

**The Spanish Cadet in the European Military Context:
a Comparative Analysis of the Professional Socialisation**

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Introduction

For several different reasons Spain was absent from the European mainstream of sociological research on the military along the last decade of the past century. This does not mean that sociological research on that institution was not carried out in Spain during that period, but this country did not participate in the cross-national researches on the military that had a good development in Europe in the nineties¹.

Now we are taking the opportunity offered by the fact that the Instituto Universitario "General Gutierrez Mellado" carried out an empirical research among cadets in military academies in Spain in 1998-2002 (Martínez, 2002), for comparing these data with the (published) findings by a cross national research carried out in military academies of eight European countries in 1995-1996 (Caforio, 1998).

Albeit these are two different researches, carried out without any contact between them, several items and variables result comparable and on these items we are centring our paper.

We think, in fact, that it is useful, for Europe as well as for Spain, to insert the Spanish cadets attitudes, values, opinions in the complex of the European cadets thoughts, as well as their professional socialisation, also in the view of the present trend toward a common European security policy and armed forces.

Following a similar scheme as in the report of the European research (Caforio, 1998), we are dealing, in the following paragraphs, with six areas of comparative research, i.e.: *Motivation to become officer, Professional identity, Cadets satisfaction and perceived social image, Cadets political and social orientations, Cadets opinions on the future of armed forces, Sociodemographic analysis*. We conclude this paper with a general discussion of the comparison made.

Methodological premise

Spanish data have been collected by a research team of the Instituto

Universitario "General Gutierrez Mellado", chaired by Dr. Rafael Martinez, among students in all Spanish military academies in the year 2000-2001.

2.458 military students were investigated through a questionnaire of 311 questions. For the purposes of the present comparative research, only the sample of students officers was selected, leaving aside students for a NCO career; that sample resulted of 996 units. They consist in five classes of "ESO" (Escala Superior de Oficiales). European data stem from the ERGOMAS research carried out in 1995-1996 and published (Caforio, 1998); the sample is composed by student officers only and it includes 2959 units (however, in the present research only cadets from first to fourth year are considered, because not all the investigated countries have a five years course) from eight different countries (see note 1). For the sake of simplicity, we will speak of "European data" to indicate the findings from this eight countries investigation.

In order to apply to Spanish data some complex variables used in the European investigation, we created in the Spanish file too a variable defining the professional/occupational dichotomy², following the same path as in European previous researches (see Caforio & Nuciari, 1994). This dichotomy ranges for the two opposite positions of a very professional type, who emphasises the traditional and specific values of the officer's profession, and of an occupational one, who considers the military profession as any other profession and who is driven more by market reasons than by ethical ones.

That variable, useful to define four different typologies of cadets, will be used for cross-analysis of some meaningful variables in the singles areas of research, where significant.

The general partition of Spanish cadet according this to variable resulted the following:

Profession/occupation	Spanish %	European %
Indifferent	0.5	8.9
Occupational	22.6	28.1
Pragmatic professional	20.5	24.4
Radical professional	56.4	38.7

If we compare Spanish results with the European ones, we can realise that Spanish cadets follow the same general trend of the European ones, i.e., a majority of them result radical professionals, but with significant difference in size. Rather different is the distribution among the other typologies of this variable: in fact, the overwhelming majority of radical professional among Spanish cadets, leads to a smaller percentages in the other three typologies, and particularly for the *indifferent* position, that is nearly absent in the Spanish sample.

If we give a look to the trend along the academy years we see that, in the Spanish sample, the radical professional position is diminishing from the first (66.7%) to the fifth year (59.9%) and, on the contrary, occupational and pragmatic professional position are moderately growing up: the first one from 18.9% to 26.0%, the pragmatic professional one from 14.0% to 20.7%. The trend is similar to the average of the European sample, where, however, it is more marked the implementation of the occupational position.

Data Analysis

Motivations to become officer³

The first reason for joining the officer profession is, for Spanish cadets (Table 1), a desire of a dynamic style of life, a will to look for adventures, to test themselves.

The second reason is the job security, a desire of stable job, probably face to a high rate of unemployment .

At a certain distance the push of the family tradition and a desire to work in a disciplined organisation follow. The social prestige of the profession gain a low percentage of adhesions.

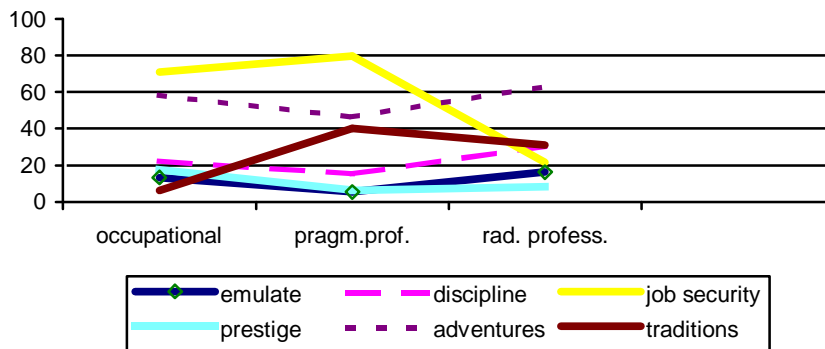
Table 1

Reason for joining	%
Looking for adventures (dynamic life)	29.6
Job security	21.4
Family tradition	13.4
Working in a disciplined organisation	13.0
Emulate some military personality	6.9
Social prestige	5.0

Source: Authors' elaboration

Two significant cross analysis we can carry on at this point. The first one is the crossing of the reasons for joining variables with the professional/ occupational attitude (see note 2).

Figure 1
Professional/Occupational positions and motivation to join compared*
(Spanish sample)



* Indifferent position is not considered because the low percentage of cadets in this position

Source: Authors' elaboration

This cross-tabulation shows that *professional* cadets present a rather different set of preferential motivations in respect of the *occupational* ones (Figure 1); they put in fact greater importance to a dynamic style of life, to the family traditions, to the intention to emulate some military personality. On the contrary, the prevalent motivation for occupational cadets is the job security of the military profession. These findings can be in some way expected, however they confirm that our dichotomy professional/occupational fits the purposes of the very research.

The second useful cross-analysis is to check if and how the importance of the above cited motivations changes as far as the cadet lives in the reality of the military academy, i.e. the trend through the academy years.

Notwithstanding the fact that these kinds of analysis should require a

diachronic procedure analysing the same cohort of cadets over time, from when they enter the military academy to when they leave, the findings presented here are concerned with different samples taken from different contemporary classes present in the academies. We have some reasons for assuming that this kind of analysis can give us results not very far from a cohort analysis⁴.

Table 2

Reasons for joining	First year	Second year	Third year	Forth year	Fifth year
Looking for adventures (dynamic life)	25.8	30.3	29.8	31.4	31.1
Job security	24.9	18.9	21.1	20.4	21.1
Family tradition	11.9	15.6	11.3	12.8	15.2
Working in a disciplined organisation	11.6	12.1	17.9	10.4	13.2
Emulate some military personality	8.5	5.0	7.6	7.9	5.6
Social prestige	6.0	6.6	2.5	5.8	3.9

Source: Authors' elaboration

Taking account of the different moods that can characterise the different investigated populations (according to the course), we can individuate a slight growing trend of the looking for adventures motivation, as far as the academy time is running; a stronger interest in the security of the military job in the first academy year, in respect of the following years; a declining trust in the social prestige of the military profession.

What is it similar and what different in the European data? The set of questions posed to European cadets⁵ is wider than the Spanish one (but all Spanish questions resulted to be included), therefore we have to consider the percentage of single items with caution.

Table 3

Reason for joining	%*	
	European data	Spanish data
Common reasons		
Looking for adventures (dynamic life)	7.7	29.6
Job security	3.3	21.4
Family tradition	2.5	13.4
Working in a disciplined organisation	5.5	13.0
Emulate some military personality	2.0	6.9
Social prestige	2.2	5.0
European reasons		

Interest in the military	8.5
Serving my nation	7.9
Interest in sports and physical activities	7.6
Willing leading men	7.0
Opportunities for education	7.0
Because of military ethics	6.0

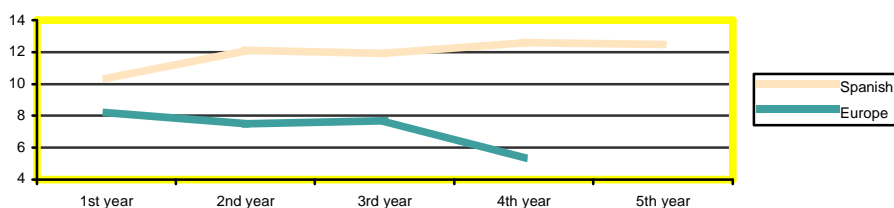
*Size of the European percentages is lower than the Spanish ones, because European cadets had the possibility to choose among 19 items, instead of 7 for Spain

Source: Authors' elaboration

As you can see from these data, as far as “common reasons” are concerned, the Spanish cadets show more or less the same positions in respect to their European colleagues for the two leading reasons: looking for adventures and because the job security of the military profession (this last with a different sharing). Among the other “common reasons”, we can realise that to work in a disciplined organisation is more important for the European cadets than for the Spanish ones. Another important remark is that for the European cadet the interest in the military matters and the will to play his/her part in serving ones country result the most important reasons for joining as a whole.

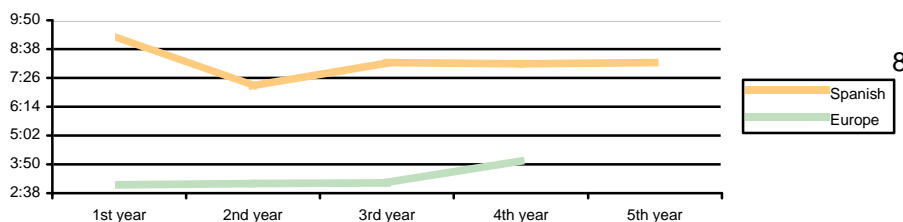
But what is the trend in such reasons along the academy years for the European cadets? Let us see that trend in comparison with the Spanish one for a couple of items (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2
Looking for adventures motivation –trend during the academy course



Source: Authors' elaboration

Figure 3
Job security motivation –trend during the academy course



Source: Authors' elaboration

Inside the European sample the search for a dynamic life seems to decrease along the academy years; on the contrary it is growing the importance of the job security. Strongly lowering is the percentage of cadets who give importance to work in a disciplined organisation. The Spanish cadet shows an opposite trend: the importance of looking for adventures is growing along the academy years, and the job security is chosen more by first year cadets than by these ones in the following years.

Another interesting comparison can be made crossing the cadets' motivations with their political position. Looking at the data, you can realise that some trends appear to be very similar in both samples, as far as you move from the left to the right side of the political position. Motivations like job security and social promotion are lowering if you move from the left to the right in both samples: on the contrary, the importance given to order and discipline is growing in both enquires along the same path, from left to right. Analysing the other items, you cannot find real contrast between the trends revealed by the political position of cadets .

Professional Identity

A question asking for the best qualities to be a good officer was present in both questionnaires, but 8 items only were coincident in both them⁶. Therefore a comparison can be made for general figures only.

Dealing with the European sample, we see that leadership is the most often accepted professional identity characteristic essential for a good military officer, supported by 50% or more of the sample, followed by responsibility, expertise, initiative, mental strength.

If we consider that professional identity refers to the self-definition of a professional group of either its members or its daily function or both, we can divide these characteristics into three categories, as follows:

- a. social (leadership, responsibility, co-operativeness, ...)
- b. individual (expertise, education, self-control, ...)
- c. military-traditional (patriotism, bravery, discipline, ...)

Dealing with this subdivision, we can see that European cadets (EC)

support social characteristics overall and, secondarily, the individual ones. Military-traditional values appear to be the least supported by respondents (Table 4).

We can therefore say that the cultural model of the officer that the cadets display appears everywhere in Europe to be characterised mainly by the social aspects, with a national differentiation that sees the percentage of adhesion to these aspects gradually fall as we move from north-western Europe to the south and east. This decreasing is matched by a higher percentage of choice of the individual characteristics in France, Italy and the Czech Republic, and of traditional military ones in Poland, but also in Italy.

The Spanish cadet shows a similar support to social characteristic (respect of subordinates, ability to make friends), albeit of different nature in respect to other European countries. He fits too the general geographical trend of South Europe countries, because the importance that he gives to some more traditional qualities (loyalty, readiness to make sacrifices, patriotism).

Table 4
Order of preference of best officer's qualities*

	EC	Czech Danish	French Greek	It. Lith.	Neth Pol.	Swe Switz.	Spanish					
Leadership	1	3	1	2	2	5	1	2	1	1	4	
Responsibility	2	7	3	6	8	13	9	1	4	3	2	
Expertise	3	2	5	1	1	1	6	8	12	9	6	6
Mental strength	4	1	4	5	5	19	2	3	8	5	12	
Initiative	5	17	2	8	6	8	12	4	9	4	3	
Patriotism	6	10	15	3	3	10	8	17	2	14	16	5
Determination	7	4	6	13	4	3	11	12	3	15	10	
Self-control	8	11	7	10	10	4	5	13	7	6	13	
Discipline	9	13	8	11	9	6	4	5	5	11	7	3
Open-mind	10	9	9	4	12	11	16	10	6	8	5	
Readiness to make sacrifices	11	12	12	7	11	2	10	14	13	10	17	2
Cooperate veness	12	19	19	16	15	16	14	6	15	2	8	
General education	13	8	10	12	16	9	7	9	11	12	4	
Bravery	14	14	13	9	14	7	3	18	16	13	18	7
Ability to undergo												

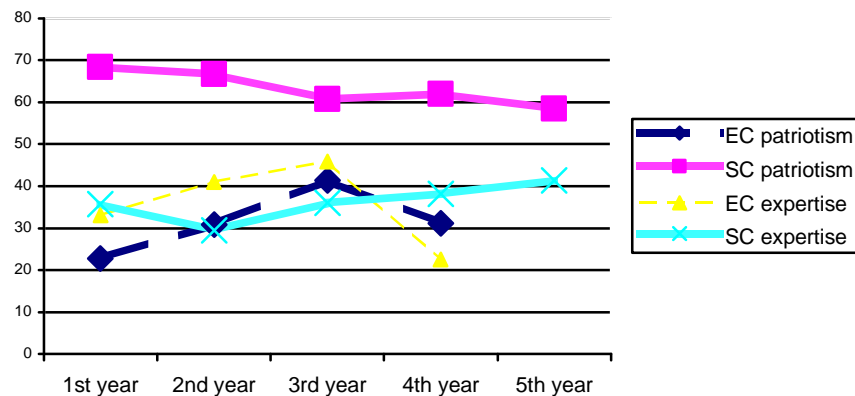
physical stress	15	5	11	14	7	17	13	11	10	7	14	8
Empathy	16	6	16	18	18	12	17	7	14	17	11	
Loyalty	17	15	14	17	13	14	15	15	18	16	15	
Ability to make friends	18	16	17	19	17	18	19	16	17	18	9	1
Obedience	19	18	18	15	19	15	18	19	19	19	19	

* The first five in order of preference are in bold characters

Source: Authors' elaboration

If we examine the socialisation effect, we see that some trends are common between these two samples, some other are in contrast. It is common the tendency towards a minor importance given to qualities as discipline, bravery, readiness to make sacrifices, going from the first to the last year of course. On the contrary, qualities as patriotism and expertise shows opposite trends (Figure 4), as patriotism choice grows up for the European cadet (see the regression line) and it decreases for the Spanish one. The reverse happens as far as expertise is concerned. However, what is interesting to note, looking at the numbers, is that percentages of European and Spanish cadets choice in these two items tend to approach during the socialisation process.

Figure 4
Trends of patriotism and expertise choice during the socialisation process



Source: Authors' elaboration

If we cross the frequencies of choices with the political position that

cadets declare (these questions are very similar in both questionnaires) we realise a common trend towards a more importance given to the ability to make friends for left oriented cadets in both samples. As for the other items no significant common or opposite trends according to political position can be found.

An analysis according to the professional/occupational position of cadets, shows some common features among the two samples and some different ones. The radical professional Spanish cadet share with the ideal type of the European one the most importance given to several officer's qualities, like expertise, bravery and readiness to make sacrifices. However, it seems to be really more radical than the European one, as he has the highest percentages in all the qualities here considered in both samples.

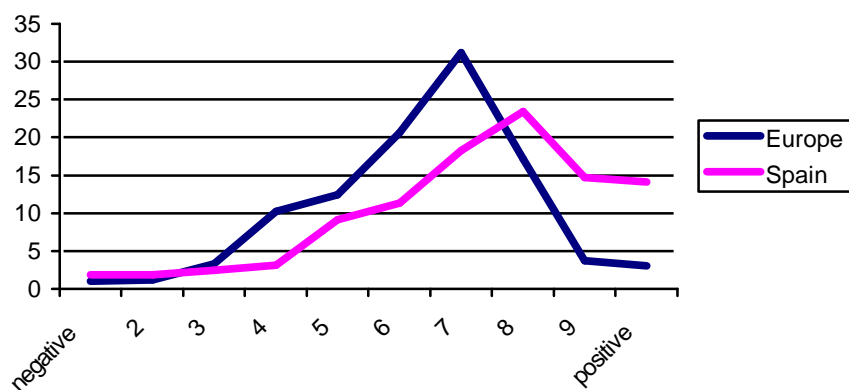
Summarising, we can say that the professional identity that the Spanish cadet has in mind is rather close to the one of the ideal type of EC, with some difference as far as the relative importance of qualities is concerned. Therefore, he seems follows the already observed trend when we move from the North-West of Europe to South-East. In particular he shows some similarities with the Italian one, but stressing more some traditional qualities (discipline, readiness to make sacrifices..): this is coherent with the major percentage of Spanish cadets laying in the radical professional position.

Cadets satisfaction and perceived social prestige

It is rather easy to compare what cadets feel is the social acceptance of the officers profession in both samples (the European and the Spanish one) because there are two very similar questions in both questionnaires. The average results are designed in the following figure 5, and, from that figure, you can draw the immediate perception that Spanish cadets has a more positive image of the public prestige of their future profession, as the cusp of their diagram is more or less one point ahead toward the positive end of the adopted scale.

Figure 5

Officer's prestige

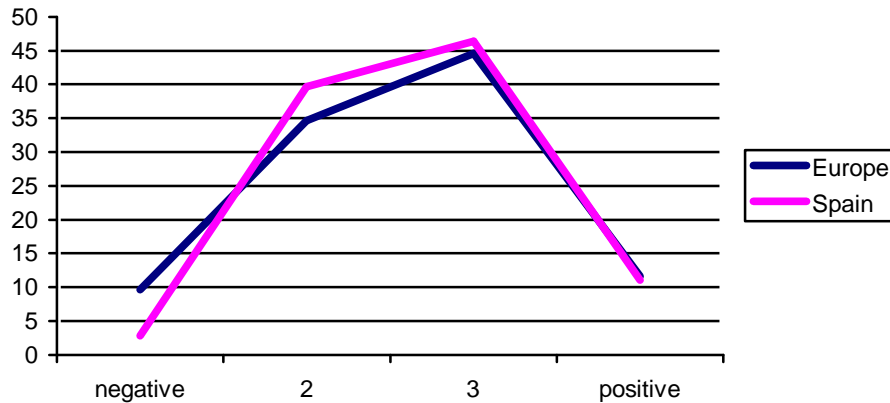


Source: Authors' elaboration

If we go deeper in comparing the Spanish data with the ones from each single country, we realise that Spanish data put its cadets in the middle of the group, where Danish, Dutch, French and Greek cadets perceive a larger public prestige than the Spanish one; and the Polish, Swedish, Lithuanian, Swiss, Italian and Czech ones follow in this scale.

A different situation results when we compare opinions by these two samples on the Armed Forces general image. In this case, the very graph shows that there is a similar trend in both cases, with a slight prevalence of positive judgments in the Spanish case.

Figure 6
Armed Forces image



Source: Authors' elaboration

Another common trend can be observed if we cross the perceived prestige of the officer's profession with the professional/occupational position of cadets. In fact, in both samples we realise a significant growing of positive judgment when we pass from cadets in the occupational position to those in the pragmatic professional one (more or less, ten percentage points); a slight less important increasing is done also when you pass from the pragmatic to radical professional cadets.

Therefore, we can state that the professional cadets have a more positive image of the professional prestige (a wishful thinking?) in respect to their occupational colleagues.

Dealing with the effects of the socialisation process, data show a slight decreasing of the professional positive image during that process in both samples. It seems that the day to day life inside the military institution drives cadets to reorganise and to cut down the image of the officer's professional prestige that they had in mind at the time of their anticipatory socialisation.

As far as the satisfaction about the choice to enter in the military academy is concerned, data show a very similar percentages of not satisfied cadets (26% of the EC average, 25% of the Spanish ones) but a very different rate of satisfied ones (57% for EC, 75% for Spain); this

difference is due to the high rate of missing answers (18%) in the EC sample⁷. In any case, generally speaking we have to state that Spanish cadet seems to be more satisfied of his/ her professional choice than the average of their European colleagues. Ranging by countries, we can say from the following table 5 that the Spanish cadet belongs to the set of the most satisfied.

Table 5
Satisfaction of the professional choice

Countries	Poland	Lithuania	France	Czech	Greece	Italy	Sweden	Spain	Switzerland	Netherland	Denmark
% of satisfied	39	46	49	52	54	59	71	75	77	77	97

Source: Authors' elaboration

A topic that could be considered rather linked with the level of satisfaction is the opinion that cadets have on the quality of their professional education: however, we cannot find here one reason for the lower level of satisfaction expressed by the European cadet, as they show a higher rate of approval of the received professional education than the Spanish one. This last expresses a strong opinion that the military education needs to be reformed (fully reformed, according to the 36% of respondents).

Crossing these variables with professional/occupational dichotomy, we can find in both samples that professional cadets, and particularly the radical professional, show a higher level of satisfaction than their occupational colleagues. On the contrary, dealing with the correspondence of the academy education with the needing of their future profession, we find an opposite trend in these two samples: the agreement with the professional education, in fact, grows when you pass from the occupational cadet to the professional (and, especially, radical professional) one in the Spanish sample, and it diminishes in the average EC sample.

But how marks the academy socialisation these two aspects? As for the satisfaction about the time spent in the academies, we can find a strong diminishing of the satisfaction during the academy courses for the Spanish cadet, while the EC shows a waving trend. Coming inside single countries,

we can see that in a set of countries cadets show the same diminishing trend as the Spanish ones: these countries are France, Greece and the Netherlands. In some other countries data show an opposite trend during the academy courses (Czech Republic, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland); while Italian and Lithuanian cadets share the waving trend of the European idealtype.

Exactly the same we have to say about the correspondence of the academy education with the needing of the officer profession: the rate of approval of the Spanish cadet become lower and lower year after year, while the EU cadet trend is a waving one again.

Table 6
Cadets' positive opinion on the academy education

Country/Course	1 st year	2nd year	3 rd year	4 th year	5 th year
Europe %	40	44	36	40	/
Spain %	66	52	42	36	29

Source: Authors' elaboration

Cadets political and social orientations⁸

The average for Spanish cadets on the ideological scale is 6.8, and is thus a position on the right⁹. Given the possibility of a dispersion of values it is more accurate to observe value distribution. Thus we observe that more than half the cadets adopt right-wing or far right positions, more than 2/3 in the case of cadets that are children of military personnel (Table 7).

Table 7
Distribution of Spanish ideological preferences

	Youth October 1997	Military Academy students* January/ February 2001	January 2001	February 2001	March 2002	Cadets January/ February 2001	Cadets, children of mil. personnel January/ February 2001
Left (1-2)	9.1	3.5	4.7	6.2	5.2	1.5	0.8
(3-4)	25.1	10.8	27.6	24.5	23.7	6.7	3.6
(5-6)	31.5	35.4	31.2	29.6	29.8	30.1	26.0
(7-8)	10.2	32.4	9.7	9.1	9.3	43.2	48.5
Right (9-10)	1.9	11.3	1.6	1.6	1.6	13.5	15.7

Dk/Da	22.2	6.4	25.2	29.1	30.2	5.0	4.3
(N)	(2423)	(2458)	(2486)	(2498)	(2499)	(996)	(369)
Mean	4.64	6.27	4.77	4.70	4.81	6.79	7.06
Dispersion	1.87	2.02	1.69	1.79	1.76	1.78	1.63
(N)	(1884)	(2300)	(1859)	(1773)	(1738)	(946)	(353)

*Cadets and noncommissioned officer students

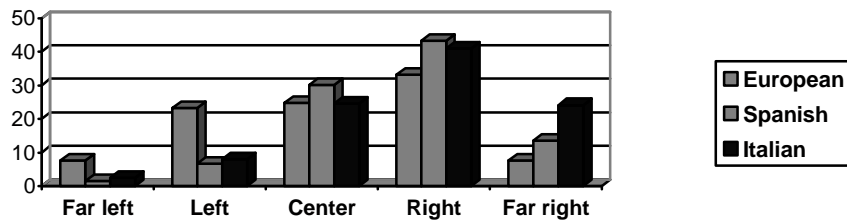
Source: CIS Study 2257 and "*Instituto de la Juventud*" October 1997. January 2001 CIS Barometer. Study 2406. February 2001 CIS. Barometer. Study 2409. March 2002 CIS Barometer. Study 2448
 Authors' elaboration.

The comparison between Spanish and European cadets in terms of ideological position shows (Table 7) a distance of fifteen points in left values (23.2% European and 6.7 Spanish cadets) and ten points in right values (33.2% as opposed to 43.2%). The European far left tendency is five points higher (7.6% as opposed to against 1.5%). The same happens, here with the figures favoring Spanish cadets, with regard to the center (24.7% as opposed to 30.1%) and the far right (7.6% as opposed to 13.5%). In short, European cadets are right-wing in the majority. The center and the left show similar percentages. Both extremes are equally distant. Country by country the situation is very different. In Denmark, Netherlands and Sweden more than 60% of cadets are on the right. In Switzerland, the Czech Republic and Lithuania the center is in first place (between 50% and 75%). In Poland most cadets are on the left (68%). Spain shows a range very similar to that of Italy. However, in Italy 24.1% choose a far right position while in Spain the figure is only 13.5%.

If we look at the Netherlands or Switzerland, cadets who are children of military personnel show an increase in the percentage those espousing right-wing ideology. A similar increase occurs in Spain (Table 7). If we analyze the European data by class structure, percentages for right-wing ideology go up in the lower classes. The Netherlands and Spain do not follow this dynamic, and the left increases in the lower class and the right in higher classes. At the end, checking the data against the professional/occupational position of cadets we observe two types of curve. One with the cusp on the left and a sharp drop just for the far right. This is the model for occupational and pragmatic professional European cadets.

The other imaginary curve is adopted for the indifferent and radical professional European and Spanish cadets. It presents a low percentage for left parameters, a high percentage in the center, the cusp and the right and a significant portion on the far right. The great difference is in the occupational and the radical professional Spanish cadets who make up a curve of the second type. Their preferential values are not on the left but on the right. Nevertheless they are the group with the highest percentage for the center.

Figure 7
Ideological positions of Spanish, Italian and European cadets



Source: Authors' preparation

Another question to compare is their involvement in different social contexts¹⁰. The overall results of both studies show the same logic (Table 8). The first place or maximum identification is for contexts of greater proximity. There is bad ranking and a worse identification for more distant spheres. With respect to the three categories analyzed (the city, Europe and the world), in both studies the order is equal. The local sphere is rated above the global. Europe and the world are at the bottom of the scale.

By ideology and professional/occupational position there are no variations. But if we look at the impact of academy socialisation we find that as cadets advance in their studies, their involvement in different social contexts (particularly international ones) is reduced. Cadets in their last year at the academy show the greatest disinterest in international affairs.

Table 8
Personal identification with different social contexts

Spain*		Europe	
Residence city	3.23	Family	1.84
Residence province	4.23	Yourself	2.82
Region	4.04	Country	3.34
European Union	5.40	Armed Forces	3.60
World	5.81	Platoon	3.92
Latin American Community	6.35	Academy Class	4.04
		Native city	4.04
		Europe	5.53
		World	5.99

*The European cadet always put one social context first and one at the end, while the Spanish cadet valued on a scale. So the distance of valuation between the different social contexts offered will be greater in the European study than in the Spanish

Source: Authors' preparation

If we analyze interest in politics¹¹ we find that the Spanish and European cadets coincide in percentages for extreme proposal possibilities (Table 9). The central proposals show a similar percentage (79.3% Spanish cadets and 71.6% European cadets) as well. The estimation of politics based on interest or based on attitude is similar. The occupational cadets have the lowest opinion of politics. The radical professionals and the pragmatic professionals have a greater interest in and more pronounced attitude to political affairs. One third of indifferent European cadets state: "I prefer to leave dealing with political affairs to more experienced people". Equally, one third of indifferent Spanish cadets choose: "do not know/ do not answer".

Table 9
Interest/attitude with regard to political affairs

Interest in politics	Spanish cadet	European cadet	Political attitude
Very much	9.4	13.2	I consider myself politically committed
Fairly	36.0	53.4	I keep up to date, but am not politically committed
Not very much	43.3	18.2	I prefer to leave dealing with political affairs to the more experienced people
Not at all	10.6	9.1	Political affairs disgust me
Dk/Da	0.6	6.1	Do not know, do not answer

Source: Authors' elaboration

The socialisation process in the academy process shows divergence.

Thus, the Spanish cadets present more interest in politics in their last year at the academy while European cadets in their last year have a greater lack of interest in politics. This goes back to an ideological divergence. The far left Spanish cadets have the greatest interest in politics and centrist cadets show the lowest rate of interest. European cadets that are most politically committed are on the far right, the right and centre; left-wing and far left cadets are those who dislike politics most.

Table 10
Confidence in or sympathy for social institutions

	Institutions	European cadet	Spanish cadet
Civil servants	Very much/Fairly	41.4	61.0
	Not very much/Not at all	52.7	38.3
	Don't know/don't answer	5.8	0.7
Teachers/ University	Very much/Fairly	72.5	72.2
	Not very much/Not at all	25.1	26.9
	Don't know/don't answer	2.5	0.8
Banks	Very much/Fairly	55.0	44.4
	Not very much/ Not at all	41.2	54.8
	Don't know/don't answer	3.8	0.7
Police	Very much/Fairly	66.6	84.3
	Not very much/ Not at all	31.2	14.7
	Don't know/don't answer	2.3	0.9
Unions	Very much/Fairly	19.4	25.4
	Not very much/ Not at all	68.7	72.8
	Don't know/don't answer	11.7	1.8
Government	Very much/Fairly	44.3	58.5
	Not very much/ Not at all	51.1	40.3
	Don't know/don't answer	4.7	1.2
Politicians/Political Parties	Very much/Fairly	17.2	29.0
	Not very much/Not at all	78.8	70.0
	Don't know/don't answer	4.0	1.0
Priest/Church	Very much/ Fairly	53.7	56.6
	Not very much/Not at all	31.8	41.1
	Don't know/don't answer	14.4	1.3
Judges/Judicial Administration	Very much/Fairly	86.1	56.2
	Not very much/Not at all	26.0	42.9
	Don't know/don't answer	5.9	0.9
Industrialists	Very much/Fairly	46.7	66.1
	Not very much/Not at all	43.8	33.1
	Don't know/don't answer	9.5	0.8
Journalists/Mass Media	Very much/Fairly	18.2	48.9
	Not very much/Not at all	75.4	50.1
	Don't know/don't answer	6.3	1.0

Source: Authors' preparation

With regard to confidence in or sympathy for social institutions¹², Table 10 shows that police, education and the judicial administration receive the highest evaluations from both groups. Mass media, trade unions and political parties get the lowest evaluations. Education and religion find a similarly positive reception in both groups. Police, civil servants and industrialists get a good evaluation too, but they get a higher evaluation from Spanish cadets than from the Europeans (over 20 points). The case of the government is similar, but differences are less extreme. For the Europeans the appreciation for the judicial administration and banks stands out. The latter receive a similar evaluation in European and Spanish studies, but in the data for Spanish cadets this institution is third from the bottom. Also interesting is the case of mass media. Both groups give this institution a low evaluation, but 75% of European cadets give it a bad evaluation, twenty five points above the figure for Spanish cadets.

When Weibull analyzed the European results she concluded that "experience of military education does not seem to have any general and observable impact on most officers' values (...) military academies do not primarily 'create' a new value set for the individual, but rather crystallize what is already there..." (1998: 68). With respect to Spanish cadets we can say the same. Socialization in the academy does not make new values, but it reinforces some tendencies course by course.

Cadets' opinion on the future task of Armed Forces¹³

Looking at the literature on defense produced by the Spanish government since 1996 we can summarize its position on international defense in terms of two ideas. First: "Shared Security and Collective Defense". This explains Spanish membership in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the WEU (Western European Union). Second: NATO, WEU and EU (European Union) are interconnected by the idea "separable but not to be separated".

So it is not surprising that Spanish cadets have a high opinion of the EU and NATO. 91% support European unification, 95% support Spanish

participation in WEU, 86% think that the best strategy is a common defense structure for Western European countries and 93% regard Spanish participation in NATO as a good decision. However, 91% say that Europe should be less dependent on the USA in defense.

In a comparison between Spanish and European cadets' opinion on the future task of the Armed Forces (Table 11) we find similarities and divergences. The principal similarity is the consideration that international tasks will be more important in the future, particularly peacekeeping functions. Neither of the two perceive the risk of an external or internal direct threat. So they give maximum importance to activities outside their own borders under the auspices of an international organization and including tasks for aiding civil society.

Table 11
Ranking of military tasks by future importance

Tasks	Will be more Important (SC)*	Will be more Important (EC)*
	%	
1 ^o Peacekeeping operations under the UN flag...	79	60
2 ^o Military actions under the supreme command of the UN...	70	47
3 ^o Peacekeeping operations in co-operation with other states	63	61
4 ^o Help in case of civil disasters	54	46
5 ^o Assistance in policing state borders (especially immigration)	51	43
6 ^o International arms-control missions	50	33
7 ^o Fight against organized drug dealing	25	56
8 ^o Protection and defense of the national territory	15	40
9 ^o Internal territorial control	16	52
10 ^o Ceremonial functions (state visits, guard of honor)	5	8

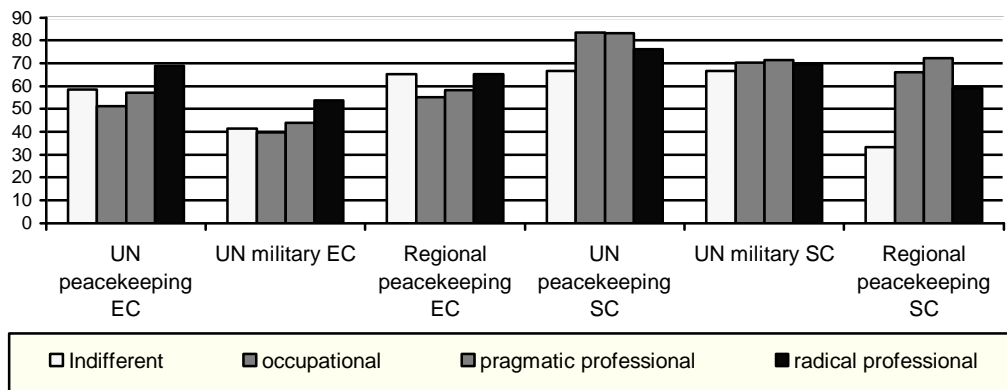
*EC= European cadets; SC= Spanish cadets

Source: Authors' preparation

Since Spanish results give a high importance to a peacekeeping tasks (UN, NATO, and WEU) we proposed to the cadets the creation of, "Permanent International Intervention Units" specifically for these special missions. Every cadet would have different possibilities for integration in these units. Only 7% rejected any sort of participation. The global balance is easy: There is a perception of the great importance of international missions. In addition, there is a desire to unify European defense, though without the Spanish armed forces losing their specific identity.

The comparison of data on international tasks between European and Spanish cadets, using Caforio y Nuciari (1994) typology, shows (Figure 8) that the Spanish answer is stronger than the European in terms of quantity. Moreover, in the Spanish case it is the pragmatic professional and the occupational cadet who give more future importance to the international tasks. In the European data it is always the radical professionals who stand out.

Figure 8
More important tasks for the armed forces in your country in the future



*EC= European cadets; SC= Spanish cadets
 Source: Authors' preparation

There also exists a similarity between Spanish and European cadets in the positions of importance attributed to traditional military functions: (i) protection and defense of the national territory¹⁴ and (ii) ceremonial functions (state visits, honor guards). The second is the least important for both groups. The differences begin with (i) “the fight against organized drug dealing” and (ii) “internal territorial control” (Table 11). Both are important for European cadets (third and fourth place in their ranking), whereas the Spanish put them at the end (eighth and ninth place). However, it is important to note that in Spain there is a quasi-military institution, the “Guardia Civil”, which, like the Italian “Carabinieri”, traditionally works in

these fields. It could be that this institution accounts for a number of cadets.

By year of academy, the Spanish data show how the first year cadets give more importance to all the functions –an average of five points– than the rest. In fourth and fifth year cadets the percentages decrease. This tendency is broken on the subject of two tasks: (i) Military actions under the supreme command of the UN, NATO or WEU and (ii) Ceremonial functions. In both groups, of all five courses, first year cadets give these tasks the worst evaluation. On the other hand, the fifth year cadets give more future importance than the rest –five points over the average– to “military actions under the supreme command of the UN, NATO or WEU”.

The European cadets, less than Spanish cadets, show a decreasing tendency to attribute importance to tasks as they spend more time at the academy. This tendency is not followed in three functions (Ceremonial functions, Assistance in policing national borders and Protection and defense of the national territory) and, as in the Spanish case, it is the last year cadets who are at the top. Unlike data for Spain, the three most important tasks are not the same for all the years at the academy. The first three years cite peacekeeping under the UN flag or in co-operation with other countries as the two most important tasks. Cadets in their last year, however, choose “the protection and defense of the national territory”, the “fight against organized drug dealing” and “the assistance in policing national borders (especially immigration)”.

If we analyze the data by ideological bias, we find that right and far right European cadets attribute a high importance to the tasks under an international organization, with other states or for internal territorial control. Left and far left cadets, on the other hand, tend to give priority to the fight against organized drug dealing and the protection and defense of the national territory. Finally, centrist European cadets appear as the ideological group that gives more future importance to help in the event of civil disasters. On the other hand emphasize the answer Spanish homogeneity. All the ideological sectors put activities under the auspices of an international organization or under accord between nations in the first places. Nevertheless, we can observe that evaluations go down from left to

right. Without considering the far left group –fifteen cadets– we see that assistance in policing state borders and the protection and defense of the national territory are considered more important by the rightist Spanish cadets. So the comparison between European and Spanish cadets by ideology shows a great diversity: The European leftist cadets give priority to the “protection and defense of the national territory”, a question that is not important in Spain, but is more highly regarded by the Spanish cadets on the right.

Sociodemographic data¹⁵

The European questionnaire asks: In what sort of environment did you spend most of your childhood up to the age of 14? Whereas the Spanish questionnaire says: What is the population of the town where you have lived most of your life? Both give five graded possibilities. Whereas in Europe there is an equal distribution between urban and rural origins (Sweden or Lithuania are a good example of this configuration) in Spain origin is almost purely urban (80%). By countries (Table 12) the urban Spanish structure is similar to Greece, Italy or France. But even in the more urban countries rural origin remains important (20%, 33.5% and 33.3% respectively) while in Spain it is 8.7%. Poland is the antithesis of Spain in this respect; 65.2% of cadets are of rural origin and only 15.1% come from urban environments.

Table 12
Childhood environment

	%				
	Big city	City	Suburb	Village	Small village
Spain	63.7	16.5	11.2	6.8	1.9
Denmark	7.3	31.7	34.1	26.8	--
France	22.4	35.6	8.7	11.2	22.1
Greece	38	36	6	14	6
Italy	22.9	40.1	3.5	26.9	6.6
Sweden	11.3	34	8.7	21.5	24.5
Lithuania	18	31.6	3.6	32.4	14.4
Poland	8.1	7.0	19.8	40.3	24.9

Source: Authors' elaboration

Age is a little bit higher in the Spanish case than for the European research. But, country by country, Spain has the seventh place among ten (Table 13).

Table 13
Average Ages of European Cadets

	Italy		Greece		France		Sweden		Netherlands
Lithuania	Czech Republic		Poland		Spain		Denmark		
19.70	20.97	21.07	21.90	22.14	22.78	22.86	23.76	24.52	24.53*

*The typical deviation reaches 13.64.

Source: Authors' preparation

Poland is the country that best represents the educational level for European cadets' parents (Table 14). Spain, near the average, has a position similar to Danish cadets with respect to fathers' level of education and similar to Greek cadets as regards mothers' level of education. Lithuania and the Netherlands show the lowest educational level for the parents, and France the highest. In general, except in Denmark and Italy, the mother's level of education is lower than the father's.

Table 14
Parents' educational level

	Father			Mother		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Spain	29.1	27.4	43.5	49.3	22.3	28.5
Denmark	34.1	22.0	43.9	17.5	42.5	40.0
France	12.9	21.2	65.9	16.2	31.4	50.4
Greece	--	62.0	38.0	28.9	60.0	11.1
Italy	8.1	72.9	18.6	13.2	64.8	20.0
Sweden	15.0	40.0	45.0	5.0	60.0	35.0
Lithuania	71.8	28.2	--	79.1	20.9	--
Poland	30.0	42.5	27.3	31.0	44.0	25.0
Czech Republic	11.4	64.3	24.3	13.8	68.1	18.1
Netherlands	75.8	24.2	--	83.7	16.3	--
Mean	28.82	40.47	30.65	33.77	43.03	22.81

Source: Authors' preparation

Moelker and Soeters (1998), following the study by Abrahamsson (1972), believe in using for the father's work the categories "lower class", "middle class", "upper class", "officer" and "other military". Adapting the Spanish data to Moelker and Soeters' categories (Table 15) the number of

cadets whose father is an officer, non-commissioned officer or policeman is highly significant. Spain has the first place in the ranking of this European category.

The distribution of Spanish cadets' values is similar to that of the Italian cadets, but with one important difference. The middle class category in Italy corresponds to the sum of the figures for officers and other military personnel for Spain. And the sum for Italian officers and other military personnel is equal to the figure for the Spanish middle class. The percentage for lower class Italian parents is similar to Spanish one; the upper class is similar in both countries. Finally, the sum of Italian percentages for middle class, officers and other military personnel is similar to the Spanish figure for the same categories. To summarize, in Spain and Italy cadets come from a similar family structure –in economic terms, officers and other military personnel are middle class– but Spain shows an endogamic process.

Table 15
Social origins of European cadets

	Lower class	Middle class	Upper class	Officers	Other military
Spain	13	25	21	33	8
Czech Rep.	59	25	7	9	--
France	5	21	46	17	11
Netherlands	14	30	39	8	9
Italy	11	48	18	13	10
Sweden	22	45	24	9	--
Lithuania	27	58	6	8	--
Poland	39	28	6	27	--
Mean	24	35	21	15	5

Source: Authors' preparation

Discussion

A good place to begin a comparison of the ideal-type of the Spanish cadets with the European ones –understood as average of the data resulting from the research conducted in this area (Caforio, 1998)– is an examination of the reasons for the cadets' professional choice. The differences in profile for this aspect essentially show that the Spanish cadet ascribes greater importance to job security as a significant motivation for

choosing the military profession. This importance increases for respondents who show a typically occupational mentality and decreases during the socialisation process at the academies, paralleling the European trend.

From the standpoint of professional mentality, the Spanish cadets share a prevalent strong professional attitude with their European counterparts. In addition in the Spanish academies, as in those of the other European countries, one cadet out of three shows an occupational mindset. Nevertheless, the higher percentage of radical professional attitudes among the Spanish cadets with respect to the European average puts them in a closer position to their counterparts in neighbouring countries like France and Italy, where interviewees show similar higher percentages (Caforio 1998, p. 21).

Among the Spanish cadets, as among the other European ones, radical professional attitudes decline with the number of years of study, shifting toward more pragmatic professional and occupational views. This confirms that everywhere in Europe, contact with everyday life in the reality of military institutions progressively leads students to give more importance to practical issues than to ethical military values.

The Spanish ideal-type and the European one share other common reasons for choosing a military career, such as a spirit of adventure that leads to the search for a dynamic lifestyle, but a contemporaneous desire to work in a disciplined, organised context as well.

The professional identity that the Spanish cadets have in mind is close to the European average: they, too, lean to the social qualities of character in self-defining their professional group. Despite this similarity, however, a few national characterisations come to the fore, where the Spanish cadet gives greater importance to more traditional qualities of the military profession also, such as readiness to make sacrifices, discipline and patriotism –an attitude that is consistent with the higher percentage of Spanish cadets situated in the radical professional position, however. These characterisations place Spanish cadets in positions close to those of their counterparts from countries of South-eastern Europe, especially Italy.

The Spanish cadets perceive higher social acceptance and greater prestige of the profession that they have embraced than the European average, putting themselves alongside colleagues from countries where this perception is strongest, namely Denmark, the Netherlands and France. The degree of satisfaction for the professional choice made is also higher than the European average.

This satisfaction does not appear to come from the quality of the education received at the military academies, however: the assessment of the level and suitability of this education is lower than the European average for the Spanish cadet, and also shows a steeply declining trend during the professional socialisation process. The fact that, as the time spent at the academy passes, the number of respondents who give positive assessments of the education they have received drops from 66 per cent in the first year to 29 per cent in the fifth, compared to a constant trend (around 40 per cent) for the European average, seems to be a datum deserving of deeper investigation.

As far as the Spanish cadets' ideological position is concerned, we find that it is similar to that of the Italians and different from the European cadets, who have more leftist or centrist positions. Right-wing positions are more frequent among Spanish cadets who are children of military personnel and those from the upper class.

The Spanish cadet does not show great interest in politics. The radical professionals and the pragmatic professionals have more interest in it than indifferent and occupational cadets. In the European cadets, the lack of interest grows with each year spent at the academy, while among Spanish cadets the tendency is in the opposite direction.

If we compare the cadets' involvement in different social contexts, we find that both the European and the Spanish cadets feel more closely identified with their city and less with Europe and the world. The socialisation process at the academy increases the international identification.

With regard to confidence in social institutions, the Spanish and the European cadets show the same position: police, education and judicial

administration are the most highly respected institutions, and trade unions and political parties are those viewed with the least esteem. In general, academy life does not create new values, but the socialisation process that takes place there reinforces the values and ideas of their initial (anticipatory) socialisation. The unique significant landmark with respect to the EC sample is the relatively high trust that the Spanish cadet has in journalists and the mass media, compared to the very low esteem in which they are held by cadets of the other European countries.

Turning to the theme of the importance of future tasks, we can observe how the Spanish cadet has a certain consistency in his/her perception of international tasks. This is a constant by class year, by ideology and by professional typologies. The European cadet puts functions of an international nature in preferential positions too, but unlike for Spain, here the ideological position seems to be influential. In general, unlike the Spanish cadet, the European cadet views the fight against organized drug dealing and internal territorial control as two important tasks.

Looking at the sociodemographic data, we find that the European cadets are equally rural and urban, while the Spanish cadets come chiefly from urban environments. The social origin of the Spanish cadet, deduced as usual from the father's profession, reveals a subdivision by social stratum that is quite homogeneous with the European average, but with less representation of the lower class (13 per cent compared to an average of 24) counterbalanced by a strong provenance from the middle class. This is actually due to a particular, completely Spanish phenomenon, however, namely the very strong rate of endorecruitment: sons and daughters of military personnel make up 41 per cent of the entire Spanish sample, versus an European average of 20 per cent. In particular, specific endorecruitment –offspring of officers– is very high, reaching 33 per cent of the total in the Spanish sample.

In conclusion, in a comparison of the Spanish cadets with those of other individual countries, we note that for many aspects they are quite close to the Italian cadets and to the French ones, albeit to a lesser degree;

however, they differ from these ideal-types in their perception of a higher social prestige of their future profession and in their broader satisfaction for the professional choice made. They differ from most of the other European countries in regard to their negative evaluation of the education received at the military academies and, especially, for the worsening trend of this assessment during their years of study.

Generally speaking, the set of data examined and discussed here shows a substantial –and expected– kinship of the Spanish cadets with their European colleagues, with a few peculiar and quite differentiated characteristics for which it will be interesting to evaluate how much is due to a national specificity and how much to a transition process that is still ongoing in Spanish armed forces education. From this standpoint a repeat survey of the type conducted by the General Gutiérrez Mellado University Institute within a very few years would be both interesting and desirable.

Notes

1. Cross-national empirical researches carried out in the sociology of the military during the nineties (Europe):

Subject	Countries	Numbers	Time	Publication
Change in the military profession in Europe	Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, U.K.	4,659	1991-1992	"The Military Profession Europe", <i>Current Sociology</i> , vol. 42, n. 3, Winter 1994
Professional socialisation in military academies	Czech Rep., Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland	2,850	1995-1996	<i>The European Cadet: Professional Socialisation in Military Academies. A Cross-national Study</i> . Baden-Baden, Nomos, 1998
European defence restructuring: the military view	Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Slovenia, Switzerland	922	1999-2000	<i>European Defence Restructuring: Military and Public View</i> . Luxembourg, Official Publications of the EC, 2001
Who carries out research in the sociology of the military and in what conditions in different countries?	20 countries	33	1999	"Social research and the military: A cross-national expert survey" in <i>Handbook of the Sociology of the Military</i> . New York, Kluwer, 2003
Officers' professional	Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland,	371	2000	<i>The Flexible Officer: Professional Education and</i>

education and
MOOTW

Russia, South Africa,
Sweden, U.S.

*Military Operations Other
Than War. A Cross-national
Analysis*, Gaeta, Artistic
Publishing Company, 2001

This list is not exhaustive

2. As for the professional/occupational dichotomy, we identified four attitudes: officers who are indifferent both toward professional and occupational positions; officers who clearly belong to the occupational group; officers who have both professional and occupational characteristics (we called them *pragmatic professional*), and officers who clearly belong to the very professional group (we called them *radical professional*).
3. The items that we can compare in both questionnaires on this subject are the following ones:
Spanish quest. European quest.
P3, P4 D1_1, D1_4, D1_9, D1_10, D1_11, D1_14
As questions are posed according to a different scheme of answering, we have to use the MRGOUP procedure (SPSS PC program) to get an average value from the two answers in the Spanish questionnaire and from the five answers in the European quest. In order to easily compare percentages from two different sets of answers (two answers in the Spanish quest., five answers in the European one), We weighted them, dividing Spanish percentages by two and the European ones by five. This is a strict statistical comparison only. But, widening our exam, we shall consider the all set of reasons to join for Spanish cadets as well as for European cadets.
4. This assumption is not totally aprioristic: at the Army Academy in Italy, both transversal and longitudinal surveys were carried out and later compared. The results were summarized as follows: "*It must be observed that the data of the two classes in their second year at the Academy (174th and 176th) are very similar, and that the trends identified by the transversal survey seem to be confirmed by the longitudinal survey*" (Caforio, 1994).
5. When we speak of European cadets, we intend students in the military academies of the countries investigated in our 1996 research (Caforio, 1998), i.e.: Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland.
6. That question was a closed one and 19 items were present in the EU questionnaire and 13 in the Spanish one.
7. The option of "I can't answer to this question" was not present in the Spanish questionnaire; but, anyway, the number of missing answers was not significant in that one (0,8%). Among the European countries investigated, the highest percentage of the undecided cadets appear in Poland and Lithuania and it seems significant to observe that cadets from these two countries show the lowest level of satisfaction about their choice (Table 3).
8. The items that we can compare in both questionnaires on this subject are the following:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Spanish quest.
P146, P166-177, P198, P200, P203, P205 | European quest.
D4, D12, D 13, D 14 |
|--|--|
9. We are dealing with a ten point scale, where 1 means extreme left and 10 extreme right.
 10. The European answers gave nine possibilities for ranking by degree of involvement. The Spanish questionnaire offered five fields for doing an evaluation in terms of personal identification. With the objective of benefiting from comparison we have decided to choose three similar possibilities: the city (place of birth or residence), Europe (European Union or all of Europe) and the world. We worked only with means and for making comparisons we have converted Spanish results to adjust to the European system of measurement.
 11. We again work with similar but not identical answers. In the case of Spain we ask about interest in politics. For the European cadets the question was: What is your attitude towards politics? The object of the question is quite different. Nevertheless, checking two questions could give us a comparative outline of political ideas in European and Spanish cadets. We can agree that the cadet who has "a great interest in politics" is someone who would say: "I consider myself politically committed". And the cadet who has "no interest at all in politics" is someone who might say: "Political affairs disgust me". In order to make a comparison we decided to check the extreme positions and join the two middle positions.
 12. "Confidence" in the European questionnaire, "sympathy" in the Spanish one.
 13. The items that we can compare in both questionnaires on this subject are the following:

Spanish quest.:	European quest.
P80- P89	D15_1-D15_10
 14. On this point the Greek cadets show a big difference when compared to Spanish and to European cadets (Smokovits, 1998: 148).
 15. The items that we can compare in both questionnaires on this subject are the following:

Spanish quest.:	European quest.
P234- P273	D28-D37

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