Archived Content

Information identified as archived on the Web is for reference, research or record-keeping purposes. It has not been altered or updated after the date of archiving. Web pages that are archived on the Web are not subject to the Government of Canada Web Standards.

As per the <u>Communications Policy of the Government of Canada</u>, you can request alternate formats on the "<u>Contact Us</u>" page.

Information archivée dans le Web

Information archivée dans le Web à des fins de consultation, de recherche ou de tenue de documents. Cette dernière n'a aucunement été modifiée ni mise à jour depuis sa date de mise en archive. Les pages archivées dans le Web ne sont pas assujetties aux normes qui s'appliquent aux sites Web du gouvernement du Canada.

Conformément à la <u>Politique de communication du gouvernement du Canada</u>, vous pouvez demander de recevoir cette information dans tout autre format de rechange à la page « <u>Contactez-nous</u> ».

Abstract

As a result of recent technological developments some commentators have proposed that we are in the midst of a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). It has been argued that on-going technological innovations and resultant doctrinal changes are triggering a paradigm shift in how militaries organize for and conduct warfare. In addition to these technological advances, there are indications of a parallel "revolution in socio-cultural affairs" which may have an equally profound effect on armed forces. This paper argues that the socio-cultural phenomenon known as postmodernism will impact the CF in the twenty first century. In particular, postmodernism's - subjectivity, fragmentation and uncertainty - will have significant repercussions for the CF in terms of force utilization and force organization. Although social change may be overlooked in the short-term, a revolutionary shift in worldview, such as the one represented by postmodernism, will ultimately have considerable influence on Canada and the Canadian Forces.

Table of Contents

Abstract		
Table of Contents 2		
2.	Postmodernism	
2.1	Religious Roots of Postmodernism.	8
2.2	Scientific Roots of Postmodernism.	9
2.3	Philosophical Roots of Postmodernism	. 12
3.	Characteristics of Postmodern Society	
3.1	Subjectivity	. 14
3.2	Fragmentation	. 15
3.3	Uncertainty	. 16
3.4	Postmodernism - A Summation	. 17
4.	Postmodern Canada	. 17
4.1	Canada a Subjective Society	. 18
4.2	Canadian Fragmentation	. 21
4.3	Canadian Uncertainty	. 23
4.4	Canada - A Postmodern State	
5.	The Impacts of Postmodernism on the CF	. 27
5.1	Force Utilization Challenges.	
5.2	The Relationship Between Popular Worldview and Policy	. 28
5.3	Force Utilization - Historic Examples	. 30
5.4	Force Utilization - Justification	
5.4	Current CF Roles	. 36
5.5	Future Roles - CF Focus	. 41
5.6	Force Utilization - The Way Ahead	. 43
5.7	Force Utilization Summation	. 44
6.	Future Human Resource Management.	. 45
6.1	CF Mission and Values	. 46
6.2	Recruitment	. 50
6.3	Indoctrination	. 53
6.4	Motivation	
6.5	Canadian Socio-Cultural Values	
6.6	Contemporary Motivational Theory	
6.7	Political Correctness	
6.8	Summary of HR challenges	
7.	Conclusion	. 63
Bibl	Bibliography 6	

1. Introduction

"A growing body of evidence indicates that deep-rooted changes in worldviews are taking place. These changes seem to be reshaping economic, political and social life in societies around the world."

Robert Inglehart

Within the military community there has been significant discussion regarding the ramifications of recent innovations in information technology. These advances have led to tremendous enhancements in information collection, dissemination and utilization. As a result of these developments, some commentators have proposed that we are in the midst of a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA).² Proponents of an RMA have argued that on-going technological advances and resultant doctrinal changes are triggering a paradigm shift in how militaries organize for and conduct warfare.³ While other observers are more reserved about the existence of such fundamental change, there is general consensus that technological change has had, and will continue to have, significant impact on the military art.⁴

¹ Robert Inglehart, "Globalization and Postmodern Values," *The Washington Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 215.

² An RMA is described by Andrew Marshall as "... a major change in the nature of warfare brought about by the innovative application of new technologies, which, ... fundamentally alter the character and conduct of military operations." Benjamin S. Lambeth, "The Technology Revolution in Air Warfare," *Survival* 39, no. 1 (Spring: 1997): 75.

³ John Warden is an example of one such commentator who believes that recent technological innovations have triggered an RMA. John Warden, *The Air Campaign* (San Jose: toExcel, 1998).

⁴Commentators such as O'Hanlon, while recognizing the importance of technology, are hesitant to call it a revolution. Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Technological Change and the Future of Warfare* (Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 2000), 31.

In addition to these technological developments, there are indications of a parallel "revolution in socio-cultural affairs" which may have an equally profound effect on the nature of future armed forces. Though not as widely discussed in military circles, cultural commentators such as Robert Inglehart have argued that significant social changes are occurring within Western society. The observation that worldviews are changing is not, in itself, particularly surprising. ⁵ Societies are complex and dynamic entities that evolve over time for a variety of reasons. Indications of societal change are evident in many countries. Within Canada, changing values and attitudes manifest themselves in a wide variety of social and political issues. ⁶ Analogous to the RMA discussion, it has been suggested that these on-going social changes are of a revolutionary nature and represent a fundamental change to the social fabric of Western society. ⁷

Why are Canadian values changing? A definitive answer to this question is problematic. A wide-range of cultural and intellectual factors can be identified that are potentially influencing the worldview of Canadians. This paper will group many of these determinants of change under the category of postmodernism. Although used to describe recent developments in a wide range of fields, within the socio-cultural context postmodernism represents a fundamental shift in the worldview of Canadians, from one that viewed the world as objective and purposeful to one that interprets it as increasingly

_

⁵ The term 'worldview' is defined as "a particular philosophy of life or conception of the world." Pearsall, Judy, ed. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Tenth Edition Revised* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1648.

⁶ For instance, where once issues such as gambling and abortion were broadly condemned, they are now generally tolerated.

⁷ For a good discussion of changing worldviews see Stanley Grenz, *A Primer on Postmodernism* (Grand Rapids Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 39-56.

subjective and uncertain.⁸ This has resulted in a growing diversity of perspectives and caused many Canadians to question traditional views of knowledge and morality.

While changing values and their resultant social impacts may be interesting from a sociological or philosophical perspective, why are they important to the Canadian Forces (CF)? Traditionally, militaries have tended to focus on concrete questions of force generation and employment rather than on 'softer' social issues. Although it may not be immediately evident, social values and force utilization are, in fact, integrally linked. In democratic societies such as Canada, though sometimes nuanced or delayed, government policy is ultimately heavily influenced (if not entirely determined) by the views of its citizens. Any fundamental change in underlying Canadian values will eventually be reflected in future policy initiatives.

This paper will argue that the socio-cultural phenomenon known as postmodernism will have an important impact on the CF in the twenty first century. To support this thesis the roots of postmodernism, its main tenants, its applicability to Canada and some of the important challenges it poses to the CF will be examined. In particular, certain attributes of postmodernism - subjectivity, fragmentation and uncertainty - will have significant repercussions for the CF. The influences of these socio-cultural influences will be manifested in terms of force utilization and force organization.

⁸ As will be discussed, defining postmodernism as a worldview is somewhat problematic given that one of the tenants of postmodernism is its denial of a universal "worldview".

Although social change may be overlooked in the short-term, a revolutionary shift in worldview, such as the one represented by postmodernism, will ultimately have considerable influence on Canada and its armed forces. Given its ramifications, it is essential that current and future CF leaders recognize and understand the potential impacts of these socio-cultural developments.

2. Postmodernism

At the outset of the twenty first century, Western culture is increasingly described as postmodern. But what, in fact, do the terms postmodern and postmodernism mean? As with other broad terms, the expression "postmodernism" is somewhat ill-defined and can be variously interpreted. Postmodernism, as the term implies, is fundamentally a move, or an attempt to move, beyond the views of modernism. Though there is no definitive definition of postmodernism, for the purposes of this discussion it will be defined as the rejection of modernism.

⁹ A wide range of commentaries including Inglehart and Grenz classify Western society as either postmodern or increasingly manifesting the characteristics of a postmodern society.

¹⁰ The genesis of the terms postmodern and postmodernism can be traced to the first half of the twentieth century. Initially used to describe developments in the field of architecture, over time the term postmodern was adopted within academia to characterize certain theoretical developments in the domains of literature and philosophy. Charles Jencks, *What is Post-Modernism?* 3d ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1989), 1-10.

Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ The Enlightenment is often viewed as a turning point in Western civilization where revelation was supplanted by reason as the means to knowledge and truth.¹² The pre-modern approach to knowledge is represented by the sentiment that belief is required for understanding.¹³ Modernism's focus on verifiable truth transposes this argument and makes belief contingent upon understanding. With respect to the current discussion, modernism holds several key assumptions. It postulates that epistemological and ethical truths exist, and that these truths are available to man. Modernism is generally an optimistic worldview that believes scientific discovery will continue to increase man's understanding of nature and his ability to shape it for the betterment of humanity. As shall be discussed, postmodernism is essentially an abandonment of the modernist ideology and a rejection of its assumptions.

From a socio-cultural perspective, postmodernism represents a paradigm shift in worldview. As noted, the Enlightenment displaced religion and revelation with science and reason as the sources of truth and understanding. Postmodernism has challenged this modern faith in reason and raised questions about man's ability to understand the universe. The result of this has been to replace the certainty and optimism of modernism

¹¹ The Enlightenment is normally understood as the period from the conclusion of the Thirty Years War in 1648 until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Patterson Dennis, "From Postmodernism to Law and Truth," *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy* 26, no.1 (Winter 2003): 50.

¹² Ted Honderich, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. 236-237

¹³ This view is often credited to fourth century theologian St. Augustine, Robert Audi ed. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, 2d ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61.

with the doubt and uncertainty characteristic of postmodernism. What caused this profound change in worldview? The following briefly examines some of the key religious, scientific and philosophical roots of postmodernism.

2.1 Religious Roots of Postmodernism

Modernism's diminishment of traditional religious views contributed the to eventual rise of postmodern skepticism. Modernism and its rationalistic approach was originally envisioned by Enlightenment thinkers such as Descartes¹⁴ as a means to strengthen the Christian worldview through development of robust rational arguments for religious belief.¹⁵ Over time, however, the increasing emphasis on scientifically verifiable knowledge resulted in a chasm between faith and reason. Could religious beliefs be supported through reason and logic, or were they subjects outside the purview of rational investigation and analysis? The perceived incongruity between reason and faith led many modernists to reject significant portions of traditional religious dogma and adopt a version of natural religion or deism.¹⁶

With the advent of nineteenth century thinkers such as Darwin, Freud and Marx, the need for even a limited God was further reduced. The works of these theorists expounded the belief that all phenomena could be explained through natural means,

¹⁴ French philosopher René Descartes is credited with articulating and popularizing much of the modern worldview. Audi, *The Cambridge ...*, 223.

¹⁵ *Ibid...*, 224.

¹⁶ Deism is the view that God is somewhat analogous to a clockmaker who, after building and starting the clock, does not actively interfere in its functioning. *Ibid...*, 216.

thereby eliminating the need for reference to the supernatural¹⁷ and contributing to a growth in agnosticism¹⁸ and atheism.¹⁹ Though religious belief remained an important aspect of modern life its explanatory power had been significantly reduced. The removal of religion as a valid lens through which to understand the world caused truth to become increasingly viewed as contingent on science and reason.²⁰ Thus, when science and reason were subsequently attacked by postmodernism there was no readily available safe haven to which objectivists could return.

2.2 Scientific Roots of Postmodernism

The effort of Enlightenment thinkers to develop a universally acceptable approach to the acquisition of knowledge contributed to the establishment of rationalism as a pillar of modernism.²¹ Rationalism postulates that reason is the pre-eminent, if not sole, means of acquiring knowledge.²² In accordance with this view, the overall body of knowledge is gradually increased over time and built upon an expanding foundation of verifiable truth.²³ This epistemological approach, in turn, helped popularize science and the

¹⁷ Naturalism views everything as being with the realm of nature. In the broader metaphysical sense, it denies the existence of a spiritual plane outside of the material world. Honderich, *The Oxford...*, 604

¹⁸ Agnosticism is the view that nothing can be known about the existence or nature of God. Pearsall, *The Concise Oxford* ..., 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid* ..., 83.

²⁰ This naturalistic view, however, had paradoxical results; if man is a purely accidental being, what was the justification for faith in human reason?

²¹ Audi, *The Cambridge...*, 224-225.

²² Honderich, *The Oxford Companion*..., 741.

²³ Patterson, From Postmodernism..., 49.

scientific method as the preferred means of acquiring and verifying knowledge. In the modern view, the world is a complex but nonetheless predictable system composed of discrete components and governed by logical and understandable laws. ²⁴ The modern worldview is exemplified in Newton's mechanistic model of nature and its laws. ²⁵

Postmodernism rejects this view of the world as ordered and comprehensible. As noted by Grenz, twentieth century developments in the field of theoretical physics have raised significant questions regarding the Newtonian universe.²⁶ Miller suggests that Einstein's theories of relativity,²⁷ in particular, have dismantled modern concepts of space and time: "... with Einstein's development of relativity physics, common-sense notions of the absoluteness of space and time have been abandoned."²⁸ At the same time, developments at the other end of the spectrum in the realm of quantum physics ²⁹ raised further concerns about the nature of reality and the limits of science.³⁰ Not only did quantum theory raise questions about the very nature of reality with the so-called

²⁴ James B. Miller, *The Emerging Postmodern World, Postmodern Theology*, ed. Frederic Burnham (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), 10.

²⁵ Fred Wolf, *Taking the Quantum Leap* (Grand Rapids: Harper & Row Publishers, 1989), 25.

²⁶ Ironically, though physics provided much of the initial intellectual support for the modern worldview, it has also played a key role in challenging some of modernism's most deeply held precepts.

²⁷ For a overview of Einstein's theories of Special Relativity and General Relativity readers can refer to Peter Coles, *Cosmology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 12 - 26.

²⁸ Not only did Einstein's theories postulate that measurement was dependant on the observer, but his famous formula E=MC² implied that energy and matter were related rather than independent variables. Miller, *The Emerging* ..., 9.

²⁹ Quantum physics is the study of the physics at sub-atomic level. Audi, *The Cambridge* ..., 765.

³⁰ For an overview of questions raised by quantum theory see Wolf, *Taking the Quantum* ..., 1 - 6.

wave/particle paradox,³¹ it also implied that the process of scientific investigation was not neutral but, in fact, itself influenced experimental outcomes.³² In conjunction with Einstein's work, these developments have shaken the modern view of the universe as a structured and understandable entity.³³

While these theoretical developments challenged modern conceptions regarding the comprehensibility of the universe, the objectivity of science also came under attack. Since the Enlightenment, science had been viewed as an objective process that allowed for the accumulation of knowledge and the gradual refinement of explanatory theories. In his seminal work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn raised questions about scientific methods and assumptions. Kuhn suggested that a significant portion of developments in scientific theory did not result from minor incremental change, as had been theorized; but were, in fact, fundamental shifts in viewpoints that rejected previously accumulated knowledge. He also echoed concerns about the objectivity of science, arguing that much scientific work attempted to place discoveries within preconceived constructs rather than creating constructs to explain observations.³⁴

³¹ Experimental data have indicated that sub-atomic material sometimes behave as particles and at other times behaves as waves. Readers seeking a popular level discussion of this issue can see *Ibid* ..., 3-5.

³² Eventually, some of these difficulties raised in the field of quantum physics may be proven to be the result of methodological limitations (our ability to accurately observe and measure) rather than actual uncertainty. *Ibid*, 59 - 61.

³³ This sentiment is similar to philosopher W.V.O. Quine's comments regarding the nature of knowledge, suggesting it has become apparent that the universe is much more holistic and interrelated than had been originally thought. Patterson, *Postmodernism to Law* ..., 52.

³⁴ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1996), 24.

about not only the nature of reality but, just as importantly, the limits of science as a mechanism to acquire and test knowledge.

2.3 Philosophical Roots of Postmodernism

Philosophical thought has also contributed to the growth of postmodernism.

Nineteenth century German philosopher Friederich Nietzsche contested many of modernism's assumptions and laid much of the intellectual groundwork for postmodernism. Nietzsche challenged the language used to communicate knowledge, arguing that the use of generalization was misleading and contributed to the illusion that the world was considerably simpler and more understandable than was indeed the case. He suggested that human perception was not as certain as had been thought.

"What then is truth? A mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and anthropomorphisms – in short a sum of human relations, which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished poetically and rhetorically, and which after long use seem firm, canonical, and obligatory to a people; truths are illusions of which one has forgotten that this is what they are; ...coins which have lost their pictures and now only matter as metal, no longer as coins." ³⁶

Prominent twentieth century postmodern philosophers Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida built upon Nietzsche's ideas. Foucault rejected the notion of universal truth and questioned modernism's optimistic worldview. He challenged the view that

 $^{^{35}}$ Nietzsche argued that linguistic generalizations are often misleading in communicating the true essence of things (e.g. the word leaf does not adequately convey the uniqueness of individual leaves). Grenz, *A Primer* ... , 89.

knowledge and information were essentially value-free and would necessarily be used for the broad benefit of humanity rather than just a privileged elite.³⁷ Derrida echoed Nietzsche's view of language and denied that it was able to accurately represent reality or convey concepts.³⁸ To state this in another way, as proposed by American postmodern philosopher Richard Rorty, there is no overriding truth - only individual interpretation.³⁹ Ultimately this view, when applied in a broad context, results in a subjective or relativistic worldview.

3. Characteristics of Postmodern Society

Before examining Canada as a postmodern society and the ramifications of this development on the CF, some of the more relevant aspects of postmodern society will be discussed. For the purposes of the present analysis, the most important characteristics of postmodern society are its subjectivity, fragmentation and uncertainty. For ease of analysis, these factors will be discussed separately although they are, in fact, highly interrelated and synergistic.

³⁶ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann, (New York: Penguin books, 1976), 46-47.

³⁷ David Robinson, *Nietzsche and Postmodernism* (Cambridge; Icon Books Ltd., 1999), 46.
³⁸ In the traditional correspondence theory of truth, statements are said to be true because they correspond to some external event. Derrida rejected this view and advocated a deconstructionalist perspective, wherein the meanings of statements were determined by the context in which they were interpreted rather than by any inherent message that they possessed. Audi, *The Cambridge...*, 882-884.

³⁹ Grenz, *A Primer* ..., 6.

3.1 Subjectivity

A key aspect of postmodernism society is its subjective worldview, which denies the existence of objective truth. In *The Closing of the American Mind*, Allan Bloom testifies to the prevalence of subjectivity within contemporary western society.

"There is one thing a professor can be absolutely certain of: almost every student entering the university believes, or says he believes, that truth is relative. If this belief is put to the test, one can count on the student's reaction: they will be uncomprehending. That anyone should regard the proposition as not self-evident astonishes them, as though he were calling into question 2 + 2 = 4."

There are several major categories of subjectivity which are recognizable within postmodern society: metaphysical relativism, epistemological relativism and ethical relativism.⁴¹ Though all of these of relativistic views contribute to the postmodern worldview, the most salient to the current discussion is ethical relativism.

Moral or ethical relativism is the view that, "Moral appraisals are essentially dependant upon the standards that define a particular moral code, the practices and norms accepted by a social group [or individual] at a specific place and time." In other words, the appropriateness of a given action is determined by situational considerations rather than by any objective universal standard. The notion of ethical relativism is not, in itself,

⁴⁰ Allan Bloom, *The Closing of The American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 25.

⁴¹ Metaphysical relativism denies the existence of absolute truth, whereas epistemological relativism concedes the existence of absolutes but denies man's capacity to discern them. Peter Kreeft, *A Refutation of Moral Relativism* (San Francisco: Ignatius press, 1999), 27-34.

⁴² Honderich, *The Oxford* ..., 758.

a particularly recent development and can be traced to ancient times.⁴³ It is, however, only with the advent of postmodernism that ethical relativism has become a widely accepted view.⁴⁴

3.2 Fragmentation

Closely related to its subjective nature, postmodern society is also characterized by a pluralism of worldviews and social fragmentation. This fragmentation is apparent between different sub-groups in society and individuals. In the latter sense, postmodern society is characterized by increasing individualism. Social tracking tools, such as the 3SC Social Values Monitor and the Cross Cultural Verification Model, indicate that Western societies are moving away from their traditional communal focus toward a more pronounced emphasis on personal autonomy. Social commentators such as Robert Putman who have noted that communal or group-focused activities have diminished noticeably in the latter years of the twentieth century echo this sentiment. In an individualistic society devoid of strong unifying beliefs, social cohesion and the sense of social responsibility are diminished.

-

⁴³ Greek philosopher Protagoras (490-420 BC) rejected the notion of universal moral laws, viewing man as the ultimate adjudicator: "Man is the measure of all things." Audi, *The Cambridge* ..., 790.

⁴⁴ There are two major types of ethical relativism: subjectivism and conventionalism. In accordance with subjectivism, the moral assessment of a given action rests with the individual. On the other hand, conventionalism views ethical principles as determined by the local group. *Ibid*, 638.

⁴⁵ Both of these models will be discussed more fully in the later section on the human resource impacts of postmodernism.

Fragmentation between sub-groups can be seen in the relatively recent development of what is known as "political correctness." Beckwith and Koukl define political correctness as "a web of interconnected ... ideological beliefs that have intensified our cultural, gender, class and racial differences in the name of diversity." Fundamentally, it is the view that each of the many sub-groups within a given society is unique and, consequently, needs to be treated differently. 48

Significant social fragmentation inhibits the development and maintenance of social consensus (i.e., agreement amongst the various groups that constitute a society). ⁴⁹ The absence of consensus, in turn, poses significant challenges for the development of organizational and societal norms. What criteria are used for developing agreement? Does inaction become the preferred course of action in the absence of agreement?

3.3 Uncertainty

In contrast to the optimism of the Enlightenment, apathy and pessimism characterize the postmodern era. In the pre-modern worldview, religion provided a framework through which the world could be understood. With the advent of modernism, reason and science usurped this explanatory role. Humanists have

 ⁴⁶ Putman uses declining participation rates in civic and professional organizations as a proxy for increasing individualism. Robert Putman, *Bowling Alone*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 438-439.
 ⁴⁷ Francis Beckwith and Gregory Koukl, *Relativism*. Grand Rapids Michigan: Baker Books, 1998), 80-81.

⁴⁸ Political correctness much like conventionalism, perceives truth as culturally determined.

⁴⁹ *Ibid...*, 81.

God and religious dogma. This liberation, however, has come with a cost. Religion gave society a sense of purpose by conveying upon man a special place and role in the universe. The removal of this view has undermined the view that man has an inherent purpose or possesses specific responsibilities. Taken to its logical conclusion, and coupled with a diminished view of human reason, this has led to increased apathy and nihilism. In the words of American philosopher William Craig, "... if God does not exist, then life is objectively meaningless, ... for without God, man and the universe are without any real significance."

3.4 Postmodernism - A Summation

From a socio-cultural perspective postmodernism represents the rejection of modernity and its assumptions. In particular, postmodernism is skeptical of the existence of objective truth and man's ability to discern it through reason.

4. Postmodern Canada

So far this paper has discussed the notion of postmodernism - its roots, its development and some of its key ramifications. Is contemporary Canada, however,

⁵⁰ Audi, *The Cambridge* .. , 397.

⁵¹ Nihilism is defined as "the rejection of all religious and moral principles, often involving a general sense of despair coupled with a belief that life is devoid of meaning." Pearsall, *The Oxford* ..., 982.

⁵² William Craig, *Reasonable Faith* revised ed. (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1994), 65-66.

appropriately considered a postmodern society? To answer this question, Canadian society will need to be examined in light of the aforementioned characteristics of subjectivity, fragmentation and uncertainty.

4.1 Canada a Subjective Society

Arguably, at the outset of the twenty first century, Canadians are increasing subjective in their outlook. They tend to hold less clearly defined views of right and wrong, and the views that they do hold are held with less conviction. This contention that Canadian values are becoming less objective, is difficult to prove, however, in a direct and quantifiable fashion. Unlike relatively concrete and measurable questions such as the popularity of a given product or service, views and beliefs are more esoteric concepts and more challenging to measure. Hence, an evaluation of the hypothesis that contemporary Canadian society is increasingly subjective will require the use of indirect means.

Although other tools may be available, the following paragraphs will use religion and religious belief as the primary means to access the outlook of Canadians. It is important to note that religion is used in this context only as an indicator of worldview (i.e., is it subjective or objective?) not as an indicator of modernism or postmodernism.⁵³ While not a direct measurement, religious belief is a good indicator of worldview, given that inherent in most religions is the acceptance of certain "absolute" tenants and guiding

⁵³ In light of the earlier discussion on religion declining religiosity by itself could also be a interpreted as a manifestation of modernism.

18/72

principles. While much of the following is applicable across a broader religious spectrum,⁵⁴ the ensuing discussion will largely focus on Christianity.⁵⁵

A key element of Christian faith is belief in the existence of objective truth and purpose.⁵⁶ In addition to its objectivity, Christianity also accords man a special role and purpose in creation. This in turn, implies that though there may be limitations to human reason, the universe is structured in a manner that is logical and comprehensible to man.

In light of its aforementioned qualities, it can be logically assumed that Christians possess a comparatively objective outlook. Given this, what is the prevalence of Christianity in contemporary Canadian society? In examining the current Canadian social landscape, it is apparent that traditional religious beliefs are declining in measurable ways. As noted by the Canadian Council of Churches in 2003, secularism and agnosticism have become the *de facto* faith norms for many Canadians.⁵⁷ In Canada, the diminishing relevance of traditional faith manifests itself in several ways, including church attendance and religious affiliation. Canadian sociologist Reginald Bibby notes that between 1957 and 1990, the percentage of Canadians that attended weekly religious services declined from 53% to 23%. At the same time, the number of Canadians professing an affiliation to a specific religious community decreased from 82% to 29%.

_

⁵⁴ This is particularly true of the other major monotheistic religions: Judaism and Islam. For an interesting discussion of ethical relativism from Christian and Islamic viewpoints, readers can see Peter Kreeft . *A Refutation of ...,..*

⁵⁵ There are two primary strands of Christianity: Catholicism and Protestantism. The following points regarding Christianity pertain to either of these camps.

out a series of moral and social rules that are both objective and prescriptive. *The Life Application Study Bible*, New International Version trans. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), 136-138.

The 1998 *General Social Study* conducted by Statistics Canada reinforced this downward religious trend, showing a reduction in regular church attendance between 1988 and 1998 from 41% to 34% (in this case regular attendance was defined as a minimum of once a month).⁵⁸

These data indicate that traditional religious belief has declined markedly in Canada during the latter part of the twentieth century. But is this decline in religious faith truly indicative of an increasingly subjective Canadian worldview? Is objectivity contingent on religious faith, or can it exist within an atheistic construct? Some philosophers such as Kai Nielsen have argued that the existence of objective morality is not contingent on theism and that man, independent of God, can derive them. This position, however, has been challenged from both atheistic and theistic perspectives. Leading atheistic philosopher Michael Ruse argues that objective morals are illusionary and that man-made ethical codes are, by definition, subjective. Theistic philosophers such as William Craig have challenged claims that objective ethical values can exist outside of a theistic construct as logically untenable.

⁵⁷ Joe Couto, "Canadian Church Attendance Declines," *Christianweek Online* 14, no. 18; available from http://www.Christianweek.org/Stories/vol14/no18/story2.html; Internet; accessed 3 July 2003. 1.

⁵⁸ Joe Couto, "Canadian Church Attendance ..., 1.

⁵⁹ The existence of non-theistically based objective truth has been the subject of debate within the philosophical community.

⁶⁰ Nielsen's comments were made regarding the possibility of identifying objective ethical values in an atheistic model. "The Craig – Nielsen Debate," *Liberty University* available from http://www.leaderu.com/offices/billcraig/docs/craig-nielsen1.html; Internet; accessed 22 Apr 2003.

⁶¹ Michael Ruse, *The Darwinian Paradigm*, (London: Routledge, 1989), 262-269.

⁶² William Craig and Walter Sinnott-Armstrong, *God?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 17-21.

4.2 Canadian Fragmentation

At the beginning of the twenty first century, Canadian society is increasingly heterogeneous both ethno-culturally and ideologically. The ethno-cultural nature of Canada has broadened significantly during the latter decades of the twentieth century and the rate of this diversification has accelerated. The 2001 Canadian census identified over two hundred different ethno-cultural groups within Canada. According to Statistics Canada data, visible minorities as a percentage of the Canadian population, increased from 5% to 13% between 1981 and 2001. The 2001 Census also noted that approximately 25% of those identified as members of a visible minority were under the age of 14 and nearly 75% were under the age of 44. Canada remains a country of immigrants. As of 2001, approximately 20% of Canadians were foreign born with nearly one third of these immigrating to Canada between 1991 and 2001. The sources of immigration, however, have changed and expanded. As mentioned earlier, Western Europe has historically been the predominant source of immigrants for Canada. While it

_

⁶³Statistics Canada. *Canadian Statistics - Immigrant Population by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration*, available from http://www.statscan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo25..htm; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004

⁶⁴ Statistics Canada. The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as "persons other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Statistics Canada, Changing Faces, available from http://142.206.72.67/02/02a/02a_006_e.htm.; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004.

⁶⁵ Statistics Canada. *Canadian Statistics - Visible Minority Population by Age* available from http://www.statscan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo41.htm.;Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004.

⁶⁶ Statistics Canada. *Canadian Statistics - Immigrant Population by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration*, http://www.statscan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo25..htm; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004

remains an important source of human capital, Eastern Europe and Asia have also become important sources of immigration.⁶⁷

Hand in hand with ethno-cultural diversity, ideological diversity is also growing in Canada. Michael Adams of Environics notes that Canadian society is divided along a wide range of characteristics including religious, economic and generational. As discussed, Canada has historically been a relatively homogeneous country from a religious perspective (i.e., overwhelmingly Christian). This situation is changing.

Between 1991 and 2001, the percentage of Jews increased from 1.1% to 3.7% while the percentage of Muslims doubled to 2.5%. At the same time, the number of Buddhists increased 84% and the numbers of Hindus and Sikhs grew 89%. Although the total numbers in these latter groups are relatively limited, their growth is indicative of the trend toward increasing religious pluralism in Canada. 68

In addition to growing cultural pluralism, there are also indications of an increasing individualistic outlook amongst Canadians. According to the 3SC Social Values Monitor, Canadians are moving away from tradition and communal values (characterized by respect for authority and traditional institutions), to a more individualistic approach that rejects authority and emphasizes personal autonomy and self-fulfillment.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Lorrayne Anthoney, Canadians Losing Their..., 1.

⁶⁹ Adams, Sex..., 48.

Is the observation that Canada possesses a range of worldviews a recent development? Throughout its existence, Canada has been a country of immigrants and has been characterized as a mosaic of cultures with difference outlooks rather than as a single, homogenous society. These differences, however, were in large part limited to those between Canada's two predominant cultural groups: English-Canadians and French-Canadians. Though differences existed (and continue to exist) between these groups, they arguably possess extremely close cultural and philosophical outlooks. The Present day Canada encompasses a much wider range of sub-cultures and the differences between many of these groups is significantly greater than the historic divisions between French and English Canada. While Canada has always been a country of "nations" with different viewpoints, it is evident that the current magnitude of these differences is unprecedented.

4.3 Canadian Uncertainty

In addition to its subjectivity and fragmented nature, Canadian society is becoming increasingly uncertain. This uncertainty can be seen in the burgeoning level of apathy amongst Canadians and their increasingly pessimistic outlook. Manifestations of apathy are widespread. Significant portions of Canadians are not actively engaged in social or political discourse. Commenting on this segment of society, Environics notes: "They are non-ideological and non-judgmental. They see nothing worth fighting for, no

_

⁷⁰ Both groups possess Western European roots and share a common religious and philosophical heritage.

belief system, no country, no tribe."⁷² This detachment can be seen in the percentage of citizens who actively participate in the democratic process. Fifty years ago, 75% of eligible citizens voted in federal elections; but as of 2001, this number had declined to 60%.⁷³ Apathy and detachment have also increasingly come to be seen by some as desirable characteristics.⁷⁴.

As increasing numbers of Canadians have disengaged from traditional social and political structures, some have become active in "alternative" movements such as environmentalism and anti-globalization. Although these movements are broad-based and somewhat unstructured, they possess some common qualities. In general terms, they both articulate a pessimistic worldview and exhibit an inherent distrust of traditional public and private institutions.

Environmentalism's distinctly pessimistic tone is evident in the work of prominent environmental commentators such as Paul Elhrich. Throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, Elhrich has argued against the sustainability of modern society and consistently forecasted impending ecological disaster. An example of this extreme

⁷¹ Commentators such as Adams have noted that the current level of diversity in Canadian society is unprecedented. Adams, *Sex* ..., 13.

⁷² Michael Adams and Christine de Panafieu, "God is Dead? Whatever," available from http://erg.environics.net/news/default.asp?Aid=523; Internet; accessed 8 July 2003. 1.

⁷³ *Ibid*, *God is Dead*.... 1.

⁷⁴ Some social commentators have noted that "cool" for Canadian youth is increasingly equated with skepticism and irony. Michael Adams, "*Mass Media Round-table, Designing a Made for Canada Approach to Federal Tobacco Control Mass Media*" available from http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hecs-sesc/t.../roundtable/ us canada culture.html; Internet; accessed 11 Feb 2004.

pessimism can be seen in his 1972 best seller, *Limits of Growth*, wherein he predicted a massive global ecological disaster before the conclusion of the twentieth century.⁷⁵

The popularity of environmentalism and ecological issues has increased significantly in Canada. In a survey conducted by Canadian pollster Pollara, 47% of Canadians indicated that they were "very concerned" about the environment. This poll placed the environment ahead of traditional worries such as national unity, crime and the debt. Related polling conducted by Pollara indicated that 84% of Canadians were "considerably more concerned" about the environment than a decade earlier. Although concern about the environment does not necessarily entail association with the more radical views of the environmental movement, it is indicative of growing pessimism amongst Canadians.

Anti-globalization, perhaps even more than environmentalism, is a vague and ill-defined movement. It encompasses the full gambit of participants from anarchists to those actually involved in the formal political process. Inherent in anti-globalization is a strong distrust of traditional power structures (political, economic and social) with an associated sense of disempowerment and hopelessness. This pessimistic view is evident

_

⁷⁵ Readers seeking a sample of negative environmental writing can refer to Paul Ehrlich, *Limits of Growth (New York: New American Library, 1977)*

⁷⁶ Michael Marzolini, *In Your Opinion*, available from http://www.pollara.com/news/Fs_lib.html; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.

⁷⁷ For an interesting discussion of the state of the environment readers can see Norwegian environmental commentator Bjorn Lomborg. He argues that, while there are legitimate ecological concerns, the environmental movement has been guilty of exaggerating these issues and being overly pessimistic. Lomborg is a Norwegian mathematician and former Green Peace member. Bjorn Lomborg, *The Skeptical Environmentalist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2001.

in comments made by Maude Barlow of the Council for Canadians in discussing the Free Trade Agreement with the United States: "We're losing our cultural institutions. We're losing our social programs and we've had the highest rise in child poverty in the entire industrialized world in the 15 years since we signed that agreement." Antiglobalization is a relatively recent development and, though difficult to assess accurately, appears to be growing in popularity amongst Canadians judging from demonstrations at the 1997 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Vancouver and the 2001 Summit of the Americas in Quebec City.

In examining suggestions that the prevalence of apathy and pessimism have increased amongst Canadians, it could be argued that these characteristics have always been present in society. Indeed, this argument may have some merit; however, similar to the issue of social fragmentation, it appears that the degree of uncertainty in contemporary society is unprecedented.⁸⁰

4.4 Canada - A Postmodern State

⁷⁸ Maude Barlow, "*Future of Nation States*" available at http://www.ratical.com/co-globalize/FoNS.html; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.

⁷⁹Unfortunately, there are few reliable data regarding support for anti-globalization in Canada. The absence of this type of data was noted in 2002 by the president of Environics: "This is something we in the [polling] industry have been slow to pick up on, "Globalization More Popular" available from http://money.cnn.com/2002/02/01/economy/davos_poll/index.htm.; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.

⁸⁰ For example, it could be argued that certain segments of society, particularly young people, have traditionally been more apathetic than the population at large. Thus, indications of social and political detachment amongst youth may simply be the natural result of age rather than an indication of a fundamental shift in worldview.

As demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs there are good reasons for classifying Canada as a postmodern society. Traditional belief systems are declining and growing numbers of Canadians are adopting less rigid and more subjective viewpoints. At the same time, ethnic and cultural diversity has increased and is contributing to a more diverse and fragmented country. Throughout this process of change, a growing number of Canadians have become disengaged from traditional means of social and political discourse and become more uncertain with regards to the future.

5. The Impacts of Postmodernism on the CF

Though interesting from a broad sociological perspective, what impacts will a growing postmodern worldview have on the CF? Unquestionably, a phenomenon as broad as postmodernism has the potential to have a myriad of effects.

From an armed forces perspective, two of the most important aspects of postmodernism are its potential effects with regard to how the CF will be utilized and how it will function as an organization. From a force utilization standpoint, a divided and uncertain society will make the determination of when and how to use the CF increasingly difficult. It can be anticipated that the subjective and non-judgmental nature of postmodernism will also have a significant influence in determining the future roles of the armed forces. From an organizational point of view, postmodernism will pose significant challenges to the CF human resource system. A changing social landscape will necessitate the development of new and innovative strategies to optimize the

recruitment, indoctrination and motivation of personnel. Each of these impacts is discussed in further detail below.

5.1 Force Utilization Challenges

In democratic states such as Canada, the values and views of citizens play a key role in determining government policy and action. Accordingly, any significant change in the worldview of Canadians, such as the one represented by postmodernism, will ultimately impact national policy. This, in turn, will contribute to shaping defence policy and influencing the nature and role of Canada's armed forces. One of the most important ramifications of postmodernism from the CF perspective will be its influence in the determination of when and under what conditions the armed forces are utilized. In the following discussion, several aspects of the force utilization issue will be examined. Initially, the relationship between the views of Canadian citizens and development of defence policy will be discussed. Thereafter, historic examples of Canadian military action and their ramifications will be reviewed. Once this context has been established, the challenges posed by postmodernism with regard to justifying the use of military force will be discussed. Finally, current and potential future roles for the CF will be examined through the lens of postmodernism.

5.2 The Relationship Between Popular Worldview and Policy

In assessing the impact of this socio-cultural change on the armed forces it is important to examine the relationship between the values and views of citizens and the roles and missions of the CF. What determines the circumstances under which the Canadian government utilizes military force? Ultimately, in a democratic country such as Canada, the nature and role of organizations such as the armed forces are determined by the worldview of its citizens.

In a simple democratic model, the views of citizens would theoretically be reflected in their elected government. Grounded in the views of the electorate, the government would then identify the country's national interests and use them as the basis for policy development. For instance, from a domestic perspective, social, political, economic and legal policies would play crucial roles in the pursuit of national interests. From an external point of view, however, foreign and defence policies would serve as the primary means to promote national interests in the international forum and protect the country's territorial integrity.⁸¹ The resultant defence policy would then articulate roles and missions for the armed forces as well as broad parameters within which military force might be employed.⁸²

_

For a good discussion of the concept of nation security interests and subordinate policy, readers should see Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", *Political Science Quarterly* 67, no. 4, (Dec 52): 481-502.

⁸² The relationship between the views of the population and government decisions is firmly entrenched in the tradition of responsible democratic government. For a discussion of this relationship and some of its challenges within a British parliamentary system, readers can see A.H. Birch, *Representative and Responsible Government* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964), 171-188.

Actual policy development in Canada does not appear to be as clear and coherent as the aforementioned notional model. In the "real world,' the relationship between the worldview of citizens and governmental action is more complex and subtle. Despite the apparent lack of a direct and immediate relationship, however, the government remains responsible to the public and is driven by its sentiments in developing policy. So while it may not be immediately evident, a significant change in Canadian worldview will ultimately play a crucial role in shaping Canadian defence policy and in determining the role of the CF.

5.3 Force Utilization - Historic Examples

To set the stage for this discussion, it is instructive to briefly examine some historic cases wherein decisions pertaining to the use of military force were taken in Canada. Given their divisive effect, the conscription crises of the two World Wars are briefly reviewed, as they are illustrative of the fact that the use of military force is not undertaken lightly or without profound repercussions in Canada.⁸³

In 1917, during the midst of the First World War, the Canadian government instituted military conscription in order to address manpower requirements.⁸⁴ At this

⁸³ While some commentators have noted that the Second World War conscription crisis was in significant part a political crisis, it is still illustrative of how divisive military issues have been within the Canadian context. J.L Granatstein. and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises* (Toronto: Cop Clark Pitman Ltd., 1985), 207-238.

⁸⁴ Conscription entails mandatory military service for identified segments of society (e.g. males of certain age and possessing certain characteristics). Carl Berger, *Conscription 1917*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), vii - viii.

point in Canadian history, the country's population consisted largely of citizens of either British or French heritage. Although the First World War involved both France and Great Britain, it was perceived by many Canadians (especially within French Canada) as a British imperial war and, consequently, was much less popular amongst francophones than their anglophone counterparts. The implementation of conscription through the 1917 Military Service Act had a deep and lasting effect on the Canadian political landscape. French Canada felt betrayed by conscription and saw it as a demonstration that British imperialist interests controlled Canada. Many in English Canada, on the other hand, felt that French-Canadians had shirked their responsibility and not done their share to support Canada and the British Empire. The conscription issue polarized Canada and caused turmoil within the social and political structures of the day. Historians such as Granatstein and Hitsman have argued that the 1917 conscription crisis was perhaps the single most divisive issue in Canadian history.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 24-25.

⁸⁶ The difference of opinion regarding the war was reflected in early recruitment numbers (as of 1915): despite being out numbered three to one by Canadian-born Canadians, British-born Canadians constituted 63% of all enlistees in Canada. J.L Granatstein. and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises* ...,, 24.

⁸⁷ Pierre Berton, *Marching as to War* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2001), 195-196.

⁸⁸ John MacFarlane, *Ernest Lapointe and Quebec's Influence on Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 19-25.

A quarter of a century later during the Second World War, the issue of conscription resurfaced. Unlike its predecessor, the Second World War was perceived less as a British war and more as a struggle against the aggressive Axis powers. 92

Despite the different circumstances, however, conscription was still a controversial and emotionally charged issue. It divisive nature was demonstrated in the heated public debate preceding the 1942 plebiscite to release government from its earlier promise not to implement conscription, and the subsequent decision to impose conscription again in 1944. Though the plebiscite passed by a significant margin, as in 1917 the vote was deeply divided along linguistic lines. This polarity of opinion was evidenced by predominantly French Quebec voting strongly against the plebiscite, while English Ontario voted massively in favor of it. 93 While the ramifications of conscription in 1944 were not as deep and lasting as those following the 1917 crisis, its social and political repercussions were still significant. 94

Thus, in Canada, conscription was a divisive issue during the two World Wars.

This was particularly true during the First World War where the issue of conscription shook the political structures of the time and had a significant and extended impact on Canadian unity. It is important to note, however, that in the early part of the twentieth century when these events transpired, Canada was a significantly more homogenous and unified society. At that time Canadians, in general, held more definitive ethical positions

⁹² *Ibid...*, 268.

⁹³ Approximately 73% of Quebecers voted against, whereas Ontario, the most populated English province, voted 82% in favour. *Ibid...*, 171.

⁹⁴ Granatstein and Hitsman note that, although the repercussions were not as profound as those following the conscription crisis of the First World War, they was nonetheless significant. *Ibid...*, 234-238.

and largely viewed Western society as having an important role to play in the advancement of civilization. Commenting on Canadians during the early part of the twentieth century, author Pierre Berton observed: "The people believed in war as they believed in the Bible. War was seen as an extension of politics, a necessary tool in the advancement of civilization." Even in these circumstances, however, decisions such as conscription were extremely difficult and entailed significant social and political repercussions. It is worth pausing to consider how much more challenging these types of decisions would be in an increasingly diverse, subjective and uncertain postmodern society.

5.4 Force Utilization - Justification

The preceding examples illustrate that, in the Canadian context, significant decisions pertaining to the military have been difficult. In considering whether or not to take action (in this case, military action), arguably the most important aspect of the decision is the question "why"? What is the rationale for utilizing military force? With respect to the justification of military force, the literature reveals two primary schools of thought: the idealistic or values-based approach, and the realist or pragmatic approach.⁹⁶

_

95 Berton, Marching as to ..., 9.

⁹⁶ Higgins used these categories in speaking of foreign policy, in general; however, they are also applicable to the question of military action by itself. Ronald Higgins, "Saintly or Cynical: An Ethical Dimension to Foreign Policy?," available from http://www.isisuk.demon.co.uk/0811/isis/uk/r egpapers/no77.html; Internet; accessed 27 Aug 2003. 3.

Though these approaches will be examined separately, in reality the motivation for military action may often stem from an amalgam of idealist and pragmatic reasons. ⁹⁷

The idealistic approach uses values and principles as the primary means to rationalize the use of military force. In accordance with this view, military intervention might be justified to spread values such as democracy or gender equality. Within the idealistic model, actions are justified by the intrinsic value of either the action itself or its objective. The other approach to the rationalization of military action is realism. Unlike idealists who focus on more esoteric concepts such as values and principles, realists are concerned with concrete and measurable issues such as defence of the state and the advancement of national interests. In this view, military action could be justified to obtain objectives such as access to a vital resource or a foreign market. As noted by foreign policy commentator John Stoessinger: "the pragmatist is guided by the facts and his experience in a given situation, not by wishes or unexamined preconceptions. He is generally aware of the alternatives to his chosen course of action and explores the pros and cons of each as objectively as possible."

Although the above models seek to justify the use of force differently, neither is a particularly good fit with the postmodern worldview. In the Canadian context idealism is often perceived (at least at the popular level) as a key motivation or justification for

⁹⁷ Readers seeking further information on the historical influences of realism and idealism on Canadian international relations can see Dom Keating and Tom Munton, "Internationalism and the Canadian Public," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 34, no.3 (September 2001), 517-549.

⁹⁸ John Stoessinger, *Crusaders and Pragmatists* (Toronto: W.W. Norton and Compant Inc., 1979), xv.

military action. 99 The fragmented and subjective nature of postmodern society poses challenges to rationalizing military action on idealistic grounds. The lack of a unifying worldview makes a values-based approach to sanctioning military force difficult.

Canadian political scientist Denis Stairs notes that the absence of universally agreed upon Canadian values is problematic: "When the notion that Canadian foreign policy ought to reflect Canadian values first started appearing in government ruminations, one [member of foreign service] asked the obvious question: Sure. But whose? 100 In addition to this lack of consensus, postmodernism denies the existence of objective truth upon which any such agreement could be based (i.e., that one action is right and another is wrong).

Hence, in a postmodern construct the validity of an argument that is based on the perceived inherent value of a specific outcome is rejected *a priori*. 101

In international relations the primary goal is widely assumed to be state survival. Despite this readily available pragmatic *raison d'être*, realism does not fare much better than idealism is justifying all but the most basic types of action. The pragmatic approach to rationalizing action in significant part hinges on the identification of national interests. As discussed, postmodern societies are inherently fragmented, and similar to the challenge of developing shared values, agreement as to what constitutes the

_

⁹⁹ Readers seeking a contemporary discussion of the relationship between values and international relations can see Steve Lee, "Canadian Values in Canadian Foreign Policy," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 1-10.

¹⁰⁰ Denis Stairs, "Myths, Morals and Reality in Canadian Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 58, no.2 (Spring 2003), 8.

¹⁰¹ This is essentially "cultural relativism", the view that what is right for Canada and Canadians is not necessarily right for others (e.g., liberal democracy and human rights).

¹⁰² For more information on the objectives and theories relating to international relations, readers can see Joshua Goldstein, Int*ernational Relations* 3d ed. (New York: Longman, 1999).

country's national interests is problematic. Within a fragmented and divided country, it is difficult to envision any external interest¹⁰³ that would be held with sufficient conviction to warrant the use of significant military force. Social commentators have noted the potential difficulties associated with increasing diversity. Historian Desmond Morton credits Canada's historically homogenous society with facilitating Canadian involvement in the two World Wars on the Allied side.¹⁰⁴ Morton suggests that increased multiculturalism has eroded Canadian uniformity and made these types of actions significantly more difficult to undertake.¹⁰⁵

It is apparent that the changing Canadian worldview poses problems with respect to justifying the use of military force. Postmodernism denies the objectivity required to act on idealistic grounds, and it inhibits the development of the common purpose needed to rationalize action on pragmatic basis. The growth of postmodernism within Canada will likely manifest itself by inhibiting difficult decisions regarding military action and contribute to increased paralysis in the international forum.

5.4 Current CF Roles

¹⁰³ Aside from state survival if that is considered an external interest.

¹⁰⁴ Desmond Morton, *Understanding Canadian Defence*, (Montreal: Penguin/McGill Institute, 2003), 44.

¹⁰⁵ Morton cites his personal experience with the divided loyalties of his Iraqi student during the first Gulf conflict and the general response of Serb-Canadians during the 1999 Kosovo intervention. *Ibid* ..., 44.

In addition to the challenge of rationalizing military action, there is the question of what military roles are appropriate from a postmodern standpoint. Current CF roles are primarily derived from two federal government policy documents: the 1995 Canadian Foreign Policy White Paper and the 1994 White Paper on Defence. The Foreign policy White Paper identifies certain key objectives for Canadian foreign policy: promotion of economic prosperity, promotion of international security and the projection of Canadian values and culture. 106 The defence White Paper supports these broad foreign policy goals and articulates three themes for the CF: protection of Canadian sovereignty, mutual defence of North American in conjunction with the United States and contributions to international security. 107 Subsumed within the "defence of Canada" mission are a range of domestic sub-roles, including assistance to civil authorities and support to other government departments. To fulfill these objectives the CF is responsible for conducting a variety of missions ranging from combat operations at one end of the spectrum to relatively benign domestic activities at the other. Is it reasonable to assume that the CF will remain responsible for the same tasks in the future? Or are these roles likely to change as Canadians increasingly adopt a postmodern worldview? Given the linkage between the views of citizens and the role of the armed forces in a democratic society, perhaps the more appropriate question is not whether the CF's missions are going to change but, rather, how they are likely to change?

-

¹⁰⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Canada in the World," available from http://www.dfait-maeci.gc/foreign policy/cnd-world/summary-en.asp; Internet; accessed 29 August 2003.

¹⁰⁷ Department of National Defence, "1994 White Paper on Defence," available from http://www.forces.gc. ca/site/Minister/eng/94wpaper /highlights_e.html; Internet; accessed 25 August 2003.

Current CF missions can be divided into domestic and international categories. Domestically, the armed forces are used in two broad roles: security of Canada and domestic emergency response. The CF's primary domestic security function is the protection of Canada's territorial integrity, both from a Canadian perspective and, jointly with the United States within a North American context. In addition to its role in defending Canada against external threats, the armed forces also play a role in assisting the government in maintaining civil order, such as the during the 1970 October Crisis and the 1990 Oka Crisis. Finally, the CF plays a constabulary-type role in assisting other government departments to protect Canadian interests. Examples of this can be seen in the military's work with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) in conducting surveillance of Canada's maritime economic zones, and in its work with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in combating the illicit drug trade. Within the realm of domestic emergency response, the CF is responsible for providing assistance in acute natural disasters (e.g., forest fires, floods and ice storm) as well as continuous emergency services through the provision of Search and Rescue (SAR) capability.

As with its domestic responsibilities, the CF's international missions can also be divided into two broad categories - security tasks and humanitarian tasks. Within the domain of international security, the armed forces contribute to collective security and collective defence through participation in organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Since the establishment of the UN in 1945, the CF has participated in a wide range of UN missions and operations. Canada

-

¹⁰⁸ "About the United Nations/History," available from http://www.un.org/aboutun/history.htm; Internet; accessed 14 April 2004.

Insanibotylovnianoddiaed

has contributed to classic peacekeeping missions (such as UN Emergency Force [UNEF]

I and UNEF II), peace enforcement operations (Stabilization Force Bosnia-Herzegovenratio(Force B)Tj0.0

and the CF's contributions in this area are viewed positively within Canada. 113 Alex Morrison of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies expresses the general Canadian sentiment toward peacekeeping: "Canadians enjoy peacekeeping because they know they are doing something good ... because they are helping people to live and make their conditions better."114 Even traditional opponents of the military within the peace and disarmament movement have viewed peacekeeping in a relatively positive light. 115 These positive perceptions of peacekeeping are further supported by a 2003 Pollera poll wherein 54 per cent of respondents indicated that they thought peacekeeping was the most important task for the CF. Protecting domestic sovereignty, at 24 per cent, was a distant second 116

It is within the more forceful aspects of international security operations that potential conflicts arise between current CF roles and the postmodern worldview of its citizens. Even the resounding endorsement of peacekeeping may be subject to criticism if it is subjected to more detailed scrutiny. In the minds of many Canadians, operations other that war have come to be encapsulated under the category of peacekeeping. This does not reflect the actual situation. The modern world has seen a proliferation of different types and levels of conflict that run the full spectrum from peace to war. What would be the postmodern view of relatively robust military activities that are short of war

¹¹³ Alex Morrison, *The Changing Face of Peacekeeping*, (Toronto: Canadian Printco Ltd., 1993), 6. ¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 9.

¹¹⁵ Ernie Regher, former national director of Project Ploughshares, remarked that, in his view, peacekeeping was the most efficient use of defence dollars. Ibid..., 28.

¹¹⁶ Mike Blanchfield, "Worrywart Canadians fear the worst," Monday, March 5, 2001

such as peace enforcement or peace making? It is not likely that they would be strongly endorsed by a subjective and uncertain populace. Given their subjective nature, postmodern societies are ill at ease in situations where firm positions are taken and sides chosen. By definition, offensive military action is based on value judgments. In accordance with a non-judgmental worldview, active international military action, whether it is classified as war or not, would be difficult to sanction; and even then would be best supported only under a broad international umbrella such as the UN or NATO. Combat operations outside of these constructs, whether unilateral or within *ad hoc* coalitions, are less likely to be supported, as was demonstrated by Canadian public opposition to involvement in the 2003 war against Iraq. A 2003 poll by Maclean's Magazine indicated that 75% of Canadians believed that Canada was right to stay out of Iraq despite its potential to alienate our American allies.¹¹⁷

5.5 Future Roles - CF Focus

As Canadian society has increasingly manifested the characteristics of a postmodern society what has been the organizational focus of the CF? In recent years, the CF has extolled the importance of maintaining combat capability. While the need to fulfill other humanitarian and constabulary roles is recognized, the CF clearly views its

•

The Ottawa Citizen available from http://www.pollara.com/new/Fs_lib.html, Internet; accessed 9 March 2004.

^{117 &}quot;Canadian Attitudes toward President George W. Bush," http://www.pollara.com/new/Fs lib.html; Internet; accessed 8 March 04

primary role to be within the traditional view of militaries as "war fighters". ¹¹⁸ This combat focus is stated in *Strategy 2020*: "At its core, the strategy is to position the force structure of the CF to provide Canada with modern, task-tailored, and globally deployable combat-capable forces that can respond quickly to crises at home and abroad, in joint or combined operations." ¹¹⁹ The war fighting emphasis within the CF is also clearly articulated evident by the environmental commands. ¹²⁰ The emphasis on cutting-edge combat capability is highlighted in the Navy's strategic vision document, *Leadmark*: "The Naval Strategy for 2020: The Canadian navy will continue its development as a highly adaptable and flexible force ... The navy will generate combat capable forces that are responsive, rapidly deployable, sustainable, versatile, lethal and survivable." ¹²¹ This emphasis is echoed in Army¹²² and Air Force¹²³ strategic planning documents. The CF has also stressed the importance of developing an expeditionary capability in order to rapidly deploy and sustain forces globally. ¹²⁴ It could be argued that equipment modernization, inter-operability and an expeditionary capability are relevant to the full

¹¹⁸ The 2002-2003 Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) Annual Report identifies the full range of CF roles available from http://www.cds.forces.gc.ca/pubs/anrpt2003/intro_e.asp; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.

¹¹⁹ This is the CF's long-term vision document Department of National Defence "*Strategy 2020*" available from http://www.cds.forces.gc.ca; Internet; accessed 20 March 2004.

¹²⁰ Environmental commands within the CF refer to the Air, Land and Maritime components.

¹²¹ Department of National Defence "*Leadmark*" available from http://www.dnd.ca/leadmark /doc/part8 e.asp; Internet; accessed 16 April 2004.

¹²² Department of National Defence, "*Army Strategy*" available from http://www.army.forces. gc.ca/strategy/English/stratobj.asp; Internet; accessed 16 April 2004.

¹²³ Department of National Defence "*Air Force: Mission & Roles*" available from http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca; Internet; accessed 19 March 2004.

¹²⁴ When commenting on the future of the air force, LGen Pennie the Chief of the Air Staff (CAS) emphasized the need for an expeditionary requirement. "Message from CAS" available from http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca; Internet; accessed 14 April 2004.

range of potential CF missions. While this argument does indeed have some merit, in viewing the applicable CF literature it is apparent that the focus of these efforts has clearly been on maintaining a robust combat capability and inter-operability with the United States.¹²⁵

5.6 Force Utilization - The Way Ahead

In the preceding paragraphs, current Canadian defence themes and many of their implied sub-tasks have been reviewed. As shown, some of these types of missions are better suited than others for a postmodern society. Given the changing worldview of Canadians, what are the implications for the CF?

The CF's focus on war fighting as its *raison d'être* conflicts with the socio-cultural developments outlined previously. As discussed, missions focusing on homeland defence and humanitarianism are compatible with a postmodern worldview (using the traditional interpretation of defence as being a response to an actual attack rather than in a preemptive manner). More offensive-minded international missions, however, are problematic. What will be the result of the diverging trends between societal values and the CF's organizational objectives? Given that the role of the armed forces is ultimately driven by the desires of society, it is likely that the CF will be pushed toward roles that

¹²⁵ This emphasis is evident in the "2002-2003 Chief of the Defence Staff Annual Report" available from http://www.dnd.ca; Internet; accessed 19 March 2004.

¹²⁶ Recently the United States in particular, has broadened the interpretation of defensive measures to sometimes include pre-emptive action. United States. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, available from http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html; Internet; accessed 25 Aug 2003.

are more conducive with a non-judgmental and uncertain postmodern worldview. To develop a more holistic approach to defence policy it is quite possible that the CF will be required to work more closely with other governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in planning and conducting future operations. Commentators such as David Last have noted that the CF has already demonstrated a capability to work with Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other government agencies. ¹²⁷ In an environment such as this it is likely that the CF's focus would shift away from war fighting and toward "softer" humanitarian roles.

5.7 Force Utilization Summation

Decisions to use military force and place Canadians in harm's way have historically been difficult for Canada. Even in the early part of the twentieth century, at a time when Canada was a more homogeneous and morally certain society, issues such as conscription were difficult and divisive. The growth of postmodernism in Canada will likely make these types of decisions even more challenging in the future. An increasingly subjective and uncertain Canadian worldview will inhibit the development of the strong consensus required to take decisive action and possibly result in increased paralysis on the international stage. Postmodernism is a complex phenomenon and its precise repercussions are impossible to clearly forecast. Despite this uncertainty, it can

_

¹²⁷ David Last, "Educating Officers: Post-Modern Professionals to Prevent and Control Violence," ed. Bernd Horn, *Contemporary Issues in Officership*, (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 2000), 22-23.

be anticipated that these on-going socio-cultural changes will cause Canada to reexamine how it utilizes the CF.

6. Future Human Resource Management

In addition to governmental level policy questions pertaining to the utilization of military force, a postmodern Canadian society will also present internal organizational challenges for the CF. Some of the most significant of these organizational ramifications will likely be within the realm of human resource management. The fundamental change represented by postmodernism will impact how the CF manages its personnel and likely necessitate the development of new and innovative coping strategies.

In analyzing the potential impacts of postmodernism on CF human resource management several issues will be discussed. Initially, to provide the necessary context for the discussion, the CF's mission and organizational values will be reviewed. Once this understanding has been established, some of the more salient challenges posed by postmodernism will be examined - its repercussions with respect to recruitment, indoctrination and motivation of personnel. Finally, the issue of political correctness and its influence on the armed forces will be discussed.

6.1 CF Mission and Values

What is the mission of the Canadian Forces? In the previous section the various roles and tasks of the CF were examined. As shown, Canada employs its military to accomplish a wide-range of domestic and international objectives. Despite this multiplicity of tasks, the CF's primary responsible remains the defence of Canada and the assurance of Canadian sovereignty. In the words of Sir John Hackett: "The function of the profession of arms is the ordered application of force in the resolution of a social problem." Or, as stated the CF service manual, *Duty With Honour*: "... the fundamental purpose for the Canadian profession of arms is the ordered, lawful application of military force pursuant to government direction."

Armed Forces are unique organizations that are charged with tremendous responsibility. Military action entails significant risk and, in certain circumstances, failure by the armed forces can result in significant damage or even failure of the state. In the modern western context, militaries are standing professional organizations that are subordinate to the elected government and contribute to the state by providing deterrence against attack and combat capability. The *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* defines military organizations as "...structures for the coordination of activities meant to ensure victory on the battlefield. In modern times these structures have increasingly taken the form of a permanent establishment maintained in peacetime for the eventuality

¹²⁸ John Hackett, *The Profession of Arms* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983), 9.

¹²⁹ Department of National Defence, *Duty With Honour*, A-PA-005-000/AP-001 (Ottawa: Canadian Leadership Institute, 2003), 4.

of armed conflict..."¹³⁰ To fulfill their mandate armed forces requires a range of resources: material, financial and personnel. Although, adequate equipment and funding are essential for a military to accomplish its objectives and to function effectively as an organization, the ultimate success or failure of the armed forces is contingent upon the ability and motivation of its personnel.¹³¹ To accomplish its mission the CF requires a sufficient number of trained and qualified personnel.¹³²

Stemming from its role in ensuring the survival of the state, military service is characterized by certain unique qualities. Members of the armed forces are required to place the concerns of society before their own personal well-being. This is reflected in the unlimited liability associated with military service wherein members are required to risk, or even lay down, their lives in the pursuit of state objectives. For members of the CF this obligation is articulated in *the National Defence Act*: "The regular force, all units and other elements thereof and all officers and non-commissioned members thereof are at all times liable to perform any lawful duty." As a result of the distinctiveness of military service, members of the armed forces have often viewed their profession as a vocation rather than a job. As noted by American military sociologist Charles Moskos, the notion of military service is sometimes seen as analogous to that of religious service,

-

¹³⁰ Winslow Donna, *The Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing, 1997), 1.

¹³¹ The primacy of personnel in the success of military operations is widespread throughout military literature. This emphasis in the Canadian context can be seen in *Duty with Honour*.

¹³² The CF is currently structured for approximately 60,000 Regular Force and 20,000 Reserve Force members. Department of National Defence, "*The National Defence Family*" available from http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/about/family e.asp; Internet; accessed 17 April 2004.

except that within the armed forces service to God is replaced by service to the state. ¹³⁴ The perceived sacrifice and commitment requisite in military service is captured is the words of retired CF chaplain Major Arthur Gans: "If the military ... is a calling, then I believe it is fair to say that those who join must live at a higher standard than that expected by the outside society. They may even have to give up certain 'rights' which civilian society enjoys." ¹³⁵

Given the risks associated with failure, militaries are inherently conservative organizations and, as such, tend to rely on proven operational and organizational methods. As noted by Major Shelley of the Royal Military College, "...the military mindset is conservative for good reason. The moral obligation of the officer corps to ensure the physical security of the state from attack requires officers to value what has proven itself in battle, and to treat with suspicion the new and unproven." When this conservatism is coupled with the view that success on the battlefield is dependent on the quality of the individual soldier it is not surprising that armed forces continue to emphasize proven approaches to personnel management. In this area, the military is clearly focused on the criticality of individual values and organizational culture.

¹³³ Department of National Defence, "*National Defence Act*" Section 33 (1), available from http://laws.justice.gc.ca; Internet; accessed 16 April 2004.

¹³⁴ Winslow, The Canadian..., 14.

¹³⁵ Winslow, *Ibid...*, 14.

¹³⁶ C.R. Shelley, "A Crisis of Character? Ethical Development in the Canadian Officer Corps," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, Vol 25 No. 4 (Summer 1996), 25.

What values are required for effective military service? Commenting during the First World War, Lord Moran famously remarked: "The first and last essential of an efficient soldier is character; without it he will not long endure the perils of modern war."¹³⁷ In light of the nature of military service (i.e., protection of the state), armed forces have traditionally focused on selfless values and emphasized service to country before personal concerns. In the words of American political science and military commentator Sam Sarkesian, "... military culture stresses honor and devotion to duty ... subordinating self to the greater good. This translates into a complex set of values ... standards of behavior are expected to conform to these in absolute terms – a clear distinction between right and wrong." ¹³⁸ Economist Steven Canby echoes this sentiment and describes the crux of military values as respect for authority and sacrifice for the greater good of society. 139 The continuing emphasis on the traditional martial values of duty, loyalty, integrity and courage is evident in the CF at the outset of the twenty first century. 140 Essentially, effective military service is contingent on two broad factors belief in the cause (in the CF's case - service to the state and projection of its values) and acceptance of certain objective military values.

¹³⁷ Lord Moran, *The Anatomy of Courage* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 195.

¹³⁸ Sarkesian and Connor, *The US Military* ..., 59.

¹³⁹ Steven Canby, *Military Manpower Procurement* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1972), 41.

¹⁴⁰ Duty ..., 30-31.

In addition to the values of individual members, armed forces place significant emphasis on the importance of organizational values and culture. James Hunt has defined organizational culture as "... the system of shared values and beliefs that develop within organizations and guides the behavior of its members." Within militaries, organizational culture is seen as essential to building unit cohesiveness and a key contributor to success on the battlefield. It has been recognized as playing a key role in developing and reinforcing organizational norms. Many sociological studies have also highlighted the essential role that the unit or group plays in supporting and sustaining individual soldiers in high stress situations such as combat. Although the precise role that organizational culture fulfills within armed forces continues to be discussed, the view that group cohesiveness is crucial in combat remains widely accepted.

6.2 Recruitment

How does the armed forces attract the personnel that it requires? As an all-volunteer force, it is apparent that effective recruitment is essential to the success of the CF. As noted by military historian Walter Millis, "...in our complicated society, no organization is likely to prosper unless it finds ways of discovering and bringing forward

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of unit cohesion and its importance to the military readers, can see Christopher C. Straub, *The Unit First* (Washington: National Defence University Press, 1988).

¹⁴² James Hunt, Richard Osborne and John Schermerhorn, *Organizational Behaviour*, 6d ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons inc, 1997), 267.

¹⁴³ For an overview of literature regarding the importance of group loyalties and organizational culture with the military, readers can see Donna Winslow, *Misplaced loyalties* ..., 296.

Winslow provides a survey of relevant work in this area, *Ibid* ..., 296-97.

the ablest people."¹⁴⁵ In seeking new members the CF must compete with other employers in both the private and public sectors. How does postmodernism impact personnel recruitment?

In examining the issue of recruitment a look at the so-called Institutional – Occupation thesis is instructive. This model identifies two major categories of recruits, those attracted by "institutional" reasons and those drawn by "occupational" motives. 146 Within this framework, the institutional group encompasses individuals that are attracted by what they perceived to be the organization's values, while those in the occupational category are attracted by what they perceive they will receive in exchange for service (e.g., remuneration, training or skills). With regard to the military, these categories can be viewed as separating those that are attracted by the notion of military service itself, from those that view service in a transactional manner as a means to an end. In analyzing these approaches to service, Moskos has drawn attention to the different levels of commitment between the two groups: "Members with an institutional attitude see their service as a calling, recognize a 'purpose' transcending individual self-interest ... Those subscribing to an occupational orientation, however, put their own ... interests ahead of the military and are willing to serve only to the limits established under the legal contractual agreement"¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Sam C. Sarkesian, *The Professional Army Officer in a Changing Society* (Chicago: Nelson Hall Publishers, 1975), 1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 15-19.

¹⁴⁷ Winslow, *The Canadian* ..., 29.

From the CF perspective it would appear that individuals with an institutional outlook would be the preferred candidates for military service. With the advent of postmodernism, is institutional-type motivation still prevalent; and, are the perceived values of the CF sufficiently appealing within the contemporary Canadian social climate? One of the foreign policy objectives that the CF supports is the promotion of Canadian values (e.g., democracy, human rights etc.). In a relativistic society that increasingly views all values as equally valid, it is questionable that this type of organizational objective will appeal to adequate numbers of capable recruits. If the intrinsic value of military service will not attract sufficient numbers of Canadians, a more transactional or occupational approach may be required. Indeed, in assessing the motivation of individuals joining the American armed forces, Moskos has noted that there appears to be a trend toward occupational reasons, such as skills acquisition, rather than the notion of military service itself. With regard to the current CF recruiting philosophy, a look at the CF recruiting website is illustrative:

"The Canadian Forces is an equal opportunity employer. This means that men and women may apply for every open entry-level job. Members of the Canadian Forces have adopted a way-of-life that offers exciting challenges, teaches new skills, and provides unlimited career possibilities. We are members of a dedicated team working together, at home and abroad." ¹⁴⁹

This statement seeks to appeal to both occupational and institutional motivations for joining the CF. The greater weight, however, appears to be on the occupational

¹⁴⁸ Moskos, *The Military* ..., 15-24.

¹⁴⁹ Department of National Defence," *Careers*" available from http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/home_e.asp; Internet; accessed 7 Mar 04

appeal of joining the CF (i.e., individual opportunities such as learning new skills and pursuing career possibilities).

In an all-volunteer environment recruitment is essential to the continued success of the CF. Armed forces have traditionally viewed military service as a special calling, which entails sacrifice and self-denial for the greater good of the state. Although the CF has used an amalgam of recruiting methods in the past, the notion of service to country has historically appealed to segments of the Canadian population. In a postmodern society that is not predisposed to military values, will service to country be a sufficient attractant; or will other methods be increasingly required? This question has important implications for the CF particularly when one considers the great importance it places on its organizational values. If members do not join with an inclination toward the CF's institutional values the subsequent development of these values in members will be considerably more challenging.

6.3 Indoctrination

Once new members have entered the armed forces the CF commences the process of indoctrinating them into military culture and values. The importance of instilling military mindset has been long recognized. As noted by American Naval theorist Alfred Mahan:

"The object of training and instruction is not merely to mold the individual, but to impress upon each a common type, not of action only, but of the mental and moral processes which determine action; so that within a pretty wide range there will be a school of officers a certain

homogeneous of intellectual equipment and conviction which will tend to cause ... likeness of conduct under any set of given conditions." ¹⁵⁰

With respect to values development, Sarkesain has argued that the worldview of individuals within an organization is the product of their own personal values and those of the organization. When applied to the military, this view that the values of members is influenced by their personal views as well as those of the armed forces is not surprising. What makes it noteworthy in the current analysis, however, is the growing gap between these two influences. Armed forces have traditionally stressed the concept of obligation and service to society, whereas postmodernism minimizes these views and stresses individual autonomy.

Is it necessarily true that future recruits will be more difficult to indoctrinate than their predecessors? The Canadian military has historically been composed of individuals from many different walks of life. Shelley, for one, has noted that the armed forces has integrated individuals from a wide range of social and economic backgrounds in the past. Given this historic success, he argues, that the CF should continue to be able to do so in the future. Though his observation with regard to historic indoctrination is accurate, the dynamics of instilling organizational values has been fundamentally altered by postmodernism. A significant aspect of putting one's life at risk for organizational objectives is belief in the validity of those objectives. Previous generations possessed a

¹⁵⁰ John B. Hattendorf and Wayne Hughes Jr. eds, *Mahan on Naval Strategy: Selections from the Writings of Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1991), 347.

¹⁵¹ Sarkesain, The Professional ..., 230.

¹⁵² Shelley, *A Crisis* ..., 23.

worldview that was more congruent with concepts such as values promotion or protection of national interests. Regardless of their social or economic standing, these generations of Canadians held more objective worldviews, and, as a result were better suited to accept military values than are their postmodern successors. The increasing challenge of developing military values amongst recruits has been noted by military leaders within the CF. Commenting to a Senate defence committee in September 2003, Colonel Lacroix, Commander of 5 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group, lamented the fact that Canadian culture was becoming more self-centered and thus increasing the amount of indoctrination required to turn recruits into effective team-focused soldiers.¹⁵³

6.4 Motivation

In addition to the challenges it poses for recruitment and indoctrination postmodernism also has ramifications with respect to personnel motivation. An important aspect of human resource management is the establishment of structures and policies to motivate members of the organization. In the field of organizational behavior, motivation has been described as "that which energies, directs and sustains human behavior." Motivational theories have, in turn, sought to apply this concept in practical terms and develop mechanisms to enhance work place motivation. 155

¹⁵³ Les Perreux, "No Room for Individuals in Forces" Thursday Sept 25 2003 *The Halifax Herald*, available from http://www.herald.n.s.ca/stories/2003/09/25/fCanada233.raw.html; Internet; accessed 9 October 2003.

¹⁵⁴ Balkin David, Cardy Robert, Dimick David and Gomez-Mejia Luis, *Managing Human Resources*, Canadian Edition, (Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1997), 88.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 88.

6.5 Canadian Socio-Cultural Values

It has been argued throughout this paper that Canadian socio-cultural values have undergone significant change in the latter part of the twentieth century. A range of commentators has examined the nature and scope of these changes. In looking at the question of motivation, two of these views will be discussed and their implications examined in light of modern Western motivational theory. In the process, the growing chasm between classic motivation theory and postmodern society will be highlighted.

American sociologists Baker and Inglehart have developed what is referred to as the Cross Cultural Verification Model (CCVM). This model is based on the results of the World Values Surveys (WVS) in 1981-82, 1990-91 and 1995-98; and is used to map social views and values over time. The CCVM depicts cultural attitudes and beliefs on a two-dimensional graph, with one axis representing the continuum between religious belief and secularism, and the other axis displaying the spectrum of views between collectivism and individualism. When survey results are applied to this model they indicate that Canadian society is moving away from a religious and communal focus toward an individualistic and secular value system. When examining the reasons for these changes, Baker and Inglehart commented on the correlation between economic

¹⁵⁶ These World Values Surveys sampled over 65 countries representing approximately 75% of the world's population, Robert Inglehart and Wayne Baker. "Modernization, Cultural Change, and The Persistence of Traditional Values." *American Sociological Review* 65 (February 2000): 23.

¹⁵⁷ This decline in the importance of religion is indicative of a subjective outlook. *Ibid*, 40.

well-being and individual autonomy. It appears that above a certain standard of living, material factors became less important while personal autonomy increased in significance. In related work with WVS results Inglehart observed that this relationship was particularly pronounced in more recent generations (those born after the Second World War). 158

The French 3SC Social Values Monitor is another social values tracking tool that follows North American and European social trends. Though aimed at a popular rather than an academic audience it provides a means to identify aggregate changes in Western cultural values. The 3SC Social Values Monitor depicts the continuum between modern and traditional values (with traditional values described as religiosity and respect for authority) on one axis and communal versus individual orientation on the other. Adams' findings concur with those of the CCVM in several ways. As with the CCVM, it indicates that Canadians are moving away from values characterized by communal values toward an individualistic approach, which rejects authority and stresses the importance of personal autonomy and self-fulfillment. The 3SC also shows a declining significance of classic materialistic values amongst more recent generations of Canadians. 162

¹⁵⁸ Robert Inglehart, *Globalization and* ..., 223-224.

¹⁵⁹ 3SC stands for Systeme Cofremca de Suivi des Courants Socio-Culturals (Cofremca System for Tracking Socio-cultural Trends), Adams, *Sex* ..., 4-5.

¹⁶⁰ The model uses modern to describe developing or new values, as opposed to the historical and philosophical sense that modern and modernism have been used in this paper.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 48.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 58-61.

Though both of these values mapping models are rather blunt analysis tools they provide some interesting insight with respect to changes in the Western worldview. Of particular note, these social monitors suggests that Canadians are becoming less motivated in the classic Western sense (i.e., seeking material rewarding and social recognition).

6.6 Contemporary Motivational Theory

Motivational theories attempt to identify individual needs in order to assist in the development of motivational mechanisms and strategies. A review of organizational behavior literature reveals a plethora of motivational theories. Although these theories represent an assortment of views, there is significant commonality amongst many of the models. For the purpose of the present discussion, two of the representative theories that are indicative of the motivational approaches taken by the CF will be discussed: those of David McClelland and Frederick Hertzberg. 163

McClelland developed the Thematic Appreciation Test (TAT) as a means of measuring the needs and desires of individuals. Within this approach he highlighted three different types of needs: the need for achievement (accomplishment), the need for

¹⁶³ Upon examination of these views it is apparent, at least in a notional sense, that the CF utilizes several of the precepts reflected in these models. As noted by Winslow, the CF like other military organizations uses unit social dynamics to establish and reinforces behavioral norms. The concept of increased responsibility is also used as a core motivational tool within armed forces. Winslow, *The Airborne* ..., 79.

affiliation (social acceptance by peers) and the need for power (responsibility or control). The model argues that while the relative weighting of the different needs may vary between individuals, the needs themselves remain widely applicable across. Western society. Hertzberg's Two-Factor Theory, on the other hand, divides the question of worker motivation into two categories - job satisfaction (hygiene factors) and job motivation (motivators). Motivators encompass issues such as achievement, recognition and responsibility, while hygiene factors include salary, job security and benefits. According to the theory, motivators can inspire workers to greater productivity whereas hygiene factors are limited to avoiding dissatisfaction. 166

In comparing the aforementioned socio-cultural indicators and motivational models, it is apparent that there is a disconnect between classic motivation theories and postmodern society. With respect to McClelland's theory, the needs for social acceptance, achievement and power appear to have diminished. The 3SC and CCVM both indicate that the importance Canadians attach to the views of the larger community has lessened. Hertzberg's model is somewhat more sophisticated and certain aspects remain relevant. It would appear that even in a postmodern culture many of his hygiene factors still require addressing to avoid worker dissatisfaction. In this regard, however, both models suggest younger workers may be less response to these factors than previous

¹⁶⁴ James Hunt, Richard Osborne and John Schermerhorn, *Organizational Behaviour*, 6ed (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc, 1997), 89-90.

¹⁶⁵ Balkin David, Cardy Robert, Dimick David and Gomez-Mejia Luis, *Managing* ..., 88.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid...*, 89.

generations. Hertzberg's motivators, on the other hand, are similar to those expounded by McClelland's and susceptible to the same criticism.

Upon review, traditional motivational models and theories do not appear to be optimized for a postmodern work force. The emphasis they place on social recognition appears to be diminished in an increasingly individualistic society. As a result a widening gulf has developed between individual aspirations and classic motivational models. This poor fit will necessitate the development of new mechanisms and methods to motivate workers in the future (e.g., need to account for this increased importance of personal autonomy and as well as evolving work patterns) ¹⁶⁷.

6.7 Political Correctness

The final facet in the relationship between postmodernism and human resource management that will be discussed is the issue of political correctness. As shown, political correctness is an offshoot of postmodernism's subjective and individualistic outlook. Although a broadly interpreted term, political correctness has been defined as the view that each sub-group within society is unique and, consequently, needs to be treated differently. The growing pervasiveness of this view has wide repercussions for CF human resource management.

¹⁶⁷New motivational approaches within the CF will also need to account for changing career patterns. Career-long employment with one employer may no longer be the norm. This notion and the need for the CF to develop more flexible work arrangements is discussed in a recent CF concept paper. Department of National Defence, *Canadian Defence Beyond 2010 - Chapter 6 New Work Arrangements* available from http://www.vcds.forces.gc.ca/dgsp/pubs/rep-pub/dda/rma/wayahead/RMACH6b_e.asp; Internet accessed 21 April 2004.

of relativism, is not skeptical but, rather, tends to be dogmatic and prescriptive. In the view of some commentators, the growing pervasiveness of this view has caused the CF to adopt measures to maximize organizational inclusiveness at the expense of military operational effectiveness. Several commentators have raised the negative impacts of this trend on essential aspects of military culture. Former Chief of the Land Staff LGen

Jeffrie notes: "Out of political correctness, senior leaders appear unwilling to strongly articulate the essential role of soldiers and the need to protect the warrior ethic. Hypersensitivity to human rights issues has created an air of paranoia at all rank levee830-03 \$\tilde{\text{Mathanson}} = \text{200} \text{Mathanson} = \text{200} \text{Mathan

Political correctness, As noted by Beckwith and Koukl, unlike most other variants

universal performance standards could be misconstrued as discrimination. The fear of discriminatory accusations may lessen the military ability or willingness to enforce critical performance and behavioral standards. Former United States Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell articulates the risk of this type of allegation: "Lord help anyone who strays from the path of political correctness. The slightest suggestion of offence toward any group ... will be met with cries that the offender be fired or forced to undergo sensitivity training" 170

As noted by Sarkesian, influences such as political correctness have penetrated the armed forces and pushed military values toward those of the broader society.¹⁷¹ Although this may not initially appear to be a negative effect, for an organization such as the CF which relies heavily on the commitment and sense of duty of its members, it is potentially debilitating.

6.8 Summary of HR challenges

Militaries are unique organizations with tremendous responsibility. As a result, they have historically placed great importance on the martial values of service and sacrifice. While the relative importance of these values within the military and society at large has always differed, the advent of postmodernism has significantly widened this chasm. This, development in turn, has challenged the CF's ability to effectively recruit,

¹⁷⁰ Sarkesian and Conner, *The United States Military...* 57.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid...*, 57.

indoctrinate and motivate personnel. To remain successful, the CF will be required to develop new and innovative coping strategies to address these evolving social realities. In the development of new human resource management approaches, however, the CF will need to stay cognizant of the delicate balance required within a democratic state of reflecting society values; while at the same time, maintaining the characteristics of service that are essential for success on the battlefield.

7. Conclusion

"Determined elites in control of the state and the military can resist these [social] changes, but in the long run, it becomes increasingly difficult to do so and the probability of change increases." 172

Inglehart and Baker

At the outset of the twenty first century, it is evident that dynamic technological and social change is occurring. The latter part of the twentieth century has seen tremendous advances in technology and its military application. Some commentators believe that these technological applications are of a sufficient magnitude to constitute a RMA. Whether one agrees with this premise or not, it is evident that technological change will continue to have a significant impact on both the structure and doctrine of the CF.

¹⁷² Inglehart and Baker, *Modernization* ..., 11.

This paper has argued that, in addition to these technological innovations, there are equally profound changes occurring within the socio-cultural realm where values and worldviews are formed. Though less immediately evident than technological change, in the long run, changing values may have a greater lasting impact. This change in worldview has been captured under what is known as postmodernism. The genesis of this cultural phenomenon, its characteristics, its relevance to Canada and its potential impacts on the CF has been discussed. Given their inherently skeptical nature, postmodern societies are characterized by subjectivity, fragmentation and uncertainty. The growth in popularity of this worldview will have profound ramifications for the CF. A changing worldview will affect how, where and when the CF are utilized. The utilization of force has always been difficult in the Canadian context, the advent of postmodernism will likely make this situation even more problematic. Growing differences between military values and those of Canadian society will also impact how the CF functions as an organization. It raises serious questions as to whether, or not, traditional methods of attracting, indoctrinating and motivating personnel will continue to function effectively in the future?

Militaries throughout the world have recognized the expediencies of technological change and are beginning to embrace its evolving ramifications. It is essential that military leaders also recognize the critical nature of on-going social change and develop effective coping strategies. To avoid being swept away by the current of social change, the CF will need to articulate the requirement for traditional military roles and values to a postmodern audience. This may be a daunting task given the chasm between CF

organizational views and those of the broader Canadian society. As often stated, however, one of the first steps in successfully dealing with change is recognition of the requirement for change. When future historians look back at this period, they may tell us that the revolution that had the greatest impact on militaries and the military art was the revolution in socio-cultural affairs.

- Adams, Michael. Sex in the Snow. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Audi, Robert (ed). *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Balkin, David, et al. Managing Human Resources. Canadian Edition. Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1997.
- Barlow, Maude. "Future of Nation States" 28 January 2001 available at http://www.ratical.com/co-globalize/FoNS.html.; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.
- Beckwith, Francis J. and Gregory Koukl. *Relativism*. Grand Rapids Michigan: Baker Books, 1998.
- Berger, Carl. Conscription 1917. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Berton, Pierre. Marching as to War. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2001.
- Birch, A.H. *Representative and Responsible Government*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964.
- Bloom, Allan. The Closing of the American Mind. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. "*Army Strategy*" available from http://www.army.forces. gc.ca/strategy/English/stratobj.asp; Internet; accessed 16 April 2004.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. "Air Force: Mission & Roles" available from http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca; Internet; accessed 19 March 2004.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. *Canadian Defence Beyond 2010 Chapter 6 New Work Arrangements* available from http://www.vcds.forces.gc.ca/dgsp/pubs/rep-pub/dda/rma/wayahead/RMACH6b_e.asp; Internet accessed 21 April 2004.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. "*Careers*" available from http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/home_e.asp; Internet; accessed 7 Mar 04.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. *Duty with Honor*. CFP A-PA-005-000 AP-001, Ottawa: DND Canada, 2003.

- Canada. Department of National Defence. "*The 2002-2003 Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) Annual Report*" available from http://www.cds.forces.gc.ca/pubs/anrpt2003/intro e.asp; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. "*Leadmark*" available from http://www.dnd.ca/leadmark/doc/part8 e.asp; Internet; accessed 16 April 2004.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. "*Strategy 2020*" available from http://www.cds.forces.gc.ca; Internet; accessed 20 March 2004.
- Canada. Department of National Defence. "*The National Defence Family*" available from http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/about/family_e.asp; Internet; accessed 17 April 2004.
- Canada. Statistics Canada. "Changing Faces" available from http://142.206.72.67/02/02a/02a_006_e.htm.; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004.
- Canada. Statistics Canada. Canadian Statistics "Visible minority population by age". http://www.statscan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo41.htm.; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004
- Canada. Statistics Canada. Canadian Statistics "Immigrant Population by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration", http://www.statscan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo25.htm; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 2004.
- "Canadian Attitudes toward President George W. Bush," available from http://www.pollara.com/new/ Fs_lib.html; Internet; accessed 8 March 2004.
- "Canadian Relief for Turkey Leaves Today," available from http://www.canoe.ca /NewsArchive Aug99/candigest aug19.html; Internet; accessed 8 March 2004.
- Canby, Steven. Military Manpower Procurement. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1972.
- "Comments by Chairman Standing Committee of Defence and Veterans Affairs (SCONDVA) to Parliament 2000" available from http://www.cda-cdia.ca/2000/obrien.htm; Internet; accessed 20 March 2004.
- Couto, Joe. "Canadian Church Attendance Declines" *Christianweek Online* Vol 14 Issue 18, available from http://www.Christianweek.org/Stories/vol 4/ no18/story2.html.; Internet; accessed 3 July 2003.
- Craig, William. Reasonable Faith. revised ed. Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1994.
- Craig ,William and J.P Moreland. *Philosophical Foundations for a Christian Worldview*. Downers Grove: InterVarsiety Press, 1994.
- Craig, William and Walter Sinnott-Armstrong, *God?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

- Coles, Peter. Cosmology. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Dupuy, Trevor N. ed. *International Military and Defense Encyclopedia, Vol 6.* Washington: Brassey's Inc, 1993.
- Ehrlich, Paul. Limits of Growth. New York: New American Library, 1977.
- Gellner, John. "Strategic Analysis in Canada." International Journal 33:3 (Summer 1978): 493-505.
- Goldstein, Joshua. International Relations 3d ed. New York: Longman, 1999.
- Granatstein J.L. and J.M. Hitsman. *Broken Promises*. Toronto: Clark Pitman Ltd., 1985.
- Grenz, Stanley. *A Primer on Postmodernism*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996.
- Hackett, John. The Profession of Arms. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983.
- Hattendorf, John B. and Wayne Hughes Jr. eds. *Mahan on Naval Strategy: Selections from the Writings of Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1991.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. trans. and ed. Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990.
- Honderich, Ted, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hicks, Stephen. "Stephen Hicks on Post-modernism" available from http://www.objectivist center.org/articles/ interview_stephens-hicks-postmodernism.asp; Internet; accessed 21 Nov 03.
- Higgins, Ronald. "Saintly or Cynical: An Ethical Dimension to Foreign Policy?," available from http://www.isisuk.demon.co.uk/0811/isis/uk/regpapers/no77.html; Internet; accessed 27 Aug 2003.
- Hunt, James, Richard Osborne and John Schermerhorn. *Organizational Behavior*. 6d ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons inc., 1997.
- Inglehart, Robert. "Globalization and Postmodern Values." *The Washington Quarterly* 23, no. 1(Winter 2000): 215-228.
- Inglehart, Robert and Wayne Baker. "Modernization, Cultural Change, and The Persistence of Traditional Values." *American Sociological Review* Vol 65 (February 2000): 19-51.

- Jencks, Charles. What is Post-Modernism? 3d ed. London: Academy Editions, 1989.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*. trans. and ed. Mary Gregor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Kaufmann, Walter, trans. and ed. *The Portable Nietzsche*. New York: Penguin Books, 1976.
- Keating, Dom and Tom Munton, "Internationalism and the Canadian Public." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 34, no.3 (September 2001), 517-549.
- Kreeft, Peter. A Refutation of Moral Relativism. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999.
- Kuhn. Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Lambeth, Benjamin S. "The Technology Revolution in Air Warfare." *Survival* 39, no.1 (Spring: 1997): 65-83.
- Last, David. "Educating Officers: Post-Modern Professionals to Prevent and Control Violence." In *Contemporary Issues in Officership*, ed. Bernd Horn, 9-39. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 2000.
- Lee, Steve. "Canadian Values in Canadian Foreign Policy." *Canadian Foreign Policy* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 1-10.
- Lenman, Bruce, ed. *Chambers Dictionary of World History*. New York: Chambers Harrap Publishers, 2000.
- Lomborg, Bjorn. *The Skeptical Environmentalist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- MacFarlane, John. *Ernest Lapointe and Quebec's Influence on Canadian Foreign Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Marzolini, Michael. *In Your Opinion*, available at http://www.pollara.com/news/Fs_lib.html; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.
- Miller, James B., *The Emerging Postmodern World, Postmodern Theology*. ed. Frederic Burnham. 1 19. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989.
- Moran, Lord. *The Anatomy of Courage*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967.
- Morrison, Alex. *The Changing Face of Peacekeeping*. Toronto: Canadian Printco Ltd., 1993.

- Morton, Desmond. *A Military History of Canada*. 4d ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999.
- Morton, Desmond. *Understanding Canadian Defence* Montreal: Penguin/McGill Institute), 2003.
- Moskos, Charles, David Segal. and John Williams. *The Postmodern Military*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Moskos, Charles and Frank Wood. *The Military; More Than Just a Job?*, Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988.
- Murphy, Nancy. Anglo-American Post-Modernity, Philosophical Perspectives on Science, Religion, and Ethics. New York: Westview Press 1997.
- O'Hanlon, Michael E. *Technological Change and the Future of Warfare*. Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 2000.
- Parmar, Leena. Society, Culture and Military System. Jaipur: Rawat Publications 1994.
- Patterson, Dennis "Postmodernism to Law and Truth." *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy* 26, no.1 (Winter 2003): 49-65.
- Pearsall, Judy ed. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary. 10d Revised.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Perreux, Les. "No Room for Individuals in Forces" Thursday Sept 25 2003 *The Halifax Herald*, available from http://www.herald.n.s.ca/stories/2003/09/25/fCanada 233.raw.html; Internet; accessed 9 October 2003.
- Pojman, Louis, ed. *Introduction to Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Putman, Robert. Bowling Alone. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.
- Robinson, David. Nietzche and Postmodernism. Cambridge; Icon Books Ltd., 1999.
- Roberts, Jill, "*The Invisible Congregation: Religion and the Internet.*": available from http://www.ucalgary.ca/-dabrent/380/webproj/Jill.html; Internet; accessed 2 Feb 2004.
- Ruse, Michael. The Darwinian Paradigm. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Sarkesian, Sam C. The *Professionals Army Officer in a Changing Society*. Nelson Hall Publishers: Chicago, 1975.

- Sarkesian, Sam C. and Robert Connor. *The US Military Profession into the Twenty-First Century*. London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999.
- Scruton, Roger. Kant: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Shelley, C.R. "A Crisis of Character? Ethical Development in the Canadian Officer Corps." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 25 no. 4 (Summer 1996): 23-27.
- Singer, Peter, ed. *Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Sloan, Elinor C. *The Revolution in Military Affairs*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal, 2002.
- Stairs, Denis. "Myths, Morals and Reality in Canadian Foreign Policy." *International Journal* 58, no.2 (Spring 2003): 239-256.
- Strobe, Christopher C. *The Unit First*. Washington: National Defence University Press, 1988.
- Stoessinger, John. *Crusaders and Pragmatists*. Toronto: W.W. Norton and Compant Inc., 1979.
- "Study of Worldwide rates of Religiosity, Church Attendance," University of Michigan News Release December 10 1997; available from http://www.umich.edu/~newsinfo/Releases/1997/Dec97/r121097a.html; Internet; accessed 4 July 2003.
- "The Craig Nielsen Debate", available from http://www.leaderu.com/offices/billcraig/docs/craig-nielsen1.html; Internet: accessed 22 Apr 2003.
- "The GIA Millennium Study," available from http:// www.Congregationlife. com/articles/survey.htm; Internet; accessed 3 July 2003.
- The Life Application Study Bible. New International Version trans. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991.
- The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Toulmin, Stephen. *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- United States. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, available from http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html; Internet; accessed 25 Aug 2003.
- United Nations. "About the United Nations/History," available from http://www.un.org/aboutun/history.htm; Internet; accessed 14 April 2004.
- Warden, John. *The Air Campaign*. San Jose: toExcel, 1998.

- Winslow, Donna. *The Airborne Regiment in Somalia*, Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997.
- Winslow, Donna. "Canadian Society and its Army." *Canadian Military Journal* 4, no.4 (Winter 2003-2004): 11-24.
- Winslow, Donna. "Misplaced Loyalties", The Human in Command. Carol McCann and Ross Pigeau eds, *The Human in Command* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers 2000). 293-307.
- Wolf, Fred A. Taking the Quantum Leap. Grand Rapids: Harper & Row Publishers, 1989.
- Wolfers, Arnold. "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", *Political Science Quarterly* 67, no. 4, (Dec 52): 481-502.