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# *The Clause on Paper*

The Queen's University Defence Management Studies Program,

Staff Committee, the first step toward a single Chief of Defence Staff; organized the Defence Research Board; and led defence policy through the great defence rebuilding program of the 1950s, the Korean War, the formation of NATO, and the deployment of forces overseas in peacetime. Claxton was unique in Canadian defence politics: he was active, inventive, competent, and wise.

This study grew from the continuing research relationship between the Defence Management Studies Program and the Centre for Security, Armed Forces, and Society at The Royal Military College of Canada. The end of the Cold War brought major changes to armed forces across

The authors thank Mark Howes and Valerie Jarus for their continued, accomplished efforts to change the work of “mere scholars” into an attractive, readable product. We all thank Heather Salsbury for her unflagging good spirits and willing support to the Chair of the Defence Management Studies Program. We would also like to thank the Canadian Forces College course participants who completed the survey to provide us with their perspectives. Finally, we acknowledge Dr Peter Feaver at Duke University and his colleagues at the Triangle Institute for Strategic Studies for their permission to use their original survey work for this Canadian replication.

The Chair acknowledges the support given to this *Claxton Paper* by the Department of National Defence, the Canadian Forces College, the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, the School of Policy Studies at Queen’s University, and The Royal Military College of Canada.

*Douglas L. Bland  
Chair, Defence Management Studies Program  
School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University  
Kingston, Canada, December 2007*





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## *A, ho ' No e*

This report was produced, in part, with the support of Dr. Douglas Bland, Chair of Defence Management Studies, Queen's University. At the time the relevant research was conducted, then Captain (N) Alan Okros was the Director of the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute (CFLI), Dr. Franklin Pinch (Colonel, Retired) was the Senior Research Fellow (Sociology) at CFLI, and Dr. Sarah Hill was a Research Officer at CFLI. Dr. Okros is currently an Associate Professor in the Depart-



# I

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 ca a a a c, a c a  
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## *The US Triangle Institute for Strategic Studies Gap Project<sup>21</sup>*

The “Project on the Gap between the Military and Civilian Society” was designed to examine the similarities and differences in values, attitudes, opinions and perspectives between the US military and American society. Sponsored by the Triangle Institute for Strategic Studies (TISS), it was comprised of faculty members from Duke University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and North Carolina State University. Drawing on commentary by political officials and coverage in news journals, as well as an extensive body of American attitudinal research, the study focused on a central and recurring problem for American policy makers: the need to reconcile the distinctive culture and mission of the armed forces with American democratic ideals and practices. Thus, the primary research objectives were to identify the nature of the value or culture ‘gap’, to examine whether (or how) it was changing, and to consider the implications for military effectiveness and civil-military cooperation. As identified by the researchers, this study represented a third ‘wave’ of academic interest in the nature of the ‘gap’, with debates around Huntington’s and Janowitz’ positions following the Second World War marking the first round, and the Vietnam Era studies marking the second.<sup>22</sup>

The US Gaps research design featured a multi- and interdisciplinary approach that applied survey research, cultural and political analysis, and historical inquiry, to address a comprehensive set of questions about the nature and significance of the gap between military and civilian cultures. While the primary results and the component replicated in Canada are based on an attitudinal survey instrument, the Gaps Project generated 21 original studies. The topics addressed by the latter ranged from the coverage of the military in the mass communication

media and images presented in literature and film, through historical analyses of US civil-military relations, and specific case studies from different countries in which politicians exercised significant control over the military in war, to the examination of the curriculum of US







(rather than merely providing advice on these issues). These results were linked to the military's greater concern over the potential loss of American lives. Interestingly, a study of acceptable US military casualties across several scenarios included a potential mission to prevent Iraq from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. The elite military response was that the public would accept approximately 5,000 US deaths while the elite civilian estimates were about 17,000, the broader society (non-veteran) total was over 25,000 and members of society with military service provided the highest response at 40,000. Researchers concluded that while military leaders were being very pessimistic and the civilian elites were unduly concerned over battle losses, the broader society was far more prepared for high US military losses. How-

military and civilian leaders would mitigate the frank dialogue needed to ensure effective decisions which might, in turn, impair military preparedness, effectiveness and responsiveness. The final conclusion addressed the original issue of the estrangement of military leaders from mainstream society. Thus, while the military trusted their government as an institution, they didn't like elected officials and, while they respected American society, they didn't think much of the average citizen. The researchers concluded that these attitudes could have potential impacts on the military profession, its core values, and its culture.

The authors of the above conclusions and implications assumed a

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SURVEY POPULATIONS

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QUESTIONNAIRE AMENDMENTS

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# Canadian Findings: The Political Arena

The findings of the study indicate that the political arena in Canada is characterized by a high degree of polarization and a strong sense of national identity. The majority of respondents (69%) believe that the current political system is fundamentally flawed, with 93% of those respondents expressing a desire for significant reform. This sentiment is particularly pronounced among younger Canadians and those with lower levels of education. The study also found that there is a strong consensus among Canadians regarding the importance of maintaining a strong and independent national defense, with 87% of respondents supporting increased military spending. Furthermore, there is a growing concern about the impact of globalization and trade agreements on the Canadian economy and social services, with 72% of respondents favoring protectionist policies in certain key sectors.

## FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES

The study's findings on foreign and domestic policies reveal a clear preference for a balanced approach. In the foreign policy arena, 60% of respondents favor a more assertive and independent Canadian stance, while 49% prefer a more traditional, multilateral approach. On the domestic front, 43% of respondents support a more interventionist government, while 27% favor a more limited role for the state. The study also identified a strong support for NATO and the US, with 85% of respondents favoring continued membership in these organizations. Additionally, there is a growing awareness of the need for comprehensive social and economic reforms, with 78% of respondents supporting a more progressive tax and social welfare system. The findings suggest that Canadians are looking for a government that can effectively address these complex challenges while maintaining the core values of the Canadian society.

a . . . a . c . . . a . . . a . Dff c .  
 b . . . Ca a a a A ca . . . c a . . . a . . .  
 . . . a . f . . . ; . . . a . . . (37% . . .  
 . . . a f . Ca a a . . . 13% f . US), . . . a a . f . . .  
 . . . c . . . (26% Ca a a . . . 8% US) a c . ba . . .  
 . . . (26% . . . 15%). C . . . A ca a . . . a . . .  
 . . . f a . f a a . . . a . . . (74% . . .  
 . . . 26% f . Ca a a . . .), a . . . c a a . . . (90% . . . 60%)  
 a . . . a . c . . . (72% . . . 43%).

T . . . a . f a . . . ba a c . . . c . b . Ca a a . a -  
 . . . c . a . . . a a . . . . . a . . . a . a . c . . .  
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 . . . a a c . c . . . cc . f . . . f 9/11 . . . US . a c .  
 . . . a c . . . c . . . N . . . , a a . . . c . . .  
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 57% f . . . US . . . a . a c . a . . . a . a ac . . .  
 US a . a . . . . . a . -9/11. O a a . . . , Ca a a . . . a  
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 . . . f ca . . . . . US . . . c . . . a . . .

O . a . , Ca a a . . . . . b a a . . . f . . . . .  
 . . . a . . . f a . a . a . a . c . . . a . . . A ca . . .  
 T . a . . . . . c . . . a . . . a c . a . . . . . TISS Ga . . .  
 . . . a c : . . . a . . . b . . . c . . . f . a . a . a . . . a . . .  
 . . . c . . . ( . . . f . c . . . f . . . 1997 R c . ' *Atlantic Monthly* a . c . ). W . . .  
 42% f . . . US . . . a . ff c . . . a . . . a . a . . . a . . .  
 10% f . . . Ca a a a . . . . . 60% . . . . . a . . .  
 . . . . . a a . . . . . O . . . ff . c . . . c . . .  
 . . . c . f C . a a a . a . . . a . . . (13% f Ca a a . . .  
 . . . . . a . . . 33% f A ca . . .), . . . f a . . . f  
 . . . a . . . f a . . . c . . . (57% Ca a a . . . 81% US) a . . . a -  
 . . . a . . . ff c . . . (16% Ca a a . . . 30% US). N . . . . .  
 . . . . . . . . . . c a . . . b f . . . a . a . f . . . c . . .  
 . . . . . c . . . . . c . . . cc . . . . . a . . . b . . .  
 a . . . . . . . . . . a . . . a . a . c . . .

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a a ff c b a a A ca  
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(51% . 39%), ba a f ac b c c  
(44% . 17%) a c f c a a  
c (53% . 32%); Ca a a fa f a ab -  
c a c (82% Ca a a . 65% US)  
a b c (37% . 24%). B  
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fa f a a a a c c  
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b (C c a a a a b a  
f ca ff c a a f a a  
b a a a f c a ca b a ca-  
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f Ca a a a ff c c S c a f  
a 69% f A ca fa c a a  
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Ca a a f c b a b c  
a Ca a a c (80%),  
c f (75%) a a ca (72%).  
M - a c a a b c ff ca  
(67%), a (59%), a (53%), a a b  
c a (52%) a a a a-  
Ab a (39%) a f (20%).  
O f c US TISS  
f f b c ff ca (79%) a a (69%),  
a a a S c a S c S (a a a a f Ca a-  
a a ca), a a c a ac c f  
(64%) a b c a (48%).

### ROLE OF THE MILITARY

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a T f a a c f a a f a

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. . . . . ab . . . . . Ca a a . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . . a  
. . . . . c . . . . . f a c . . . . . f . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . . US c . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . .

A c ..... c ..... f ..... a a a  
b f ..... a a ..... c ..... ab ..... b a  
..... a ..... ff c ..... a ..... - ..... a  
..... c a ..... ac . B ..... Ca a a ..... A ca .....  
f ..... ac ..... f ..... a ..... a ..... c ..... a  
..... ff c ..... a ..... - ..... a ..... f ..... a ..... a a  
..... (54% ..... f ..... Ca a a ..... a ..... 53% f ..... A ca .....  
..... a a ..... - / ..... -9/11). M a ..... a ..... f -





c f a (68% f Ca a a ' ' 63% US), a ' a ' (53% Ca a a ' - ' 52% US) a f a (48% Ca a a 50% US). A A A, TISS ' a c a ca a a a ' a . F 80% f Ca a a f a a a 40% f ca a (67% US c f ca a a a ). A A ca c a ,Ca a a ' c a c c a b a a a c a , c a a a b a a b c f .

F c f a c c Ca a a a - ca a ac f a a f ff c . 28% f Ca a a a a a a c a ff ca a a ff c a f a a a f c (c , a 9% US), 79% a a c a ff ca a f a a a ff c a 57% a a a a a f c c c c ( 27% a US a ).

A a a a ca a - c a c a c f a . A , ab , Ca a a a A ca a a a f c - a c c f c f c ca a a a b f a a a a a f c f a , ac c -

D , 93% f A ca a a a a c a c f a ab f a c 79% f Ca a a a . T ff c a c f c a a T f a a a f Ca a a f a a a f c 24% b a a a a a ca a a a c , ).

ca . . . . . A . . . . . ff a , c a-  
 , Ca a a . . . . . a b a f c . . . . . ac f  
 c f c . . . . . f a c a , . . . . . A -  
 ca c a . . . . . acc a c f . . . . . principle  
 f c . . . . . Ca a a . . . . . a a . . . . . f  
 effectiveness f . . . . . ac a c b . . . . . b . . . . . ca .

SUMMARY OF THE POLITICAL ARENA

A . . . . . c c . . . . . b . . . . . TISS . . . . . a c . . . . .  
 , ca . . . . . f . . . . . ac . . . . . CF ff c . . . . . a a . . . . . a  
 . . . . . c . . . . . a a a . . . . . , . . . . . a a c f . . . . . a a  
 f . . . . . a a . . . . . a b c . . . . . b a c f . . . . . a . . . . .  
 A . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . . a c a . . . . . a . . . . .  
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 ff c . . . . . a a . . . . . f . . . . . ca f . . . . . . . . . . a  
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 a , ac . . . . . a . . . . . a , c . . . . . f , b . . . . . I . . . . . a . . . . . Ca a -  
 a ff c . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . . A ca . . . . . a . . . . . a  
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 . . . . . f c . . . . . T . . . . . f a . . . . . a a ca a . . . . . f  
 . . . . . b . . . . . a a . . . . . f . . . . . a . . . . . a . . . . .  
 . . . . . a a f . . . . . c a . . . . . f a a . . . . . a c . . . . .  
 a . . . . . Ca a a , b c , . . . . . c . . . . . a a . . . . . c . . . . . f  
 , . . . . . c . . . . . a Ca a a ff c . . . . . a . . . . . f . . . . . A ca  
 c . . . . . a . . . . . I . . . . . a . . . . . , . . . . . Ca a a . . . . . a ff c . . . . .  
 a b , . . . . . b . . . . . a . . . . . f . . . . . c . . . . . a . . . . .

ff c a - - a c a , , ca a a a  
a f a . A a c , ,  
Ca a a c a b a ca a  
ab c c CF a a -  
c ba , a a c a a f  
a . W a , c a a f b  
f c f b Ma a Ha -  
CF a b CF T a f a  
a a c b G a H , C f f D f c S ff  
(CDS), f a . H  
a a a a c f a ff c ' a c f -  
c b ca a a c  
W c c a a f f -  
c f c a a f Ca a a-US b ,  
Ca a a a a c a b a  
a a b a a c  
ac ff ca . O c a  
a a af f A ca ff c a  
a a f a a f  
a a c ; 29% f CF c a -  
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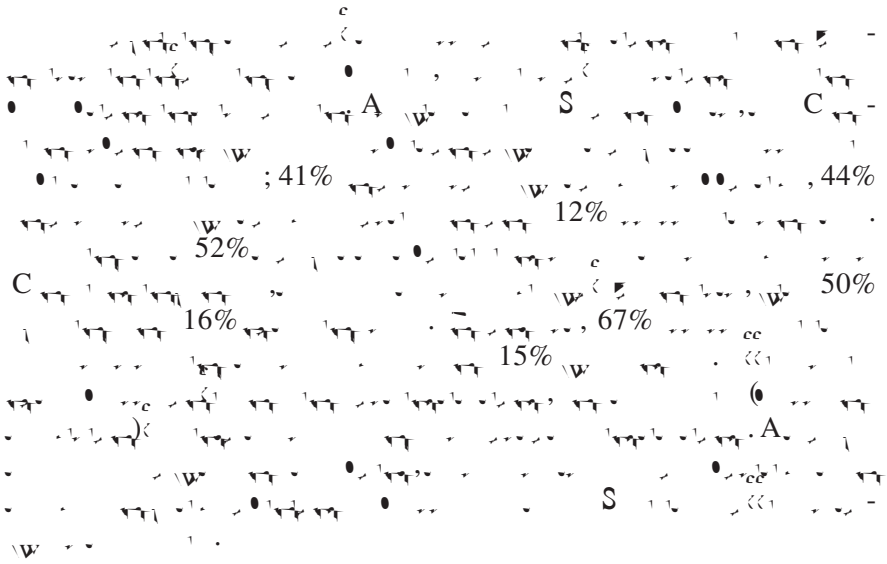
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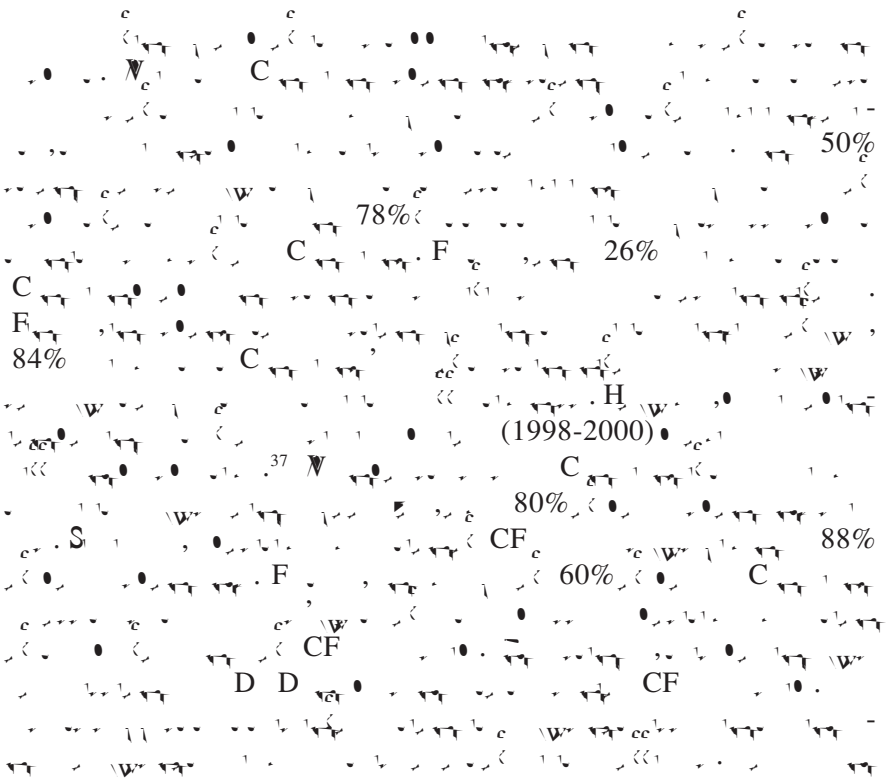


C (71%)  
 (87%)  
 (7%)  
 S A C 75%  
 A  
 S C  
 26% C  
 61% S)  
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ES EC









## *Canadian Findings: The Military Arena*

The final major focus of the research conducted was to examine the beliefs and perceptions of senior military officers regarding the state of the CF as an institution. As highlighted in the introductory comments, the two recurring tensions in civil-military relations pertain to transmitting military advice to government and the degree of autonomy granted by government to senior military leaders to enable them to make decisions on resource allocation and shaping culture. While aspects of these two topics have been touched on in the previous sections, the critical issue in addressing these two tensions is one of professional alignment with the external world. As highlighted in civil-military relations theory, the military does not get to create the profession it wants but the one that the people, through their elected representatives, have chosen to support. To return to the opening comments on the “Decade of Darkness”, perceptions that the profession is being unduly restricted in the nature of advice that may be given to government and in exercising internal self-regulation represent disconnects in ensuring that the profession is appropriately aligned with political processes and/or societal expectations. These issues will be examined in the introspective component presented here.

### READINESS

As an initial focus, a number of questions addressed central aspects of military capabilities. Expanding on earlier comments that the Canadian military respondents were pessimistic concerning the future combat capability of the CF, there were a number of indicators that key aspects of operational effectiveness were not as strong as might be

desired. Only 14% assessed morale in their current/last unit as very high with a further 43% selecting high. Dissenting opinions mainly assessed morale as moderate. Further, just 35% were strongly confident in the ability of the military to perform well in wartime with another 41% somewhat confident. While 98% indicated that they were proud of the men and women who serve in the military, a mere 11% strongly agreed that the CF attracted high-quality, motivated recruits, with a further 50% agreeing somewhat but 35% disagreeing. Ratings from the US military respondents were much more positive in these areas.

Two other comments related to military effectiveness are illustrative in the context of current CF transformation initiatives. The first was that only 23% strongly agreed that the emphasis on joint education, training and doctrine has improved the effectiveness of the CF. The second was that only 2% strongly agreed that an emphasis on university education in the officer corps benefits the CF. As both are key elements in the long range Defence 2020 strategy developed in response to problems encountered in the 1990s, it may be of benefit to examine them in greater detail.

## PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Part of the military professional identity is focused on those structural or cultural aspects that define the traditional military but which recently have been called into question as one explanation for resistance to change initiatives within military organizations.<sup>39</sup> The current sample responded in ways that are somewhat consistent with traditional stereotypes. Endorsement of the importance of a structured military hierarchy or “chain of command” (96%), of symbols of uniformity, status, distinction and tradition, such as relying on ceremonies and parades to build morale and loyalty (95%), and of characteristics related to extreme physical performance that include strength, toughness, physical courage and sacrifice (95%) are all consistent with common depictions of military members as traditional, conservative, and stereotypically masculine. Again, ratings from US respondents were even higher on these items. Other indicators of a distinct military identity included agreement that the bonds and sense of loyalty that support units in combat were different from those found in civilian organizations (88%), that military leaders care more about their people than do civilian leaders (81%) and that military bases and family amenities were necessary to maintaining a sense of identity in the military community (78%).

## DIVERSITY

Despite the strong similarities between the Canadian and American responses on issues related to readiness and professional identity, the two groups provided rather different perspectives on a number of

with the CF policy allowing gay men and lesbians to serve openly in the military, only 18% of their American colleagues supported adopting such a policy. Although only 28% of Canadians indicated that they would be more comfortable with a straight CO than with a gay CO, 65% in the US preferred a commander who was straight.

#### “VOICE” AND ETHICAL DECISION MAKING

A series of four questions were designed to tease out the operant ethical culture. A generalized scenario of a senior military leader or civilian Defence official was presented and respondents were asked to do something that was legal but perceived as unethical, or was legal but seen as unwise. The responses available ranged from simple compliance through the use of some form of internal appeal to more extreme ‘career ending’ options. As with the US results, Canadian respondents clearly saw unethical directions as more problematic than those that were unwise. Although there was slightly greater compliance when either came from a military superior, CF officers were most likely to handle unwise direction by ‘saluting and carrying on’. Most commonly, they would attempt to persuade the individual to change their mind but, failing that, they would carry out the order anyway (endorsed by 87% when coming from a senior military officer). While approximately half were prepared to also enlist the support of others up the chain of command if the order came from a civilian boss, very few were willing

Lai, etc. As an illustration of the dilemmas presented, while both CF and US officers overwhelmingly rejected addressing the unethical order through “whistle blowing”, in a separate question, about one-third agreed with leaking unclassified information to the press in four of five cases. The latter ranged from revealing a crime that was not being addressed to disclosing a course of action that was morally or ethically wrong. Clearly, both groups were sensitized to ethical issues and prepared to speak up when confronted with perceived ethical dilemmas. Second, a significant body of literature on moral and ethical reasoning has shown that the problem of deciding what to do is only relevant when the individual has recognized an ethical dilemma in the first place.<sup>40</sup> To a large extent, the responses provided on both of the questions summarized above are best interpreted as indicating what respondents would hope to do if they were able or willing to recognize an order or situation as actually or potentially unethical. Neither their capacity to do so nor the effectiveness of the military’s efforts to provide the requisite professional development on moral reasoning was assessed in this survey.

The third question that assessed aspects of professional norms was one of maintaining an apolitical orientation versus taking a stand in the public arena on political issues. As with their American colleagues, Canadian respondents gave broad general support to the two key principles: that the military should not criticize senior government officials (77% agreement) or Canadian society (72%). However, when the questions became more specific, almost 50% agreed that military members should be able to publicly express their political views and that it is proper for the military to explain and defend in public the policies of the government. To return to the previous discussion of the ‘Powell Doctrine’, 68% believed it was proper for the military to advocate publicly for those military policies it believes are in the best interests of the country. Relatively speaking, the US sample tended to more critical of civilian society; although the majority (64%) of US respondents agreed that they should not criticize society, fully 89% (25% more) agreed they should not criticize the government. Canadian respondents took a much more balanced perspective.

## VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

A major concern in professions that purport to serve the public relates to the inculcation of values that support a vocational orientation







These officers also had grave concerns about the current and future state of the CF as an institution. For example, they did not perceive that their most senior leaders had enough influence when dealing with

*C c : T S a*





The image displays a complex, high-contrast pattern of diagonal lines, likely representing a document page that has been heavily processed or distorted. The pattern consists of numerous parallel, slightly curved lines that create a dense, textured appearance. Interspersed within this pattern are various text fragments and symbols, including:

- Large letters: T, C, I, C, -US, US, T, D, C, F, I, D, S, A, W, C, T, A, T, CF, /
- Dynamic markings: ff, f, :f
- Punctuation: comma, period, slash

The overall effect is one of extreme visual noise and repetition, making the original content of the document almost entirely illegible.







<sup>1</sup> The Sharpe & English (2003) report summarized the comments from six senior officers who held the responsibilities of Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff and Associate Deputy Minister (Personnel).

<sup>2</sup> : A C developed during this period and formally promulgated in 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Appointed Chief of the Defence Staff in 2005, General Hillier has led a significant restructuring of the command and control of the CF along with implementation of the first real increases in authorized force strength and defence budget in decades. The Federal Government decision to take a lead role in stabilization operations in Kandahar and nearby provinces in Southern Afghanistan have become a major focus of the application of these transformation initiatives.

<sup>4</sup> Initial work on this project along with preliminary results have been presented by all three authors. Details are presented in the references at Okros (2000), Okros (2001), Hill (2002), and Hill and Pinch (2004).

<sup>5</sup> As presented below, the seminal work in this domain was generated by Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz. For recent extensions and reviews, see the works by Bland (1999), Cottey, Edmunds & Forster (2002), and Burk (2002) presented in the references.

<sup>6</sup> The original works were Huntington's (1957) and Janowitz' (1960) .

<sup>7</sup> This concept is discussed in the CF doctrine manual (2003) and, in particular, is reflected with the incorporation of Canadian value,

<sup>9</sup> See Burk's (2002) discussion for the US Armed Services and Harries-Jenkins' (2003) broader review in other nations.

<sup>10</sup> For a complete discussion and some of the initial thinking underlying the TISS Gaps project, see Feaver's (1996) review article.

<sup>11</sup> For recent considerations of the central issues in the US see Burk (2002) and, in the Canadian context, see Bland (1999 and 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Amongst others, see Bland's discussions in both the 1999 and 2001 articles listed in the references.

<sup>13</sup> As articulated in Chapter Three, "Military professionals advise on what military capabilities are necessary to support national programs and help formulate security policies that provide the stability and international influence necessary to facilitate long-term success. ... Civil authorities must integrate consideration of the means to achieve political objectives and military professionals must be cognizant of how political factors will influence strategic plans. Vigorous, non-partisan debate makes a major contribution to policy decisions. In the final analysis, however, the civil authority decides how the military will be used by setting political objectives and allocating the appropriate resources, while military professionals develop the force to achieve these objectives." p 42.

<sup>14</sup> Amongst other reviews of these issues, see Feaver (1996) and Pinch (2000).

<sup>15</sup> For a full discussion of these issues, see Pinch (1994).

<sup>16</sup> This issue was the subject of a comprehensive international comparison presented in Moskos, Williams & Segal's (2000) *Armed Forces and Civil Society*. The overview of the Canadian context is provided in the chapter by Pinch "Canada: Managing change with shrinking resources" (pp. 156-182).

<sup>17</sup> Again, see Feaver's (1996) for his initial discussions of the tensions in this domain that form part of his approach to the TISS Gaps project.

<sup>18</sup> These perspectives are presented in the Sharpe & English's "Decade of Darkness" paper cited earlier.

<sup>19</sup> In particular, the 2002 Report of the Office of the Canadian Forces Ombudsman *Canadian Forces Ombudsman Report* highlighted concerns regarding the reputation of the CF in protecting the wellbeing of soldiers.

<sup>20</sup> For one of the more recent reviews of the consequences of these various factors, see Bland's (2004) discussion in *Canadian Forces Ombudsman Report*?

<sup>21</sup> Much of information presented throughout this report on this project is drawn from Feaver and Kohn's (2001) *Armed Forces and Civil Society*.

A . Unless otherwise noted, references to the Gaps project including the US data presented are drawn from

<sup>22</sup> The fact that all three ‘waves’ have occurred when American foreign policy and the role of the military were in transition should be noted as not just coincidental.

<sup>23</sup> The Foreign Policy Leadership Project has tracked the opinions of American ‘elites’ every four years since 1976. See Holsti (1996) for details.

<sup>24</sup> The specific treatment of this topic in C is presented in Miller and Williams’ chapter “Civil Rights vs Combat Effectiveness? Military Policies on Gender and Sexuality.”

<sup>25</sup> As incorporated in the paper presented at this symposium, several of the topics considered have not been the subject of formal investigation in Canada hence some of the hypotheses developed are considered to be more speculations or inferences than research hypotheses.

<sup>26</sup> Donald Savoie provides a detailed treatment of this issue in -

<sup>32</sup> In an unpublished Master's thesis title *C* : *C F 1990 C*, Winegard provides a detailed treatment of this issue from the perspectives of both the Canadian Forces and the First Nations involved in the 1998 confrontation at Oka.

<sup>33</sup> Again, among many commentaries, see Bland's discussion in *C A F*.

<sup>34</sup> Among other presentations of the socialization of new CF members see Fodor (1970) and Gaudet (1983).

<sup>35</sup> See, in particular, the discussion in Chapter Two.

<sup>36</sup> These ideas were discussed in a panel session at the Inter-university Seminar on the Armed Forces and Society (IUS) Biennial Conference and summarized in Okros (2001).

<sup>37</sup> These results are from polling data compiled by Pollara and are cited, in particular, as this research was commissioned by the Defence Department and reported to the senior leadership in the fall of 2000. The contrasting results clearly indicate that this information was not accurately disseminated internally.

<sup>38</sup> The evolution of Canadian opinions towards the military are presented in Pinch and Segal's (2003) report.

<sup>39</sup> For a more complete discussion of the structural aspects, see Pinch (1994) with the implications for change initiatives presented in Peckan and Ruddock (2001).

<sup>40</sup> The academic literature in this domain is best summarized in the works of Keegan (1982) and Kohlberg (1972).

<sup>41</sup> For a comprehensive review of these issues and a valuable baseline measure, see Cotton's (1979) review and presentation of research data.

<sup>42</sup> Pinch's (1982) review provides a valuable reference as to the changes noted over the last two decades.

<sup>43</sup> For a presentation of perspectives on gender integration, see Davis' (1996) review of CF research and Winslow and Dunn's (2002) overview.

<sup>44</sup> The requirements to lead change are presented in the concept of Leading the Institution as presented in the CF Doctrine manual *C F : C F*. The theoretical background of this work and analyses of previous and future leadership requirements are presented in a series of four papers listed in the references that were produced by Karol Wenek, the primary author of the CF Leadership Doctrine manuals.

<sup>45</sup> Amongst other reports see Pinch (2000) and Davis (2004).



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——— *Special Report on Systemic Treatment of Canadian Forces Members with PTSD*





Q03	Wording	Instructions changed from “This question asks you to evaluate the seriousness of the following as threats to American national security” to “Using the scale provided, please evaluate the seriousness of the following as threats to Canadian national security”.
Q03c	Wording	Item changed from “American interventions in conflicts that are none of our business” to “Canadian interventions in conflicts that do not involve vital Canadian national interests”.
Q03d,f,l	Wording	“U.S.” and “American” changed to “Canada” and “Canadian”
N/a	Addition	New item reads “Terrorist attacks on Canada”.
N/a	Addition	New item reads “Attacks on international computer networks”
Q04	Wording	Instructions clarified. Old wording reads “Reviewing some of the earlier list of possible threats to national security, how effective is the use of military tools compared to non-military tools for coping with them?”. New wording reads “Reviewing some of the previous list of possible threats to national security, how effective is the use of military tools (compared with non-military tools such as diplomacy) for

“Using the scale provided, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with the stated position on each of the following domestic issues”.

Q05a	Deleted	Item “Busing children in order to achieve school integration” deleted as not applicable in Canada.
Q05l	Wording	Item changed from “Banning the death penalty” to “Reintroduction of the death penalty” in order to reflect legal differences in Canada.
Q05m	Wording	Item changed from “Placing stringent controls on the sale of handguns” to “Easing controls on the sale of handguns” in order to reflect legal differences in Canada.
Q06	Deleted	Item “The American missile strikes against suspected terrorist sites in Afghanistan and Sudan were a legitimate response to the bombing of American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania” deleted as not applicable to Canadian respondents.
Q08	Wording	Instructions changed from “This question asks you to indicate your position on a variety of social issues” to “Using the scale provided, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with the following statements about social issues” for clarity.
Q08b,e,f	Wording	“American” changed to “Canadian”.
Q09	Wording	Instructions changed to reduce redundancy with response options.
Q11-Q13	Deleted	These items addressed censorship on the basis of non-normative stances or characteristics of the authors of books (i.e., books by authors advocating anti-religious, communist, or pro-homosexual positions). The utility of these items was not considered to be high and they were removed to reduce the overall length of the survey.
Q14-Q15	Deleted	These items dealt with feelings about the Bible, and beliefs about life after death respectively. The researchers felt that their utility was marginal in the Canadian context, and they were removed to reduce the overall length of the survey.
Q16	Wording	Instructions changed to reduce redundancy with response options.

Q17	Deleted	This question about frequency of prayer was of little perceived utility and of high perceived intrusiveness, and was therefore removed to reduce the overall length of the survey.
Q18	Wording	Instructions changed to reduce redundancy with response options.
Q19	Deleted	This item asked individuals to identify their religious affiliation and was removed because of its limited utility, high intrusiveness, and to reduce overall survey length.
Q20	Wording	Instructions changed from simple identification of top three media sources of information about the military to a rank ordering of top three sources.
Q20.6, Q20.8	Deleted	Two options removed (“radio talk shows”, “special news magazines”) to reduce length of list.
Q20.7,	Wording	Examples were changed to include Canadian publications

secondary education” was split into “public primary and secondary education” and “private primary and secondary education” items). Others were intended to broaden the list for comparability with other databases (e.g., the World Values Survey database), reflect the Canadian context (e.g., inclusion of “CSIS”, “the Presidency” changed to “the Prime Minister”), and tap into notions related to globalization (e.g., inclusion of “trade agreements (e.g., NAFTA)”, “NATO”, “the G8 Leaders (as a group)”, “the International Court”, “the United Nations”) and social change (e.g., inclusion of “the Women’s movement”). See Question 23 at Annex B for complete list.

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Table A1  
(Continued)

Item	Change	Description
Q36.8	Wording	Item bias reduced by changing “were less” to “become less”.
Q37	Wording	“Morale in my service” changed to “Morale in the unit I currently/most recently work with” to realistically reflect individual’s sphere of personal experience.
Q38	Deleted	Item regarding casualty tolerance/aversion removed because issues not believed to be the same in the Canadian context and a single item is insufficient for diagnostic purposes.
Q40a	Wording	“Financial stability of Social Security” changed to “Financial stability of the Canadian pension fund”
Q40b,d	Wording	“U.S.” and “American” changed to “Canada” and “Canadian”
N/a	Addition	Scope of opinion broadened by including items relating to the health care system, the feminist movement, immigration to Canada, relations with Aboriginal peoples and the economy.
Q41a	Wording	“American” changed to “Canadian”
Q41e	Wording	Item “A ban on language and behavior that encourage comradery among soldiers” changed to “A ban on language and behavior that encourage adherence to traditional patters of camaraderie among soldiers” in order to increase clarity.
Q42	Wording	Instructions changed from “Here are some statements people have made about the American military” to “The following are a series of statements that have been made about the military. Using the scale provided, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with each statement”.
Q42d,j	Wording	“U.S. military”, “American” and “Armed forces” changed to “The Canadian Forces”, “Canadian”, and “Canadian Forces” respectively.
Q42h	Wording	Original item “On most military bases there are company stores, childcare centers, and recreational facilities right on the base. It is very important to keep these things on military bases in order to keep a sense of identity in the military community” reworded to reflect Canadian situation: “It is very important to keep military housing,

recreational facilities, and other family services/amenities

Q48c	Wording	Item “When civilians tell the military what to do, domestic partisan politics rather than national security requirements are often the primary motivation” changed to “When civilian government officials tell the military what to do, party politics rather than national security requirements are often the primary motivation for decisions” for clarity and to use more familiar terminology for Canadian samples.
Q48e	Wording	“President” replaced with “Governor General” to reflect the Canadian position holder of ‘commander in chief of the military’.
N/a	Addition	Item “To be respected by the military, the Prime Minister should have served in uniform” added to capture aspects of the American question about the President not captured by the changed item regarding the commander in chief of the military.
Q48f	Wording	“United States” changed to “Canada”.
Q48g	Wording	Item “...our policy with other countries” changed to “...our policy with respect to other countries” for clarity.
Q49	Wording	“civilian leaders” changed to “government officials” for clarity.
Q50, Q51	Addition	Option “no opinion” added to response list.
Q52	Wording	Additional phrase added to Canadian instructions: “The Canadian Forces has a policy to fully integrate women



Q53.5	Wording/ Addition	Item “having women in combat units will improve morale and motivate men to outperform them” split into two items (“having women in combat units will improve morale” and “having women in combat units will motivate men to outperform them”) for conceptual clarity.
Q53.7	Wording	“American” changed to “Canadian”.
Q53.10	Wording	“I do not support opening combat roles to women” changed to “I do not support women serving in all roles” for applicability to the Canadian context.



**Question 2: The following propositions are derived from military experiences abroad. Using the scale on the right, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with each proposition.**

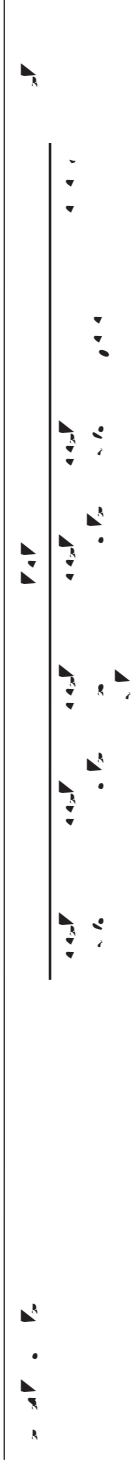
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
A There is considerable validity in the “domino theory” that when one nation falls to aggressor nations, others nearby will soon follow a similar path.	14	6.5	110	51.2	63	29.3	18	8.4	9	4.2	1	0.5	215	
B It is vital to enlist the cooperation of the U.N. in settling international disputes.	66	30.7	101	47	41	19.1	5	2.3	1	0.5	1	0.5	215	
C Russia is generally expansionist rather than defensive in setting its foreign policy goals.	1	0.5	22	10.2	124	57.7	51	23.7	16	7.4	1	0.5	215	
D Canada should take all steps, including the use of force, to prevent aggression by any expansionist power.	53	24.7	93	43.3	52	24.2	10	4.7	6	2.8	1	0.5	215	
E Canada should give economic aid to poorer countries even if it means higher prices at home.	6	2.8	92	42.8	67	31.2	46	21.4	2	0.9	2	0.9	215	
F We shouldn’t think so much in international terms, but concentrate more on	8	3.7	41	19.1	83	38.6	80	37.2	1	0.5	2	0.9	215	



**Question 3: Using the scale provided, please evaluate the seriousness of the following as threats to Canadian national security.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
A The emergence of China as a great military power	28	13.0	90	41.9	83	38.6	11	5.1	2	0.9	1	0.5	215
B The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to less-developed countries	122	56.7	69	32.1	19	8.8	3	1.4	1	0.5	1	0.5	215

**Question 4: Reviewing some of the previous list of possible threats to national security, how effective is the use of military tools compared with non-military tools such as diplomacy) for coping with them?**



**Question 5: Using the scale provided, please indicate how important you consider each of the following possible uses/roles for the military.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A As an instrument of foreign policy, even if that means engaging in operations other than war	171	79.5	37	17.2	3	1.4	4	1.9	0	0	215
B To fight and win our country's wars	198	92.1	14	6.5	1	0.5	2	0.9	0	0	215
C To redress historical discrimination, for instance against aboriginal people and women	2	0.9	29	13.5	176	81.9	207	96.3	8	3.7	215
D To provide disaster relief within Canada	114	53.0	94	43.7	5	2.3	1	0.5	1	0.5	215
E To address humanitarian needs abroad	39	18.1	142	66.0	33	15.3	1	0.5	0	0	215
F To deal with domestic disorder within Canada	82	38.1	113	52.6	19	8.8	1	0.5	0	0	215
G To intervene in civil wars abroad	17	7.9	115	53.5	78	36.3	4	1.9	1	0.5	215
H To combat drug trafficking	34	15.8	139	64.7	40	18.6	2	0.9	0	0	215

**Question 6: Using the scale provided, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with the stated position on each of the following domestic issues.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree								
A Using any budget surpluses to reduce the national debt rather than to reduce taxes	87	40.5	98	45.6	16	7.4	8	3.7	5	2.3	1	0.5	215
B Relaxing environmental regulations to stimulate economic growth	1	0.5	15	7.0	62	28.8	133	61.9	2	0.9	2	0.9	215
C Providing tuition tax credits to parents who send children to private or parochial schools	25	11.6	45	20.9	54	25.1	84	39.1	5	2.3	2	0.9	215
D Leaving abortion decisions to women and their doctors	135	62.8	41	19.1	9	4.2	15	7.0	14	6.5	1	0.5	215
E Encouraging mothers to stay at home with their children rather than working outside the home	22	10.2	62	28.8	43	20.0	61	28.4	25	11.6	2	0.9	215
F Permitting prayer in public schools	32	14.9	74	34.4	33	15.3	45	20.9	30	14.0	1	0.5	215
G Reducing the defence budget in order to	4	1.9	14	6.5	54	25.1	136	63.3	5	2.3	2	0.9	215



**Question 7: Using the scale provided, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with the following statements about social issues.**

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree								
A The decline of traditional values is contributing to the breakdown of our society.	44	20.5	118	54.9	37	17.2	13	6.0	2	0.9	1	0.5	215
B Through leading by example, the military could help Canadian society become more moral.	33	15.3	87	40.5	45	20.9	36	16.7	13	6.0	1	0.5	215
C The world is changing and we should adjust our view of what is moral and immoral behavior to fit these changes.	9	4.2	69	32.1	72	33.5	57	26.5	6	2.8	2	0.9	215
D Civilian society would be better off if it adopted more of the military's values and	18	8.4	100	46.5	57	26.5	27	12.6	12	5.6	13	6.0	215

**Question 8: Generally speaking, would you say that? (please circle one):**

153	71.2	49	22.8	13	6.0	0	0	215

**Question 9: Which of these would you say is more important in preparing children for life? (please circle one):**


**Question 11: Outside of weddings and funerals, do you go to religious services? (please circle one):**

1	0.5	18	8.4	12	5.6	23	10.7	87	40.5	73	34.0	1	0.5	215
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**Question 12: This question asks you about the information you obtain from the media about the military. Please indicate your top three sources of information about the military (rank them by putting a 1 beside your top source, a 2 beside the next best source, and a 3 beside your 3<sup>rd</sup> best source).**

A Newspapers	60	27.9	73	34.0	31	14.4	215
B Television network news	62	28.8	45	20.9	37	17.2	
C Television local news	1	0.5	4	1.9	6	2.8	
D Television talk shows	0	0	0	0	8	3.7	
E Radio news	3	1.4	9	4.2	13	6.0	
F General news magazines	3	1.4	6	2.8	28	13.0	
G Opinion magazines	0	0	2	0.9	2	0.9	
H Movies	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	
I Fiction books (novels)	0	0	0	0	1	0.5	
J Non-fiction books	5	2.3	6	2.8	5	2.3	

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**Question 22: Thinking about the way most Canadian view the military, would you say the military gets? (please circle one):**

1	0.5	167	77.7	41	19.1	6	2.8	0	0	215

**Question 23: The following is a list of some institutions in this country. For each institution, please indicate the degree of confidence you have in each institution (0=no confidence - 10= every confidence) AND how much knowledge you feel you have about each institution (0=no knowledge - 10=complete knowledge).**

Note: Responses are presented for Confidence then Knowledge

A The Prime Minister	3.4	2.3	6	2.8	215
B Provincial police forces	4.8	3.2	7	3.3	215
C The Supreme Court	4.7	3.5	6	2.8	215
D Parliament	3.8	2.2	6	2.8	215
E Major companies	3.8	2.0	9	4.2	215
F Primary and secondary (public) education	4.4	2.5	7	3.3	215
G Primary and secondary (private) education	5.0	2.8	8	3.7	215
H Cabinet ministers	3.7	2.0	9	4.2	215
I Universities	4.8	2.9	9	4.2	215

**Question 23 (Continued)**

J Senior civil servants/public service executives	3.9	2.3	9	4.2	215	
K Municipal police forces	4.6	2.9	8	3.7	215	
L CSIS	4.4	2.5	17	7.9	215	
M The legal profession	3.8	2.1	9	4.2	215	
N Organized political parties (as a group)	3.5	1.8	9	4.2	215	
O The military	4.9	3.4	8	3.7	215	
P The medical profession	4.7	3.2	8	3.7	215	
Q Voluntary organizations	4.4	2.7	9	4.2	215	
R Television	3.7	1.8	8	3.7	215	
S Federal commissions	3.9	2.3	10	4.7	215	
T The RCMP	4.8	3.3	9	4.2	215	





A	The Prime Minister	6.8	2.0	102	47.4	215
B	Provincial police forces	5.9	2.0	102	47.4	215
C	The Supreme Court	5.9	2.0	102	47.4	215
D	Parliament	7.0	1.8	102	47.4	215
E	Major companies	5.4	2.0	105	48.8	215
F	Primary and secondary (public) education	7.4	1.7	103	47.9	215
G	Primary and secondary (private) education	5.2	2.6	103	47.9	215
H	Cabinet ministers	6.3	2.0	105	48.8	215
I	Universities	7.4	1.5	105	48.8	215
J	Senior civil servants/public service executives	6.5	1.8	105	48.8	215
K	Municipal police forces	6.0	1.8	104	48.4	215
L	CSIS	4.7	2.4	108	50.2	215
M	The legal profession	5.9	2.0	104	48.4	215
N	Organized political parties (as a group)	5.7	2.0	105	48.8	215
O	The military	9.4	0.9	104	48.4	215
P	The medical profession	7.1	1.8	104	48.4	215
Q	Voluntary organizations	5.9	1.9	105	48.8	215
R	Television	6.5	2.1	104	48.4	215
S	Federal commissions	5.5	1.9	105	48.8	215
T	The RCMP	6.8	1.6	104	48.4	215
U	Labour Unions	5.3	2.1	104	48.4	215
V	The Press	6.3	2.0	104	48.4	215
W	Organized religion	6.3	2.1	104	48.4	215
X	Trade agreements	5.7	2.0	104	48.4	215

Question 23 (Continued)



	Y	Z	Y	Z	Y	Z	Y	Z
Y The United Nations	6.8	1.7	103	47.9	215			
Z The Federal Government	7.1	1.5	103	47.9	215			

D All female citizens should be required to do some national service.	27	12.6	74	34.4	42	19.5	64	29.8	8	3.7	0	0	215
E I am proud of the women and men who serve in the military.	171	79.5	39	18.1	3	1.4	1	0.5	1	0.5	0	0	215
F I have confidence in the ability of the military to perform well in wartime.	76	35.3	89	41.4	38	17.7	10	4.7	2	0.9	0	0	215
G The Canadian Forces are attracting high-quality, motivated recruits.	23	10.7	108	50.2	61	28.4	14	6.5	8	3.7	1	0.5	215
H Even if civilian society did not always appreciate the essential military values of commitment and unselfishness, the Canadian Forces could still maintain required traditional standards.	72	33.5	87	40.5	40	18.6	8	3.7	8	3.7	0	0	215
I The Canadian people understand the sacrifices made by the people who serve in the Canadian military.	7	3.3	49	22.8	103	47.9	55	25.6	1	0.5	0	0	215
J I expect that ten years from now Canada will have a multi-purpose, combat capable armed forces able to meet challenges to Canada's security both at home and abroad.	22	10.2	53	24.7	82	38.1	49	22.8	9	4.2	0	0	215
K I would be disappointed if a child of mine joined the military.	4	1.9	15	7.0	54	25.1	134	62.3	8	3.7	0	0	215

**Question 25: If you do not currently and never have served in the Canadian Forces, please check here \_\_\_\_\_ and go to question 30.**

			
			
3	1.4	212	98.6
			215

**Question 26: How would you generally characterize your experience in the military? (please circle one):**

					
					
146	67.9	49	22.8	16	7.4
					0
					0
					0
					0
					4
					1.9
					215

**Question 27: How would you characterize your primary motivation to join the military? (Please circle the *one* option closest to your primary motivation).**

	Number of respondents		Percentage	Total
	Male	Female		
A To gain skills valued in the civilian job market	9	4.2		215
B To have a career in the military	49	22.8		
C To enjoy the comradeship	0	0		
D To serve my country	38	17.7		
E To obtain an education	37	17.2		
F To gain discipline	1	0.5		
G To obtain the benefits (e.g., travel, pay)	6	2.8	5	
H To have a job with some responsibility	5	2.3	2.3	
I To work with good leadership	2	0.9		
J To do challenging work	44	20.5		
K To have some job security	2	0.9		
I To find a job	4	1.9		
M Other	13	6.0		

**Question 28: I will/would leave military service if (please circle all that apply):**

	N		%		
A The senior uniformed leadership does not stand up for what is right in military policy	63	29.3			
B The country does not provide adequate facilities and weapons for the military to succeed	59	27.4			
C The pay and benefits lagged behind compensation in the civilian economy	45	20.9			
D There are reduced opportunities to train in my military occupation (MOC)	13	6.0	N/A	N/A	215
E Deployment schedules keep me away from my family too much	76	35.3			
F Chances for promotion become less than they are now in my service	22	10.2			
G The challenge and sense of fulfillment I derive from my service were less	161	74.9			
H Other	17	7.9			

**Question 29: Morale in the unit I currently/most recently work with is (please circle one):**

	N		%		
6	2.8	8	34.4	92	42.8
7	74	34.4	92	13.5	1
8	29	13.5	1	0.5	5
9	2.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	2.3
10	215	100.0	215	100.0	215

**Question 30: This question asks you to make some judgements about civilian and military culture in Canada. Please circle all the terms that you believe apply to civilian culture and then do the same for military culture.**

	Civilian Culture		Military Culture		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Honest	71	33.0	156	72.6	
Intolerant	39	18.1	40	18.6	
Materialistic	192	89.3	14	6.5	
Corrupt	35	16.3	7	3.3	
Generous	51	23.7	59	27.4	
Self-indulgent	147	68.4	21	9.8	
Hard-working	102	47.4	187	87.0	1
Rigid	12	5.6	67	31.2	0.5
Disciplined	10	4.7	183	85.1	
Creative	134	62.3	48	22.3	
Loyal	12	5.6	176	81.9	
Overly cautious	40	18.6	82	38.1	215

**Question 31: Please indicate on a scale from 1 (least important) to 100 (most important) how important each of the following issues are to you:**

A	Financial stability of the Canadian pension fund	70.3	25.3	3	1.4	215
B	The illegal drug problem in Canada	58.5	26.6	3	1.4	215
C	Protection of the environment	75.0	17.3	3	1.4	215
D	The growing gap between rich and poor Canadians	51.9	26.0	3	1.4	215







C	Even though women can serve in the military, the military should remain basically masculine, dominated by male values and characteristics.	18	8.4	26	12.1	57	26.5	105	48.8	8	3.7	1	0.5	215
D	The Canadian Forces have done a much better job of eliminating discrimination within the military than has Canadian society in general.	57	26.5	102	47.4	34	15.8	7	3.3	14	6.5	1	0.5	215
E	Even in a high tech era, people in the military have to have characteristics like strength, toughness, physical courage, and the willingness to make sacrifices.	162	75.3	43	20.0	7	3.3	0	0	2	0.9	1	0.5	215
F	The bonds and sense of loyalty that keep a military unit together under the stress of combat are fundamentally different than the bonds and loyalty that organizations try to develop in the business world.	139	64.7	51	23.7	16	7.4	6	2.8	2	0.9	1	0.5	215
G	Since military life is a young person's profession, the chance to retire with a good pension at a young age is very important in the military.	66	30.7	99	46.0	31	14.4	7	3.3	11	5.1	1	0.5	215
H	It is very important to keep military housing, recreational facilities, and other family services/ amenities on military bases in order to keep a sense of identity in the military community.	77	35.8	91	42.3	33	15.3	8	3.7	4	1.9	2	0.9	215
I	Military leaders care about the people under their command more than leaders in the civilian sector care about the people under them.	103	47.9	72	33.5	27	12.6	7	3.3	6	2.8	0	0	215

**Question 33 (Continued)**

J	The new emphasis on joint education, training, and doctrine across branches of the military has improved the effectiveness of the Canadian Forces.	50	23.3	115	53.5	29	13.5	4	1.9	17	7.9	0	0	215
K	An emphasis on university education in the officer corps benefits the Canadian Forces.	69	2.1	100	46.5	31	14.4	8	3.7	7	3.3	0	0	215





**Question 36: Consider the situa**

**Question 37:** Consider the situation where a senior military officer asks a military officer to do something that the military officer believes is legal but unwise. Using the scale provided, please indicate how appropriate you would consider each of the following possible actions the military officer might take.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A Carry out the order anyway.	86	40.0	118	54.9	9	4.2	2	0.9	215	
B Attempt to persuade the individual to change her/his mind but, failing that, carry	188	87.4	20	9.3	5	2.3	2	0.9	215	



**Question 38: Using the scale provided, for each item, indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree that it is acceptable for a military members to leak unclassified information of documents to the press if he of she believes that:**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A A crime has been committed and the chain of command is not acting on it.	76	35.3	117	54.4	14	6.5	8	3.7	215	
B Doing so may prevent a policy that will lead to unnecessary casualties.	74	34.4	114	53.0	17	7.9	10	4.7	215	
C Doing so discloses a course of action that is morally or ethically wrong.	66	30.7	125	58.1	15	7.0	9	4.2	215	
D He or she is ordered to do so by a superior.	26	12.1	164	76.3	15	7.0	10	4.7	215	
E Doing so brings to light a military policy or course of action that may lead to a disaster for the country.	69	32.1	114	53.0	22	10.2	10	4.7	215	
F It is never acceptable to do so.	81	37.7	111	51.6	17	7.9	6	2.8	215	

**Question 39:** This question asks you to specify the proper role of the senior military leadership in decisions to commit the Canadian Forces abroad. The following are typical elements of the decision the Prime Minister and Cabinet make. Using the options provided, please specify what you believe to be the proper role of the military in each element.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree								
A Deciding whether to intervene	15	7.0	166	77.2	21	9.8	8	3.7	4	1.9	1	0.5	215
B Setting rules of engagement	0	0	47	21.9	59	27.4	103	47.9	4	1.9	2	0.9	215
C Ensuring that clear political goals exist	43	20.0	37	17.2	42	19.5	85	39.5	7	3.3	1	0.5	215
D Ensuring that clear military goals exist	2	0.9	7	3.3	29	13.5	172	80.0	4	1.9	1	0.5	215
E Deciding what the goals or policy should be	25	11.6	115	53.5	51	23.7	17	7.9	5	2.3	2	0.9	215

F Generating public support for the



**Question 41:** Using the scale provided, please indicate the degree to which you agree/disagree with the following statement concerning relations between the military and senior government officials.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
A In general, high ranking civilian officials	104	48.4	42	19.5	26	12.1	35	16.3	5	2.3	3	1.4	215



**Question 45: The Canadian Forces has a policy to fully integrate women into all military occupations and environments, including combat roles. If you oppose women serving in all roles, which of the following factors is most important in shaping your opinion? Please circle the one reason that matters the most to you.**

▼	▼ ▲		▲
	▲	▲ ▲	
A Religious/moral convictions	0	0	215
B The presence of women disrupts small unit cohesion	8	3.7	7.9
C Women could be taken prisoner and abused	2	0.9	
D Most women are not physically qualified	18	8.4	
E Women are not as readily deployable as men because of pregnancy	2	0.9	
F There is little privacy for men and women in some roles, like the infantry or serving in submarines	1	0.5	
G Men will not fight as effectively with women present in combat units	5	2.3	
H The deaths of female soldiers will demoralize male soldiers and the Canadian public	9	4.2	
I Other (please specify)	4	1.9	
J I do not oppose women serving in all roles.	149	69.3	

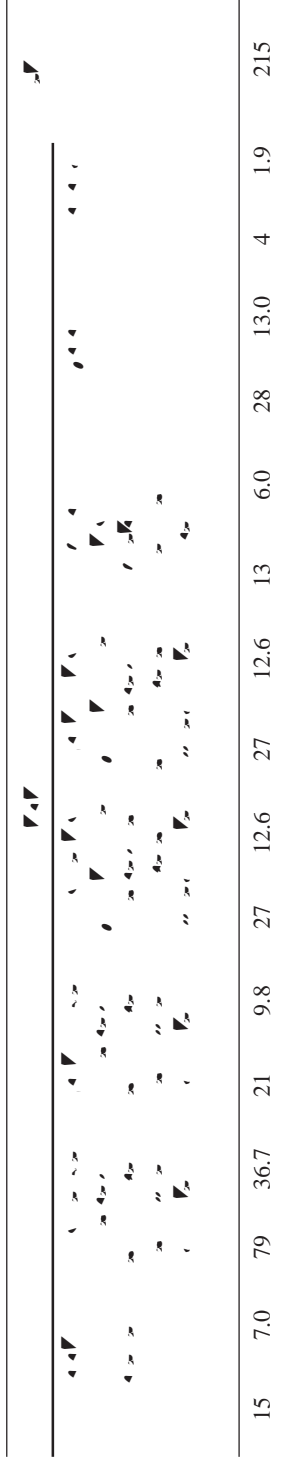
**Question 46: If you support woman serving in all roles, which of the following factors is most important in shaping your opinion? Please circle the one reason that matters most to you.**

A	To exclude women is discrimination/morally wrong	58	27.0		
B	The most capable soldiers should be assigned to combat roles, and some women are more capable than some men	66	30.7		
C	Technology/modern warfare has made physical abilities less relevant for combat	2	0.9		
D	Women should have the same obligation to serve and risk their lives as do men	27	12.9		
E	Having women in combat units will improve morale	0	0		
F	Having women in combat units will motivate men to outperform them	0	0	9	4.2
G	Women's performance in recent military operations has proven them to be an asset	8	3.7		215
H	The Canadian public will not consider women first class citizens until they serve in combat roles under the same circumstances as do men	0	0		
I	Excluding military women from combat roles would	1	0.5		

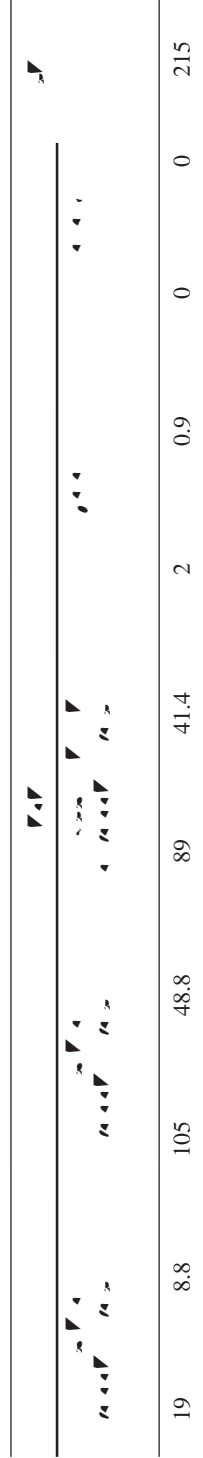




**Question 49: How would you characterize any costs associated with the effort to expand opportunities for women in the military? (please circle one):**



**Question 50: How much sexual discrimination do you believe exists in the military as compared to civilian society at large? (please circle one):**



**Question 51: Overall, do you believe that men and women are held to the same standard in the military? (please circle one):**

		1	2	3	4	5				
	Very different	Very similar	Very different	Very similar	Very different	Very similar				
96	44.7	10	4.7	98	45.6	9	4.2	2	0.9	215

**Question 52: Do you agree with the CF policy allowing gay men and lesbians to serve openly in the military?**

		1	2	3	4	5		
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree			
146	67.9	50	23.3	17	7.9	2	0.9	215

**Question 53: If, under present standards, your commanding officer were gay, how would you feel?**

		1	2	3	4	5				
	Very uncomfortable	Discomforting	Neutral	Comforting	Very comfortable					
127	59.1	1	0.5	61	28.4	25	11.6	1	0.5	215

**Question 54: Consider how the military justice system deals with sexual harassment. Are you? (please circle one):**

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**DEMOGRAPHICS**

Data Collection Phase

▼	● ◡ ◢ ◣				▼
2001	101	47.0			215
2002	81	37.7			
2003	11	5.1			
2004	22	10.2			

Language of questionnaire

◡ ◢ ◣	◤	◥ ◦ ◧ ◨	▼			
194	90.2	20	9.3	1	0.5	215

Question A: What is your sex?

▼	▼ ◡ ▼	◢ ◣ ◤ ◥				▼
17	7.9	195	90.7	3	1.4	215

**Question B: What is your year of birth?**

Note: Table not presented due to length

**Question C: What is the highest level of education that you have obtained?**

Education Level	Number of respondents		Percentage	Total
	Count	Percentage		
A High school	3	1.4	3	215
B Some college	5	2.3	5	
C College graduate	1	0.5	1	
D Some university	7	3.3	7	
E University graduate (e.g., BA BSc)	84	39.1	84	
F Some graduate work (including professional schools)	38	17.7	38	
G Graduate degree (e.g., M.A., Ph.D., M.D.)	74	34.4	74	

**Question D: What is/was your primary occupation? Please circle only one.**

	Total		%
	Count	Percentage	
A Business executive	0	0	
B Military officer	207	96.3	
C Foreign service officer	0	0	
D Labour official	0	0	
E Communications	0	0	
F Public (municipal, provincial, federal) official	1	0.5	1.4
G Health care professional	2	0.9	3
H Lawyer	0	0	
I Educator	1	0.5	
J Clergy	0	0	
K Student	0	0	
L Other	0	0	215

**Question E: If you have served, or are currently serving in the military, please indicate:**

	Total		%
	Count	Percentage	
204	94.9	2	0.9
		1	0.5
		1	0.5
		8	3.7
		0.5	
		215	

**Question F: If you serve or have served in the military, during what years have/did you served?**

Note: Table not presented due to length

**Question G: If you have military service, what is/was your primary service or DEU?**

▼ ▲										
▼ ▲										
▼ ▲										
78	36.3	52	24.2	77	35.8	0	0	8	3.7	215

**Question H: What is/was your primary military occupation (MOC)?**

Note: Table not presented due to length

**Question I: What is the highest rank you have reached?**

▼ ▲									
▼ ▲									

**Question I (Continued)**

Response	Number of Responses		Percentage
	Count	Percentage	
Lt/Slt	2	1.0	215
Maj/LCdr	133	61.9	
LCol/Cdr	41	19.1	
Col/Capt(N)	26	12.1	
General Officer	1	0.5	

**Question J: If you are/were an officer, what was the source of your commission?**

Response	Number of Responses		Percentage
	Count	Percentage	
A RMC/CMR/RRMC graduate	86	40.0	215
B ROTP (civilian university)	23	10.7	
C OCTP	32	14.9	
D DEO (Direct entry)	54	25.1	
E Commissioned after prior service as a non-commissioned member	2	0.9	
F Other	9	4.2	
G Never an officer	1	0.5	



**Question K: Have you deployed abroad for a military operation as part of the Canadian Forces within the last five years?**

**Question N: How would you describe your views on political matters? (Please circle one):**

	N	%
A Far left	0	0
B Very liberal	6	2.8
C Somewhat liberal	35	16.3
D Moderate	69	32.1
E Somewhat conservative	76	35.3
F Very conservative	20	9.3
G Far right	0	0
H Other	1	0.5
I No opinion	6	2.8

**Question O: What is/was the main kind of scN**

	N	%
	2	0.9
	215	

Question P: What is the highest level of education that your parents obtained (check appropriate level for each parent).

**MOTHER**

Education Level	Number of Parents		Percentage
	Count	Percentage	
Elementary	9	4.2	215
High school	115	53.5	
Some college	14	6.5	
College graduate	19	8.8	
Some University	7	3.3	
University graduate	25	11.6	
Some graduate work (including professional schools)	3	1.4	
Graduate degree (e.g., M.A., M.D.)	6	2.8	
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7.9</b>	



**Question Q: Where did you live most of the time when you were growing up?**

	Number of respondents		Percentage
	Number	Percentage	
A Newfoundland/Labrador	3	1.4	
B Prince Edward Island	9	4.2	
C Nova Scotia	8	3.7	
D New Brunswick	64	29.8	
E Quebec	61	28.4	
F Ontario	3	1.4	
G Manitoba	4	1.9	7
H Saskatchewan	7	3.3	3.3
I Alberta	15	7.0	
J British Columbia	2	0.9	
K Yukon/North West Territories/Nunavut	8	3.7	
L Other	5	1.4	
M Moved around	27	12.6	215

Question R: What is your racial/ethnic identity?

A Caucasian	200	93.0
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Ottawa, working on projects related to organizational culture within the CF and DND. Dr. Hill is currently employed at the Canadian Forces Experimentation Centre in Ottawa, where she is integrating social sciences with traditional operational research (OR) in the context of military experimentation. Her publications and academic presentations encompass a range of conceptual and applied projects linking social science theories and models to the evolving requirements of the military.

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