

The Cultural Backpack

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Training soldiers to operate in unfamiliar environments

Bas Oink

A research to the effects of the current
cultural training programmes in the Dutch military
and recommendations for the future

Radboud University Nijmegen
Royal Netherlands Army
November 2008

Supervisors:
Dr. B. Bomert
Drs. E.J.M. Maes

Cover: Dutch soldiers on patrol in Uruzgan
(Photo AVDD, 2007)

1st print, Amersfoort, November 2008
Lay-out: Jade van Beek

Summary

Since the start of a significant participation by the Dutch armed forces in peace operations, the Dutch more or less assumed that they possess an almost natural sense of cultural sensitivity. This 'natural ability' supposedly manifested itself in the so called 'Dutch Approach'. The believed natural ability was thought to be rooted in a combination of a colonial past and the current multicultural society in the Netherlands. However, recent developments in Dutch society and in mission areas showed the fallacy of the assumption of a 'natural ability' in cultural sensitivity. Recent research has shown that in Dutch society in general (and therefore also in the military) many people have developed a more negative attitude to people from a different culture. Furthermore, today's missions take place in areas where a positive attitude no longer suffices to gain the 'hearts and minds' of the local population. Consequently, soldiers need to have adequate knowledge of local cultures and customs to successfully communicate with the people in their areas of operations. The development of this knowledge should exceed the educational programmes in the current mission preparation phase.

The existing cultural training programmes designed for Uruzgan, involve one day of training, consisting of combination of lectures and role-play with Afghans. Besides this day of training, troops also visit a mosque where they are provided with general information about Islamic practices. The main objective of these training activities is the transfer of knowledge and learning correct behaviour. This training is called 'Cultural Awareness Training' (CAT programme). It is questionable whether this particular cultural training programme has the desired effect. Do the current cultural training programmes generate the required effects? Therefore the main questions of this thesis are:

- What are the desired effects that the armed forces want to achieve in their cultural training programmes?*
- What are the culture training methods that need to be used to generate the desired effects in soldiers during their mission?*
- Do the current cultural training programmes of the Dutch military comply with these training methods?*
- Are the current Dutch cultural training programmes effective in generating the desired effects?*

In order to answer these questions, an analysis was made of existing cultural training programmes of four NATO countries active in Southern Afghanistan, e.g. the United Kingdom; the United States, Canada and the Netherlands. This analysis provides insight into existing training programmes and scientifically based recommendations for increased effectiveness of culture training and definitions of desired effects. A Cross-Cultural Training model (CCT model) was designed, based on the insight delivered by this analysis.

This CCT model consists of practical methods of effective cultural training, spread out in four phases of the individual soldiers' career. Dutch cultural training programmes will be compared to the standards of the Cross-Cultural Training model, in order to see whether full use is made of all aspects cultural training. Besides the before mentioned analysis, a survey was done. This survey aims to answer the question whether the current cultural training programmes generate the desired effects. Questions were asked about the soldiers' attitude, perception of the Afghan population, knowledge about the Afghan culture and the soldiers' behaviour towards Afghans.

But what are the desired effects the armed forces want to reach with their cultural trainings? Firstly, they want to generate the desired behaviour by the soldiers towards the local population. Soldiers need to behave respectfully to prevent them from insulting the local population. Secondly, the trainings should reduce the threat of 'Culture Shock'. Culture Shock is a form of stress, generated by the inability to adapt to a foreign culture. The resulting anger and frustration can negatively influence behaviour towards the local population. Cultural training programmes should be constructed in such a way that both effects are achieved.

According to many scientific publications soldiers need to have a general understanding of cultural diversity. This provides them with the ability to consciously deal with cultural differences during deployment. Soldiers need to be aware of their own culture and see other cultures as equivalent (Cultural Literacy). In addition to this mindset, soldiers need to possess a combination of intercultural competences, in order to be able to effectively interact with people from other cultures (Cross-Cultural Competences). This cultural basis can be learned by a combination of transfer of knowledge, insight in the way cultural knowledge should be gathered, motivation, and behavioural skills (Cultural intelligence). Beside this cultural basis, soldiers have to learn about local customs and culture of the mission area, in order to know how to behave (Cultural

Awareness). In addition to this, affective teaching methods and motivation of the participants are crucial for effective cultural training. A clear distinction between education and training is important in all of this.

From the publications that were used, the author designed the aforementioned CCT model. This model brings all aspects of Cultural Literacy, Cross-Cultural Competence, Cultural Awareness and Cultural Intelligence together in a practical framework, divided into four different phases. These phases are the initial education phase, the pre-deployment phase, the deployment phase and the re-deployment phase. When the current Dutch cultural training programmes are compared to the CCT model, it proves that the training programmes that comply with the initial education are simplistic at best. The cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase does seem to be more extensive however. During the deployment and the re-deployment, no attention is paid to the initial cultural training aspect, which in turn can lead to unpredictable and undisciplined troop behaviour during deployment.

The research survey was conducted among soldiers of two different Battle Groups at two different phases of the mission in Uruzgan. The situation in Uruzgan was relatively uneventful during the deployment of the first Battle Group, which was the 12th Infantry Battalion. The 13th Infantry Battalion, which was the second Battle Group to be tested, was the third unit that was deployed to Uruzgan. The situation in Southern Afghanistan became more violent during the deployment of the 13th Battalion.

The soldiers of both Battle Groups filled out questionnaires at three different moments in time: right before the training; right after the training; and right after the mission. The questions in the survey were regarding the soldier's attitude towards and perception of the local population in Afghanistan, as well as the soldiers' knowledge about the Afghan culture and how to behave correctly in this culture.

The surveys showed that the attitude and perception of the soldiers towards the Afghan population did not improve after training. The training seems to have had no significant effect on the attitude and perception of the soldiers about other cultures. The behaviour and knowledge of the soldiers with regards to the culture and local population in Uruzgan also seemed not to change significantly after the training. The training also seems to have had no significant effect on the knowledge and the behaviour of the soldiers.

After the mission it seemed that the attitude and the perception of the soldiers towards the Afghan population decreased dramatically. The amount of violence during the mission seemed to have an influence on the perception of the soldiers towards the locals. The behaviour and knowledge of the soldiers also did not improve after the mission.

It was apparent that the current cultural training programmes did not adequately comply with the desired effects. The current culture trainings seem not to generate a positive attitude towards the local culture, and do not reduce the effects of Culture Shock. The knowledge and behaviour also seem to lack improvement, which indicates the threat that soldiers might behave in such a way that they could insult the local population.

To improve the effects of cultural training programmes in the future, the current training programmes need to be upgraded. The trainings need to be a part of a broader cultural programme which generates a broad cultural basis, and provide adequate knowledge and behavioural skills for soldiers to be able to behave in a desirable way in the mission area. Cultural training should not solely be based on Cultural Awareness, but also on Cultural Literacy, Cross-Cultural Competencies and Cultural Intelligence, the current cultural awareness trainings should be integrated as part of this programme.

Future training should be given in different phases of the soldiers' career: in the initial education as well as the pre-deployment. Soldiers need to be culturally coached during the mission and evaluated after their return. The future training programmes need to be given to every soldier regardless of rank. There should be differences between the diverse levels of education, but every soldier needs a cultural basis. The CCT model, designed in this thesis, can be helpful for the future development of cultural training programs and can provide a practical framework on which to build.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, **dr. Bert Bomert** of the University of Nijmegen and **drs. Edwin Maes** of the Sie CAI for their assistance during my research. By being critical but fair, they encouraged me to deliver a thesis which might have a value in the cultural world.

I would also like to thank **Lt.Col. drs. Coen van den Berg, dr. Richard de Ridder** and **drs. Ilke Frankhuis** for the cooperation in our mutual research. They really provided me with new insights and acted as secondary supervisors by critically judging my work.

Beside Edwin, **the other employees of the Sie CAI** also need special attention, for giving me the time and space to write this thesis. Without their help and encouragement I would not have succeeded.

Leigh-Anne and Robbert Lemstra were responsible for correcting my English. My text was sometimes so un-understandable that they really had a hard job rephrasing it. With their help I was able to express all my findings, without being limited by a foreign language.

And finally, I would like to thank my wife, **Jade**, for the tremendous lay-out and the fact that she always waited patiently for me to come home after a long day of research, even if this meant that dinner was already cold.

List of acronyms

12 Infbat	· 12th Infantry Battalion
AASLT	Air Assault
RvH	'Regiment van Heutsz'
13 Infbat	· 13th Infantry Battalion
AASLT	Air Assault
STPB	'Stoottroepen Prins Bernhard'
ACR	· Afghanistan Cultural Resource
AFCLC	· Air Force Culture and Language Center
CA	· Cultural Awareness
CALL	· Center of Army Lessons Learned
CAOCL	· Center for Advanced Operational Culture Learning
CAP	· Combined Action Platoon
CAR	· Canadian Army
CAT	· Cultural Awareness Traject
CC	· Cultural Competence
CCC	· Cross-Cultural Competences
CCT	· Cross-Cultural Training
CDS	· Commandant der Strijdkrachten, Commander of the Armed Forces
CIL	· Centre of Intercultural Learning
CL	· Cultural Literacy
CLAS	· Commandant der Landstrijdkrachten, Commander of the Army
CQ	· Cultural Intelligence
DRV	· Democratic Republic of Vietnam
DTIO	· Directorate of Targeting and Information Operations
Dutchbat	· Dutch Battalion
FORCE-IT	· Flexibility, Openess, Respect, Cultural Empathy, Emotional Stability, Initiative, Trust
HTS	· Human Terrain System
HTT	· Human Terrain Team

List of acronyms

ICCN	· InterCultural Communication & Negotiation
IED	· Improvised Explosive Device
IGO	· Inter Governmental Organisation
ISAF	· International Security and Assistance Force
KMA	· Koninklijke Militaire Academie, Royal Netherlands Military Academy
MACV	· Military Assistance Combat Vietnam
MCA	· Multi Cultural Attitude
MGI	· Missie Gerichte Instructies Mission Preparation Instructions
MGO	· Misie Gerichte Opleiding Mission Preparation Education
NCO	· Non Commissioned Officer
NGO	· Non Governmental Organisation
OOTW	· Operation Other Than War
PRT	· Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSO	· Peace Support Operation
PSTC	· Peace Support Training Centre
SFOR	· Stabilisation Force
SFIR	· Stabilisation Force in Iraq
Sie CAI	· Sectie Cultuurhistorische Achtergronden en Informatie, Section Cultural and Historical Backgrounds and Information
SVV	· School voor Vredesmissies, School for Peacemissions
TCC	· TRADOC Culture Center
TF-U	· TaskForce Uruzgan
TNO	· Technical Physical Research Institute
USAIC	· United States Army Intelligence Center
USMC	· US Marine Corps

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Introduction



Since the end of the Cold War the role of the Western military has changed dramatically. The Cold War was a predictable period.¹ There was a chance that the Western world would be attacked by the Warsaw Pact. In preparing for the Cold War several countries did so by trying to create the most efficient types of arms possible. The development of so many weapons during a relatively short period of time became known as the arms race. Countries across the World had to increase their military budgets and the size of their armies. Some of these countries were involved directly in the war while others were increasing their arms as a means of preparation and protection, should they need to fight.

The fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the USSR and the fall of the Warsaw Pact signified the ending of the Cold War. This time frame marked a new era, in terms of the role of the military, as the armed forces were no longer required to focus on being prepared to fight a large scale war. In response to the changing requirements of the forces, governments started to reduce their military budgets and the size of their defence forces.² Conscription in the forces was also abolished and the remaining parts of the military were forced to reorganise the roles of their men as the army's needs had changed. It was at this point that the military investigated a new major role for their forces which was termed 'peace missions'. These roles had been in existence way before the nineties and had received an increasing amount of support by Western forces that were deployed to keep the peace in countries that they thought required their assistance all over the world. These peace missions had been mostly funded by the United Nations or regional organisations. Since the war was over and the armies still relatively large, the Dutch military decided to increase the participation to these missions and reassigned their men to the role of 'peacekeepers'.³

As a result of the dwindling need for a strong army, the Dutch armed forces experienced a dramatic change in their core function. Their role as a military shifted from defending the German plains to intensive participation in peace missions. The Dutch military had been involved in the UNIFIL operation in Lebanon during the 70's, which was a peace-mission.⁴ This mission however,

Klep, C. & Gils, R. van (1999). pp. 35-47 1

Granatstein, J.L. (2002). pp. 398 2

Klep, C. & Gils, R. van (1999). pp. 115-116 3

Hoffenaar, J. & Schoenmaker, B. (1994). pp. 287-370 4

was the last significant international peace mission, between the 70's and the 90's, which the Dutch military participated in. There was a dramatic increase in peace missions that the Dutch soldiers participated in during the 90's. This is illustrated by the involvement of Dutch peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Angola, Cypress and other nations.⁵

Public opinion in the Netherlands had previously held the idea that the country was at war and therefore they saw the Dutch role of the military in fighting as a necessary form of protection for the country. The public understood that lives would be lost for this cause, no matter how large the armed forces were or how well trained the soldiers were. However, when the armed forces were no longer required to fight in the Cold War, yet they were still losing their lives in fighting to 'keep the peace' for other countries internationally, the public became concerned. Dutch citizens became unsure whether this 'peacekeeping' role of the Dutch soldiers was worth the cost in lives to the Dutch nation. People started debating topics such as whether the Dutch society should be prepared to sacrifice 'our boys' in wars with no vital interest for the Netherlands and whether the Dutch armed forces were suitable for these assignments. The public's level of interest in this debate was accelerated after the fall of the Muslim enclave in Srebrenica in the summer of 1995. It was during this peace mission that more than 8000 Muslim men were killed by the Serbs while the Dutch UN soldiers stood powerlessly.⁶

The Dutch population had experienced a declining level of support of their military's predominant new role as peacekeepers. It was for this reason that the Dutch military felt that it was imperative to convince the public of their competence in these peace missions and the value that they added to the Netherlands. The Dutch military was aware that they needed the support of their country as it was the armed forces' role to act on behalf of their country's interests. They were especially motivated to gain public approval and support because of cuts in the budget in the beginning of the 1990s by the government. This showed that peace missions were crucial for the legitimacy and the survival of the armed forces.⁷

The military attempted to gain the Dutch citizens' support by showing them that they were capable of fulfilling the role of peacekeeper successfully. The armed forces attempted to

5 Klep, C. & Gils, R. van (1999). pp. 120-124

6 Ibidem. pp. 132-140

7 Whitworth, S. (2005). pp. 2

illustrate to the Dutch population that they were achieving this goal in the following ways: by showing that they are learning from their mistakes; by changing their structure into a smaller but more effective expeditionary armed forces; by spending their shrinking budget wisely on multifunctional high-tech equipment and material and most importantly, by illustrating that they train their soldiers to the standard of modern peacekeepers. The term 'modern peacekeeper' suggests that the soldiers should be able to fight effectively but in addition to this, they must be able to adapt in a strange environment and provide help to the local population at the same time. The armed forces demonstrated this change by promoting trainings regarding ethics and cultural awareness.⁸

After the attacks on September the 11th, 2001, the Dutch government assisted their military in their public relations campaign. Now also the government needed to convince the Dutch society of the professionalism of the Dutch armed forces. The United States were searching for reasons to get international and public acceptance for their 'War on Terror' with Afghanistan and Iraq. The reasons that the Americans had put forward in order to gain support were not supported by the majority of the Dutch population.⁹ It was therefore a difficult task for the Dutch government to convince their people that it was necessary to deploy Dutch soldiers as peacekeepers to Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Dutch government portrayed these missions as peace operations which required the skills of the Dutch peacekeepers. This interpretation of the role of the Dutch military supported the majority of the Dutch political parties' viewpoints as this perspective stresses the importance of the Dutch military in its current peacekeeping capacity. This is why the Dutch citizens were able to support the government when the Dutch troops were deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan as 'peacekeepers'. The Dutch government came up with new terms to describe the strategy of the Dutch forces, like the *Inkspot-theory* and the *3D-approach*¹⁰.

As previously discussed, the role of the Dutch soldier changed from the warring soldier to the peacekeeper. These roles are perceived differently. The warring soldier is seen as a more warrior like role and includes perceptions of violent fighting.

Klep, C. & Gils, R. van (1999), pp. 185-189 8

Gallup International Iraq Poll 2003 (2003). This poll stated that 73% of the Dutch citizens was against the war in Iraq. 9

Two strategies, designed for modern counter-insurgency. The inkspot-theory is the way the Dutch forces try to spread their influence in Afghanistan. The 3D-approach (defense, diplomacy, development) is the cooperation of the department of defence with foreign affairs and development to pacify occupied areas. 10



Fig 1.1: Contact with the local population is very common during deployment (Photo AVDD)

The peacekeeper distinguishes from the warring soldier by being trained to reduce and decelerate conflict as well as being prepared to interact with the local population. The peacekeeper is perceived to make a concerted effort to resolve conflict without resorting to violence. The Dutch government and military propagate the concept of the Dutch Approach in order to legitimize their role during peace missions, to the Dutch citizens and to the rest of the world. At present, the Dutch military is involved with the peace mission ISAF-3 in Uruzgan using this approach.

This approach is based on mutual respect and has been successful in previous Dutch missions. It can also be described in the words of the former commander of the armed forces (CDS), general Berlijn, who stated that the Dutch Approach “...is being prepared to fight, but especially showing the population that reconstruction is the main goal.”¹¹ By promoting the Dutch Approach, the Dutch military aims at increasing their social support.¹² The Dutch Approach is based on the premise that Dutch soldiers have a positive and open-minded attitude towards the local population of a given country. Several factors played a role in the Dutch soldiers ability to adopt this Dutch Approach. These factors are as follows: the Dutch colonial history, the multicultural society, lessons regarding other cultures and religions and the

11 (Translated) Dick Berlijn, quoted in: Backx, K. (2006, September 19). 'Dutch Approach' werkt in Afghanistan. Brabants Dagblad.

12 Moelker, R. & Soeters, J. (2003). pp. 66-67

acceptance of foreign soldiers into the Dutch troops¹³. These factors created the environment for the Dutch Approach to develop and resulted in the Dutch soldiers adopting an open minded attitude towards people with a different culture.¹⁴

This Dutch Approach seems to have an element of cultural sensitivity which is a new concept in the Dutch modern counter-insurgency. This is not completely true because throughout history the Dutch military has used its cultural knowledge to win wars and to effectively manipulate the local authorities. This is especially evident in the colonial era. Until the 1950s the Dutch forces and colonial authorities used their knowledge on culture as a tool to regulate the area and break any resistance that they experienced.

One of the most remarkable anecdotes from this period is the story of Cristiaan Snouck Hurgronje. At the end of the 19th century the Dutch military in the Dutch East Indies wanted to put an end to the resistance in Aceh. The commander of the operation, J.B. van Heutsz, was to execute an “expedition” to this Island and he, decided to use the knowledge and experience of a Dutch researcher who had studied the Aceh population. This academic, Cristiaan Snouck Hurgronje, had been the first westerner to enter the gates of Mecca during the Hadj and this is where he came into contact with pilgrims from Aceh. In 1889 Hurgronje became an advisor to the Dutch Indian government and since then he wrote hundreds of reports regarding Aceh and the Islam. In 1898 he settled in Aceh and became a personal advisor and friend of Van Heutsz. The military commander was, able to successfully pacify the island and this is in part due to the cultural advise that he received by Hurgronje.¹⁵

In this era of colonial domination, the Dutch government started several cultural intelligence institutes to improve the knowledge of the local culture and customs in the colonies. But after the Second World War the period of decolonisation started and the cultural institutes lost their value. This was even increased with the Cold War. In this bipolar power struggle between the US and the USSR, most of the smaller, less influent countries in the NATO adapted to one of the superpowers. The Netherlands adapted the armed forces to the American model and made strategies that were in line with the US defence strategy of Europe. At this time colonial and economical interests became

¹³ ‘Foreign’ means who, or who’s parents, is/are not born in the Netherlands. 13

Bartle, R. & Heinecken, L. (eds.) (2006). *Military Unionism in the Post-Cold War Era, A future reality*. 14

ING (2007) Snouck Hurgronje, Cristiaan (1857 – 1936). *Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis*, 15

<http://inghist.nl/onderzoek/projecten/BWN/lemmata/bwn3/bwn2/scnoucke>

less important because, all military resources were reserved for protecting the Netherlands against Eastern Europe.¹⁶

Operations overseas by NATO countries during the Cold War, were aligned in terms of their viewpoints regarding containment politics. President Truman stated in 1947 that communism should not be allowed to expand anymore.¹⁷ For this reason the US and the coalition partners intervened in countries like Korea and Vietnam. Separatists and rebels in these states were often helped by the USSR with weaponry and money. The totalitarian government in South Vietnam, regarded every form of opposition that they experienced by any group as an act of communism. As the US was against communism, they agreed to aid South Vietnam. This confirmed the perception of the US that they were fighting communism.¹⁸ After the Cold War, separatist and rebellion parties were no longer hidden behind the communist perception by the West. Countries outside the NATO rediscovered the importance of their culture and they felt that they had to protect it from being lost to Western globalism.¹⁹ This made the cultural aspects more and more important during missions in these regions. Unfortunately, the Western countries have not invested in cultural awareness for a long time and had to develop their cultural expertise. The Dutch did this by introducing the Dutch Approach, which partly referred to the late colonial dominance of the Dutch. In those days the Dutch Colonial administration used the local elite to conquer the population. There were not enough soldiers and members of the board to rule these immense colonial areas.

A point of criticism that should be noted with regards to the way in which current literature defines the term Dutch Approach, is that this phrase only refers to the positive points that were used to gain the cooperation of the elite population in countries that the Dutch were attempting to colonise. However, the current literature regarding the Dutch Approach fails to mention that the Dutch soldiers in the colonies used excessive violence or the threat thereof, in order to ensure cooperation of the local population.²⁰ This creates a two fold approach because research regarding the term Dutch Approach often emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between the Dutch soldiers and the respective local populations, yet it does not remind the Dutch population that

16 Hoffenaar, J. & Schoenmaker, B. (1994), pp. 66-140

17 Ibidem. pp. 25-30

18 Winkler, D.F. (1997, July), pp. 72, McFarland, M. (2005, March-April), pp. 62

19 Granatstein, J.L. (2002), pp. 391

20 Example: The massacre by Van Heutsz during the Aceh-war and the Lombok-expedition.

there was an element of coercion being used simultaneously. By twisting these historical facts about the Dutch's colonial era, the Dutch military state that it is in the Dutch nature to be culturally sensitive.²¹ Even in the present missions, especially in Afghanistan, the Dutch military and government refer to the Dutch Approach as a naturalness of their cultural expertise.

With the ISAF mission in Uruzgan, the Dutch military has shown that its open minded attitude towards the local population resulted in a successful mission. Since the beginning of the mission the commanders of Taskforce Uruzgan focussed their attention on the reconstruction of the area and on the 'hearts and minds' operation in order to gain the support of the local Afghani population.

The coalition partners in other provinces in Southern Afghanistan which were comprised of predominantly British and Canadian troops were surprised by the manner in which the Dutch soldiers try to achieve their goals. These coalition partners encounter frequent violent contacts with the Opposing Militant Forces (OMF). The extent of violence that they encounter is evident as many of their soldiers have been killed in action. The Canadian newspaper *Globe and Mail* stated: *"The Canadians and Americans establish forward operating bases (FOBs) in unstable areas, often building them into fortresses of giant sandbags and razor wire, and using them as a launching point for operations. The Dutch prefer to build mud-walled compounds they call "multi-functional qalas," using the Pashto name for house, designed with a traditional-style guest room for visitors."*²²

Negative attitude

In today's times, it is unfortunate to state that the Dutch soldiers show a decreased willingness to be open minded and positive with regards to accepting the traditional and social norms of different cultures.²³ This is, in part, due to the way in which different political groups have chosen to fight for their cause. For instance the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers, terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands and the War



Fig 1.2: Dutch Approach in colonial times (Illustration Bas Ooink)

Moelker, R. (2008). pp. 5-7. 21

Smith, G. (2006, December 2). Doing it the Dutch way in Afghanistan. *Globe and Mail*. 22

Bosman, F. Richardson, R. & Soeters, J. (2007). pp. 27 23

on Terror. These type of atrocities caused a change in the way Dutch citizens viewed 'foreigners'. This led to social unrest and other cultures are sometimes looked at with suspicion. Dutch society has become more polarized. Parts of the autochthonous population in the Netherlands are especially prejudiced against foreigners, particularly Muslims.²⁴ Polarisation also entails a risk for the Dutch military. Nowadays soldiers will be sent to areas with a different culture. A negative attitude, lack of knowledge and respect can have serious negative cost for a mission. The consequences of having the aforementioned combination of factors could result in the mission failing or in the loss of the lives of soldiers and local citizens.

As the Dutch society becomes more polarised, in terms of their opinions on multi-culturalism, the effect is that public opinion is segregated into more radical groups. This means that on one extreme the Dutch may feel completely willing to share everything that they have with any culture and immerse their ideals with all cultures and on the other end of the spectrum one will see opposing groups develop who are intolerant of any other culture, other than the Dutch, and intentionally discriminate against other cultures. The military is to a great extent a reflection of society and that is why one can also notice a growing intolerance of other cultures within the military. Since the terrorist attacks on September 11th, Dutch soldiers tend to be less tolerant and show less respect to differing cultures. According to the recent research of Femke Bosman et al. this trend especially occurs in units with many autochthon Dutch soldiers.²⁵

Presently, the Dutch military is an active member of ISAF-3 (International Security Assistance Force) which is a UN mandated peace mission. The Dutch armed forces are currently on a mission in Uruzgan, which is a province in Southern Afghanistan, as a part of their role with regards to the ISAF-3. There is a detachment of the Dutch army called Task Force Uruzgan (TF-U), which is involved with the stabilisation and reconstruction efforts in this area. Part of this Task Force is comprised of a Battle Group which consists of soldiers from an infantry battalion. The 12th Infantry battalion Air Assault Regiment Van Heutsz (12 Infbat AASLT RvH) was part of a Battle Group that was sent to Uruzgan during the Dutch military's first rotation to this area (August-December 2006).

12 Infbat AASLT RvH is part of the Air Manoeuvre Brigade of the Royal Netherlands Army. The battalion is trained as a rapid

24 Graveland-Vlieger, I. (2005) *Nederland in de ban van terrorisme*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit, pp. 70-76

25 Bosman, F. Richardson, R. & Soeters, J. (2007). pp. 27

reaction force and can be deployed anywhere in the world with short notice. 12 Infbat AASLT RvH is mainly an autochthonous unit of primarily white Dutch men from the age of 20 to 25 and it barely contains any so-called allochtone employees.²⁶ Journalists published articles expressing that incidents had occurred in Afghanistan, Kabul and Baghlan, which is where the units of the Air Manoeuvre Brigade were involved, as a result of a lack of knowledge and a negative attitude of the Dutch soldiers towards the local population. An example of this finding was evident in a documentary that was produced on the mission in Kabul. The footage from this documentary shows a Sergeant talking to his interpreter about oral sex and offering him pornographic videotapes.²⁷ This demonstrates the lack of knowledge of the Sergeant as the nature of the conversation is taboo in Afghanistan and the interpreter would most likely have been offended. This type of interaction does not result in developing positive relationships with the local Afghans and therefore results in detracting from the success of a mission.

More than usual culture training

12 Infbat AASLT RvH was sent on a mission to Uruzgan. This particular area of the country that they were sent to required that soldiers be more knowledgeable regarding the local culture and more familiar with the appropriate ways to interact with the local population compared to earlier missions in Afghanistan. The population in Uruzgan is more traditional than the Afghans living in the areas where the Dutch military had been before because it is more isolated. The local people in Uruzgan have barely been in contact with other cultures. The commander of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, Lt.Col. Van der Sar, recognized the sensitivity of the mission when he stated: *"I don't want to leave the Dutch Approach completely to coincidence"*²⁸

The commander therefore decided to offer more cultural awareness training to his units than was usual in earlier missions. During these earlier missions, the soldiers attended a two-hour lecture, given by the Section Cultural and Historical Backgrounds and Information (Sic CAD), about cultural awareness as a part of the so-called Mission Preparation Instructions (MGI). The MGI is a two week training programme that every soldier that goes on a mission must receive. In the course of these two weeks a number of subjects are covered

Interview with S1 12 Infbat AASLT RvH (2006). 26

Jongbloed, M. (2003), Smile and Wave, documentary. 27

(Translated) Marlet, G. (2006, May 17). Missie Uruzgan: "Vraag niet direct naar Taliban, maar of er misschien gasten zijn". Trouw. 28

that are relevant to the mission.²⁹ Soldiers that are directly involved in the reconstruction programmes in the mission area or that have to negotiate with the local leaders receive a different training programme. This additional training is called Mission Preparation Education (MGO) and is an extension to the MGI training because it includes subjects such as negotiation techniques and knowledge of local languages.

Cultural Awareness Training

Lt.Col. Van der Sar demanded additional cultural awareness training in order to better prepare his unit for the mission area. He decided to include *Cultural Awareness Training* (CAT) into the preparatory training for the mission. This *Cultural Awareness Training* programme focuses on Afghan culture and customs. The Islam and the practical side of the Afghan culture deserve additional attention. The project has been designed by the Technical Physical Research Institute (TNO) and includes case studies, lectures, discussions and a visit to a Mosque.

The Cultural Awareness Training started at the end of April 2006. Resent research by Schwerzel, employed by TNO, shows that the CAT programme has been an effective programme in preparing soldiers for the respective local culture and customs.³⁰ Therefore General Everts, who is the Director of Operations of the Army (CLAS) and is responsible for training soldiers in preparation for their mission, decided that the Cultural Awareness Training should be compulsory for every soldier that goes on a mission. The CAT is included in the MGI programme and is delivered by the Section Cultural and Historical Backgrounds and Information (Sie CAI).³¹

1.1 Objective

The objective of this research is to determine whether the current cultural training programmes used by the Dutch military are effective. However, the variables used to measure the effectiveness of culture training programmes are not known. The research's first objective is to determine what the desired effects of cultural training are and then to use these variables to measure the effectiveness of the current cultural training programmes that are delivered to the Dutch soldiers going to Uruzgan in their pre-deployment phase.

29 Gooren, R.H.E. (2006), pp. 54

30 This was tested by interviews with soldiers by Schwerzel, J.

31 Everts, P.L.E.M. (2006, August 1). *Inbedding taal- en cultuurtraining*. memo to C-OGC, C-OTCO, C-SVV.

This objective will be achieved by focusing on two different aspects. Firstly, a literature review will be conducted which will provide an overview of the international discussions on culture trainings. This will include a summary of the cultural training programmes used by four NATO countries and the international discussions by military and scientists on cultural training programmes. The objective of this literature review is to determine what variables must be achieved to consider cultural training effective. The outcome of successful cultural training will therefore result in producing the desired effects. Once the desired effects have been determined they will be examined and discussed. The CAT programme will be tested in relation to the models of effective culture training which will be provided by scientists.

Secondly, a survey will be conducted in order to research the effectiveness of the current CAT programme. The relevance and effect of the cultural awareness trainings, received by 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB, has been evaluated by the use of interviews and questionnaires among the soldiers before and after the trainings. Finally, the soldiers were questioned and interviewed after their return from their mission in Uruzgan. The results of this survey will determine whether the current CAT programme is effective in generating the desired effects by the soldiers during their mission in Uruzgan.

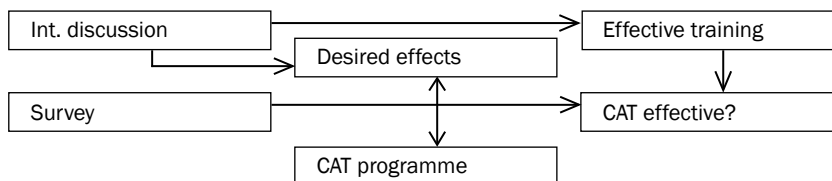


Fig 1.3: Research model effectiveness current CAT programme (2008)

Research Questions 1.2

The main questions of this study are:

- *What are the desired effects that the armed forces want to achieve in their cultural training programmes?*
- *What are the culture training methods that need to be used to generate the desired effects in soldiers during their mission?*
- *Do the current cultural training programmes of the Dutch military comply with these training methods?*
- *Are the current Dutch cultural training programmes effective in generating the desired effects?*

The following chapters in this research assignment will answer several sub-questions which relate to the main questions. In chapter 3, the author will provide an overview of the international discussions regarding the current cultural training programmes. This will be achieved by doing a literature review on the cultural training programmes, which are used in four NATO countries, which are active in Southern Afghanistan. The following questions will be answered in this chapter:

- *What are the goals and aspects of current cultural training programmes?*
- *What are the current opinions in the discussion regarding cultural training programmes?*
- *What needs to be done in the cultural preparation of a soldier to enable him/her to cooperate with different cultures in order to generate the desired effects?*

Chapter 3 will conclude by providing a framework which is called the CCT model. This contains the practical elements of a cultural training programme required to generate the desired effects.

In chapter 4, the current cultural training programme (Cultural Awareness Training) that is used by the Dutch military will be discussed. This CAT programme will be compared to the CCT model. Chapter 4 will answer the following question:

- *Do the current culture trainings used by the Dutch military meet the requirements of the effective cultural training programmes which have been scientifically proven?*

Chapters 5 to 7 discuss the results of the survey. In this survey the participants of the CAT programme were evaluated in terms of their attitude, perception and knowledge with regards to the Afghan culture. The surveys were conducted before or after the programme was received and again after the mission was completed. The results will be compared with the desired effects, which make it possible to answer the following questions:

- *Is it important to give culture training to soldiers who go on a mission?*
- *Do the current culture trainings improve the attitude/perception and knowledge/behaviour of the Dutch soldiers?*
- *Are soldiers with the current culture trainings more capable of withstanding the Culture Shock and adapting their behavioural skills than soldiers with no culture training?*

Finally, chapter 8 will conclude by providing answers to the key questions of this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss future recommendations and the measures which need to be taken to improve the cultural training programmes that are currently delivered in the Netherlands.

This thesis is built on the existence that culture, attitude and knowledge are variables that affect the way in which individuals are able to adapt to any given culture. All three factors will be discussed and explained in order to support the idea that the best form of cultural awareness training is achieved when all three factors are combined in training. In order to research the topic of cultural awareness training three different methods were used and these included a literature review, interviews and surveys. This chapter will focus on explaining the terms culture, attitude and knowledge and their relevance to cultural training. It will also provide a detailed explanation of the methodology and reasoning that formed the basis of the different research methods used throughout this thesis.

Conceptual design 2.1

Culture

Culture is a combination of time and place related customs, thoughts and religions.³² Geertz, an influential and well-regarded anthropologist states that: “...*man is an animal suspended in a web of significance, he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be an interpretive in search of meaning*”³³ Geertz is saying that culture is seen as a web which is connected in many ways. Although the quote is symbolic in its literal translation, Geertz is suggesting that one can not fully understand the culture of a certain group by only being familiar with certain aspects of this culture, as culture, like a web, is interrelated, complex and comprised of several factors. Culture is therefore the combination of many concepts and customs that influence each other.³⁴

Attitude

It is difficult to give a precise definition of attitude because most definitions are vague and they are often biased. However, there are two definitions that provide an objective overview of the meaning of ‘attitude’. Littlejohn (2002), a communication professor from Albuquerque, defines attitude by stating that it is “*an accumulation of information about an object, person, situation or experience...a predisposition to act in a positive or negative way toward some*

Peterson, P. (2004). Cultural intelligence. Boston: Intercultural Press. pp. 16 32

Geertz, C. (2000). pp. 17 33

There are several definitions about culture, but this variety is not important for this thesis. 34

object"³⁵ Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), two famous US psychologists, go on to provide a more extensive definition of how attitudes are formed, by suggesting that attitude consists of three components. These can be described as the cognitive, affective and conative components of attitude³⁶. Firstly, the cognitive component is the observed information and knowledge which the person has, with regard to an object. This information can be collected by several types of sources and its own experience. Secondly, the affective component is the central element of attitude since it shows a negative or positive judgement. This component is dependent of the outcome of the cognitive component. This component contains the feelings and emotions which are in relation to the object. Thirdly, the conative component is the tendency or intention to act with one's formulated attitude. A positive attitude not always leads to action.³⁷

Cultural awareness training influences the cognitive component. By explaining the reasons why culture came to be a certain way, with regards to a specific culture, allows the student to understand the meaning of why variables in that culture may be different from their own. For example, a hand gesture in Dutch culture may be polite but mean something completely different in Arabic culture. If soldiers knew the difference and could see how it came to be a different interpretation by the other culture, then it is more plausible that the soldier would interpret another culture in a positive manner. The soldiers gain a deeper understanding of the culture in which they receive training on.

Fishbein's definition of attitude suggests that cultural training has an effect on the affective component. Using the aforementioned definition, this would suggest that the soldiers will be more likely to have a positive outlook on the culture on which training was received. The greater the percentage of soldiers with open-minded and positive attitudes towards the culture in which they find themselves, the greater the possibility that they will treat the local people with fairness and respect and the greater the opportunity the military will have at a successful mission. One might therefore suggest that cultural training is imperative as it indirectly supports a successful mission.

Knowledge

Knowledge can be described in several ways, however it is commonly defined as: "*...awareness or familiarity gained by*

35 Littlejohn, S. (2002). pp. 39

36 Fishbein, M. Ajzen, I. (1975). pp. 43

37 Ibidem. pp. 45

experience of a fact or situation."³⁸ Therefore, knowledge refers to awareness: *Awareness is to be aware, cognizant, conscious, sensible, alive, awake, meaning knowledge of something.*³⁹ This suggests that the greater a person's knowledge on a certain subject or culture is, the more he is able to make an informed decision based on the circumstance and culture in which he finds himself.

For example, if a Dutch soldier received cultural awareness training with regards to the Afghan culture and was taught that showing the bottom of the foot was considered very rude and disrespectful. Then hypothetically speaking, one might assume that because of this knowledge the soldier would be better equipped to hold a meeting with an Afghani elder, where he may have to sit on the ground and potentially show the bottom of his foot as is typical in the Netherlands. The soldier in this situation would have the knowledge received by the cultural awareness training to seat himself in an acceptable and respectful position. This soldier would most likely be in a greater position to gain what he required from the Afghani elder and therefore indirectly affect the success of the mission. Knowledge is therefore imperative and by increasing one's knowledge base on a certain culture, the soldiers become more aware of the culture of their host nation and they can use this knowledge to adapt the way in which they choose to interrelate or behave.

Research design 2.2

In this thesis several research methods have been used. Firstly, a literature review was conducted on the different types of cultural awareness training programmes that are currently being used in Canada, the UK, the US and in the Netherlands as well as an overview of international recommendations on cultural awareness training programmes. The purpose of this literature review was to provide current information on the types of programmes and research that proved to be effective worldwide in order to determine the variables that one can use to measure the effectiveness of cultural awareness training. Secondly, interviews and surveys were used to determine the effectiveness of the CAT programme among Dutch soldiers in Afghanistan. The purpose of this research was to determine if the CAT programme was effective in terms of reducing Culture Shock and if it enabled the soldiers to interrelate with Afghans appropriately. The two sections interrelate because the literature review provides the variables which were then used

Website: 'The free dictionary' (2004). www.thefreedictionary.com/knowledge. 38

ibidem: awareness. 39

as measurement tools in order to determine the effectiveness of the CAT programme. The following section will focus on both the different types of cultural training programmes that are used internationally and the effectiveness of the CAT programme among Dutch soldiers in Afghanistan.

2.2.1 International discussion

The armed forces of several NATO countries make an extensive effort to share the knowledge they have gained in terms of cultural training by organising international symposia. However, this is secondary to the pivotal role that literature studies and publications play in being able to disperse information world-wide on the effective and ineffective types of cultural training available today. Furthermore, literature studies play a central role in the international discussions on cultural training programmes.⁴⁰ The development and importance of cultural training programmes over time will be discussed and current cultural training programmes in NATO countries that are active in Southern Afghanistan such as Canada, the US, the UK and the Netherlands will be evaluated.

After researching the current situation of the cultural training programmes in aforementioned countries a literature study will be done on the international vision and discussion on cultural training programmes and how they should play a role in the future. The dangers of a lack of training will be discussed and the desired effects will be determined. In chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis the results of the international discussion on cultural training programmes and the equation with the CAT programme will be presented. In addition, this research will incorporate a literature review on the international scientific discussions on cultural training. The focus of this section of the review will be to determine the most effective training methods. Finally, these results will be collected in a discussion and the author will design a model based on the international findings regarding effective culture training, which can be used to test the current CAT programme in the Netherlands.

2.2.2 Practical research

The second method used in this research is a survey among the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB.

⁴⁰ In Juli 2008 a symposium was organized in Shrivenham, United Kingdom. Culture training experts from the US, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany and the UK were invited to discuss the future of cultural training.

These units were tested during the pre-deployment phase of the mission to Uruzgan. After their return from the mission they were asked to fill out a survey. The surveys provide insight into the relevance of cultural awareness trainings. They were designed to test whether or not the cultural awareness trainings were effective enough to generate the desired results.

In addition to these questionnaires, several series of interviews were held, both with soldiers in the pre-deployment phase and after the mission. These interviews were used in order to answer the question if, and to what extent, during previous missions, incidents had occurred due to a lack of cultural awareness. The number of incidents gives an indication of the relevance of cultural awareness trainings before a mission. These soldiers were also asked about their opinions regarding the training sessions which intend to indicate the effectiveness of the cultural awareness trainings.

CAT programme for 12 Infbat AASLT RvH

In the survey two cultural awareness training types have been studied. Firstly, the CAT programme for the first entry units such as 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, and secondly, the modern cultural awareness training designed for follow up units such as 13 Infbat AASLT STPB. The research methods used to analyse the CAT programme will be discussed first.

During both the pre-deployment phase and the post-deployment phase of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH several questionnaires were distributed and interviews were held in order to test the knowledge and attitude of the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH regarding cultural awareness.

Table 2.1 shows the time frames in which the different questionnaires and interviews were conducted. While acknowledging the importance of research into the relevance and effectiveness of the CAT programme, the commander of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, Lt.Col. Van der Sar, expressed his concern regarding the amount of time the surveys and interviews would take for the soldiers to complete.⁴¹ The reason for this concern is because the pre-deployment program of a unit destined to go on a foreign mission is always under heavy time pressure. Within a short period of time soldiers have to prepare themselves for their mission. This time can be very busy and stressful with the short time frame and increased intensity of their work load. It was with this parameter in-mind that the surveys were developed.

Interview with Lt.Col. Sar, P. van der (2006) 41

Type of questionnaire	Type of research	Explanation	Period of time	Respondents
Survey concerning the CAT programme in the pre-deployment phase	Pre-measurement questionnaires	Questionnaires handed out before the CAT programme	March–June 2006	197
	Post-measurement questionnaires	Questionnaires handed out after the CAT programme	March–June 2006	123
	Post-measurement interviews	Interviews held after respondents had the CAT programme	March–June 2006	38
Survey after the mission in the post deployment phase	Questionnaires after the mission	Questionnaires handed out among soldiers after their mission to Uruzgan	January 2007	302

Table 2.1: Timing of survey methods used in the study of the CAT programme

In order to design the most effective way to measure the extent to which cultural awareness training was able to reduce Culture Shock and improve the ability of the Dutch soldiers to behave appropriately within the cultural framework of their host country, an extensive list of questions was set up. They focused on the attitude towards people of a different culture as well as the knowledge base that soldiers possessed regarding the Afghani culture. The survey was distributed at two different points in time. 197 of the Dutch soldiers were given the questionnaire to complete before they had received CAT programme and 123 were surveyed once they had completed this training. By taking this approach, the effectiveness of the CAT programme could be measured without influencing the outcome of the survey. The reason for this is because it eliminated the bias in having the soldiers answer the same questionnaire twice. The groups that filled in the questionnaire were comparable as they were from the same battalion and were similar in terms of; gender, age, rank and deployment experience.

A total of 320 soldiers were surveyed. Unfortunately, this entire group was not given the same questionnaire to complete which means that there had to be a reduction in sample size of the original survey size. The reason for the change in survey was due to the negative affect that resulted from the questions asked in the first questionnaire regarding the Dutch soldiers' attitudes towards Muslims. These questions were therefore replaced by a new set of statements which focused on the behavioural interactions between Dutch soldiers and Afghans in Afghanistan.

The second grouping does not allow for as many opinions as the first grouping of questions because it focuses on one's knowledge base as opposed to one's feelings towards the cultural difference. Therefore the change in questionnaires provides a comparison between the Dutch soldiers' knowledge and attitude towards Afghani culture. This change in survey will be discussed in detail later in this section however, it is important to note that all questionnaires had sufficient respondents in order to come up with a reliable findings on the attitude and knowledge of the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH towards the Afghani culture.

All groups of questions in the survey could be answered according to a five-point scale. The questionnaire consists of the following clusters:

- *Background information*
- *Ethnic minorities*
 - *Cultural Awareness*
 - *Multi Cultural Attitude*
- *Acculturation*
- *Attitude towards Muslims*
- *Perception of the Afghans*
- *Behaviour in Afghanistan*

Below the lists of questions used in the survey will be explained and the reliability test scores will be indicated.

Cultural Awareness

Seven statements were used in the survey to determine the respondents level of cultural awareness. The questions were asked using positive phrasing. The statements that were used relate to the willingness of the participant to interrelate with a different culture. The Cultural Awareness list of questions used in the survey is based on Sharma, Shimp & Shin (1995).⁴² These questions show a Cronbach's Alpha of test score 0.83⁴³, which illustrates that it is reliable.

Multi Cultural Attitude (MCA)

The Multi Cultural Attitude (MCA) is based on the 'Canadian Multicultural Ideology Scale'. This scale is used to measure an individual's attitude towards a multicultural society.⁴⁴ In 2000, Richardson adapted this scale into a five-point range while translating it from English into Dutch. It was used in 2006 in

Sharma, S. a.o. (1995). pp. 26-37 42

The Cronbach's Alpha is a figure between 0 and 1 that indicates the reliability; a score higher than 0.7 means a list is reliable. 43

Berry, J.W. & Kalin, R. (1995). pp. 301-320 44

the research of Dr. Bosman et al. regarding the attitude of the Dutch soldiers towards ethnic minorities.⁴⁵ Richardson's list of questions has been used in this survey.

Attitude towards Muslims

The list with questions in the survey that were centered around the attitude towards Muslims was designed by the author. Islam plays a very important role in the Afghan culture.⁴⁶ It is for this reason that it was deemed to be important to add these questions into the surveys.

The questions regarding the attitude of the soldiers towards Muslims were derived from typical Dutch typecasting. For example, a stereotype in Holland could be that Muslim women should be treated differently to Western women. The intention of this survey is to explore the extent to which the Dutch soldiers are influenced by recent developments regarding radical Islam and the extent to which this belief affects their opinion regarding Islam in general.

Due to the direct nature in which the questions regarding the soldiers attitude towards Muslims were asked, the trainers from the CAT programme voiced their concern because they started to experience resistance from those soldiers who had completed the survey during the training session. Several of the soldiers expressed their frustration with the directness of the questions regarding their opinions towards Muslims and had felt that the questions were designed in order to confirm that they were racist in some form and that the intention of the cultural awareness training was a way of rectifying these perceptions of Muslims.

It was for this reason that the questions were removed from the survey as they directly challenged the integrity of the CAT programme. The intent of cultural training in the Dutch military is to enhance and encourage open-minded teachings and to detract from this purpose would have been negligent as a researcher. Nevertheless, there were enough respondents to use the list of questions regarding the attitude of the soldiers towards Muslims in the analysis. There were 122 soldiers surveyed in the pre-measurement phase and 75 in the post-measurement phase. The reliability test showed a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.80 with a standard deviation of 0.69. This means that the survey that was developed and used is reliable and valid.

45 Bosman, F., Richardson, R. & Soeters J. (2007). pp. 339-361

46 Vogelsang, W. (2002). *The Afghans*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc. pp. 43-62

Dutch soldiers' perception of the Afghans

In order to devise a set of questions that would be able to give a reliable and valid overview of the Dutch soldiers' perceptions of the Afghani peoples, two separate sources were used. The first set of questions was designed by the author and compiled by using commonly received feedback from the Dutch soldiers regarding their mission and experiences in Afghanistan. An example of this type of question is: "*I think that the culture of the Afghan population is comparable to the culture of the Muslims in the Netherlands*". The reliability test showed that this survey had a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.56. This score suggests that the survey did not sufficiently measure the perceptions of the Dutch soldiers towards Afghans in a reliable manner.

The second source from which the questions were derived was from an existing set of statements designed by Netemeyer, Durvasula & Lichtenstein in 1991.⁴⁷ This survey has been translated into Dutch and it passed the reliability test with a score of 0.73. This suggests that the second set of questions were both reliable and valid. The reason two sources were used to create the statements for this survey was because the first list of questions was unreliable on its own and the second set of questions was not specific enough, in terms of the Dutch soldiers and the Afghani culture. However, the results of the first set of questions were measured in combination with the second set of questions and together as one survey they showed a reliability test score of 0.71. This created an opportunity to reduce bias by remaining specific with the questions being asked and reliable in terms of the test scores.

Behaviour in Afghanistan

A list of statements was used to determine the level of knowledge that the Dutch soldiers possessed on the behavioural norms of Afghans. This list was designed by Schwerzel of TNO who was a cultural anthropologist specializing in the Asian society. The list of statements used in the survey for this research assignment was based on the curriculum that is used in CAT programme. The statements are designed in order to measure the level of knowledge that a soldier possesses in terms of the behavioural norms in Afghanistan.

The CAT programme is intended to teach the soldiers what to expect when they arrive in Afghanistan and how to interact and behave while dealing with the local Afghans. In order to measure whether the soldiers were learning the important cultural differences between Dutch culture and Afghani culture

Netemeyer, R.G. a.o. (1991), pp. 320-27 47

as intended. The statements were phrased to measure the ability of the soldiers to apply what they had understood or retained from the CAT programme. This would suggest that if the results showed a higher level of cultural/behavioural awareness for the sample group who were surveyed after the CAT programme was received as opposed to the group questioned before taking the CAT programme, then training was effective because it resulted in learning. The questions deal with everyday interactions with the Afghan population. The statements are based on a five-point scale, in which answer 3 can be regarded as: 'I don't know'. The Cronbach's Alpha score on this list is 0.75.

When the soldiers of 12 infbat AASLT RvH returned in the fall of 2006, more information became available on the situation in Uruzgan. During the preparations for the mission it was already clear that Uruzgan was a dangerous mission area. During the mission the units had considerably more firing contact than they had anticipated before the mission started.⁴⁸ Soldiers were asked follow-up questions related to their experiences in Afghanistan once the mission was completed because the reality of the situation in Uruzgan was different to what the soldiers were taught to expect during their CAT programme. This was done in order to determine whether the CAT programme was effective in adequately preparing the soldiers for the reality of the mission in Afghanistan.

The post-mission survey was held at the end of January, 2007. A total of 302 soldiers completed the questionnaire. There were 204 soldiers from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH. This group received both the MGI and the CAT programmes. There were also 98 soldiers from supporting units that were surveyed and most of this group had completed the MGI training, but most of this group had not received the CAT programme. By comparing these two groups, effectiveness of the CAT programme could be analysed.

The questionnaire consists of two different clusters of questions. The first cluster is a list of introductory questions concerning the background of the soldier and the cultural awareness trainings he/she has participated in. The respondent was also asked about his/her experiences with the trainings and its connection with the mission. In addition the soldier was asked about his/her intercultural interactions during the mission.

The second cluster is the list of questions based on the soldiers' knowledge base on cultural awareness. This set of survey

48 ANP (2007, January 22). 'Er zijn nog heel lang troepen nodig in Uruzgan'. ANP.

questions is the same list that was used in the survey that was conducted at the pre-deployment stage of 12 infbat AASLT RvH and was previously termed 'Behaviour in Afghanistan'.

Interviews

Individual interviews were conducted in addition to the pre-mission and post-mission surveys. These interviews provided qualitative information regarding the relevance and effectiveness of the CAT programme while the surveys that were conducted provided the quantitative information. The interviews were held pre- and post-mission to Afghanistan. The pre-mission interview focused on the soldiers' opinions regarding the CAT programme. The soldiers that participated in this interview were asked to give their feedback on how effective they thought the CAT programme was in benefiting the mission. In total 38 interviews were conducted with soldiers from all ranks as well as some soldiers from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH. These interviews were held either directly before or after the CAT programme.

The interviews were conducted using the STAR-method (Situation, Task, Action, Reaction).⁴⁹ At first information on the situation was sketched: rank, age and deployment experience of the respondents were asked. At the start of the interview participants were asked to give their rank, age and deployment experience in order to provide a contextual overview on the individual. This is important because each factor affects the context of the questions that were to follow. For example, a soldier that is young with much deployment experience may have a different perspective to those soldiers who are older with no deployment experience. These factors were important to consider in order to reduce bias. Following this, the author asked the Dutch soldiers questions regarding the role they were to assume in the upcoming mission as well as the position that they filled during their previous missions. If an interviewee stated that he/she had been on a mission before the interviewer asked about the nature of the interactions that the participant had experienced with the local population.

The second interview was conducted after the return of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, which was between the end of January and the beginning of February 2007. Having the soldiers return from their mission provided the opportunity to question them on their experiences with the locals in Uruzgan. It also allowed the researcher to investigate whether the CAT programme, that they had received in the pre-deployment, effectively depicted

Lehigh University (2002). S.T.A.R. Method for Behavioral Interviewing. Lehigh University, United Kingdom, <http://www.lehigh.edu/~incpp/students/behavioralinterviewing.html>

the reality of the situation in Uruzgan and whether the soldiers had felt adequately equipped to interact in a positive way with the locals using the information that they had received in their CAT programme. In addition, the author inquired about anecdotes of inter-cultural contacts and the way in which soldiers responded to these situations. In total ten soldiers, of different ranks, were interviewed.

Modern cultural awareness trainings for 13 Infbat AASLT STPB

In this section the survey and the interviews, regarding the measurement of the modern cultural awareness trainings that were held for the follow up units, will be discussed. In the table below the survey methods with reference to the modern cultural awareness trainings are mentioned.

The 13th Infantry Battalion Air Assault 'Stoottroepen' Prins Bernhard (13 Infbat AASLT STPB) is also part of the 11th Air Manoeuvre Brigade. This battalion was in Srebrenica during the fall of the enclave in 1995 and lost two men during the mission in Iraq in 2005. Throughout their mission in Uruzgan the 13th faced strong resistance by the Taliban. This suggests that this battalion has a history of tough missions. In order to be able to explore any changes in the cultural awareness of the soldiers of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB, the soldiers had to first fill in a questionnaire before their mission started. The pre-mission questionnaires were conducted at two different points. One group of soldiers, 107 in total, completed the questionnaire before they had received the CAT programme (pre-measurement) and the other group of 76 soldiers completed their survey after they had received this training (post-measurement). In total 183 soldiers that were assigned to the mission filled in the questionnaires.

The level of cultural sensitivity that a person possesses can be measured in two parts. One is the persons attitude towards another culture and the other part is their knowledge base of the cultural norms of that culture. The questionnaires that were used consisted of several questions that intended on measuring the soldiers' perception of Afghans and the extent of their knowledge regarding appropriate behaviours while interacting with local Afghans. It would seem logical that if both groups that were surveyed, those receiving the questionnaire before CAT programme and those who received it after CAT programme were to show similar scores, then one might assume that there was no affect in receiving cultural awareness training. This suggests that by analysing the soldiers scores from the questionnaires and comparing the two groups, one can draw conclusions about possible changes in the levels of cultural sensitivity of the soldiers from 13 Infbat AASLT STPB.

Type of questionnaire	Type of research	Explanation	Period of time	Respondents
Survey concerning the modern cultural awareness training in pre-deployment phase	Pre-measurement questionnaires	Questionnaires handed out before the modern cultural awareness training	February–April 2007	107
	Post-measurement questionnaires	Questionnaires handed out after the modern cultural awareness training	February–April 2007	76
Survey after the mission in post deployment phase	Questionnaires after the mission	Questionnaires handed out among soldiers after their mission to Uruzgan	May 2008	268
	Interviews after the mission	Interviews held with soldiers after their mission to Uruzgan	May 2008	10

Table 2.2: Timing of methods used in the study of the modern cultural awareness training

Perception of the population

A list of questions about the respondents perception of Afghans was also included in the survey. The twenty one questions that were used in the survey were designed by Van der Zee. The perception that the Dutch soldiers have of Afghan citizens can be divided into four components. These variables can be listed as follows; the extent to which the Dutch soldiers' possess a positive perspective regarding Afghans, the Dutch soldiers' perception of the technical knowledge and skill of the Afghans, the Dutch soldiers' perception regarding the willingness of the Afghans to cooperate with them and the Dutch soldiers' attitude towards the conservativeness of the Afghans. The score derived from answering these questions intends on portraying the soldiers' perception as well as their attitude towards Afghans.

Behaviour towards the population

A list of four questions was used to measure the nature of the behaviour of the soldiers towards the Afghans. The four questions test the soldiers' knowledge regarding the main principles of the Afghan culture which are as follows; criticising someone in public, attitude towards women, indirectness and hierarchy. The scores of the questionnaire are able to provide insight into the degree of cultural sensitivity that the soldiers possess and therefore they will also indicate the cultural knowledge base that the Dutch soldiers have. The level of knowledge that the soldiers possess can also be used to make inferences regarding the way that the soldier will interrelate with local Afghans as knowledge and behaviour are closely linked.

Respondents had to fill in a score between 1 and 9. The questions were set-up in such a way that the lower the score in this range, the more appropriate the behaviour. This means that the respondent indicating an answer of '9', would be selecting the answer which was the most inappropriate behaviour with regards to Afghani culture and ranging through to an answer of '1', which would be the most open-minded and appropriate way of interacting. By comparing the scores of the soldiers who had answered the questionnaires before the CAT programme with those of the soldiers who completed the surveys after the CAT programme, one is able to analyse whether intercultural attitudes or the knowledge base of Dutch soldiers changed as a result of the training. Using the results from this comparison, conclusions can be made regarding the effectiveness of CAT programme.

The second portion of the survey was conducted after the mission to Afghanistan and was comprised of the same questions as that of the first survey. The initial questionnaire was carried out before or after soldiers from 13 Infbat AASLT STPB attended cultural awareness training programme yet before the mission began.

The questions were identical in both surveys which allowed for accurate comparison however, the second survey conducted after the mission asked additional questions which pertained to the soldiers' deployment experience, their age, rank and role during the mission. It was imperative to keep the surveys anonymous because if the soldiers had felt that their answers could have been linked to them and potentially punished for their opinions, then the survey would have been biased. In order to be able to compare each soldier's questionnaires without error and protecting their privacy, a plan was devised to use the respondent's registration number. Using this number, the soldiers' surveys, that were completed before and after the mission, could be compared. This registration number was deleted immediately after it had been used to successfully match the surveys. Every questionnaire was paired up successfully and the results could therefore be compared in order to analyse whether soldiers experienced a change in their competences, attitude or knowledge with regards to cultural awareness.

In the second survey that was conducted after the soldiers mission, the respondents were asked about their experiences during their assignment to Afghanistan. They were asked questions regarding the amount and type of interaction that they had had with the local population and whether they had felt prepared, in terms of cultural awareness training, to interact effectively with the local people.

Generalisation 2.3

Although this research is specifically aimed at measuring whether the Dutch cultural training programmes are effective in generating the desired effects of Dutch soldiers on their mission to Afghanistan, designers of training programmes from other NATO countries can certainly benefit from the results. Furthermore, most cultural training programmes that are delivered today are similar in framework and design and it is for this reason that any person involved in the development of cultural awareness training could benefit from the conclusions and recommendations made in this thesis.

12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB are mainly autochthonous units which consist of Western soldiers. These soldiers interrelate according to Western culture and therefore, one can assume that the outcomes relate to more similar units. There are small cultural differences between the different battalions of the air manoeuvre brigade but, overall the battalions are very similar. This means that the outcomes of the research also apply to other infantry units in NATO countries.

The methods and terms that were described in this chapter will be used to answer the questions that were formulated in chapter 1. The following chapter will provide an overview on the current cultural training methods that are being delivered worldwide in combination with an in-depth literature review on the recommendations of previously conducted studies. Finally, a model will be illustrated which intends on demonstrating a practical framework on which culture training/education can be based.

Current and future cultural training programmes

Since the beginning of the post-Cold War period, military commanders and scientists have debated the implementation of cultural training programmes in the pre-deployment of the armed forces. NATO countries which started with peace keeping operations after the cold war concluded that the cultural aspect during missions was far more important than they initially assumed. Soldiers had to win the trust of the local population, which were very sceptical towards UN troops. As a result of these initial peacekeeping missions, an international discussion started regarding the implementation of cultural training programmes. This discussion was even intensified after the 9-11 attacks and the beginning of the War on Terror. The War on Terror presented the world with a new kind of warfare, where it was even more important to win the 'Hearts and Minds' of the local population.

This chapter examines this international discussion regarding the implementation of culture training, and the following questions were pivotal to this discussion:

- *What are the goals and aspects of current culture training?*
- *What are the current opinions in the discussion regarding culture training?*
- *What needs to be done in the cultural preparation of a soldier, to enable him/her to cooperate with culturally different peoples to be able to generate the desired effects?*

The answers to these questions will be found by determining the cultural training programmes of other NATO countries, active in Southern Afghanistan. A literature study will also be involved in attaining the conclusions. This discussion will lead to a formation of elements for a successful cultural training programme. A *Cross-Cultural Training* model (CCT model) will be formed by these elements. This model consists of a practical curriculum, which contains the elements of what are considered to be effective culture training methods. The model consists of four phases; the initial education; the pre-deployment; the deployment; and the re-deployment. This model can help culture training agencies with developing a standardized cultural training programme. In chapter 4 the CCT model will be compared with the current cultural training programme in the Netherlands.

Culture in military operations 3.1

After the terroristic attacks on September 11th 2001, the coalition of the 'willing and able', led by the US, started a 'War

on Terror' against rogue states like Afghanistan and Iraq.⁵⁰ In this new unconventional war, western armed forces used *counter insurgency* tactics to defeat these new enemies. Often the enemy forces consisted of irregular warring factions with no conventional structure or hierarchy. The roles civilians play in the outcome of these wars can no longer be ignored: The coalition forces have found that they have had to win the trust of the local population in order to help them defeat the enemy.

This new approach demands better preparation for the mission; soldiers need to learn to be aware of the local culture and customs and negotiation skills in order to win the 'Hearts and Minds' of the local population.⁵¹ Canada and the Netherlands, as well as the UK and the US used this approach during missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. These four countries are involved in missions in Southern Afghanistan, an area with a largely homogeneous culture. As there is no global standard for the preparation of armed forces for operations in culturally different environments, the military in the four countries have their own cultural training programmes. The questions presented are:

- *What are the goals and aspects are of these different culture trainings?*
- *Are these trainings somewhat comparable?*

In the following subparagraphs the recent military history of the armed forces of the four countries will be examined and the cultural preparation will be compared.

3.1.1 Cultural awareness training in the United Kingdom

In contrast to what most British soldiers tend to believe, the British forces face a lack of cultural understanding and sensibility in Iraq and Afghanistan. More often than not soldiers behaved too aggressively and violently during enemy attacks and the local population suffered from these reactions. The behaviour towards the local population showed a lack of cultural awareness: Soldiers using dogs to search the civilians in Iraq and Afghanistan, and entering qualas unattended and without permission disregarding the unveiled Afghani women are two recent examples. This behaviour resulted in anti-coalition demonstrations in these mission areas, and even attacks on Britains soil.⁵²

50 Randal, J. (2004). Osama. The making of a terrorist. **Bert Bakker**. pp. 9

51 Ooink, B.J.H. (2006). Van Soepjurk tot Gespreskspartner, Cultural awareness training ten behoeve van de missie naar Uruzgan. Breda: Nederlandse Defensie Academie.

52 Antony Thomas, (2008) Inside the Koran, Juniper Communications Ltd, documentary.

The reason for a lack of cultural understanding could be that the British are still reminded of their success of counter-insurgency in the past. The British seem to know that in the past their successes were a consequence of the contacts they had with the local population. It seems that the British tend to have the feeling that cultural awareness is in their blood; they do not need culture training, because they have a natural cultural sensitivity.⁵³ It is partly because of this, that cultural awareness is currently a very underdeveloped aspect of the preparation for missions abroad. After WWII the British forces were involved in dozens of operations in (former) colonies. These operations were all performed under conditions where the British needed to win the 'Hearts and Minds' of the local population. The British needed to fight an asymmetrical enemy during counter-insurgency operations. Apart from Korea and the Falklands, every war the British have fought in the last half of the 20th century was counter-insurgency based.⁵⁴ The British had the aspiration to join the US military in the preparation of a large conventional army to defend Europe against the Soviets.

The Ministry of Defence considered the small wars in the former colonies as of lesser importance. The learning curve was persistently steep in each of these small wars, as the military leaders in place had gained their experience and military maturity in the fight against the axis powers. In every small war the military had to re-learn the most important lessons. The British treated each new conflict with a conventional approach and struggled to adapt. The troubles in Northern Ireland and the British response are another example of forgetting history. Mostly the British commanders used experience they gained during the colonial period before and right after WWII.⁵⁵ The last large counter-insurgency operation by the British was in Malaya in the 1950s and 60s, after this operation the British forces re-aimed their focus on the defence of the European soil, forgetting their lessons learned.⁵⁶

Since 1969 the British military was involved in counter-insurgency operations in Northern Ireland, the height of this conflict was in the 1980s and 1990s which put an enormous amount of pressure on the capacity of the British forces. Almost every unit of the army was transformed into infantry and shipped towards Northern Ireland. This transformation caused an adaptation of the British army doctrine with regards to the situation in Northern

<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/20060908.military.garfield.britishperspectiveiraq.html> 53

Cassidy, R.M. (2005). pp. 57 54

Ibidem. pp. 125-223 55

Ibidem. pp. 55 56

Ireland. This new doctrine took away the attention of other peace missions that most other western nations were involved in. These other nations learned from cultural insensitivity the hard way, a lesson the British forgot after the 1960s.⁵⁷

The British military did not totally forget their approach in counter-insurgency operations; they instead used the approach created in the colonial era in current operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. This approach does not work, because unlike in former colonies, the British do not have an effective administration in these mission areas, and they are not permitted to use excessive force towards the local population, a crucial factor of their colonial successes.⁵⁸

There is a lot of criticism within the British military, regarding the organization and doctrine of the British forces. The current British forces are trained for large conventional warfare, while current operations tend to be small and unconventional. The British tend to rely on their experiences in the past, but the soldiers with these experiences are the soldiers that only were involved in Northern Ireland.⁵⁹ In the British forces the Battalion is responsible for the pre-deployment preparation of its soldiers. This includes trainings like cultural awareness. What mostly happens is that the Battalion



Fig 3.1: Operation Banner in Northern Ireland (Photo Canadiancontinent.com)

57 Cassidy, R.M. (2005). pp. 57-58

58 Ibidem. pp. 58-59

59 Kiszely, J. (2007). pp. 16

commander invites an expert from a university to lecture to the whole Battalion at once. *"They put 800 men in a flight hangar, officers up front and the lower ranks in the back. And then they listen for four hours to a lecture of a professor. The first two rows are paying attention, but in the back they are all sleeping."*⁶⁰ As a consequence of this kind of culture information given by a university professor, the British score badly on cultural awareness during their mission. In Iraq, where the British controlled Basra, their lack of cultural awareness caused many incidents.

Since March 2007 the British armed forces adapted their doctrine to post-modern warfare towards the small wars and counter-insurgency operations that they are facing today. This new doctrine also meant a serious reshaping of training and education.⁶¹ In 2007 the British forces founded an agency, as part of the *Directorate of Targeting and Information Operations* (DTIO), to collect and use information of the culture and customs in the mission area: the *DI human factors*. One of the work groups in this agency is the *Social Group and Cultural Profiling*. Its main tasks are: designing profiles of the main population in mission areas; making cultural guides for the troops on the ground; and analysing cultural networks in the mission area.⁶² The DTIO would be perfect to train all British soldiers that go on a mission, although this is not described as one of their main tasks. The problem is that the DI Human Factors is too high in the military hierarchy, which makes it often inaccessible, which effectively makes training and 'lessons learned' impossible.

In addition to the training programmes of DTIO, the British forces have contracted LINE communications group, a provider of e-learning and communications solutions, to design an e-learning programme regarding cultural awareness in the pre-deployment phase. LINE develops a *"blend of on-screen activities, classroom based presentation materials and electronic resources to cover the requirements of each project. Video based scenarios and a commander's briefing pack will be key features of the courseware [...] Personnel from all three Services, Army, Royal Navy and Royal Air Force will use the courseware as part of their pre-deployment preparation."*⁶³ This programme is still under construction.

Due to the narrow focus the British military are lagging behind in the area of cultural training programmes. To improve the British

Interview with Lt.Col. Gooren, R.H.E. (2008). 60

Kiszely, J. (2007). pp. 12-14 61

DTIO-DI HFAD (2006). DI Human Factors, Taking a different perspective on intelligence, flyer. 62

E-mail communication from DTIO-DI HFAD to Sie CAI (June 5th, 2008). 63

effort in this area, the Cranfield Defence Academy organized a symposium in Shrivenham, UK in June 2008, called "Culture in Conflict". During this symposium, key figures of several culture training facilities in the US, Canada, the Netherlands and Germany, exchanged thoughts about the future of culture training.⁶⁴

3.1.2 Cultural awareness training in the United States

Like the UK, the US based their strategy and doctrine on the Cold War. Large-scale, hi-tech, inter-state conflicts, which were perceived axiomatically to be '*modern warfare*', were the norm. The Americans were concerned about a large conventional attack from the Soviets, and therefore designed their armed forces, doctrine and training to sustain this attack.⁶⁵ The mindset of the US during the Cold War was that the end state that matters was the military one; operational success is achieved by the application of lethal firepower which, in return, is largely a question of targeting and physical manoeuvrability; the effects achieved are physical ones; the means to an end are largely by attrition: destroying targets until there are none left; technology will disperse or at least penetrate 'the impenetrable fog of war. Given sufficient resources, all campaigns are winnable – and quick; the world is divided into 'enemy forces' and 'friendly forces'; and the operational picture can be seen in distinct colours: black and white.⁶⁶

Like the British, the US saw small wars, or *Operations Other Than War* (OOTW) as distractions from the 'real job', therefore the US never trained their military for counter-insurgency operations, the so-called *post-modern warfare*.⁶⁷ In 1965, the US started their operation in Vietnam. This war was a prototype of counter-insurgency operations during the Cold War. The USSR backed the regime of the Vietcong; the US military had the idea that they were fighting communists, sent by Russia, instead of nationalists. This perception was even enforced by the fact that the government they supported in South Vietnam, called every form of opposition an act of communism, in order to gain help from the US armed forces.

In 1956, Ngo Dinh Diem, a staunchly anti-Communist figure from the South, won a controversial election that made him president

64 Defence Academy of the UK (2008). Culture in Conflict, Cranfield University, Shrivenham UK, 10-11 June 2008, symposium.

65 Kiszely, J. (2007). pp. 6

66 Ibidem. pp. 8-9

67 Ibidem. pp. 6

of South Vietnam. From his first days in power, Diem faced stiff opposition from his opponents. He urged the US to support his counter-revolutionary alternative, claiming that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), or North Vietnam, wanted to take South Vietnam by force. In late 1957, with American aid, Diem began to counterattack. He used the help of the American *Central Intelligence Agency* to identify those who sought to bring his government down and subsequently arrested thousands. In 1959, Diem passed a series of acts known as Law 10/59 that made it legal to hold someone in jail if they were a suspected communist without bringing formal charges.⁶⁸ This perception resulted in large scale seek and destroy operations, led by the commander of the *Military Assistance Combat Vietnam* (MACV), General Westmoreland. Those large-scale sweeps, frequently supported by extensive artillery fire and massive air strikes, often resulted in heavy casualties and fostered anti-US sentiment among the Vietnamese.⁶⁹

Even in Vietnam, where the US military were convinced with the idea that they were fighting Soviet insurgents, they tried to fight a conventional war, using excessive violence and modern technology to fight a guerrilla army, which resulted in many civilian casualties. General Westmoreland refused to accept the strategy of counter-insurgency. When General Abrams, the new installed commander of the MACV in 1968 received a briefing by one of the members of Westmoreland's staff he was shocked by the narrow vision: "*The briefer stated that the mission was to 'seek out and destroy the enemy', the mission of MACV under General Westmoreland for the past four years. Abrams stopped the briefing and wrote out on an easel 'The mission is not to seek out and destroy the enemy. The mission is to provide protection for the people in Viet Nam.'*"⁷⁰

Not all units in the US military believed in the modern tactics of General Westmoreland. The *US Marine Corps* (USMC) designed their own strategy to defeat the enemy, based on counter-insurgency performance of the British small wars. The USMC designed *Combined Action Platoons* (CAPs); small units that were trained to live among the local population and to assist them in their daily life. This approach demanded extensive training in Vietnamese culture and the Marines received language training even building a replica of a Vietnamese village.

After the Vietnam-war, which ended in 1975, the US refocused on the Russian threat and the possibility of large, conventional

<http://vietnam.vassar.edu/overview.html> 68

<http://www.capmarine.com> 69

Kiszely, J. (2007). pp. 10 70

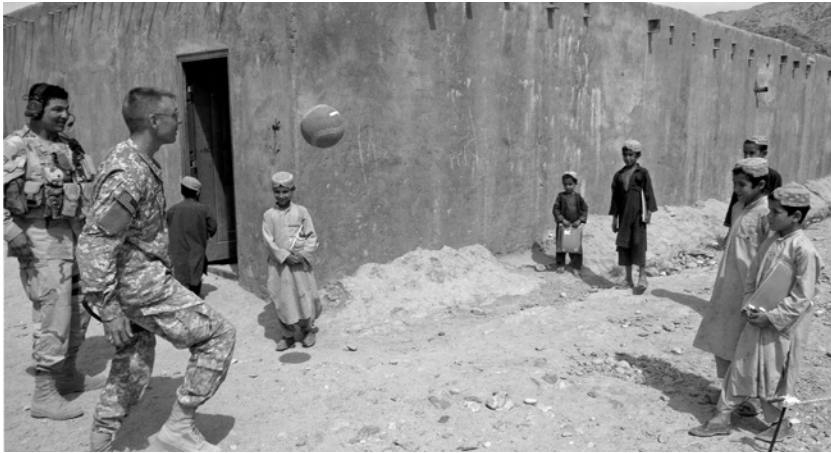


Fig 3.2: American officer playing soccer with Afghan children (Photo AVDD)

warfare. The USMC then received the task to train for attacking the USSR on a second frontier and potentially assisting the Norwegians with their defence. The lessons learned during the Vietnam-war were forgotten.⁷¹

The marines saw OOTW as a distraction and up until the 1990s the US was not allowed to join UN peace keeping operations, because of this the US military never invested in preparation or training of their personnel for peace keeping operations. The policy was only to intervene when there was no other option, and never to stay long. Most of the peace operations the US military were involved in were NATO Peace Enforcement missions, like SFOR in Bosnia and KFOR in Kosovo. The US never had the intention to occupy other areas. The US armed forces were based on manoeuvrability, the quick occupation of mission areas; pacify the enemy, and then quickly getting out again.⁷²

Since 9/11 the US forces are involved in two large counter-insurgency (COIN) operations: Iraq and Afghanistan. In the beginning of operation Iraqi Freedom the US military had the idea that these COIN operations would be more along the lines of their modern warfare doctrine; using modern technology and heavy firepower to gain a quick victory. Without decent training and education regarding the local culture the cultural differences

71 Winkler, D.F. (1997, July), pp. 68-72

72 Moelker, R. (2008). The 'Dutch Approach' and the Expeditionary Formula. in press, pp. 6

between US soldiers and local civilians could easily cause friction. There were numerous situations in these mission areas which seemed to show a lack of cultural understanding by American soldiers. As a result, many military scientists started researching the question: how can the cultural awareness programme be improved.⁷³ In 2006 the US military published their renewed doctrine, based on post-modern warfare. This doctrine includes extensive training and education for cultural awareness.

Cultural awareness training

In the US military two agencies are responsible for the pre-deployment cultural training of military personnel: The *Center for Army Lessons Learned* (CALL) and the *United States Army Intelligence Center* (USAIC).

Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL)

The Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) collects and analyzes data from a variety of current and historical sources, including Army operations and training events, and produces lessons for military commanders, staff, and intelligence officers. One of its tasks is the development of cultural awareness training programmes to several different cultures in the world. These trainings are primarily designed for intelligence officers, personnel with specialized tasks and individually deployed personnel.

United States Army Intelligence Center (USAIC)

The USAIC mostly provides cultural awareness trainings regarding Islamic culture. Like the trainings by the CALL, the USAIC trainings are mostly aimed at officers who need additional information to perform their tasks in the mission area. There are virtually no official structural cultural education programmes aimed at lower ranking personnel. The Department of Defence acknowledged this problem and requested additional training programmes. In spite of this the various education centres of the American forces still have not filled this void. Many operational commanders recognized the need for additional training aimed at the rank and file and organized trainings themselves. The military branches also started to organize their own training programmes. The cultural training programmes, offered by the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps, will be described in the following section.

Army: TRADOC culture center (TCC)

The TCC is responsible for the development of task based, interactive culture programmes to aid deploying US soldiers,

See www.au.af.mil/au/au/bibs/culture.htm for publications and books about US cultural awareness training in the future

mostly from the army. The TCC claims to develop projects in order to develop the most current cultural training programmes. Their mission is to establish *“the requirements for development, principles of development efforts, production, standardization, and implementation of culture training in the US Army.”*⁷⁴

The TRADOC Culture Center provides a standardized training programme, based on the area where soldiers will be deployed. In the initial military training soldiers receive training, based on two topics: ‘What is culture?’ and ‘what is American culture?’ With these topics the TRADOC provides the soldiers general culture training, teaching them the basic aspects of culture and of being aware of their own culture and paradigms. The training programmes are all based on one to two hour trainings and can be given on four different levels of difficulty. The didactic methods are mostly lectures, followed by one or two exercises and discussion.⁷⁵ The executive ranks (NCOs and officers) receive their pre-deployment culture training regarding the mission area and if necessary Arabic familiarization. These trainings are also provided in four different levels. These trainings are only given in lecture form. Finally, certain NCOs and officers are requested to follow the advanced training programmes. These training programmes deepen subjects like Arab psyche and extremism.⁷⁶

When analyzing these TRADOC center trainings, two things occur. Firstly, the training programmes are not designed or indeed prepared for all soldiers; the lower ranks of the US Army do not receive information regarding the culture of the particular mission areas. Secondly, the trainings and lectures, described by TRADOC, are very brief and there is very little time for the training. The information that is taught in the syllabus is often very basic, even in the lectures that are intended for the highest level military personnel. The training (initial culture training included) is mostly based on teaching knowledge and behavioural skills, other affective methods like exercises or discussions are used, but lectures have the priority.

Air Force: Air Force Culture and Language Center (AFCLC)

The AFCLC was created in December 2007, and designed to educate the soldiers of the US Air Force about the culture and languages of the mission area. The organization is responsible for defining, coordinating, implementing cultural, regional and

74 TRADOC (2008). TRADOC Culture Center 2008. flyer, Sierra Vista.

75 TRADOC (2008). TRADOC Culture Center Army Culture Education and Training Curriculum 2008, CD-rom

76 TRADOC (2008). TRADOC Culture Center 2008. flyer, Sierra Vista.

foreign culture language education training programmes. The centre aims to develop cross-cultural competences by infusing cross-cultural knowledge (focusing on concepts, theories and methods), skills (particular communication, negotiation and interpersonal relations), attitudes, and learning approaches.⁷⁷ The professional development component of the AFCLC is to: assist airmen to learn more from deployments (experiential learning); prepare airmen before they deploy overseas (expeditionary forces training), and prepare airmen for an uncertain future (professional military education). At this moment the trainings of the AFCLC are in an experimental phase. Not all trainings are fully developed and a great amount of airmen do not receive the training programme before their deployment. The idea of the AFCLC is to focus more on education rather than training. By providing a broad cultural basis, the AFCLC is attempting to prepare the airmen to adapt to other cultures more easily. Presently the focus of the AFCLC is mainly on religion and language, but in the future, the AFCLC wants to relay the focus on culture in their training programmes.⁷⁸

USMC: Center for Advanced Operational Culture Learning (CAOCL)

In May 2005 the US Marines established the *Center for Advanced Operational Culture Learning* (CAOCL). This agency *“ensures that the marines are equipped with operationally relevant regional, culture, and language knowledge to allow them to plan and operate successfully in the joint and combined expeditionary environment. They want the marines to be prepared for any region of the world; in current and potential operating conditions; to target persistent and emerging threats and opportunities.”*⁷⁹

According to CAOCL their mission towards the operating forces is threefold: Firstly, to assume responsibility for developing, resourcing, delivering, and critiquing education and training about the cultures where US Marines will operate. Secondly, to work closely and pro-actively with units and teams requiring culture training, as well as to develop tailor-made modules accounting for unit and function, location, language needs, and best teaching methods. The third part of their mission is to harvest the lessons learned during operations and deployments, the “what and how” of cultural education, and

Warwick, J. (2008). The Dilemmas of Providing Language Instruction for the US Air Force. presentation Shrivenham symposium, 10-11 August 2008. 77

Selmeski, B. (2008). Preparing Airmen to Operate in Cultural Complexity: Air University's Quality Enhancement Plan (QEP). presentation Shrivenham symposium, 10-11 August 2008. 78

TRADOC (2008). TRADOC Culture Center 2008. flyer, Sierra Vista. 79

this will be done by briefing personnel recently returned from global deployments.

The CAOCL tries to reach these goals by providing culture training to marines in five ways:

- *The support of mobilizing and deploying units; by a combination of pre-deployment briefs, role playing and distance learning, "tailored to individual unit needs";*
- *Developing Operational Culture Curricula for the initial education of US Marines; to prepare leaders at all levels to make effective use of cultural considerations in operational planning and execution;*
- *Providing distance learning; by maintaining an environment-focused website;*
- *Operationally relevant language support;*
- *In theatre research; in order to ensure that training modules and products are relevant to the needs of the operating forces.*⁸⁰

Currently these trainings have been developed for full scale programmes which are incorporated in the pre-deployment programme as well as the initial education of the USMC. These trainings however, are mostly geared to the transfer of local knowledge and particular subjects like the history of counter-insurgency. Nevertheless, this initiative is a serious step in the direction of extensive cultural competence training, starting with the initial education of soldiers.⁸¹

Human Terrain Teams

To overcome the shortcomings of the US forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US military developed the Human Terrain System (HTS). The HTS is designed to support the US brigades in the field with social science and cultural information and social data analysis. The core building block of the HTS is the Human Terrain Team (HTT). This team consists of five persons, mostly experienced officers and NCOs with a degree in cultural studies or cultural anthropology.⁸² These HTTs seemed to have had a positive effect helping the regular US officers. Military leaders, especially the platoon leaders, have a great responsibility; they are responsible for their soldiers, the security situation, and the communication with additional troops, for example air support. They have in the past had very

80 Center for Advances Operational Culture Learning (2008). Marine Corps Training and Education Command. Flyer.

81 Salmoni, B. (2004). pp. 24

82 Kipp, J. (2006). pp. 34

little time to interact with the local population, which can lead to friction during the 'hearts and minds' operation. By using the HTT for intercultural communication, the US military can be successful on all frontiers.⁸³

Cultural awareness training in Canada 3.1.3

Since the Korean War in the early 1950s until the end of the Cold War, every overseas task of the Canadian armed forces has been peacekeeping.⁸⁴ The success of the UNEF-1 mission, and the Nobel Prize that was given to the Canadian Prime Minister Pearson made the Canadians believe that Canada had the most suitable armed forces for peace operations. The Canadian national beliefs, norms and values were the basic competencies that were to be an example for other nations. These competencies seemed to have given the Canadian forces the legitimacy to intervene in name of the UN. In the same period as the UNEF-1 mission, the Canadian government discovered that they were not able to keep up with the nuclear arms race of their southern neighbours. Canada lost its place as a big player within NATO. Canadians, who liked to think of themselves as especially moral and different from the Americans, enjoyed the attention their peacekeeping received. Canadians tended to believe that while they kept the peace the Americans instigated war.

In 1964, the Canadian forces were reduced and integrated as one intervention force, capable of operating anywhere, with a larger focus on peace operations. Since then Canada has been present in every peacekeeping operation until 1989 – and any government that refused a chance to join in seemed certain to suffer attack from the public and the press.⁸⁵ After the Cold War the Canadian government underlined this approach, by stating that the protection of Canadian soil doesn't have to be by military means. They introduced the concept of *Soft Power*; soft power is the art of disseminating information in such a way that desirable outcomes are achieved through persuasion rather than coercion.

Human security is much more than the absence of a military threat. It includes security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights.⁸⁶ The release of the White Paper in 1994 showed that

McFarland, M. (2005). pp. 63 83

Jockel, J.T. (1999). pp. 28 84

Granatstein, J.L. (2002). pp. 291-359 85

Jockel, J.T. (1999). pp. 34 86



Fig. 3.3: Canadian soldier offering a doll to Afghan children (Photo AVDD)

after the Cold War, the Canadian armed forces had to prepare for new tasks; Canadian armed forces should be multi-operable and highly professional in all types of peace operations.⁸⁷ The Canadians imagined Canada as an *“altruistic and benign middle-power, acting with a kind of moral purity not normally exhibited by contemporary states.”*⁸⁸ The perception of the Canadian soldier as the perfect peacekeeper drastically came to an end when story revealed that certain Canadian soldiers killed a Somali boy and abused local Somali nationals during the UNOSOM mission in Somalia, in 1993.⁸⁹ A Canadian army soldier made a video of the incident which was subsequently played on TV. This video included Canadian army soldiers tattooed with swastikas, drinking beer, whilst uttering racist comments about the Somalis.⁹⁰

The research report regarding the happenings in Somalia revealed some remarkable conclusions: The Canadian forces had a constant budget shortage as well as lack of qualified personnel, not capable of peace operations. The commission, writing the report made 166 recommendations; almost all of these were implemented by the Ministry of Defence with the presentation of the White Paper in 1994. The recommendations also included a comprehensive education and training programme for personnel that would be engaged in peace missions.⁹¹ To train the forces in their pre-

87 Jockel, J.T. (1999). pp. 31-32

88 Whitworth, S. (2005). pp. 1

89 Ibidem. pp. 89

90 Granatstein, J.L. (2002). pp. 407

91 Ibidem. pp. 410-413

deployment preparation, the Canadians set up the *Peace Support Training Centre* (PSTC), which develops trainings for all Canadian soldiers who go on overseas deployments. This attention in the pre-deployment phase has made Canada one of the world leaders when it comes to training its soldiers for peace-missions.⁹²

Mission preparation

In 1969 the *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada* and the *Canadian Foreign Service Institute* founded the *Centre of Intercultural Learning* (CIL). This training centre provides the culture training during pre-deployment trainings from the PSTC. To meet the specific training needs of the Canadian forces, CIL developed training modules as well as a comprehensive on-line multimedia package: *Afghanistan Cultural Resource* (ACR). In accordance with the *Afghanistan Cultural Awareness Training Framework*, three levels of training are currently offered by CIL: on-line training, two-day battalion level cultural effectiveness training, and in-depth four day cultural effectiveness workshops.⁹³ During the pre-deployment phase the PSTC offers a two-day training programme for all personnel about cultural awareness and the culture and customs of the host nation. This training, which includes lectures, interactive lessons and self study, teaches the participants about the general perception of culture and the culture in the mission area.

General culture

Cultural awareness is more than just knowing facts regarding a country or area with its population. It is also the awareness of the participant as to what culture is and what the perceptions of 'us' and 'them'. The subjects examined in the general culture are described in the manual of PSTC.

Culture in the mission area

In the training lecture about the culture of the mission area, the trainer will build on the participants' previous knowledge of terrain, history of the conflict, parties to the conflict and mandate of the Canadian forces. These subjects are also described in the manual of PSTC.⁹⁴

The cultural awareness training programme of the PSTC is one of the most extensive trainings in the world when it comes to cultural training for soldiers in the pre-deployment phase. The

Therrialet, S. and Wulf, R. (2007). www.universityofmilitaryintelligence.us/mipb/article_print.asp?articleID=495 92

Lecture Brigitte Lapierre, foreign affairs and International Trade, Canada, Shrivenham, UK, 10-11 June, 2008. 93

PSTC (2006, August 18). pp. 4 94

soldiers learn not only about the local culture of the mission area, they are also (with less emphasis), familiarized with their own culture and the way in which other populations see Canadians, this therefore comes close to cultural competence training.

3.1.4 Cultural awareness training in the Netherlands

In the years after WWII a period of decolonisation started, at this time some colonies were invaded by axis forces. After the defeat of the German and Japanese troops, these colonies no longer wanted to be subordinate to some European countries.⁹⁵ This idea of subordination was not acceptable for the former colonial rulers. The Netherlands started in 1949 their 'positional actions' in the Dutch Indies, using counter-insurgency tactics to defeat the revolt.⁹⁶ They used locally recruited soldiers, incorporated with their troops trying to win the trust of the local elites by diplomatic negotiation. Special units were formed, to mingle with the local population, in order to win their 'Hearts and minds'.⁹⁷

During the Cold War, the Netherlands was only a small country in NATO and after it had lost its former colonies, its military was mainly tasked with the collective defence of Western Europe. These new tasks caused the Dutch armed forces in the 1950's to join UN peace operations. The involvement of the Dutch military to peace operations had always been small, but in 1963 the Dutch government decided that more extensive involvement would be a benefit for the Dutch military, especially because of the negative way the military was portrayed whilst being a colonial power.⁹⁸

The first large peace operation that the Dutch military was involved in was the 1969 UNIFIL mission in Lebanon. The soldiers were hardly trained for the job, all they received was some information about setting up roadblocks and manning observation posts; there was no attention given to the theoretical side of UN operations or the political-cultural and historical backgrounds of the conflict.⁹⁹ The Dutch UN soldiers, who had no realistic current perspective of the situation in Lebanon, became impatient with the local population and some reports made at the time reported misbehaviour towards the

95 Winkler, D.F. (1997, July). pp 13

96 Hoffenaar, J. & Schoenmaker, B. (1994). pp 15-17

97 Gooyer, A.C. de (1954). *Op wacht in de dessa*. Baarn: Bosch en Keuning. pp. 40-88

98 Hoffenaar, J. & Schoenmaker, B. (1994). pp. 365-366

99 Klep, C. & Gils, R. van (1999). pp. 76

'locals'.¹⁰⁰ Eventually, the political situation in Lebanon brought the mission to an end in 1985.

The complaints of Lebanese veterans regarding a lack of situational awareness during the mission gave reason for the founding of the *School for Peace Missions* (SVV) in 1992. In the early 90s the Dutch military joined the humanitarian operations in the Balkans and the soldiers needed to have specific UN training before being deployed. Unfortunately, the curriculum of the training programmes at the SVV was based on the Cold War scenarios, and soldiers mainly received training regarding traditional warfare. Culture training was not a part of the offered lessons.¹⁰¹ After the Cold War, the Dutch Ministry of Defence in 1993 published in the priority nota, which stated that participation to peace operations was the main task of the armed forces.¹⁰² The armed forces tried to convince the public that they were able to fulfil this task, by shaping the perception that their soldiers were most suited for the peacekeeping job was promoted by the government. The Dutch started using the term of Dutch Approach, as described in chapter 1.



Fig 3.4: Dutchbat in Bosnia (Photo Reformatorisch Dagblad)

Duine, I.J. (1992) Optreden in Libanon, een persoonlijke evaluatie. *Militaire spectator*, 161, pp. 31-38 100

Klep, C. & Gils, R. van (1999). pp. 115-116 101

Ibidem. pp. 115-116 102

Like with the Canadians, the Dutch vision of their capability to perform peace operations was damaged because of a catastrophe in the 1990s. In 1995, nearly 8000 Muslim men were deported and killed by Serb soldiers in the safe haven of Srebrenica, which was protected by Dutch UN soldiers. Later on, the Dutch military were accused of complicity in genocide, because they failed to protect the civilians. The debacle of Srebrenica led to enquiries, which resulted in massive changes in education, training and materiel of the Dutch armed forces for peace operations.¹⁰³ The *Section Cultural and Historical Backgrounds and Information* (Sie CAI) was assigned with the task to lecture deploying soldiers about the culture in the mission area, and they started designing lectures about the local culture and customs.

Within the years these cultural training programmes evolved along with the complexity of the missions. Eventually, with the start of the mission in Uruzgan Afghanistan, a completely new training programme was designed by the *Technical Physical Research Institute* (TNO), the CAT programme, later developed by the Sie CAI into the modern cultural awareness training programme that the Dutch use today.

Both cultural awareness trainings have similarities, but differ with respect to a few crucial points. For instance, the CAT programme was only meant for soldiers who were in the Battle Group and trainings were provided for both enlisted individuals and NCOs and COs separately. The modern cultural awareness trainings provide one training-day for all soldiers who go on deployments. The extensive outline of both cultural awareness trainings can be found in enclosure 1.

CAT programme for first entry units

The CAT programme used three programmes to train the participating soldiers. The first were the patrol trainings. These trainings consisted of a mix of role playing and lectures, so the participating soldiers could bring the curriculum in practice. Second were the executive trainings. These trainings consisted of role playing and lectures in which parts of the curriculum and the lecture in the *Mission Preparation Instructions* (MGI) was repeated. Thirdly, there was a visit to a Turkish Mosque, where Turkish committee members gave a lecture regarding Islam. In the following paragraph the training is explained in more detail. The contents of the CAT programme are also described in enclosure 1 and chapter 4.

103 Klep, C. & Gils, R, van (1999). pp. 132-140

The curriculum which is used in the CAT programme is based on a cultural framework, designed by Schwerzel. The idea is that when attention is paid to all subjects of the cultural framework, Dutch soldiers should be able to operate successfully in Afghanistan. This way the soldiers have enough knowledge of the population, so not to insult them. The cultural framework is showed below:

- *Honour and loss of face*
- *Hierarchy*
- *Cleanness, danger and taboos*
- *Use of space and body language*
- *Conversation skills*
- *Knowledge of time and historical perception*¹⁰⁴

Modern cultural awareness training programme

As opposed to the CAT programme, the modern cultural awareness training is for all soldiers that go on a mission to Uruzgan. The CAT was designed to train the first-entry Battle Group soldiers, divided between patrol training for the lower ranks and more detailed training for the staff and officers. The modern cultural awareness trainings are designed to give one basic training for all soldiers in the MGI, Battle Group, *Provincial Reconstruction Team* (PRT), and supporting and operational functions. This general training meant that some elements of the CAT programme were left out, while the CAT programme, which was based on role playing, merged with the existing lectures regarding the backgrounds of the local culture in the pre-deployment phase. An extensive outline of the CAT programme and the modern cultural awareness programme can be found in enclosure 1 and chapter 4.

The previous paragraphs attempt to show that the four NATO partners in South-Afghanistan have different views on the civilian aspect during small wars and peace operations, which results in different approaches on culture training. History and the role of nations in recent geopolitics play a significant role in the way the armed forces of these four countries deal with post-modern operations.

It is clear that the bigger players of the Cold War, like the US and the United Kingdom saw *Operations Other Than War* (OOTW) as distractions from modern warfare i.e. large-scale conventional and nuclear wars against the USSR. These visions of large scale conventional wars made it difficult for these forces to adapt their doctrine and training to post-modern warfare i.e. small

Schwerzel, J. (2006). Culturele Factoren in Afghanistan, Praktische Aanwijzingen. pp. 2 104



Fig 3.5: Role play during the modern cultural awareness training. (Photo Sie CAI)

wars against an asymmetric enemy, where military victories hardly have any effect on the outcome of the war.¹⁰⁵ Countries with less influence in the NATO, and no permanent place in the UN Security Council, like Canada and the Netherlands, focussed on peace operations.¹⁰⁶ These countries wanted to be associated with the bigger players wanting to play a more important role than they had been directly after WWII. This manifestation made countries like Canada and the Netherlands have the feeling they were able to protect the world from a devastating total war.¹⁰⁷

This choice between a modern and a post-modern approach on warfare is directly related to the masculinity of a society or military organisation. Masculinity as Geert Hofstede (2001) describes it, and its opposite, femininity, is as follows: *“Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap: Both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.”*¹⁰⁸

105 Kiszely, J. (2007). pp. 6-9

106 Klep, C. & Gils, R, van (1999). pp. 46

107 Ibidem. pp. 13-14

108 From Hofstede (2001), Culture's Consequences, 2nd ed. pp. 297

	UK	US	CAD	NL
Masculinity	66	62	52	14

Table. 3.1: Masculinity within the UK, the US, Canada and the Netherlands (www.geert-hofstede.com)

Hofstede designed a scale, from 1 to 100, in which the masculinity of countries or organisations can be scaled. The higher the score, the more masculine a society is.

The attitude of the military in modern warfare is mostly masculine; one expects soldiers to say: “Don’t just sit there, do something!” In post-modern conflicts it is important not to act right away, to observe first: *“Trying to develop formulas, templates and ‘norms’ is to misunderstand the nature of the problem.”*¹⁰⁹ Therefore a suitable credo in post-modern conflicts could be: “Don’t just do something, sit there!” Within the current armed forces in the US and the UK, masculinity is important. Every soldier wants to prove that he is a warrior. To be effective at counter-insurgency and stabilization operations, an army needs its members to perceive themselves as something other than, or more than, just warriors. Armed forces need masculine as well as feminine aspects to be effective in counter-insurgency. The Netherlands has low score on the masculinity scale. The Dutch armed forces, aware of the fact that they are seen as a more feminine organisation, were affright about the outcome of their performance in Iraq and Afghanistan; they did not know whether they had the warrior ethos to fight the Taleban effectively. This perception was exacerbated in the years after the catastrophe in Srebrenica.¹¹⁰

Canada, also seen as one of the more masculine countries, developed its own perception of the Canadian warrior. This perception was that it is the proud task of the Canadian soldier to bring peace in the world: *“The perception of a Canadian soldier wearing his blue beret, standing watch at some lonely outpost in a strife-torn foreign land, is part of the modern Canadian mosaic, and a proud tradition.”*¹¹¹ The Canadian society and armed forces managed to shape a masculine perception of peacekeeping, which is seen as a feminine subject by most masculine countries.

The peace missions in the post-Cold War period showed that peacekeeping is not a simple job, which can simply be

Kiszely, J. (2007). pp. 9 109

Ibidem. pp. 8-11 110

General Paul D Manson, “Peacekeeping in a changing World”, Address to the Empire Club of Canada, 111

Toronto, 17 November 1988. Canadian Speeches, 2(8). pp. 35-41

performed by traditional warrior trained soldiers. During missions in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia, Western peacekeepers found themselves in situations they were not trained for, which caused misconduct among the soldiers (Canadians in Somalia, 1993) or even killings (US military in Mogadishu, 1992; Canadian and Belgian troops in Rwanda, 1994; Dutchbat in Srebrenica, 1995). The countries with peacekeeping as the major task of their military, learned from these catastrophes. Reports and inquiries regarding the activities led to new insights and recommendations about how the organisation and training of the military should be adapted to their new tasks. In Canada, the Somali and Rwanda catastrophes resulted in the 1994 White Paper, and the Dutch armed forces did a lot of research pertaining to the mistakes made in Srebrenica. The results of this research changed the mission preparation training in both militaries, Canada and the Netherlands started comprehensive training programmes, including culture training and training regarding political and historical backgrounds.¹¹²

It seems that there are enormous differences in the approach of culture training by these four NATO allies. While traditional peacekeeping countries like the Netherlands and Canada have military wide cultural training programmes which are based on adaption to the local culture, more masculine countries like the UK and US only recently started with culture training facilities. The British forces keep referring to the cultural knowledge of their past, believing that this instilled a natural current cultural understanding within every soldier. Due to a lack of belief in the importance of cultural knowledge in the higher command, the US armed forces units started giving their own units cultural training, which hinders the implementation of a military wide cultural training programme. The cultural training programmes of the Americans look promising, but are still fairly basic when compared to the training programmes of the Netherlands and Canada. One can say that the cultural training programmes of all four countries are often Ad Hoc, specifically when designed by units or departments for a certain mission. Cultural training programmes for missions can differ significantly especially when there is no general structure in current cultural training programmes.

The cultural training programmes described in this paragraph are all mainly based on cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment. Soldiers who are attending the training learn how to behave in mission areas, rather than receiving a certain

112 Klep, C. & Gils, R, van (1999). pp. 132-157

mindset. The training is generally based on knowledge and behaviour, rather than attitude and perception. The cultural training programmes of Canada and the Netherlands show aspects of attitude change, by giving lessons regarding general culture and background information. This however is only a small part of the training programme.

Finally it seems that all cultural training programmes are based on cognitive training. The soldiers have to sit back and listen. Only the Dutch training programme contains elements of affective learning, by the integration of role play.

International discussion 3.2

Although not all armed forces in NATO are convinced about the necessity of culture training, many military authors from different NATO countries have publications articles regarding this subject. Many military commanders and scientists have different opinions about cultural training programmes for current and future missions. What is the general idea in this international discussion? How do these military authors think that cultural training programmes should be given?

Since the delicate missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, many articles have been published regarding the implementation of cultural training in the preparation of military for missions abroad. In these publications many suggestions have been made about the improvement of culture training. Some publications were based on scientific research, while others suggested training programmes in the light of their experience during missions. In these publications many concepts are used, sometimes completely inaccurately. Too often authors use similar terms, but with completely different meanings, causing friction and confusion in the international discussion on culture training.¹¹³ Terms that often reappear in these publications are: *Cultural Literacy* (CL), *Cultural Awareness* (CA), *Cultural Competency* (CC) and *Cultural Intelligence* (CO).

Cultural Literacy (CL)

In 2005 McFarland published an article regarding Cultural Literacy. Cultural Literacy is: "*Understanding and appreciation of own beliefs, behaviours, values and norms but also being aware of how own perspectives might affect other cultures' views*".¹¹⁴ A

Selmeski, B. (2006). pp. 6 113

McFarland, M. (2005). pp. 63 114

culturally literate person should be able to communicate with other cultures more effectively, and is able to adapt more easily in an unfamiliar environment.

Cultural Awareness (CA)

Cultural awareness is hard to define. It is a mixture of many cultural subjects, dependent on the culture of the population, and the knowledge of these subjects by people of another culture. Skelton and Cooper described cultural awareness as follows: *“Understanding the culture and social factors peculiar to the countries in which Americans are most likely to be deployed will make the environment work to US advantage”*.

On the lowest level, awareness means knowing enough about local culture to permit military personnel to operate effectively. Along with linguistic capability, cultural awareness can highlight political, social, and other characteristics of the operational area. *“It can explain why local people may see things differently from Americans. It can enable troops on the ground to understand how their attitudes and actions directly influence mission outcome [...] [I]t is basic intelligence regarding attitudes and potential actions of host nations and coalition partners. Only such insights can enable the military to understand other cultures [...] [I]t involves language and area studies. Commissioned and non-commissioned leaders must possess some language skills and understanding of nations to which they are deployed. This sort of training results in street sense—knowing how to gather intelligence from local people. That can only happen with cultural awareness.”*¹¹⁵

Cultural Competency (CC)

Cultural Competency (CC) is more than Cultural Literacy. A Culturally competent person is able to manage a group or a community of several cultures. According to Selmeski, cultural competence is: *“the ability to quickly and accurately comprehend, then appropriately and effectively engage individuals from distinct cultural backgrounds to achieve the desired effect”*¹¹⁶ It means capable of responding appropriately to encounters with other cultures, and capable of acquiring knowledge, understanding, awareness, and a willingness, or even a will, to *“reflect upon one’s own position in relation to the other”*.¹¹⁷

115 Skelton, I. & Cooper, J. (2004, December). You’re Not from Around Here, Are You? Joint Force Quarterly, 36. pp. 12-16

116 Selmeski, B. (2006). pp. 12

117 Kamorski, M. (2006). pp. 4

Cultural Intelligence (CQ)

In his article Selmeski describes Cultural Intelligence as: *“an individual’s capability to adapt effectively to new cultural contexts”*¹¹⁸ CQ focuses on a person’s broader capabilities that are necessary to acquire such specific competencies. To acquire competencies for building relationships for example, one will need to have the following Cultural Intelligence elements: an understanding of the social interaction norms of that culture (cognitive CQ); strategies that allow one to acquire such knowledge, as well as to form and maintain relationships (meta-cognitive CQ); the desire and confidence to form relationships with individuals with different cultural background (motivational CQ); and, finally, the appropriate behaviour that can put the other party at ease and thus, help build relationships more effectively (behavioural CQ).¹¹⁹

Discussion

In addition to the various cultural terms and training methods, the publications also mention many different moments in a soldiers’ career as to when these trainings should be given. After analyzing the publications, four different phases can be distinguished: The initial phase: the initial training in becoming a soldier; the pre-deployment phase: in the preparation for the mission; the deployment phase: during the mission; and the re-deployment phase: when the soldiers return from their mission. An important subject in several publications concerns the recommendations on who should get the cultural training. Some authors state that cultural training only should be for the officers and sometimes the NCOs; others claim that the leaders as well as the regular enlisted personnel should be trained, because everybody will come into contact with the local population.

Important are the backgrounds of the authors. The armed forces they served in is of great importance: Which country does the author come from? In which unit did he/she serve? Are they from a nation with a masculine culture or a feminine, peacekeeping culture? Does the country already have a fully integrated cultural training programme? Or does it still believe in its historic cultural knowledge or present cultural supremacy? To find out what the best recommendations are for cultural training in the future, the publications regarding cultural training are analyzed and determined in table 3.2. In this table the publications were searched for training methods and terms, the following questions arise: in which phase of the preparation

Selmeski, B. (2006). pp. 2 118

Ng, K.Y. (2005). pp. 5-6 119

of a soldier this training should be given? Who should receive this training? Is the training based on scientific theory? What are the most important goals of the training? In the table the authors are grouped by country and year of release.

When table 3.2 is analyzed, several conclusions can be drawn. First, it is striking that all the authors, with different backgrounds and scientific knowledge, give the different recommendations. Authors with a more practical, military background propose Cultural Awareness training and language training (Beckno, Bohm, Ellis, Farrington, Higgins, Hudson, Lively). Authors with a more scientific background, or soldiers with a scientific basis speak more about Cultural Literacy, Cultural Competence or Cultural Intelligence (Chandler, Crook, McFarland, Kamorski, Karcannes, Ng, Lewis, Selmeski, Williams). The authors with the scientific background state that knowledge regarding cultures and customs (cultural awareness) is not enough to cope with the stress generated in intercultural communication. Soldiers need a deeper understanding of their views on different cultures, in order to find the methods to adapt to the unfamiliar situation.

Secondly, the authors do not seem to agree on whether the training should be for leaders only, or for every soldier. Publications with a more practical approach mostly plead for training for the officers and NCOs, while scientifically based publications propose training for every soldier. Most of these publications do mention however, that there should be different levels of training for officers and enlisted men.

The third striking point is that many publications plead for training in the initial phase, while the present trainings are given only in the pre-deployment phase. Some of the publications even propose a combined education in the initial phase and training in the pre-deployment phase (Hudson, Kamorski and Ng) even includes the deployment phase. Apparently the authors do agree on the fact that quick cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase is not enough to train soldiers effectively.

After analyzing table 3.2, most authors believe that all soldiers should learn some sort of Cultural Literacy in the initial education of their career. The authors think that the soldiers should all be able to communicate with persons from a different culture effectively and should be able to adapt in unfamiliar environments. Leaders, like officers and NCOs, should get in addition to the CL, some kind of CC training, with elements of CQ. This training enables them to manage tasks and groups with a multicultural character, which is important for commanding officers during a mission. The authors

also agree that all soldiers should get cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase. During this phase they learn about the cultures and customs of the mission area, and because of their CL and CC training in the initial phase they should be able to place this information in the right context.

Only Ng mentions that CQ training in the initial phase should give the soldiers a tool to adapt more easily in unfamiliar environments: *“it will enable effective cross-cultural learning in the multinational environment, i.e., they will have developed meta-cognitive and cognitive capabilities to learn fast during their mission”*.¹²⁰ Van den Berg, who studied a Dutch unit during its deployment in Uruzgan, concluded that some elements of CA, CC and CQ should be repeated during the deployment phase, in order to make the soldiers aware of the importance of cross-cultural communication and to reduce the effect of stereotyping. Especially motivation has a positive effect on the adaption and coping-strategy of soldiers in an unfamiliar, hostile environment.¹²¹

What is the Dutch contribution to the international discussion on cultural training programmes? There are some Dutch articles and reports about the current Dutch cultural training programme. Gooren (2005)¹²² described the organisation of his section and the training the Dutch soldiers receive during the pre-deployment. Ooink (2006)¹²³ and Bommel (2007)¹²⁴ described and evaluated the CAT programme and gave recommendations for improvement. All these authors gave recommendations regarding the cultural training programmes in the pre-deployment phase. They fail however, to look further than just the concept of cultural awareness, the transfer of knowledge and behaviour. More recently, Quanjer (2008)¹²⁵ analyzed the current culture training in the Dutch armed forces, and recommended selecting new personnel by testing their cultural competences. These recommendations are not in line with the current goals of the Dutch armed forces who suffer with an enormous shortage of personnel.

Ng, K.Y. (2005). pp. 8 120

Berg C.E. van den (2008). pp. 15 121

Gooren, R.H.E. (2006 March-April). *Soldiering in Unfamiliar Places: The Dutch Approach*. **Military** review, pp. 54-60 122

Ooink, B.J.H. (2006). *Van Soepjurk tot Gesprekspartner, Cultural awareness training ten behoeve van de missie naar Uruzgan*. Breda: Nederlandse Defensie Academie. 123

Bommel, I. a.o. (2008, April). TNO-DV 2008 B073, *Development, implementation and evaluation of the Cultural Awareness Traject (CAT)*. **TNO report**. 124

Quanjer-van der Krogt, M. (2008). *Wereldwijd dienstbaar maar ook geschikt? Onderzoek naar de wijze waarop cultureel-historisch besef wordt bijgebracht binnen de Nederlandse krijgsmacht*. Den Haag: Thesis IDL. 125

Name	Training ¹²⁶	Phase ¹²⁷	For who? ¹²⁸	Scientific/ Practical	Goals
USA - US Army					
Ellis (2005)	CA	Initial	CO/NCO	Pr	Cultural awareness Language
McFarland (2005)	CL/CC	Initial	CO/NCO/EM	Sci/Pr	Communication styles; Attitudes towards conflict; Approaches to competing tasks; Decision making styles; Attitudes toward personal disclosure; Approaches to knowing
Beckno (2006)	CA	Initial	CO/NCO	Pr	Culture in IO Language in IO
Crook (2006)	CC	Initial	CO/NCO/EM	Sci/Pr	Factual information about a culture; Understanding own values and beliefs; Understanding others' values and beliefs
Williams (2006)	CL/CC	Initial	CO/NCO	Sci/Pr	Multi echelon, inclusive and comprehensive cultural knowledge training program
Lewis (2006)	CC	Initial	CO/NCO/EM	Sci/Pr	Cultural competency Cultural Self-Awareness; Communications across cultures; Cross-cultural training strategies
Farrington (2007)	CA	Initial	CO	Pr	Different approaches of cultural education for different ranks
Karcannes (2007)	CA/CC	Initial	CO	Sci/Pr	Self-awareness; Self-directed learning; Adaptability; Engage the cultural terrain
USA - USMC					
Bohm (2001)	CA	Initial	CO	Pr	Cultural awareness training; Language training; Human behaviour/Group dynamics; Negotiations/mediation
Higgins (2005)	CA	Pre-depl	CO/NCO/EM	Pr	Cultural awareness for USMC
Lively (2007)	CA	Initial	CO	Pr	Culture; Political/religious history; World Affairs and current events; Religion; Language

Name	Training ¹²⁶	Phase ¹²⁷	For who? ¹²⁸	Scientific/ Practical	Goals
USA - US Navy					
Chandler (2005)	CA/CC	Pre-depl	CO/NCO/EM	Sci/Pr	Cultural awareness in the JIPOE model
Hudson (2005)	CC/CA	Initial/ pre-depl/ re-depl	CO/NCO/EM	Pr	Cultural awareness Cultural competence for CO
USA - USAF					
Kamorski (2005)	CC	Initial/ pre-depl	CO/NCO/EM	Sci/Pr	Developing cultural capabilities; Culture exists within organisations as well as individuals; Culture training must be relevant for the mission area
South Korea					
Ng (2007)	CC/CQ	Initial/ pre-depl	CO/NCO	Sci	Metacognitive skills; Cognitive skills; Motivation; Behaviours
Canada					
Selmeski (2006)	CC/CQ	Initial	CO/NCO/EM	Sci/Pr	Combination of CCC with PDF model, cultural competency on four levels.

Table 3.2: Recommendations by various authors for cultural education

Effectiveness of cultural training programmes 3.3

There are many opinions about the structure and contents of cultural training programmes. By reacting to their experience, many authors with different backgrounds think they have the answer to the question: What are effective cultural training programmes? What needs to be done in the cultural preparation of a soldier? Is it to enable him/her to cooperate with culturally different people to be able to generate the desired effects?

Presently there is no significant research that has been done about the effects of current cultural training programmes for the military. One does not know whether these training

CL = Cultural Literacy; CA = Cultural Awareness; CC = Cultural Competency; CQ = Cultural Intelligence. 126

There are four phases in the soldiers' career: The initial education, the pre-deployment, the deployment and the re-deployment. 127

CO = Commissioned Officer; NCO = Non Commissioned Officer; EM = Enlisted Men. 128

programmes are effective, nor do they know whether these training programmes are required to enable a soldier to cooperate with culturally different people.

3.3.1 The desired effects

Before one examines what are the most effective training methods, one should find out what the desired effects are, and following that, are they being generated by the deployed soldiers. In the publications examined in paragraph 3.2, many effects are mentioned that increase the cultural adaptation of the soldier which can be the key to success during modern warfare. Most of these effects, or the desire for these effects come from own experiences, mostly mentioned by exiting anecdotes during missions the several authors were involved in during their military career. The soldiers behaviour towards the local population is of great importance to the outcome of the 'Hearts and minds' operation, and therefore these soldiers need to prepare for the local culture and customs.

Besides the desire for culturally sensible behaviour, there is another reason why soldiers need to be prepared for the local culture and customs. In 1991 Hofstede designed the acculturation curve, based on his experiences with expats in foreign countries. This curve, shown in figure 3.6, is later used in several military theses and publications, like Wunderle and Crook, who refined it to fit into a military context.

This curve describes four phases the soldier will have to go through during his/her deployment. This is in case this soldier did not receive any form of or improper culture training. At the beginning of the mission the soldier has high expectations of the intercultural communication and does not expect the cultural differences to be so enormous. The soldier is more willing to look at cultural similarities and expects that he/she will get along just fine with people of the other culture. This phase is called the 'honeymoon phase'.¹²⁹ In the course of the deployment this soldier finds out that the intercultural communication with the local population is more difficult than he/she initially thought it would be and that there are more differences between his/hers own culture and the foreign culture than he/she expected. The soldier gets confused and is disappointed about the other culture. He/she doesn't understand this culture and becomes stressed about it. This more negative perception towards the

129 Lewis, B. (2006). pp. 5

local population is the second phase, the so-called 'Culture Shock'. This reaction is mostly coupled with stereotyping and withdrawal from the other culture.

The disappointment and confusion about the other culture brings down the understanding and the expectations of the soldiers, and takes it to a depth where disappointment changes place to anger and frustration. The soldier really starts to stereotype the local population in a negative way and tries to withdraw from the local culture as much as possible. This is the most frustrated the soldier can be about the other culture, and this phase is called the 'monocentrism'. This moment of frustration and anger is the moment when the mission is at risk, and when there is no positive impulse, and the soldier finds it difficult to deal with this stress, and the mission can fail.

If the soldier does find a way to cope with this stress, he/she will learn about the local culture and will adapt to its customs, which makes the cooperation easier and improves the understanding and expectations. This process, which is the fourth phase of the curve, finally results in cultural understanding, and is called the 'Integration'.

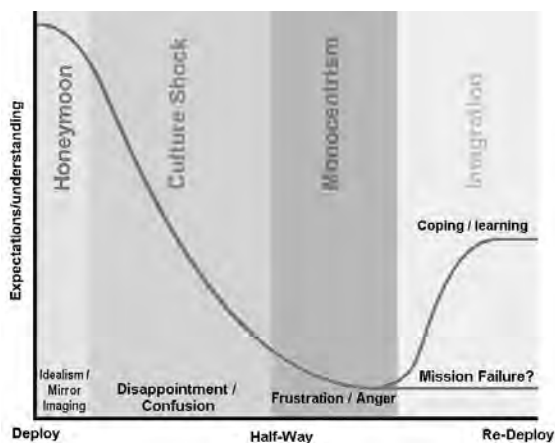


Fig. 3.6: The military version of Hofstede's acculturation curve: Cultural awareness and expectation management (Wunderle, 2006)

In 2008 Lt.Col. Van den Berg studied the expectations of Dutch soldiers towards the Afghan population by looking at risks and threats. He discovered that risk and threat had a significant impact on the soldiers' attitudes towards the

Afghan population. In the re-deployment phase, two months after their return, some Dutch soldiers were still frustrated and angry, and had no understanding about the goodwill of the Afghan population. They saw little to no positivity in the communication with the Afghans and were not planning to reconcile their frustration.¹³⁰ This Dutch unit had taken the modern cultural awareness program during its pre-deployment phase, and was expected to be culturally trained. During the interviews with these soldiers, they stated that they were frustrated, and less willing to communicate with the local population in a culturally desired way. The soldiers saw no use in adapting to the local population, because, according to them, the population was not willing to cooperate anyway. The study of Van den Berg shows that the effects of Culture Shock and culturally desired behaviour during a mission are directly related. If one wants desired behaviour during a mission, one should reduce the effects of stress.

What would happen if a soldier does have culture training before his/her mission? In this culture training he/she learns about the cultural difference between the native culture and the local culture and understands that his/her expectations can not be too high. Soldiers with a certain amount of culture training start with lower expectations especially during Cross-Cultural communication. When a soldier knows what to expect in the local culture, he/she is able to adapt to the locals. This adaptation in turn increases the understanding and expectations of the local population, and results in cultural understanding. In order to follow this cultural awareness curve in Hofstede's model, the trainers need to know which culture training is most suitable. Is it enough to train for the backgrounds and the "do's and don'ts" regarding the local customs and culture? Or do soldiers have to have a far more extended cultural competence training which allows the soldier to understand his/her own culture; is the soldier able to understand that he/she looks at the other culture through his/her own paradigm?

3.3.2 Effective cultural training programmes

Although there has not been much research regarding the effects of cultural training programmes in the military, scientists have developed and tested many training programmes for intercultural experiences for expats, managers and other highly educated civilians. The most popular recent researches (military and

130 Berg, C.E. van den (2008). pp. 16

civilian) will be studied and the international scientific discussion regarding cultural training programmes will be explained.

What should be taught?

Which elements are important in a cultural training programme and what subjects need special attention? In the past few years many authors paid attention to this subject and came with interesting ideas. McFarland in 2005 compiled a list with core competences of the culturally literate soldier. A soldier should not only be aware of the local culture and customs, but should also be aware of his own culture and the way culture is formed. In order to gain these competences, McFarland stated that more culture training should be given than the current cultural awareness training. These trainings are based on the transfer of knowledge and behaviour, but that does not make a soldier necessarily cultural literate.¹³¹

In the same year as McFarland's article, Chandler came up with the same idea about extended cultural training programmes. The current cultural training programmes in the US military are not sufficient to train the soldiers for the modern wars, there is no standard model and the backgrounds of the local culture and attitude forming subjects are totally neglected. McFarland designed a new JIPOE-framework, based on cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase.¹³²

Lewis stated in 2006 that cultural training programmes should contain more elements of cultural self-awareness and communications across cultures instead of only cultural awareness. Soldiers need to be cultural adaptable, and therefore need to have a more general culture training. The training focuses more on the soldiers' self-development than the focused understanding of any particular culture. The design of the program is also important; firstly, the trainer should give a basic definition of culture. Secondly, role playing is very important during Cross-Cultural Training, it reinforces the training, lets the students experience the ambiguity, and permits them to feel uncomfortable and frustrated being in a different culture setting.¹³³

The above authors all state that the current cultural training programmes are too focused on cultural awareness training, and therefore are not sufficient to train soldiers to become 'culturally literate'. They give suggestions regarding extensions

McFarland, M. (2005), pp. 63 131

Chandler, J.V. (2005), pp. 38 132

Lewis, B. (2006), pp. 4 133

of current training programmes and subjects that should be adapted, but do not come up with full scale cultural training programmes that can fulfil today's demand.

The following authors did come up with solutions for effective cultural training programmes. Already in 2003 Early & Ang presented a new culture training method, based on research with expats and managers who went to foreign departments of a company. This study resulted in the concept of Cultural Intelligence (CQ). According to Early & Ang, this training method consists of the four elements: cognitive CQ, meta-cognitive CQ, motivational CQ and behavioural CQ. In the years after the presentation of CQ, several sociologists put this method to the test. It turned out that the combination of these four elements provided positive results. The success of intercultural communication and behaviour in an unfamiliar environment was indeed dependant to these elements.

In her article in 2007 Ang relates the four elements to four intercultural effectiveness outcomes: cultural judgement and decision making, cultural adaption, and task performance in culturally diverse settings. It seems that the meta-cognitive and cognitive elements increase the cultural judgement and decision making and that motivation and behaviour caused increasing cultural adaption and cultural adjustment and well being.¹³⁴ One of the downsides of the study of Early & Ang is that it is based on highly intelligent individuals, who would perform management tasks in foreign areas. A part of the success of CQ is based on the intelligence and intercultural competences of the person, and it is difficult to predict what the results will be with a diverse group like the military.

In 2005 Kok Yee Ng published an article based on the study of Early and Ang. In this article he appealed for the use of CQ in cultural training for the military. There are a few advantages of CQ in CCT, which makes it suitable for training purposes. CQ focuses on the soldiers' capabilities to acquire skills and knowledge about a culture. It also emphasizes cognitive training and its components are trainable. According to Ng, CQ shifts the focus of training to the individual soldier, while CA and Cultural knowledge is more about training groups. A cultural education that is based on CQ will serve three functions: firstly, it will provide the basis to develop cultural competences during the soldiers' military career, which he/she can use during missions.

134 Early, P. and Ang, S. (2003); Ang, S. (2007).



Fig 3.7: Realism is important in affective training. (Photo AVDD)

Secondly, it provides the basis and context for cultural awareness trainings in the pre-deployment phase which allows the training in the pre-deployment phase to focus on the mission specific culture; and thirdly, it enables effective cross-cultural learning in the unfamiliar environment (soldiers have developed meta-cognitive and cognitive capabilities during their mission), which reduces the Culture Shock effect.¹³⁵

Finally, in 2006, Selmeski in his article combines all current culture training programs with culture training concepts for in the future. In his article, Selmeski achieves two goals: First, he clarifies the great amount of different terms, used in publications regarding culture training, and shows that all these terms and trainings are part of Cross-Cultural Competence training (CCC); secondly, he designs a model that contains all facets of CCC and can improve the culture training of military personnel. In his article he states that CCC includes CA, CL as well as CC and CQ, and is therefore suitable to fulfil the complete spectrum of culture training.¹³⁶

How should it be taught?

It is clear *what* should be taught during cultural training programmes, research should be done to know *how* it should be

Ng, K.Y. (2005). pp. 4 135

Selmeski, B. (2006). pp. 12 136

taught. What is the best way to transfer cultural knowledge? Is it that every soldier understands the importance of the cultural competence and generates the desired effects of the training?

According to Crook in 2006, the standard in western education has always been the cognitive learning, which is impartial and efficient. Affective education, on the other hand, is less impartial and some scientists even branded it as indoctrination. Affective teaching style comes into the picture when the different views and behaviour of cultures are the subjects of education. It shows that with effective training, the trainees have to go through an expectation/understanding curve, similar to the acculturation curve by Hofstede to cope with the Culture Shock effect. This means that the students need to learn in an affective way.¹³⁷

How should this affective training be realised? What didactic elements should be adapted in a culture training to create this acculturation curve of Hofstede? Based on the CQ research by Early & Ang, Littrell & Salas wrote an article in 2005 regarding Cross-Cultural Training (CCT). They state that cultural training programmes are not only regarding learning the right skills and elements, but the way it should be learned is also important. In their article, Littrell and Salas state that CCT consists of the following components: design (which contains the elements of CQ), delivery (The way it should be taught), and evaluation (every time it has been implemented, the program has to be evaluated).

There are several strategies to deliver CCT, Littrell and Salas divide the following strategies: Didactic, Attribution, Culture awareness, Experiential, Cognitive-behaviour modification, Interaction, and Language training. The delivery strategies are described in figure 3.3. This figure shows the practical approaches on the abstract potential strategies. By using several strategies, the attention and motivation of the students will be increased and the cognitive aspect will be taught in a more effective way. The CCT can be delivered in tandem with executive coaching for the student, once he/she is deployed.¹³⁸ The potential strategies, described in figure 3.3, are also used in the CCT model in paragraph 3.4.

Education vs. Training

According to Kiszely (2007), there is a difference between training and education. Training is preparing people, individually or collectively, for given tasks in given circumstances; education

137 Crook, R. (2006), pp. 35

138 Littrell, L. & Salas, E. (2005), pp. 15

Potential Strategies	Focus of Training Intervention
Attribution training	Developing the skills to make isomorphic (identical) attributions
Culture awareness training	Imparting the knowledge needed to understand cultural differences
Cognitive-behaviour modification training	Assisting in the development of host-culture appropriate behaviours
Interaction training	Promoting successful adjustment via on-the-job training
Language training	Developing the language skills required for everyday interactions
Didactic training	Providing the soldier with information regarding living and working conditions
Experiential training	Giving the expatriate the opportunity to practice potential situations encountered in the host culture

Table 3.3: Delivery strategies (Littrell & Salas, 2005)

is developing their mental powers and understanding. Training is thus appropriate preparation for the predictable; but for the unpredictable and for conceptual challenges, education is required. Before soldiers have training regarding knowledge or behaviour, they should have education about the concepts of culture. *“In combat operations it matters less that officers are well trained but poorly educated; it seldom determines the outcome. In operations such as counter-insurgency, it is liable to be the difference between success and failure. The educational requirement is thus far more about teaching officers ‘how to think’, than ‘what to think’”*¹³⁹

Motivation

The right elements in cultural training programmes and the right methods to teach these elements, it is also important to motivate the students in such a way, that they are willing to learn. If students are not motivated to learn during culture training, it will have no success. In their article, in 1990, Black and Mendenhall already mentioned the importance of motivation. In their study they presented a model which contains elements that are important for the increasing motivation of students during culture training. Black and Mendenhall state that, as trainers are similar to the students and use examples and models that are recognizable for the students, they will pay more attention and are more motivated to receive cross-cultural training.

If the trainer explains behaviour of other cultures in such a way that it is recognizable in the students own culture, then it will be more accepted and the student is more willing to remember the behaviour.¹⁴⁰ The trainer has to provide a basic model of the behaviour, and then gradually add more aspects of the behaviour to the more complex situations as opposed to presenting the complex model at once. When students have to reproduce taught behaviour, it seems that the more novel the modelled behaviours are, the more difficult it will be for the students to reproduce them. If the taught behaviour is in no way similar to taught behaviours in the past, the attention and retention phases during cross-cultural learning will be more important. Past experiences and the attention and retention processes influence the individual's level of self-efficacy, which in turn, influences several aspects of the way of acting itself.

Incentives are also important for the performance of the student, by being rewarded for his behaviour the student will pay better attention, and in the reproduction phase have better retention of information.¹⁴¹ The most effective cultural training programme, based on military experience and recent scientific research needs to be established. The most effective training programmes consist of a combination of meta-cognitive, cognitive and behavioural knowledge, and the people will in turn be motivated to have this training and intercultural experience. The way these elements should be taught is more affective than cognitive. When a student learns more about his/her own culture, they can understand other cultures more easily.¹⁴²

3.4 The CCT model

In this chapter the current cultural training programmes of several NATO countries have been determined and the international discussion regarding cultural training programmes have been explained. Are the current culture trainings sufficient to generate the desired effects with soldiers during their mission?

It seems that the current missions are mostly based on cultural awareness (the transfer of knowledge and behavioural skills). In this chapter it became clear that cultural awareness is just a part of a multitude of subjects that should be taught during a cultural training programme. Cultural awareness can be effective, but

140 Black, J.S. & Mendenhall, M. (1990). pp. 10

141 *Ibidem*. pp. 12

142 McFarland, M. (2005). pp. 63/64

only on short term non violent surroundings and in a culture that is similar to the soldiers own culture. This is not always the case however, during military operations in other parts of the world; soldiers need a far more extended cultural training programme.

The scientific research, mentioned in this chapter, comes with solutions, which can be used to expand the current cultural training programmes. The concept of CQ and other concepts based on it have shown in previous research that it can be effective. The problem is that the current science was not prepared to make that extra step to translate this scientific basis into a practical model. The different models and ideas are on a more abstract level and have to be transformed into training methods and programmes for the military. Authors did bring up many suggestions regarding what has to be taught, but mostly thought that it was too specific to translate these terms into educational subjects. In this section a framework will be presented, based on the publications and studies presented in the past paragraphs, about how to give culture training in a more practical way.

The framework is based on four phases: The initial phase; the pre-deployment phase; the deployment phase and the re-deployment phase. These phases are combined with the different methods of CCC and divided in curriculum for every soldier and curriculum for commanders and leaders. The framework also shows the elements of CQ and the delivery strategies of Littrell.

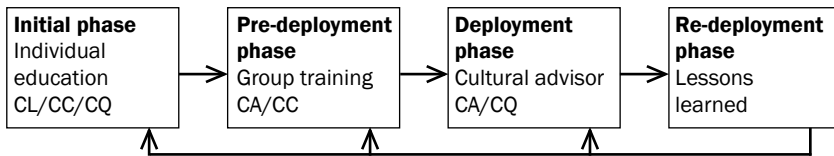


Fig.3.8: Schematic view of the CCT model.

Initial phase 3.4.1

In the initial education, the soldier has to be familiarized with the importance of culture during missions of international cooperation and therefore needs a general-cultural education to improve his/her knowledge, intercultural competences and to transform into a cultural literate soldier. This means that in the initial education a programme has to be incorporated to teach individual Cross-Cultural competences. This education programme is based on CL, CC and CQ, and makes the soldier

aware of his/her own culture and the resulting paradigm which influences their opinion. This teaches the soldier about other cultures, different norms and values, religions, history, and introduces the soldier to cross-cultural communication. The programme consists of a mixture of different learning styles like discussions, role playing and evaluations.

In addition to the general culture education of all soldiers, there are also more in depth courses for leaders and commanders, who need leader-specific education in intercultural negotiation, cooperation and motivation. The course will conclude with an evaluation of the experiences of the soldiers and their cognitive and behavioural capabilities.

	Subject	Remarks	Elements
1	Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •What is culture? •Dangers of culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Stereotyping/prejudism •Culture Shock •Pre-mordealism/Instrumentalism •The use of culture in conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The value of culture during a conflict •The military and culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The importance of culture •Practical examples 	Using examples from earlier missions Test cultural competency at the beginning (e.g. FORCE-IT62)	Motivational, cognitive
2	Experiential training with role playing. Soldiers have not yet received skills and knowledge about behaviour in intercultural environment and experience misunderstanding, frustration, stress		Motivational, meta-cognitive, cognitive
3	Evaluation of the role playing teaches the student to recognize symptoms of Culture Shock		
4	Cultural Literacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Own culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •On normes and values •Backgrounds culture and customs •Different perspectives of historical events •Learning about own paradigms, the way the world is seen 	Use recognizable examples and different teaching methods like discussions and footage	Cognitive Meta-cognitive
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Introduction different cultures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Other cultures are different, not inferior (ethno-centrism) •Generally similar subjects in different cultures, but seen with different perspectives: food, clothing, shelter, raising children, sickness, death⁴⁴³ •Worldview 		Behavioural cognitive Meta-cognitive

	Subject	Remarks	Elements
6	<p>Perspectives of unfamiliar cultures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important historical events • Important religions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local customs • Visiting mosque, synagogue, other temples • Political/social factors • Reflections of these factors on culture 	<p>Keep this section general</p> <p>Use examples from mission areas</p> <p>Discussions</p>	<p>Cognitive, attribution strategy</p> <p>Meta-cognitive</p>
7	<p>Cross-cultural communication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Results cultural competency test in (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expl. cultural competences and improvement score • Dangers of misinterpretation in intercultural commun. • Dimensions during communication <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individualism/collectivism • Low- and high context communication • Power distance • Uncertainty avoidance • Masculinity/femininity • Verbal- and non-verbal communication • Small talk 	<p>Recognizable examples</p>	<p>Meta-cognitive</p> <p>Behavioural</p> <p>Cognitive</p> <p>Cognitive/behavioural</p> <p>Behavioural</p> <p>Motivational, security building, meta-cognitive, cognitive behaviour</p>
8	<p>Role play, trains the aspects of Cross-Cultural communication. Has to be recognizable for military. Evaluates cultural adaption, competences, strategies. Refer to role play in section(2): is the soldier experiencing the same symptoms?</p>		
9	<p>Individual expansion Cross-Cultural learning for leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercultural communication and negotiation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Searching for common goals and interests in cultures • Negotiation skills <p>This section includes role playing with intercultural dilemma's and different communication styles. After every role play will be an evaluation with discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation of members of the group to keep operating in the unfamiliar environment • Signaling the symptoms of Culture Shock 	<p>Role play includes recognizable scenarios</p>	<p>Cognitive</p> <p>Meta-cognitive</p> <p>Behavioural</p> <p>Experiential</p> <p>Cognitive/behavioural</p> <p>Meta-cognitive</p>
10	<p>Evaluation of individual cross-cultural learning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Including survey about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Testing cultural competences (e.g. FORCE-IT62) • Behaviour of general culture • Strengths/weaknesses of the course • Discussion about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences during the education • Motivation • Confidence • Strengths/weaknesses of the course 		<p>Meta-cognitive</p> <p>Cognitive/behavioural</p> <p>Motivational</p>

Table 3.4: Initial phase, individual Cross-Cultural learning

3.4.2 Pre-deployment phase

During the pre-deployment phase, soldiers have to prepare for the mission area. Dependent on the nature of the mission, the soldiers do not have much time to prepare for their mission. The stresses of preparing for a mission are the reason why pre-deployment programs are mostly given in a relatively short period of time, usually in about a week. The culture training has to share its time with many other important subjects, like hygiene, Rules of Engagement and mission related information. The culture training in the pre-deployment phase has to be mission related, to the point, and should not take more than one or two days.

The training in the pre-deployment phase should also be group related. The group is preparing for the mission, and most of the time they will work together during the deployment. The framework for culture training in the pre-deployment phase corresponds with the existing cultural awareness training programmes of the Netherlands, Canada and the USMC.

It is a mission related training, based on the elements of cultural awareness, which builds upon the cultural competences generated in the initial phase. In the introduction, the most important lessons of the initial phase will be repeated. This repetition has two reasons: the soldier remembers the curriculum taught in the initial education, and the recognition motivates him/her to pay attention.

After the introduction of the unfamiliar culture, with basic symptoms and models, the soldier gets somewhat acquainted with the local culture. After the basic introduction is completed the soldiers will learn about the backgrounds of the mission related culture, and the factors that are responsible for the culture of the area. Eventually the soldiers learn about the norms and values of the local culture, the local customs, and other important symptoms.

The model for this part of the framework is Weaver's CCC, described in the JIPOE framework of Chandler (2005). This section will be combined with role playing activities. The commanders and leaders will have a more in depth course with learning to negotiate in a mission related settings, where they learn the local negotiation skills. Finally, the group will evaluate the cultural awareness training.

	Subject	Remarks	Elements
1	<p>Introduction</p> <p>Repeating important lessons initial education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of culture • Danger of culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stereotyping • Culture shock • The military and culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examples from the mission area • Own paradigm, dangers of ethno-centrism 	<p>Make sure soldiers remember the curriculum</p>	<p>Motivational/ cognitive</p>
2	<p>Experiential training with role playing. Soldiers have not yet received skills and knowledge about behaviour in mission related environment and experiences shock, misunderstanding, frustration, stress</p>	<p>This can be done by quick questioning round</p>	<p>Motivational/ meta-cognitive</p>
3	<p>Evaluation of the role playing teaches the student to recognize symptoms of Culture Shock</p>		
4	<p>Cultural awareness training</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introd. into mission related culture: examples, footage • Introduction in important symptoms and models 	<p>Keep information simple</p>	<p>Motivational/ cognitive</p>
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Backgrounds of cultural norms and values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surroundings • History • Political/social/local politics • Religion 	<p>Extension of (4)</p>	<p>Meta-cognitive/ cognitive</p>
6	<p>Cultural norms and values</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modified Kleins Cultural Lens Model • Intermediate level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weavers CCC Comparison¹⁴⁴ 	<p>Use recognizable examples</p>	<p>Behavioural/ cognitive</p>
7	<p>Experiential training by role playing. Combined with (6) to implement the cultural norms and values. The scenarios in the role playing have to be mission related. After every scenario there will be an evaluation of the cognitive and behavioural aspects and the strategy and experienced stress</p>		<p>Cognitive/ behavioural/ motivational</p>
8	<p>Individual expansion Cross-Cultural training for leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiation in mission related setting with local culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reaching goals in mission specific culture • Culture mission area related negotiation skills • Repeating the importance of motivation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation related to the mission • Motivation of the group to communicate with locals • Signaling Culture Shock 		<p>Cognitive/ behavioural</p> <p>Motivational/ cognitive</p>
9	<p>Role playing about negotiation. Culture in the mission area, mixed with (8). Every scenario follows an evaluation of the cognitive and behavioural aspects and the negotiation strategy and experienced stress</p>	<p>Use mission related scenarios</p>	<p>Cognitive/ behavioural</p>

	Subject	Remarks	Elements
10	Evaluation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reproducing taught curriculum by a quiz, or having students respond to situations • The experiences of the training • In questionnaire <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expectations of the local population • Behaviour towards the local population 		Cognitive/ behavioural Meta-cognitive/ cognitive/be- havioural

Table 3.5: Pre-deployment phase, group Cross-Cultural training

3.4.3 Deployment phase

According to Littrell and Ng, cultural adaption in the deployment will be most successful when the expatriate can be coached during the mission. Van den Berg also states in his article that motivational impulses during the mission improve the expectations and understanding of the soldiers who are more capable of cultural adaption. Soldiers need a cultural advisor in the mission area that can mentor the soldiers and signal symptoms of Culture Shock. The cultural advisor will have three important tasks, which can improve the meta-cognitive, cognitive, behavioural and motivational skills of the soldiers:

- *He/she signals the symptoms of Culture Shock and is able to react to these symptoms*
- *He can advise commanders in their negotiations and can answer culturally related questions of soldiers*
- *He can evaluate mission related intercultural happenings to reduce the chance of Culture Shock, and stereotyping, to increase the motivation.*

In addition to the use of a cultural advisor, the commander of a unit has the task to keep up the motivation of his troops and recognize symptoms of stress and Culture Shock. He/she too has to evaluate happenings from time to time and discuss cultural matters and reasons for the mission with his men.

Alongside the use of a coach during the deployment, an interactive website can be used for an e-learning programme. On this website the latest information can be given with regard to the local culture. Soldiers can also ask questions regarding cultural dilemmas or difficulties, which can be answered by the

experts; other soldiers can look up these questions to learn from it. There have been tests with a similar e-learning programme in the US and the results were encouraging.¹⁴⁵

Re-deployment phase 3.4.4

As stated by Hudson, Littrell and Lewis, the re-deployment of a unit is very important for the lessons learned during the mission. Soldiers have had many culturally related experiences, which can be used in the education and training. These experiences can be asked in interviews in an "After Mission Review". The soldiers also experienced the benefits and/or flaws of the culture training. This is also important to evaluate, because the training and education can be revised after these lessons learned. The main questions in the interviews will be: did the cultural education and training connect to the mission, or were there gaps in the curriculum?

In addition to interviews regarding the experienced cultural matters, soldiers also have to fill in a questionnaire, which contains the following subjects:

- *The experience of the soldiers, their attitude and subjects like stereotyping*
- *Expectations and understanding of the local population*
- *A test of the cultural competencies*

In the following chapters the current cultural training programmes in the Netherlands, the CAT programme and the modern cultural awareness training programme, will be compared to the elements of this model. But what do these current cultural training programmes in the Netherlands look like, and how are they created? In the next chapter the current training programmes will be explained and compared with the model above.

The preparation for Taskforce Uruzgan



This chapter focuses on how the Dutch military trains its soldiers for their task during a mission. The cultural component of this training will be emphasised and explained in detail. It is important to know how the cultural training programmes during several phases of a soldier's career are designed in order to understand the foundation for cultural awareness training in the Netherlands. This chapter will also compare these cultural training programmes to the model that was outlined in paragraph 3.4. This comparison will be done in order to determine whether the current culture trainings used by the Dutch military, meet the requirements of the cultural training programmes which have been scientifically proven to be effective.

Cultural training programmes in the Dutch military 4.1

In preparation for the mission to Uruzgan, Dutch soldiers are trained intensely and diversely in order to be adequately prepared for their task. These trainings range from integration exercises to lessons regarding the Afghan culture. This chapter deals with how the soldiers prepare for their mission to Uruzgan. The components of the preparatory training are as follows: the integration exercise, the Mission Preparation Instructions/Mission Preparation Education and the Cultural Awareness Training. The courses and program that the soldiers attend will be discussed in the following chapter.

Team competences

According to the team competences that were derived from the 'Manual on Leadership' in the Royal Netherlands Army, the teaching of cultural awareness consists of three layers. The first and outer layer consists of the techniques of intercultural communication. This refers to the implementation of certain behaviour with regards to a specific culture and the do's and don'ts of that culture.

The second layer consists of the skills which are essential to understand a different culture and to interact as appropriately as possible, especially in culturally sensitive situations. With these skills, the soldiers are able to understand what the most important norms and values in a culture are, where they come from and how to deal with them.

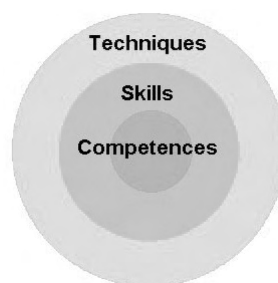


Fig 4.1: The team competences (HB Leidinggeven in de KL, 2002)

The centre of the graph illustrates the competences that are required to create a positive intercultural communication. These competencies will be cultivated during training and will be referred to when the topic of appropriate cultural perspective is discussed. Based on these competences, the expectation is that the soldier will be capable of being open-minded in terms of communicating with people from all cultures.¹⁴⁶

ICCN

At the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA), officer cadets learn about intercultural communication, which is partly based on their personal score on intercultural core competences. This training takes place during a module, called *Intercultural Communication and Negotiation* (ICCN). This module consists of a questionnaire, a course and practical applications during an exercise. Before the course starts, the officer cadets have to fill in a questionnaire. This questionnaire measures their personal score on the seven competences which prescribe the success rate during the intercultural communication. The FORCE-IT scale is used to measure the following seven competences:

- *Flexibility*
- *Openness*
- *Respect*
- *Cultural empathy*
- *Emotional stability*
- *Initiative*
- *Trust*

During the course, the personal scores on the FORCE-IT scale are given out to the officer cadets. They are given the opportunity to learn how to improve their score by being provided with instructional theory and role play exercises. During an exercise, in which a UN peace mission is simulated, the officer cadets have to negotiate with actors. The performers play the role of the local population and key leaders. The instructors observe the behaviour and compare it with the score in their questionnaire. After the role-play the instructors give the officer cadets feedback regarding their observations. At the end of the day there is an *after-action-review* where the important lessons of the day are presented.¹⁴⁷

The competences described in the manual on leadership in the Royal Netherlands army are represented in this training. The ICCN develops and cultivates the competences which are

146 Vakgroep Sociale Gedragwetenschappen en wijsbegeerte, KMA (2002). Handboek leiding geven in de KL. Breda: KMA. pp. 206

147 Interview with Dr. R. de Ridder, ICCN (2007).



Fig 4.2: At the ICCN course, officer cadets meet with other cultures during field exercise. (Photo AVDD)

necessary in achieving a level of appropriate cultural awareness. Presently, ICCN is only designed for officer cadets of the KMA, however; this training could be used in the NCO education program at the Royal Netherlands Military School (KMS).

MGI & CAT

Both the lecture in the Mission Preparation Instructions (MGI¹⁴⁸) and the Cultural Awareness Training (CAT) focus on the skills and techniques derived from the team competences model. Soldiers are trained for their particular mission areas in order to provide valuable information that is specific to the local cultures and customs of that country. Nowadays the lecture in the MGI and the CAT are merged into one training day where theory and role plays are integrated. The contents and scope of the MGI and CAT will be explained in paragraph 4.4 and enclosure 1.

Section Cultural and Historical Backgrounds and Information (Sie CAI) 4.1.1

The *Section Cultural and Historical Backgrounds and Information* started in 1953. With the signing of the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict, the Netherlands was obliged to protect their cultural heritage

MGI stands for 'Missie Gerichte Instructies'. 148

during armed conflicts. This is the primary task of the section. The next important initiative of Sie CAI is to provide cultural training to the Dutch soldiers with regards to the mission areas that the Dutch armed forces have been deployed to. Up until 2006, the only specific cultural training that the Dutch soldiers received was through the MGI/MGO training.

These lectures focused on the respective country's history, the conflict and more specifically the habits and sensitivities of the local population. Religion has a great influence on cultural norms and is therefore addressed during these lectures.¹⁴⁹ Since the end of 2007, Sie CAI has also been responsible for the CAT programmes. This will be discussed in paragraph 4.4. Since 2004 the Sie CAI is an autonomous unit in the Dutch armed forces.

4.2 The preparation for the mission

In preparation for the mission to Uruzgan, the Dutch soldiers are trained as much and as diversely as possible in order to prepare them for the mission. This paragraph follows 12 Infbat AASLT RvH during its preparation course for the mission. Since the beginning of 2006, 12 Infbat AASLT RvH was preparing for its mission to Uruzgan. This mission would be different than prior missions to Afghanistan and Iraq. The population would be less positive regarding the Dutch soldiers and the chances of aggression and fights with the Taliban was more likely. Since 12 Infbat AASLT RvH joined the *NATO Response Force* (NRF) in 2005, it was already trained in irregular warfare which simplified the pre-deployment training substantially.

During the mission (August-November 2006), 12 Infbat AASLT RvH was assigned to work with the Battle Group. This Battle Group's role was to protect the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) while they carried out their tasks. Together, these two groups form the operational part of Taskforce Uruzgan (TF-U). Since April 2006 the units of TF-U trained together in order to enhance their ability to cooperate effectively while on deployment in Uruzgan. The different units attended an organised integration exercise which was intended to improve the soldiers' ability to interact together more efficiently. This exercise was called 'Falcon Integration' and it took place in a setting which was similar to Uruzgan and its population. Once the integration exercise was completed, there was time set aside for the units of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH to improve their drills. The

149 Neervoort, A.T.M. (2005). Afghanistan: land, bevolking en geschiedenis. hand-out, Sie CAI.

Mission Preparation Instructions (MGI) started simultaneously and was attended by every soldier. During this MGI training, the soldiers received instruction that was related to the mission area.

At the end of April 2006, the Cultural Awareness Training (CAT) started. This program contained more extensive information regarding the culture of the Afghan population. The CAT program also provided an overview on the types of interactions that soldiers might expect to encounter with the locals in the mission area and how to improve their behavioural skills to interact in a culturally sensitive manner. This CAT finished at the end of May. The soldiers participated in role plays and visited a Mosque. The CAT was an extension of the MGI training course, however, some soldiers had not received the MGI training before they started the CAT.

At the end of May 2006 the staff of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH went on a reconnaissance mission to Uruzgan. Their objective while they were there was to visit the main towns, interact with the local population, drive on the most important roads and check the security situation. During this reconnaissance mission the staff came to the conclusion that the situation in Uruzgan was far more dangerous than the Department of Defence had anticipated.

The deployment of the troops to Uruzgan began in the middle of June and lasted until the beginning of August, which was when the mission started.¹⁵⁰ The following paragraphs will discuss the integration exercise, the MGI and the CAT.

The integration exercise 4.3

The task of the Battle Group is to protect the Provincial Reconstruction Teams while they fulfil their tasks. Therefore, the different units of the Battle Group and the PRTs had to train together in order to become familiar with the different procedures and drills of each different unit. The staff of the TF-U decided to organise an integration exercise before the preparatory training. This three week integration exercise was held at the Arnhemse Heide near Schaarsbergen and Deelen.

The objective of the integration exercise was to simulate the current situation in Uruzgan. In order to make the scenario realistic, people were asked to dress up in bed sheets and they stood in the background to simulate the local population in order



Fig. 4.3: Soldiers of other units are exercise enemies during the integration exercise of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH (Photo Yilmaz, 2006)

to create a type of scene that one might find in Afghanistan. In the role play a scenario was set-up whereby the units had to 'visit' the local population and deescalate heated situations. They did this by negotiating with the local Afghani leaders.

Col. Vleugels, former commander of TF-U1, made the following statement in an interview in the magazine *Landmacht* regarding the integration exercise: *"We used to do exercises like these at the end of the pre-deployment training. We decided to move this exercise to the beginning of the pre-deployment training for TF-U1 . The reason that the training was moved was because it provided the troops with greater opportunities to use the respective military equipment, currently used in Uruzgan, in their preparatory field exercises. This was a terrific choice. [...] Because of this exercise everyone knows what they have to improve on during the next few weeks."*¹⁵¹

The advantage of the integration exercise is that the units find out which procedures and drills they need to improve on. A disadvantage of this exercise is that the units cannot implement the lessons that they learn during the MGI and the CAT programme into the integration exercise because they have not received these training sessions at this point. Consequently, the troops learn how to behave in hostile situations but do not know how to respond in peaceful situations. This observation led to the integration exercise changing after TF-U3 completed their course. The changes were

made in order to include a variety of exercises consisting of peaceful and hostile situations. This change gives the units the opportunity to learn how to behave in all kinds of scenarios.

Nowadays the integration exercises that are used by the Dutch military are more realistic than those that the 12 Infbat AASLT RvH participated in. TF-U3 was the first unit to receive the improved program. The integration exercises were enhanced by including the cultural expertise of native Afghans into the course. The Afghans fulfil a unique role of the integration exercise by acting in the scenarios and role plays as would be typical in Afghanistan and by being translators. These Afghani actors are assisted by units that have returned from the mission area which adds additional scope to the training. The involvement of Afghani actors resulted in the training being more realistic and therefore the soldiers were better prepared for the mission.

Cultural awareness training for first entry units 4.4

As previously mentioned, the pre-deployment training of TF-U1 requires that the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH attend two different courses in order to adequately prepare to acculturate to the Afghan culture. These training courses are the Mission Preparation Instructions (MGI) and the Cultural Awareness Training (CAT). This paragraph is deals with both trainings.

Mission Preparation Instructions 4.4.1

The Mission Preparation Instruction (MGI) covers the following subjects; terrain, intelligence, security and culture. It also simulates situations that the soldiers may encounter in the respective mission area. PRT units, intelligence cells and soldiers that have to operate for longer time periods or those who will have greater interaction with the local population receive additional training which is called, Mission Preparation Education (MGO). This is training is an extension of the MGI program and takes one to two weeks.

The then Commander of the armed forces (CDS), Gen. Berlijn, stated that every soldier that goes on a mission needs to have a basic knowledge of the culture of the mission area. This statement has been formulated in the CDS instruction 700. This basic knowledge contains three elements:

- *Basic knowledge regarding the cultural heritage and history of the mission area*
- *Basic knowledge of local customs, mentality and do's and don'ts*
- *Basic knowledge and skills which are necessary to communicate with all parties.*

These three basic elements are covered in the MGI. The training takes one week. Lectures are given about the current situation in the mission area. Subjects that are included in these lessons are; terrain, weather, climate, stress and trauma, dealing with the media, hostage situations, hygiene and local diseases, violence instructions, intelligence and security, mines and improvised exploding devices (IEDs), the use of interpreters, communication drills, actual information, cooperation with Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) and Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and cultural information.

The staff of the Sie CAI is responsible for delivering all the lectures regarding cultural matters during the MGI course. The individual program focused on culture, lasts approximately four hours while the group program generally lasts about three hours. The commander and his staff receive additional academic and fundamental lectures regarding specific subjects. Every presentation regarding culture in the MGI contains the same list of subjects. Firstly, information is presented about the recent developments in the current conflict which includes the experiences of the different parties. Once this section has been completed, the key players, factors and consequences regarding the conflict is discussed. The lecture also focuses on the local population who have experienced traumas that were caused by the former conflict, because these experiences can make the local population unpredictable. To provide insight into the daily life of the host nation's culture, trainers cover the following subject areas; social and geographical facts of the population structure, ethnic diversity, life expectancy, income and education. Trainers use historical information in the context of the present situation.

During the cultural awareness lessons in the MGI training, soldiers learn about the different forms of social organisations in the respective host nation, which are; family structure, clan and tribal organisations. The training also discusses concepts such as honour, shame and revenge. Topics such as the differences in communication styles between the Dutch and the local culture are very important components of the MGI training program as they educate the soldiers on how to interpret the body language, facial expressions and gestures of the local population. The

instructor's use many examples of everyday practice to illustrate many different do's and don'ts in the mission area.¹⁵²

Every area is different and in every area are different cultures and customs. It is for this reason that Sie CAI develops a presentation for every mission area. This training program is designed to be specific to the local culture and customs of the respective country. There is also a presentation for the mission in Uruzgan: *"For this 'new' mission in Uruzgan, the lectures are purely aimed at the region around Kandahar and Uruzgan. In this case the trainings are especially about the Pashtun, who have a totally unique culture with codes of honour and traditions."*¹⁵³ (Gooren, 2006)

The most important goal of the Sie CAI is to give soldiers a basic overview of the local customs and cultures of a respective mission area as well as to provide them with a synopsis on the current situation of that area. The soldiers are taught the basic skills to enhance the relationship with the local population by taking the opportunity to interact appropriately. This is important for the mission because it enables the soldiers to develop a stronger working relationship with the locals. The soldiers need to know how to communicate effectively. It is vital to show respect for the culture, social customs and religion of the host nation. The instructors try to prevent stereotyping and prejudices.¹⁵⁴

Cultural Awareness Training 4.4.2

In reference to the three basic principles of cultural knowledge in CDS instruction 700, the MGI only addresses the first two elements: (1) basic knowledge of the cultural heritage and the history of the mission area and (2) basic knowledge of the local customs, mentality and do's and don'ts. These two elements are best addressed in presentations and lectures. The third element, the basic knowledge and skills which are necessary to communicate with all parties, cannot be taught effectively with the use of lectures only. Practical courses and interactive discussions are fundamental components for developing a basis of understanding on the communication styles and behavioural norms of other cultures.

In preparation for the mission in Uruzgan, the commander of the 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, LCol Van der Sar, stated that there should be more emphasis placed on the appropriate behaviour

Gooren, R.H.E. (2006). pp. 54-60 152

<http://www.acom-cn.v.nl> (2005). Interview with Lt.Col. dr. R.H.E. Gooren. 153

Gooren, R.H.E. (2006). pp. 54-60 154

styles that the soldiers needed to adopt in order to interact with the local population in a positive manner. *"We have to fight a concurrence battle for the local population. The civilians need to see the advantage of cooperating with us."*¹⁵⁵ The Cultural Awareness Training (CAT) provides the soldiers with knowledge regarding local population. In the CAT programme the participating soldiers receive practical training on the following subjects; conversation, communication, backgrounds of local customs and basic Islamic principles. This training concentrates on the mission area specifically. The trainers also use interpreters and actors, who are from the mission area, in order to make the training as realistic as possible.

History of CAT

The appropriate behavioural guidelines that the Dutch soldiers were taught in their initial education were successful in former peace missions. However, there are some negative consequences of adopting this approach as it only works in a situation where the population is generally positive towards the soldiers. When the local population is hostile toward foreign troops, a small incident can make situation escalate.¹⁵⁶

In Uruzgan the situation is different than in former missions. The area is more traditional compared to other areas in Afghanistan. A substantial part of the population rallies behind the Taliban or has negative feelings about the arrival of foreign soldiers. Incidents or 'inappropriate' behaviour can lead to hostility between the soldiers and the local population, which can endanger the mission. Lt.Col. Van der Sar therefore decided that the pre-deployment training of the troops going on the mission to Uruzgan in August 2006 required additional cultural training. This supplementary training needed to focus on communicating with the locals and provide additional cultural training compared to that already provided by the MGI training.

In an internal memo, on March 17, 2006, the Bureau Education and Training of the Army Command (Bureau O&T/OG/Staf CLAS) stated that individual soldiers should study Pashto which is the local language in Uruzgan. Some soldiers did take this course. Lt.Col. Gooren communicated this initiative to the Director Operations of the Army: *"In view of the complexity of the Pashto language the results are in agreement with the expectations."*¹⁵⁷

155 Marlet, G. (2006, May 17). Missie Uruzgan: "Vraag niet direct naar Taliban, maar of er misschien gasten zijn". *Trouw*.

156 Interview with Lt.Col. dr. Gooren, R.H.E. (2006).

157 Gooren, R.H.E. (2006, May 23). Memo to the Director Operations of the Army.

The staff of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH contacted Sie CAI and requested that the unit develop a training program specific to the culture in Southern Afghanistan. However, due to a lack of personnel, the Sie CAI could not develop the program as requested. The staff of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH contacted Schwerzel, who is a cultural anthropologist, working with TNO. TNO is a Dutch company which develops new ventures for the Dutch military. Schwerzel had previously developed training programmes for NATO and had experience with cultural awareness trainings for the military. He was assigned to set up a practical course.¹⁵⁸ Together with Reverend Boersma, the Defence Chaplain of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, he set up a training programme in order to expand of the information taught in the MGI training program.

The Director Operations from the Army, General Everts, decided in August 2006 that every soldier should receive the CAT programme. This was due to the positive results of the program. General Everts suggested that the CAT programme should be a part of the MGI training and that Sie CAI should be responsible for the delivery of the training.¹⁵⁹ Since General Everts made these recommendations, the CAT programme has been delivered by Sie CAI and integrated in the MGI training.

Organization and Delivery

The CAT programme consists of lectures and practical lessons. Schwerzel came to the conclusion that lectures are seen as boring and useless. This was based on the feedback he received from the interviews that were held with the soldiers. Much of the information is not absorbed by the soldiers. According to Schwerzel, however, lectures can be interesting to the soldiers if they are taught in the right manner. He felt that the lectures should be more interactive and that the relevancy of each subject needed to be explained clearly.¹⁶⁰ The basic layout of the CAT programme is that it will begin with a lecture and be followed by role-plays. The CAT programme focuses on addressing the background of customs. Insight into the rational behind behaviour can be useful in understanding differences. By encouraging understanding one can increase the chances that the soldier behaves more positively towards the population. *“Besides factual information and do’s and don’ts, it is important for everyone who will be in contact with the local population on an regular basis to have insight in the local culture and not just knowledge of facts or a checklist.”*¹⁶¹ (Schwerzel, 2006)

Interview with Schwerzel, J. drs. (2006). 158

Everts, P.L.E.M. (2006, August 1). Inbedding taal- en cultuurtraining. memo to C-OGC, C-OTCO, C-SVV. 159

Interview with Schwerzel, J. drs. (2006). 160

Schwerzel, J. (2006). Culturele Factoren in Afghanistan, Praktische Aanwijzingen. pp. 1-2 161

Because the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH have different ranks and functions, different training programmes were designed. The 12 Infbat AASLT RvH was divided into two groups. Each group had their own training needs:

- *The battalion: This group received the minimal training. Soldiers were given information on Afghanistan, the local and religious factors. This training was completed with a visit to a Mosque. A role play was offered, with the help of interpreters and actors. This scenario that was used was that of soldiers on patrol.*
- *The executives of the battalion and the ones who would regularly meet the local population: In addition to the Mosque, the lectures and the patrol trainings this group received practical trainings in which they learned about the daily etiquette and negotiations; they also joined in a traditional meal.¹⁶²*

The delivery of these training programs to these two groups consisted of five elements: Lectures regarding Islam, culture and history of Afghanistan; visiting a Mosque; a patrol training; etiquette for the executives; and a traditional meal.

Connection with the MGI

The CAT programme was designed because the lectures in the MGI training program were not substantial enough to meet the requirements of some Dutch missions. The MGI training program did not train the soldiers adequately in terms of enabling them to have appropriate conversations with the local population and providing them with an adequate knowledge base on the etiquette of the Afghans. Because of the implementation of the CAT programme there is now also enough attention for the third basic element of the knowledge of the local culture. Schwerzel intended to expand on the knowledge that the soldiers had acquired during the MGI. The MGI started with basic knowledge. The CAT programme expanded on this basic knowledge and was time efficient. The most important elements were repeated or explained in the CAT programme program.

The role play, which is conducted during the CAT programme, incorporates the information that was taught in the MGI training. Some do's and don'ts that were mentioned in the MGI training were implemented into the case scenarios that were used in the role plays. This repetition of information resulted in improved retention of information. The soldiers mentioned that the CAT programme clarified the information that was delivered in the

162 Schwerzel, J. (2006). Culturele Factoren in Afghanistan, Praktische Aanwijzingen. pp. 3



Fig 4.4: During the CAT programme, soldiers visit a Mosque (Photo AVDD)

MGI training.¹⁶³ Unfortunately, not all of the soldiers had received their MGI training. Therefore, some soldiers did not have the basic knowledge on Afghani culture before beginning their CAT programme. In interviews with soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH it also showed that certain gaps existed in the connection between the CAT programme and the lecture that is delivered in the MGI programme. In the MGI soldiers did not gain a clear understanding on the current situation in Uruzgan. The CAT took this for granted. On several occasions the information was not mentioned in the MGI while the CAT took that for granted.¹⁶⁴

In conclusion it can be stated that the CAT tried to relate the material that was delivered in the MGI training course but the lecture in the MGI programme failed on several subjects.

Modern cultural awareness training 4.5

Since February 2007 both the CAT and MGI programmes are delivered by Sie CAI. This has been done in order to optimize the continuity between CAT and MGI training. The Sie CAI tried to give both lectures on the same day so that the knowledge gained in the MGI could be applied in the CAT programme.¹⁶⁵

Interviews with soldiers 12 Infbat AASLT RvH (2006). 163

Ibidem 164

Interviews with Lt.Col dr. Gooren, R.H.E. (2007). 165

The author designed a new course which connected the MGI with the CAT more effectively. There is still a gap between the lectures that deal more with the backgrounds of the culture and the practical parts of the lectures which focus on the actual behaviour of the Afghan population and role play.

In the modern trainings, theoretical and practical information is better related and they follow each other more fluidly. There is also more attention being paid to the didactical aspects of the training. Soldiers no longer have to listen to a three-hour lecture. The lectures and role-plays are integrated and the course is enlivened with movie clips and pictures. This new course gives the soldiers a better perception of the Afghan culture and its' background. The following paragraphs will discuss the improvements of the lectures and the integrated CAT programme.

4.5.1 New lectures

The new lectures in the modern cultural awareness training are based on old presentations regarding South Afghanistan. Before the courses were changed, every trainer of Sie CAI used their own presentation while teaching the MGI program. This differentiation



Fig. 4.5: Role play during the current cultural training programme (Photo Sie CAI)

in teaching material caused a lot of misunderstanding about the most important parts of the lecture. All presentations were analysed by the trainers concerning the most important subjects that should be mentioned in the training. The author finally came up with the following subjects in the framework for the lectures:

- *The importance of cultural awareness*
- *A perception of Southern Afghanistan and in particular Uruzgan*
- *The background of the Southern Afghan culture*
- *The aspects of the Southern Afghan culture.*

This standardization of the lectures in the MGI resulted in all trainers of Sie CAI using the same presentations and teaching the same subjects. This way the most important subjects of the Afghan culture are presented by all trainers and every soldier receives similar information.

New CAT 4.5.2

Since Schwerzel started with the CAT programme, the situation in Uruzgan has changed a considerably. The Afghans have become more familiar with the Dutch soldiers and there is more violence by the Taliban. Evaluation reports regarding the CAT stress the need for several modifications.¹⁶⁶ When Sie CAI adopted the CAT, the author suggested several modifications, which made the CAT more suitable for the current situation.

Because of the lack of available time for the cultural awareness trainings, some parts of the CAT had to be excluded. Removing the traditional meal and the training for executives made it possible to integrate the CAT programme with the MGI. The visit to the Mosque is still a part of the program. The reason that the lesson regarding the Afghan meal is dropped is purely organisational. It was impossible to separate the classes in the MGI training into executive officers and lower classes. This would mean that everybody would join the meal and therefore this would be too difficult to organise. The Sie CAI decided to keep the visit to the Mosque because this part of the CAT programme program contained elements that are important for every soldier. Many soldiers stated that the visit was an eye-opener for them and that it altered their opinion about Islam.

Because the CAT is now a part of the MGI, it is not possible to make a distinction between patrol trainings and executive trainings. The classes are always integrated and it is not possible to divide classes

Ooink, B.J.H. (2006). 166

by rank and activity in the field. That is why the author chose for a more varied package of scenarios for the role-play. There are several scenarios that are currently used for the Battle Group, the PRT, intelligence units and Special Forces, supporting units and medical personnel. The scenarios are based on true stories from the mission area which makes the role-play more realistic.

4.6 Comparison with the CCT model

The following paragraph will focus on the current cultural training programmes that have been described in this chapter and will be compared to the CCT model which was outlined in paragraph 3.4. The CCT model is based on the international and scientific research discussions regarding the effectiveness of cultural training programmes.

The initial education

The initial phase on the KMA attempts to teach the officer cadets about the aspects of culture and cultural competences. This training is hardly comparable to the initial phase in the CCT model. The ICCN course at the KMA is very minimal. The cultural competences of the participants are measured and the importance of culture is explained. The designers of the ICCN course also use motivational and affective methods. These include an exercise and a role play. This ICCN training is only a one week module that fits into a curriculum that ranges from 1.5 to 4 years. Because of the short time in which this course is given, it can hardly be called education. It can scarcely change intercultural competences or the way the officer cadets think about intercultural communication. The module should be extended with the prescribed subjects in the CCT model and the topics should be rehearsed during the exercises throughout the complete education course.

There are some components of the Dutch cultural training program that occur during the pre-deployment phase which are better suited to the initial phase. Soldiers visit a Mosque to learn about the aspects of Islam as part of their CAT programme as well as the modern cultural awareness training. This visit would be more effective if it was integrated into the initial education phase. The KMA is the only institute that provides cultural teachings in the initial phase. The KMS and school battalions do not have any courses that teach students about the aspects of culture and Cross-Cultural Competences.

The pre-deployment phase

The former CAT programme and current modern cultural awareness training provide the cultural lessons in the pre-

deployment phase of training. When these training programmes are compared to the curriculum in the CCT model, they prove to be equivalent to the pre-deployment phase of the model. The current training programmes contain motivational and affective elements like role-plays and anecdotes from the field. The training is based on the transfer of knowledge regarding the culture in the mission area. The soldiers learn the appropriate behaviour by participating in role-plays which prove to be more effective than lectures.

The deployment phase

Presently, the Dutch armed forces do not provide culture training or coaching to the soldiers during their deployment. There are no cultural advisors in the field who are assigned to support the soldiers as they adapt to the culture of the mission area. In November 2008, the first cultural advisor of the Sie CAI unit will go to Afghanistan however, his primary task will be to assist the commander of Regional Command South who will be stationed in Kandahar. Presently, the only source of information that is available to soldiers while on the mission is a handbook which contains minimal information regarding the local culture and customs. This book includes an undersized dictionary with basic Pashto. The information that is provided in the handbook is only a fragment of the curriculum that is taught in the modern cultural awareness training programme which soldiers receive in the pre-deployment phase. This suggests that there is a need to provide the soldiers with additional resources in order to support them in acculturating in a more positive manner.

The re-deployment phase

The only evaluations regarding the cultural experiences in the re-deployment of the Dutch soldiers are ad-hoc interviews and surveys. These have predominantly been done by researchers [the research for this thesis: Ooink (2006, 2007); Van den Berg (2008); Van Bommel (2007)] In order to be able to produce an accurate account of the cultural experiences, it is strongly recommended that structured evaluations are implemented.

The current cultural training programmes in the Netherlands generally provide the cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase. The initial course, which is only given at the KMA, is too brief to educate the officer cadets in aspects of general cultural knowledge and competencies. This training lacks course components such as cultural competence training and Dutch soldier culture. Therefore the initial training does not provide the soldiers with the opportunity to complete training with a positive and open-minded perception of differing cultures. The soldiers only learn specific do's and don'ts during this cultural training.

The objective of this research is to investigate whether these training programmes improve the attitude, perception and knowledge of the soldiers regarding the local population. This thesis also focuses on whether these improvements can be sustained during dangerous deployments. The following chapters will attempt to answer these aforementioned questions.

Relevance of cultural training



In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the results of a survey will be discussed, this survey was given to the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, the Battle Group of TF-U1, and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB, the Battle Group of TF-U3. In the preparation for the mission in Uruzgan, and after the return from the mission the soldiers of these Battalions filled out a questionnaire regarding their attitude towards and knowledge of the local population in Uruzgan. This allowed the researcher to measure certain effects of the current cultural training programmes.

In chapter 5 the following question will be central: Is it relevant to give culture training to soldiers who go on a mission? To analyse the relevance of cultural training programmes, the researcher used two methods. Firstly, a questionnaire was spread among the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, before the culture training started. This questionnaire was filled in by 99% of the participants. Secondly, 38 soldiers were interviewed. They answered questions regarding their experiences with the local culture and the CAT. In this chapter the survey and the interviews are analysed to see whether there was any relevance for a cultural training programme.

Incidents in the past 5.1

With the start of the mission in Uruzgan, the CAT programme was used for the first time in the preparation for a mission. In the past only a lecture was given regarding the local culture in the MGI. For a mission as complex as that of TF-U, this would not be enough to prepare the soldiers for the local customs and behaviour. The lack of preparing in the past caused some incidents which will be discussed below.

The need for more cultural preparation during the MGI was not pivotal because a natural positive approach, the so called 'Dutch approach', seemed to be working. Therefore the armed forces had the idea that extended cultural training programmes were not necessary. The military had the idea that open mindedness and cultural awareness was in the Dutch soldiers' blood, and therefore did not need any cultural preparation. The local population in Afghanistan and Iraq were very pleased with the open attitude of the Dutch, who cared for the local culture.¹⁶⁷ Despite of this Dutch Approach, however, incidents have

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occurred in the past, in which the Dutch soldier, unaware of his behaviour, gave an unpleasant or inappropriate impression to the local population. In 2003 Marijke Jongbloed listed in her documentary 'Smile & Wave' a number of situations in which Dutch soldiers showed cultural incompetence. Pornographic material was given to a local interpreter and soldiers reacted harshly and rudely to the Afghans who showed their hospitality.¹⁶⁸ In our Western culture these incidents can already be seen as an insult to the local population, but in the Afghan culture this is worse than an insult. With this particular behaviour, you show the population that when you have no interest in their lives, can signify that you do not tolerate their presence.



Fig. 5.1: Scene from 'Smile & Wave'
(Jongbloed, 2003)

In addition to the research to incidents which were already mentioned in the media, the soldiers were also asked about their experience with misbehaviour during missions. The soldiers stated that with incidents occurred because of a lack of cultural sensitivity. Soldiers went on a mission without the proper cultural training, which increased the chances of incidents.

In the questionnaire, the soldiers with deployment experience were asked whether they were prepared well enough with regards to culture in past missions. It turned out that 38% of the soldiers that answered the question thought that he/she had not been well enough prepared. During the interviews soldiers with deployment experience also explained that they were ill prepared for the local culture. Sometimes this resulted in situations that wouldn't have occurred if the soldiers did have a cultural training programme.

Disposal of food

In several interviews soldiers stated that they thought the Afghans were filthy people. In an interview a soldier said that he never ate food which was touched by Afghans. They always ate separately and threw the food that Afghans ate away. In the following quotation a Lieutenant describes how they treated the Afghans.

Interviewer: *"Did you eat separately during the Ramadan?"*
"Yes, well, we ate separately anyway. Because look, the people you

168 Jongbloed, M. (2003). Smile & wave. Documentary, NPS Korte Film.

hire need to do a tuberculosis-test. Because, if those people touch something with their hands, then... they call it ritually cleaning, but it's definitely not clean, (smiles). Yes, those people just have a lot of diseases and you have to be careful with that. If you have a basket with bread and an Afghan touches that with his hands, then the bread is contagious, you have to be careful with that."

Interviewer: "So you ate separately?"

"Yeah, at least on different times, mostly before them. And the leftovers were thrown away, that is probably not fresh."
(Interview with a Lieutenant, 2006)

The soldiers seemed to have had a negative perception of the Afghan population; they behaved in a way which was insulting in the Afghan culture, like throwing away food the Afghans touched in the direct proximity of these Afghans. Violence towards the children or the local population also caused a negative relationship between the soldiers and the Afghan population.

Transferring the wrong knowledge

In the past the information regarding what one can and can't do in a certain culture was not clear, the soldiers established their own ways of communication. Frequently, use of common sense resulted in the right treatment and respect. The Dutch military culture contains features which are not appreciated in the Arab and Asian culture. This is also the case in the following quotation:

"At a certain moment local people started talking to our guys. I told them: 'Don't be afraid, they don't eat you. You can say something back. You just have to be brisk and neat. Just say yes or no, they will understand. Our American predecessor did the same.'" (Interview with a sergeant, 2006)

This Sergeant had never received any information regarding the Arab and Asian culture and customs. Afghans and Iraqi people are not firm in their behaviour and communicate more indirectly. Direct answering and questioning is seen as an insult. The Sergeant transferred the wrong knowledge to his soldiers.

Ill-treatment of children

In many cases, the soldiers told the interviewers how rude some soldiers treated the Afghan and Iraqi children. Often they used the excuse that the parents also behaved in this way. The soldiers thought this behaviour was normal in this culture and copied it.

"We were with eight men, then you just have to show who is the boss. We also pushed away some people, when they were being irritating, they are used to it. When a child misbehaves, his parents also abuse him." (Interview with a Sergeant 1, 2006)

"I've also been in such a situation. Sometimes you have to be more rude. And in those countries this came with kicking someone's ass and slapping someone's ears. I've never done it, but I've seen colleagues doing it. Then I thought: 'Is that necessary?' I also had some trouble with some children once, I also had to hit them." (Interview with a Sergeant 1, 2006)

Not keeping to promises

Many soldiers complained about their contact with the local population, these locals reacted harshly, because a different unit had promised them something, and didn't live up to these promises. In Arab and Asian cultures a promise is more important than in the Western culture. You have to keep your promise, otherwise you are worth nothing. The next quotation shows how important it is to keep to your promise:

"The leader also speaks on behalf of his tribe. When he promises something, he will keep to his promise. And if you don't your group is not to thrust. You have made a promise and you didn't keep it. The result is that the tribe will switch sides and when the Taliban comes with a nice offer, they will fall for it. That was also told in the question round: 'The Taliban has done in 6 years more than you.'" (interview with a Corporal 1, 2006)

Lack of knowledge regarding Islam

A lack of knowledge about Islam and its most important festivities can be very detrimental.

"Yes, I've seen people praying on the streets yeah. But then you just passed them and you watched it. And you heard the Mosque, which started yelling out of nothing. The locals ran in all directions, and we didn't get it: 'What the fuck are they doing?' But yesterday the trainer said that was the call fore the Friday afternoon prayer, which was very important for Muslims. I've found that out yesterday. The first time I came in this situation I shouldered my weapon. I thought: 'Something is going to happen!' But nothing happened, now I know." (Interview with a Private 1, 2006)

5.2 The Survey

To measure the relevance of an appropriate cultural training programme the answers from the 200 respondents of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH that were analysed (pre-measurement). A description of the contents of this survey is given in chapter 2. In this paragraph the pre-measurement is discussed. The attitude and knowledge of the soldiers before the training is analyzed. The number of respondents between the questionnaires can



Fig 5.2: Know what you promise during a conversation. (Photo AVDD, 2007)

fluctuate; this depends on the number of respondents who answered all the questions on the lists. Sometimes soldiers forgot or did not understand a question, which resulted in the fact that their answers were removed during the analysis.

Attitude regarding the Afghan population 5.2.1

In the following sub-paragraph the attitude of the soldiers before the cultural awareness training is analyzed. In this analysis the total group is divided by rank and deployment experience.

Attitude towards the total population

During the pre-measurement, the whole group was analyzed. It shows that the soldiers in the pre-measurement are neutral to slightly positive to people with a different culture. In the following table a five-point scale has been used; 5 is most positive and 1 is most negative. Table 5.1 shows that the soldiers did not have a negative attitude to other cultures and are prepared to learn more about them. The score is mostly higher than 3, which

	Cultural Awareness	Multi Cultural Attitude	Attitude towards the Islam	Expectation of the Afghans
Mean	3.85	3.00	3.42	3.09
Standard deviation	0.60	0.54	0.64	0.52

Table 5.1: Scores of the complete group pre-measurement

Mean Score	Cultural Awareness	Multi Cultural Attitude	Attitude towards the Islam	Expectation of the Afghans
Rank				
Total	3.85	3.00	3.42	3.09
Enlisted men	3.68	2.86	3.22	2.94*
NCOs	3.85	3.00	3.42	3.09*
Officers	3.90	3.00	3.58	3.21*

Table 5.2: Comparing rank with the group 'pre-measurement'. Values with a * are significant.

means that the mean score is above average. The expectations and understanding of the soldiers regarding the local population was slightly positive and they were more willing to cooperate with them. These scores show that they were open to cultural training programmes. This is in contrast to the findings of Bosman et al. (2006). Their research showed that the average soldier is slightly negative regarding other cultures; the mean score on the Cultural Awareness list and the Multi Cultural Attitude list is 2.7.

Attitude in relation to different ranks

After analysing the total group of the pre-measurement, the group is divided in different ranks. The attitude of these different ranks is compared. The different ranks are grouped in three main groups: enlisted men (N=92); Non Commissioned Officers (N=84); and Officers (N=21). These groups are analysed with the different attitude variables, which resulted in table 5.2 There is no significant difference in attitude between soldiers with different

ranks. Enlisted men are generally slightly more negative than other ranks, but can still be described as neutral. The NCOs are also neutral, even slightly positive regarding other cultures, but score higher than the enlisted men. The officers score highest of all groups. They score neutral about cultural minorities.

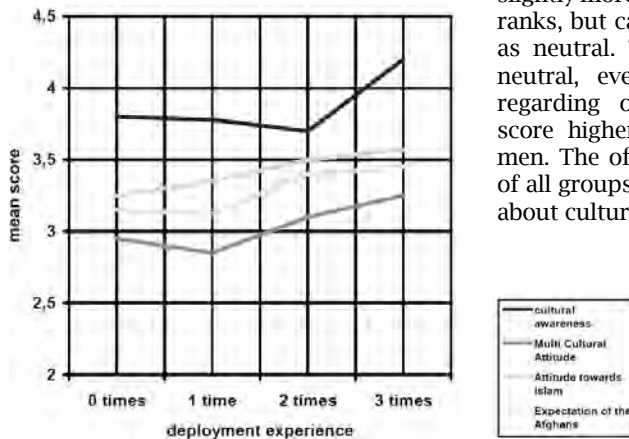


Chart 5.1: Attitude variables compared with deployment experience in the group 'Pre-measurement'

Attitude in relation to deployment experience

The attitude is also related to the number of deployments the soldiers have gone on. It shows that soldiers have a more positive attitude when they have more-deployment experience. In the Cultural Awareness list all groups have a high score and have a normal spread. It seems that with the MCA list, the attitude towards the Islam, and the expectation of the Afghans, the score increases when a soldier has more deployment experience.

Knowledge regarding behaviour in Afghanistan 5.2.2

Knowledge of the total population

In addition to the attitude, the knowledge soldiers have was also measured in the survey (see chapter 2.1.1). In the list 'behaviour in Afghanistan' the average score was 3.38 (with a range from 1 to 5), with a standard deviation of 0.37. The number of respondents to the behaviour list is significantly lower than on the other attitude lists (see paragraph 5.2.1). This is because the behaviour-list was added later on.

Chart 5.2 shows that the soldiers quite often had a score of 3. In combination with the low standard deviation, one can conclude that the participants often filled in the middle score, which can be regarded as 'I don't know'. The conclusion is that many soldiers didn't know an answer to the questions regarding behaviour in the Afghan culture before they had any training.

Knowledge in relation to the different ranks

In comparing the knowledge of the different ranks, it shows that the higher the rank, the better the behaviour towards the Afghans. Since there was only one officer who filled in the list 'Behaviour in Afghanistan' in the pre-measurement, the score of the officers is very unreliable.

Knowledge in relation to deployment experience

In analysing the deployment experience of the participants, the knowledge regarding the behaviour towards the Afghans increases when the participant has more deployment experience. Soldiers without experience more often filled in that they didn't know the answer, which results in

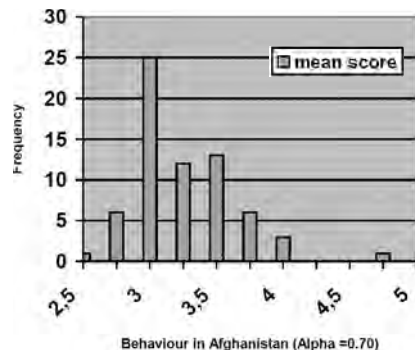


Chart 5.2: Knowledge compared to the total population of 'Pre-measurement'

a mean score close to 3 and a low standard deviation. If soldiers have more-deployment experience, they more often gave a more thought out answer, which was often the right one.

Rank	Mean	Standard deviation
Enlisted men	3.28	0.32
NCOs	3.52	0.35
Officers	4.81	x

Table 5.3: Comparing rank with the group 'pre-measurement'

Deployment experience	Mean	Standard deviation
0 times	3.29	0.30
1 time	3.45	0.42
2 times	3.62	0.44
3 times	3.54	0.53
4 times	3.05	x

Table 5.4: Knowledge compared to deployment experience in the group 'pre-measurement'

5.3 The opinion of the soldiers

In addition to the analysis of the attitude and knowledge of the soldiers, it is also important to let the soldiers state their own ideas. This way the soldier can give his/her own opinion regarding the relevance of cultural awareness trainings. He/she can further give points of criticism and improvement, which will be beneficial to future programmes. The author held 38 open interviews with soldiers who participated in the CAT programme. In order to keep this group of participants as representative as possible, soldiers of several ranks and with diverging deployment experience were interviewed before and after the CAT programme. In this paragraph the opinions of the soldiers in the questionnaires and the interviews have been brought together.

Improper preparation

Paragraph 5.1 shows that soldiers could cause incidents which could jeopardise the mission because of a lack of cultural preparation. Many soldiers state in the interviews that they had not adequately been prepared for cultural awareness in former missions; they heard a lot of information for the first time in the CAT programme. In the following quotations soldiers speak about the fact that they had little information regarding the local culture in the past, so they didn't know the local culture and customs.

"How people live, behind the thick walls of their homes. How they see things. How they fill in their lives. I didn't have that info before." (Interview with a Sergeant of the Engineers, 2006)

"The greeting was also part of it, you didn't know how to do it. I didn't learn it in my last mission. Eventually you'll find it out in the mission area, it mostly stays with shaking hands, but..." (Interview with a Sergeant of the Engineers, 2006)

"Everybody can come into contact with someone. And I missed that information with the last mission. While that is important for everyone, I think. We sometimes went out with six men, and then you certainly have contact." (Interview with a Corporal 1, 2006)

Stereotypical expectations and knowledge of the Afghans

The interviews showed that the soldiers who had to go to Uruzgan had little or no knowledge of the Afghan culture before they had the cultural awareness training. They had a stereotypical perception of the Afghan population and knew nothing of the Afghan etiquette.

Interviewer: *"What did you expect to see of the culture? Describe Afghanistan"*

"You mean in the villages? You have those houses and there is a wall around it, you can say. About 1.5, 2 metres high. Those clay, small walls. Those are their houses. I expect a lot of dust. Male traditional costumes... I don't know how to call it, eh... turbans on their head. With those wide MCHammer style clothing. I expect to see mostly men. I don't expect to see any women, unless they belong to a guy on the streets. And the burqa of course." (Interview with a Corporal, before the training, 2006)

"I expect to see a lot of sand. People dressed in typical Afghan clothing, I mean headgear, long beards, some clothing hanging around their bodies. Chaos in the street. Wooden, lame cabins, with enclosures around the house. Further a lot of chaos, not much stuff we have here. Especially the things you see on the photographs, you will see there. That's what I expect to see." (Interview with a private 1, before the training, 2006)

Culture in Afghanistan is very complex

The soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH seemed to be aware of the complexity of the Afghan culture, and knew that this culture contributed to the success of the mission in Uruzgan. During the interviews many soldiers expressed that they thought the CAT programme would be very important, given the complexity of the Afghan culture. Common sense knowledge is not enough to deal with this situation. Knowledge of the culture is important:

“It is actually very important to understand how these people think. They think in Pashtunwali and the Islam. That’s just a part of the culture. For my concern they can’t tell enough about it, because every mistake I make over here, I won’t make again in Uruzgan.” (Interview with a Lieutenant 1, 2006)

“I don’t think you can get enough of this cultural awareness training. In Uruzgan they will ask like: ‘What do you think of Karzai?’ and the soldier can’t give an answer. ‘What do you think of Pashtun and do you fight for Pashtun?’ And the soldier asks: ‘What is Pashtun?’ That can be seen as an insult to their honour. Then I think you can’t have enough cultural awareness training.” (Interview with a Sergeant, 2006)

Expectation that most soldiers won’t have contact with locals

Many soldiers stated in the interviews that the trainings in the CAT were too extensive, because many of them would not come in contact with the local population. Normally the platoon commander or his replacement does the talking. Many soldiers thought that the certain parts of the training could be reduced. In the following quotation some reasons are mentioned why soldiers would not have any contact with the local population.

“When we go on a patrol normally the group commander or his replacement has the interpreter with him and automatically does the talking. The group commander will always do the talking when something strange occurs.” (Interview with a Lieutenant, 2006)



Figure 5.3: During the mission soldiers come daily into contact with the local population (Photo AVDD, 2006)

On the other hand many soldiers with deployment experience said in the interviews that eventually everybody has contact with the local population. The Afghans are often curious and try to contact every soldier in the neighbourhood. This also means that the force protection and the drivers can be contacted.

“It is not the level we are operating on: Corporal, Private. I know from my experience that you really can come into contact with the Afghan very quickly. Because when you are in the overwatch¹⁶⁹, hundreds of Afghans walk around you. So you can just as easily come into contact with the Afghans. The conversations are simple of course, but you have to know what you are doing.” (Interview with a Corporal, 2006)

It is of relevance that in the introduction is told that the cultural awareness training is relevant for every soldier, because every soldier can come into contact with the local population.

Conclusion 5.4

A substantial part of the questioned soldiers thought that they had no proper culture training programme in the past, and therefore were not prepared enough for the culture and customs of the local population. This lack of preparation resulted in several incidents, which are mentioned in paragraph 5.1. In the interviews it seems that the soldiers were not aware of the cultural mistakes they made in the past and were simply not instructed about the dangers of their behaviour. These incidents should not have happened if the soldiers were prepared for the cultural differences during a cultural training programme.

As a result of the analysis of the attitude and the knowledge of the participants in the group ‘pre-measurement’, some conclusions can be reached. These contribute to the relevance of cultural awareness training. The analysis of the attitude of the soldiers towards the local population, before the current cultural training programme, shows that the soldiers are quite positive. They are aware of the fact that Afghan people are different, and do not see them as backward or less valuable. This positive perception is important for the success of culture training. The soldiers are motivated to cooperate with the local population and to learn more regarding their culture during the training programme. There is a small, but increasing difference in the score in the attitude of the different ranks. How higher the rank, the higher

the score. This means that soldiers with a higher rank are more positive regarding people with a different culture than soldiers with a lower rank. This attitude difference can be explained by the fact that soldiers with a higher rank are often longer in the armed forces than soldiers with a lower rank, during their career they more often have contact with other cultures or have on the basis of their wide knowledge a better cultural awareness. The influence of education also plays a role, NCOs and Officers have had a higher education than enlisted men, in addition to this there is an increasing difference in attitude score when soldiers have more-deployment experience. On the other hand, younger persons more often have a multicultural background, which should give them an advantage in understanding other cultures. Often one can see polarization among youth in intercultural suburbs, which causes extremist thinking about other cultures.

In contrast to the attitude, the knowledge regarding the behaviour towards the Afghan population is low. The participants often filled in that they didn't know the answer. The knowledge increases when the soldiers have some deployment experience. The training should especially aim at the enlisted men who have never been on a mission before. This is the group which has been the most negative towards people with a different culture and has the least knowledge regarding the behaviour towards the Afghans.

Many soldiers had the idea that the modern cultural awareness trainings are too extensive for most of the soldiers, because they would not come into contact with the local population. Soldiers with deployment experience have stated that on the other hand, soldiers with low ranks or different tasks would come into contact with the local population also because the Afghans see everyone as a contact person.

This chapter shows that the relevance of cultural training programmes is very high. In the past many incidents have occurred because of poor culture training, this perception is also reinforced by the fact that the knowledge regarding the local culture and customs is low. The attitude research shows that soldiers are slightly positive towards other cultures and are prepared to learn more. Now that the relevance of cultural training programmes is proven, the question arises whether the current cultural training programmes are effective enough to generate the desired effects. Chapter 6 and 7 will analyse the research to the effectiveness of the current cultural training programmes, and whether these training programmes are effective enough to diminish the Culture Shock effect and to give the soldiers the correct knowledge and teach them the correct behaviour to allow them to cooperate with the local population in a more positive way.

The effect: the current cultural training programmes

The following chapters will focus on the effectiveness of the current cultural training programmes in the Netherlands. The primary objective is to determine whether the current programs used by the Dutch military improve the attitude/perception and knowledge/behaviour of the soldiers in relation to the Afghans. In order to meet this objective, two aspects will be measured and these are the attitude and perception of the soldiers regarding the Afghan population and the knowledge of, and behaviour towards the local Afghani population. Both aspects are measured and evaluated with the use of a survey. This survey was handed out to soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB before or after their culture training session. A description of the survey can be found in chapter 2. 12 Infbat AASLT RvH was part of the Battle Group in TF-U1 and therefore received the first entry CAT programme. 13 Infbat AASLT STPB as part of the Battle Group in TF-U3 received the improved modern culture training programme. An outline of these training programmes can be found in chapter 4, as well as enclosure 1. This chapter will discuss the effects that the culture training had on the soldiers directly after they received this training (pre-deployment) while the effects that the cultural training produced post-mission will be discussed in chapter 7.

Attitude and perception regarding the Afghans 6.1

The survey that was conducted before the soldiers had received the cultural training programme will be compared to the survey that was conducted after the training was received in order to investigate whether the soldiers' attitudes had changed during the current cultural training programmes. The designer of the CAT programme, Schwerzel, had stated that it is hardly likely that the attitude or perception of the soldiers would change with regards to the Afghan population. He designed a programme that would improve the knowledge and behaviour, but the training course was not designed to change the soldiers' attitudes.

Attitude of the first entry units towards locals 6.1.1

The measurement of the soldiers' attitude of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH was done by comparing the four behaviour lists before and after the CAT programme. This comparison was later divided into rank and deployment experience for further analysis.

Total group		Pre-/Post measurement	Cultural Awareness	Multi Cultural Attitude	Attitude towards the Islam	Expectation of the Afghans
Respondents	Pre		199	195	122	175
	Post		124	117	75	120
Mean	Pre		3.77	2.93	3.36	3.03
	Post		3.71	2.98	3.29	2.93
Std. Dev.	Pre		0.60	0.51	0.66	0.51
	Post		0.66	0.51	0.74	0.51

Table 6.1: Comparing attitude with the total groups

Mean score		Rank	Cultural Awareness	Multi Cultural Attitude	Attitude towards the Islam	Expectation of the Afghans
Enlisted men	pre		3.68	2.86	3.22	2.94
	post		3.68	3.00	3.29	2.91
NCOs	pre		3.85	3.00	3.42	3.09
	post		3.65	2.90	3.23	2.83
Officers	pre		3.90	3.00	3.58	3.21
	post		4.39	3.23	4.17	3.21

Table 6.2: Comparing attitude with rank

The total group

At first the soldiers' attitudes are analyzed in relation to the total groups pre-measurement and post-measurement. Table 6.1 shows the results of this comparison. There is no significant improvement in the mean attitude. This suggests that the attitude of both groups range from remaining neutral to being slightly positive with regards to people of different cultures.

Compared to different ranks

After the total population has been analysed, the population is further divided into three ranks: Enlisted men, NCOs and Officers.

The results indicate that dividing the total population into different ranks did not significantly alter the findings that were measured after the soldiers had participated in the CAT Programme. The post-measurement results indicated that the attitude of the soldiers' increased with rank. These results were consistent with those from the pre-measurement findings. There were, however, insufficient officers that were able to participate in this study in order to attain reliable results regarding the attitude of the Officers group towards Afghans.

Lists		Cultural Awareness	Multi Cultural Attitude	Attitude towards the Islam	Expectation of the Afghans
Deployment experience					
0 times	pre	3.79	2.88	3.22	3.05
	post	3.69	2.98	3.24	3.08
1 time	pre	3.68	2.85	3.30	3.08
	post	3.65	2.78	3.58	3.02
2 times	pre	3.69	3.02	3.57	3.27
	post	3.98	3.06	3.17	3.14
3 times	pre	4.02	3.15		3.36
	post	4.00	3.35		3.00
4 times	pre	4.04	3.07		3.26
	post	3.86	3.38		2.67

Table 6.3: Comparing attitude with deployment experience

Attitude compared to deployment experience

The division in deployment experience shows no significant difference between the pre- and post-measurement. The mean scores increased when soldiers had more deployment experience.

Attitude of the follow up units towards locals 6.1.2

The survey that the soldiers from the 13 Infbat AASLT RvH completed incorporated a list of questions which aimed at measuring the soldiers' perception of Afghans. This list is described in greater detail in chapter 2. The list aimed at measuring 'perception' was completed by 179 soldiers. 103 soldiers completed it before receiving the CAT programme and 76 soldiers received it after the CAT programme. The mean scores, (on a scale from 1 to 9) of the two groups are shown in table 6.4.

The scores that were attained from this list of questions were analyzed statistically. It appears that there is no significant difference between the perceptions that the soldiers have of Afghans in relation to when they received their culture training programme. This suggests that the soldiers' perception with regards to the Afghan population was the same before they received training compared to after the training was received. These findings imply that the cultural training programme does not affect the soldiers' perception of Afghani culture as the scores remain unchanged. However, the scores regarding the soldiers' perception of Afghani's are slightly higher in the group of soldiers that received the modern cultural awareness training.

Perception	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Std. dev.	N
perception outlook	no	4.8791	1.309	65
	yes	5.0714	1.241	36
Perception tech development	no	4.2308	1.357	65
	yes	4.1597	1.349	36
Perception cooperation	no	6.0359	1.543	65
	yes	6.5556	1.252	36
perception conservativeness	no	5.0385	1.635	65
	yes	5.3889	1.720	36

Table 6.4: Mean scores on the perception list, before and after the CAT programme ($F=1.331$, $p<0.251$, no significant difference between subjects for training)

Compared to different ranks

The analysis of the results indicates that when the total population's scores were compared to those of the ranked soldiers, the scores remained consistent. This suggests that the soldier's rank does not alter the findings significantly. There were however, insufficient officers that were able to participate in this study in order to attain reliable results regarding the perception of the Officers group towards Afghans. The table that illustrates these findings was too large to be illustrated in this section but can be found in enclosure 2.

Perception compared to deployment experience

The perceptions' that the soldiers had regarding the Afghani population may have been affected in a positive or negative way by the amount of deployment experience that soldiers had in Afghanistan. This factor is important to investigate as it may affect the scores. The results were therefore analysed in terms of the level of deployment experience that soldiers' had before the mission to Uruzgan.

The final findings showed that there was no significant difference in the soldiers' perception which could be related to deployment experience. This means that the scores of those who had a great deal of deployment experience compared to those with none, expressed the same perceptions of Afghans. The table that illustrates these findings was too large to be illustrated in this section but can be found in enclosure 2.

6.2 Knowledge about behaviour regarding the Afghans

The attitude that the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT RvH, possessed towards Afghans and their perceptions

of the local population in Afghanistan have been analysed and the findings have been presented. However, it is imperative that the knowledge base that the soldiers possessed regarding the Afghani culture, as well as their level of understanding on appropriate ways to interact with Afghanis be included in the survey. The following section will use the terms 'knowledge' and 'behaviour' to illustrate the factors that are being evaluated with regards to the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT RvH. These terms have been described below:

Knowledge: *the knowledge base that the soldiers from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH or 13 Infbat AASLT RvH possessed regarding the Afghani culture*

Behaviour: *the assessment of the level of understanding that soldiers from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH or 13 Infbat AASLT RvH possessed regarding the appropriate ways to interact with Afghanis*

Knowledge of the first entry units regarding locals 6.2.1

The research that was done to measure knowledge was done so by analysing the scores that were attained from specific questions provided in the survey. The list of questions that was included in the survey is described in chapter 2. The survey was conducted in two phases. Soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT RvH either completed the survey before or after their cultural training. The variables that were used in the previous analyses which measured attitude and perception have also been included this section. This means that the scores will be furthered divided into two categories which are rank and deployment experience. The results of these variables will be compared to the total population.

Knowledge of the total population

The knowledge that the soldiers possessed was compared before and after the CAT programme. The results indicated that there is a small difference between the scores from the pre-measurement compared with those from the post-measurement however, this difference was not significant. The pre-measurement scores show that the respondents generally answered the questions by rating them as a '3' which correlates to, 'I don't know'. The mean score of the post-measurement results are a little bit higher. Furthermore, the standard deviation, in post-measurement results, shows a small increase in breadth compared to the results of the pre-measurement scores. This illustrates that the respondents are not only answering the questions with, 'I don't know'. The results can be found in table 6.5.

Knowledge compared with different ranks

The results that were gathered from the total population, in terms of knowledge, were compared to the rank of the soldiers. Although there was no significant difference, the results do suggest that the enlisted men learnt the most from the CAT programme because their mean score and standard deviation increased. The scores of the NCOs decreased slightly although this group's standard deviation increased. There were insufficient officers that were able to participate in this study in order to attain reliable results to compare their knowledge to the total population.

Rank		Mean	Standard deviation
Total	pre	3.38	0.37
	post	3.59	0.41
Enlisted men	pre	3.28	0.32
	post	3.61	0.38
NCOs	pre	3.52	0.35
	post	3.47	0.41
Officers	pre	4.81	x
	post	4.05	0.60

Table 6.5: Comparing knowledge with rank

Deployment experience		Mean	Standard deviation
0 times	pre	3.29	0.30
	post	3.61	0.40
1 time	pre	3.45	0.42
	post	3.71	0.45
2 times	pre	3.62	0.44
	post	3.32	0.33
3 times or more	pre	3.54	0.53
	post	3.52	0.71

Table 6.6: Comparing knowledge with deployment experience

Knowledge compared with deployment experience

Knowledge and deployment experience were compared in terms of their pre-measurement and post-measurement scores. The results suggested that soldiers that had no deployment experience increased their mean score however, this finding was not significant. The increase of knowledge flattens out when the soldiers have been on two or more missions. Furthermore, the soldiers with greater deployment experience provide undesirable responses as opposed to providing more neutral options.

Knowledge of the follow up units regarding locals 6.2.2

The knowledge and behaviour of 13 Infbat AASLT RvH was evaluated using the behaviour list which is described in chapter 2. The scores compared the difference between the soldiers who had received the modern cultural awareness training and those of the soldiers who had not. The results indicated that the scores were lower after the soldiers had completed this training. This would suggest that the soldiers were better equipped to interact appropriately in the Afghan culture after receiving training on modern cultural awareness. However, this cannot be stated as the results were not significant.

The scores regarding the behaviour-list were separated by rank (Enlisted men, NCOs, Officers). The results indicated that there was no significant difference concerning the enlisted men. However, the NCOs showed a significant improvement in their scores related to gender behaviour after receiving the modern cultural awareness training. Furthermore, the NCOs scores showed an improvement in criticism behaviour which is worthwhile to mention as the scores were almost sufficient to be considered significant. As previously mentioned, there were insufficient officers that were able to participate in this study in order to attain reliable results. The table that illustrates these findings was too large to be illustrated in this section but can be found in enclosure 2.

In terms of deployment experience, there were no significant differences between the soldiers with and without CAT programme. Overall, the scores that were recorded after the CAT programme had been delivered were lower (better). The soldiers with deployment experience scored almost significantly better in terms of gender-behaviour. The table that illustrates these findings was too large to be illustrated in this section but can be found in enclosure 2.

Behaviour	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Stdn dev.	N
Criticising	no	5.54	2.34	74
	yes	4.93	2.42	42
Gender	no	3.97	2.46	74
	yes	2.79	2.52	42
Indirectness	no	5.20	2.66	74
	yes	4.45	2.80	42
Hierarchy	no	4.91	2.56	74
	yes	4.36	2.71	42

Table 6.7: Mean scores on the behaviour-list, before and after the CAT programme (F=1.761, p<0.141 no significant difference between subjects for training)

6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the aforementioned results indicate that the attitude of the soldiers do not change regardless of whether the respondent had received any form of Dutch military cultural training or not. The soldiers were evaluated before the training was received and results suggested that their attitude towards Afghani's were considered to be 'slightly positive'. When attitude was measured after the training was received, the results indicated that the soldiers had a 'slightly positive' attitude towards the Afghani people. This suggests that the training was ineffective in terms of attitude as there was no significant improvement. This finding is consistent with the opinion of Schwerzel and the scientific research findings that were analyzed in chapter 3 as they both imply that cultural awareness training can not change the attitude, competences or perception of the soldiers regarding the local population in the mission area.

The knowledge that the soldiers required in order to interact with the Afghan population more effectively did change slightly with regards to 12 Infbat AASLT RvH during the CAT programme. These results were duplicated by the affects of **modern cultural awareness trainings**. However, the results indicated that although there were slight improvements with regards to behaviour and knowledge, the results were insignificant.

It seems that the current cultural training programmes in the Netherlands meet the expectations that were set out by the designer and the authors in chapter 3. Cultural awareness training programmes provided by the Dutch military do not change the attitude or the perception of the Dutch soldiers towards the Afghani people and culture. However, there is a slight increase in the level of knowledge and behaviour which could suggest that this training does provide the soldiers with the appropriate information with is required in order to interact with the local people of Afghanistan in a culturally sensitive manner.



The effect: the mission and the current training programmes

The former chapters provided an in-depth overview of the relevance and effectiveness of the current Dutch culture training programmes provided by the military. The objective of this chapter will be to elaborate on this by investigating whether the Dutch soldiers that partake in cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase of the mission to Afghanistan are better prepared to withstand culture shock than those soldiers that did not receive training.

Furthermore, this chapter will attempt to determine whether the Dutch soldiers were able to apply the culturally sensitive behavioural skills, explained and practised in the training, to the way they interacted with the Afghans in comparison to those soldiers who did not receive training. The surveys that were conducted in the pre-deployment phase will be compared to the scores of the post-mission survey. Soldiers who received culture training from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB will be compared to those soldiers from the same units that did not receive culture training.

Introduction 7.1

The soldiers of TF-U1 returned to the Netherlands between the end of November and the beginning of December 2007. The mission was more dangerous than expected, however there had been no casualties as a result of enemy fire. The Taliban was surprised about the extensive firepower of the Dutch troops and could not respond to the tactics of the Battle Group effectively. Due to the inability of the Taliban to respond efficiently, the soldiers from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH were able to set up the first CIMIC projects and create a relatively secure environment.

In contrast, 13 infbat AASLT STPB experienced a far more violent mission than 12 Infbat AASLT RvH. During the mission of TFU-3, 13 Infbat AASLT STPB, fulfilled the function of the Battle Group while the violence in Uruzgan escalated enormously. During the mission, the Taliban attacked the town of Chora and threatened to overrun Deh Rawood which was the second base of the Dutch troops in Uruzgan. TFU-3 was a more dangerous mission than the soldiers had previously experienced. It resulted in a couple of casualties which lead to a heightened level of frustration among the soldiers of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB. The author went to Assen, the home base of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB after they

returned from Uruzgan in February 2007. The objective of this visit was to conduct the post mission survey.

During this evaluation the soldiers mentioned the dangerous nature of the mission and the fact that they really had a hard time. Most of the soldiers fought constantly and there were several times that the Battle Group had to execute large offensives in order to keep the initiative on the Dutch side. During the mission the battalion lost several members which affected the morale of the unit in a negative manner. Furthermore, the soldiers suffered deeply due to the stress induced by the fighting. The author spoke extensively about the experiences of the soldiers with the local population. The overall opinion was slightly negative as many soldiers were labeling the Afghans. Some of these stereotypes were that Afghans were corrupt and untrustworthy.

Both Battalions had extensive contact with the local population. Soldiers had to communicate with the Afghans frequently. The following paragraphs provide an overview of the nature and extent of the interactions that were experienced by the soldiers from 12 Infbat AASLT RvH and 13 Infbat AASLT STPB. These findings were attained from the survey that was conducted.

The first entry mission with 12 Infbat AASLT RvH

The majority of the participating soldiers responded that they thought that they came into contact with the local population 'quite often' or even 'very often'. However, the soldiers also reported that they 'hardly', or at best 'sometimes', engaged in a conversation with an Afghani. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that a large amount of the soldiers surveyed had a low function in the Battle Group. The enlisted men as well as the NCOs stated that they 'sometimes' engaged in conversations

Divided in rank		No, not at all	Hardly	Some- times	Quite often	Yes, very often
Contact with the local population	Total group	5.7	8.7	18.7	28.3	38.7
	Enlisted men	2.6	4.5	18.1	32.3	42.6
	NCOs	8.0	13.6	20.8	24.8	32.8
	Officers	15.8	10.5	10.5	21.1	42.1
Convers- ations with the local population	Total group	12	20.3	37.5	22.3	8.0
	Enlisted men	8.3	21.8	39.7	23.7	6.4
	NCOs	15.2	20.0	36.8	21.6	6.4
	Officers	21.1	5.3	26.3	15.8	31.6

Table 7.1: Contact and conversations with the Afghan population in relation to rank in percentages

Divided in task/function		No, not at all	Hardly	Some-times	Quite often	Yes, very often
Contact with the local population	High function Battle Group/PRT	2.0	2.0	14.0	40.0	42.0
	Low function Battle Group	1.3	1.3	18.2	30.5	48.7
	Operational function base	20.0	15.0	10.0	15.0	40.0
	Supporting function on the base	13.2	26.3	25.0	19.7	15.8
Conversations with the local population	High function Battle Group/PRT	4.0	12.0	38.0	34.0	12.0
	Low function Battle Group	5.2	20.6	41.3	25.8	7.1
	Operational function base	30.0	10.0	15.0	20.0	25.0
	Supporting function on the base	26.3	27.6	35.5	7.9	2.6

Table 7.2: Comparing contact and conversations with task/function in percentages

with the Afghani while the officers reported that they engaged in conversation with the locals, 'very often'. These responses were related to military protocol as the soldiers' task was to refer the Afghani's to the commanding officer. This would therefore decrease the interactions between enlisted men and Afghani.

The soldiers that had a function in the Battle Group, the PRT and the soldiers with an operational function on the base, reported that they thought that they were in contact with the local population 'quite often'. It was not surprising that the soldiers with a supporting task on the base had much less contact with the Afghani people. Soldiers who had a high function in the Battle Group or an operational task on the base had an increased amount of conversations with the Afghan population. Soldiers with a low function in the Battle Group or a supporting function on the base had very few, if any, conversations with the Afghans.

90% of the soldiers responded that they had not been in a Mosque during the mission in Afghanistan. In order to reduce the chances for intercultural problems, the Dutch military made it policy that soldiers should not enter a Mosque if it was not necessary.

The follow up mission with 13 Infbat AASLT STPB

In the questionnaires the soldiers of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB were asked about their frequency of their interaction with key players, who were Afghani, in the mission area. With this information one can analyze which group has the most contact with the local population and with which part of the local population. By analyzing the total sample group, one can see that there is a division between 'contact with the local authorities' and 'contact with the governmental authorities'. Examples of 'contact with the local authorities' would imply the interactions between

Divided in different opponents	Never	1 or few times	Couple of times a month	Weekly	Daily
Local or regional authorities	38.1	23.5	16.0	16.8	5.6
Tribal leaders	55.5	20.8	14.0	8.3	1.5
Local police	25.5	20.1	23.0	22.3	6.1
ANA	14.4	17.3	28.4	28.8	8.6

Table 7.3: Contact frequency of the total group divided in different opponents, Total group (n = 268)

soldiers and the governor, mayors and tribal leaders. Examples of 'contact with the governmental authorities' would imply the interactions between soldiers and the local police and the Afghan National Army (ANA). The soldiers reported that they had very little contact with the local authorities while they had weekly or bi-monthly interactions with the local police and the ANA.

The frequency of interactions between the soldiers and the Afghans was analyzed further. This was done by comparing the level of frequency to the rank of the soldiers. The results indicated that the officers came most into contact with the local and governmental authorities. The enlisted men reported that they came into contact with the local police and the ANA but that this interaction was mostly during mixed patrols and training sessions with the local forces. The NCOs stated that they hardly came into contact with the local and governmental authorities.

7.2 Attitude and perception regarding the Afghans

The objective of the following paragraph is to determine whether the culture training program that some of the Dutch soldiers received resulted in an improved attitude and perception towards Afghani people and customs. This analysis will therefore determine the effectiveness of cultural training. This will be done by comparing the results of the surveys of those soldiers who received cultural training and those who did not. Furthermore, this analysis will compare the scores measured during the pre-deployment phase to those in the post-mission phase.

7.2.1 Attitude of the first entry units towards locals

One of the questions in the survey that was handed out to the soldiers of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, related to the attitude of respondents in regards to Muslims and Afghans. The respondents

were asked to answer the question whether their attitude toward Muslims and especially Afghans had changed during the mission. The majority of the respondents stated that their attitude had not changed, however, 22.4% stated that they were more negative towards Muslims and Afghans.

When the variable attitude was used to divide the results by rank, the results remained mostly consistent. This suggests that the attitude of the soldiers towards Muslims and Afghans was not related to the rank of the Dutch soldiers. However, 26.3% of the officers responded to the surveys by stating that they had a poor attitude towards Muslims and Afghans. When compared with the other ranks, the results indicate that the officers had the ‘most negative’ attitude towards Muslims and especially Afghans.

When attitude was compared to the ‘task/function’ of the respondents, the results indicate that the soldiers of the Battle Group, in particular, did become more negative attitude towards Muslims and even more negative towards Afghans. Nevertheless, the results illustrate that the majority of this group had a neutral attitude towards Muslims and Afghani’s in particular. Soldiers with a supporting function on the base have changed the least in their attitude towards Muslims. This group had the least contact with the local population and therefore they had the least experience in conversing with the Afghans.

Did you change your attitude towards Muslims, and especially Afghans after the mission? Rank	no, not at all	Yes, more positively	Yes, more negatively
Total group	68.5	9.2	22.4
Enlisted men	67.5	9.7	22.7
NCOs	70.2	8.3	21.5
Officers	63.2	10.5	26.3

Table 7.4: Comparing attitude towards Muslims and Afghans in relation to ranks in percentages

Did you change your attitude towards Muslims, and especially Afghans after the mission? Task/function	no, not at all	Yes, more positively	Yes, more negatively
High function Battle Group/PRT	60.0	10.0	30.0
Low function Battle Group	63.3	8.0	28.7
Operational function base	73.7	5.3	21.1
Supporting function base	82.9	11.8	5.3

Table 7.5: Comparing attitude towards Muslims in relation to task/function in percentages

Did you change your attitude towards Muslims, and especially Afghans after the mission? Trainings	no, not at all	Yes, more positively	Yes, more negatively
MGI	79.1	7.5	13.4
MGI, Mosque	65.7	11.9	22.4
MGI, Patrol	54.5	0.0	45.5
MGI, Patrol, Mosque	64.4	8.9	26.6
MGI, Executives	62.5	12.5	25.0
MGI, Executives, Mosque	66.7	0.0	33.3
MGI, Patrol, Executives	75.5	0.0	25.5
MGI, Patrol, Executives, Mosque	66.7	9.5	23.8
MGI, Executives, Mosque, Meal	80.0	20.0	0.0
MGI, Patrol, Executives, Mosque, Meal	71.4	14.3	14.3

Table 7.6: Comparing attitude towards Muslims in relation to the trainings in percentages

The amount and types of training programmes that the soldiers received in their pre-deployment phase were compared with their attitude towards Muslims and Afghans. The majority of the Dutch soldiers maintained a consistent opinion/attitude towards Muslims and Afghans. However, some groups stand out because they developed a more negative attitude. The group that received MGI and patrol training were noticeably more negative in terms of attitude towards Muslims and Afghans in particular. This group contained several soldiers that had a low function in the Battle Group. The results indicated that the group that attended the MGI training, the executives' training and visited a Mosque in the pre-deployment phase, also developed a more negative attitude towards Muslims and Afghans during the mission. This group was predominantly comprised of executives from the Battle Group.

7.2.2 Attitude of the follow up units towards locals

120 soldiers completed two questionnaires, one in the pre-deployment phase and the second in the post-mission phase, in order to provide the data required to be able to compare the scores. Each response was linked, when the data was analysed, in order to be able to compare any differences in the soldier's perception or behaviour towards Afghani's during the mission. The results of this comparison are analysed in the following paragraph.

There are four variables that were used in order to measure perception. These variables were compared in order to determine whether the Dutch soldiers experienced any change in their

perception of Afghani's from the pre-deployment phase to the post-mission phase. Each of these variables has been compared individually. The results indicate that the training had no effect on the soldiers' perception of the Afghani's.

One of the variables used to measure perception was 'outlook'. The results of this analysis were interesting because the findings suggest that the cultural training did not influence the way that the soldiers perceived the Afghanis. However, the level of violence or type of mission that soldiers experienced did appear to influence the Dutch soldiers' outlook of Afghani people in general. These findings are supported by Van den Berg.¹⁷⁰ The results indicate that the soldiers think significantly less positively about the Afghan population and the findings attribute this to the nature of the mission.

The second variable that was used to analyse the results from both of the surveys was, 'perception of the technical knowledge'. This was used to investigate the Dutch soldiers' opinion on how technically able the Afghans were. The results were consistent with those relating to 'outlook'. These findings reinforced the outcome that cultural training has no significant influence on the soldiers' perception of the Afghani population yet their opinion of the local culture is affected by the nature of the mission. In this case, the soldiers' perception was affected in a negative manner and this is attributed to the level of violence that the soldiers experienced during the mission.

'Cooperation' was used as a variable to measure the Dutch soldiers' perception of the Afghanis'. The results of the data analysis indicated that cultural awareness training had no effect on the perception of the soldiers'. These findings were consistent with the analysis of the variables namely; outlook and technical knowledge that have been used to measure the Dutch soldiers perception of the Afghani people.

Lastly, 'conservativeness' was used as a variable to measure the Dutch soldiers' perception of the Afghanis' The results of the data analysis indicated that neither the cultural training nor the type of the mission affected the Dutch soldiers' perception of the Afghanis. It is interesting to note that the results indicated that the Dutch soldiers' who did not receive cultural training in the pre-deployment phase, perceived the Afghans to be more conservative than those Dutch soldiers who did receive cultural training in the pre-deployment phase.

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7.3 Knowledge about behaviour regarding the Afghans

The survey that was used for this research aimed at measuring four factors. The first two namely; attitude and perception, have been discussed. The following section will discuss the remaining two factors which have been termed, knowledge and behaviour. The objective in using these factors in the surveys was to be able to determine whether cultural training is effective in producing the desired effects. The following chapter will compare the aforementioned factors in the pre-deployment and post-mission phase with the degree of training that the Dutch soldiers received.

7.3.1 Knowledge of the first entry units regarding locals

A set of several questions called 'behaviour in Afghanistan' were used in the surveys in order to measure the extent of the Dutch soldiers' knowledge base with regards to appropriate behavioural norms in Afghanistan. The respondents' post-mission scores were compared to their pre-deployment scores in order to investigate whether the soldiers experienced any change in their knowledge of the Afghani culture.

When the pre-deployment scores were compared with the post-mission scores, the results indicated that the soldiers became less knowledgeable on traditional Afghani behavioural norms during their mission. A reason for this finding may be that the soldiers' answered the questions in the pre-deployment phase, having little experience with the Afghani culture and during the mission they may have observed that the reality of 'appropriate behaviour' in Afghanistan depends on the context of the situation and not always on a generic stereotype.

Schwerzel not only designed the CAT training program but he also created the set of questions for the survey that were used to measure the knowledge factor. According to Schwerzel, the CAT program was designed in order to teach the soldiers what the desired behaviour was in Afghanistan. This explains the high scores on the items on the list after the training programmes. By the time that most of the soldiers return from the mission, they have had the opportunity to experience the Afghani culture for themselves and this may have lead to a disparity between what they were taught to expect in the CAT program and what they actually experienced as appropriate behavioural norms. The soldiers also stated that there were different and more successful ways of interacting and conversing with the local Afghans than those that were taught during the CAT training. The questionnaire

was based on the CAT training curriculum. Soldiers were inclined to provide different answers in response to the questionnaire than those answers that were determined as 'correct'.

When the results are furthered analysed in terms of rank and mission experience, the differences between the various groups seem smaller after the mission. One can see that overall the scores are much lower after the mission. Soldiers with a high function in the Battle Group or an operational function on the base, score higher than the soldiers with other tasks. These were also the soldiers that were required to converse with the Afghan population. The soldiers learned more from the curriculum than the soldiers that did not converse with the Afghans. The data that was collected from the set of questions, measuring knowledge, was compared to the type of training that the soldiers received in the pre-deployment phase. These results indicated that the soldiers who had only received the MGI training, scored significantly lower than the other soldiers. They had not received the training on which the questionnaire was based. This suggests that the soldiers that received the training did learn something from it and that they used this knowledge during the mission.

Knowledge of the follow up units regarding locals 7.3.2

The data that was collected in the survey which aimed at measuring the knowledge and behavioural factors were compared with reference to there pre-training and post-training scores. The analysis was completed by considering the four behavioural subjects separately. These variables were; criticising, gender, indirectness and hierarchy. The participants' responses were recorded on a scale which ranged from 1 to 9. The questions were asked in reverse which means that a lower score correlates with a better behaviour. The results are discussed below.

The responses of the Dutch soldiers in regard to criticising the Afghan population were collected in the survey and the findings were analysed. The results indicate that cultural training does have a significant influence on the behaviour of the soldiers. Furthermore, the soldiers who received cultural awareness training had lower scores in the post-mission phase than the soldiers that received no training. The experience during the mission had no significant influence. The behaviour of the soldiers towards women was also analysed. This variable was termed: gender-behaviour. The cultural training had no significant influence on the behaviour of the soldiers while the nature of the mission did. After the mission the soldiers score significantly better with reference to gender.

The results of the data analysis indicated that there were no significant differences with regard to indirectness, before and after the mission. The cultural training as well as the nature of the mission, had no significant influence on the behaviour of the soldiers. Furthermore, the results indicated that the behaviour of the soldiers who had not received any cultural awareness training in the pre-deployment phase worsens while, the behaviour of the soldiers who received cultural awareness training, improved.

The results of the scores that measured the soldiers' behaviour with regard to the hierarchy in Afghanistan, suggested that the cultural training had no significant influence on the way that the soldiers behaved. The results indicated that the experience of the mission in Afghanistan did influence the way that the soldiers behaved in a hierarchal context. The scores of the soldiers in the post-mission phase indicated that their behaviour in a hierarchal situation had improved.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter research has been conducted in order to find out whether the current Dutch culture training programmes have any influence on the attitude and behaviour of the soldiers during the mission. To answer this question, one should find out which groups come into the most contact with the local population.

The majority of the soldiers that were questioned, had several interactions with the Afghan population during their mission. However, the officers with a task in the Battle Group/PRT or an operational function on the base had the most conversations with the Afghans. The enlisted men with a function in the Battle Group/PRT also came into frequent contact with the local population but they had very limited conversations with them. The reason for this was that the enlisted men had to refer the local population to the commanders of the patrol, mostly officers. It was the officers' role to interact with the Afghans.

In the questionnaire, of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, the soldiers were asked whether their perception of Muslims and in particular Afghans had changed after having had the experience of the mission. The majority of the soldiers' responded by stating that their attitudes towards Muslims remained the same. However, some of the soldiers did show a change of attitude towards the Muslims after returning from the mission and the results indicated that this was an unfavourable change. This negative attitude towards Muslims was most prevalent in the Battle Group which included enlisted men and executives.

The results from the data analysis illustrated that the modern cultural awareness training had no significant influence on the soldiers' of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB perceptions towards the Afghani population. In contrast, the mission did have a significantly negative influence on the perception of the soldiers towards Afghans. The results indicated that the soldiers' perception of the Afghans worsened during the mission. The reason for the negative decline of the soldiers' perception towards Afghans could be due to the Culture Shock effect. This is supported by Van den Berg who suggested that the perception of soldiers would decrease if they were to experience a more violent mission. The current culture training programmes do not seem to compensate for this decrease.

After the mission of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH, the score on the behaviour list was much lower than it was right after the training. A reason for this may be that the list as well as the training did not relate sufficiently to the reality of the situation. This is also mentioned by the respondents in the interviews. They expressed that the reality of the traditional norms that are experienced in Afghanistan are sometimes very different than those that are mentioned in the cultural trainings.

The analysis of the data regarding the behaviour and knowledge of the soldiers of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB illustrated that the modern cultural awareness training has very little significant influence on the behaviour of the soldiers. **The only element** that was significantly different, between the soldiers who had received training and those who had not, was their behavior in response to criticism. Although the results are not significant, the appropriate behavior of the soldiers who received the modern cultural awareness trainings in the pre-deployment phase interacted with the Afghans in a more positive manner during the mission.

The results indicate that the modern cultural awareness program produce better results, in terms of the soldiers' knowledge and behaviour during the mission, than the CAT training program does. **Although the results are not significant, the scores of 13 Infbat AASLT STPB are better after the mission than the scores of 12 Infbat AASLT RvH.**

According to this summary, the current culture training programmes seem not entirely sufficient to generate the desired effects of the soldiers during the mission. There seems to be no difference in the perception and attitude of the soldiers towards the Afghani people regardless if they did or did not receive culture training in the pre-deployment phase. Furthermore,

the nature of the mission seemed to have affected the attitude and perception of the soldiers towards Afghans in a negative way. The current culture training programmes were not able to compensate for this decrease.

Neither of the trainings were able to significantly improve the behaviour and knowledge of the soldiers towards Afghans. The results also indicated that the nature of the mission did influence the soldiers' behaviour towards Afghans in a negative manner. Despite the current culture training programs, provided by the Dutch military, the results seem to conclude that the Dutch soldiers do develop a negative attitude towards Afghans during their mission and that they do not become more knowledgeable on the appropriate ways to interact with the Afghani people while deployed in Afghanistan.

This chapter has addressed the effectiveness of the current culture training programmes that are delivered to the Dutch soldiers in their pre-deployment phase of their mission to Afghanistan. The results of several variables have been presented and discussed. The following chapter will answer the main question of this thesis. It will also elaborate on these findings by including several recommendations on improving the effectiveness of cultural training.

Conclusions and recommendations

The past seven chapters focused on the most important culture training methods used by the four NATO countries and the effectiveness of the current cultural training programmes in the Dutch military. This provided the relevant background information in order to answer the main questions of this thesis:

- *What are the desired effects that the armed forces want to achieve in their cultural training programmes?*
- *What are the culture training methods that need to be used to generate the desired effects in soldiers during their mission?*
- *Do the current cultural training programmes of the Dutch military comply with these training methods?*
- *Are the current Dutch cultural training programmes effective in generating the desired effects?*

The extensive research provided throughout this thesis will allow the researcher to answer these four questions by summarising the findings. This will be presented in the conclusions which will be followed by the recommendations

Conclusions 8.1

As stated in the introduction this study's objective was to answer a two-part question. In order to complete this task the researcher focused on two areas of study. Firstly, a literature review covering two topics was required. The first section of the review focused on investigating the current cultural training programmes that are being used in NATO countries around the world and the second part of the literature review was to establish what studies had been done on culture training and what had these publications concluded and recommended. Secondly, an empirical study was conducted with the use of questionnaires and individual interviews to investigate whether the current cultural training programmes in the Netherlands produced the desired effects.

The international discussion

In paragraph 3.1 it became clear that the recent history and geo-politics are important because they tells us about the way cultural matters are dealt with by the armed forces in NATO. This explains the process of how the armed forces receive culture training in western nations. In paragraph 3.1 four different western militaries are compared: The United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and the Netherlands. During the Cold

War, the most influential countries in NATO, such as the US and the UK saw small wars as a distraction from the Soviet threat. Their governments believed that there would be an imminent and conventional war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This meant that the bigger powers in NATO were ill prepared to focus on smaller wars because they were entirely focused on preparing large armies for the potential of world war three.

In Hofstede's masculinity index the UK's and US's armed forces score highly on their level of masculine traits. Cultural sensitivity is not perceived to be a masculine trait because it diminishes the perception of the male warrior. It is for this reason that the UK and US military received minimal cultural education or training in the past. The US and UK militaries instituted culture training departments in 2006 but the courses that they offer are brief and are not standardized in the armed forces.

Countries like Canada and the Netherlands were secondary players in NATO during the Cold War. Their armed forces were not as modern nor as large as the aforementioned countries and therefore they were unable to make a significant difference with regards to the potential war with the USSR. These countries were authorized to participate in peace operations. Their armed forces were therefore able to implement these operations in their training and doctrine. While the defence against the Soviets was NATO's primary objective, they were also engaged with other tasks.

Hofstede defines the Dutch as a feminine society. The culture of a country's military is a direct reflection of the society in which it exists and therefore the armed forces in the Netherlands could be described as feminine. Canada has a masculine society but they have been able to shape the national perception of peace operations as a mission that is heroic. Canadians today believe that their soldiers are well suited as UN soldiers. The militaries from Canada and the Netherlands have standardized their culture trainings since the 1990s. This change in standardising trainings was instituted due to the negative consequences of their lack of education and training with respect to their role in peace missions in the 90s. (Somalia, 2003; Srebrenica, 2005).

The current cultural training programmes in the armed forces of the four aforementioned nations show some likeness. These similarities are as follows: all offered training programmes that are ad hoc, meaning that there is no general structure or framework, which results in culture training being specific to every mission; all training programmes are based on the transfer of knowledge and behaviour; and finally, all cultural training programmes predominantly use cognitive learning

methods to transfer information which results in trainings being conducted in the form of lectures.

The current situation in the world, after the attacks on September 11th, demands the rediscovery of counter insurgency, which is dependant of the goodwill of the local population in the mission area. Therefore cultural sensitivity is an imperative factor. Since the beginning of peace operations, the Dutch armed forces believed that their multicultural society and colonial heritage have resulted in their predisposed ability to be more culturally sensitive and have termed this belief the Dutch Approach.

After the Cold War the legitimacy of armed forces like the Dutch became jeopardized. The Cold War required a very large military organisation, yet when this period was over the government threatened to cut the military budget dramatically. The Dutch armed forces needed to prove to the Dutch population that they were able to manage their current tasks which consisted of peace missions and counter insurgency operations. The Dutch military used their 'Dutch Approach' in order to gain the support and approval that they needed from the Dutch citizens. This Dutch Approach originated in part from the Dutch's colonial history, but also in part from the way that modern politics portrays the armed forces.

One might ask themselves if this Dutch Approach is observable in the soldiers themselves. Chapter 5 showed that many negative incidences have occurred during former operations and peace missions which illustrate the Dutch soldiers' lack of cultural sensitivity. This inability to use the Dutch Approach resulted from a lack of cultural understanding. Soldiers were not aware of the local culture and customs and therefore created undesirable situations and results.

It is important to state what the desired and undesired effects are. In paragraph 3.3 two subjects are found that are important to create the desired effects. Firstly, soldiers need to generate the desired behaviour during a mission in order to communicate and cooperate successfully with the local population and secondly soldiers should be mentally prepared to withstand the possible Culture Shock effect which generates severe stress. Both effects are connected with each other because when soldiers suffer from Culture Shock, they are less prepared to communicate and cooperate successfully with the local population as desired. Experiencing culture shock may result in the Dutch soldiers feeling like the local population is not in favour of them and that they do not want to cooperate. If this occurs, it will most likely result in the soldiers ignoring the

local population which is not aligned with the desired effects. According to scientific research one needs a wide spectrum of culture training methods in order to adequately prepare to experience the Culture Shock effect. This includes being able to anticipate one's inappropriate behaviour that could endanger the relationships with the local population during the mission.

Many authors have published research regarding the expansion or improvement of current cultural training programmes in NATO countries. It is characteristic that the military authors from nations with a 'masculine' military or population and who base their research on their own experiences are the researchers who recommend that more cultural training is required to expand the soldiers awareness in terms of knowledge and behaviour. The publications which are, besides based on military experience, scientifically based, elaborate on these recommendations. Authors such as McFarland and Chandler have introduced the concept of intercultural characteristics that a soldier should possess in order to be successful in current operations.

Furthermore, Early & Ang, Ng and Selmeski describe a far more extended system of culture training. Future Cultural training programmes should be designed on the concepts of Cultural Literacy (CL), Cultural Competence (CC), Cultural Intelligence (CO) and Cultural Awareness (CA). A description of these concepts can be found in paragraph 3.2. This research suggests that soldiers need to have a basic cultural foundation, a certain mindset which contains openness towards other cultures and the acceptance that people are different without stereotyping others. According to these authors, this mindset can be created by cultural education containing concepts of Cultural Literacy, Cultural Competence and Cultural Intelligence. On the basis of this foundation soldiers can learn regarding the culture and customs of the mission area in terms of cultural Awareness.

This means that cultural learning programmes should start in an earlier stage of a soldiers' education than most nations do today. At this moment most cultural training is given in the pre-deployment stage which is too short a time frame to transform the soldiers' mindset. Besides the incorporation of new cultural training concepts, future culture trainings should make more use of affective training and methods to motivate the participating soldiers. Realistic anecdotes, tutors with a military background, role play and exercises should trigger the soldiers to accept the value of culture more easily.

According to the scientific research that has been discussed, cultural awareness training in the pre- deployment phase is

not sufficient to train soldiers who go on a mission. Therefore, it should be a part of a wide spectrum of cross culture training and cultural competency training. The current cultural training programmes in the determined NATO countries are all based on cultural awareness and are therefore not able to fulfil the demand to generate the desired effects of appropriate behaviour and the prevention of Culture Shock. The Netherlands have a prominent name in the world of cultural training programmes with regards to the military. This was reiterated during the symposium in Shrivenham in June 2008, where military cultural experts from the US, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany and the UK discussed the future of culture training. Theoretically, the current culture trainings are structured and integrated for every soldier, however in practice, the Dutch training programmes are overly focused on cultural awareness and it results in some soldiers not receiving adequate training.

In paragraph 4.6 the current Dutch cultural training programme is compared with the model for effective Cross-Cultural Training (the CCT model). The cultural education in the initial training of a soldier is too brief. The Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA) is the only institution that provides a culture course. This is unfortunate because it is inadequate. The course lacks scope in terms of culture training because it is condensed into a one week timeframe and therefore it provides training as opposed to education. The designers of this course use role plays and exercises which are effective methods of delivering the curriculum.

In the pre-deployment stage, the Sie CAI provides cultural awareness training which is comparable to the recommendations of the aforementioned scientific research. However, as previously stated in this research, training will be unsuccessful without a proper cultural basis. At present, the Dutch armed forces provide insufficient, if any, cultural training during the deployment stage in order to coach the soldiers. The soldiers that are deployed do receive a handbook that contains crucial information regarding the mission however, the cultural information is brief and therefore insufficient in preparing the soldiers for acculturation. Furthermore, there are no structured evaluations that are provided by the Dutch military post-mission, to assess whether the soldiers needs were met during the pre-deployment stage in terms of being provided with adequate information for the mission.

The current cultural training programmes

When the current cultural training programmes are researched right after the training and after the mission, a few things occur. The current cultural training programmes in the Dutch armed forces hardly have a short term effect on the knowledge and behaviour

of the soldiers. The knowledge and behaviour of all participating soldiers hardly improve; the survey showed that their scores on how to behave in the Afghan culture barely improved.

In addition, the attitude and perception of the population do not change, this includes the soldiers who have never been on a mission before. This was expected by the designer of the trainings. He had previously stated that the CAT programme was not designed with the intention of changing the attitude and perception of the Dutch soldiers. This point is supported by the scientific research that was discussed in chapter 3. These findings are suggesting that the current culture trainings have almost no positive influence on the cultural sensitivity of the participating soldiers.

In chapter 7, the cultural trainings were investigated with a strong focus on their effects once the mission was completed. The results indicate that during the deployment, the current cultural training programmes delivered to the Dutch soldiers had no effect on the attitude and perceptions of most of the soldiers. This was especially evident with the lower rank soldiers who had never been on a mission before. Furthermore, this group of soldiers seemed to have a more negative perception and attitude towards the local Afghan population post-mission.

As stated by Van den Berg (2008), the level of violence experienced during a mission is unpredictable and it has a significant negative influence on soldiers' perception of that culture and unfortunately the culture trainings are incapable of compensating for this negative decline. Furthermore, the current culture trainings are incapable of improving the knowledge or behaviour during the mission. The knowledge and behaviour are the same for soldiers who received training and those who did not. It was found that level of positive interactions that soldiers experienced with the local population decreased during the mission.

It seems that the current cultural training programs are not required to enable a soldier to successfully cooperate with people from a different culture. The danger of Culture Shock can not be eliminated by the current training programmes that are provided and the knowledge and behaviour during the mission do not improve as a result of the CAT programme. One of the main causes for this lack of effectiveness is the fact that there is too little time in the MGI to train the soldiers effectively with regard to culture. The cultural training programmes in the future should therefore change and be extended dramatically to generate the desired effects. The armed forces in the Netherlands should use their experience to expend their training methods. There should be more emphasis and time placed on

the importance of cultural training. This could be accomplished by introducing comprehensive general culture courses into the initial education of soldiers.

Furthermore, the topic of culture should be repeated during various exercises in the soldiers' career. In the pre-deployment stage the cultural training programmes should be extended in order to review the most important cultural lessons that were introduced in the initial cultural education program. The recommendations section of this chapter will discuss how the cultural training programmes should change in further detail.

Recommendations 8.2

The greatest challenge is that the current culture training programs in the Netherlands and other NATO countries are based on the transfer of knowledge and desired behaviour. All of these trainings are based on cultural awareness. The findings of this research suggest that in order to make future trainings more effective, one should standardize the existing cultural training programmes and incorporate them into the soldiers' initial training program and not just the pre-deployment phase.

The CCT model

In the future, cultural training programmes should contain a wider spectrum of concepts and teaching methods than those that the current cultural training programmes possess. In the initial training of a soldier, he/she should be familiarized with culture and be taught in cultural literacy and cultural competences. This should provide a solid basis on which cultural awareness trainings in the pre- deployment phase can be given. The CCT model, that was described in paragraph 3.4 can be of value to reach this goal. This model illustrates a cultural training programme that teaches all facets of Cross-Cultural Training as described by Selmeski, in four different phases. All educational and training suggestions in this model are offered in a mixture of cognitive and affective teaching methods with motivation playing a significant role.

The initial phase

In the initial phase of training the soldiers should be taught about culture in general and have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with their cultural competences and cultural intelligence. Lectures regarding culture and cultural differences should be varied with the inclusion of role plays and discussions to increase the awareness of the aspects of intercultural communication. The courses should be educational and not designed as trainings. This would mean that the curriculum

should be repeated throughout the initial education of a soldier. For example, cross-cultural communication could be discussed and emphasized during field exercises.

The pre-deployment phase

The pre-deployment phase is focused on the transfer of knowledge and behaviour in the mission culture. This has been termed, cultural awareness. This phase should utilise teaching methods such as role plays and exercises as teaching methods to create a concept of affective learning. The existing Dutch cultural awareness training programmes that are provided by the *Section Cultural and historical Backgrounds and Information* (Sie CAI) are sufficient to train the soldiers on the local culture and customs of the mission area.

The deployment phase

In the deployment phase the soldiers are confronted with the different culture. It is suggested that the soldiers should be monitored and coached by a cultural advisor who possesses the knowledge and experience in order to train the units and to provide accurate information in the field. The cultural advisors of the Sie CAI, who will be deployed in Kandahar in November 2008, could be assigned to this task. The Dutch armed Forces can also build an informational website with accurate and relevant cultural information regarding the mission area. This website could be enhanced by enabling the Dutch soldiers to have the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered by cultural military experts. This website should have the scope to be able to be used as a culture encyclopaedia for the deployed troops.

The re-deployment phase

In the re-deployment phase the soldiers should be surveyed regarding their experiences. This questionnaire should be objective, relevant, reliable and consistent. The information that is gathered from these surveys should be used to improve the current culture training used by the Dutch military which includes the education programmes in the initial and pre-deployment phases.

The subjects and methods that are described in this model are based on scientific research which has not been tested in practical terms with regards to the deployment of military personnel. Further research should be done regarding the effectiveness of this model as it applies to the successful training of soldiers. By extending and improving culture training programs provided by the Dutch military, the soldiers will be better prepared for acculturating to the traditions and customs of the mission area and they will be able to adapt more easily to the local culture.

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Enclosure 1

Organization of the CAT training and the Modern Cultural Awareness Training

In this enclosure the curriculum of the CAT-training and the modern cultural awareness training will be treated. Both cultural awareness trainings possess similarities, but differ on a few crucial points. For instance, the CAT-training was only meant for soldiers who were in the Battlegroup and trainings were provided for privates and executives separately. The modern cultural awareness trainings provide one training-day for all soldiers who go on a mission.

Cultural awareness training for first entry units

The CAT-training used three programs to train the participating soldiers. First were the patrol trainings. These trainings consisted of a mix of role play and lectures, so the participating soldiers could bring the curriculum in practice. Second were the executives trainings. These trainings consisted of role play and lectures, in which parts of the curriculum of the lecture in the MGI was repeated. At the third place was a visit to the Turkish Mosque, where Turkish committee members gave a lecture about the Islam. In the following paragraph the training is more deeply explained.

Patrol trainings

The patrol trainings consisted of two parts. There was role play, with use of an Afghan actor and interpreter. In the role play the soldiers used the knowledge they learned during the lectures in the MGI. The scenario's they played increased in difficulty during the training.

Beside the role play were small lectures, given by a trainer. During these lectures, the trainer used a PowerPoint presentation, which consisted of slides with text. The trainers received a manual from the designer of the CAT-trainings, in which stood the curriculum behind the slides. The trainers were all experts of the Central Asian culture and worked at universities.

Contents

- introduction
- Group scenario 1: Confronting role play, difficult questions, will not be prepared
- Individual scenario 1: Greeting and simple conversation
- Lecture 1: Honour and loss of face, hierarchy and status

- Group scenario 2: The same as group scenario 1, but then with the taught behaviour
- Individual scenario 2: Finding out the general situation
- Lecture 2: Direct questions, saying no without saying 'no'
- Individual scenario 3: choose from four scenarios:
 - Dealing with help questions
 - Dealing with legitimacy questions
 - Compensations
 - Searching at a checkpoint
- Lecture 3: Inside-/outside world
- End discussion

Executives trainings

The executives training was an extension of the patrol training, meant for soldiers who had to negotiate with the local population. In the executives training they received the knowledge to keep a conversation as smooth as possible, without unmeant insults.

Contents

- Introduction
- Scenario 1: Introduction conversation with a Khan
- Repeating culture from MGI
- Scenario 2: Negotiating with major about patrols
- Scenario 3:
 - Negotiating about cooperation with police/army
 - Negotiating about the payment of compensations.

Visit to the Mosque

To learn more about the customs and habits of the Islam, the participating soldiers went on an excursion to the Türkiyem Camii Mosque in Arnhem. When they arrived they got a small explanation about the customs of entering the praying location. Then they entered the praying area, where they got a lecture about Islam and her distancing of extremist violence. Eventually, the visit was finished with an extend lecture about the Islam and a discussion, in which the prejudices about Islam were discussed.¹⁷¹

Cultural framework

The curriculum which is used in the CAT-training is based on a cultural framework, designed by drs. Schwerzel. When the training appeals to these points of the cultural framework, the Dutch soldier should be able to operate successfully in Afghanistan. This way the soldiers have enough knowledge of the population, and not insulting them. The cultural framework is showed below:

171 Falcon (2006) pp. 28-30

- Honour and loss of face
- Hierarchy
- Cleanness, danger and taboos
- Use of space and body language
- Conversation skills
- Knowledge of time and historical perception¹⁷²

The first five points are treated in the CAT-training, the last point is dealt with in the lecture in the MGI.

Modern cultural awareness training

In opposition to the CAT-training, the modern cultural awareness training is for all soldiers who go on a mission to Uruzgan. The CAT was designed to train the first-entry Battlegroup soldiers, divided in a patrol training for the lower ranks and a executives training for the staff and officers. The modern cultural awareness trainings are designed to give one basic training for all soldiers in the MGI, Battlegroup, PRT, supporting and operational functions. The reason for the combination of all these groups was that in the MGI, it was impossible for the SVV to divide the participating soldiers in more homogeneous classes. It is sometimes unclear what the functions of the soldiers will be in Uruzgan, and many soldiers have to follow the program of the MGI in a very short time. Dividing into homogeneous classes causes extra lessons for smaller groups, and that takes time.

Beside the role play of the CAT, the Sie CAI also decided to keep the visit to the Mosque in the MGI. During this visit the soldiers get a more neutral image of the Islam, which could bring back the chance of stereotyping. The Afghan meal is left out of the program. Because the classes contain soldiers of all kinds of ranks and tasks in the mission area, too many soldiers would join a meal, which is not necessarily needed for them. This is opposite to the recommendations of the feedback-report of TNO, which indicated that the visit to the Mosque should be left out and the Afghan meal should be a part of the program. In this report the author states that the visit to the Mosque was not essential for the mission to Uruzgan. But in the same paragraph the author indicated that the conversation and discussion in the Mosque 'did increase mutual understanding'. It is strange that they wanted to leave out the visit, especially when six of the eight interviewees, where the researchers of

TNO based their conclusions on, mentioned that they find the visit to the Mosque very useful.¹⁷³

In the modern cultural awareness training the lecture in the MGI and the CAT-training are connected to one training-day of about 6 to 7 hours. In this training-day the soldiers receive a lecture about several subjects and role play, which can be adapted to the composition of the group. The modern cultural awareness trainings are given at two basic locations, the ISK at 'de Harskamp' and at the Bernhardkazerne in Amersfoort. Below the design and curriculum of the modern cultural awareness training will be discussed.

The contents of the training are as follows:

- **Introduction**
- **The importance of cultural awareness**
- Creating an image of Afghanistan
- Lecture about the backgrounds of culture in Afghanistan
- **Role play**
 - Alternated with lectures about behaviour and customs
- **Statements.**

The idea is that the lectures are alternated with pictures, presented on PowerPoint and short movies, to assist the words of the trainer. Beside this, an actor and an interpreter will also be in the class, they will have an active role during the role play, but can be used in the morning to answer more specific questions.

Introduction

The training-day starts with an introduction of the trainer, the Sie CAI and the contents of the day. The placement in the class is a big circle around a carpet, which gives the soldiers already the idea that their input is also expected later that day. The trainer asks the soldiers whether they have been to Afghanistan before, and stimulates mentioning anecdotes and asking questions during the lectures and role play.

The importance of cultural awareness

It is very important to explain to the soldiers why they have this training-day, and why culture is so important for them and the mission. The trainer starts with explaining why cultural awareness is so important for the mission. He explains that culture contributes to the situational awareness, because soldiers are able to 'read' the behaviour of the Afghan population. Culture is also important for the personal safety of the soldiers; because of

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a good cultural understanding, the population is sooner inclined to warn Dutch troops for nearing danger, like IEDS or ambushes. Cultural awareness is also important for the success of the mission. By knowing a bit of the culture of the Afghans, you can win their 'Hearts and minds', which can make the mission more successful. Beside these advantages, the trainer also mentions the disadvantages of culture. Knowing something of the Afghan culture is no guarantee to success and cultural awareness training is not a list of do's and don'ts. The soldiers have to learn that culture is a very delicate thing and that in Afghanistan, just like in the Netherlands, everybody is different.

An image of South-Afghanistan and particular Uruzgan

The trainer creates an image of Uruzgan by showing a number of pictures of the area. Subjects like climate, use of ground, demography, images of villages, hand signatures, behaviour towards women, warrior culture and hierarchy are shortly discussed. This part of the training-day is a sort of introduction to the most important subjects of the Afghan culture. Later that day these subjects will be treated extensively.

The background of the South-Afghan culture

In this lecture the four main factors of the existence of the South-Afghan culture will be discussed. These factors are:

- The influence of the physical environment
- The role of the history
- The *Pashtun* tribal culture and the *Pashtunwali*
- The meaning of the Islam.

The influence of the physical environment

Because 80% of Uruzgan is not suitable for the population to live, the people of Uruzgan live in the valleys, where the rivers are. This caused a lot of cultural marks of the South-Afghan population, like tribal structures, quarrels for land, water and tribal matters, isolation and the fear of disasters, like drought and floods. The trainer explains the main income of the population and discusses the causes of the agriculture of poppy.

The role of the history

Of the 2600 years of written history of Afghanistan, the trainer will discuss a few highlights: King Darius and Alexander the Great (600 BC-330 BC), the Islam empire (640-750), Genghis Kahn (1222) and the British colonial empire (1750-1906). By these highlights, the trainer will discuss the role of Afghanistan through the ages. After these highlights the trainer will explain a more chronological story about the existence of Afghanistan, the situation in the country and the wars that were fought in the last 150 years. He will conclude with a few values about

Afghanistan that can be seen through history. Connected to the history, the most important opposing militant forces will be discussed and their drives to fight us.

The Pashtun tribal culture and the Pashtunwali

In this section the trainer will explain the tribal culture and the existence of the *Pashtunwali*, the Pashtun code of honour. 96% of the population in South-Afghanistan is from the Pashtun-tribe, so it is important to know something of this tribe. Within the Pashtun are also different tribes, and the two most important, the *Durrani* and the *Ghilzai* are discussed. This part of the section is followed by a quiz, in which pictures of important figures in Uruzgan are shown and the soldiers have to tell the trainer who it is on the picture. The trainer explains from which tribe these men are and what their role is.

The meaning of the Islam

Before the cultural awareness training in the MGI, the soldiers mostly already went to the Mosque. In the Mosque they have learned about the Islam and its rules and habits. During the section about the meaning of the Islam the trainer explains the differences between the normal Islam and the way the population in Afghanistan experience the Islam.

Role play

The second part of the training-day consists of three role play events, alternated with lectures about the behaviour and customs of the Afghan population. These role play and lectures are connected in such a way that the soldiers can implement the information in the role play they have learned in the lectures. In this part of the training the interpreter and the actor have a more significant role. During the lectures in the first part of the day they sit with the group and can assist the trainer by answering questions. During the role play sessions the actor and interpreter explain certain parts of the Afghan culture, like the greeting.

The role play section starts with the event 'difficult questions'. The soldiers have to stand in a big circle around the carpet and are assigned with the task to answer any question as extensive as possible. The interpreter plays a farmer, who hasn't seen the Dutch soldiers before and asks everyone a difficult question. After this session the trainer mentions the verbal and non-verbal communication he has seen and gives hints.

After the 'difficult questions' the trainer explains how to use an interpreter and the Afghan actor and interpreter practice the greeting with the soldiers. After this, the first role play can start. For the role play, the class is divided in 3 groups.

The first group has to prepare a scenario, dependant of the tasks and knowledge of the group, and of this group one or two soldiers have to do the actual role play. The rest of the groups watch this scenario and at the end the verbal and non-verbal communication will be discussed.

When the first scenario is finished the trainer gives a lecture with some information about honour explains important rules not to break this honour. This lecture is assisted by movies from Uruzgan, which are subject related.

The second scenario, done by the second group, is more difficult and its subject is related to honour and loss of face. The feedback is more in-depth and the trainer starts a discussion about the differences of culture and our adaption to other cultures.

After the second scenario the trainer gives another lecture, this time about the inside- and the outside world, and related to that the gender-problem. Subjects like women's rights, burqa's, chai-boys and misuse of power will be discussed.

After this lecture, the third scenario starts, performed by the third group, and treats the subject about behaviour towards women. In this role play the importance about the treatment of women is stressed again.

Statements

At the end of the day, the trainer drops statements in the class about the curriculum the soldiers learned during the day. In the training-day the trainer has given a very black-white image of Afghan behaviour and culture. By starting a discussion about the statements, he can give the grey areas in which the Afghan population moves with its behaviour.

Enclosure 2

Tables used in the analysis in chapter 6

Rank	Image	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Std. dev.	N
Privates	Outlook	No	4.907	1.202	54
		Yes	4.684	1.223	19
	Tech. development	No	4.218	1.297	54
		Yes	4.040	1.234	19
	Cooperation	No	5.988	1.442	54
		Yes	6.228	1.144	19
	Conservativeness	No	4.982	1.470	54
		Yes	5.263	1.798	19
NCOs	Outlook	No	4.743	1.910	10
		Yes	5.548	1.195	12
	Tech. development	No	4.375	1.765	10
		Yes	4.479	1.561	12
	Cooperation	No	6.233	2.143	10
		Yes	6.750	1.464	12
	Conservativeness	No	5.300	2.486	10
		Yes	5.875	1.798	12
Officers	Outlook	No	4.714	x	1
		Yes	5.400	1.136	5
	Tech. development	No	3.500	x	1
		Yes	3.850	1.376	5
	Cooperation	No	6.667	x	1
		Yes	7.333	0.745	5
	Conservativeness	No	5.500	x	1
		Yes	4.700	1.037	5

Table 6.1: Mean scores on the image list, before and after the CAT-training, divided by rank (Privates: $F=1,449$, $p<0,236$, NCO's: $F=0,429$, $p<0,735$, Officers: $F=5,112$, $p<0,168$, no significant difference between subjects for training)

Mission Experience	Image	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Std. dev.	N
Yes	Outlook	No	4.673	1.447	31
		Yes	5.405	1.033	24
	Tech. development	No	4.177	1.465	31
		Yes	4.240	1.382	24
	Cooperation	No	5.882	1.925	31
		Yes	6.736	1.365	24
	Conservativeness	No	5.210	1.948	31
		Yes	5.854	1.584	24

Mission Experience	Image	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Std. dev.	N
No	Outlook	No	5.067	1.160	34
		Yes	5.405	1.392	12
	Tech. development	No	4.279	1.271	34
		Yes	4.000	1.327	12
	Cooperation	No	6.177	1.099	34
		Yes	6.194	0.937	12
	Conservativeness	No	4.882	1.297	34
		Yes	4.458	1.658	12

Table 6.2: Mean scores on the image list, before and after the CAT-training, divided by mission experience (Mission experience: $F=1,794$, $p<0,160$, no significant difference between subjects for training. No mission experience: $F=1,077$, $p<0,396$, no significant difference between subjects for training)

Rank	Behaviour	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Std. dev.	N
Privates	Criticising	No	5.35	2.280	63
		Yes	5.41	2.343	22
	Gender	No	3.70	2.421	63
		Yes	3.91	2.860	22
	Indirectness	No	5.11	2.653	63
		Yes	5.23	2.409	22
	Hierarchy	No	5.00	2.597	63
		Yes	5.05	2.400	22
NCOs	Criticising	No	7.00	2.261	10
		Yes	5.14	2.568	14
	Gender	No	5.50	2.273	10
		Yes	1.64	1.447	14
	Indirectness	No	5.90	2.885	10
		Yes	4.14	3.159	14
	Hierarchy	No	4.50	2.461	10
		Yes	4.43	3.081	14
Officers	Criticising	No	3.00	x	1
		Yes	2.67	0.816	6
	Gender	No	6.00	x	1
		Yes	1.33	0.816	6
	Indirectness	No	4.00	x	1
		Yes	2.33	2.338	6
	Hierarchy	No	3.00	x	1
		Yes	1.67	0.816	6

Table 6.3: Mean scores on the behaviour-list, before and after the CAT-training, divided by rank (Privates: $F=0,310$, $p<0,998$, no significant difference between subjects for training. NCO's: $F=7,776$, $p<0,001$, there is a significant difference between subjects for training. Officers: $F=1392,357$, $p<0,001$, there is a significant difference between subjects for training, but N is too low)

Mission Experience	Behaviour	Have you had the cultural awareness training?	Mean	Std. dev.	N
No	Criticising	No	5.81	2.389	32
		Yes	5.19	2.527	27
	Gender	No	3.78	2.537	32
		Yes	2.44	2.172	27
	Indirectness	No	5.13	2.848	32
		Yes	4.67	2.828	27
	Hierarchy	No	4.31	2.620	32
		Yes	4.30	2.686	27
No	Criticising	No	5.34	2.330	41
		Yes	4.47	2.232	15
	Gender	No	4.10	2.447	41
		Yes	3.40	3.043	15
	Indirectness	No	5.27	2.579	41
		Yes	4.07	2.789	15
	Hierarchy	No	5.34	2.476	41
		Yes	4.47	2.850	15

Table 6.4: Mean scores on the behaviour-list, before and after the CAT-training, divided by mission experience. (Mission experience: $F=1,190$, $p<0,326$, no significant difference between subjects for training. No mission experience: $F=0,846$, $p<0,502$, no significant difference between subjects for training)

