



STADSVETENSKAPLIGA
INSTITUTIONEN

SWEDISH MILITARY DEPLOYMENT IN THE EU. WHAT MOTIVES LIE BEHIND?

A realist explanation how Sweden represented EU military missions in order to maintain relative power.

Carl E. Brambo

Essay/Thesis:	15 hp
Program and/or course:	Europaprogrammet, EU1540 Kandidatuppsats i Europakunskap
Level:	First cycle
Semester/year:	Spring/2019
Supervisor:	Adrian Hyde-Price
Examiner:	xx
Report no:	xx (not to be filled in by the student/students)
Words:	12655

Abstract

In the last few years security and defence policy has been increasingly prioritized in the EU and military collaborations are developing in different ways to deal with and adapt to the threats that the circumstances of the modern world present. The EU and many of its member states have more than twenty years of experience in joint military missions. Sweden is seen as one of the most peaceful countries in the world but has at the same time contributed to almost all the EU military missions.

Using framing analysis, Sweden's representation of the three EU-missions that had the highest ambitious level, ALTHEA, CHAD and ATALANTA is presented and analysed from a realist perspective to better understand motives behind Sweden's military contributions to the EU.

The Swedish government's different proposals to the mission are examined through three categories that explain the representation of problem, cause and solution. The answers are later examined from a realist perspective where examples are stated that explain motive.

The result show that answers of the Swedish motives can be found through Realism and Sweden contributes in order to: Gain political influence/ Maintain relative power, develop its military intermobility and reinforce a sense of internationalist commitment.

Keywords

Military collaborations, Sweden, EU, CSDP, Realism, Normative power, Framing, ATALANTA, CHAD, ALTHEA, EUFOR

Contents

- Tables 4**

- 1. Introduction 5**
 - 1.1 Disposition 6*

- 2. Background 6**

- 3. Purpose and research questions 7**
 - 3.1 Relevance 8*

- 4. Previous research: Sweden’s contribution to EU missions 9**

- 5. Theory..... 10**
 - 5.1 Normative Pouvoir..... 10*
 - 5.2 Realism 11*

- 6. Method and material..... 13**
 - 6.1 Cases..... 13*
 - 6.2 Methodological approach 14*
 - 6.3 Analytic tool..... 14*
 - 6.4 Material..... 16*
 - 6.4.1 Atalanta 16*
 - 6.4.2 Chad 17*
 - 6.4.3 Althea- Althemis 17*

- 7. Results 17**
 - a. Atalanta..... 18*
 - 7.1.1 Cause 18*
 - 7.1.2 Problem-Cause 19*
 - 7.1.3 Problem Solution 20*

 - b. Althemis - Althea..... 21*
 - 7.1.2 Cause 21*
 - 7.2.2 Problem cause 22*
 - 7.2.3 Solution..... 22*

7.3 Chad.....	23
7.3.1 Cause	23
7.3.2 Problem Cause.....	23
7.3.3 Solution.....	24
8. Analysis.....	25
8.1 Gain political influence/ Relative gain.....	25
8.2 International commitment	28
8.3 Military.....	30
9. Discussion	33
9.1 Limitations and Shortcomings.....	35
9.2 Further research	35
Cited work.....	37

Tables

Table 1. Realist assumptions.....	11
Table 2. Propositions	11
Table 3. Explanatory categories	16
Table 4. Results	31

1. Introduction

The Publication of the European Union (EU)'s Global Strategy, Brexit, the Trump administration's scepticism toward the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), growing security threats at the borders of Europe and Russian provocations all indicate a more unstable world. These factors among others have started a momentum which promotes a further defence integration within the EU when former assumptions regarding security are not as clear. As an example, we can see projects and visions about a common and more integrated European defence from both France and Germany which are talking about a harmonization of their military and strategic cultures. (Kunz & Kempin, 2019).

The EU and many of its member states has approximately 20 years in different type of military missions and has gained military field experiences. Sweden has participated in every EU mission in some way and stresses the importance of military contribution to the EU because this is part of shaping its future (Bildt, 2008, p. 10). In a time where the future of a military collaboration is intensifying in Europe, policy makers will look back and promote solutions and experiences of the EU's previous missions (Hagström Frisell, et al., 2012, p. 53).

One of the major academic debates regarding the EU's foreign and defence policy is whether the EU has a distinctive new form of expressing itself in its foreign and security policy, in other words explaining if the EU a so-called normative power, something many realist criticises. The major realistic criticism of seeing EU as a normative power is the neglect of the power, interests and importance of its member states which realism mean is the driving force behind security and foreign policy of nations.

Research has been published of what motivates Sweden in its foreign and defence policy (Engelbrekt & Ångström, 2010). However, the specific motives behind Sweden's military contribution to the EU missions is relatively unexamined and few empirical studies investigate how Sweden has represented action situations and itself to the EU. With a definition of how Sweden is representing itself, explanations on motives of what the nation want to be as well as a better understanding of what Sweden sees as factors behind troop contribution, we will get a better understanding of what drives Sweden in its foreign and security policy.

1.1 Disposition

In the next chapter, a short summary of what has shaped the Swedish Security and defence policy to better give an understanding of the context before, beside and in the EU collaboration. Chapter 3 will explain the purpose of the thesis and present two research questions which is followed by an explanation of its relevance. In chapter 4 a presentation of some of the EU missions in which Sweden has participated in. This in order to give an indication on what the Swedish contribution has been and when to the EU to provide a better overall picture of the relation between the two actors. Chapter 5 provides an overview of relevant existing theory within security and foreign policy in the EU and where the academic debate has been. Also, an explanation of why a realist perspective is chosen is stated. In addition, three categories of realist motives behind state contribution is presented which will later be tested. In chapter 6, the chosen method and material is explained and discussed. The analytical tool of “PCS” is presented which will be used to present the results in chapter 7. Chapter 8, an analysis will be done from the results in chapter 7 using the realist categories of motives. This is later discussed in chapter 9 where an overall discussion of motives behind Sweden’s participation is presented followed by shortcomings and limitations of the thesis and suggestions on further research

2. Background

Sweden has not been officially at war for over hundred years and is regarded as one of the most ”peaceful” countries in the world but has at the same time contributed in a majority of the international collaborated military deployments of the United Nations (UN), NATO and the EU and this with minimal controversy. The reasons why this engagement in international missions has been relatively uncontroversial Aggestam & Hyde-Price partly argues is due to Sweden’s history. The contribution history has a logic which can be explained with two distinctive traditions. Small state-realism and liberal internationalism with the first being gradually superseded. The liberal internationalism refers to normative approach to mediation, collaborations and resolutions of disputes but also a concept of responsibility beyond the nation’s borders. (Aggestam & Hyde-Price, 2016, p. 484). While small state realism refers to that the authority and survival of the state was linked to statecraft, military power and national interests. As an example, during the Cold war Aggestam & Hyde-Price argue Sweden’s neutral and non-alignment role and a persecution on a political level that promoted the concept of responsibilities beyond the nation’s borders pushed Sweden to build on the concept

of common security and peacekeeping. Something that was expressed with the UN missions at the time. Overtime as NATO and the EU took on more of the same type of missions, the transfer of who was in charge remained relatively uncontroversial due to the nature of the missions (Ibid, p. 482-483).

Sweden states an intention to continue with its international commitment because in the end it influences the nation's security and its interests (Bildt, 2008, p. 3). With previous statements highlighting the commitment will influence the nation security and interests it also opens a potential way to influence that can and probably has been used by Sweden on other actors to drive a development in a certain direction. How Sweden has represented an action situation and intended outcome in a certain way in previous missions can possibly give an indication on how the actor will shape eventual future policy work.

This assumption that a possibility to influence exists is reinforced by Holmberg, who states that Sweden and the Nordic countries have been able to successfully influence the common security and defence policy's (CSDP) civilian aspects of military mission (Holmberg, 2010, p. 137).

3. Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how Sweden has represented problems and solutions to the EU's military contributions and further analyse what factors Sweden has used to legitimise operations that are in line with its interest. This will be done by giving concrete examples on what values, tools and direction Sweden has represented in its contribution to the EU, but also examining and discussing what motives may lay behind such contributions.

In Gyllensporres research on what EU mission Sweden has had the highest ambition, he does not intend to answer or give an explanation of reasons why and what motives lie behind the contributions (Gyllensporre, 2016). Jakobsen explains the overall Nordic security and defence policy with many examples but the relation to the EU and their mission is not stated (Jakobsen, 2006). Pohl examines the many drivers that could explain state intervention but he does not focus on how Sweden is representing the relation (Pohl, 2012).

Previous studies of Swedish foreign policy has not dealt with to the same extent how Sweden represent the cases in their preposition that require a military contribution. This is finally where the aspect that legitimises the contribution is presented and where Sweden represent itself and relation to others. To examine the missions with the highest ambition, to look on

what motives and why Sweden has made its contributions to the EU and how it legitimised or represented its reasons is therefore interesting. This because Sweden has potentially more at stake and want to contribute more for a reason. This present an academic gap that is relevant and interesting to research.

The main purpose of the thesis will be broken into two research questions:

1. How does Sweden represent a problem, its cause and solution that has required military intervention of the EU military missions?

And with this further analyse and discuss:

2. What motives lay behind explained from a realist perspective?

3.1 Relevance

Much research and theoretical debate exist on motives that has influenced countries in its foreign and security policy (Hyde-Price, 2006, p. 218). Not many examples on how Sweden has expressed motives exist to a military collaboration of one of the “new” major security actors – the EU. As for the EU collaboration it is relevant to examine the motivations of the state as the policy area of security and military is being more prioritized.

The EU consist of a plurality of different communities thus different conceptions of how to maximise their respective interests. In other words, creating different national interests. From a Swedish perspective it is relevant to see what historically the drivers have been and thereby define what motives has shaped its foreign policy. This will give an indication to its contribution in the future and answer what Sweden sees as the relative gains.

The EU has a diverse set of tools in its member states with different abilities and perspectives. From an EU perspective it’s therefore interesting to highlight what one of the member states in the EU military collaboration thinks as its interests and contribution would be in a time where the military collaboration is intensifying and becoming more interlinked. Also, if a potential integration of norms, values and interests are to take place, the experiences and motives of the different European states need to be defined.

Related to the academic debate this thesis explains motives from a state centric perspective. Something that the EU- Normative power theory does not acknowledge in the same extent. This thesis therefor has relevance thus it provides concrete examples that explains the expression by Sweden to the EU and how a neglection of the role of state is flawed.

4. Previous research: Sweden's contribution to EU missions

Gyllensporre has created a formula that calculates Sweden's military ambition to different multinational security collaborations (2016, p. 483). In the following section a short summary of his findings what Sweden has contributed to the EU is presented to show the different ways Sweden has made its contributions.

The first military crisis management operation where the EU had a leading role was in 2003 in Makedonia under the name of Concordia where they took over the responsibility from NATO and operation "Allied harmony". For six months Sweden contributed with a surveillance team and stab officers (Gyllensporre, 2016, p. 488).

In 2003 the EU launched a mission to aid the UN in Congo under the name Artemis in which Sweden contributed early with special forces to the end four month later the same year. (Ibid 488).

Between 2004-2008 the EU again took over the responsibility from NATO over a mission in Bosnia-Hercegovina named Althea. Here Sweden contributed with logistic resource, a liaison & observer team (LOT) and an infantry platoon (ibid, 488).

EUFOR CAR was a mission launched the first half of 2008 but was later extended for three months, in Tchad and the central republic of Africa. The Swedish contribution here consisted of a reinforced amphibious rifle company- "Swedish marines" (ibid, 488).

Operation Atalanta in Somalia is perceived by many as one of the EU's most successful missions.

Some of the Swedish contributions has consisted of 2 Corvettes, Swedish marines, support ships, Stab and leading ships and helicopters (ibid, 488).

Gyllensporre thesis is further explained in chapter 6.1- Cases and explains what missions has had the highest ambition from Sweden. But what his research do not intend and does not answer is the question on why and what motivates a military intervention by Sweden has had.

Jakobsen examines the Nordic countries and states that they all have specific interest. He states that Sweden came to view "peacekeeping as a valuable way of enhancing inter-national respect for its neutrality and demonstrating international solidarity". (Jakobsen, 2006, pp. 384-385) In the deployment of UN troop to Cyprus 1964, Sweden was at first reluctant to

contribute but after pressures from the great powers and the UN gave in. But the benefits became more apparent and the political aspect faded away. (Jakobsen, 2006, p. 386)

Pohl does a thorough explanation on the many missions of the EU and what drivers that could exist. As well he acknowledges the states interests but he does not focus how Sweden is representing its relation and contribution to the EU (Pohl, 2012).

5. Theory

Ian Manners claimed in 2002 that the EU as an actor was a game changer in how it acted and what motivated its international commitment. (Zimmermann & Dür, 2016, p. 191). Zimmerman & Dür explains this by that the EU was based on “multilateral understandings, an emphasis on shared values and the rejection of traditional greater power diplomacy” (2016, p. 191). Manners article is one of the most cited and controversial works in the field of European integration and the debate has continued afterward if the European Union was a different actor that worked in a different way when expressing power. This debate represents one of the most pervasive controversies in European studies (Ibid, 191)

5.1 Normative Pouvoir

Manners normative power approach seeks to explain the EU in global politics by rethinking the nature of power and argues material and or physical power is not as dominant forces as normative power (Manners, 2016, p. 192). In Manners explanation of what form normative power or Pouvoir, he bases his assumption that the EU is founded on a set of norms that makes it unique which shapes its international identity. The norms are liberty, peace, democracy, human rights and rule of law as well as social solidarity, sustainable development, anti-discrimination and good governance on a few premises. (Pollack, 2016, p. 200)

Manners claim that the EU is working through norm changing to effect a third actor behaviour with the previously mentioned norm (Pollack, 2016, p. 200).

To Manners credit Mark Pollack states that Manners not solely based his claim that the EU arose as an ideological normative power but that the present experiences of the EU do show the limits and challenges Manners concept (Pollack, 2016, p. 203)

Adrian Hyde-Price concurs to the criticism from a realist perspective regarding the almost total neglect of power. He argues that power needs to be considered as “actors are most likely

to affect the behaviour of others and shape the international environment if they can deploy a mix of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power resources” (Hyde-Price, 2012, pp. 4-5)

Also, in his criticism Hyde-Price argues that just to examine the EU’s nature and dynamics in the international system as the normative povoir approach suggests, is to miss important aspects in the behaviour which motivates the states which are the central actors (Ibid, p.5)

5.2 Realism

Realism has a state centric view and “argues that a foreign and security policy that does not recognise the distribution of relative power capabilities in the international system and does not focus on the pursuit of national or (in the case of the EU) common interests is destined to be weak and ineffectual” (Hyde-Price, 2012, p. 1). One of the central objectives in the realist analysis is to identify the underlying dynamics to understand obstacles and drivers of change (Hyde-Price, 2012, p. 5). In international security a realist approach aims to identify how forces of political agency act in institutions and in international political relations (Morgenthau, 1993, p. 17). Realism has a set of core assumptions (outlined below). From these assumptions, Hyde-Price (2006, p. 220) has formulated three propositions. which can be used to generate categories of motivation for testing.

Table 1. Realist assumptions

<p><u>International systems are anarchic</u> States compete among each other in an anarchic system.</p> <p><u>States are the primary international actors</u> As an example, the member states’ collective interests are the engine that drives EU in a certain direction. States are functionally similar. States try to maintain their standing in relation to rivals and therefore have many of the same tools at their disposal (for example military).</p> <p><u>States are rational, unitary actors</u> States are rational and capable of a cost/benefit calculation on whether its strategically beneficial to act in a certain way.</p>

Adopted from Hyde-Price (2006, pp. 220-221)

Table 2. Propositions

<p><u>Security competition in a self-help system.</u> The state needs to rely on their own or their allies’ resources for security and survival.</p>

Security and power maximization and Relative gains

Security is of the highest priority and is achieved by neutralising or eliminating rivals. If not possible, states will try to strengthen their position relatively to them. Cooperation is only done if the state concludes that it benefits more from the cooperation than its competitors. In other words, states are conserved with relative gains.

Second-order concerns

While states' primary concern is the maximization of power, they also have an interest in ethical issues reflected by the political values represented distinctly by the actor. In recent years the EU has been seen as the instrument to deal with these second order concerns by its member states.

Adopted from Hyde-Price (2006, pp. 221-222)

This thesis categories of motivation behind an actor's motives will answer research question two in chapter 6 – analysis. They stem from the following realistic assumptions' respective propositions. Based on the realistic propositions, three categories of motivation of state intervention have been formulated. The categories will examine if Sweden has contributed in order to:

- Gain political influence/ Maintain relative power
- Developed its military intermobility
- Reinforce a sense of internationalist commitment/ “good guy”.

Second order concerns can show some similarity to the EU as a normative power but from a realist perspective this is explained by that the member states only lets the EU act on ethical concerns if it does not interfere with the member states national core interests. As an example, this is expressed by the weapons sold to China or the economic relations to Russia which further undermines Manners claim (Hyde-Price, 2006, p. 223).

One of the most influential theories within the field of security studies apart from Realism is Liberalism. Liberalism believes in a mutual interdependence between states which has gradually increased because of the globalization. Non-state actors as transnational companies and banks are given as examples on which are contributing to the complex interdependence that hinders state to force war on each other. Military force is not used where a complex interdependence prevails (Keohane & Nye, 2017, pp. 167-168).

Realists have generally been criticized for giving too much focus to military power but should not be seen as trigger-happy war enthusiast (Hyde-Price, 2012, p. 7) Realists do stress the importance of the state's interests, but argues that these interests can be achieved through a diverse set of tools such as diplomacy or compromise (Ibid, p.9). Military capabilities nevertheless remain one of the main tools for pursuing state interests.

A realistic approach is chosen because with a prioritisation of one theoretical approach, more room for a focus and a more in-depth observation is given. Realism is also considered appropriate for explaining state behaviour due to its state-centric view and focus on state interests.

Many nations exist in the EU but has not taken the same route as Sweden. Because of this plurality, it's therefore hard to explain a common normative approach in the EU is applied to all countries and thus more interesting to look at what motives each nation has with a state centric view as they have the final say in change. In this case realism explains how and why Sweden as an actor is driven to contribute in the military actions.

6. Method and material

6.1 Cases

In order to answer my research question, I will look at previous EU military missions where Sweden has contributed and how the Swedish government motivated a Swedish participation. Three missions are chosen to be examined with the different deciding proposals from each respective mission. Because a proposal needs to be given every 6 months for a continuation of ongoing military missions, an academic saturation is possible to achieve when same mission is explained on different occasions. A better understanding would be given from analysing more proposals, but the amount chosen is reasonable given the time and length of the thesis but mostly because the texts are relatively similar and an academic saturation is achieved making it unnecessary to look on more.

A prioritization of how Sweden represented contributions to one security actor, the EU, will give room for a more thorough analysis of each chosen mission and better explain the relation to the institution and motives behind Sweden's contribution. Similarities to other security collaborations and missions apart from the EU would be possible and interesting to compare and making an intriguing topic for further research to examine. Representation or motives and reasons why contributing to one security actor can differ. The EU security issue is under mush

change at the time and thus making it interesting to examine in more detail how Sweden has contributed.

The cases or mission are chosen based on Sweden's biggest contribution to ambition. To measure ambition is hard due to the nature and type of different missions. Gyllensporre has made a formula that calculates ambition (2016, p. 483). In his research he multiplies size, type, time and risk of the contribution to gain the value of ambition. Using this ambition calculation, the three EU missions with the highest ambition from Sweden has been Althemis-Althea, Atalanta-Somalia and EUFOR CAR(Chad) and therefor motivated as interesting cases to study.

6.2 Methodological approach

The thesis research aims to highlight and analyse important aspects of text content and to categorize answers thematic. It has a systematic nature and because of this, a qualitative text analysis is well suited (Esaiasson, et al., 2017, p. 213).

Gyllensporres ambition thesis (2016) had a quantitative nature and with a complement of a qualitative study, a possibility to look at the meaning behind the most ambitious contributions and can with an analytical tool give the possibility to look at the process of purpose building and fill an academic gap (Esaiasson, et al., 2017, p. 211).

6.3 Analytic tool

As an analytic tool for this thesis the concept of framing or frames is used. The concept of framing has an offset that believes an action situation, or a social phenomenon does not have a given meaning, but it can be interpret and represented differently by various actors. Esaiasson explains that how a problem is framed by an actor has an impact on how it and other actors will pursue in finding a solution and act. (2017, p. 218-219). It also evaluates the effects of different agents and suggested solutions with a prediction on its effect. (Entman, 1993).

As previously stated, it is very interesting and highly motivated to look on how Sweden as an actor represent situation in order to examine underlying motives which highly motivates the choice of approach and analytical tool. To look at representation is to look on how Sweden manifest itself as an actor, of what it wants to be and thereby what factors motivates a contribution in a certain way. Even if the representation was to be wrong, it is still relevant from how Sweden depict itself. If an actor may have an inaccurate picture or interpretation of

a social phenomenon, framing as a tool is suited because the thesis aims to look on how Sweden as an actor represent and legitimize a participation in a certain way to the EU.

A realist perspective highlights an actor, in this case a state, thus creating a good match with the framing concept and answering the research question as it looks from how a state represent a problem.

To gain systematic in the result, the use of framing is applied to the method Problem-Cause-solution (PCS) to interpret the texts and answer research question one. The method of framing and PCS gives a possibility to categorize representation of an actor into the following categories: problem representation, cause and problem solution (Esaiasson, et al., 2017, p. 229). With this method I am given the possibility to highlight different aspect in the text. And clearly present what has been the representation of why a military intervention has been required and bring forth an intended systematic nature of a qualitative text research previously mentioned. To avoid risking interpreting the texts and to gain better transparency and legitimacy, quotes or short summarised translations will be presented to answer research question one.

To answer reaserch question two, Esaiasson states a possibility to analyse from already given answers or categories (Esaiasson, et al., 2017, p. 229). This thesis will examine from already given answer with the three categories developed from the realistic prepositions as the given answers. To just give one explanation of social phenomena with given answers, is to risk forcing explanations of phenomena to fit in well with its intended theory. Something that a deductive approach does not. There is also a risk for also limiting the explanation and analysis. But this thesis examines from a realist perspective view. The purpose of this thesis is to give an explanation on motives of a state and give a realistic explanation of Sweden's action. Given answers is thus well suited as given answers gives the possibility to test theory (Hyde-Price, 2006, p. 220).

This thesis purpose intends to give a realist explanation. By providing assumptions and prepositions of realism in addition to my findings, my interpretation of realism and connection to the motives of Sweden becomes clear and transparent.

A short summary will then be described in an analytical table to give a better overlook and facilitate possibilities to draw parallels between the different missions.

Table 3. Explanatory categories

	Kosovo	Chad	Atalanta
- Gain political influence/relative gain			
- Developed its military intermobility			
- Reinforce a sense of internationalist commitment/ “good guy”.			

6.4 Material

Many voices and opinions exist within Sweden about both its military but also the EU collaboration. In my thesis I will limit and focus on text primarily produced by the Swedish government (Regeringen) and have a more state-centric focus. Even if a state-centric view has been criticized as an analytical starting point in a more interdependent and global world it is finally the state who has a final say in change. Even if NGOs and non-state actors can influence, change ultimately will happen through states. (Aggestam, 2004, p. 7). Why I focus on these selected texts is because they are the final proposal given to the decision-making body in Sweden and the final representation of what a Swedish contribution to the EU is motivated. My method is interested in the actor's representation and if I would analyse the many different voices and debate it is not the final decision and a misleading picture would be given. Even if this limits my approach and not bring forth many voices and debate that exist within Sweden itself it is necessary to answer the question of how a Swedish representation is formulated.

6.4.1 Atalanta

The text chosen to be analysed are the government's proposals (*Regeringens propositioner*) 2008/09:108, 2009/10:84 and 2016/17:177. Two texts in the initiation of the military operation and one where the mission had been operational for some time. The first two texts are interesting to examine because a development and evaluation happens more intensely in a beginning of a project before structures are established and the vision of what Sweden sees as its contribution may alter to fit in the EU structure. With this hopefully we can see what Sweden wants to contribute with. These texts will also more accurately describe why Sweden

started a contribution. The final text will more evaluate on how the representation of problem and solutions has potentially changed over time. Elements within the propositions are also re-used and arguments repeat itself and it takes time to see a progress. This is why I choose not to look at the text between 2008-2015.

6.4.2 Chad

The Swedish and EU contribution to Chad was not as long as the previous mentioned missions therefore the only two existing propositions (prop. 2007/08:14 and 2007/08:157) were analysed. Even if a risk of having less text undermines the credibility of the analysis, the propositions that were examined represented the situation in a similar manner, thus making the overall picture and credibility acceptable.

6.4.3 Althea- Althemis

The Althea mission three different propositions were analysed. Two of the propositions (prop. 2004/05:14, 2005/06:146) were to in the beginning of the mission and the first deployment. Prop. 2006/07:51 is the latest and a proposition of support between the Althea- and the NATO, KFOR-mission. Even if the proposal may have a different focus thus not answer the questions the same way it's relevant to examine. The proposal is interesting to examine to see if different aspects of what Sweden may represent as important in addition to what an ordinary proposal would give. This enables to draw similarities between and give an analysis with more depth, even if the proposals are not that far apart from each other in nature and can be comparable as the thesis is looking for specific themes.

7. Results

To present answers to question 1, How does Sweden Represent a problem, its cause and solution that has required military intervention of the EU military missions? For the purpose of transparency, the findings will be presented in translated quotes or in short translated summaries. As the thesis is presenting the empirical findings in a clear way it will further strengthen the answer to question 2. What motives lay behind explained from a realist perspective? Where this thesis analysis is done and gives the overall answer to this thesis research question: What motivates a military contribution by Sweden to the EU? Why it's not prioritized to analyse directly after the specific quotes or summations is to in a clear manner divide the questions but to also more clearly divide the texts representations and this thesis analysis. Paragraphs of the different proposals in the same missions were in many cases

reused or rephrased by the government and therefore only selected pieces is presented here to avoid repetition.

The factors Sweden has represented as cause, problem and solution in different missions is defined below. Cause explains what Sweden saw as the reason to intervene in a broader sense. Problem-cause explains what Sweden has represented as the local problem and its cause. Finally, solution explains what Sweden and the EU had or needed to contribute with in order to succeed or better an action situation.

a. Atalanta

7.1.1 Cause

” A Swedish contribution is in line with the established Swedish CSDP politics, which has made Sweden to a reliable and respected actor within the EU’s crisis management. The mission also is a clear and asked support by the UN” (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 19).

A Swedish participation in ATALANTA is an answer to an asked support from the EU to the UN’s activity. “The mission is an example on good liaison and cooperation between the EU and UN in field, something that the Swedish government values highly...(Sweden) promotes the rule based multilateral world order with UN as its core...Swedish participation in ATALANTA gives the possibility to build on and develop positive experiences from previous contributions. The goal is to contribute in developing the SAF national ability and ability to work in a multinational unit context” (Linde, 2017, p. 14)

The main problem in the area is piracy and “ The amount of attacks by sea have in many areas of the world increased last decades...Piracy is a serious threat to the freedom of sea fare, the international commerce, goods and safety of crews” (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 8) Thus, legitimizes a need of intervention.

Sweden also has a long-term commitment in Somalia and is contributing both by itself and to the UN with money, support to police, a social justice system and human rights (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 7). The contribution of humanitarian resources and money has also progressively increased over the years from both the UN and Sweden (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 6). Sweden’s unique bond or special relation has been created by the long-term commitment and partnership by Sweden to Somalia both as a humanitarian aid giver but also important political advisor (Linde, 2017, p. 7).

The EU and Sweden has been the driving force of a positive development in the region as a responsibility taker and showing determination in its work. As an example of success and difference making the mission has captured over 75 pirates (Bildt, 2010, pp. 4, 9). Another representation of success and cause how few international commerce ships had been taken between 2013-2017 and how the international community's actions has turned around a very negative trend (Linde, 2017, p. 6). In 2010 Sweden would also have the overall leading reasonability over ATALANTA which further legitimized a need for troop contribution.

The international community's trust in the new leadership of 2012 is later mentioned and the many positive reforms and democratic development. Why a continuation of the mission is required is represented as "politically Somalia now is in a crucial moment. The Somalian government has many political challenges to deal with....one of the biggest challenges... is to improve the security situation" (Linde, 2017, p. 5).

7.1.2 Problem-Cause

The primary problem was represented as a security threat that prevented humanitarian aid and resources to reach and work in its intended destination in one the worst humanitarian situation in Africa (Tolgfors, 2009, pp. 6, 14; Linde, 2017, p1). "If the aid is not able not to reach Somalia by sea because of piracy the humanitarian consequences are to be severe" (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 14)

The piracy problem is represented as one of the most urgent problems in the area. Which is causing the 90% of the WFP aid not to reach its destination because it goes by sea (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 6). Apart from piracy examples of instability are firefights and bombs" attacks" are mentioned as well as volunteers being kidnapped or killed has contributed to the inclining cost in order to provide basic security (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 6).

A functioning central government has not existed between 1991-2012 (Linde, 2017, p. 4). An unstable government, a civil war contributing to a lack of justice system and piracy contributed in making the security situation. (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 5)

A criticism towards the local government and AISOM in dealing with the security threat in their act to try to answer the attacks which has caused civilian injuries and casualties is mentioned (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 6). Later the terror organisation Al-Shabaab is mentioned as the primary threat to peace and security and destabilising force to positive political process (Linde, 2017).

Draught, declining fish stocks in addition to higher cost on water and food products are represented as problems in the region (Tolgfors, 2009, pp. 6, 14). Also a higher insurance cost on transports going through the region has made it less profitable to go through the region. This has made shipping companies choose alternative routes that are not beneficial economically and timewise. (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 6)

Another problem is the increased use of heavy weapon system used by pirates on as an example oil-ships. This is represented as a problem because of lack of resources and local incapability to handle an eventual oil spill would lead to a more dire situation (Bildt, 2010, p. 8). An urgency by the somalin government and the international community's agenda is also stressed because of AISOM's potential declining commitment in the security sector. (Linde, 2017, p. 5)

7.1.3 Problem Solution

The solution to the humanitarian solution is part of Sweden's long-term commitment in Somalia primary by building a functioning government (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 7).

The situation has been dire but the Djibouti process¹ which Sweden has contributed to with both political assistance as well as money is inspiring hope and a development in the right direction. Sweden sees the political solution and in Somalia as a whole has its base in the Djibouti process (Tolgfors, 2009, pp. 5-7).

“To achieve a lasting solution with problems regarding piracy and armed robberies outside the cost of Somalia a solution that enables a reestablishment of an efficient government and improved means of the population to provide for itself is necessary” (Tolgfors, 2009, p. 8).

The primary solution that ATALANTA provides is by providing safety to the UN's WFP humanitarian aid gets to where it's needed thus contributing in better means to the Somalian population to provide for itself thus preventing a humanitarian crisis (Tolgfors, 2009, pp. 11-12). Because the EU thinks it's important that more countries in the region participates in the efforts against piracy, the EU strives to make deals with countries in the region. As they have successfully done with Kenya and the Seychelles (Bildt, 2010).

¹ A Reconciliation conference for clans between the transition government and representants from the local opposition- Re-Liberation of Somalia (ARS) (Freivalds, 2004, p. 5).

b. Althemis - Althea

Kosovo was one of the first missions of the EU. When ALTHEA was launched NATO forces had already been deployed in the area for a long time and a positive development had been taken place. Even though a successful NATO-mission the security situation was fragile and a new mission type was needed to deal with the new circumstances. With NATO's withdrawal, they and the UN welcomed an EU contribution. (Freivalds, 2004, pp. 4-5)

7.1.2 Cause

One of the biggest contributions that Sweden had made to any region was to Bosnia Hercegovina and has since 1993 provided peace enforcing personnel. ALTHEA will be the biggest comprehensive military mission to date and the EU states active in the NATO mission will most likely provide contributions to the EU (Freivalds, 2004, p. 7).

The Balkans as a whole is of high significance to the security and stability in Europe. And ALTHEA will contribute in the EU's long term commitment in the country and aid in the country's approach towards a membership within the EU (Freivalds, 2006, p. 10).

Sweden offered to take the responsibility of leading and logistics in the northern sector. This also means that Sweden may need to aid countries which has for different reasons been unable to provide (Freivalds, 2006, p. 8).

A Swedish contribution to the EU is a concrete support to the peace in the country. The Swedish government states the importance that Sweden continues its long-term commitment of democracy, safety and development. The military presence and contribution of ALTHEA is deemed necessary to secure a stable and secure development if the goal to integrate the country with the EU is to be successful. (Freivalds, 2006, pp. 5,7)

The ALTHEA mission is a good complement of the existing contribution. The Swedish government also states that they are a strong advocate of the development of the EU's crisis management ability and a contribution to ALTHEA is a manifest to the Swedish commitment to the European security and defence (Freivalds, 2004, p. 10).

A successful mission will strengthen the EU long-term ability to contribute with security and defence. Sweden also has experience of the NATO mission experiences in the region. Unique experiences that would be disposable for the EU and development in the region (Freivalds, 2004, p. 10) Sweden's and the EU's contribution also is stated to have a high trust of the local government and population and thus is an important actor that needs to have a continued

presence in the region (Freivalds, 2006, p. 7). Which further indicates a responsibility and commitment thus the somewhat unique contribution.

ALTHEA also is a great example of partnership and collaboration between NATO and the EU. (Bildt, 2007, p. 4). A Swedish contribution to this partnership would also enhance the Swedish standing as a reliable partner in crisis management missions and manifest the commitment of Sweden in the Balkan region.

7.2.2 Problem cause

After the fall of Yugoslavia a very violent and dangerous situation occurred. NATO's implementation of military was successful but many political and civilian aspects need to be dealt with. Bosnia and Hercegovina need to deal with a war-torn country and create a functioning democracy built on tolerance and understanding. A hard socioeconomic situation characterised by a high crime rate and corruption exist. (Freivalds, 2004, p. 10)

Political parties that are nationalistic are exploiting the ethnical divide in the countries and hinders a momentum towards the European collaboration structures. One of the major barriers towards the building of a functioning state is the ethnical divide which a reconciliation process between the parties has not been started. The lack of cooperation with the ICTY² also hinders this process as well as an integration in the EU and NATO. (Freivalds, 2004, p. 5). The overall situation is represented as stable but fragile.

7.2.3 Solution

The development is represented to be positive. The crisis has gone from conflict prevention to stabilization and building of society. Decided approach will also enable a movement to the EU which is the overall goal. (Freivalds, 2004, p. 5)

An international military presence for a substantial period of time is deemed necessary to secure a peaceful development. Law and order need to be upheld in order to give a base for a reconstruction of a functioning new government. With a military presence a possibility for a transition to future civilian and police missions is provided (Freivalds, 2004, p. 10; Bildt, 2007, p. 7)

² ICTY- The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was the UN's court of law dealing with the war crimes in the Balkans.

7.3 Chad

7.3.1 Cause

It's important that the EU can answer the UN request for military support in the region. To comply with the UN's request is to support the UN crisis management capability which is one of the most important tasks of the CSDP. Already completed and successful EU contribution in the region in 2003 and 2006 gives a natural continuation with a mission in Chad and the desire of a clearer and more relevant role of the EU in the UN Comprehensive missions (Bild, 2007, pp. 11-12). A comprehensive approach is necessary to deal with the humanitarian as well as the complexed political situation. A contribution to the EU mission is stated to be a clear expression of Sweden's strong commitment and support to the multilateral system and is pulling its weight in the international responsibility (Bild, 2007, pp. 11-12)

The cause of extension of the mission was represented to be that Sweden had been one of the first on sight which had a stabilising effect. Stabilising and successful effects was shown rapidly. As an example, the humanitarian mobility and effect has increased a lot. Also, a need of long-term commitment is stressed and necessary. The at the time commanding officer for EUFOR request of Swedish continued deployment is also mentioned, as well the time limit of the rain periods state that an extended but short-term commitment will be necessary. (Bild, 2007, p. 10)

7.3.2 Problem Cause

Chad has been the victim of civil war and autocratic rule. The first democratic election was made in 1996 where president Déby won. Even if elections were made in 2001 it was viewed and characterised as a rigged election. Also, more power was transferred to the Déby the following mandate so he could run for another term. In 2006 the opposition boycotted the election and Déby won again (Bild, 2007, p. 4).

Déby belongs to a minority in the country, a minority which he is to favour in many ways. Because of the marginalisation of the opposition and other clans, a polarisation of the political landscape has occurred as well as they have armed themselves. In this clan-based society allegiances in rebel groups also swiftly shifts. In attempts to integrate and better the situation one of the major opposition/ rebel leaders were positioned as minister of defence. The relation between the minister and the president is represented to be weak (Bild, 2007, p. 5).

The crisis in Darfur (2003) has affected the situation in Chad. The Darfur-refugees are exploited by rebels in both Darfur as in Chad. The collaboration between these rebel groups is effecting the relation between the states in a negative manner and treats of war has occurred (Bild, 2007, p. 5).

In CAR the situation as well is unstable. The president- Bozizé took power in a military coup in 2003 and since then battles between the government and rebels has occurred mainly in the northern parts of the country. The government does not have control in these parts and is described to be precarious. The situation has forced inhabitants to leave their homes. There has been report of assaults, plunderings, kidnappings, torture and rape in the countries. Even if the situation is developing in a positive way, the development is in a very fragile, unsecure and hard to predicted state. The government is dependent on French troops to maintain a status quo (Bild, 2007, pp. 5-7).

Regarding resources, there is enough to turn the countries from being some of the poorest in the world. But there is no such willingness from the governments which are stated to be corrupted and there is also a problem of smuggling. Poor infrastructure is also represented to be one of the major problems of the countries. The existing resources are put on further strain because of the refugee situation. The UN has needed to claim the humanitarian fond of CERF on a number of occasions in order to deal with lifesaving situations (Bild, 2007, pp. 7-8)

7.3.3 Solution

The UN mission MINURCAT had the overall responsibility to provide a long-term solution in which the EU would contribute the UN by providing basic humanitarian rights and support the building of functioning rule of law system and providing basic security in refugee camps. Sweden's humanitarian money contribution also represented as commitment in improving the situation in the region additionally to the EU contribution (Carlsson, 2008, pp. 6-7).

The proposition highlights the multidimensional approach of the UN where the EU would contribute with 1. Protection of civilians and refugees. 2. Facilitate humanitarian efforts and mobility for humanitarian aid personnel by increasing the security in the region. 3. Aid in the protection of UN personnel, assets and equipment and secure free mobility of the UN personal. Sweden will also provide officers to relevant stabs (Carlsson, 2008, p. 10)

In Chad the present government of Libya started discussions between the battling sides which resulted in better preconditions that the groundwork for a democratic change could take place.

The threats of war between Chad and CAR has also with discussions resulted in a common understanding of the situation (Bild, 2007, p. 5).

Long-term prosperity and premises is represented to exist within the countries themselves and its availability to natural resources (Bild, 2007, p. 7). Solution to the crisis is represented to be providing a better security situation that will enable refugees both external as internal to return. The provision of security to civilians and refugees that are subjected to threats, facilitate humanitarian actors (UN) work and by providing good circumstances for reconstruction of infrastructure and economic prosperity (Bild, 2007, pp. 9-10).

8. Analysis

The analysis is based on the answers of representation of cause, problem cause and solution in previous chapter. Answers were interpreted to from the developed realistic categories.

8.1 Gain political influence/ Relative gain

ATALANTA

Something has become evident when examining the texts is the importance of potential success. In the case of ATALANTA Sweden represented on a number of occasions this with positive trends in less to none attacks and captured pirates. Logically a state wouldn't spend money or time on a cause that wouldn't provide a positive outcome. What is interestingly to discuss is how this potentially could be used to gain political points.

With the realistic assumption the that the member states collective interests is the engine that drives EU forward, Sweden can with a successful mission say that they have contributed in a better world as and pulling their weight in burden sharing as an international actor for solving common problems.

In ATALANTA, locally Sweden was already a political advisor and is represented to have high influence in the regional development which is also expressed in the high humanitarian aid Sweden gives. The political solution in Somalia Sweden states lays in the Djiboutiprocess, a process in which Sweden has contributed a lot in. Sweden expresses a long-term solution in the region which is based on premises that Sweden has developed. With such a commitment a military contribution would lower the risk of failure in the region and potential political points for not being responsible or capable enough of providing success. The major problem in the area is lack of security and a contribution resolving or better the situation would therefor also

naturally give Sweden extended influence when dealing with the immediate threat or secondly that the development and already established presences can continue with less friction.

The strategic value of the location is not explicitly mentioned but the treat to the international commerce and ships sailing for “the Swedish flag” is. The western world and particularly Sweden are dependent of the of trade and is applying the so called “just in time” principle. A principle which makes a possible delay of one product in a production chain will have a huge impact of the rest of the production. Shipping companies has also started to take alternative routes and by this costing extra concrete money as well as time. Sweden is thus strengthening itself and gaining a relative gain by providing safety for shipping companies by securing the best routes in the international commerce. A realistic explanation would be the one of security and power maximization and relative gains (Hyde-Price, 2006, pp. 221-222). Security is of the highest priority and with the provision of security on the trade route where Europe is dependent of, Sweden is strengthening itself and its western allies. But Sweden is not given the possibility with a realistic explanation, as it sees the state as the primary actor, to neutralise or eliminate rival state actors which is stated as an explanation of realist prepositions (Hyde-Price, 2006, pp. 221-222), as the local state is working with the EU and the problem is in certain individuals. But it is explained by the realistic preposition that a contribution is only done if the state draws more benefits than its competitors (Hyde-Price, 2006, pp. 221-222) which Sweden does in this case both economically and politically.

A realistic explanation of relative gain also is expressed when Sweden explicitly states that it seeks to reinforce the world order with UN as its core and can thus by a participation in ATALANTA maintaining a standing or gaining influence in this order.

ALTHEA

With the EU take over from NATO one of the biggest EU missions would to be launched. It is stated that most likely the EU states that are a part of the NATO mission would continue with its commitment in the region. Thus, a burden sharing would continue in the area and Sweden could be a part of the development and contribution of a stabilisation in Europe. By showing a commitment to the biggest EU mission yet to be it could be argued that Sweden most likely would gain political points that would be applied in further military development in the EU as well and not risking a relative loss to other EU actors. The overall stability in Europe is also mentioned to be of high importance of Sweden and a successful mission would strengthen the EUs long term ability of security and defence. Sweden is therefore interested to develop the

military of its allies or the EU and its capability in order to gain or maintain relative power. Interestingly when ALTHEA is stated to be one of the great collaborations between the EU and NATO, Sweden states the importance to be a part of this collaboration to explicitly maintain a standing as a reliable partner, in other words maintaining a relative gain.

The realistic explanation could be drawn from the assumption that the state is rational and the overall security is beneficial for Sweden and its allies and the preposition that a state needs to rely of their or its allies for security and survival. If Sweden is part in providing security as a responsible actor, a bigger possibility of aid in the future is provided.

As for the explanation of leading role of logistics a realistic explanation can be found in the cost benefit explanation. The role means to aid when the allied states potentially fails in mainly logistical issues which gives Sweden the mandate to be the “knight in shining armour” and to save misfortunes for its allies. Even if it’s a cynical explanation and that the text more manifest the experiences that will develop the SAF capability it is stated that the need to cover up or aid is a vital part of the responsibility. Potentially this would give Sweden political points in addition to the experiences to aid other nations.

CHAD

Not much indicate on concrete gain for an example as security or economy for Sweden with a contribution. The propositions focus a lot on the dire situation in the region and thus a need of contribution by the international community and could be explained by second order concerns. Sweden has contributed with money to the region in different ways but a troop contribution is represented to help the overall efficiency of other nations, mainly the UNs efforts by providing a solution to a security gap. A very clear explanation could be to reinforce a sence of international commitment but can also explained to be used to gain political points and a relative gain to allies. By providing security for the many actors and nations in the area a commitment is shown and demonstrated which could be used in negotiations as providing concrete examples of doing their part in a burden sharing context thus gaining political points. As an example, France has a very high commitment in Africa and the local region and would appreciate a contribution of Sweden thus strengthening the bond between the states. A potential benefit and relative gain with strong bonds with France which also has a seat in the security council is something that will be touched upon in the end discussion.

8.2 International commitment

ATALANTA

The international commitment is expressed in many ways in the prepositions. The Swedish government wants to represent both Sweden and the EU as responsible actors for being determined in the work they commit. The Swedish government represent Sweden both as a respected actor and reliable partner with in the international system both to the UN as well as to the EU and that this sense of commitment would be reinforced with answering the plea for support.

In ATALANTA the military intervention also will strengthen the already established Swedish international commitment to Somalia itself. A commitment which is described as long termed and unique because the humanitarian but also political aid- a comprehensive and responsible commitment.

The humanitarian aid has also increased over the years from both Sweden and the UN. This overall international commitment from Sweden could with a cynical view interpret a motivation of a further commitment and military contribution would gain political points when offering to aid in the situation but the representation from Sweden but is in the text with a realist explanation it is more motivated by the second order and the ethical situation.

The problem cause is primary focused on an international commitment by providing better safety by contributing to AISOM and the Somalian government which are incapable of dealing with the threat on their own. AISOM is represented as not being completely able to handle the situation. Even if an important actor in the region, they are not ideal or yet ready to deal with the situation because of incidents hurting and killing civilians. Indicators of their incapability both point to resources but also expertise which Sweden has and therefor has a international responsibility ethically by providing a commitment that will contribute for a lasting solution.

With the provided safety, a humanitarian crisis can be improved which would be explained by second order concerns. Also, there is a risk of environmental crisis if the oil ships are to be attacked by pirates with heavy weapon systems which would impair the humanitarian situation even more. A more cynical view could argue the oil ships cargo is worth more thus needing greater protection. But the international community is responsible to contribute to the prevention of environmental crisis which the local actors are incapable of handling. With the provided international commitment of security, the WFP shipments can be provided for the

population and give them better possibilities for a self-sustainable future. Because of Sweden high expertise in gender related issues, a unique perspective and contribution to the international commitments is given but also follows with a responsibility to aid with its expertise and is explained by second order concerns.

The overall solution of the mission means that a takeover of responsibility is necessary by the local government as well as the neighbouring parties. Sweden is honouring a international commitment when answering and contributing to crisis management but that it's finally the country itself that is responsible for a sustainable development. Sweden sees the international commitments as a provision of aid in crisis but wants to withdraw military troops as soon as the situation allows thus reinforcing a sense of international commitment but in a responsible manner. This also is explained and shows that second order would not come not first and is not prioritize. Because when a troop contribution is to long termed, there is a potential higher risk, more money and relative gain is lost.

ALTHEA

The mission would contribute to the long-term goal to include Bosnia and Herzegovina with the EU. Sweden would therefore complement the already present presence in the country by a contribution. By being part of a bigger international commitment or in this case an EU strategy would improve the overall situation in the country. Sweden states that they have gained experiences through the NATO missions that would be at the disposal of the EU. Sweden is also stated to have a high trust factor by the local government and people. Which would be useful for the overall international commitment which indicate a previous positive result. Thus, a Swedish contribution is legitimised by a previous successful and unique approach of a commitment which could be used again. By providing and helping the EU, an overall more effective mission would be given by the Swedish contribution thus aiding and strengthening its allies and thereby itself.

CHAD

The UN has been forced to use a crisis fond in the area on several different occasions to deal with the humanitarian situation. By providing a complement to the solution in the area which would unlock a more stable and long-term development, additional political points could be gained. But Sweden naturally represent the ethical aspects more which is also explained by a sense of international commitment and burden sharing.

The first proposal could be explained by a sense of international commitment in taking responsibility for second order concerns and burden sharing with other nations. The latest propositions have a slightly different focus but the main theme here as well is responsibility. In the last proposition the elements of the international commitment is rather expressed by a responsible withdrawal that will be better for the country itself but also leave better conditions to other nations working in the area. The EU supreme commander of the EUFOR plea for an extension of the Swedish contribution was answered as this presented as one of the mayor reasons for an extension. Sweden is by this manifesting itself as both responsible and reliable as they adapt but also stresses that the plea of the extension is was short termed. Sweden is honouring an international commitment when providing aid but it is just as important to withdraw in a good way not creating more problems locally. The second order concerns are very present as the contribution is very short and the relative gain of political points is gained.

The prepositions focus a lot on being part in an international commitment and doing one part in it. By a short-termed commitment both many political points can be achieved and that the ethical concern of the security gap in one of the most critical times of the year. Sweden does not have the same political or humanitarian responsibility focus as in other missions. Sweden's main mission in the area this time is to provide security so that other actors mainly the UN can work and move more freely to provide solution to the problem. Even if not as committed in all areas, Sweden is doing one part in the overall international commitment.

8.3 Military

ATALANTA

Regarding Sweden's vision to develop its military intermobility, concrete statements are stated but never expressed as the manifest main reason. Sweden indicates a willingness to lead and offers to every mission officer to different stabs that also provides with a high operational effect. The overall leading responsibility in 2010 also offers Sweden to experience high level military collaboration and coordination. Participation is further legitimised that SAF would give the possibility to develop already positive experiences. Interestingly this thesis second category for examination - Develop Sweden's military intermobility, is mentioned as one of the goals of a participation of the SAF. Both on a national level but as well in a multinational context. The realist explanation of that the state is rational and can do a cost benefit analysis is present. The Swedish forces experiences will better the prerequisites of Sweden and its allies security in the anarchic self-help system (Hyde-Price, 2006, pp. 221-222).

ALTHEA

Sweden offered to take the coordination a leading responsibility of logistics in the northern region. This gave Sweden intermobility experiences by the interaction with other nation and the experience of a leading role in international context. But as well the experiences to aid and repair in the potential shortcomings of other nations. As previously mentioned, this could mean potential political points. But Sweden mainly stresses that the military has gained important knowledge of the area. Experiences the EU could be later be of gain of. Potentially this future role will also lower the risk the cost of lives.

CHAD

Interestingly a positive trend is stated to take place and low risk of failure is represented. French troops in the area is maintaining a status quo and if a Swedish contribution would to be given either a further positive trend would develop or a contribution to the status quo would to occur. This is also explained by a sense of international commitment and burden sharing but also can be seen as developing the military intermobility. The relevance of experiences with intermobility also explains Sweden’s distribution of officers in stabs. With France, Sweden could gain experiences in the field or in the area of coordination as security providers. In the proposed extension of the Swedish contribution, the stabilising effect from being one of the first on sight is mentioned. This indicates a successful mission that would need further commitment and that positive experiences most likely has been gained.

Table 4. Results

	Kosovo	Chad	Atalanta
- Gain political influence/relative gain	- Positive development, high possibility of success? - Stability in Europe - Showing commitment early on in a new type of security collaboration offers	- High chance of success. - Contributing to one of the poorest countries in the world. - Strengthens the bond between France and Sweden.	- Contributing to a mission with a high success chance. - Improving the influence over an already established local political process - Securing trade routes - Maintaining a world order

	<p>a potential relative gain in strengthening bonds with allies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthening the EU 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developed it's military intermobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coordination and leading role regarding logistics in the northern parts - System are already in place from NATO, develop the same role in the EU. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stabs in relevant - Coordination with France - Successful mission, build and develop already positive experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High level contribution that has high operational effect is trained to work in a multinational context - Successful mission, build and develop already positive experiences - Develops the SAF national and multinational capability/intermobility
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reinforce a sense of internationalist commitment/ "good guy". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Already provided commitments by Sweden would be complemented by being a part of the EUs international commitment - Sweden can give a unique contribution because past experiences would help the EU 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Providing one part of the multidimensional approach - A responsible withdrawal. - Answering pleas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Both Sweden and the EU is a determined responsible international security actor. - Sweden is answering a plea from the UN. - Strengthen the effect of the already established humanitarian commitment. - Aid actors not completely capable of dealing with the security treat. - Preventing a potential environmental crisis or/and securing high value cargo - Provide a unique gender perspective.

9. Discussion

A few themes can be taken out from the texts. Sweden has a high ambition and wants to contribute to the overall defence mechanisms in Europe. The CSDP or crisis management operations are mentioned as good commitments they want to develop. The military intermobility is also explains reasons why a contribution is beneficial.

Reasons why Sweden wants a well-functioning military force in Europe is that it will most likely provide stability and security in the close region which is beneficial for Sweden. The high contribution will also increase the success of a potential aid plea from Sweden in a time of crisis and that the country will need to work with other nations. All the Swedish contribution not necessarily need to have all the categories which I explain, and more emphasis lay on different aspects in different mission. The overall Swedish stand point and goal is to develop the CSDP and military collaborations in the EU and Europe thus legitimises a participation where ever an European country or ally is.

A grander motive behind Sweden military contributions that is not expressed in the propositions would be the Swedish motives to become part in the UN security council. This is not to be neglected as additional motives behind where troop contribution and a big international commitment all can used as reasons to lobby for the Swedish participation.

Responsibility is also one of the prominent themes that is expressed to be important from both Sweden but also from the EU. It is responsible to contribute with military to comprehensive missions where Sweden can be one or many parts in a solution that need to be dealt with from various perspectives. Sweden represent itself to have a unique perspective and thus is responsible to act. As examples these can be previous experiences or commitments or the expertise with gender related issues. The concept of burden sharing of nations is highly prominent where Sweden legitimises their intervention of pulling their weight in international commitment. Motives could be explained that the relative risk, cost, responsibility is shared and to high of one nation in Europe to solve alone.

An intention of relative short-term military commitment is also expressed. Sweden wants to provide safety and security and is a fundamental aspect of a long-term solution. But in this long-term solution, one major indication of success is the possibility of withdrawal of troops as this means that one of the fundamental aspects is provided and as an example police can take over. A withdrawal additionally means less expenditures for Sweden.

In the case of Sweden, it's very interesting to see the importance of success but also the low risk. Sweden has unarguably contributed with its military contributions, but the relative risk has always been fairly low and raises the question if Sweden can handle a situation of where the cost of human lives is higher. Can realism explain if Sweden will contribute where its norms are the most violated but there is a high risk of losing troops? From the missions examined in this thesis, second order concerns or norms is not prioritized over risk. If Sweden were to lose lives, the public opinion would most probably rise against the Swedish military contribution as the general Swede associate soldiers with war and not peace. A realist explanation could be that the general Swede's contact with the military is through the American depiction which has a different approach which they do not align with. If a military contribution contradicts the general Swedish population's view of Sweden as one of the most peaceful countries of the world and the state is risking the lives of its population and an opposition of military contributions would gain strength. Thus, preventing further development in the area of intermobility and effectivity of the SAF. If the contribution would stand for the Swedish norms, the view of Sweden as a military provider is contradicted and could weigh heavier. A realistic assumption may explain Sweden's act as it is a rational actor, capable of doing a cost benefit analysis and thus taking on just low risks missions as this would not hurt the view of the SAF.

Even if a realistic perspective gives concrete examples on motives behind Sweden's military contributions it does not explain everything and focuses on specific themes. But how do you explain a contribution to specifically the EU in the case of Sweden works so well? Elements of a normative power can give us an explanation as the Swedish perception of doing good and the set of norms is in line with the EU of what Sweden wants to achieve. Liberty, peace, democracy, human rights and rule of law, social solidarity, sustainable development, anti-discrimination and good governance are norms that are all represented as a base in the missions on why and how to achieve success. But as the norm changing needs security to grow, military has been deployed in these missions which contradicts a pure normative approach as a norm changer. A comprehensive approach to missions where most of the different areas in state building is deployed is adapted by both the EU and the UN and the mix of both hard as well as soft power as Hyde-Price states are more likely to affect the behaviour of others is adapted (Hyde-Price, 2012, pp. 4-5).

So, does realism answer what motivates a military contribution by Sweden to the EU? The answer is yes, it gives some explanations of reasons behind. Concrete examples are stated but the Swedish contributions can't simply be explained by using realism. As one example, realism misses important aspect of the influence of none-state actors. Theory is a great aid in the interpretational work and is a base where we draw our analysis. But it is a simplification of the world. One theory does not explain everything is an explanation that highlights of what we want to study (Svensson, 2015, p. 209)

The implications of this thesis result will not be extreme or unexpected. Much of the previous research which was examined that looks on motives behind has similar findings to this thesis. Realism offers an important perspective and with this thesis concrete examples are shown in the case of Sweden and the relation to the EU.

9.1 Limitations and Shortcomings

In this thesis one theoretical explanation is given, it is acknowledged that other theoretical approaches would explain expressions in another way and a more dimensional picture would be given.

In this thesis a presentation of three-layer interpretation is done. Even if validity and legitimacy is achieved when presenting the texts and analysis in the different stages, the interpretation is finally done by one individual thus risking misinterpretation and missing other aspect could be presented by another individual.

Because this thesis examines how an actor represent problems, the actual depiction of the situation of Sweden may have shortcomings. It is not the task of this thesis to examine if the depiction is correct. The situation is described by one actor and other actors or states may have described it differently but is one of the reasons why a Swedish representation is relevant to research.

9.2 Further research

To complement what motives Sweden has it would be relevant to look at what missions Sweden has not participated in or the proposals that did not get voted through to examine how a representation would be stated and differ. This would high light the aspect of cost benefit more.

Because this thesis examines from one theoretical perspective, another theoretical perspective is relevant to research because it will highlight different aspects and give another explanation

on why a nation would contribute to the EU. As well to further complement and strengthen this thesis, the other EU mission with less ambition from Sweden would be interestingly to examine from a realist perspective.

To do a similar study with another EU member state would contribute to see how and where nations interest may differ or align and further examine from a EU perspective what motives states has in a contribution.

Cited work

- Aggestam, L., 2004. *A European foreign Policy?*. Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in politics.
- Aggestam, L. & Hyde-Price, A., 2016. "A force for good"? paradoxes of Swedish military activism. In: J. Pierre, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University press, pp. 479-494.
- Bild, C., 2007. *Proposition 2007/08:14*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Bildt, C., 2007. *Proposition 2006/07:51*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Bildt, C., 2008. *Skrivelse 2007/08:51*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Bildt, C., 2010. *Proposition 2009/10: 84*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Carlsson, G., 2008. *Proposition 2007/08:157*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Engelbrekt, K. & Ångström, J., 2010. *Svensk Säkerhetspolitik i Europa och världen*. 1:1 ed. Stockholm: Nordsteds Juridik AB.
- Entman, R., 1993. Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 51-58.
- Esaiasson, et al., 2017. *Metodpraktikan*. 5 ed. Stockholm: Wolters Kluwer.
- Freivalds, L., 2004. *Proposition 2004/05:14*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Freivalds, L., 2006. *Proposition 2005/06:146*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Gyllensporre, D., 2016. Den vetenskapliga analysen av svensk säkerhetspolitik- Dags för vitalisering och realism?. *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift*, Volume 4, pp. 471- 496.
- Hagström Frisell, E., Tham Lindell, M. & Skeppström, E., 2012. *Land i sikte? EU:s samlade ansats gentemot Somalia*, Stockholm: FOI- Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut på uppdrag av Försvarsdepartementet.
- Holmberg, A., 2010. Sverige och europeiseringen av försvarspolitiken. In: K. Engelbrekt & J. Ångström, eds. *Svensk säkerhetspolitik i Europa och världen*. Stockholm: Norstedts Juridik, pp. 131-146.
- Hyde-Price, A., 2006. 'Normative' power Europe: a realist critique. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(2), pp. 217-234.

- Hyde-Price, A., 2012. A Dissident Voice in the Study of the CSDP. In: S. Biscop & R. Whitman, eds. *The Routledge handbook of European security*. London: Routledge.
- Jakobsen, P. V., 2006. The Nordic peacekeeping model: Rise, fall, reurgence?. *International Peacekeeping*, 13(3), pp. 381-395.
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. S., 2017. Power and Interdependence. In: R. K. Betts, ed. *Conflict after the cold war*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Kunz, B. & Kempin, R., 2019. *French Institute of International Relations*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/editoriaux-de-lifri/treaty-aachen-new-impetus-franco-german-defense-cooperation> [Accessed 01 02 2019].
- Linde, A., 2017. *Proposition 2016/17: 177*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Manners, I., 2016. The European union's normative power in global politics. In: H. Zimmermann & A. Dür, eds. *Key controverses in European integration*. 2 ed. EU: Palgrave, pp. 192-199.
- Martin, M., Kaldor, M. & Narcís, S., 2013. *national, european and human security*. s.l.:Routledge Studies in 'human security'.
- Morgenthau, H., 1993. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Pohl, B., 2012. *"But we have to do something": the drivers behind EU crisis management operations*. 1 ed. Universiteit Leiden: WÖHRMANN PRINT SERVICE.
- Pollack, M. A., 2016. Living in a material world: A critique of 'Normative power Europe'. In: H. Zimmermann & A. Dür, eds. *Key controverses in European integration*. 2 ed. EU: Palgrave, pp. 199-204.
- Svensson, P., 2015. Teorins roll i kvalitativ forskning. In: G. Ahrne & S. Peter, eds. *Handbok i kvalitativa metoder*. Stockholm: Liber, pp. 208-219.
- Tolgfors, S., 2009. *Proposition 2008/09: 108*, Stockholm: Regeringen.
- Zimmermann, H. & Dür, A., 2016. *The European union's normative power in global politics*. 2 ed. EU: Palgrave.

