An application of a combined framework to set the future direction of

the Norwegian Home Guard

Kjetil Hatlebakk Hove, a* Espen Berg-Knutsen, Per Kristian Dahl and

Nina Rones^a

^a Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, Kjeller, Norway

Corresponding author: kjetilhove@gmail.com

Abstract

In 2017, the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and the Norwegian Home Guard commissioned a research project to help set a future identity and direction for the

reserve-based Home Guard. Using a combination of frameworks, we consider

major threats against Norway and, in light of this analysis, suggest a future

to defend against, in that it is often covert, non-attributional, directed at the

identity and direction. Our analysis says that, while conventional warfare still

poses the most difficult challenge to the country, irregular warfare can be harder

civilian sector and in the grey zone between war and peace. Limited situational

understanding, limited civilian-military coordination, and a limited ability to deal

with situations over time contribute to this. We conclude that the Home Guard

has the potential to contribute to increased national resilience, in that it has local

anchoring, a distributed structure to provide flexible support and the ability to

cooperate with civilian organizations. The combined framework we introduce in

this paper can be employed to conduct a variety of defence analyses in a coherent

fashion, increasing the credibility, transferability, dependability and

confirmability of such analyses.

Keywords: direction setting; comprehensive defence analysis; organizational

systems framework; design thinking; home guard

Introduction

It is a timeless truth that any military organization must adapt its identity and direction

to changes in its external environment. Equally true is that such changes are not always

Dette er en postprint-versjon/This is a postprint version. DOI til publisert versjon/DOI to published version: 10.1080/14702436.2020.1809381 implemented as a consequence of coherent analysis. There is no one standardized step-by-step way of conducting such an analysis. Nor will there ever be, due to the open nature of the changes in the environment and the heterogeneity of organizations.

Nonetheless, we should always seek to employ a framework for such analyses, to ensure credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The aim of this paper is to establish and apply such a framework for setting identity and direction, using the Norwegian Home Guard as a case study.

This article is based on the outcome of the first of several studies commissioned by the Home Guard and the Ministry of Defence on how to develop the Home Guard (Hove, Berg-Knutsen, Dahl and Rones 2019). This first study is unclassified, while later studies will be largely classified. The research problem in this first study was to establish and apply a framework to outline a future identity and direction. To do this, we first asked: "what are the most important threats Norway faces which the Home Guard can help combat?" Based on answers to this question, and an analysis of associated challenges and needs, we outline a future identity and direction. As we imply in the method section, we set wide boundaries for what is a realistic scope for reform of the Home Guard, including the most radical option of abolishing the Home Guard or merging it with another organization.

The question of future identity and direction has no right or wrong answer: it can be difficult to know when we have achieved an acceptable solution, and every step on the way towards the solution is unique. This type of question is often labelled a "wicked problem" (Ackoff 1974; Conklin and Weil 1998; Ritchey 2013; Rittel and Webber 1973; Rosenhead 1996). The trademarks of a wicked problem underline the need for a coherent framework to ensure a credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable analysis.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First, we provide a brief history of the Norwegian Home Guard. Second, in the methods section, we present our framework, based on three existing analytical approaches. We then present results from our analysis, in combination with results from 36 qualitative interviews. Based on our analysis, we then proceed to outline a future identity and direction for the Home Guard. Finally, we conclude by pointing towards the remaining studies of the project.

The Norwegian Home Guard

Established in 1946, the Norwegian Home Guard currently consists of approximately 40,000 part-time soldiers. The Home Guard has evolved through the threats and experiences the country has faced – from the sudden and overwhelming German invasion of 1940, to the threat from Soviet Spetsnaz forces in the 1980s, to the current situation of sustained peace, but with new challenges related to an increased interdependence between the Armed forces and civilian society. ¹

At its inception, the Home Guard aimed to function as a locally grounded, rapidreaction defence against a coup or a surprise attack by a conventional adversary. Over the years, the Home Guard evolved into an organization that was also concerned with societal security,² including upholding vital functions in society and critical infrastructure. Today, the Home Guard functions within a system of mutual support and

¹ See also Norheim-Martinsen (2016) for a discussion of armed forces as "normal" organizations.

² The Norwegian term is "samfunnssikkerhet". For a comparison between the Norwegian-specific term and the societal security term as used in literature, see, for example, Høyland (2018).

cooperation between the Armed Forces and civil society (the total defence concept).³ For example, this means that the police can call upon the Home Guard if a crisis, such as a major accident or natural disaster, occurs.⁴

Since the turn of the millennium, the Home Guard has been assigned local territorial responsibility⁵ and territorial operations.⁶ Today, local territorial responsibility and territorial operations determine the necessary dimensions of the

³ The definition of total defence reads: "The modernised total defence concept encompasses mutual support and cooperation between the Norwegian Armed Forces and civil society in connection with contingency planning, crisis management and consequence management across the entire crisis spectrum – from peace via security policy crisis to armed conflict." (Norwegian Ministry of Defence and Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2018). Similar systems exist in other Nordic countries (see Wither 2020).

⁴ There are also other civilian emergency organizations in operation, chiefly the Civil Defence ("Sivilforsvaret"), whose main aim is to protect the civilian population in crisis or war. The Civil Defence is under the command of the Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection, ("Direktoratet for samfunnssikkerhet og beredskap", DSB), whose chief task is to maintain a complete overview of various risks and vulnerabilities in society.

⁵ Local territorial responsibility ("lokalt territorielt ansvar") includes day-to-day responsibility for planning and management of operations in peace, crisis and war, as well as local cooperation and networking with civilian partners and local government.

⁶ Territorial operations ("territorielle operasjoner") aim to protect military capabilities, critical infrastructure and the population. Main elements include securing and guarding infrastructure, surveillance and control, facilitating and receiving allied support, host nation support, and military–civilian cooperation.

Home Guard, while assistance in crises is a supplementary task, not relevant for dimensioning.⁷

From its inception, a strong link to civilian society has been emphasized. This is perhaps best illustrated through the establishment of a civilian council structure (Bjerga and Gjeseth 2010, 22). At local level, the district councils aim to promote civilian—military cooperation, and the council at national level is generally led by the largest labour union and employers' organization.

The relationship between the Home Guard and the Army has been a continuing source of debate since 1946. Initially, the Home Guard was organized as a sub-unit of the Army. Several commissions delivered reports on the relationship between the Home Guard and the Army, both before and after the establishment of the Home Guard as a separate defence branch in 1970 (Bjerga and Gjeseth 2010). Despite the northernmost district of the Home Guard and the Army being placed under joint command ("Finnmark landforsvar") in 2017, however, the debate on whether to merge the Home Guard and the Army is not at its most intense today.

Organizations with similar functions to the Home Guard exist, for example, in the other Nordic countries (Wither 2020), in the Baltic States (Goniewicz, Goniewicz and Burkle 2019) and in Poland (Szymański and Gotkowska 2015).

⁷ For a more thorough review of the roots of military change in Norway over the last 30 years, see Bogen and Håkenstad (2017).

⁸ Indeed, Bjerga and Gjeseth themselves proposed merging the Home Guard and the Army.

Methods

Part of a comprehensive defence analysis

This study constitutes the first step of a comprehensive defence analysis (CDA). In Figure 1, we illustrate the CDA model used in Norwegian long-term defence planning by the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (based on Glærum and Hennum 2016). In the top-down scenario analysis, the starting point is analyses of security policy, challenges and aims. This is the element of the CDA to which this paper contributes. How studies of this first element are conducted is not a given, but dependent upon what suits the purpose of the defence analysis. We are of the opinion, however, that the first element is probably the least developed part of the CDA model, and that it could be improved by further development of more formal methods, which is the motivation behind why we developed the combined framework of this paper.

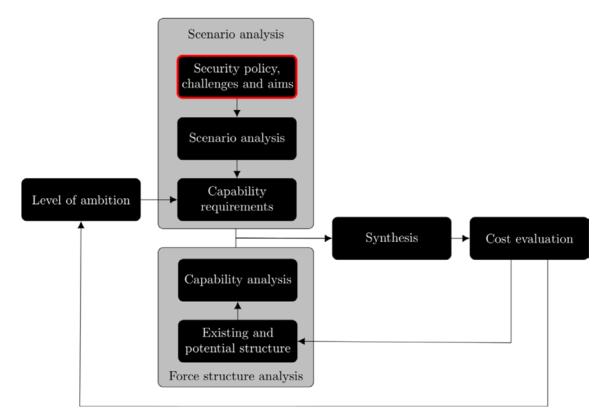


Figure 1. A comprehensive defence analysis.

As this study is the first step in the CDA, it is important for framing future research questions. Based on the results from this study, the follow-on projects mentioned in the introduction will proceed to describe and analyse scenarios and determine capability requirements, based on a given level of ambition. This will largely take the form of numerical and programmable exercises using classified data. In the bottom-up force structure analysis, we would analyse existing and potential force structures and their capabilities. This analysis would also generally be numerical and classified. Synthesizing the force structure analysis and the scenario analysis, we would evaluate them with respect to costs to see whether costs match ambitions in an iterative process until we arrive at the optimal solution.

The policy, challenges and aims element represented by this study is therefore unique in this process, as it is mainly qualitative and can be conducted at an unclassified level. In the following two subsections, we introduce two frameworks that will help us structure the problem and obtain a reliable result.

Organizational systems framework

As this study constitutes the first part of a possible revamp of an entire organization, we require some sort of organizational framework to help structure the analysis. Therefore, we have employed a general organizational model developed for military purposes: the Organizational Systems Framework (OSF). Figure 2 illustrates our adapted model, and is explained below.

⁹ The Organizational Systems Framework is based on Roberts (2000). The model is a military adaptation of a tradition stretching back at least to the congruence model of Nadler and Tushman (1980). An example of a military application is Berg-Knutsen and Roberts (2015).

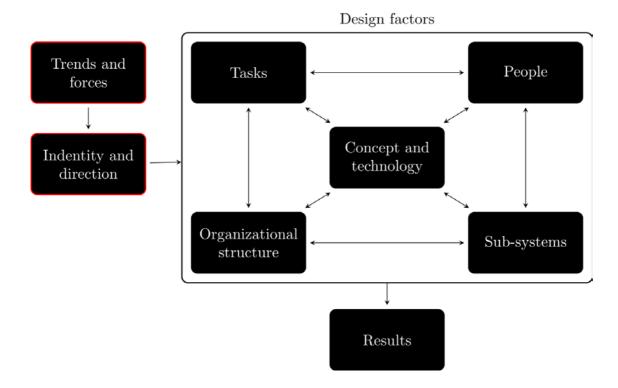


Figure 2. Organizational systems framework.

There are three basic elements of the OSF, of which this study constitutes the first. In this first element, we explored the political, economic, social and technological landscape we expect the Home Guard to face in the future. Still as part of the first basic element, this helped us set the course the Home Guard should pursue, in terms of purpose, identity and values. The second basic element is the design factors. Every organization consists of organizational elements, described in the OSF as concept and technology at the core, then tasks, people, organizational structure, and sub-systems. Sub-systems are, for example, formal processes, human resource management and information management. The final basic element is the results of the first two.

Design thinking

To help find a solution to our research question, we used a general framework known as design thinking (DT). DT is an umbrella term for a range of user-centred approaches on

how to develop a design (Buchanan 1992; Johansson-Sköldberg, Woodilla and Çetinkaya 2013; Kimbell 2011, 2012; Seidel and Fixson 2013). Common to many of these approaches is the importance of understanding the needs of the user, observation to obtain insights, visualization of the problem in a variety of ways, prototyping a wide range of ideas and testing them (Glen et al. 2015). In recent years, design thinking techniques have increasingly been used for defence structure questions (Jackson 2019). We based our particular DT model on the Stanford hexagonal model (Doorley et al. 2018), adapted for this study. Figure 3 illustrates our model, which we describe in the following paragraphs.

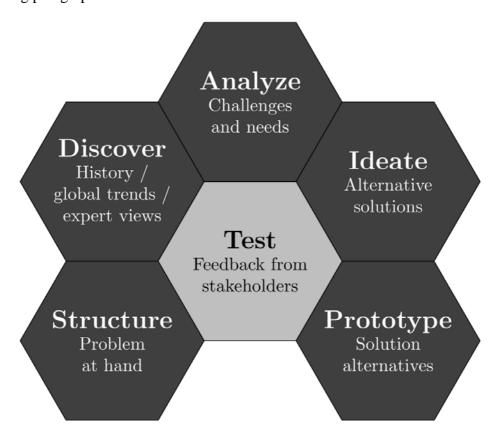


Figure 3. Design thinking.

After we structured our problem properly, we needed to discover where the Home Guard is today and in which directions it could develop. To do this, we conducted 36 qualitative interviews with experts, to a method detailed further in the

next subsection. We also conducted the history review described above (the seminal works being Brox 1996; Bjerga and Gjeseth 2010; Hansen 2004), and reviewed literature, such as the four annual Norwegian governmental threat assessments (Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection 2019; Norwegian Intelligence Service 2020; Norwegian National Security Authority 2020; Norwegian Police Security Service 2020).

Based on the interviews and the literature review, we analysed future challenges and needs for Norway. We limited ourselves to attempting to identify the category of major future challenges for Norway to which the current, or potential future, Home Guard could realistically contribute, and then built future identity and directions upon these challenges, as well as on current roles.

Next, we generated ideas for alternative solutions. We explored a variety of different alternatives. It is essential in DT to "go wide" in terms of concept. Therefore, we considered every possibility, from abolishing the Home Guard to turning it into a tool for frontline operations.

Based on the alternatives, we prototyped possible solutions. In practice, we did this in the form of presentations and draft reports to stakeholders, on which we requested feedback. For example, we challenged stakeholders to a pre-mortem analysis (NATO 2017) early in the project, where we asked them to analyse why the government in the future year of 2030 decided to abolish the Home Guard.

From this test phase, we were able to go back to the discovery phase to refine our research question as we learned more. Similarly, we were able to go back to our analysis to refine the research question, and we were able to refine or generate new ideas and prototypes. The findings we presented in our analysis section are thus developed and refined through several iterations of stakeholder interaction. Over the

course of nine months, we held three large-scale formal meetings with stakeholders, in addition to countless informal meetings with stakeholders and experts in between. Note that, although the analysis for the majority of conclusions is in alignment with the results of the interviews, this need not be the case in a DT framework.

Finally, in Figure 3, hexagons with connected edges indicate that we can move between them. Dark hexagons indicate work done by the researchers, while the bright hexagon indicates interaction with stakeholders (for more on "hexagonal thinking", see Hodgson 1992).

Qualitative interviews

To challenge traditional thinking and to generate new ideas, we conducted qualitative interviews. We invited stakeholders to give their thoughts on four main themes:

Present and future threats

- Which threats must Norway be able to handle in the future?
- How well does the current organization of total defence work?
- o How should society organize itself to meet the threats of the future?

Role and tasks

- o How does the Home Guard function today?
- Which role is the ideal role for the Home Guard?
- o Do we need the Home Guard, or can others take on its role and tasks?

• Current challenges and strengths

- o Which challenges does the Home Guard face today?
- What must be changed to handle future threats better?
- o What functions well and should be preserved as is?

• The ideal future

O How could the Home Guard of the future, or any other emergency organization, best be designed if we did not have to consider laws, politics and history?

To counter the common criticism of qualitative interviews being subjective, we employed triangulation (Denzin 1970, 2012; Jick 1979; Webb et al. 1966), using differences in experience and background among the research group to reach a common understanding and conclusion. However, differences in pre-understanding (a term perhaps best known from hermeneutics, see Tomkins and Eatough 2018) can also affect our interpretation of data, and provide biased results if not accounted for. Of the four research group members, one was currently employed in the Home Guard, two had served as conscripted soldiers, while one had no previous Home Guard experience. All three with Home Guard experience were of the opinion that Norwegian emergency preparedness overall had several gaps. We carried the knowledge of this potential bias into our analysis.

Informants were selected so as to cover a wide range of total defence actors, including proponents as well as critics, people with long experience of total defence to people with little total defence experience. Representatives from NATO, the Armed Forces, the Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection and the police were among our informants. Of the 36 informants, 16 were civilians, eight of whom had experience in cooperating with the Home Guard. Of the 20 military informants, three were employed in the Home Guard, and 12 described themselves as having limited knowledge of the Home Guard.

We conducted semi-structured interviews. Two researchers, one civilian and one military, conducted the interviews, alternating who was the main interviewer. We explained to the informants that we were interested in their personal thoughts and ideas,

and that the interview would be recorded, transcribed and analysed. The interviews lasted for an average of 60 minutes. The interview guide can be found in the appendix.

To process the data, one researcher made a transcription and conducted a grounded theory (Charmaz 2006; Glaser and Strauss 1967) analysis, while the other wrote a summary of the interview. After triangulating, the full research group gathered to interpret the results.

Classical ways of ensuring reliability in qualitative studies include securing credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Cook and Campbell 1979; Guba and Lincoln 1989; Lincoln and Guba 1985). In this study, we used the list below for reflexive thinking to increase quality and reliability (Hammersley 2008; Sparkes and Smith 2013):

- Are the research questions original or worth researching?
- Are the research questions formulated and answered clearly?
- Is the study characterized by systematics and depth?
- Is the study characterized by sincerity and truthfulness?
- Is the research conducted credibly?
- Are the informants likely to be able to recognize their opinions?
- Does the study have any significant and useful contributions?
- Has the study been conducted within an ethically acceptable framework?
- Is the study characterized by meaningful connections and consistency?

Analysis

In this section, we consider what are the most important threats Norway faces which the Home Guard can help combat. We did this by considering first what the most important threats that face the country are, second the challenges such threats pose to society, third what the country can do to alleviate such threats, and finally some specific measures. Thus, we solved our wicked problem by considering it as a nested problem. For each step, we only considered solutions that were logically consistent with the previous answer. Figure 4 illustrates this: although there are many options at each level of analysis, we only considered those that offered solid solutions. As there is no one right answer to a wicked problem, the reader might very well disagree with us at any stage during our discussion and prefer to take one of the dotted directions. The higher up in the tree in Figure 4 the reader disagrees with us, the more likely it is that their conclusion will also deviate from ours.

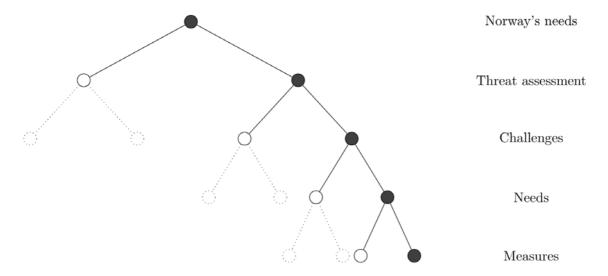


Figure 4. Selection tree structure for analysis.

For each step of our discussion, we linked our analysis to the answers provided by our informants. They are our main source of information, though we also relied on literature and frequent stakeholder interaction for supplementation and verification. As the DT process is iterative, this means that we have restructured, rediscovered and reanalysed several times to generate solution alternatives. The solution we present here is, therefore, more than a linear interpretation of the interviews. For each quote, we

indicate whether the informant was military (M) or civilian (C), to assist reader interpretation.

Threat assessment

Our informants considered current threats to the nation to be more demanding and complex than those that applied during the Cold War. This is in part because transitions between peace, crisis and war have grown less clear and partly because the threats we currently face have greater variability, in terms of both scope and intensity (see, for example, Wirtz 2017 for a discussion of "grey zones").

A basic point made by many informants was the timeless insight that an adversary will always look for the weakest link to attack. As long as Norway can rely on NATO to support its military in the face of a conventional attack, our informants suggest we must look elsewhere to identify the weakest link. Most informants considered civilian society to be this weakest link:

[...] the intended, evil-minded actions [...] are based on a timeless universal logic that you do not need a doctorate in political science to understand: It is that when two actors face each other, the weaker actor will always try to counter the stronger aspects of the adversary and to exploit the weaker aspects of the adversary. [...] where is the West most vulnerable? In civilian society, [and] in political processes where many countries make joint decisions. [Here, it is] hard to make rapid decisions, so they [Russia] will wish to act quickly. (M)

Informants viewed an increase in irregular threats (such as covert information operations, sabotage, terrorism, and cyber operations) as erasing the traditional distinction between peace and war. This poses a challenge to the traditional separation

of responsibilities between the civil and military sides. With hybrid threats, ¹⁰ informants noted that the situation, actor and goals might all be unknown. As a result, responsibilities, legal basis and appropriate responses are also unknown factors. In particular, many informants claimed that it is obvious that Russia changed its attitude

towards use of force after the annexation of Crimea. 11 One informant said:

Russia had acknowledged that it could not keep up with Western joint operations doctrine and technological capabilities. A new Russians concept for operations was therefore developed to better achieve strategic goals and be better prepared for war or conflict. The importance of military power as the sole instrument was reduced in favour of other instruments, while military capabilities were modernized. (M)

While not all informants agreed that hybrid warfare represented something new, the informants were more or less united in the view that an increased use of irregular threats was rational in the eyes of potential adversaries, and that this was the most serious threat facing the country. This is, therefore, the direction in which we developed our analysis. It is also a prioritized direction for improvement in the Baltic countries' Home Guard equivalents (Goniewicz, Goniewicz and Burkle 2019), as well as in the other Nordic countries (Wither 2020).

Challenges

warfare is.

The main worry among many informants was the increased volume of hybrid operations, and their aggregated effect, or what is sometimes called "salami tactics"

¹⁰ See, for example, Reichborn-Kjennerud and Cullen (2016) for a discussion of what hybrid

¹¹ See, for example, Galeotti (2016) and Veljovski, Taneski and Dojchinovski (2017) for a discussion of the Russian hybrid approach in Crimea.

(Calha 2015). Several trend studies, such as DCDC (2018, 132–133), point to a likely increased use of irregular threats. Many of the challenges the informants pointed to are therefore related to resilience and to subset factors such as robustness, redundancy, resourcefulness and rapidity (see, for example, Bruneau et al. 2003). As we elaborate further below, we identified cross-sectoral situational understanding and coordination and the ability to resist attacks over time as the two main challenges.

Many informants pointed to an increasingly close link between state security and societal security, the first concerning the integrity of the state, the second concerning the ability to withstand and handle events that threaten critical functions or lives. At the same time, the Armed Forces have steadily grown more dependent upon civilian society, for example for hospital services, infrastructure and logistics. In combination, this requires a mind-set in which civilian society and the military have a joint situational understanding. Several of our informants, especially among the civilian actors in total defence, pointed out that the Armed Forces are too preoccupied with war at the expense of addressing threats in the grey zone between war and peace and the threats directed at civil society in peacetime:

I think the Armed Forces are too preoccupied with The War [...] Recognizing a hybrid threat is hard. We must have a great situational awareness, regarding both our society, as well as our neighbouring countries. We will not understand when challenges to societal security have become a challenge to the integrity of the state until it is over. (C)

Furthermore, many emphasized that we can no longer think of the crisis spectrum as linear from peace to crisis and then war (see also Almäng 2019). In the worst case, a country could have states of peace, crisis and war at the same time in different areas.

Many found it a paradox that the Ministry of Defence recognizes this complexity and accepts the challenges that hybrid warfare poses, but at the same time focuses more and

more on military "core tasks" associated with conventional warfare:

It is a massive paradox that the West places more and more emphasis on military

core tasks, at the same time as Putin is placing more and more emphasis on hybrid

instruments directed towards civil society. I think Putin is laughing at us all the

way to his command centre. (M)

According to many informants, the background for this priority is the Ministry of

Defence view that conventional warfare and high-intensity operations are the most

difficult type of situation to handle. Many informants opposed this view, claiming that

handling conventional warfare is more straightforward than handling hybrid operations.

Conventional warfare follows traditional military logic, juridical grey zones are limited

and it is clear where to direct society's resources. With hybrid threats, the grey zones

are broader and the situation less clear. Many informants therefore considered a conflict

below the threshold for war and NATO support, where we struggle to sustain critical

infrastructure and vital functions in society, to be a more complex threat than that of

conventional warfare:

The biggest challenge [regarding] hybrid threats is the ability to get an overview of

what is happening from the first indications to when the reality of an attack is

evident. Identifying when a hybrid operation becomes a threat to the integrity of

the state, who is behind it and why is very difficult. [It] takes a lot to acknowledge

that we are under attack. (M)

The ability to resist sustained attacks over time was not addressed directly by many

informants. However, it was often mentioned indirectly, as in many of the preceding

quotes, and it surfaced several times in discussions with stakeholders.

Needs

When asked for specific needs, given the challenges they had outlined, the informants

pointed to the importance of NATO support and an increased uncertainty concerning allied support:

Even though the NATO flank is still important, Norway must be prepared to handle a potential invasion in Northern Norway over a sustained period alone, or with the help of smaller allied forces than we would have wished. (M)

Apart from the need for assistance from NATO allies, we were able to outline three groups of needs related to improved resilience.

An increased consciousness in the population concerning the threats faced:

Many informants pointed to what they considered to be a strong link between society's will and ability to defend the country. Their central claim was that the total defence concept must be anchored in the mind-set of the population, and that, in the event of major crises, local networks could be of vital importance:

Without a strong link to the people, we reduce the ability to gain important information, and to prevent an adversary influencing the population. Avoiding subversion is probably the most important [tool] for resilience towards hybrid threats. (C)

Without a will to contribute, we reduce the possibility of extracting resources from that network the people represent and the ability to steer resources in the right direction. (C)

Improved situational understanding, clear lines of responsibility and mechanisms for cross-sectoral coordination: In the previous sub-section, we identified differences in situational understanding as one of the main challenges. Many informants emphasized a need for a more comprehensive and joint situational understanding:

The challenge concerning hybrid attacks is that nobody knows how to handle them [...] Sectors report through their separate channels, but nobody connects the

information. That mechanism is missing [...] We need [indicators with regards to] hybrid threats, and someone to see these in connection. (C)

One of the main guiding principles for crisis management in Norway is the principle of responsibility. ¹² While the civilian informants approved of this principle, military informants missed a unity of command. They looked for a General for civilian society:

I miss leadership at the strategic level. A kind of command structure created for robust events and to take responsibility in the face of serious events. We lack someone who can gather threads at national level and who ensures cross-departmental coordination. We need a better ability to react. (M)

Many pointed to a difference in understanding between the military and civilians.

Civilians struggle to understand the mechanisms and needs of the Armed Forces, while the military struggle to understand civilian mechanisms. Clarification of roles is therefore of great importance:

[Roles are] important in building redundancy and robustness in the face of possible threats, so that the societal functions the Armed Forces depend upon can be sustained. Without a well-functioning society, the Armed Forces will lose their fighting power. (M)

Furthermore, many noted that improved situational understanding was down to much more than simply adjusting formal guidelines. Informants emphasized cultural understanding, trust, joint training, networks and robust communication as important for

including coordinating with other government departments.

According to the principle of responsibility ("Ansvarsprinsippet"), responsibility in a crisis lies with the same organization as it does in everyday operations. Each government department has a responsibility to handle a crisis that concerns its area of responsibility,

improving situational understanding and cooperation:

Society's total ability to withstand hybrid threats is dependent upon the actors having the same situational understanding to be able to be coordinated in emergency and on handling. Coordination creates less uncertainty and a greater degree of predictability. Mutual trust, cooperation and training are important. Secure networks and good lines of communication are important prerequisites to be able to do this. (C)

Practically all informants pointed to the importance of improving civilian–military cooperation (success and failure factors in cooperation settings are discussed by, for example, Andersson et al. 2014; Berlin and Carlström 2008; Perry and Lindell 2003; Seppänen et al. 2013; Wolbers and Boersma 2013). They particularly pointed to using established areas for cooperation, more frequent interaction and joint training, and to utilizing local knowledge.

[Cooperation] is important because we will no longer have lead-time. We must, therefore, prepare for the unthinkable and have close interaction at all times so that mutual trust and understanding can be built continuously. (C)

Today, the Home Guard is tasked with protecting a range of key objects of defence interest. Many informants claimed that these objects were not necessarily the same as those of importance to sustain vital functions in society, and that what the key objects were had to be mutually considered by civilians and the Armed Forces:

A gas terminal is almost unprotected and would be incredibly damaging [if] knocked out. We have capabilities to protect [oil] platforms through counterterrorism [police and Special Forces], but these [objects] only have a financial interest and [their loss] would be damaging [to society] to a lesser extent. (C)

The importance of presence at local level was emphasized by many informants. This is important for speed of response, but also to understand situations in a local context.

A crisis always happens at a place, and then local readiness is vital. National and

centralized standby forces are not always able to arrive at the scene, and they lack

situational understanding. Also, the development of the event or crisis depends

upon how it is handled at the location. (M)

For an increasingly seamless interaction across the entire intensity spectrum, from peace

to war, there is often neither a pure military solution, nor a pure civilian solution. This

underlines the need for improved mechanisms for cross-sectoral coordination.

In the spectrum of threats the Home Guard must be able to handle are challenges

where international law does not apply. Society must have a wholesome approach

to solve the challenges. There is no pure military solution, neither is there a pure

civilian solution. (M)

Improve the ability to withstand large, combined and lasting events: Many

informants considered the current crisis management system to function adequately in

most cases. However, in "unthinkable" events, they emphasized the need for a more

flexible approach to problem-solving, the importance of local knowledge and systems

for communication:

Every system breaks at some point, and society is not crisis-oriented enough to

handle the unthinkable. Therefore, it is important to have reserve systems to reach

the people we are so dependent upon. (C)

The ability to withstand events would also increase if the population were more aware

of ongoing threats, situational understanding were improved and lines of responsibility

were clear. To improve this ability is demanding of resources, but is also where the

Home Guard is perhaps most suited to contribute. Therefore, in the next subsection, we

discuss some measures related to this ability in more detail.

Measures

In a peaceful corner of the world, it is hard to win political acceptance for increased military spending. However, even though there are alternatives to military organization in many instances, a military organization is needed to maintain sovereignty and state security:

As long as there are military capacities in countries that we believe can try to influence us, we must have a military emergency capacity like the Home Guard. Civil emergency capacities cannot replace the Armed Forces. (C)

In peace, the primary responsibility for maintaining security lies with the police.

Alternatives to the Home Guard could therefore be a reinforced police force, a reinforced Civil Defence or a gendarmerie-type organization. However, most informants emphasized that, in the face of hybrid warfare, it is increasingly important to clearly distinguish between who can perform military tasks and who cannot. They wanted a distinctly civilian police. They also claimed that we must not challenge the protection the Civil Defence enjoys under the Geneva conventions:

The Norwegian Civil Defence and the police can solve [many of] the Home Guard's tasks, but we must be strict regarding the protection through conventions and combatant definitions. (M)

The public must know that there is a difference [and understand the separation between roles and tasks of police and Armed Forces]. It is better to have Armed Forces that can support civilian society when needed. If we do not consider military threats, the police can obviously take on Home Guard tasks. (C)

Accepting this analysis, since we need an organization that can operate across the entire intensity spectrum from peace to war, that organization has to be military.

Virtually all informants stated that an emergency organization such as the Home Guard could take on several tasks in support of the community in addition to its military tasks. This was because the Home Guard had basic training and an established command structure. Many maintained that society needed such a "flexible muscle" that could be deployed quickly, whatever threats we faced:

The Home Guard is a structure that can put security, emergency and survival on the agenda in local communities without it getting overly dramatic. We should not invent threats that are not there, but at the same time we must be aware that security is fundamental for society [...] both the military and the civilian [...] side of society's emergency structure will at times be in need of assistance, and then we need a "flexible muscle" that is cheap. (M)

Many informants also strongly emphasized the role the Home Guard plays in linking the Armed Forces to civilian society in a way that other, increasingly more specialized, branches cannot. This increases in importance as the Armed Forces increasingly rely on civilian society to function. A local network and local knowledge increase situational awareness, which is also important for defence ability:

Presence is important to create understanding in society for Armed Forces tasks. Presence provides an opportunity to discuss the defence case over the kitchen table. This provides a foothold in a society where more and more people are distanced from the Armed Forces. Here, the Home Guard have a core task and a great advantage. The rest of the Armed Forces have turned into an interest group. (M)

Many informants also noted that the decentralized structure of the Home Guard reduces vulnerability. They did not recommend a further centralization of resources.

The Home Guard with weapons spread across the whole country will affect an opponent's calculus. The point is to prevent war. Get an opponent to choose something else. The Home Guard [...] is part of a threshold. Nevertheless, one has to prioritize how much combat force the Home Guard should have, [seen in

relation to] a strengthening of other branches of the Armed Forces [...] In war, the Home Guard must still fulfil the same missions: Monitoring, security and interaction with civil society. [The Home Guard] must ensure that the combat forces can focus on combat operations. (M)

A future identity and direction for the Home Guard

We now return to the OSF of Figure 2. First, the aggregate view of trends and forces from the previous section seems to be that irregular threats are increasing in volume and are difficult for society to handle. A good grasp of these threats will reduce the probability of being subjected to them, be that as irregular threats in themselves or as part of preparation for a conventional war. Furthermore, as state security and societal security grow more closely linked, it is more important to sustain vital societal functions and critical infrastructure in times of crises.

Broadly, we can point to five possible directions for the Home Guard:

- 1. Continue as today.
- 2. Develop or merge into a more conventional defence branch.
- Develop into an organization more concerned with societal security than today, while still being part of the Armed Forces.
- 4. Develop into a conventional emergency organization, with a primary responsibility for societal security.
- 5. Abolish the Home Guard and strengthen other emergency organizations.

Because we identified a need for a military reserve organization, not just a civilian one, alternative 4 falls. Alternative 5 would require the other defence branches to establish duplicating capabilities. This would mean re-establishing capacities at a local level and increased attention to military–civilian relations. This could take attention away from the other tasks undertaken by these organizations. Alternatives 1 and 2 do not answer the need for increased attention to societal security resulting from

our analysis in the previous section. The other defence branches have very different and specialized tasks and cultures. Thus, direction 3 is most appropriate.

Based on our analysis, we identify future identity trademarks of the Home Guards to be:

- A military organization, as today. This is necessary for it to be able to contribute in all parts of the conflict spectrum.
- An organization that devotes even more attention to challenges in the grey zones between peace and war that is, irregular threats. It is here that we consider the threats greatest and the needs of society the most critical. The Home Guard should devote more attention to societal security and the protection of vital societal functions and critical infrastructure.
- An organization with a general reserve capacity with the ability to
 provide relevant and complementary support to other departments in the
 Armed Forces, the police and other civil contingency organizations. A
 central aim of the Home Guard should be to enable these organizations
 to better fulfil their missions.
- An organization characterized by independent and innovative soldiers, capable of handling unforeseen incidents. They should know the resources of their local communities and know how to utilize their networks in the event of a crisis or a war.
- A distributed organization with a local presence, affiliation and anchoring in the population. This gives the organization a short reaction time and a good situational understanding.

Based on our discussion, we suggest three core principles for the Home Guard:

Flexible support. The informants highlighted that the Home Guard should be a "flexible muscle" and a cost-effective organization to support all of society. Our analysis points towards the Home Guard in the future being a flexible reserve force to support other civilian and military contingency organizations. Flexibility involves the ability to deploy throughout the conflict spectrum from peace, through crisis, to war. It also offers the possibility of support across sectors, within a wide range of tasks and with varying volume. Support involves making the existing emergency preparedness organizations, including for example the Armed Forces, the police and the Civil Defence, better able to solve the tasks within their respective areas of responsibility.

For example, the Home Guard could support the Armed Forces' operations by securing axes and military objects in war. The Home Guard could also assist civil society where the capacity of other emergency response organizations' resources does not suffice. This could be in the event of, for example, industrial accidents, extreme weather and pandemics. Flexibility also means short reaction times and a large number of soldiers.

Civilian–military cooperation. Closer civilian–military cooperation would contribute to a joint understanding of situations across sectors. Joint training is particularly important, especially as the alert time becomes shorter and situations more fuzzy. Civilian–military cooperation also becomes more critically important when the principle of responsibility is challenged. Closer cooperation between military and civilians can also help reduce the cultural barriers resulting in differences in situational understanding.

To achieve proper civilian–military cooperation, the council structure mentioned in the introduction could also be further developed to reflect more of the population.

Primarily, it could play a more active role in the interaction between civilian and

military society. Participation in the council structure must be assessed accordingly, for example by including more business organizations and agencies than today. In addition, new participants should be considered, such as religious communities. It is important that the council structure does not remain static, which would mean over time that fewer felt represented.

Local anchoring. From the start, the Home Guard has had local anchoring, meaning that the Home Guard builds local networks across social sectors. This means, among other things, that, if a crisis occurs, the Home Guard's soldiers in a given area know where to go to obtain the necessary resources. The local anchoring becomes even more important in a crisis or war situation, where time is a limited resource and communication systems might break down. Directing resources towards increased interaction with civilian society for skills enhancement and for cultural building are possible ways of strengthening local anchoring.

Networking also means that the local soldiers are well suited to detect and provide information on deviations from the normal situation. This does not mean that Home Guard soldiers should be intelligence officers, but that that they should pick up information that flows to them through their networks. There should then be a system to gather this information, within legal and ethical guidelines.

Furthermore, we identified a need for a more formalized relationship to neighbourhoods in the big cities. In Oslo, many boroughs are larger than most other cities in Norway, but the current Home Guard structure does not reflect this. In the countryside, social networks are less prone to change, and social mobility is lower. At the same time, many of the largest vulnerabilities concerning irregular instruments are located in large cities. Both these points suggest that more resources should be directed towards the big cities.

The willingness to defend and the willingness to pay for defence capabilities are dependent on the population having confidence that civilian society and the Armed Forces will demonstrate their ability and willingness to cooperate. One of the most important goals of the Home Guard is to build a sense of defence and resilience in society, so that fragmenting forces can be counteracted and hybrid instruments can be dealt with as early and effectively as possible. Close interaction with local actors is one important measure in this respect.

Another measure to improve anchoring among the population might be to establish a separate regional conscript service for the Home Guard. By this means, the Home Guard would be given greater opportunity to pick its people, rather than being handed conscripts from other branches.

Conclusions and remaining studies

While all military organizations must adapt their identity and direction to changes in their external environments, not all such adjustments are implemented based on coherent analysis. In this paper, we have introduced a formal, though still general, combination of frameworks for conducting such analyses, and applied them to conducting a study of the future direction for the Norwegian Home Guard.

To help structure our analysis, we employed the Organizational Systems

Framework (OSF). In the OSF, the first element is to set future direction and identity

based on an analysis of trends and forces. To organize the research process, we applied
a design thinking (DT) framework. Our DT approach was first to structure the problem,
and then to explore current and possible future situations for the Home Guard, primarily
using qualitative interviews with stakeholders. Based on the interviews and a literature
review, we analysed Norwegian security challenges and needs, before we generated
ideas and prototypes for a future identity and direction. These were presented to

stakeholders for feedback, and revised and retested in an iterative process until we reached a satisfactory result.

We also described how our analysis could constitute the first step of a comprehensive defence analysis (CDA). As the name suggests, the CDA is highly useful for defence analyses in general. While we concentrated on one element of the model and one defence branch, the CDA would be just as useful for a study of all elements and the entire defence structure.

Applying the type of frameworks discussed in this paper should make defence analyses more credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable than analyses not grounded in a formal framework. Furthermore, the combined framework is flexible, can help promote innovative solutions, and can be applied to a wide range of organizations.

We employed our combined framework to investigate whether, in the face of changes in the external environment, the Norwegian Home Guard required a revised identity and direction. While we did not identify a need to move far away from the current identity and direction, we did identify a need to devote more attention to irregular threats. We identified a need for a military emergency organization that can operate in war as well as in peace, while being distinct from civilian organizations, such as the police and the Civilian Defence. The future Home Guard should provide flexible support to the other defence branches and civilian emergency organizations, it should contribute to closer civilian—military cooperation and it should preserve and expand its local anchoring. At the overall level, such as the idea of maintaining a separate Home Guard defence branch to provide support in war as well as in peace, our conclusions are broadly in line with the situation that prevails in other Nordic countries, the Baltic States and Poland (Goniewicz, Goniewicz and Burkle 2019; Szymański and Gotkowska 2015; Wither 2020).

From the comprehensive defence analysis in Figure 1 and the OSF in Figure 2, the direction for the remaining studies needed are obvious. The remainder of the elements of the CDA model must be worked through to operationalize a future concept for the Home Guard. Defining a number of scenarios and establishing capability requirements for these is a natural next step.

The remaining studies of the project should include populating the remaining steps of the OSF in Figure 2, and also refining and revising the future direction we outline in this paper, if a need to do so is identified. The more numerical exercises reflected in Figure 1 will also help determine the level of ambition. It could be that there is room for a more expansive set of tasks than the Home Guard has today without having to devote more resources to the Home Guard, or, perhaps more likely, a need for further resources would be identified. If increased funds are unrealistic, future analyses will help prioritize which parts of the Home Guard need to be scaled back in order to allow for new priorities.

Though we have not analysed the design factors of the OSF in detail in this paper, we end our discussion by outlining a few possible directions for the remaining studies to consider. For the Home Guard concept, it is reasonable that this will consist of the Home Guard being a complementary resource to support other parts of the Armed Forces, contributing to improved cooperation between the civil and military sides, and providing a general reserve capacity to support other sections of society in peace, crisis and war.

The people of the organization already acquire a basic military competence through military service. However, utilization of existing civil and local expertise among the soldiers could be improved, as this would be a cost-effective way to proceed.

Competence (Lauder 2009), diversity (Cox and Blake 1991) and creativity (Vego 2013) should be emphasized.

The organizational structure should be that of a decentralized force with a high volume of part-time soldiers, perhaps co-located with key partners, with a centre of gravity where many people live and in areas of great military importance. The organization should have a flat and network-based structure.

Important sub-systems should be that recruitment is based on both volunteerism and conscription, perhaps with its own decentralized conscript service. More direct recruitment of civilian competence and a relevant composition and extended mandate for the Council structure would be further helpful measures.

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Appendix: Interview Guide

Part 1: Situational understanding and needs

- What threats do you consider that Norwegian society must be able to handle today and in the longer term?
- How should we as a society organize to meet these threats?

- How do you consider that today's organization of response to the aforementioned threats works?
 - Do you see any specific gaps or shortcomings in relation to responsibility and security needs?
- What do you understand as total defence?
- How do you think civilian—military cooperation works today and what can be improved?
- What are the biggest challenges we face in terms of hybrid threats?
- How should we align and secure ourselves to meet hybrid threats?

Part 2: Role and tasks of the Home Guard

- What experience do you have with the Home Guard?
 - How do you think the Home Guard functions as a player from a total defence perspective?
 - Does the Home Guard make any difference compared to other actors?
- What role can and should the Home Guard ideally play?
 - What do you think should be the Home Guard's special tasks in local emergency preparedness?
 - What do you think should be the Home Guard's special tasks in national preparedness?
- (But,) does Norway need a military emergency organization like the Home
 Guard is today? Can't this just as well be solved with civilian preparedness or other types of organizations, actors or resources, or any other branches of defence?

- Why do we need the Home Guard instead of, for example, a larger Civil Defence?
- Do we need to have a Home Guard when we have both Special Forces and the Army?
- How do you think civil—military cooperation works today, and can the Home
 Guard help to strengthen this in any way?
- Do you see any reasons why we do not need the Home Guard?
- So what would you say is the most important reason why we stick with a Home
 Guard today?
 - And what is the most important reason why we should have a Home
 Guard in the future?
- What primary tasks of a more specific nature follow the roles you have described above for the Home Guard?
 - o (Why are these tasks that should be undertaken by the Home Guard?)

Part 3: Current challenges

- What would you say are the biggest challenges the Home Guard faces today?
 - o (What are the disadvantages and weaknesses of the Home Guard?)
- Are there any specific assignments the Home Guard cannot undertake today that you think they must be able to undertake both in the short and long term?
- What functions and tasks are undertaken well today?
 - What are the main benefits of the Home Guard as it works today?
- How do you think the Home Guard utilizes the civilian resources and civilian competence they have access to?

- O How do you think the Home Guard acts as a catalyst for civilian—military cooperation today, and what can be improved?
- o How do you think the Home Guard utilizes the civilian competence they have access to in their organization?
- O Do you envisage that the Home Guard could hold positions based on civilian competence rather than military competence?

Part 4: The ideal future (Note: It is allowed to ignore the inherited position and to think in new and radical ways)

- If you were completely free to define the purpose of the Home Guard, i.e. the basic idea, or the Home Guard's mission and vision what would it be?
- If you did not have to take into account historical practices and various restrictions how would you design the future of the Home Guard?
- And, what is the most important step that must be taken for the Home Guard to become a relevant and tangible player in national preparedness in the future?
- Which people should constitute the Home Guard's future organization, and where should they come from?
 - o What kind of expertise do the personnel need?
 - o How should the Home Guard recruit?
- There have been many debates about the number of soldiers in the Home Guard;
 is it important and, if so, why?
- How should the future Home Guard be educated and trained?
- Are there any specific factors that make the visions or desires you have for the Home Guard not realizable?
- What can the Home Guard do to achieve the vision you have?

End:

- What significance do your specific background and personal interests have for the wishes and visions you have outlined for the Home Guard?
- Is there something you have not said that you think we should take with us when we now consider the future mission, vision, role and structure of the Home Guard?