOWI”) deals with military-related empirical social research as well as with military-sociological basic research. In 1974, the Institute emanated from the Scientific Institute of Education in the Armed Forces, and in 1995 it was relocated from Munich to Strausberg. With a core of about 15 social scientists, the research work of the Institute is mainly empirical, multidisciplinary, and problem-oriented, linked within a network of national and international scientific, political, and military bodies and institutions. Both in a national and multinational context, the Institute pursues and analyses situation and development of the Bundeswehr and its staff, thus generating a sensorium for the internal situation of the armed forces and for the public opinion with regard to problems of security and defence policy. As a department research body of the Federal Government, the Institute contributes with its research findings to the Bundeswehr's capability for the future, by tackling current problems and continuously developing its research and knowledge interests.