Perceptions of Trust and National Perspectives in Multinational Crisis Management: An Examination of the European Union Military Strategic Level

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Perceptions of Trust and National Perspectives in Multinational Crisis Management

An Examination of the European Union Military Strategic Level

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Perceptions of Trust and National Perspectives in Multinational Crisis Management: An Examination of the European Union Military Strategic Level

Olof Ekman

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Abstract
This thesis is motivated by an increasing degree of unfamiliarity and prominence of national dimensions in multinational crisis management. The research rationale rests on the argument that trust is important but may erode when roles conflict, which in turn may result when stakeholder interests diverge. The thesis describes trust and national perspectives in terms of role conflict in an EU Operations Headquarters (OHQ) as part of the developing EU crisis management apparatus. The results show that trust is generally important and relies primarily on a shared history. A starting capital of trust for unfamiliar others may be derived from depersonalised sources, mainly in terms of the trustee’s organisational affiliation and role occupancy. When situational interpretations diverge a trustor may employ coping strategies, which include efforts to make sense of the trustee’s behaviour. National perspectives are likely to be evident in an OHQ. However, national perspectives do not necessarily lead to role conflicts and detrimental effects on trust. National perspectives may be motivated by operational concerns as well as by patriotism or self-serving interests.
This project has been an intellectual journey with many obstacles and crossroads. Without a great number of people who helped me navigate them I would not have been able to arrive at the finishing line. I am especially indebted to my supervisors Professor Kurt Petersen, Professor Berndt Brehmer and Assistant Professor Henrik Tehler who patiently encouraged, guided and inspired my work. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Jan Kuylenstierna who provided engaged and invaluable help in the world of mazes which constitute statistical analysis. The concerted effort of these people helped me steer away from paths likely to lead to cul-de-sacs, paths that I otherwise would have gladly followed. Together their remarkable abilities to clarify and re-interpret problems helped me transform problems into opportunities to learn and develop.

My centres of gravity for the last years have been the Department of Fire Safety Engineering and Systems Safety at Lund University and the Department of Command and Control Science at the Swedish National Defence College in Stockholm. I cannot emphasise enough the importance of the positive working atmosphere in these settings for my work. In Lund, Assistant Professor Lars Fredholm gently introduced me to the fascinating world of crisis management research and Dr. Marcus Abrahamsson, Dr. Kerstin Eriksson, and Dr. Per Becker came to join him both as friends and mentors. In Stockholm Dr. Eva Jensen, Joakim Rydmark, Håkan Forsmark and other colleagues kindly accepted me as part of the group and tirelessly offered constructive criticism which helped me develop a scientific mindset. In addition, the crucial support and understanding of my superiors over the years, especially Colonel Bo Klingvik and Lieutenant Colonels Stefan Ekdahl and Anders Josefsson, not only paved the ground for the present thesis but also enabled the year-long field study which constitutes its backbone.

Crucial for the field-study was also the tolerance and support of my European colleagues in the multinational staff at Fort Mont-Valérien outside Paris. In the midst of a demanding live operation they not only afforded their valuable time to openly answer my questions, but also allow me to combine my formal duties with my
research efforts. In this respect I am particularly indebted to General Philippe Beny (French Army), Colonels Konstantinos Ampatzidis (Greek Army), Con McNamara (Irish Army), Carol Paraniak (Swedish Army) and Lars Jäderblom (Swedish Air Force).

Also a number of others have been instrumental for my effort. Among these I extend a special thanks to Dr. Christian Uhr, Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, and to Lieutenant Colonel Hans-Göran Olsson and Major Oscar Peterson, Swedish National Defence College, who made it possible to conduct this thesis’ experimental study.

In addition to the assistance described above I am also deeply grateful for the never-ending support from my family. Absolutely crucial for completing this journey have been my parents Kerstin and Runar, my sister Sofia and my wife Eva. My parents’ strong belief in me has given the strength to endure, my sister provided a calm countryside sanctuary during the write-up and, above all, my wife has with the patience of an angel provided the conditions necessary for me to pursue this personal ambition.

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Summary

This thesis investigates whether role conflicts relating to national perspectives exist in EU Operations Headquarters (EU OHQ) and, if so, if they are associated with a loss of trust. The question is motivated by an increasing degree of unfamiliarity and prominence of national dimensions in multinational crisis management in the context of the developing EU crisis management apparatus. The research rationale rests on the argument that trust is important in crisis management but may erode when roles conflict, which in turn may result when stakeholder interests diverge. The research effort combines literature studies, participating observation, interviews, surveys and experimental studies, which makes this thesis both qualitative and quantitative. The results are reflected in six papers (appended).

The results show that trust is generally important in crisis management and relies primarily on a shared history. Crisis management professionals may derive a starting capital of trust for unfamiliar others from depersonalised sources, mainly in terms of the trustee’s organisational affiliation and role occupancy. When situational interpretations diverge between military professionals they may employ trust-preserving efforts to make sense of others’ behaviour, here termed coping strategies. National perspectives are defined as individuals’ focus on national objectives or preference for national resources before foreign resources. Such perspectives are likely to be evident in an EU OHQ, especially with staff members from nations with particular interests in the operation, but not prominent enough to constitute a norm. However, national perspectives do not necessarily lead to role conflicts and detrimental effects on trust. Isolated from their social contexts individuals in multinational crisis management contexts are more likely to display national perspectives in decision making when representing a marginal sub-group compared to when representing a dominant sub-group. They are also more likely to display national perspectives when they are more familiar with their parent-nation resources compared to nationally foreign resources. Taken together, national perspectives may be motivated by operational concerns as well as by patriotism or self-serving interests. In this respect no differences between civilians and military personnel are evident.
Sammanfattning

Avhandlingen undersöker om rollkonflikter som resultat av nationella perspektiv existerar i EU operativa högkvarter (OHQ) och i så fall om sådana konflikter leder till minskat förtroende. Frågan är motiverad av att okända samverkanspartners och nationella dimensioner i multinationell krishantering är allt vanligare kombinerat med antagandet att förtroende är viktigt i krishantering. Frågan är aktuell i samband med EU:s militära krishanteringsförmåga som är under uppbyggnad. Forskningen kombinerar litteraturstudier, deltagande observation, intervjuer, enkäter och experiment, vilket gör avhandlingen blandat kvalitativ/kvantitativ. Resultaten speglas i sex papers (bifogade).

### List of Appended Papers

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<tr>
<td>Paper IV</td>
<td>Ekman, Olof, <em>The Influence of National Affiliation in Multinational Endeavours: a Case Study</em>, presented at the 15th International Command and Control Research and Technology Symposium (ICCRTS), Santa Monica, CA, June 2010 (peer reviewed conference)</td>
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Definitions

This section defines some of the central and specialist terms used in the present thesis, with the appreciation that the meaning of some terms may not be obvious for the reader. In particular, the military terminology differs from that of its civilian counterparts, which may be confusing.

The present thesis uses the term ‘crisis management’. While ‘management’ may appear to be a term belonging to the field of economics and business, the choice is motivated by the diverging meanings and values associated with the terms normally used in civil and military contexts. Civil contexts often prefer the term ‘coordination’ to signify the direction of resources for a common goal, while the global military community has a tradition in the term ‘command and control’ to signify the same meaning and often views the term ‘coordination’ as a subset to command and control (Uhr, 2009:60-61). To avoid confusion, the present thesis uses the term ‘crisis management’ to describe a common effort to address societal disruptions, which thus embraces both the civilian ‘coordination’ and the military ‘command and control’.

The reader will also encounter the term ‘strategic level’. The military community distinguishes among three different levels of crisis management: tactical, operational and strategic. While these levels in reality overlap, the general meaning of these terms may be briefly described as follows: The tactical and operational level mainly refer to the management of allocated resources in shorter timeframes. The strategic level refers to the level immediately below the political level, concerning operational design, longer timeframes and the creation of objectives, resources and preconditions necessary for the subordinate levels to accomplish their tasks (US Army, 2010:2.8).

Other central concepts are ‘roles’, ‘norms’, ‘trust’, ‘national perspectives’, “EU crisis management” and ‘Operations Headquarters’. Some of these terms are described in more detail in the Theory chapter, but for ease of reading the following briefly presents the present thesis’ understandings of these concepts.

Norms are standards associated with an individual’s social identity, underpinned by the values, goals and beliefs held by the individual’s social group of reference. Most individuals have multiple social identities and thus also multiple sets of norms. The most salient social identity in a certain situation is thus likely to guide action (Smith
and Terry, 2003:339; Smith and Louis, 2008:650; Jacobsen Mortensen and Cialdini, 2011:445-6). Roles are understood as the set of behavioural expectations associated with a certain social identity as experienced by an individual. Roles are the interactive dimension norms in contexts outside the social group of reference (Stets and Burke, 2000; 234; Sundstein, 1996:928)

Trust is defined as “the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party” (Mayer, Davis and Shoorman, 1995:712). This definition reflects mainstream theory, and while other scholars sometimes equate trust with cooperation, predictability and confidence, trust is here seen as distinct from these concepts. First, cooperation may occur in the absence of trust since cooperation does not necessarily put a party at risk. Second, predictability may also exist in the absence of trust since a party may be predictably unreliable (Mayer et al., 1995:712-714). Third, confidence is at hand when alternatives are not considered, whereas trust is at hand when an action is chosen in spite of the acknowledged possibility to be disappointed (Luhmann, 2000:97-98).

The term ‘national perspective’ is specific for the present thesis. It signifies individuals’ attitudes and behaviour when part of a multinational collective with a common set of goals. National perspectives are defined as the individuals’ non-malevolent focus on national objectives, or preference for national resources before foreign resources, self-reported or perceived by others, which cannot be readily motivated by supranational arguments. National perspectives, which are not necessarily unfair, illegitimate or unjustifiable, are seen as possibly influenced by, but distinct from, the concepts of nationalism and patriotism. Daniel Druckman describes nationalism as an aggressive promotion of one’s own nation state over foreign states, and patriotism as an emotionally laden identification with one’s own nation state but without hostility towards other states (Druckman, 1994:63-64). While both these concepts are nation state oriented, they are neither necessarily associated with a multinational context nor is their expression always important to others. In some of the appended papers the term national bias is used, but is to be regarded as a synonym for national perspectives.

The term ‘EU crisis management’ here refers to the implementation of the EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) as a military-led crisis management operation. It is studied in the context of an Operations Headquarters (OHQ), which represents the EU military-strategic level of crisis management. In social terms the OHQ is a military collective consisting of temporarily co-located and nationally
different professionals seconded to the OHQ by their parent nations. As such, these individuals’ roles as national officers co-exist with their supranational roles as EU representatives in their capacity as OHQ staff members.

Finally, a short note on the terms ‘crisis’ and ‘risk’ is motivated by the depth and variety of meanings associated by scholars and practitioners in this field, even though these terms are not central in this thesis. The term crisis is here understood as a synonym for ‘emergency’ and ‘disaster’. This makes the term broad, encompassing both intentional and non-intentional states of an outer system, as well as different degrees of societal disruption. Finally, the term ‘risk’ is defined as what bad things can happen, how likely is it, and what are the consequences. This aligns the concept of risk with the common views in research on crises, emergencies and disasters.
1 Introduction

Rationale

The aim of the present thesis is to better understand the risk for role conflicts stemming from multiple stakeholders’ interests on the strategic level of European Union (EU) military-led crisis management. This aim is motivated by an increasing degree of unfamiliarity and prominence of national dimensions in multinational crisis management, together with the EU Operations Headquarters (OHQ) as part of the developing EU crisis management apparatus. The research rationale rests on the argument that trust is important in crisis management but may erode when roles conflict, which in turn may result when stakeholder interests diverge. The focus on the EU strategic level translates the term ‘stakeholders’ to the EU as a supranational stakeholder and to individual Member States as national stakeholders. The term ‘roles’, which will be returned to in the Theory chapter, translates into the expectations facing military professionals in their capacity as both national officers and EU OHQ staff members. The thesis objective is thus to describe trust and national perspectives in terms of role conflict for military professionals in an EU OHQ.

In general, scholars have long maintained that trust is important for organisation management (Bachman and Zaheer, 2006:3) and especially so in situations of crisis (Mishra, 1996: 276-277). The issue of trust becomes central when crisis management involves several organisations. For example, Donald Moynihan finds that trust complements authority by fostering cooperation and problem solving between agencies, reducing conflict over authority, resulting in quicker decisions and actions, encouraging information sharing and helping incorporate new actors in crisis management networks (Moynihan, 2009:909). Megan Thompson describes multinational military-led crisis management as possibly the ultimate ad-hoc collaborative effort, as typically risks are high, the costs of failure are grave, timelines are pressing and cultures diverge (Thompson, 2008:1). It is therefore not surprising that trust is argued to be essential for the success of multinational and multi-cultural military efforts (e.g. McKee, Febbraro and Riedel, 2008:9-4). However, the chains of influence in such efforts are not always unified. For example, Ahlquist, Brehmer and Buxrud (2001:146) note that military commanders in UN operations may receive
orders directly from their capitals rather than via the force commander, while Thompson notes that stakeholder interests are likely to compete with situational demands (Thompson, 2008:1).

In non-crisis settings, role conflicts and ambiguities stemming from multiple stakeholders have been found to result in undesirable consequences for organisations (Goode, 1960:495; Rizzo, House and Lirtzman, 1970:150-154; Johnson, 1999:68; Vora and Kostova, 2007:343). This may have implications for trust, as trust in temporary teams has been argued to rely heavily on each member’s faithful role enactment (Meyerson, Weick and Kramer, 1996:190). Role conflicts may thus be problematic for ad-hoc crisis management organisations and the increasing globalisation and more temporary nature of multinational crisis management may also make role conflicts more likely today than before. Angela Febbraro observes that the last decades’ development has led to a greater prominence of unfamiliar partners and multinationalism occurring lower down in the crisis management organisation. She argues that this allows capitals to project national interests further into the organisation than before (Febbraro, 2008:3.1), thus creating parallel chains of command. This leads to the general question whether national perspectives actually exist and create role conflicts in such organisations, and if so, whether trust suffers as a result. If so then crisis management success may be at stake, ultimately with increased societal costs as a result.

This general question becomes specific when asked in the context of the developing EU crisis management structures. The EU focus is motivated by the Union’s challenge and, with the Lisbon Treaty, increased ambition to act on the global arena as a unified and resourceful actor, in which appropriate and effective command structures and headquarters capability are seen as key (Council, 2008:9). Underlying this shift is the EU 2010 Headline Goal of 10 days as a responsiveness target (Hynek, 2011). In contrast to these ambitions stands the unchanged temporary nature of the EU OHQ, the roots of which may be traced back to 2003 and the first of several unsuccessful attempts to create a more permanent EU crisis management capability on the military strategic level (Simón, 2010:19-22). The principle of activating EU OHQs on a case-by-case-basis is a target for critics who argue that it is associated with shortcomings that are incompatible with the ambitions of CSDP of today. Alexander Mattelaer summarises the criticism by portraying OHQs as slow to get off the ground and hampered by parallel chains of command (Mattelaer, 2011:17-22). This criticism against the OHQ construct contrasts with the dynamics argued to be evident in Brussels-based working groups. These groups of nationally seconded officials are found to socialise into supranational perspectives that trigger efforts to find bases for compromise and consensus. These bases are cleared with the capitals in
an iterative dynamic in which working group members function as agents of change (Juncos and Pomorska, 2008:505; Cross, 2010:36, 2011:133, Howorth, 2010:18). While the reconciliation of national perspectives in EU policy formulation in Brussels has received considerable attention from scholars, the EU mechanism for policy implementation has not (Petrov, 2010:3). In addition, the organisational form chosen for EU military chain of command is little investigated (Drnevich, Ramanujam, Metha and Shaturvedi, 2009:218). As a result it remains unclear to what extent the OHQ concept is dysfunctional in line with Mattelaer’s criticism. The research rationale therefore becomes one of EU crisis management credibility: if trust and national perspectives are concerns for individuals in the EU OHQ, then EU efficiency as a unified actor may ultimately be at risk.

In sum, the research rationale refers to an assumed importance of trust in crisis management in combination with a perceived increasing prominence of national perspectives in multinational settings. This combination may endanger trust through role ambiguities and conflicts. The research is motivated by the limited scholarly attention paid to this combination in the context of an EU OHQ. This rationale and the description of the research problem allow formulating the scope of the research.

Scope of the Research

Research Questions

As described above, this research is concerned with investigating the likelihood for a loss of trust relating to role conflicts as a result of national perspectives in EU OHQs. The focus is thus divided between the concepts of trust and national perspectives, which anchors the research on the level of individuals and their perceptions. The lack of previous research on EU policy implementation and the organisational form chosen for the EU military chain of command leads to a combined explorative and descriptive approach. From this follows the need of a broad main research question. This research question is formulated as follows:
Main Research Question

Do role conflicts relating to national perspectives exist in an EU OHQ and if so, are they associated with a loss of trust?

This main research question is addressed by formulating three research sub-questions and answering these separately. The aggregate of answers to the sub-questions allows answering the main research question. These sub-questions are formulated as follows:

Research Sub-Questions

(i) How do crisis management professionals describe their trust for others? Is trust influenced by the trustee’s formal role occupancy, and if so, how does this compare to other sources for trust?

(ii) Are national perspectives present on the micro-level in an EU OHQ, and if so, does the prominence of national perspectives correlate with any contextual factors?

(iii) Are role conflicts present on the micro-level in an EU OHQ, and if so, how?

Demarcations

The present thesis focuses on the EU military domain. This focus stems from a combination of relevance, suitability and access. Relevance refers to the current EU development, as described earlier. Suitability links to the author’s personal background as a Swedish military professional with more than 20 years experience which provides a qualified basis for understanding data from such contexts. Access relates to the Swedish participation in the EUFOR Tchad/RCA operation 2008-2009. This allowed the author to serve in this OHQ for one year as a regular staff member seconded by Sweden, which gave both physical access to the OHQ and provided the research effort with a degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the OHQ staff members. This also limits the research in a number of aspects. The research focus limits the research to the perceptions of individuals, and the nature of the OHQ data collection limits the research to the micro-level and hierarchically up to and including the level of deputies to the Operations Commander. Personality aspects are not taken into account. The research is also limited to one case study, which is the result of time constraints. During the same period the EU activated the EU OHQ in Northwood for the purpose of operation EUNAVFOR Atalanta. While it would have been valuable to conduct a similar study of the Northwood OHQ, it was not possible to allocate the time needed to conduct a second OHQ investigation.
Research Process

The term ‘research process’ has three meanings in the present thesis. First, it refers to the underlying motives for embarking on the enterprise of realising the thesis. Second, it refers to how this thesis developed. These motives and the development are described in the following. Third, it refers to how the thesis data are collected, analysed and presented. This is relevant for the validity of the findings and is described later in the Methods and Data chapter.

The existence of the present thesis is rooted in impressions stemming from participating in a number of multinational and interagency crisis responses from the early 1990s and onwards. These placed the author in a vast range of civilian and military contexts, which resulted in a feeling that human interaction in crisis management is hampered by interagency friction. This friction seemed characterised by social distance, suspicion and different understandings. When the author was given the opportunity to conduct this research it therefore appeared natural to anchor it in the theoretical domain of trust. However, as work progressed a particular phenomenon emerged as particularly relevant for the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ context. This phenomenon was then integrated in the present thesis focus and labelled, for lack of an established terminology, national perspectives. The research effort crystallised into three distinct work phases: a preparatory phase, a main phase and a follow-up phase (Table 1).

Table 1. Research Phases

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<td>Content</td>
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<td>EU OHQ case study</td>
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<td>Focus</td>
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<td>Paper</td>
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These three phases are distinctive in terms of type, content and focus. The preparatory phase explores the general characteristics of interpersonal trust in crisis management and relies on literature studies, interviews and narratives. The results are reflected in paper I and paper II. The main phase explores and describes trust and national perspectives in a live setting, with the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ as the object of
study. For ease of reading this object of study will from this point be referred to as “the OHQ”. Through discussions with OHQ staff members, national perspectives gradually emerged as a particularly interesting form of work-related friction. This led to expanding the main phase ‘midterm’ to pursue also national perspectives. The results of the main phase, reflected in paper III, paper IV and paper V, led to a set of hypotheses that required a more controlled setting for further investigation. The follow-up phase addresses this requirement in the form of an experiment-based investigation, which is reflected in paper VI.

The work process has also been iterative rather than linear. A growing understanding of the field gradually led to a more multifaceted and nuanced understanding, which in turn guided the research effort along a twisting path with multiple and sometimes ambiguous crossroads. One visible effect of this is the theoretical variety evident in the six papers. To avoid an awkward analysis of the aggregate of results this thesis attempts to bridge this variety by a unifying theoretical framework in the form of norm theory, which is presented in the following chapter.
2 Theory

As described earlier, this thesis is concerned with role conflicts related to national perspectives in an EU Operations Headquarters (OHQ) and, to the extent that they exist, whether they are associated with a loss of trust. Ideally, an analysis of crisis management should build on a theoretical basis already established in the field. However, previous academic efforts related to this area span over a range of theoretical perspectives. Subsequently four of the appended papers exploit a number of theoretical bases, such as trust theory, socialisation theory, principal-agent theory, interpretative framing theory and network theory. These were derived from the author’s then-best understanding of what perspective to assume for each paper’s research focus. However, as work progressed, norm theory gradually appeared as an appealing way to theoretically bridge these different perspectives. The last two papers reflect this developing view. As a result this thesis interprets and discusses its findings from a norm perspective, rooted in the social identity approach. This chapter therefore introduces norm theory as an integrated perspective for the purpose of this thesis. This chapter also frames the thesis’ core concepts in norm theory terms. These core concepts are trust, roles, the military culture and national perspectives.

Norms

Norms, defined as standards of behaviour for actors with a given identity, is a useful tool for investigating human interaction. Norm theory bridges a large number of scientific disciplines, such as decision theory, administration, political science, economics, law, ethics, psychology and sociology (Therborn, 2002:863). The present thesis approaches norm theory from a social identity perspective which deals with group processes (Tajfel, 1982:31). Self-categorisation is an extension of social identity theory that argues that individuals’ social spheres consist of in-groups and out-groups. The relevance of each of these groups is fluid and depends on the context. In other words, what constitutes the individual’s salient in-groups changes with the situation at hand. Importantly, identifying with a group provides the individual with a perceived set of beliefs, attitudes, feelings and behaviours seen as appropriate for the group in question. Smith and Louis phrase this as “...provides members with a
definition of who one is and a description and prescription of what being a group member involves.” (Smith and Louis, 2008:648) The social identity perspective thus argues that individuals self-categorise to groups and by doing so also adapt the norms associated with the group (Terry, Hogg and McKimme, 2000:339; Smith and Terry, 2003:592-3; Hogg and Reid, 2006:10).

Hogg and Reid argue that social norms are group-defining prototypes that capture meaningful and context-dependent similarities in and differences between groups. They are representations that best describe the group in the situation. Furthermore, individuals adaptively construct and modify their normative beliefs through communication (Hogg and Reid, 2006:13). Over time individuals may become socialised into patterns of behaviour (Checkel, 2005:808-813), which is relevant for this thesis since the norm context in focus, the EU OHQ, is both new as an institution, temporary in its existence and populated by individuals who are likely to be largely unfamiliar with one another. Kahneman and Miller even argue that the individual may construct norms in the situation at hand when lacking prior moderating experience of similar situations and that such a construction is rapid, automatic and immune to individual control (Kahneman and Miller, 1986:163,148).

Norms may or may not lead to action. In other words, there is a distinction between the imperative ‘ought’, i.e. how it should be, and the socially reproduced ‘is’, i.e. how reality turns out (Hydén and Svensson, 2008:131-133). Distinguishing will from behaviour in this way recognises that people do not always behave in concert with what they believe to be right and proper, which has been extensively researched in other disciplines (e.g. Checkel, 2001). The ‘is/ought’ distinction in the social identity perspective termed injunctive norms and descriptive norms. Injunctive norms have a moral tone and specify what should be done. They encompass perceived norm violation sanctions, specify self-standards and are associated with social approval (e.g. Sundstein, 1996:914; Axelrod, 1997: 47). In contrast, descriptive norms specify what people normally do regardless of appropriateness (Cialdini, Reno and Callgren, 1990; Christensen, Rothgerber, Wood and Matz, 2004:1296; Smith and Louis, 2008:649; Jacobsen, Mortensen and Cialdini, 2011:434). However, several authors note that the social identity needs to be salient for norms to guide actions (Smith and Terry, 2003:339; Smith and Louis, 2008:650; Jacobsen Mortensen and Cialdini, 2011:445-6). Similar to in-group salience, norms are not fixed but fluid, depending on the context at hand.

For the purpose of data treatment it is important to note that social norms may be more reliably derived from expressed attitudes and behaviour when individuals identify strongly with the group (Hogg and Reid, 2006:15). From this follows that if it
is possible to argue such a strong identification then contextual social norms may be investigated through observation, interviews and surveys.

Thus far, norm theory has been presented in general terms. In the following the present thesis argues that the norm perspective may be applied to this research effort’s core concepts: trust, roles, the cultural aspects of the military community and national perspectives. This is done by first introducing the concept in its own right and then providing the linkage to norm theory. Applying norm theory to these concepts is useful in the sense that, as already mentioned, it allows a coherent discussion of this thesis’ findings in later chapters.

Trust

Trust has been portrayed as crucial for successful organisational collaboration in crisis (Mishra, 1996: 276-277), which relates to the concept of risk. Risk is generally believed to increase the importance of trust and make trustors more likely to pay attention to others’ behaviour and seek validating information (Mayer et al, 1995:724-726; McKnight, Cummings and Chervany, 1998:483; Curral and Inkpen, 2006:242). However, trust seems to be an elusive concept, difficult to both measure (Glaeser, 2000:811-812) and define (Kramer, 1999: 571). For example, academics have portrayed trust as a rational or calculative choice behaviour (Hardin, 1992:152-154; McAllister, 1995:25-26), as a social construction (Lewis and Wiegert, 1985:982, Luhmann, 2000:94), as a pragmatic strategy for dealing with uncertainty (Meyerson, Weick and Kramer, 1996:192) and as an individual’s psychological state of mind regarding favourable expectations of others (Mayer, Davis and Shoorman, 1995:712; Möllering 2001:404; Six, 2007:290). While this thesis defines trust according to the latter perspective this ongoing debate and its implications lies outside of the scope of this thesis.

Trust typically develops over time and is based on experience from interaction, often termed ‘history-based trust’. However, in the absence of such a shared history, trust can also be transferred from depersonalised sources. Depersonalised trust may originate from confidence in third-party entities to ensure common standards and good conduct (Granovetter, 1985:493; Möllering, 2005:26; Noteboom, 2006:249).

Roderick Kramer’s review of trust research shows that such depersonalised trust has been associated with roles, rules and social categories. Role-based trust is seen to rely on information that a person has a certain role or position in an organisation. Role-based trust refers to the system of expertise that produces and maintains the behaviour that is appropriate for that particular role. Rule-based trust instead concerns
the shared understanding within an organisation regarding the norms, values and beliefs that guide individuals to trustworthy conduct and behaviour. Kramer notes that mutual trust can become “taken-for-granted” when people are confident about the degree to which members are socialised and loyal to the normative system. Category-based trust, finally, refers to trust based on information on a person’s membership in a social category or organisation (Kramer, 1999:577-581). However, Kramer’s review largely reflect research on more permanent settings, which may not fully apply to the temporary crisis management settings addressed in the present thesis. Trust in such settings may instead be better reflected in the concept of Swift Trust, introduced by Meyerson et al. (1996). The concept of Swift Trust applies when unfamiliar professionals gather with short notice to work together for a limited period of time, and links to the stability of professional roles. Meyerson et al. argue that Swift Trust is often centred on, and bounded by, each individual’s competent and faithful enactment of their critical role in the temporary group. Conversely, out-of-role behaviour may breed distrust (Meyerson et al, 1996:189-191). The centrality of roles in the concept of Swift Trust motivates describing the role concept and how roles relate to norms.

Roles and Role Conflicts

Alvin Gouldner defines a role as “a set of expectations oriented towards people who occupy a certain “position” in a social system or a group” (Gouldner, 1957:282). Gouldner further notes that roles are not necessarily affected by personality or other personal attributes (Ibid:286). The distinctions and similarities between social identities and roles are important. Stets and Burke maintain that both are central and simultaneous features of one’s identity; social identities reflect being while roles reflect doing (Stets and Burke, 2000; 234). They position social identities to concern similarities within a group, whereas roles are about differences. In contrast to social identities, roles involve interaction with others who by definition occupy different roles. An individual’s role largely concerns the control of resources, and then often in the face of competing interests, vis-à-vis other’s roles, specifically its counter-roles (Ibid, 226-7). The social identity literature argues that a role emerges in all situations where the other party represents a different set of norms. A role may thus be both formal and informal. For example, the Swift Trust literature (Meyerson et al., 1996:169) treats the role concept as a formalised attribute of the trustee, such as ‘commander’ or ‘fire fighter’, Stets and Burke exemplify their views on roles with a teacher-student example (Stets and Burke, 2000:228), Susan Shapiro refers to agents in business contexts (Shapiro 1987:629-634) and the literature on military culture
describes hierarchies (McKee et al., 2008:1.8). From this follows the view of the present thesis that roles constitute the enactment of a salient identity in order to meet its associated expectations as perceived by the role occupant.

Role conflict may occur when an individual needs to consider inconsistent goals, expectations and interests of more than one entity. These entities may also have different views of the individual’s role (Vora and Kostova, 2007:343). Such inconsistent expectations has been shown to lead to stress, dissatisfaction and less effective performance (Rizzo et al., 1970:153) as well as negative effects for the organisations involved (Johnson, 1999:68). The perception of appropriate roles and role content may not only differ between the role occupant and the observer or counterpart, but may also be an internal conflict for the individual. William Goode holds, firstly, that individuals carry a multitude of different roles, secondly that individuals generally want to fulfil role expectations and, thirdly, that the total of role expectations are generally over-demanding (Goode, 1960:485). Goode suggests that the individual carries out these over-demanding role obligations through a series of bargains, aiming to achieve the best cost-benefit balance possible (Ibid:495). Linked to this, Getzels and Guba argue that the severity of role conflict depends on role incompatibility and to what degree of rigour the role expectations are defined in the situation at hand. Importantly, they hold that individuals eventually have to choose to ignore one of more of the conflicting roles, for the benefit of other roles. They further suggest that the likelihood of conflict is less if the benefiting role also is the more legitimate (Getzels and Guba, 1954:175). Similar to social identities, role conflict requires role occupants to identify with the source of the expectations (Reichers, 1985:473). As shown above, roles may be linked to norms through the common notion of expectations, which makes role enactment a reflection of norms. In the words of Cass Sundstein, “[r]oles are accompanied by a wide range of reasons for action. These may or may not be a product of law, and are certainly a product of social norms” (Sundstein, 1996:922,928).

Based on the above the present thesis adopts the view that norms are guidance for behaviour and may be divided into injunctive and descriptive norms, and that roles are the interactive dimension of social norms. Applied to the focus of study, national perspectives in the EU OHQ, the following framework emerges. Staff members in the EU OHQ are simultaneously national officers and EU representatives, permanently employed as military professionals by a nation state and at the same time temporarily assigned to a multinational EU setting. These are (two of) their social identities, which for them may be more or less salient depending on the situation. Each identity is associated with a set of norms, aligning to varying degrees over identity borders. The national role may thus be enacted in parallel to, or in conflict with, the role as an
EU representative. Role conflict may occur both for the individual (*intrapersonal*) and for the interacting party/parties (*interpersonal*).

The present thesis draws support for investigating norms through observations, interviews and surveys on the notion that norms may be more reliably derived from expressed attitudes and behaviour when individuals identify with the group (Hogg and Reid, 2006:15). This requires that it is possible to argue such identification in the studied context of military professionals with a focus on the national perspectives. For this purpose the following section describes the characteristics of the military culture and national perspectives.

**Military Culture and National Perspectives**

The military community is, paradoxically, often framed as highly nationalistic but also similar across national borders. The first characteristic may not be surprising given the military’s long tradition of defending the national territory. For example, Henry Dicks argues that historically, national loyalty and belief in the cause were indistinguishable concepts (Dicks, 1963:426), and several scholars describe military identity to come across as national stereotyping, patriotic rhetoric and a multitude of nationally oriented symbols and traditions (e.g. Soederberg and Wedell-Wedellsborg, 2006:3). The second characteristic, cross-border similarity, has been described as different from the civilian world and appears to stem from a long tradition of exchanges across national borders. Typical military characteristics revolve around the concepts of commander and group loyalty, conformity and belonging (Dicks, 1963:428; Elron, Shamir and Ben-Ari, 1999:84; McKee et al., 2008:1.9). McKee’s and his colleagues’ review of NATO-oriented studies from the period 1988-2003 also suggest that the military culture is different from corresponding civil sectors by being more conservative, collectivistic, accepting of hierarchy and oriented towards patriotism, group loyalty and trust. National military cultures also seem joined across national boundaries in a supranational culture, which allows them work better together than they can with civilians from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and agencies from their own countries. Importantly, McKee and colleagues also hold that military personnel perceive themselves, and are perceived by others, as very different. (McKee, Febbraro and Riedel, 2008:1.8). Similarly, Ahlquist, Brehmer, and Buxrud (2001:154) note that the global military culture tends to be much the same, and that military contingents from different nations often have fewer problems of cooperation compared to civil-military frameworks. Theo Farrell even argues a norm perspective on what he calls the military global isomorphism, and sees both shared
beliefs and social practice rooted in centuries of collective learning and social interaction (Farrell, 2001:78).

National perspectives are not limited to military personnel but may be evident in all social contexts. Hambrick and his colleagues describe nationality as important for explaining individuals’ psychological attributes and behaviours (Hambrick, Davison, Snell and Snow, 1998:185-187). Nationality in general terms is seen to appear in individuals’ values, worldviews, demeanour and language, which in interaction with other nationalities may also be overlaid by historical and political ties or tensions (Ibid:187,191). Scholars argue that individuals see their nation as providing them with identity (Druckman, 1994:63), a sense of direction and purpose through norms (Therborn, 2002:869), as well as general group membership benefits, such as security and safety in return for loyalty and commitment (Druckman, 1994:63). However, as Aviel Roshwald points out, people’s national identity is subjective and their loyalties fluctuate from strong to non-existent (Roshwald, 2006:5)

Taken together, the above suggests that an ingredient of strong identification is likely in multinational military settings, and that such an identification may have both national and supranational orientations. Militaries thus seem to share several features and may differ only in terms of which nation they identify with. National orientation is likely balanced by the military tradition of staff ethics, which enables them to work together despite individual differences. However, when national interests come into focus, such collectives may be expected to display norms and role enactments anchored in both identifications. To the degree that such displays are incompatible they pave the way for the role conflicts described in this thesis’ introduction. Importantly, the present thesis argues for a likely strong identification with both roles in an EU OHQ, which suggests that investigating the associated norms through observations, interviews and surveys may be justified.

Summary

To summarise, the present thesis employs norm theory for interpreting and discussing its findings, with the following understandings: Social identities trigger norms when salient. Norms are shared behavioural expectations on actions. Norms may be constructed prior to, during and after events and are subject to constant change and re-definitions. Over time norms in a collective may align through socialisation. Trust constitutes expectations of norm compliance for specific actors, which in this thesis translates into military staff members in an EU OHQ. Roles are the interactive dimension of social norms. The particularities of the military culture suggest that
when national interests come into focus OHQ staff members’ role enactment may display norms with both national and supranational orientation. This may lead to role conflicts.
3 Methods

The quality of scientific efforts largely depends on a set of choices regarding research methods. It is therefore necessary to be clear on the choice of methods, how these methods have been used, what their implications are and what issues have emerged in the process. The present thesis encompasses literature studies, participating observation, interviews, surveys and experiments, which makes it both qualitative and quantitative. These methods are described in the following.

Case Studies

Case study research is often criticised for allowing little generalisation. The problem with case studies is that they are over-determined in that they consist of few observations in relation to the number of variables involved, i.e. the variables’ degrees of freedom. However, this is countered by the view that rather than seeking universal truth, “case studies strive to explain the particular case at hand with the possibility to come to broader conclusions” (Patton and Applebaum, 2003:64). It is argued that case studies can be useful if the phenomena of interest are rare, contemporary, highly contextual or difficult to manipulate. The unique strength of case studies is seen as their ability to deal with a variety of evidence, which allows a holistic view as opposed to a reductionist, fragmented view. Case studies may thus be particularly useful when exploring a new area (Patton and Applebaum, 2003:64; Yin, 1994:1-3), and cases should be selected based on their scope for replicating or expanding the emergent theory (Eisenhart, 1989b:548-549). The present thesis argues that the object of study, the EUFOR Tchad RCA/OHQ, qualifies for this. The EU OHQ is a unique construct, different from traditional alliances and coalitions. Despite its ten-year history, OHQs have been activated on only four occasions, and of these were two of limited scope and duration. This makes OHQs a rare phenomenon. While the OHQ construct remains the EU’s only military-strategic alternative it is also currently a target for criticism, which makes the OHQs relevant as an object of study. Taken together, while the author recognises that case studies may not be the ideal vehicle for academic efforts, it is argued that the EU OHQ permits few other methodologies, which motivates the case study in question.
The backbone of the present thesis is a yearlong case study of the EU OHQ activated in connection with the UN-mandated effort in Tchad 2008-2009. The author served as a regular staff member in J4 Branch as a flight movements desk officer. This formal role dominated daily work, although other staff members were aware of the author’s researcher role. The formal role requirements meant that the researcher role had to take a back seat to a greater extent than expected and data collection was surprisingly difficult. This may appear strange given the time span of the study, but may be explained by the hard working environment with tight deadlines, multiple needs for coordination, constant needs for accessibility and slim personnel resources. As a result interviews and surveys often had to be rescheduled. In addition, the research was only informally sanctioned and relied on the benevolence of other staff members. However, few of them actually declined to participate. Key for the effort was the signals sent to the staff by the OHQ Chief of Staff, who publicly expressed support for the research. This likely gave an important degree of legitimacy in the eyes of other staff members, which contributed to finding the time needed for interviews and surveys. Data collection efforts were initially oriented towards trust and work-related friction in general, but gradually shifted to focus on national perspectives after a couple of months. The case study findings are represented in paper III, paper IV and paper V. The following sections describe the methods used in the case study as well as in the preceding preparatory phase: literature studies, observations, interviews, surveys and experiments.

Literature Studies

Most academic work involves literature studies. Literature studies have the advantage of bringing the academic consensus to light, both in terms of different author positions and in terms of development over time. The time dimension not only provides an idea of the leading edge of knowledge, but also a sense of the direction in the field. This informs decisions on where and how to begin an investigation as well as aids critical assessment of the literature. Literature studies are also limited by the very same consensus. Ground breaking work in science often threatens to override established “truths”, and may thus for a long time receive little recognition through the inertia of an academic world building on these “truths”. Paradigm shifts may therefore be difficult to identify other than in retrospect. The value of literature studies subsequently depends on a critical and un-biased selection from the vast body of work available, as well as non-selective reading and thorough understanding (Booth, Colomb and Williams, 1995:74-76).
The present thesis’ literature studies have been conducted mainly via the Internet, using the Lund University search engine LibHub (previously Elin@Lund) and Google Scholar. Combinations of different key words generated search results from which publications were selected based on citation rates, date of publication and authorship. While citation rates offer indications of recognition, citation rates alone may be misleading and especially so when a niche topic is concerned. Such is the case with studies related to military contexts. Knowledge concerning these domains is often presented in governmental and organisational reports rather than academic publications, which called for a broader search for information into also public domains, such as EU Council documents and NATO reports, as well as including conference reports. In addition, initial searches frequently led into developing lines of thought, which required pursuing selected authors and their referenced publications, rather than focusing on citation rates. Complementary to internet-derived literature, also hard copy books have added to the understanding. These books, ranging from methodology to academic fields and selected topics, often offer more comprehensive pictures than individual papers. In general terms, the present thesis’ literature studies have been a constant and iterative component rather than separately distinguishable efforts. An ever-present expansion into different theoretical and methodological frameworks has not only provided the author with an increasingly diverse view of the different fields, but also allowed re-interpreting previous efforts.

Observations

Observations gather qualitative data which are highly unstructured when conducted in the field, as in this thesis. The benefit of observations thus rests with the researcher’s focus in terms of being clear on what to observe, when to observe and what to look for. As a result, observation needs focus to be of value, as taken-for granted or subtle cues may otherwise go unnoticed. Observing human interaction however has the potential for rich information and participating observation may further provide an “inside view”. However, observation has several drawbacks. First, it does not provide any information on the underlying reasons behind behaviour. Second, participating observation also carries a risk for reduced objectivity, as the observer is more than otherwise part of the observed. Third, the participant role may draw attention from the observer role, thus making it difficult to be at the right place at the same time or taking sufficient notes (Yin, 1994:93-96).

These drawbacks are particularly relevant for the present thesis, in which the author was not only participating but also embedded as part of the OHQ staff. This had the disadvantage of limiting access to staff contexts in which the author had a natural role.
as a J4 Branch desk officer. However, the author made efforts to moderate the impact of these drawbacks. In order to understand reasons for behaviour and reduce the risk for researcher bias the author informally compared his perceptions with those of others present, as well as regularly discussed interpretations with selected staff members. In addition, the duration and intensity of the observation, one year of continuous and involved presence during working hours, likely compensated for the access limitations. The observations were captured in written notes. Early notes concern instances in which friction in general and issues of trust in particular were perceived by the author, or expressed by others. Later notes concern instances in which national perspectives and issues of trust were perceived or expressed, in line with the gradual shift of focus described earlier. Many of these instances were informal in the sense that they took place in every-day interaction rather than meetings, seminars or briefings. In terms of trust this thesis’ field observations are mainly reflected in paper III. Observations related to national perspectives are reflected in paper III and paper IV.

Interviews

Interviews may complement observation by revealing cues to the underlying reasons behind observed phenomena (Dubois and Gadde, 2002:555). Interviews also give access to non-verbal indicators that may be particularly useful when discussing sensitive topics (Barriball and White, 1994:329). While it has been argued that standardised interviews are valuable for comparing respondent contributions, the semi-structured interview recognises that words carry different meanings for different persons, permits pursuing unexpected leads and allows probing for meaning and important associations. These factors become important when the body of interviewees is heterogeneous (Barriball and White, 1994:330) and case study interviews often “appear to be guided conversations rather than structured queries” (Yin, 1994:89). However, interviews only really show how people express themselves, which may be affected by various factors such as memory, articulation, agendas (Yin, 1994:92) and the socially desirability of certain answers (Barriball and White, 1994:331). Finally, the selection of interviewees from a population brings the question of to what degree the selection represents to the collective.

The present thesis rests on two sets of semi-structured interviews, respectively consisting of six and thirty interviews. The main author of paper I, different from this author, conducted the first set. This author conducted the second set, as part of the yearlong case study, for which he selection of interviewees was purposeful with the aim to cover as many nationalities as possible and be representative for the
distribution of rank and organisational roles in the OHQ. Six individuals with key roles were interviewed more than once, which gave the opportunity to compare early accounts with later in order to detect indications of familiarisation and socialisation effects. The interviews in the second set were all taped, transcribed and the transcriptions dialogued with the interviewees. These interviews were notably difficult to realise, not because of interviewee reluctance but because time was hard to find as mentioned earlier. However, once sat down interviewees generally appeared open and frank with their views. The interviews are represented in paper III, IV and V.

Surveys

Surveys are viewed as useful for investigating respondent attitudes (e.g. Vitale, Armenakis and Field, 2008:88) and can consist of open-ended or closed-ended questions. While the former offers flexibility in answers and the opportunity to discover un-anticipated areas of interest, the latter avoids the need for interpretation and facilitates useful comparisons between respondents (Van Vugt and Gramzov, 2004:142). Survey value depends on the sample size compared to the full population and how the sample was selected, in other words the degree of representativeness. A high response rate is also important as it lessens the potential for non-respondent bias. However, this is often difficult to achieve. For example, a recent review of survey-based research reveals an average response rate of 53% for mail surveys and 33% for e-mail surveys (Shih and Fan, 2009:31).

The author conducted two closed-ended question surveys during the OHQ’s existence, constructing these as self-administering questionnaires. Both were administered in paper copy to all staff members and completed in the staff building during working hours. Both surveys collected respondent data in terms of rank, age, nationality, prior experience and time of service in the OHQ at the time of survey. The first survey consisted of multiple-choice questions and the second survey consisted of 9-degree Likert scale questions. Both of these surveys display a distribution of nationalities which correspond with the OHQ staff composition. These were analysed for goodness of fit (Chi2 and Fisher’s Exact Test). A third survey with open-ended questions was conducted via email two years after the operation involving all of the former interviewees. This survey was analysed qualitatively. The surveys are represented in paper III, paper IV and paper V.

Experiments
In contrast to the field related methods described above, experiments aim to control the environment as much as possible in order to allow a demonstration of a causal relationship between constructs in terms of independent variables (causes) and dependent variables (effects). However, rigour often conflicts with practicality, which calls for understanding the implications of practicality on the conclusions drawn from a single experiment (Hulbert, 2004:31). For example, it is seldom possible to conclude a cause-effect relationship, but rather a failure to reject the potential cause and that it awaits further testing. To be able to conduct further testing, the experiment needs to be replicable, which in turn calls for transparency in its conduct and measurable outcomes (Ibid:35). This often leads to simplifications that make experiments seem artificial. As a result they are often criticised for lacking ecological validity, meaning that the extent to which the findings can be applied to everyday life is limited (e.g. Eyseneck and Keane, 2005:4). The alternative to simplification is mundane realism, in other words richness in detail in order to resemble the real world as much as possible. Mundane realism may enhance results’ applicability to the reality they refer to, but not necessarily the scope for generalisation to other settings (Turner, 1981:26). By also focusing on qualitative as well as quantitative aspects an experiment may provide important understandings of underlying mechanisms (Levitt and List, 2007:171).

The present thesis exploits an experiment to further pursue findings from the case study. Based on the case study findings, which suggest three possible drivers behind national perspectives, the experiment aimed to investigate the influence of these drivers and if any differences between military and civilian participants were evident. In line with the arguments for mundane realism the experiment was designed to resemble a real life decision making situation, motivated by the requirement for social identity salience in order for norms to guide behaviour. The drawbacks of mundane realism were addressed by comparing participants’ decision outcomes (quantitative) with their decision rationales (qualitative), in other words comparing behaviour with attitudes. The results were subjected to variance analysis (ANOVA) and analysis for goodness of fit (Chi2). The experiment is presented in paper VI.
4 Contributions

Overview

This chapter presents the six appended papers with their individual contributions. Table 2 below shows how the six appended papers contribute to answering each of the three research sub-questions presented in the Introduction chapter.

*Table 2. Appended Papers’ Contribution to Research Sub-Question (i)-(iii)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appended paper I-VI</th>
<th>Res. Sub-Question</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-paper I: Trust among decision makers and its consequences in emergency response operations</td>
<td>(i)  X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paper II: Crisis specific social networks: The interplay between organisational legitimacy and personal trust</td>
<td>(ii) X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paper III: Interpersonal trust in multi-organisational endeavours: Temporary frames through social networks</td>
<td>(iii) X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paper IV: The influence of national affiliation in multinational endeavours: A case study</td>
<td>(i)  X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paper V: Investigating argued deficiencies of the OHQ framework nation concept: The case of EUFOR Tchad/RCA</td>
<td>(ii) X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paper VI: Parallel chains of command in EU Operations Headquarters: An experimental study of drivers behind national perspectives</td>
<td>(iii) X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table (Table 3) presents the six appended papers in a four-dimensional overview consisting of the research questions, methods and material, results and contribution. The research questions are explicit stated in papers I, V and VI but implicit in papers II, III and IV. Worth noting is that the case study observations appear in both papers VI and V. Also, the case study’s first survey and the semi-structured interviews appear in paper III, paper IV and paper V. While these three papers draw from the same body of data, the extracts from this body and the analysis differ between the papers.
### Table 3. Overview of Appended Papers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper I</th>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>How do scholars interpret trust and how is it applicable to emergency response management? How do decision makers understand trust? In what ways can trust affect the structure of the organisation that emerges as a response to an accident?</td>
<td>Trust in emergency field conditions may contain a greater perceived risk compared to non-emergency contexts. A shared personal hared history is most important, but trustors also focus on trustee attributes; competence, intention and role occupancy. The concept of Swift Trust appears suitable to emergency management contexts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Methods and Material**

- Literature review and interviews: 27 studies related to trust, published 1960-2006; Six interviews with high-level emergency response managers.

**Contribution**

- Offers support for the categorisation of others as an important mechanism for trust when interacting with unfamiliar others in emergency responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper II</th>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Results</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>How may trust for unfamiliar others in multi-organisational emergency response management be transferred between and affected by different cultures, norms and values? (implicit)</td>
<td>In the absence of personal history, initial trust may be transferred from role enactment and organisational legitimacy. Such trust may easily erode when trustors and trustee's interpret situations differently.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Methods and Material**

- Literature review: 32 studies related to trust, emergency management, organisational legitimacy and interpretative framing, published 1970-2006. Illustrated by anecdotal evidence from four cases.

**Contribution**

- Suggests a model for trust which incorporates organisational legitimacy and individuals’ interpretative frames, for how perceptions of trustworthiness over organisational borders may develop as well as erode in multi-organisational emergency responses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper III</th>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>In terms of trust, how do individual OHQ staff members react to what they perceive as frictions in work? Are any sub-group patterns evident in the social interaction of OHQ staff members? (implicit)</td>
<td>Trust relies on a shared history, but also role, rank and national secondment matters. Trust is largely non-problematic despite perceived frictions, but may erode when expectations are not met. Staff members from dominant nations report bigger social networks and easier information finding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Methods and Material**
- EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ Case Study: 11 months of consecutive participating observation. 18 semi-structured interviews; One questionnaire-based survey with 108 respondents.

**Contribution**
- Suggests an add-on to a recognised model on interpersonal trust, applicable to strategic level crisis management organisations: Individuals may develop temporary interpretative frames to help them to understand others. Previous experience may provide them with useful templates in this process.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper IV</th>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Results</th>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>How do temporary multinational structures influence staff member’s loyalties? Do staff members’ consideration of national interests (a) change over time and (b) correlate with their nation’s relative investment in the mission? (implicit)</td>
<td>National considerations seem to persist over time. Staff members adapt and play roles rather than socialise into a collective. With increasing stability and familiarity with the multinational context perceptions of other’s national concerns seem to shift over time from problematic to pragmatic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Methods and Material**
- EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ Case Study: 14 months of consecutive participating observation; 30 semi-structured interviews; One questionnaire-based survey (108 respondents).

**Contribution**
- Shows how nation-state roles in the collective may be reflected in the perceptions of their nationals. Shows that conflicts between individuals’ national roles and their supranational roles are not readily apparent.
### Paper V

**Research Question**

**2011**

Were national perspectives evident in the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ, and if so, how? Does trust seem to have been an issue? Is it possible to detect evidence of a familiarisation process and a lack of common grounds for OHQ staff members?

**Results**

National perspectives were evident and more so with staff from leading nations. A social norm stipulating supranational perspectives and tolerant of national perspectives is identified. Intergroup collaboration was largely positive. trust appeared robust and actively pursued. Common grounds were largely lacking.

**Methods and Material**

EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ Case Study: Observations, 30 semi-structured interviews; Three questionnaire-based surveys (108, 83 and 17 respondents); EU Council documents related to EU crisis management operations.

**Contribution**

Offers support for the criticism directed at the Framework Nation OHQ concept. Relates the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ, to its political and operational context. Shows that role conflicts do not necessarily result from national perspectives.

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### Paper VI

**Research Question**

**2011**

To which degree are potential OHQ staff members receptive to parent-nation interests? Is receptiveness linked to the character of ties to the parent-nation, to relative familiarity with parent-nation resources, and to relative parent-nation prominence in the scenario? Are civilians different from militaries in these respects?

**Results**

National perspectives are more prominent when representing a minority sub-group, and more prominent when more familiar with parent-nation resources relative foreign resources. Operational concerns, rather than patriotism or self-serving interests, appear to motivate such perspectives. The results show no differences between civil and military participants.

**Methods and Material**

Experiment: Individual paper-based crisis management decision making The analysis is based on a total of 180 participants (civil and military, mainly Swedish).

**Contribution**

Shows that national perspectives may be both demonstrated and influenced. Shows that national perspectives are likely exogenous rather than exogenous.
The first paper is explorative. The thesis’ author is 2\textsuperscript{nd} author in this article, performed the trust literature search, did the overall analysis and formed the conclusions together with the main author.

The paper combines a literature review with six interviews with practitioners to shed light on how different scholars interpret the concept of trust and how is it applicable in the context of emergency response operations. It also asks how decision makers in an emergency situation understand the meaning of trust. The paper finds that trust in emergency response situations is an important phenomenon which may be understood as a context dependent link between a trustor and a trustee. This link is based on the trustor’s estimation of the intentions and competences of the trustee. Thus, trust concerns how the trustor appraises the qualities of the trustor, rather than actual intentions and competences. Trust relies primarily on a shared personal history but when absent, role occupancy and organisational affiliations may function as important substitutes. This comes across as a belief in ‘the system’ and an assumption that unfamiliar others would meet the expectations associated with their roles in the emergency context. The paper suggests that such depersonalised trust probably influences how decision makers predicate the intentions and capabilities of others.

Trust in emergency response situations is also argued as distinct from non-emergency situations by carrying an ingredient of vulnerability, which in turn involves risk and may be argued to generally increase the importance of trust. However, vulnerability and risk are not objective, rational and measurable concepts but dependant on the trustor’s interpretation in the context at hand, which means that the role of trust is highly contextual. The concept of Swift Trust appears to be appropriate.

The paper concludes that trust in crisis management contexts appear based on the trustor’s judgment of the trustee’s competence and expected behaviour, affects the forming of communication and networks and enables flexibility. The importance of history-based trust means that people tend to prefer interacting with “known” others as much as possible. However, trust is a highly subjective and contextual concept.
The second paper is explorative. This thesis’ author is the main author in this paper and performed the literature search, conducted the analysis and formed the conclusions.

The paper exploits a literature review to investigate how trust may be transferred in, and affected by, multiple cultures, norms and values in temporary endeavours. Literature shows that the wide and ad-hoc range of actors generally evident in crisis management often have fundamentally different views on crisis means and ends. Over time, such temporary collectives may evolve into smooth-running mechanisms by developing mutual understandings. Until this is realised, trust may be based on organisational legitimacy, meaning the degree of appropriateness associated with an individuals’ organisation and its particular role in the context at hand. Such trust is likely to be fragile and rely on individuals’ faithful enactment of their roles as perceived by the trustor. However, when the trustor and the trustee belong to different cultures, defined as belief systems consisting of the ideas, values, doctrine and principles, their interpretations of appropriate role enactment may differ. The paper suggests interpretative frames as useful analytical concepts for this dynamic. The concept of interpretative frames, the algorithms by which people decide what to say and do, helps understanding how cultural differences may lead to trust-eroding collaborative friction. The paper argues that trust may erode in the short term when trustors’ and trustees’ interpretative frames conflict, and that a starting capital of trust is particularly vulnerable to such conflicts. The paper suggests that organisational legitimacy may be related to the organisation’s time of entry on the crisis management scene, in the sense that a first set of responders are likely to be granted a greater degree of legitimacy compared to later arrivals.

The paper concludes that the importance of context for the legitimacy-frame dynamic may mean that individuals may only derive really useful skills for multi-organisational collaboration by actually participating in live missions and operations.
The third paper is descriptive. It reports on the first part of a longitudinal case study of a live EU Operation Headquarters, which describes the staff in terms of micro-level trust, social interactions and information management. The study draws from semi-structured interviews and surveys, with a theoretical base consisting of trust, interpretative framing and social networks. The interviews show a shared personal history to be central for trust, but also that organisational roles, rank and national secondment mattered. Trust appeared non-problematic for most, and staff members generally described trust in pragmatic terms even in the face of friction. The findings also suggest that staff members from the operation’s five most prominent nations more than other staff members considered their nations’ interests daily or as a natural part of work, had larger social networks, and found it easy to source information. The findings further suggest that the OHQ matured in a process which stretched over several months rather than days and weeks. This maturity process is argued to have had two dimensions, an individual and a staff common dimension. Importantly, the paper suggests that staff members actively tried to reconcile such issues through re-interpretation of others’ behaviour. This may be theoretically described as interpretative framing, the interactive process of arguing, persuading and contesting, which constantly modifies frame content. The framing process allows differing views to develop towards de-conflicted alignment. This framing dynamic does not only concern understanding others but also understanding the fundamental perspectives in self.

The paper concludes that staff members may adapt to work-related friction in an EU OHQ and suggests a model of trust, specific for temporary crisis management organisations, which posits that functional trust may be maintained by the development of temporary interpretative frames. The model is an add-on to the Mayer, Davis and Shoorman (1995:715) model of trust.
Paper IV


The fourth article is descriptive and investigates national perspectives in terms of how EU OHQ staff members consider the interests of their nation. It draws from socialisation theory, agency theory, social exchange theory and organisation/network theory. Based on a year-long case study the paper show that friction in the daily staff work related mainly to nationality and then in terms of language barriers, culture differences and the consideration of national interests. These considerations emerged in staff members’ behaviour in formal and informal interactions as keeping information derived from their capitals within national circles in the OHQ collective, forwarding information to their own nation’s headquarters, arguing positions or taking actions which favour their own nation. Survey self-reports show that national perspectives were prominent with a minority only, and that staff members from the operations’ two leading nations were overrepresented in this minority. Interviews show that staff members may describe national perspectives as normal or even useful. The data also indicate that national perspectives persisted over time, but that staff members described them in less problematic terms later in the life of the OHQ. This shift seems to be related to the common staff timeline rather than to the time lines of individuals and fits better with explanations linked to adaptive behaviour and role playing rather than deep socialisation. However, staff members also familiarise with the operation. The paper argues that national perspectives were likely associated to the collective maturity of the OHQ, individual staff member’s operational familiarity and consciousness of their links to their parent nation, and the role and prominence of the parent-nation in the collective effort. The paper also suggests that underlying these influences may be staff members’ awareness that their assignments are temporary and that long-term reward for their performance rests with their capitals.

The paper concludes that staff members in an OHQ do not necessarily develop a common identity. Instead of internalising supranational perspectives members appear to adapt to their temporary environment by changing strategies. In other words, staff members remain conscious of their permanent affiliations.
The fifth paper is descriptive and investigates norms on national/supranational perspectives and the characteristics of intergroup collaboration in the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ. The paper specifically compares scholarly criticism directed at the EU OHQ Framework Nation concept with the OHQ case study empirical findings. The present paper frames the case study findings in norm theory, which distinguishes between injunctive norms, stipulating what people should do, and descriptive norms, stipulating what most people actually do regardless of appropriateness. The results show that the OHQ lacked common grounds. Few of the staff members had prior EU training and most were sent to the OHQ on short notice. However, widespread NATO experience likely contributed to the functionality of the staff. As shown in previous papers, national perspectives are evident across nationalities in the OHQ but more prominently with French and Irish staff members. The paper distinguishes between the French and the Irish by arguing that the French prominence may be linked to their Framework Nation role, while the Irish prominence may be linked to the key roles of the Irish staff members. The paper finds that as a collective, the OHQ entertained a weak norm of supranational orientation but without a clear EU perspective. The paper also finds evidence of a process of familiarisation spanning over several months and suggests that the long initial French-only period of the OHQ’s active life may have contributed to this. In particular the French group of staff members seem to have developed towards a more collective identity. The paper notes that the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ was both politically contested and atypical in two ways. First, it experienced an initial stage of French-only manning, which may have contributed to the French visibility in the OHQ. Second, the Operations Commander was Irish, which may have contributed to the Irish prominence in the results aspects compared to other nationalities.

The paper concludes that Framework Nation OHQs are able to work around frictions and mature into well-functioning organisations, but that the process is likely to be slow and dependent on its staff members’ collaborative skills. In this respect the military culture of transnational collaboration may be instrumental.
The sixth and final paper is descriptive and reports on an experiment with 180 military and civil professional crisis managers. The experiment is motivated by the findings of previous papers in combination with the current debate among scholars if the current temporary all-military EU OHQ can and should develop towards a permanent structure and civil-military integration. The paper investigates if any differences between civilians and militaries appear in terms of national perspectives, and if national perspectives are influenced by: (a) participants’ degree of formality in their ties to their parent nation; (b) the participants’ degree of familiarity with parent nation resources compared to foreign nation resources, and; (c) the prominence of the parent-nation relative to a foreign nation in a multinational crisis management context. A dual-nation scenario is designed in which the participant is associated with one of the nations and tasked to make a decision in which she may favour either, or none, of the two nations. The design aims to make salient the participants social identities as national representatives and representatives for the multinational collective. The results, framed in norm theory, show that participants consistently favour their parent-nation rather than the foreign nation, but only under certain conditions. Significant favouring of the parent nation occurs when the parent-nation is less prominent in the scenario than the foreign nation and when the participant is more familiar with the parent-nation resources than with the foreign nation resources. Importantly, the results show no differences between military and civilian participants. Participants’ decision outcomes are largely mirrored in their decision rationales, which suggest that decision outcomes are intentional. The results also suggest that favouring the parent-nation stems from operational concerns in terms of reducing uncertainties rather than patriotic or self-serving interests.

The paper finds that national perspectives need to be provoked. As a result, an injunctive norm of national perspectives cannot be said to have existed among the participants. The paper concludes support for the argument to establish a permanent EU OHQ, but finds no support for the notion that civil-military integration would necessarily result in different ways to address problem solving, given a shared set of objectives and values.
5 Answering the Research Questions

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the research questions asked in the Introduction. The previous chapters have provided the thesis rationale, formulated the research questions, outlined the theoretical framework and presented the six appended papers with their individual contributions. The present chapter addresses the research questions by presenting the empirical results thematically.

To recap, the research questions result from the rational logic presented in the Introduction. This logic extends from the general argument presented earlier, that trust is important in crisis management, but that trust may be endangered by role conflicts stemming from the interests of multiple stakeholders. Such a loss of trust is assumed to have detrimental effects for the crisis management effort. The present thesis applies this argument to the developing EU crisis management structure with temporary multinational organisations, focusing on the military strategic level embodied by the EU Operations Headquarters construct. The logic suggests that professional military personnel in an OHQ, in their capacity as not only OHQ staff members but also national officers, are likely to be exposed to national interests. The main question is whether national perspectives are evident, and if so whether role conflicts and associated loss of trust exist. The following sections first exploit the six papers’ contributions in order to first answer the three research sub-questions and then address the main research question.

Support for the different parts of the answers is referenced to the appended papers by number and page, e.g. (I: 26-27), indicating paper I, pages 26-27. These references serve to provide traceability for the answers. The final section of this chapter answers the main research question based on the answers to the sub-questions. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition the bases for this answer are not referenced.

Trust and Role Occupancy

The first research sub-question refers to trust and its sources. As described in the introduction, other scholars have portrayed trust to be essential for crisis management and especially so when several organisations are involved. In particular, Meyerson,
Weick and Kramer (1996:190) suggest that trust in temporary teams rely on its members’ faithful role enactment. This section therefore aims to determine the results’ degree of support for this view by answering the first research sub-question:

(i) How do crisis management professionals describe their trust for others? Is trust influenced by the trustee’s formal role occupancy, and if so, how does this compare to other sources for trust?

As described earlier, literature generally argues that a shared personal history is an important and preferred basis for trust. Literature also suggests that over time networks may evolve into smooth-running mechanisms by developing mutual understandings. Until this is realised individuals are likely to entertain arms-length transactions and trust is then fragile. The empirical data support this view. Crisis management professionals emphasise the need for personal knowledge to be able to estimate the trustee. This is evident in the interviews with Australian crisis response professionals and OHQ staff members, as well as in the OHQ case study second survey (I:33-34; III:9; V:11).

The second case study survey further shows a high general propensity for trust among OHQ staff members (V:11). However, while interviewees generally signal a high trust for others, they also make clear that they evaluate newcomers before trusting them fully (III:9). Paper I argues, in line with this, that trust is a “relation based on the trustor’s appraisal of the trustee’s competence and expected behaviour” (I:36). Literature further suggests that depersonalised sources, such as reputation, role or organisational legitimacy, may provide bases for trust in the absence of a shared history (II:3-5). This suggestion also finds support in the present thesis findings. The interviews show that Australian crisis managers mainly bring up role occupancy (I:34). So do the OHQ staff members, but also add military rank and national secondment (II:8; V:12). As an interesting note, while the experiment reported in paper VI did not concern trust, the term still features in some of the participant’s decision rationales. For them, it appears, uncertainty of military units’ capabilities may translate into trust. This suggests that not only individuals but also organisational units may be objects of trust in crisis management settings.

Literature further views risk as a central concept for trust. The interviews with Australian crisis managers suggest that trust in crisis management settings has many similarities with general trust, but that it differs compared to trust in non-crisis settings due to a context-specific ingredient of risk. This notion of risk, which is subjective, likely makes trust more important (II:4). The same notion of risk is not readily apparent in the OHQ case study findings. Instead the OHQ observations and interviews show crisis management professionals’ trust for others to be largely non-
problematic, even when others do not meet their expectations. This does not necessarily mean that these others were trusted, merely that trust was not considered actively (III:17). This ‘robustness’ of trust appears to be influenced by a conscious effort on the behalf of the trustor to re-interpret the trustee’s unexpected behaviour in search of a common understanding. This comes across in observations, but most clearly in the interviews. Such re-interpretations may be termed coping strategies.

To summarise, crisis management professionals describe their trust for others as important. OHQ staff members report a high propensity for trust and seldom describe trust for other staff members as problematic. Staff members of the OHQ made conscious efforts to positively re-interpret others’ unexpected behaviour, here termed coping strategies. While personal knowledge is the preferred basis for trust, also a trustee’s role occupancy and other depersonalised factors may provide a starting capital of trust for crisis management professionals.

National Perspectives

The rationale further rests on the assumption that role conflicts in multinational crisis management may arise from the combination of situational needs and national interests. This section therefore aims to determine to which degree, and if so how, national interests are manifest in an EU OHQ by answering the second research sub-question:

(ii) *Are national perspectives present on the micro-level in an EU OHQ and, if so, does the prominence of national perspectives correlate with any contextual factors?*

As described earlier, literature offers support for the notion of national perspectives in multinational crisis management and particularly so in the case of alliances and military contexts. Such perspectives are evident the EU OHQ case study findings. The observations show that staff members’ behaviour may be nationally oriented by withholding nationally sourced information from the collective, forwarding confidential information to one’s national headquarters, arguing positions or taking actions that favour one’s own nation in the operation (IV:Appendix). OHQ interviews show national perspectives to be, after culture and language barriers, the most common source for work-related friction (IV:9, IV:Appendix). The first OHQ case study survey shows 18% of the staff members reporting that most difficulties in working in the OHQ were created by “national agendas” (III:17). This survey also shows 45% of the staff members to consider “national interests” daily or as a natural part of work (III:16; V:9). However, this prominence of national perspectives as an attitude does not correspond with the observed behaviour. Over the year-long period
of the study the thesis author noted less than 30 instances that were considered to show clear evidence of national perspectives. Taken together this indicates that national perspectives existed in the OHQ, but that they were more prominent as attitudes than as behavioural reproductions. Similarly, the experiment shows that national perspectives, operationalised as parent-nation preference in decision making, may be provoked, but not easily so (VI:10).

The combined findings from both the OHQ case study and the experiment further indicate that familiarity is important. This is most clearly evident in the experiment results when participants are conditioned to be unfamiliar with foreign units’ capabilities relative parent-nation capabilities. This group of participants displays national perspectives in their decisions and generally motivates these in terms which reflect an ambition to reduce operational risk. This tendency is reinforced when the foreign units represent the majority of the collective resources (VI:11). The findings thus suggest, paradoxically, that parent-nation preference may stem from a focus on the best interest of the collective. The case study findings further suggest that pragmatism in the face of national perspectives stems from an increasing stability of the OHQ and familiarity with the multinational context (IV:15).

Similar to the experiment results, the OHQ case study shows that national perspectives are not necessarily uniformly held in a collective, at least not when sub-groups are asymmetrically prominent. However, in contrast to the experiment results the case study findings show that survey respondents from leading nations, mainly France and Ireland, reported on average stronger consideration of national interests than others (III:16; IV:12). Correspondingly, OHQ interviewees associate national perspectives more with France and Ireland than with other nations (V:10). Interviewees tend to explain the French and Irish national perspectives with these nations’ political interests, leading staff positions, strong representation in the staff and thus strong informal networks (IV:11; V:15). This correlates with the operation’s political background and OHQ start-up period, in which France was the main driving force (V:4-5; V:16).

The OHQ interviews also indicate that while national perspectives do not appear to diminish over time in the OHQ, they are perceived less problematic later in the staff activation period compared to the early stages (IV:10; V:10). Interviewees have two explanations for this. First, the transition from the demanding planning phase to the calmer execution phase led to a generally better working climate. Second, the staff matured over time, a process in which particularly the French group of staff members changed their attitudes (V:12). An alternative explanation can be linked to the
evidence of non-common grounds for many of the staff members, which supports the notion of national groups arriving on the staff with different sets of norms (V:13).

To summarise, national perspectives were present on the micro-level in the EU OHQ, both as observed behaviour and self-reported attitudes, and more so with staff members from the leading nations France and Ireland. However, national perspectives were more prominent as attitudes than as behaviour and were not dominant in the staff as a collective. The prominence of national perspectives shows national patterns that correlate with nations’ relative prominence in the staff as well as with the nations’ operational and political roles in the operation. In contrast, the experiment shows national perspectives to be more associated with representatives of minority groups.

Role Conflicts

The previous sections have addressed trust and national perspectives in order to determine the results’ support for part of the rationale logic. The rationale further rests on the assumption that role conflicts in multinational crisis management may stem from national interests. This section therefore aims to determine the level of support for this assumption by answering the third research sub-question:

(iii) Are role conflicts present on the micro-level in EU OHQ, and if so, how?

To recap, staff members in the EU OHQ are simultaneously national officers and EU representatives, permanently employed as military professionals by a nation state and at the same time temporarily assigned to a multinational EU setting. These are (two of) their social identities, which for them may be more or less salient depending on the situation. Each identity is associated with a set of norms, aligning to varying degrees over identity borders. The national role may thus be enacted in parallel to, or in conflict with, the role as an EU representative. Role conflict may occur both for the individual (intrapersonal) and for the interacting party/parties (interpersonal).

As described earlier, literature suggests that inter-group collaboration is likely to carry different perspectives of means and ends, as well as bring different cultures and understandings together (III:1). Literature further suggests that inter-group perceptions are guided by the norms entertained by each group. The degree to which each group views itself as prototypical for the multi-group collective may influence the degree to which they consider their nation’s interest to be prototypical for the supranational interest and subsequently representing a conflict (VI:4). The case study observations and interviews suggest that while nationality may feature in daily staff work, nationality is not necessarily always salient. The case study second survey
show a majority of the OHQ staff members reporting that their time of service in the staff made others’ behaviour make more sense to them, while knowing other staff members’ nationality does not carry the same importance (V:11). In line with this, the observations also show that intergroup conflicts may arise when role-related expectations are not met, but that such conflicts may be associated with specialist roles (II:15; III:7-9).

Even when national perspectives are expressed, conflict does not always result. In fact, the observed instances of expressed national perspectives showed little evidence of open conflict. Instead national groups, both from leading nations and non-leading nations, were often observed to employ both national and supranational perspectives on the same occasion (IV:Appendix). A limited number of OHQ staff member interviews express what may be termed as evidence of role conflict, in the form of critical views on enacted national interests. In most cases these interviewees refer to others rather than to self, to French and Irish rather than to other nationalities, and to the early stages of the OHQ period of activation. Some also describe national networks and perspectives as natural and useful. (III:17; IV:18). This suggests that interpersonal role conflicts were limited. Interviewees who described their own perspectives used phrasings that may be described as ‘both-and’ rather than ‘either-or’ (IV:14) and neither the interviews nor the observations show clear presence of intrapersonal role dilemmas or ambiguities. This suggests that intrapersonal role conflicts were largely absent. The lack of evidence of role conflicts may also be seen in the experiment results, in which the participants’ decision rationales show little evidence of dilemmas. Instead, as already mentioned, concerns are predominantly described as operational rather than conflicts of interests (VI:11).

In summary, the findings do not show that role conflicts in the studied EU OHQ were common. To the degree that they existed they emerged in the early stages of the operation and then in the form of interpersonal role conflicts. Interviewees from both leading and non-leading nations instead refer to nationality and supranationality in terms that can be characterised as ‘both-and’, rather than ‘either-or’.
Main Research Question

To recap, the rationale logic holds that trust is important in crisis management, but that trust may be endangered by role conflicts stemming from the interests of multiple stakeholders. Such a loss of trust is likely to have detrimental effects for the crisis management effort at hand. The three research sub-questions have been answered in the previous sections, which have determined the degree of support for the rationale logic. The aggregate of these answers allows addressing the main research question, which aims to determine the overall degree of support for the rationale logic:

Do role conflicts relating to national perspectives exist in an EU OHQ and if so, are they associated with a loss of trust?

As shown in the previous pages, national perspectives were evident in the studied OHQ in the form of observable behaviour and self-reported perspectives. However, nationally oriented behaviour did not dominate the daily staff work. This may not be specific for the studied OHQ, as the marginality of national perspectives is evident also in the experiment results. As described earlier, the prominence of national perspectives in national groups in the OHQ corresponds with these nations’ staff representations and operational/political stakes, primarily referring to French and, to a lesser degree, Irish OHQ staff members. These staff members were thus more likely have been associated with role conflicts, both interpersonal and intrapersonal. The present thesis fails to show clear evidence of such conflict. On the contrary, the results show that role conflicts may have existed but to a limited extent and then not necessarily related to nationality or with any apparent detrimental effects on the working climate. The working climate may actually be better characterised as positive rather than negative. To the extent that role conflicts relating to national perspectives did exist, they occurred mainly in the early stages of the staff’s life and were interpersonal rather than intrapersonal. As argued in paper V, an OHQ norm on national perspectives may thus be formulated as a general social norm of supranational perspectives with tolerance for national perspectives. The lack of clear evidence of role conflicts linked to national perspectives prevents concluding if loss of trust can be said to result from such role conflicts. This does not mean that no link between role conflicts and trust exists, but merely that this thesis cannot provide any evidence for such a link.

To conclude, role conflicts relating to national perspective were present in the OHQ to a limited extent only. To the extent that they did, they occurred mainly in the early stages of the OHQ period of activation. The present thesis argues that overall the
OHQ embraced a social norm stipulating supranational perspectives with tolerance for national perspectives. No general loss of trust as a result of national perspectives is evident in the findings.

Summary

This chapter has addressed the research questions. The short answer to these questions is that crisis management professionals describe their trust for others as important and influenced not only by a trustee’s role occupancy but also by other depersonalised factors and then mainly in the absence of a shared history. OHQ staff member’s unexpected behaviour resulted in sense-making efforts which helped to preserve trust. National perspectives were present on the micro-level in an EU OHQ, both as observed behaviour and self-reported attitudes. Such perspectives were more evident with staff members from the leading nations France and Ireland. In contrast, in isolation decision makers in OHQ-similar contexts may be more prone to national perspectives when associated with minority groups and when lacking familiarity with foreign nation resources compared to parent-nation resources. Familiarity with the context, including both the management structure and the resources it controls, seems to influence both national perspectives and the perceptions of such perspectives. No general loss of trust can be said to stem from national perspectives. Role conflicts in the EU OHQ appear to have been uncommon. Rather, nationality and supranationality is referred to in terms that can be characterised as ‘both-and’, rather than ‘either-or’. The implications of these answers, and the findings on which they are based, are discussed in the following chapter.
6 Discussion

This thesis has been concerned with trust and national perspectives on the strategic level of EU military-led crisis management, motivated by the criticism directed at the temporary nature of the EU OHQ construct. This criticism holds that EU OHQs are slow to get off the ground and hampered by parallel chains of command. To this end the objective has been to describe trust and national perspectives in an EU OHQ in terms of role conflict. This objective has formed the basis for a main research question and three sub-questions. The findings of six appended papers (I-VI) have been used to address these questions.

To recap, the rationale logic posits that trust is important in crisis management, but that trust may be endangered by role conflicts stemming from the interests of multiple stakeholders. Such a loss of trust is likely to have detrimental effects for the crisis management effort. The present thesis’ findings offer partial support for the rationale logic. The support consists of the findings that trust is important in crisis management and that interests of multiple stakeholders were evident in the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ in the form of national perspectives. However, role conflicts stemming from such perspectives were not apparent and subsequently trust is not found to be endangered by this. In contrast, trust appears to have been robust rather than fragile. These results are discussed in the following together with the research process and the quality of the research.

Results and Theory

Trust

As the present thesis’ results show, trust in crisis management contexts is perceived to be important. These findings align with the writings of other scholars on the general properties of trust (e.g. Mishra, 1996:276; Webb, 1996:289; McKnight, Cummings and Chervany, 1998:482; Moynihan, 2009:909). The results also indicate that a shared personal history remains the most important source for interpersonal trust and the trustee’s contextual ability is a key property in this respect. The OHQ results however suggest that collaboration is possible even when a shared history is absent,
and the trustee’s contextual ability thereby is unknown to the trustor. Individuals as trustors may then turn to depersonalised factors, such as role occupancy, stakeholders and principals associated with the trustee, for a basis from which to derive a starting capital of trust. This fits with previous writings (e.g. Kramer, 1999:580, Noteboom, 2006:249; Meyerson, Weick and Kramer, 1996:190). In particular, the findings from the OHQ case study suggest that trust was largely unproblematic in the staff, even in the face of unexpected behaviour. This motivates discussing the possible explanations for these findings.

The OHQ construct is argued to allow for several of the depersonalised trust sources suggested by literature (Kramer, 1999:577-581). The principle of national secondment for manning of the OHQ allows for role-based trust, which rests on peoples’ knowledge of organisational entry barriers, presumptions of required training and mechanisms for accountability to ensure compliance. The OHQ reliance on doctrine, operating procedures and staff guidance allows for rule-based trust, which refers to a shared understanding of the rules which guide appropriate behaviour. Finally, the all-military but nationally different composition of the OHQ both carries preconditions and creates obstacles for category-based trust, which concerns the trustee’s membership in a social category and argues that a culturally homogenous organisation makes it more likely that its members view each other as honest, cooperative and trustworthy. These preconditions and obstacles motivate further comment.

Preconditions for category-based trust refer to the argument that the all-military OHQ was culturally homogenous in terms of profession. As mentioned, scholars have portrayed the military culture as valuing collectivism, group loyalty and trust, as well as able to collaborate over national borders (Dicks, 1963:426; McKee et al., 2008:1.8). This opens for the possibility that the shared military culture both bridged national differences, for example by a shared terminology, and allowed for a starting capital of trust for others. It may also have brought a common view of trust as a valued property. Doney with colleagues hold that if the trustor and trustee are culturally congruent then trustor and trustee likely look for similar cues and subsequently interpret them similarly (Doney, Cannon and Mullen, 1998:616). According to this perspective the OHQ staff members would not only assume others to be trustworthy but also be striving for trust. They would also be likely to perceive trust similarly and prone to convey a picture of trust as non-problematic. This explanation is supported in the case study findings, in which trust appears valued, generally high and robust in the face of unexpected behaviour. This would suggest trust as both an injunctive and descriptive norm in the OHQ.
Obstacles for category-based trust refer to the argument that the multinational OHQ was culturally heterogeneous in terms of nationality. While little academic work has been done on national cultural differences’ influence on initial trust building (McKnight and Chervany, 2006:43), more action-oriented and competitive cultures, what Hofstede calls masculine cultures (Hofstede, 1985:353-354), are argued to have a higher propensity for initial trust for strangers and value more the trustee’s ability. In contrast, relationship-oriented cultures, or “feminine” cultures, need time to develop relationships and value more the trustee’s benevolence (Shoorman, Mayer and Davis, 2007:351, Doney et al., 1998:610-612). In addition, national culture is argued to influence how this is done cognitively. Importantly, if the trustor and trustee are culturally incongruent then trustor and trustee may convey and look for different cues and subsequently interpret them differently (Doney et al., 1998:616). Literature also suggests that a French culture, which was strongly represented in the OHQ, is likely to favour hierarchical and bureaucratic structures and exhibit low tolerance for risk as well as high thresholds for trust building. In contrast, Scandinavians, Irish and Dutch cultures, which were also strongly represented in the OHQ, are suggested to favour ad-hocracy structures and exhibit high tolerance for risk (Hofstede, 1985:352; Doney et al., 1998:609). Literature thus argues against viewing the studied OHQ as homogenous in terms of national culture and suggests that trust should have been more problematic than reflected by the findings. While trust may then still have been a valued property and constituted an injunctive norm, it would not have been a descriptive norm since interpretations would have differed. Indeed, the case study findings to a degree recognise that nationality brought collaborative barriers in terms of language and work practices, but not extensively so. This reasoning thus offers support for viewing trust in the OHQ as hampered by national culture heterogeneity but to a limited extent only.

Taken together the OHQ is argued to have carried both preconditions for depersonalised trust through organisational structures and a professional homogeneity but also preconditions for trust erosion through cultural heterogeneity. What may be concluded is that trust in the EU OHQ was important, valued and relied mainly on a shared history. However, in the absence of a shared history staff members derived trust from depersonalised factors, such as role occupancy, organisational rules and shared profession. Trust also seems to have been robust in the face of unexpected behaviour. Trust in the OHQ may thus be described as an injunctive and possibly also as a descriptive norm.
National Perspectives and Roles

The results show that national perspectives existed in the OHQ. This evidence stems from researcher observations and self reports from OHQ staff members in both interviews and surveys. The observations stem from different points in time and from different branches and physical locations in the staff organisation, which suggests that the phenomenon was not limited to certain operational phases or groups of staff members. While French and Irish staff members feature more often in interviewees’ accounts than do other nationalities, this does not necessarily mean that they were more than others inclined to national orientation in their behaviour. Given that these two nationalities dominated the body of staff members, it is possible that the level of national orientation in behaviour was not different for French and Irish staff members compared to other staff members, merely that they were more visible to the interviewees. This argument does however not fit with the survey findings which show that French and Irish staff members were more prone than others to national perspectives as an attitude. Assuming that these actually were more nationally oriented than others, the question becomes why this thesis’ experiment shows that a minority role, rather than a majority role, leads to stronger national perspectives.

While the experiment results may be seen to align with theory (e.g. Dovido, Gaerner and Sugay, 2009), the OHQ findings do not. As described in paper VI, a general explanation could be derived from the fact that the experiment isolated the decision maker from a OHQ-like social context, in which a leading nation may exert stronger influence on its representatives through a greater visibility and stronger peer pressure through sheer numbers and the holding of key positions, compared to more marginal nations. Also, the EUFOR Tchad/RCA operation embraced French and Irish political interests, which may have translated into strong national perspectives with these nations’ staff members. Taken together this may have taken precedence over the minority-majority distinction. An alternative explanation is that minority-majority distinction is either is overstated in theory, or does not apply to OHQ-like contexts. However, to clarify this further research would be needed.

It is also argued that the thesis’ findings show that the national and supranational roles appear to be two distinguishable concepts for OHQ staff members, but that role conflicts in EU OHQ do not appear common. Instead, the combination of case study and experiment findings suggest that individuals were able to combine these different sets of norms, and thus their roles as national officers and EU representatives. This is illustrated by OHQ staff members’ descriptions of the interest of their nations and the interests of the collective effort as ‘both-and’, rather than ‘either-or’. At least two explanations for this may be suggested.
The first explanation may be derived from the *Dual Organization Identification Model* as proposed by Vora and Kostova (2007:333,343) which suggests that role conflict is less likely when an individual views one identity as superordinate to, and therefore encompassing, the other. Termed ‘nested identification’ this allows the individual to see similarities in values and goals between the stakeholders which reduce the perception of role conflict and helps reconciling conflicting perspectives and interests. Translated to the OHQ context, staff members would have regarded the role as a national officer as a subset to the role as an EU representative, which would portray the OHQ as functionally similar to the Brussels-based EU working groups (Juncos and Pomorska, 2008:505; Cross, 2010:36, 2011:133, Howorth, 2010:18). The present thesis’ findings seem to fit with this explanation. The second explanation assumes that OHQ staff members’ dual roles were not ‘nested’ for the OHQ staff members but that national interests did not conflict with operational needs, in other words interest de-confliction occurred *outside* the OHQ which allowed staff members’ role content to converge. The findings fit also with this explanation, which suggests that the risk for role conflicts in an OHQ may be less than what literature seems to hold (e.g. Johnson, 1999:68; Vora and Kostova, 2007:343).

If both explanations are valid it may be speculated that major conflicts of interests between individual nations and the EU collective may have been deconflicted on the political level, while the finer details may have been deconflicted in the OHQ below the level of the Operations Commander. This thesis’ evidence of national perspectives would then relate to these finer details of conflict. This would help explain both the existence of national perspectives and the pragmatic views associated with them. However, the findings are inconclusive in this respect.

Taken together, the findings show that national perspectives existed in the OHQ. However, their prominence does not support arguing that national perspectives constituted a descriptive or injunctive norm for the collective OHQ. Rather, the present thesis hypothesises that role content differed between national groups in terms of national perspectives and aligned across national borders in terms of supranational perspectives. As a result, the present thesis suggests the existence of a collective norm stipulating supranational perspectives, but that such a norm was weak and tolerant of national perspectives. The results further show that role conflicts relating to national perspectives were not readily evident in the OHQ. Role conflicts, to the extent that they occurred, were more common in the planning phase than in the execution phase.
Socialisation

The present thesis argues that a shift towards a more harmonious working climate occurred, which raises the question of socialisation in the OHQ. This question has two dimensions, a collective and an individual dimension. Jeffrey Checkel (2005) highlights three forms of socialisation; strategic calculation, role playing and normative suasion. Strategic calculation works through incentives for individuals that are seen as pursuers of their own interests. Incentives can be material and social, positive and negative and sustained compliance may over time change the individuals’ preferences. Role playing instead involves an unconscious or automatic adaption by individuals to their environment and becomes relevant when groups are small and contacts occur over a period of time. Checkel portrays the third form of socialisation as the deepest; normative suasion is an individual’s conscious and active process of reflection and redefinition of own values and beliefs, leading to a true internalisation (Checkel, 2005:808-813). In terms of collective socialisation the present thesis shows that there was a shift over time in the working climate. The staff climate appeared to shift from pressing in the early stages of the OHQ period of activation, to less pressing in the later stages. Three explanations appear possible, of which interviewed staff members offer two.

The first explanation refers to a staff-common transition from a demanding and stressful planning phase to a less demanding and stressful execution phase. It appeared generally accepted among the interviewed staff members that the planning stages of a military operation are often characterised by high levels of uncertainty, demanding timelines and under-staffing. Things usually calm down as operations transition into their execution phase. In the case of the EUFOR Tchad/RCA operation, the planning phase was particularly difficult. As described in paper V, the operation was initiated and strongly driven by France, while other Member States were reluctant and in some cases even suspicious of French motives. In addition, the force generation process was difficult with substantial delays as a result. These circumstances likely contributed to making the planning phase particularly difficult compared to other operations. This explanation therefore seems plausible and carries no implications in terms of socialisation.

The second explanation refers to a maturity process in which particularly the French group of staff members changed from what one interviewee described as a “French-oriented excluding attitude” towards a collective including attitude. The second explanation holds that particularly the French matured into a collective attitude. There are circumstances that make also this likely. The French initiative included making the French OHQ location outside Paris available, activating it and beginning to pre-
plan with an all-French group of staff members months in advance. In addition, the designation of an Irish Operations Commander came later than expected. Even when the OHQ was fully manned, the French contributed roughly half of the staff members. As a result, the French may have developed a sense of ownership of the operation that lingered on, translating into the above-described attitude. The thesis’ findings offer support also for this explanation.

The third explanation refers to OHQ staff members’ common grounds. As argued in paper V, the lack of common grounds for many of the staff members, in terms of limited experience of strategic level staff duty, limited EU training and short notice before deploying to the OHQ, may have led to national individuals and groups arriving to the staff with different sets of norms. Such a situation would suggest that the collective of staff members had a steep learning curve, both for the less experienced who had to learn ‘on the job’ as well as for the more experienced who had to adjust to newcomers in need of training. Such a situation would be similar to the experimental scenario condition with asymmetric familiarity, in the sense that established French and Irish staff members may in the early stages have been more familiar with their parent-nation resources than with the influx of foreign resources. If this was the case then operational concerns stemming from a lack of cross-border familiarity may have contributed to the prominence of national perspectives in the early stages.

Regardless of which explanation best reflects reality, and perhaps all three have some relevance, the findings do not allow characterising the shift in more detail. It is therefore possible that the shift only signified a pragmatic adjustment of behaviour there and then, which would theoretically fit better with Checkel’s strategic calculation and role playing than with normative suasion, i.e. a deeper socialisation. Jeffrey Checkel establishes five preconditions for such deep socialisation; (a) the environment is to them not only new but also uncertain; (b) they hold few prior beliefs which are inconsistent with the socialising influence; (c) the individual identifies with the context; (d) compliance is not enforced, and (e) the interaction between the individual and the socialising context is “less politicized and more insulated, in-camera settings” (Checkel, 2005:813). This may be described as the difference between moving towards injunctive norm alignment and descriptive norm alignment. In the former case staff members leave the OHQ with truly changed attitudes, while in the latter they do not. While individual staff members may have fulfilled Checkel’s first three conditions, the OHQ, as a high-level politically close multinational organisation with a high degree of formality, strong hierarchy and high stakes, hardly seem to allow for unenforced compliance and an apolitical insulated setting. Subsequently deep socialisation therefore seems unlikely. In addition, any
socialisation effects may have been balanced by counteracting influences. At least two such influences may be at work. Firstly, the OHQ’s proximity to the political level may make OHQ staff members continuous targets for national political and military headquarters’ attention, which would keep reinforcing national perspectives in the organisation. Secondly, the OHQ body of staff members tended to rotate every three months, which means that a constant stream of newcomers replaced established staff members. It is possible that this meant replacing socialised staff members with non-socialised, thus moderating the overall effect of staff socialisation. Any effects of socialisation would then show up in capitals with returning staff members, not in the collective crisis management organisation.

Taken together the present thesis argues that to the degree that socialisation occurred it likely embraced all staff members, both individually and collectively, but perhaps affected the French more than others. It also seems likely that such a socialisation was less far-reaching than Checkel’s normative suasion. The conclusion to draw is that lasting change of norms cannot be argued to have taken place in the EU OHQ.

**Coping Strategies**

The present thesis argues that there were signs of coping strategies in the OHQ. These coping strategies consisted of making an effort to make sense of others’ unexpected behaviour. This may be theoretically described as interpretative framing, as argued in paper III. There are at least two possible explanations for such coping strategies, of which the first is agency-related and the second is identity-related.

The agency-related explanation refers to the fact that OHQ staff members are under contractual-like obligations and may thus feel that they cannot exit from collaborative situations at will. This links to principal-agent theory which concern situations when a principal contracts an agent to performing for the benefit of the principal and sees organisations as collections of mechanisms in terms of structures, rules and standard operating procedures that guide members in what they do (Eisenhart, 1989a:60). According to this argument, OHQ staff members should feel obliged to constructively deal with unexpected behaviour due to their agency-like relationships with both their capitals and their OHQ superiors. This thesis’ empirical findings could be seen to offer support for this explanation, as references to obligations are common in the interviews.

The identity-related explanation refers to Pettigrew’s attribution theory, which stipulates that negative behaviour is more likely to be attributed to external factors than to individual malevolence when this individual is seen to be an in-group member compared when seen as an out-group member (Pettigrew, 1979:469). The present
thesis suggests that such identification could be profession-oriented as well as situation-oriented. A profession-oriented identification refers to the traits of the military culture as collectivistic, hierarchical and loyal. According to this view coping strategies may be triggered by the similarity of underlying cultural traits taking the form of strong in-group identification. Alternatively, coping strategies could be a general property for OHQ-like settings. This perspective opens for a situation-oriented identification, which relates to being physically co-located in the OHQ while distant to parent-nations. This combination would lead OHQ staff members to identify with each other and thus constitute the individual’s in-group. Suparamaniam (2008:151-152) may be seen to highlight this phenomenon for the civilian domain of disaster relief work. She argues that local interagency collaboration emerges, and is renegotiated with superiors, with degrees of success following paths of common ground and mutual trust stemming from a shared situation. If Suparamaniam’s findings apply also to the OHQ then the argued coping strategies in the OHQ may be linked to a shared situation rather than a shared culture. The empirical findings may be seen to offer support also for the identity-related explanation, as references to the military identity are common, but not for the situation-related explanation.

Given the ambiguous support from the empirical evidence it is difficult to hold any of these explanations as more plausible than the others. While the present thesis’ findings thus do not allow any conclusions on the drivers behind coping strategies, they do suggest that staff members in the OHQ were able to deal with unexpected behaviour. This may be described as a collaboration-enabling mechanism through a pragmatic familiarisation with how things may get done in the context at hand. As Per Norheim-Martinsen notes on the subject of EU CSDP missions; “...once an operation is up and running, people who are engaged in the same theatre of operations tend to work out practical ways of working together.” (Norheim-Martinsen, 2009:20). This could also be described as the creation of temporary and context-specific descriptive norms as suggested by Kahneman and Miller (1986:161,148).

**Summary**

To summarise, the results’ discussion argues the OHQs to have carried structural preconditions for depersonalised trust and cultural preconditions through a professional homogeneity. It is concluded that trust in the OHQ was important, valued and relying mainly on a shared history. In the absence of a shared history the staff members derived trust from depersonalised factors, such as role occupancy, organisational rules and shared profession. Staff members also used coping strategies as an enabler for preserving trust in the face of unexpected behaviour. Coping strategies likely associated to perceptions of belonging to the OHQ staff as a unit, in
other words identifying with other staff members. The findings also show that national perspectives existed in the OHQ. A lack of cross-border familiarity may have contributed to national perspectives, possibly partly motivated by operational concerns. The present thesis proposes the existence of a collective norm stipulating supranational perspectives, but that such a norm was weak and tolerant of national perspectives. The results further show that role conflicts relating to national perspectives were not readily evident in the OHQ. Role conflicts, to the extent that they occurred, were more common in the planning phase of the operation than in the execution phase. Processes of familiarisation were evident. To the degree that socialisation occurred it likely embraced all staff members, both individually and collectively, but likely did not constitute normative suasion. However, as shown by the discussion up to this point, explaining the findings is difficult based on the empirical data. While this to a degree relates to the implications of case study research as described earlier, it also raises the question of the quality of research.

Quality of Research

This discussion has so far compared the results with theory. It has also recognised ambiguities in terms of socialisation effects and the influence of cultural differences. Before turning to the implications of the results, the quality of the research in terms of reliability, validity and scope for generalisation needs to be addressed. This has been touched upon in the Methods chapter in terms of the methods used. This section addresses researcher bias as well as the value, reliability and validity of the research.

Researcher Bias

In the words of Johnson (1997: 282), “[r]esearcher bias tends to result from selective observation and selective recording of information, and also from allowing one’s personal views and perspectives to affect how data are interpreted and how the research is conducted.” Johnson notes this to be particularly relevant for qualitative research and suggests reflexivity as a key strategy, meaning a critical introspective attitude towards self in order to try to monitor and control bias. For the present thesis researcher bias is especially likely since the author shares the professional culture of the area of study. This motivates clarity on how this has been addressed.

As mentioned, the author is a Swedish military professional with more than 25 years of active service and experience from several multinational crisis management endeavours. This is likely to have coloured the research in the multinational context. The typical national traits of the Swedish national culture translates into the four
classic Hofstedian dimensions as follows: a relational perspective rather than competitive, individualistic rather than collective, low acceptance of unequal power distribution in society, and a high tolerance for uncertainty (Hofstede, 1985:351-354). While, as Hofstede emphasises, national culture does not necessarily translate to the individual, it is possible that in national terms culturally similar individuals who feature in the present thesis have been interpreted differently compared to culturally dissimilar individuals. Adding to the underlying risk for bias is the fact that the author was part of the studied context as a regular staff member of the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ. This likely provided a rich “inside view” but also affected objectivity.

This risk for bias has been addressed through five strategies. First, prior to the research effort the author attended a course on case study research at Lund University. This highlighted the risks described above and allowed for conducting the research with a degree of self-awareness in this respect. Second, the tools for data collection have consistently been tested on others, civilians and militaries, for clarity and neutrality of meaning prior to their use. This includes interview questions, survey forms and the experimental design. Third, the selections of participants have followed pre-determined strategies rather than relying on author’s choice. The OHQ interviewees were purposively selected with the ambition to provide a representative selection of rank and role and a widespread selection in terms of nationality. The OHQ survey respondents and the experiment participants were not selected but broadly invited. The two in-house surveys were distributed to the whole OHQ staff and the experiment was open to all students in the courses selected by the institutions’ representatives. Fourth, qualitative data intended for triangulation has been blind-coded into tables to prevent “positive interpretation”. An example of this is experiment participants’ decision rationales, which the author coded into the data matrix with all other respondent data hidden. Fifth, the author’s interpretations and conclusions have been extensively discussed with selected OHQ staff members of different nationalities and with fellow researchers at the Lund University and at the National Defence College in Stockholm. As a result, individual conclusions have had a tendency to ‘mature’ and have often been adjusted several times before reaching their final form. While these measures may not fully mediated the risk for researcher bias it is argued that they likely had a moderating effect.

The thesis’ final form is also likely influenced by the research process. In retrospect it is clear that the research process has led to a shift in the author’s viewpoints. For example, this thesis was initiated with a personal perspective that crisis management is a collective good and inter-agency friction should, and can, be addressed. The work was initially based on the notion that the problem of friction may lie in crisis management professionals taking realist positions rather than idealist ones by
favouring self-serving utility on behalf of altruism and collectivism. Based on the same position, national perspectives were initially seen as individual initiatives. Possible remedies were thus expected to be found on the individual level. However, through the process of research this personal perspective gradually shifted towards seeing complex interactions involving multiple levels of crisis management, broadening the focus from the personal level to also include the institutional and societal. The perhaps greatest change in author perspective lies in a greater appreciation of complexity and the usefulness of holistic views as enablers for learning.

Research Value

Quality of research also concerns its value in terms of rarity and contributions to the field. The rarity of the present thesis rests with the fact that the main body consists of the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ case study. This case study represents a rare set of qualified data for three reasons. First, military organisations are notoriously difficult to access. Not only do they often require hard-to-get clearances for non-military personnel, but their cultural particularities make probing for deeper meaning difficult if you do not share the background knowledge and the terminology. In addition, military organisations become even more closed to the external world when involved in live operations. Increased levels of security, safety issues and pressing circumstances make access hard and data collection difficult even for militaries, as described earlier. The present thesis was enabled partly by the authors’ background as a military professional with multinational experience, partly by the author being fortunate to belong to a troop-contributing nation, and partly by the benevolence of fellow OHQ staff members. This benevolence most certainly stems from the author having been seen as legitimate in the context, which allowed both formal access to the OHQ contexts and informal access to the perceptions of the OHQ staff members. Such a long-term “inside view” of a live military headquarters on the strategic level, facilitated by the contextual legitimacy brought by the author’s rank, role and previous experience, appears rarely possible to achieve. The value of this thesis in terms of contributions lies in its focus on trust and national perspectives within a military-strategic level staff, which to this author’s knowledge has not been done before in the EU context. This may contribute to the body of knowledge by complementing research on the political level of CSDP, research on civil crisis management and research on civil-military cooperation.

Reliability and Validity
Reliability refers to the degree of consistency of empirical results by different researchers, or by the same researcher on different occasions. In the words of Kirk and Miller, “[r]eliability is the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research” (Kirk and Miller, 1986:20). The concept of reliability refers mainly to the experiment presented in paper VI. This reliability of the experiment is not demonstrated *per se*, as the experiment was conducted only once. However, it is argued that grounds for verifying reliability is provided by providing a comprehensive and transparent description of the experiment methodology.

For qualitative research, which is appropriate for the main body of this thesis, the concepts of validity and reliability are often seen as problematic by being difficult to access and measure. Qualitative research has also been viewed to be iterative rather than linear (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olsen and Spies, 2002:17) and especially so in case study research (Eisenhart, 1989b:541). Validity may be divided into descriptive, interpretative, theoretical, internal and external validity (Johnson, 1997:284-291). These forms of validity, as described by Johnson, apply to different parts of the present thesis research as follows.

Descriptive validity concerns the factual accuracy of the account as reported by the researcher. Johnson’s suggested strategy to determine this is triangulation by using multiple observers. For the present thesis this applies to the observations made during the OHQ case study. While the author was the sole observer, efforts to verify the observations consisted of informally comparing author perceptions with those of others present, as well as regularly discussed interpretations with selected OHQ staff members. In addition, the duration and intensity of the observation, one year of continuous and involved presence during working hours, is argued to have compensated for the access limitations described earlier.

Interpretative validity concerns the degree to which the researcher arrives at an accurate representation of the meaning attached by participants. Johnson’s suggested strategy for this consists of participant feedback. This form of validity applies to the case study interviews and surveys as well as to the experiment decision rationales. This was particularly important since most of the work was done in English, a second language for both the author and the others involved. Verification of interviewee meaning was done by sharing all interview transcripts with the interviewees and allowing them to make notes and corrections. In some cases the author also shared his interpretations with the interviewees, which led to a couple of very fruitful discussions.
Theoretical validity refers to the degree to which a theoretical explanation developed from a research study fits the data, in other words how a phenomenon operates and why. Johnson’s suggested strategy is extended field work, theory triangulation and pattern matching. This form of validity applies mainly to the add-on to the model of trust presented in paper III, concerning coping strategies in the form of temporary interpretative frames. While this model seems to fit well with the year-long case study findings it can hardly be said to be theoretically validated. To achieve this further research would be needed, preferably in a controlled setting.

Internal validity concerns the degree to which a researcher is justified in concluding that an observed relationship is causal. Johnson’s suggested strategy for this is to rule out rival explanations and employ data triangulation. This form of validity applies to the experiment presented in paper VI and is particularly relevant since the experiment carries a high degree of mundane realism, which opens for confounding influences. This was dealt with by comparing participants’ decision outcomes with their decision rationales, in order to determine the motives behind decision outcomes.

External validity, finally, concerns the degree of generalisability. Johnson’s suggested strategy for this refers to what he terms naturalistic generalisation, in the sense that the more similar people and circumstances in a particular research are to the ones to which generalisation is done the more defendable is a generalisation. This applies to the present thesis’ findings a whole and requires greater elaboration. As described earlier, a series of circumstances were particular to the case studied, the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ. This OHQ was not the first OHQ to be activated in accordance with the Framework Nation concept. Fort Mont Valérien outside Paris had also been activated once before. However, this time it was tasked to run the most logistically challenging and perhaps also the most politically contested operation the EU had undertaken at that point in time. In addition, the OHQ was atypical compared to the Framework Nation concept in that the Operations Commander was Irish rather than French, as described in paper V. Since each EU operation is likely to have a unique political context, set of participating nations, operational challenges and special arrangements, any activated OHQ will most likely deviate from any “model OHQ” and certainly be different from this paper’s object of study. In addition, the EU has arguably moved forward in the last few years in terms of conducting a CSDP operation (Norheim-Martinsen, 2010:21). However, this thesis holds that each of the features proposed by scholars and mirrored in the present papers’ results – asymmetric national prominence, multiple chains of command and variations in common ground - is likely to emerge again, albeit to varying degrees and in different constellations. Europe is also, in terms of national cultures, a limited arena in the global context and the EU integration process has so far been relatively slow. As a
result, the cultural and professional similarity between the studied context and future EU OHQs should be greater than compared to, say, a strategic level NATO staff. This suggests that the results may contribute to a better understanding of future OHQs under the condition that the political context and the OHQ national composition are taken into account. The results should also be possible to generalise, but with caution referring to national cultural specifics, to other multinational military strategic level organisations.

**Summary of Quality of Research**

In sum, the present thesis’ quality of research is described in terms of researcher bias and in terms of value reliability and validity. While the risk for researcher bias is arguably high in the present thesis, the author has employed a set of strategies to moderate its effect. The value of the research has been argued to rest with its rarity and its complementary role in relation to other research in the field of crisis management. Reliability has not been demonstrated but catered for through grounds for verification. The validity of the research has been described in five different forms; descriptive, interpretative, theoretical, internal and external. These forms apply to various aspects of the research and have also been satisfied by different means. This brings this discussion to the implications of the results.

**Concluding Remarks**

**Implications**

To recap, the rationale holds that trust is important and that role conflicts are more likely today than before in multinational crisis management. This may have implications for trust, as trust in temporary teams has been argued to rely heavily on each member’s faithful role enactment. Role conflicts may thus result in undesirable consequences for crisis management organisations. In particular, EU OHQs are argued to be slow to get off the ground and hampered by parallel chains of command, which requires OHQ staff members to be able to balance their loyalties (Mattelaer, 2011:17-22,24. However, due to the limited empirical evidence from EU OHQs it remains unclear to what degree OHQs are dysfunctional in these respects. As the scope for generalisation has been argued as limited mainly to future OHQs, this section addresses the implications of the present thesis’ findings against the background of this OHQ-related criticism.

In line with the first part of Mattelaer’s criticism, that OHQs are slow starters, the findings suggest that OHQs indeed are likely to require a period of familiarisation
which may stretch over months rather than days. This requirement is argued to relate to the properties of the OHQ as a system, the resources the OHQ is set to manage and the particularities of the operation in question. Such a lack of familiarity may not only slow down decision making processes but also lead to a greater prominence of national perspectives. However, the findings also suggest that all-military OHQs are likely capable of dealing with unexpected behaviour and preserve trust on a functional level even under such circumstances. Furthermore, national perspectives seem to be problematic to a limited extent only and OHQ staff members appear able to successfully balance their roles as national officers and EU representatives.

While a requirement for familiarisation does not automatically lead to a dysfunctional organisation, it does not constitute an ideal basis for crisis management efficiency when timelines are short and operational demands are high. The present thesis’ findings in terms of a need for familiarisation links not only to the inherent uncertainties associated with the early stages of a military operation and a lack of shared personal history, but also to a lack of staff member’s common grounds. The lack of common grounds in the EUFOR Tchad/RCA OHQ may have stemmed partly from individual differences in experience, partly from differences between EU Member State’s military backgrounds. Most, but not all, of these Member States have a long tradition of NATO membership, which likely provides the majority of its military professionals not only with a common terminology and staff methodology, but also with personal experiences from working in alliance contexts. When time constraints preclude EU training or mission-specific training such a NATO-oriented background may provide its representatives in the OHQ with a useful fallback in terms of working methods and language since the OHQ construct is functionally copied from NATO. OHQ staff members from nations which are not NATO members, or recent NATO-members, may therefore have a steeper learning curve in this respect. Although this may not have been problematic in the EUFOR Tchad/RCA it could be a source for friction in operations with shorter timeframes, which warrants comment. There are at least three possibilities for improving common grounds for the benefit of the OHQ construct.

The first possibility concerns replacing the current temporary OHQ construct with a permanent organisation, which reflects the almost decade-long efforts of some EU Member States. Such a solution would not only allow for developing a solid base of shared history among its members but also mediate the lack of common grounds stemming from personal and national differences through daily and prolonged interaction. However, such a development is politically sensitive, as shown by history of the issue, as well as difficult for the Member States since it involves permanently stationing more than one hundred militaries in Brussels or nearby. Given today’s
slimmed military organisations in the EU it would not only be costly but could also create recruitment problems, as military manpower is a shortage even today. The second possibility concerns building on the argued cross-border similarity of military cultures by streamlining Member States’ national doctrine, terminology and training. While this process is arguably already a reality to some extent, such an ambition would call for a substantial shift from national orientation to EU orientation, as well as addressing the question of a common language. The third possibility concerns shifting the centre of gravity from the EU Member States to the EU regarding training of potential OHQ staff members. The use of the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) could be expanded in terms of joint training of national bodies of pre-identified OHQ staff members common with OHQ manning as a first priority. This solution would avoid political gridlocks and, albeit to a limited extent, help increasing common grounds and shared history among potential OHQ staff members.

In line with the second part of Mattelaer’s OHQ criticism, that OHQs experience parallel chains of command, the present thesis’ findings may seem to offer support for this. However, it has to be kept in mind that the support is inferred, as the findings are based on staff members’ perceptions only and not demonstrated presence of influences from capitals. While the findings in combination with the writings of other scholars makes it likely that such parallel chains of command exist also in EU OHQs they thus remain to be demonstrated. Still, assuming that they do exist, some comments may be made.

Multiple chains of command may be an inherent feature of OHQs as long as operations are supported by individual Member States on a case-by-case basis and as currently done. The author finds in plausible that nations’ political and financial investment in an operation motivate them to monitor and control the operation as much as possible, which is tempting to pursue through nationally seconded representation in the OHQ. The current principle of national secondment can therefore be argued to create a dependency between the parent-nation and the individual staff member which may easily transform into a channel for influence. A possible alternative to the principle of national secondment would be to copy the UN system. This would translate into Brussels fully employing OHQ staff members, specifying their dedicated EU loyalty in staff guidance documents and managing their service reports without Member State involvement. While this would not fully eliminate national ties it could moderate them. The disadvantage of such a system could be an even greater EU bureaucracy compared to today. However, in order to determine the usefulness of such a system further research would be needed.
To summarise, the findings offer support for the criticism directed at the EU OHQ construct in terms of familiarisation needs and parallel chains of command. While the above offers suggestions for consideration, these rest on the assumption that there is problem in need of a solution. As shown by the results this is not necessarily the case, which leads to the present thesis’ suggestions for future research.

**Future Research**

This thesis’ results provide answers but also raise questions. These questions could be the subject of further research, specifically regarding the previously described possibilities to address the argued need for familiarisation.

In terms of familiarisation, the present thesis suggests a process of familiarisation in the studied OHQ, and that familiarity may not only affect staff skills but also the prominence of national perspectives. While this has been linked to the human tendency for uncertainty avoidance it calls for further research. Further experiments could investigate the likelihood for national perspectives in symmetric national constellations and probe deeper into the decision makers’ rationales. Similarly, field studies could make dedicated efforts to trace the lines of reasoning behind national perspectives. In terms of parallel chains of command further research could be directed at distinguishing between causes and effects in terms of social dynamics versus the influence of agency influences. Given that these two theoretical lenses seem difficult to separate, a promising way forward also seems to lie in the domain of norm theory as described earlier. It should also be interesting to further study the intercultural influences on trust and national perspectives in settings where the dominating nations are not also EU grand powers. Non-European settings could also be interesting in this respect. A further effort could be directed at investigating how crisis management professionals perceive their roles and to what extent these may be described as distinct from each other or as ‘nested’ as suggested by the Dual Organization Identification Model (Vora and Kostova, 2007:333).
7 Conclusions

The main contributions of the research described in this thesis are:

- Trust is important in crisis management and relies primarily on shared history. In the absence of a shared history, trust may be based on depersonalised factors. One such factor is the trustee’s role occupancy.

- OHQ staff members are likely to employ trust-preserving coping strategies in the face of work-related friction, which include efforts to make sense of others’ behaviour.

- National perspectives are likely to be evident in an EU OHQ, mainly as attitudes but also as behaviour. Attitudes are likely to differ between national groups. National perspectives do not necessarily imply role conflicts and detrimental effects on trust.

- Positive intergroup and interpersonal collaboration is possible in an EU OHQ during the execution phase of an operation despite evidence of national perspectives. Socialisation processes are likely but may not result in lasting changes of norms.
8 References


9 Appendix