National Defence Défense nationale

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Services, Regiments, and Tribes: The Influence of Identity in the Canadian Armed Forces

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JCSP 47

Master of Defence Studies

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PCEMI 47

Maîtrise en études de la défense

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CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE – COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES

JCSP 47 – PCEMI 47

2020 – 2021

MASTER OF DEFENCE STUDIES – MAÎTRISE EN ÉTUDES DE LA DÉFENSE

SERVICES, REGIMENTS, AND TRIBES: THE INFLUENCE OF IDENTITY IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

By Major I.A. McGregor

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian Armed Forces contains many groups with strong identities. The term "tribal" has been used particularly to describe the most powerful of these groups – the armed services (or "environments" as they are known in Canada) and the regiments. Services, regiments, and tribes are often described to be groups with very high internal loyalties and a tendency toward aggressive intergroup competition. Services and regiments have been examined extensively through the lenses of culture and history. They are known to be held together through a combination of symbols, rituals, and (partially manufactured) histories, and they have been accused at times of putting their own interests ahead of even national interests. Yet there are new insights to be gained by looking at these groups through the lens of collective identity. Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains much of the behaviours of services, regiments, and individual members of these identities. Drawing upon the Social Brain Theory (SBT), it can be demonstrated why strong, constructed identities are necessary for cohesion of large military forces. Returning to the social identity field and drawing upon Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, Common Ingroup Identity Model, and Ingroup Projection Model provides more insight to understand why multiple constructed identities may be required to coexist within very large organizations, and also how these identities might be structured to coexist in a way that maximizes integration and cohesion and minimizes competition and separateness. This paper will suggest that rank, currently defined as a CAF individual identity, can be reconceived as a cross-cutting collective identity optimized to bring cohesion across the other identities.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

PART I
-
COLLECTIVE MILITARY IDENTITY IN CANADA

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> *Humans are tribal. We need to belong to groups. We crave bonds and attachments, which is why we love clubs, teams, fraternities, family. … But tribal instinct is not just an instinct to belong. It is an instinct to exclude.*
>
> - Amy Chua, Political Tribes

MILITARY IDENTITIES

A nation's military is not a homogenous entity. It will contain several subordinate tribes. The service tribes constitute the highest subset of identities and are often known even to civilians unfamiliar with the military. Depending on the nation, service tribes might include Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Gendarmerie, and Coast Guard. More recently, other service tribes might include entities such as Space Force, Special Operations Forces, or Cyber Forces. Below these service tribes will be other lesser tribes reflecting organizational structures such as units and formations, or functional specializations such as infanteers, engineers, aviators, submariners, etc. Between service identities and organizational identities, there can be another powerful, constructed identity that exists within land forces that have established a regimental system.

For armies organized with a regimental system, the regiments are the foundation of sub-identities. In these armies, the term "regiment" does not imply a formation of multiple battalions that conduct operations as a single grouping under the command of a colonel.[1] Instead, the regiment is a sort of extended family, and it is a uniquely constructed identity that applies to all its members. Regiments may consist of a single unit (itself usually known as a regiment) or multiple units (normally known as battalions), but the regiment does not usually command its units and the units of a regiment do not necessarily serve alongside each other.[2] Regimental

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[1] David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People C. 1870-2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2005. p7; David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians: Our Regimental History from New France to Afghanistan*. Toronto, ON: Harper Collins, 2009. p9.

[2] David French, *Military Identities*, p7.

systems had first began appearing in 16th century continental Europe when the armies of Germany, France, Holland, and Sweden fielded unique units that differentiated themselves with unique uniforms and unique battle standards.[3] The British army regimental system, which is found in many Commonwealth armies today, reaches back centuries with the first British regiments appearing after the Restoration in 1662.[4] In these early years, aristocrats (usually earls or dukes) were commissioned by parliament as colonels responsible to create and sustain regiments.[5] These colonels of the regiment invested their funds and furnished their regiments with colours, uniforms and even "philosophies of war" that were reflective of the colonel's likes.[6] The United States Army created a regimental system, while undergoing reorganizations that eliminated regiments as a formation in the late 1950s, as a means to preserve regimental histories and traditions while also providing soldiers with an identity that would follow them through their careers.[7] A particular functional branch or corps may be encompassed by a single regimental identity (as is the case with both military engineers and signalers of Canadian, British and American armies), or a functional branch or corps may be divided into many regimental tribes (as is the case with both infantry and armour of Canadian, British and American armies).[8]

The organization of these identities will vary greatly between countries, so it cannot be said that there is a universally accepted standard of what structure works best. In the US the Marines are one of six legally distinct armed services, in the UK the Royal Navy constitutes an

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[3] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p12.

[4] David French, *Military Identities*, p5.

[5] UK National Army Museum. "The Regimental System." Accessed Feb 11, 2020. https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/regimental-system.

[6] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p12; Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade." *International Affairs* 87, no. 2 (Mar 17, 2011). p391.

[7] United States. Department of the Army. *Army Regulation 870-21, the U.S. Army Regimental System*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2017. p2.

[8] United States. *Army Regulation 870-21, the U.S. Army Regimental System*, p3-4; David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p14;

armed service within which the Royal Marines are one of five distinct sub-identities known as the "fighting arms," while France has both the *Troupes de marine* in its army and naval infantry within its navy.[9] What is consistent is that service and regimental tribes often have strong, constructed identities to distinguish them from each other as much as from the civilian population of their home nation. Militaries have invested substantial effort creating, sustaining, and reinforcing identities for several purposes listed by Canadian military historian, David Bercuson, encompassing:

> to distinguish warriors from everyone else; to differentiate one family of warriors from another in the belief that competition brings out the best; to provide a framework within which soldiers are prepared for war; to make routine the business of killing and of going into harm's way; to ritualize war and battle.[10]

These service and regimental identities are of significant influence on military organizations, and they are double-edged swords. In analyzing the sources of military failure, political scientist and military historian Eliot A. Cohen, writing with John Gooch, observes that a military commander is often "at the mercy … of organizational subcultures so deeply ingrained that they are oblivious to his influence" but also that "pride in one's service or one's regiment contribute to military effectiveness, and help integrate officers, particularly new officers, into their organizations."[11]

Proponents of these identities have argued they are effective tools to create cohesive military fighting organizations. Noted military historian John Keegan has claimed groups of

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[9] France. Ministère des Armées. "Armes." Accessed February 20, 2021. https://www.defense.gouv.fr/terre/regiment-par-arme/armes; France. Ministère des Armées. "Force Maritime Des Fusiliers Marins Et Commandos." Accessed February 20, 2021. https://www.defense.gouv.fr/english/marine/operations/forces/fusiliers-marins-et-commandos/force-maritime-des-fusiliers-marins-et-commandos; United Kingdon. Royal Navy. "Our Organisation." Accessed March 31, 2021. https://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/our-organisation; United States. Department of Defense. "Our Forces." Accessed March 31, 2021. https://www.defense.gov/Our-Story/Our-Forces/.

[10] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p8.

[11] Eliot A. Cohen and John Gooch, *Military Misfortunes: The Anatomy of Failure in War*. New York: Free Press, 1990. p 49 & 52.

regimental size (600 to 1000 persons) are enhanced by organizational stability, historical antiquity, reputation, corporate self-image, and tradition.[12] Establishing awareness of intergroup differences has been linked to the perception of one's own military group as better, and a belief of "betterness" has been described as something that can be manipulated to encourage service members to strive for even higher standards of performance.[13] It is believed that these identities provide a motivation that keeps service personnel committed to achieve the mission even at great personal risk to themselves and even when required to kill other human beings.[14] While it may be true that these tribal military identities are key to forging cohesive military fighting forces, there are many legitimate criticisms levelled at these identities. Military organizations that strongly define themselves by a particular way of war may be very resistant to new technologies or may set aside modern doctrine for traditional ways of fighting, such as with the opposition of horse cavalry to transition to tanks or the failure of the British army to implement combined arms operations at the start of the Second World War.[15] These tribal identities have been accused of incubating deviant cultures that culminated in egregious acts of misconduct such as abuse and murder by the Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia,[16] multiple acts of battlefield murder by members of 2 Squadron of Australia's Special Air Service Regiment,[17] and still more abuses by

[12] John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology." Chap. 1, In *War, Economy and the Military Mind*, edited by Best, Geoffrey and Andrew Wheatcroft, Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2020. p13.

[13] David French, *Military Identities*, p2.

[14] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p6-7.

[15] Paul Johnston, "Doctrine is Not enough: The Effect of Doctrine on the Behavior of Armies." *Parameters* 30, no. 3 (2000): 30-39; Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War : Culture and Strategy*. London, UK: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004. p9-11; David French, *Military Identities*, p3.

[16] Donna Winslow, "Misplaced Loyalties: The Role of Military Culture in the Breakdown of Discipline in Peace Operations," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 35, no. 3 (August, 1998): 345-367.

[17] Brereton, PLG. Inspector-General of the Australian Defence Force Afghanistan Inquiry Report. (Redacted). Canberra: Inspector-General of the Australian Defence Force, 2020. https://afghanistaninquiry.defence.gov.au/; "Australia's Afghanistan War Crimes Report: 39 Alleged Unlawful Killings." Radio New Zealand News, November 19, 2020a, Online. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/world/430991/australia-s-afghanistan-war-crimes-report-39-alleged-unlawful-killings; "Chief of Army Disbands 2 Squadron SASR." Australian Defence Magazine, November 20, 2020b, Online. https://www.australiandefence.com.au/defence/land/chief-of-army-disbands-2-squadron-sasr.

the British Parachute Regiment in Northern Ireland.[18] In part, these deviant cultures arose because of the prototypes by which group members define themselves. In part, they were facilitated by barriers against criticism, even constructive criticism, where commanders would not scrutinize too closely the behaviour of other "tribes" and the tribes themselves would not accept criticism of an outsider.[19] There is further criticism that these identities distort meritocracy, with individuals promoted and appointed to key positions not for being the best person for the job but because the position is within their regiment or perhaps it is their service's "turn" to fill the position.[20] It is also argued that soldiers are more loyal to their regiments than to their army, while all military members are more loyal to their service than to the military as a whole.[21] These loyalties lead to conflict and competition between the different groups within a military as they each seek to advance their own goals and agendas, even to the detriment of other groups and the military as a whole. At the highest level, this has been labelled "service tribalism"[22] and within an army it could be labelled "regimental tribalism." This military tribalism is not just a characteristic of militaries; it is a characteristic of humans.

TRIBAL CONFLICT

It was primarily conflict caused by human tribalism that Yale law professor Amy Chua drew upon, in her book *Political Tribes*, to present weaknesses in American foreign policy and challenges in domestic politics. Chua argues that, while modern liberal ideas may seek to identify people as individuals and as members of the collective human species, there is "tribal

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[18] Burke, Edward. *An Army of Tribes: British Army Cohesion, Deviancy and Murder in Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Liverpool University Press, 2018; Sanders, Andrew. "Principles of Minimum Force and the Parachute Regiment in Northern Ireland, 1969–1972." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41, no. 5 (2018): 659-683.

[19] Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22, no. 2 (Spring, 2016), p177.

[20] David French, *Military Identities*, p3; Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," p177.

[21] David French, *Military Identities*, p3; Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," p175; David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p11.

[22] Paul Cornish and Andrew Dorman. "National Defence in the Age of Austerity." *International Affairs* (London) 85, no. 4 (July, 2009), p737.

instinct" that compels people to forge groups between the levels of the individual and the whole of the species. She further notes:

> Some groups are voluntary, some are not. Some tribes are sources of joy and salvation; some are the hideous product of hate mongering by opportunistic power seekers. But once people belong to a group, their identities can become oddly bound with it. They will seek to benefit their group mates even when they personally gain nothing. They will penalize outsiders, seemingly gratuitously. They will sacrifice, and even kill and die, for their group.[23]

Chua paints a picture of an America that struggled in Vietnam, Iraq, and Venezuela because its foreign policy (and its military in the first two cases) failed to recognize the significance of the groups by which locals categorized and distinguished between each other. These groups can include nationalist identities (which divided Vietnamese farmers from Chinese business class) and religious identities (as divided Iraqi Shia from Sunni). She describes the domestic US society as consisting of a rare super-group with an American identity that transcends traditional nationalist identities, but which is increasingly fractured by racial and class divisions into which Americans are classifying themselves and others. Particularly for others, categorizations come with unflattering labels such as "elites" or "bumpkins." Any society or large organization can be subdivided into smaller tribes or groups. While Chua's book is written for just about anyone to read, it cites many peer-reviewed articles in its references and it is solidly based on the body of knowledge known as Social Identity Theory (SIT).

SIT has many supporting and related theories which describe that individuals gain elements of self-worth from the groups to which they belong, that individuals will go to great lengths to protect and support the groups to which they identify, and that individuals will tend to view the world in comparisons of their "ingroup" relative to other "outgroups." SIT has been applied to understanding inter-group behaviours from ethnic divisions to organizational conflict.

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[23] Amy Chua, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations*. New York: Penguin Press, 2018. p1.

The tendency for groups to enhance their own identity at the expense of the outgroup is described in *Tribal Leadership*, a book written by Dave Logan, a professor at the University of Southern California Marshall Business School, John King, a business coach and university lecturer, and Halee Fisher-Wright, a physician and assistant professor at the University of Colorado School of Medicine.[24] In their five-stage model of organizations, the fourth stage is the highest functioning stable stage, and it is the stage where group members stop thinking in terms of themselves individually and start thinking in terms of their ingroup against an adversary outgroup. The stage is typified by the phrase "we're great (and they're not!)"[25] which is exactly the intergroup dynamic anticipated by SIT. The fifth stage is described as occurring when the members of an organization, driven by values and a noble cause, stop seeing themselves as competing with others and declare "life is great!" But stage five is described as rarely achieved and only temporary, with organizations eventually losing momentum and returning to a more stable stage four governed by SIT. A foundational premise of *Tribal Leadership* is the research describing the Social Brian Theory (SBT).

SBT presents the cognitive limitations of humans toward the size of tribal groups that can be established and maintained through social interaction alone. With SIT it is possible to understand and predict positive and negative behaviours or reactions of military tribal identities, while SBT provides a model against which to assess the level at which such strong, constructed identities are required. David Bercuson had argued that:

> If it is a strongly held belief that the regimental system is an effective means of organizing the British or Canadian or Australian or any other Army, then that in

[24] David Logan, John King, and Halee Fisher-Wright. *Tribal Leadership: Leveraging Natural Groups to Build a Thriving Organization*. New York, NY: Harper Buisness, 2011.

[25] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory." Chap. 1 in *Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory: Contemporary Global Perspectives*, Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016. p9.

> itself becomes a major argument for its continuation, even if in other Armies … the regimental system just does not work.[26]

This paper's position is that a nation's armed forces need more than belief in the effectiveness of a system of military tribal identities. It is possible to show that these identities are necessary, but that they must also be designed and organized to maximize institutional benefit while minimizing intra-organizational conflict. With the recently published Pan-Domain Force Employment Concept (PFEC), the CAF has arrived at an appropriate time to consider its formal identity structures. The PFEC notes that the "traditional domains" of land, sea, and air are today joined by new domains of cyber, space, and information within which Canada's adversaries are already challenging the nation.[27] The PFEC identifies that the CAF will respond to modern threats operating across multiple domains through an "integrated operational approach" and through "pan-domain integration."[28] How the CAF achieves pan-domain integration and its success in achieving pan-domain integration are matters that can be significantly helped or hindered by existing and new manufactured identities.

WHY IDENTITY AND NOT CULTURE?

When it comes to the effectiveness of military organizations, culture has been defined as both the "bedrock"[29] and the "secret sauce"[30] which allows militaries to compete against and even excel beyond their adversary forces. But if culture is what can make a military great, it is also what can cause a military to flounder. The CAF is in the midst of a significant leadership scandal linked to continuing sexual misconduct which can only be resolved, according to an

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[26] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p12.

[27] Canada. Department of National Defence. *Pan-Domain Force Employment Concept: Prevailing in an Uncertain World*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Armed Forces, 2019, p13.

[28] Canada. Department of National Defence. *Pan-Domain Force Employment*, p15-18.

[29] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004, p5.

[30] Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," p173.

argument published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy, by "a fundamental culture change."[31] The article blames a dominant "white, heterosexual male norm." Separately, the Canadian Global Affairs Institute has recently raised an alarm over the CAF's inability to attract enough recruits to sustain the organization.[32] In this analysis, organizational culture and identity are listed as two of four contributing causes while re-branding and strengthening culture are provided as two of four remedies. In both of these problems, culture and identity are at play.

As noted by Alejandro Grimson, a social anthropology professor at the University of Brasilia, the notions of culture and identity refer to two analytically different approaches to social processes.[33] While identity is about categorization and a sense of belonging, culture is about deeply ingrained practices, beliefs, and meanings. But Grimson notes the two concepts are also interconnected to an extent that they influence each other and external factors influencing one will likely influence there other. An important take-away from Grimson's examination is that some identities contain multiple cultures (such as the multicultural Canadian identity), and some cultures may span multiple identities (such as cultures that straddle national borders). Concerning long-lasting conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East, Grimson notes that where cultural differentiation is limited, identity differentiation is often inflated at the risk of intractable inter-group conflict.[34]

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[31] Maya Eichler and Marie-Claude Gagnon, *Only a Fundamental Culture Change Will Address Military Sexual Misconduct*, Montreal, Qc: Institute for Research on Public Policy (February 26, 2021), https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/february-2021/only-a-fundamental-culture-change-will-address-military-sexual-misconduct/.

[32] Paxton Mayer, *What's in a Soldier? how to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Global Affairs Institute, October 2020. https://www.cgai.ca/whats_in_a_soldier_how_to_rebrand_the_canadian_armed_forces.

[33] Alejandro Grimson, "Culture and Identity: Two Different Notions." *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 16, no. 1 (January, 2010): p61-77.

[34] Alejandro Grimson, "Culture and Identity: Two Different Notions," p64.

There is already a significant amount of literature that explores military organizations through a cultural lens. In contrast, SIT research has examined military organizations, but this focus is limited. Therefore, by drawing evidence of social identity from cultural examinations of the CAF and from behaviours presented in historical examinations, this paper will develop an alternate perspective on group dynamics within the CAF. This in turn can be applied not only to the challenges of sub-group conflict and integration, but to other organizational and social difficulties of the institution.

OUTLINE

This paper is divided into two parts with the core arguments and conclusions provided in the chapters of Part 1, with supplemental evidence and support in Part 2. To demonstrate that constructed identities are necessary for large, cohesive organizations this paper will begin by outlining the relevant theories relating to SIT and SBT in the next two chapters. Chapter 2 will show that the simple act of categorizing people leads to favourable treatment between similarly categorized persons and that social categorization, or cognitive sorting of people into groups based on common characteristics, can have an influence on intergroup behaviour. Where a social identity is significant to an individual, that self-categorized person will behave favourably to other ingroup members. They will also begin to perceive their fate as linked with that of the group, they will increasingly conform to expected group norms and behaviours, they will act to enhance the group, and they are likely to respond to threats against the groups (including threats to group prestige) with angst or anger. Influences of social identity can be beneficial for a military where they enhance cohesion, but they can also be detrimental where they enhance sub-group favouritism and conflict.

Chapter 3 will examine means of mitigating negative intergroup aspects of social identity while coordinating the benefits. It will be seen through SBT that people have the cognitive

capacity to establish and sustain large, cohesive groups through social interaction alone. Yet, cognitive capacity limits the optimal size of such groups to about 150 members, and groups larger than about 1,500 members require a system of labels and symbols to manufacture and sustain cohesive identities. As groups grow even larger and more inclusive, the deliberate maintenance of distinct manufactured sub-identities can satiate the human desire for distinctiveness. The Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) suggest that multiple groups can benefit from increased perceptions of being a single group through the extrapolated effects of positive contact engagements between representatives of different groups, and the Ingroup Projection Model cautions that CIIM effects may be contingent upon a complex identity environment where sub-identities see themselves as complementary and that these are further overlaid with superordinate cross-cutting identities.

Chapter 4 will examine the formal CAF identity system and compare it to structures hypothesized in the previous chapter. It will be seen that most CAF identities provide the structure of symbols that gives entitativity and cohesion for groups otherwise too large to maintain, though some regimental identities may reinforce sub-tribal groupings to the potential detriment of tactical cohesion. It will also be seen that most CAF identities encompass functional roles which enable each to perceive others as essential and complementary functions. Here again, there are regimental identities that overlap in functional role, which will necessitate conflict and favouritism mitigation strategies at the institutional level. Despite a few potential areas for improvement, the structure of sub-identities in the CAF can be seen as sound. Unfortunately, despite the institution espousing value in a strong superordinate identity to which all members give primary loyalty, the structure of labels and symbols does not exist to provide a particularly salient and entitative CAF Common Ingroup Identity (CII).

Chapter 5 will examine alternate means for the management of identity within the CAF using existing cross-cutting identities. Specifically, the cross-cutting leadership groups of officers and of senior non-commissioned officers (sr NCOs) must be optimized as two distinct and complimentary tribes of leaders that bind and synchronize the subordinate identities within the CAF. Sr NCOs support the linkages connecting officers with non-commissioned members, sr NCOs and officers are the bridges connecting sub-service identities, and officers and possibly warrant officers (WOs) are the bridges connecting CAF identities across all service identities and levels of command. Chapter 6 will follow with a summary of this paper's findings.

Part II of this paper provides three supplemental chapters that demonstrate the effects of collective identity in the CAF. In Chapter 7, it is demonstrated that SIT does apply to the CAF through a historical look at Canadian and British military service identities through much of the twentieth century. It will be shown that the Canadian military and the British military, from which much of Canada's military identity was derived, both suffered from service tribalism. Both militaries experienced instances where the interests of one identity were pursued at the expense of another identity if not also at the expense of national interests themselves. Chapter 8 will demonstrate that Canadian service identities were strong enough to survive the attempts, of one Minister of National Defence (MND), to destroy and replace separate identities with a single superordinate CAF identity. The service identities survived, continued competing for advantage over one and other, and over decades gradually reversed many of the bad and good changes of Integration and Unification. Between Chapters 7 and 8, it can be seen that, with perhaps one exception, attempts to establish closer cooperation and efficiencies between the services were imposed from outside the military and that all attempts, without exception, experienced identity-based resistance.

To understand the challenges of organizational change with strong sub-organizational identities, Chapter 9 will look at two discrete periods of change imposed on the British army's regimental system. In the late nineteenth century, the combined Cardwell and Childers reforms completely transformed the British regimental system. The changes were met with skepticism and opposition from regimental communities and, despite regimental resistance seeing some changes reversed decades after, the changes were largely successful because they leveraged identity. Another significant transformation of the regimental system, announced in 2004, provided an opportunity for study by social scientists armed with SIT. Focusing on the merger of Scottish regiments, it was shown that providing a means of continuity for existing identities resulted in reduced opposition to the regrouping of those identities within a new identity.

CHAPTER 2: THE INFLUENCE OF IDENTITY

> *Identity is a self-referential description that provides contextually appropriate answers to the question "Who am I?" or "Who are we?".*
>
> - Blake E. Ashforth et al, Identification in Organizations

LABELED TRIBES – SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

University of Queensland professors Matthew Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten observe that social identity contributes to the basic human need for love and belonging that exists as the middle layer of Abraham Maslow's famous hierarchy of needs.[35] People will become attached to their social identity and will come to associate their futures with the fate of their group.[36] People will also more readily accept violence perpetrated by their group regardless of that violence being exercised legitimately, such as in compliance with international laws of armed conflict, or exercised illegitimately.[37] So, what is social identity? The development of SIT started after the Second World War when individual dysfunctional personality models were inadequate to explain the extent to which German society had been complicit in the Holocaust.[38]

Realistic Conflict Theory

Initial experimentation supported the Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT) in the 1950s and 60s with considerable input from Turkish-American social-psychologist Muzafer Sherif.[39] RCT recognizes that people have goals, and the theory posited that people would compete when their goals were mutually exclusive but people would collaborate when goals were difficult or impossible to achieve individually. Like the people that constitute them, groups also have goals

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[35] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, "The Individual within the Group: Balancing the Need to Belong with the Need to be Different," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 8, no. 3 (2004), p249-250.

[36] Bernhard Leidner, Emanuele Castano, Erica Zaiser, and Roger Giner-Sorolla. "Ingroup Glorification, Moral Disengagement, and Justice in the Context of Collective Violence." *Pers Soc Psychol Bull* 36, no. 8 (Aug 06, 2010), p1116.

[37] Emanuele Castano, "On the Perils of Glorifying the in-Group: Intergroup Violence, in-Group Glorification, and Moral Disengagement." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008), p154-170.

[38] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory"

[39] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory"

for which they will compete against or collaborate with other groups. Through cooperation towards a shared goal, individuals and groups will bond and develop cohesion. In contrast, competition between groups is often aggressive and "accompanied by destructive intergroup behaviour and derogatory intergroup attitudes."[40] Sherif is well known for his Robbers Cave experiment,[41] which brought together twenty-two 11-year-old white American boys under the auspices of a summer camp at Robbers Cave State Park in Oklahoma.[42] The boys were divided into two equal groups that were initially set against each other in a series of competitions, and then later forced to collaborate through a series of challenges. The Robbers Cave experiment supported RCT in showing that inter-group competition did grow inter-group enmity and discriminatory behaviour while collaboration did forge closeness and even repaired damage of past competition.

Minimal Groups

But RCT was unable to account for the fact that intergroup discrimination (and specifically ingroup favouritism) occurred even without intergroup competition.[43] The explanation for this came from Henri Tajfel, a Polish Jew who survived the Second World War to became a leading British social psychologist, through demonstrating that "the mere fact of being categorised as a member of a group was enough to lay the groundwork for intergroup conflict."[44] In a series of experiments with British schoolboys, Tajfel and fellow researchers

[40] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p5.

[41] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, "The Individual within the Group," p249-250; Emanuele Castano, "On the Perils of Glorifying the in-Group," p154; Henri Tajfel, M. G. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and Claude Flament, "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour," European Journal of Social Psychology 1, no. 2 (Apr, 1971), p151.

[42] Muzafer Sherif, "Experiments in Group Conflict." *Scientific American* 195, no. 5 (1956), p54-59; Amy Chua, *Political Tribes*, p100-101; Saul McLeod, "Robbers Cave Experiment." *Simply Psychology*. Accessed Mar 02, 2021. https://www.simplypsychology.org/robbers-cave.html.

[43] Henri Tajfel et al, "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour," p151.

[44] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p5.

randomly grouped the children while informing the participants that their groupings were based on estimating abilities or on preference between two paint artists.[45] Participants then completed paper exercises where they selected from a range of disbursement options to award unequal monetary prizes and penalties between pairs of other participants. Participants did not know the identity of the students for whom they were selecting disbursements; the only information provided about the two students under consideration were the unique code numbers assigned to each student and the group into which each student had been sorted. Participants were required to make several disbursement choices over which the composition of the pair receiving disbursements varied between both participants being of the ingroup, both participants being of the outgroup, and a participant from each group. The results of the studies found that, after having been classified into superficial groups, student choices statistically favoured their own in-group.[46] This loyalty by minimal association has become known as the Minimal Group Paradigm, and its existence has been further conformed as "literally hundreds of minimal group experiments have been conducted across the globe with a very wide range of participants."[47] Minimal group experiments have also shown that, while people will discriminate in favour of members of their ingroup, they will not inherently discriminate against members of an outgroup. Instead, negative discrimination is triggered against an out-group when it is perceived that the ingroup is under threat.[48]

[45] Henri Tajfel et al, "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour," p149-178; Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p5-6.

[46] Henri Tajfel et al, "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour," p149-178; Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p5-6.

[47] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p6.

[48] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p6.

Social Categorization

Outside of experiments, groups of greater entitativity exist across society and these include tribes, families, social clubs, work teams, communities, nations, interest groups, military services, military units, regiments, and so on. In fact, "groups" can include just about any practical way that people can be categorized, and "*social categorization* is the process through which separate individuals are clustered into groups."[49] This process is associated with building the mental model or "prototype"[50] that defines the abstract member of a group; it builds the image of the non-specific individual who comes to mind when a group is mentioned.[51] When most members of a group or society share a common prototype for members of some group, that is then a stereotype. Social categorization allows social comparison to "define the ways in which each group is distinguished from relevant other groups"[52] and it often takes the form of binary comparisons between two groups.[53] Consider the following example groups: [54] students or teachers, terrorists, francophones or anglophones, body-piercers, hipsters or goths, Canadians, men or women, and soldiers or sailors. If any of these labels conjures a prototype image in your mind then you have done social categorization, and if any of the paired labels focused your thoughts on the differences or similarities of the two groups then you have done social comparison. Social categorization can lead to depersonalization, in which people see others as interchangeable components conforming to the prototype of some group or social identity.[55]

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[49] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory." Chap. 45 in *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, edited by Van Lange, Paul A. M., Arie W. Kruglanski and E. Tory Higgins. Vol. 2, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012, p381

[50] "Exemplar" is another term found in literature to describe a group protptype.

[51] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p8

[52] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p381.

[53] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p8

[54] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p381; Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, " The Individual within the Group," p 253

[55] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p381 & 388; Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p8-9.

Self-Categorization

Yet, SIT is more than people being categorized, making comparisons, and favouring their own ingroup "even when the basis for categorization seems trivial or meaningless."[56] Tafjel expanded on the minimal group paradigm to define social identity as the "individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership."[57] Self-categorised individuals perceive some value or meaningfulness from their connection with a group.[58] The valued social identity is then a powerful influence over a range of behaviours and perceptions. Michael Hogg, a social psychology professor and a leading contributor to the field of SIT, states that:

> Social groups, whether large demographics categories or small task-oriented teams, provide their members with a shared identity that prescribes and evaluates who they are, what they should believe and how they should behave. Social identities also, very critically, highlight how the in-group is distinct from the relevant out-groups in a particular social context.[59]

Social identity has the power to make people feel close when they are spread on distant parts of the earth, and it has the power to make people feel distant when they may be neighbours.[60] Social identity makes it so "persons lacking any direct contact with one another can imagine themselves belonging to the same community or going to war together."[61] It is social identity that is the binding power for the CAF as a whole, and for the various sub-tribes that exist within it.

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[56] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, " The Individual within the Group," p250.
[57] Henri Tajfel as quoted by Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p6.
[58] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p384, 386, 390.
[59] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p6.
[60] Alejandro Grimson, "Culture and Identity: Two Different Notions," p62.
[61] Alejandro Grimson, "Culture and Identity: Two Different Notions," p66.

TRIBAL INFLUENCE ON BEHAVIOUR

A social identity can also exert a normative effect on self-categorized individuals through self-stereotyping, a reflexive form of depersonalization. Self-stereotyping is the depersonalization of one's self; it is comparing and defining one's self relative to the ingroup prototype and it is "to perceive the self as an interchangeable exemplar of a social category, rather than as a separate individual with unique traits"[62] Prototypes reflect their group-appropriate ways of behaviour and thought, and self-categorized people will modify their own behaviour and beliefs for conformity to their ingroup prototype. "The basic principle that priming a salient group identity leads to enhancement of similarities among the self and other group members has been supported in numerous studies on salience, self-stereotyping, [and] in-group and out-group homogeneity."[63] This is a significant area where culture and identity can be seen to examine the same phenomena. Culture is said to consist of values, beliefs, and attitudes that drive behaviour, and culture provides "motivations, aspirations, norms, and rules of conduct" to members. Social identity is congruent with this description as the group prototype defines the values, beliefs, attitudes, motivations, aspirations, norms, and rules of conduct, and self-stereotyping is the normative process of adopting features of the cultural prototype into one's self. Both culture and identity can have negative normative effects. In groups, people will change their judgment, including expressing judgments that should be obviously false, for the sake of conformity with a dominant belief or idea.[64] People who have modified their judgement to conform will also (publicly at least) defend false ideas and favour those people who support

[62] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p388; Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, " The Individual within the Group," p249.

[63] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, " The Individual within the Group," p249.

[64] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, " The Individual within the Group," p253; Solomon E. Asch, "Effects of group pressures upon the modification and distortion of judgments" in *Groups, Leadership, and Men*, as referenced by Amy Chua, *Political Tribes*, p102

the norm.[65] For a military, culture and identity are necessary for their positive normative effects in the areas of discipline, professional ethos, cohesion, and esprit de corps.[66]

TRIBAL DEFENCES – UNCERTAINTY REDUCTION

In addition to modifying behaviours to be consistent with group prototypes, self-categorized individuals will seek to positively represent their ingroup relative to outgroups. Because "historically, people have derived much of their identity and self worth from the groups to which they belong,"[67] earlier theories suggested that achievement of a positive intergroup distinction should elevate the status of the group and provide positive self-esteem benefits to the ingroup while, alternately, depressed self-esteem should cause individuals to discriminate against the outgroup.[68] However, evidence was too insufficient and inconsistent to prove a link between the pursuit of intergroup distinctiveness and the promotion and protection of self-esteem.[69] An alternate theory to explain the drive to enhance the ingroup identity is uncertainty reduction. As a social category prototype defines a framework for how group members view each other and how they ought to act and interact, it thereby makes behaviours (including one's own behaviours) predictable.[70] Group members also take comfort from the idea that a social identity has persistence, but threats to the group's continuity will cause members to feel uncertainty which in turn can lead to increased conformance to group norms/prototypes, greater levels of intolerance and ethnocentrism, higher ingroup solidarity and cohesion, and acts of derogation or retaliation

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[65] Willer, Robb, Michael W. Macy, and Ko Kuwabara. "The False Enforcement of Unpopular Norms." *American Journal of Sociology* 115, no. 2 (2009): 451-490.

[66] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture*, p41.

[67] Nyla R. Branscombe and Daniel L. Wann. "Collective Self-Esteem Consequences of Outgroup Derogation when a Valued Social Identity is on Trial." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 24, no. 6 (1994): 645.

[68] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p9-10; Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p387

[69] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p9-10; Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p387

[70] Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," p9-10; Alejandro Grimson, "Culture and Identity: Two Different Notions," p71.

against the outgroup.[71] Threats that generate such responses include physical threats (harm to group members or group structure), symbolic threats (damage to values, prestige, symbols, distinctiveness, etc), physical extinction threats (destruction of the group), and symbolic extinction threats (destruction or permanent loss of prestige or symbols).[72] A series of experiments by Wohl et al. confirmed that collective angst and desire for ingroup strengthening behaviours can be triggered in university students by the threatened loss of a school's mascot and team name, in French Canadians over concerns of cultural assimilation, and in Jewish communities by reflecting upon the Holocaust.[73] What this means concerning military identities is that any service or regiment is likely to react defensively if there is an inconsistency between the perceived service or regimental identity and external expectations relating to role, equipment, personnel numbers, tasks, doctrine, or other change.

TRIBAL COMPETITION

A social identity continues to be influenced by RCT. SIT and RCT are complementary theories,[74] which means that in addition to defending their identities and perusing identity-based goals, services and regiments are expected to compete over limited institutional resources. This tribal conflict occurs and is acknowledged in CAF doctrine.

> There will always be strain and competition externally and internally for resources, as well as tensions arising from policies and decisions that pit internal

[71] Michael J. A. Wohl, Nyla R. Branscombe, and Stephen Reysen. "Perceiving Your Group's Future to be in Jeopardy: Extinction Threat Induces Collective Angst and the Desire to Strengthen the Ingroup." Pers Soc Psychol Bull 36, no. 7 (June 02, 2010): 898-910; Elizabeth M. Niedbala and Zachary P. Hohman. "Retaliation Against the Outgroup: The Role of Self-Uncertainty." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 22, no. 5 (May 09, 2019): 708-723.

[72] Michael J. A. Wohl et al, "Perceiving Your Group's Future to be in Jeopardy," p898-910; Elizabeth M. Niedbala and Zachary P. Hohman. "Retaliation Against the Outgroup," p708-723.

[73] Michael J. A. Wohl et al, "Perceiving Your Group's Future to be in Jeopardy," p898-910;

[74] Naomi Ellemers and S. Alexander Haslam, "Social Identity Theory," p386.

> loyalties and subcultures (that is, uniform and civilian, regular and reserve, or respective environments) against one another.[75]

Similarly, British defence and international security professors Paul Cornish and Andrew Dorman state that at "moments of heightened budgetary pressure, there is a tendency for the defence debate to be dominated by tribalism."[76] Thus, the intersection of RCT and SIT is a point of particular concern for institutional cohesion in large organizations such as the CAF.

CONCLUSION

At this point, it can be seen, through the lens of SIT, that the strong, constructed military identities serve as a structure for service members to self-categorize. This categorization provides a sense of camaraderie and connection between members similarly categorized, but it can complicate camaraderie and connection between members differently categorized. Once categorized, service members may seek to gain an advantage for their "tribe" (whether it be a regiment or a service or some other construct) at the expense of other "tribes" or even at the expense of the national best interests. As we will see in the next chapter, the means of mitigating this tribal conflict can be achieved by leveraging different mechanisms to build smaller tribes, deliberately building and strengthening complex identity structures, and nesting these within a relevant superordinate identity.

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[75] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-PA-005-000/AP-004, Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations*. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy — Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2005. p x.

[76] Paul Cornish and Andrew Dorman. "National Defence in the Age of Austerity," p737.

CHAPTER 3: THE INFLUENCE OF "TRIBES"

> *Tribes in [corporations] get work done – sometimes a lot of work – but they don't form because of work. Tribes are the basic building block of any large human effort, including earning a living. In companies, tribes decide whether the new leader is going to flourish or get taken out. They determine how much work gets done, and of what quality.*
>
> - Dave Logan, John King, and Halee Fischer-Wright, Tribal Leadership

SOCIAL TRIBES – SOCIAL BRAIN THEORY

While strong social identities can hold together large groups and exert normative influences on the members, they are not the only means capable of building and holding together a cohesive tribe. Tribes can also be sustained on social interaction alone. One of the foundational premises of the book *Tribal Leadership* is that the optimal working group ("the tribe") is an organization of 20 to 150 people with 150 being a hard upper limit. That 150 number comes from the work of Robin Dunbar, a British anthropologist, evolutionary psychologist, and professor at the University of Oxford. Where several studies had found a relationship between the neocortex size in primates and respective communal group sizes, Dunbar extrapolated the data on great apes to determine a human group size of 148 (95% confidence from 101 to 231).[77] Neocortex size is understood to influence potential social group sizes because a larger brain allows more efficient forms of social interaction to maintain the group.[78] Most primates are dependant on social play and social grooming as relatively time-intensive ways to maintain each connection of their social network. With the evolution of language, humans received a significantly more efficient means to maintain a greater number of social connections over an otherwise equal amount of time. The value of 150, now widely known as "Dunbar's number," is

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[77] Leslie C. Aiello and R. I. M. Dunbar. "Neocortex Size, Group Size, and the Evolution of Language," *Current Anthropology* 34, no. 2 (1993): p185; R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions and their Implications for Information Flow," *Journal of Institutional Economics* 7, no. 3 (2011), p346.

[78] Leslie C. Aiello and R. I. M. Dunbar. "Neocortex Size, Group Size, and the Evolution of Language," p185; R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p345-347; Alistair Sutcliffe, Robin Dunbar, Jens Binder, and Holly Arrow. "Relationships and the Social Brain: Integrating Psychological and Evolutionary Perspectives." *British Journal of Psychology* 103, no. 2 (2012), p155.

not an absolute limit but rather the expected value within a range of possibilities that have been found to correlate with real human social networks and group sizes.

In a subsequent examination of human social networks, Dunbar concluded these networks exist in several layers with the closest layers representing the highest emotional connection and greatest frequency of contact. The inner layer contains a person's "most intimate friends and relations," approximately five people who receive 40% of the person's available social time.[79] The second layer contains approximately 15 people including those from the first layer, the third layer contains approximately 50 people inclusive of those people in the first two layers, and the pattern continues through 150, 500, and 1,500. The fourth layer was found to be the limit at which "bilateral relationships of obligation and reciprocity" exist, and its size of approximately 150 people corresponds to the predicted social group size based on the human neocortex size.[80] The next group (~500) includes acquaintances, and the final group (~1500) is an "awareness group" that includes people who may be known not by name but are recognizable and are known by their role or a categorization.[81] Dunbar illustrates that human social organization has roughly conformed to these layers since pre-recorded history. He pointed to tribal societies where the next larger group, inclusive of the immediate family, was the band (25-50 members) that sustained the day-to-day, and when the bands came together everyone in the clan (~150 members) would know and have a relation with each other.[82] Likely members would have had a strong network of acquaintances (~ 500 members) extending through the one or two

[79] Dunbar, R. I. M. "The Social Brain: Psychological Underpinnings and Implications for the Structure of Organizations." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 23, no. 2 (2014): p111

[80] Dunbar, R. I. M. "The Social Brain: Psychological Underpinnings and Implications for the Structure of Organizations." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 23, no. 2 (2014): p110-111

[81] Dunbar, R. I. M. "The Social Brain: Psychological Underpinnings and Implications for the Structure of Organizations." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 23, no. 2 (2014): p110-111; R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p347.

[82] R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p362.

neighbouring clans and, while not everyone across the whole tribe (~1500 members) will share a personal relationship, they will be all be aware of and recognize other members as part of their tribe.[83] The labels Dunbar applies to ancient tribal spheres and modern social spheres are shown in Table 1.[84] The typical CAF unit exists in the unnamed layer of Dunbar's tribal spheres as an extended clan or sub-tribal group, while many CAF sub-units correspond in size to the clan layer.

Group Approximations	Tribal Spheres	Social Spheres
5	Family	Support Clique
15	Band	Sympathy Group
50		Affinity Group
150	Clan	Active Network
500	-	Acquaintances
1,500	Tribe	Awareness Group

Table 1 – Dunbar's Predicted Group Sizes

With particular attention to the clan or "active network" sphere, Dunbar identifies a trend in historical social groups that converged around the size of 150 (between 101 to 231) including ancient and medieval villages tending to a size of 150 to 200 people, tribal clans tending to a size of 90 to 222 people, Canadian Hutterite communities averaging 107 people, or Christmas card distribution lists that averaged 154 recipients as recently as 20 years ago.[85] There is also a military nexus starting from ancient armies with Persian sabatams of 100 soldiers and Roman maniples of 120 soldiers, through the average 101 soldiers per company during the War of Spanish Succession to the average 178 soldiers per company during the Second World War. Dunbar notes the sense that "military planners have experimented with various sizes, and

[83] R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p362.
[84] Alistair Sutcliffe et al, "Relationships and the Social Brain," p152; R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p362.
[85] R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p349.

gradually settled on one – presumably the one that works best on the battlefield."[86] The Canadian Army, which still tends toward forming clan-sized subunits, would seem to agree that this is an effective size for a fighting organization.

SYMBOLIC TRIBES – ANONYMOUS SOCIETIES

The military also offers proof that organized groups can be established with more people than 150 because battalions, regiments, and divisions are all much larger. However, according to Dunbar, organizations above 150 people "require the external imposition of discipline and punishment to maintain coherence and cooperation through time" while the creation of a group larger than 1500 people requires shared norms and "markers of community membership" if cooperation is to occur.[87] Dunbar's advocation of discipline and punishment should be tempered with the reality that coercive power tends to be alienating as opposed to unifying when used as a leadership tool to meld groups of different cultures or identities.[88] To expand above Dunbar's 1,500-member tribe, Mark W. Moffett, a biologist and research associate in the Smithsonian Institution, has proposed what he calls the "anonymous society."[89] Moffett speculates that ancient hunter-gather societies expanded beyond 2,000 members where all members of the society could not know one and another, yet otherwise anonymous members of these societies could still recognize each other through "society-specific labels" and "shared symbols of identity".[90] Acknowledging Dunbar's argument that expanding membership in any of an individual's social spheres comes at a "substantial cognitive cost," Moffett presents that long term memory can easily retain labels of a group prototype which can be used to recognize an

[86] R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p352.
[87] R. I. M. Dunbar, "Constraints on the Evolution of Social Institutions," p352-353, 363.
[88] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004, p25.
[89] Mark Moffett, "Human Identity and the Evolution of Societies." *Human Nature (Hawthorne, N.Y.)* 24, no. 3 (Sep, 2013): 219-267.
[90] Mark Moffett, "Human Identity and the Evolution of Societies," *p* 219-220.

indefinite number of people, and that humans learn at young ages to use "arbitrary symbols to frame their identification with ingroups."[91] Group labels can take many forms including patterns of behaviour, skin or body markings, articles of clothing, flags or emblems, and even languages or dialects. A particularly powerful label is the name that a society gives to itself.[92] In a military context, such labels would include service uniforms, unit insignia, regimental colours or guidons, unique jargon, and the style of salute exchanged between members of differing ranks. Moffet's theories on the importance of symbols is supported by research that shows that flags, logos, and other group symbols enhance the entitativity of groups,[93] that wearing the symbols of a common group (such as a university) can improve interactions between strangers of different races,[94] and that the threatened loss of group symbols (such as the name and mascot of a university's sports team) can cause collective angst amongst group members.[95]

Evidence can also be found to demonstrate the use of tribal labels and symbols being used historically to forge larger military formations. Roman legions employed distinct names, battle standards, and accoutrements to positively distinguish each from others,[96] and unique labelling is also seen in the resplendent regimental uniforms of 18th century Europe. It is the strong, constructed social identity in addition to discipline that allows military formations to function at levels beyond the limits of Dunbar's number.

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[91] Mark Moffett, "Human Identity and the Evolution of Societies," *p* 225, 227.

[92] Mark Moffett, "Human Identity and the Evolution of Societies," *p* 230.

[93] Shannon P. Callahan and Alison Ledgerwood. "On the Psychological Function of Flags and Logos: Group Identity Symbols Increase Perceived Entitativity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 110, no. 4 (2016): 528-550.

[94] Samuel L. Gaetner, and John F. Dovidio. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model." Chap. 48, In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*. Vol. 2, 439-457. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012. p448 – 449.

[95] Michael J. A. Wohl et al, "Perceiving Your Group's Future to be in Jeopardy," p900-901.

[96] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p12; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident: Canada's Army, the Airborne, and the Murder in Somalia*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1996, p35

MAXIMAL TRIBES – A LIMIT TO GROWTH

While SBT provides the outline of cohesive groups that can be sustained through social interaction alone and the concept of anonymous societies offer the potential for identities of unlimited size, these ideas do not conclusively provide a prescription for forging and sustaining cohesive, integrated military organizations on a very large scale. The potential for cohesive groups to have an upper limit can be seen in the work of the University of Queensland professors, Jolanda Jetten and Matthew Hornsey, who look at the dichotomous human pursuits of belonging and distinctiveness.[97] They cite Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, which suggests that people who identify into large and overly inclusive groups will seek greater distinctiveness, while people who identify into overly small groups will feel their distinctiveness "over-indulged" and will seek belonging in larger groups. Greater distinctiveness can be achieved through group or individual strategies, and four group-oriented strategies are proposed by Jetten and Hornsey. The first strategy is to identify with a numerically distinct group; a group will offer greater distinctiveness and receive greater loyalty when it is small, relatively, as opposed to other groups against which it is likely to be compared. Another way to achieve greater distinctiveness is through identifying with sub-groups, which may be formally or informally established inside the larger group. Similarly, one can identify with a group that defines itself by its contrast to mainstream or "non-conformist" fashions or behaviours. Paradoxically, "there is a perverse tendency for groups that define themselves most aggressively against the mainstream to be characterized by the highest levels of intragroup conformity."[98] The fourth strategy is to increase the perceptual distinctiveness of the ingroup, and this reflects many of the same behaviours that SIT identifies from groups that perceive themselves to be under threat. This strategy sees an

[97] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, "The Individual within the Group," p248-264;
[98] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, "The Individual within the Group," p253;

increase in self-stereotyping relative to the ingroup prototype, and heightened awareness given to both ingroup homogeneity and intergroup differences.

A quick consideration of the United States Marine Corps (USMC) illustrates that more than one of these strategies can be in play at once. An analysis of USMC culture by political scientist Jeannie L. Johnson notes that the focus of marine culture is on preserving their "independent identity apart from other services."[99] The Corps emphasizes those elements of its history that most conveniently lend themselves to favourable comparisons against other US armed services, and "even well-meaning civilians will be reprimanded" for mistakenly referring to a marine as "soldier."[100] The USMC is also, relative to other US armed services, small. According to Statista, the active duty and reserve components of the USMC in 2019 were less than 70% the size of either the Air Force or Navy, and not even half the strength of the US Army (as seen in table 2). [101] Therefore, the USMC is a numerically distinct group that also endeavours to increase its perceptual distinctiveness within the US military.

US Armed Service	**Personnel**
Army	762,669
Navy	436,206
Air Force	425,581
Marine Corps	288,424
Coast Guard	48,459

Table 2-United States Active Duty and Reserve Personnel in 2019[102]

[99] Jeannie L. Johnson, *The Marines, Counterinsurgency, and Strategic Culture: Lessons Learned and Lost in America's Wars*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2018, p54.

[100] Jeannie L. Johnson, *The Marines, Counterinsurgency, and Strategic Culture*, p53, 64.

[101] "Active and Reserve U.S. Military Force Personnel Numbers by Service Branch and Reserve Component in 2019" Statista. Accessed April 20, 2021. https://www.statista.com/statistics/232330/us-military-force-numbers-by-service-branch-and-reserve-component/.

[102] "Active and Reserve U.S. Military Force Personnel Numbers by Service Branch and Reserve Component in 2019" Statista. Accessed April 20, 2021.

In the 1960s the Canadian Army general, Guy Simonds, is said to have presented to a parliamentary committee that Canada needed a tri-service force like the USMC. This idea stuck with the Canadian MND, and many histories of Unification reference a vision of transforming the Canadian military into a USMC.[103] Yet the highly cohesive USMC's identity is dependant upon its coexistence beside three much larger "sister services." In the absence of such large neighbouring services, it is quite likely that members of a large single identity military would begin to seek greater distinctiveness. It is known that sub-groups can develop informally, and it is known that groups can seek even more distinctiveness by stylizing themselves as non-conformist or anti-mainstream. It would, therefore, seem prudent for designers of very large organizations to define sub-identities that could be desirable and supportive of group aims, and to then ensure those identities are integrated into the larger whole in a manageable and sustainable way.

BLENDED TRIBES – CLANS OF DIFFERENT IDENTITIES

Part of ensuring that sub-identities are sustainable and manageable is ensuring that those constructed identities are implemented at the right organizational levels. It is known through the SBT that groups of approximately 150 members, the clan or active network, are the limit at which "bilateral relationships of obligation and reciprocity" [104] are established between all members. In groups sustained purely through social interaction, this would also hint to "the clan" as being the upper limit of a small group that can provide an optimal balance of belonging and distinctiveness so as to command the greatest ingroup loyalty, as described by the optimal

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[103] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p251; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part One." *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 2 (Summer, 2008), p10; Desmond Morton, *Understanding Canadian Defence*. Toronto: Penguin / McGill Institute, 2003, p 181, 183; J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* First ed. Toronto, ON: HarperFlamingoCanada, 2004. P73.

[104] Dunbar, R. I. M. "The Social Brain: Psychological Underpinnings and Implications for the Structure of Organizations." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 23, no. 2 (2014): p110-111

distinctiveness theory.[105] All other things being equal, it is expected that loyalty to the clan will be greater than to the tribe. That 150-member clan, or army sub-unit, does not need a constructed identity supported by unique identifying labels and symbols. Arguably, the 500-member unit, which can still be sustained through social interaction, also does not require its own constructed identity but it may benefit from the enhanced entitativity of such labels and symbols if it is required to assemble and begin operation without a sufficient formative period inclusive of positive social interaction. In contrast, it can be deleterious to cohesion if the 150-member sub-units each do have strong, constructed identities with labels and symbols reinforcing entitativity. The Canadian Army has experienced problems of over-powerful sub-unit identities on too many occasions

It plagued 27 Canadian Infantry Brigade (27 CIB) which was formed in 1950 from multiple militia regiments to provide Canada's first NATO brigade in Germany. Even the battalions were composite with every rifle company having its own regimental identity[106] and, as described by David Bercuson, the brigade suffered from significant internal rivalries and a lack of unit cohesion.[107] The problem also plagued the Canadian Airborne Regiment because it was organized into three "competitive and somewhat antagonistic" commandos that were each staffed with members from one of Canada's three larger infantry regiments.[108] To an outsider, each rifle company or commando would have been relatively the same as any other rifle company with the same role, organization, and equipment. Based on Dunbar's number, each of these sub-units is also small enough to have formed its own efficient cohesive group even

[105] Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten, "The Individual within the Group," p251.
[106] Sean M. Maloney, *War without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993*. Whitby, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1997. p22-23.
[107] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p53-54
[108] Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," p179.

without the need for a constructed regimental identity to bind the members. The battalions of 27 CIB, which correspond in size to Dunbar's acquaintances layer, had no powerful superordinate identity that could compete with the deeply engrained regimental identities that were individually reinforcing the companies. Even the Canadian Airborne Regiment, which did have a constructed identity with unique elements of dress to enhance entitativity, could not form cohesion between sub-units that each held different identities of comparable influence. This suggests that strong, manufactured military identities should be constructed below the level of "extended-clan" units such as individual battalions or warships. Desirably the strong, constructed identities encompass more than a single unit and are built as large as possible. Striving toward the anonymous societies that facilitate the movement of individuals between multiple units as though it were all one tribe, yet remaining relatively small enough to afford group distinctiveness.

TRIBES OF TRIBES – THE COMMON INGROUP IDENTITY MODEL

If the military is to maintain itself as an organization of multiple constructed identities, then it must find a way to reduce intergroup conflict and enhance cooperation across the organization. Mark van Vugt, a professor of evolutionary psychology, work and organizational psychology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, provided a short criticism of social brain theory's lack of discussion on the mechanisms and influences that govern the interaction between the different layers of social structure.[109] Van Vugt, suggests two mechanisms that may provide cohesion to the larger spheres of Dunbar's social layers. Firstly, while citing his own research, he declares the requirement for leaders to communicate between social layers and to enforce group norms. Secondly, van Vugt suggests it would be essential for the social layers to

[109] Mark van Vugt, "The Missing Link: Leadership, Identity and the Social Brain," *The British Journal of Psychology* 103, no. 2 (2012), p 177-179.

have established a social identity that would have allowed cognitive interactions such as "I am not your friend but since we are part of the same tribe I trust you."[110] Unfortunately, there appears to be very little research, and potentially nothing empirical, that explores the influence between social brain theory and SIT or its derivatives. But there is research into mitigating the negative effects of social identity on intergroup interactions.

Significant research on the reduction of intergroup bias and conflict has been conducted by professors Samuel Gaertner and John Dovidio. Drawing upon SIT and self-categorization theory, they noted the expectation that the formation of a group identity will produce ingroup favouritism and they speculated that many harmful effects of racism may be more a result of efforts toward ingroup enhancement as opposed to outgroup devaluation.[111] Working from here, Gaertner et al developed an experiment to test the idea that recategorization could reduce intergroup bias and improve perceptions of former outgroup members.[112] Sixty sets of six persons were created (30 male sets, and 30 female sets), and each set was then split into three-person teams. In each of the 60 sets, the two three-person teams assembled separately, created their own identifying team name to encourage an individual-level group awareness, and then completed a problem-solving exercise. Subsequently, the sets were exposed to one of three conditions before repeating the problem-solving exercise: a merger of teams and recategorization as a single team, an introduction of teams while preserving the distinct team identities, or introduction of all six participants and recategorization as individuals. Several variables were manipulated to reinforce the recategorization including seating arrangements, the "one team"

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[110] Mark van Vugt, "The Missing Link: Leadership, Identity and the Social Brain," p178.

[111] Samuel L. Gaertner and John F. Dovidio. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model." Chap. 48, In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*. Vol. 2, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012. p443

[112] Samuel L. Gaertner, Jeffrey Mann, Audrey Murrell, and John F. Dovidio. "Reducing Intergroup Bias: The Benefits of Recategorization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57, no. 2 (Aug, 1989): 239-249.

condition creating an all-new team name, and the "six individuals" condition creating personal nicknames. An equal number of sets (10 male and 10 female) were examined under each of the three conditions. The problem-solving exercise was repeated as a competition with the "one team" condition believing it competed against another six-person team in another building, the "two-team" condition believing that each three-person team competed against the other, and the "individuals" condition believing that each of the six people was competing as individuals. The experimental results found that members "of two groups who maintained their original two-group categorization had greater levels of bias than did members whose representations were altered by the recategorization treatment conditions"[113] but bias reduction was achieved differently through the two other conditions. Members who had been recategorized into a single group reduced bias by elevating their perception of former outgroup members, whereas members who had been recategorized as individuals reduced bias through lowered perception of former ingroup members.

The Value of Common Identity

Gaertner and Dovidio went on to define the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) in 1993 after noting that literature of the time generally proposed to reduce intergroup bias and conflict through de-categorization, which reduces everyone to the level of individual and potentially replaced the previous categorization structure with new categories that cut across the old structure.[114] In contrast, CIIM proposes bias and conflict reduction through recategorization, which does not require the destruction of existing categorization but instead seeks to provoke

[113] Samuel L. Gaertner, Jeffrey Mann, Audrey Murrell, and John F. Dovidio. "Reducing Intergroup Bias: The Benefits of Recategorization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57, no. 2 (Aug, 1989). P245

[114] Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Phyllis A. Anastasio, Betty A. Bachman, and Mary C. Rust. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias." *European Review of Social Psychology* 4, no. 1 (1993): p5.

members of different groups to imagine themselves simultaneously as a single group. Specifically, during positive intergroup contact situations, CIIM states that "re-categorization from two groups to one group can be achieved by increasing the salience of existing common superordinate group memberships or by introducing new factors (e.g. common tasks or fate) that are perceived to be shared by the memberships."[115] Building on their earlier work, Gaertner and Dovidio conducted another series of experiments through which two three-person teams either remained separately categorized or were recategorized into a single six-person team (recategorization as individuals was not repeated for this experiment).[116] After recategorization, teams either listened to an audio recording (a "no cooperation" condition) or completed a cooperative challenge (a "cooperation" condition) before perceptions of other participants were measured. It was found that recategorizing the six participants as a single team, through integrated seating arrangements and the activity of naming the new group, had the effect of reducing bias and causing a greater perception of all six participants as a single team. Statistically similar results of reduced bias and a greater perception of all six participants as a single team also occurred when the experiment reinforced separate three-person team identities but had the teams cooperate in a problem-solving challenge. The maximum bias reduction and entitativity occurred when all six participants were recategorized as a single team and participated in a cooperative problem-solving challenge. In contrast, maximum bias and perceptions of group separateness were preserved when the two team identities were preserved without a cooperative interaction. Experimentally, this proved that recategorization and

[115] Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Phyllis A. Anastasio, Betty A. Bachman, and Mary C. Rust. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias." *European Review of Social Psychology* 4, no. 1 (1993): p6.

[116] Samuel L. Gaertner, Jeffrey A. Mann, John F. Dovidio, Audrey J. Murrell, and Marina Pomare. "How does Cooperation Reduce Intergroup Bias?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59, no. 4 (Oct, 1990): 692-704.

collaborative group interaction can build greater cooperation and superordinate entitativity. A follow-up field study in a multi-ethnic high school confirmed that the perceptions of interdependence across a superordinate identity have the result of increasing the entitativity of that superordinate identity and reducing intergroup bias between its subordinate identities.[117]

The Value of Subordinate Identity

CIIM, therefore, concludes that a common superordinate identity can reduce conflict by having members perceive each other as members of one group instead of many but, not only is there no necessity for the destruction or replacement of existing subordinate identities, it can actually be desirable to retain some level of subordinate identities. Because cooperation and positive social contact are significant influences in reducing the salience of intergroup boundaries while increasing the perception of a shared identity, the greatest positive effect occurs by completely degrading the salience of former sub-groups only when all members of the two sub-groups can engage in the cooperative or positive social contact.[118] However, where groups cannot fully assemble under positive contact situations, CIIM argues that that retention of subordinate identities is desirable because this allows the members who participate in a positive contact situation to extrapolate that experience to members of the outgroup who were not present.[119]

Reflecting on Dunbar's number while considering the implications of CIIM, it can be inferred that strong, constructed sub-identities are unnecessary when nested within clan groups, of 150 or fewer people, because social interaction alone can sustain a strong ingroup identity and

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[117] Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Phyllis A. Anastasio, Betty A. Bachman, and Mary C. Rust. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias." *European Review of Social Psychology* 4, no. 1 (1993): p18-20.

[118] Samuel L. Gaertner et al, "The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias," p20.

[119] Samuel L. Gaertner et al, "The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias," p20.

all members of the group can participate in positive contact situations. Such constructed micro-identities might even be detrimental if they inhibit the potential for social interaction of clans to unify into organizations of 500 or 1500 members, but a constructed identity that encompasses a sub-tribal or tribal group (500 or 1500 members) could very well reinforce the otherwise weaker social connections that individuals maintain with their acquaintance and awareness groups. It can also be inferred that groups above 1500 members should be optimized when a common superordinate identity facilitates the interaction of distinct subordinate identities. In other words, it should be expected that sub-units and even units of the CAF do not require elaborately constructed identities because these can be formed through the social interaction of the unit. However, efforts to create a common ingroup identity (CII) should be applied above unit level with formation identities or some other identity that transcends organizational boundaries.

The Value of Cross-Cutting and Complimentary Identities

Despite the ability of CII to reduce bias and conflict between subordinate groups, the establishment and maintenance of such a CII is not without challenges. Positive group distinctiveness is important within SIT, and "in the same way that a highly similar outgroup can threaten distinctiveness, so too can the imposition of a superordinate categorization" cause a group to perceive itself to be under threat.[120] There is also a risk of ingroup projection, where members of a group come to see themselves as more prototypical of a shared superordinate group than other outgroups with the result that outgroup differences become seen as negatively viewed deviances. Researchers Wenzel et al describe this phenomenon via the ingroup projection model (IPM).

[120] Catriona H. Stone, and Richard J. Crisp. "Superordinate and Subgroup Identification as Predictors of Intergroup Evaluation in Common Ingroup Contexts." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 10, no. 4 (Oct, 2007), p495.

> Not only does a superordinate identity mean the inclusion of the sub-level outgroup in one's extended self, implying that positive sentiments, cooperation, empathy, altruism, and so on, will likely be extended to those outgroup members, but a superordinate category also provides the comparative frame for the differentiation between sub-level groups. The representation of a superordinate category implies dimensions and norms with reference to which the included groups are compared and evaluated, and it may thus indeed become the battlefield for a conflict between ingroup and outgroup.[121]

The seemingly contradicting ideas of CIIM and IPM, that a superordinate group can be the source of harmony and the source of discord, are not so much conflicting predictions as complementary views that help explore a complex system of multilayered social identities, like what can be found inside a nation's military. In interactions between subordinate groups within a common superordinate identity, the relative salience of identities is likely to moderate. A dominant superordinate identity is more likely to induce perceptions of intergroup similarity and positive attitudes while dominant subordinate identities are likely to induce intergroup differentiation and conflict.[122]

The structure of the identities can also mitigate effects of IPM as "a dual identity tends to show positive effects consistent with the CIIM, whenever the presumed superordinate identity is not fully inclusive of the two subgroups, but rather [is] more like an alternative, cross-cutting categorisation."[123] Alternately, in the case of a superordinate identity that is composed of "complementary, equally indispensable subgroups" which fill specific roles in achieving superordinate goals, we expect "ingroup projection should be inhibited and no longer compromise the positive effects of a shared commitment to a common identity."[124] It is,

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[121] Michael Wenzel, Amélie Mummendey, and Sven Waldzus. "Superordinate Identities and Intergroup Conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model." *European Review of Social Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2007), p363.

[122] Michael Wenzel, Amélie Mummendey, and Sven Waldzus. "Superordinate Identities and Intergroup Conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model." *European Review of Social Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2007), p355-356.

[123] Michael Wenzel, Amélie Mummendey, and Sven Waldzus. "Superordinate Identities and Intergroup Conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model." *European Review of Social Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2007), p356.

[124] Michael Wenzel, Amélie Mummendey, and Sven Waldzus. "Superordinate Identities and Intergroup Conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model." *European Review of Social Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2007), p356-357.

therefore, possible to consider identity in the CAF through three structural models, as shown in Figure 1. On the left are distinct nested identities where group interactions will be influenced by relative salience of subordinate and superordinate identities, in the middle are distinct groups that are bridged by a cross-cutting superordinate identity, and on the right are nested identities strongly defined by the mutual dependence and unique rolls of the subordinate identities.

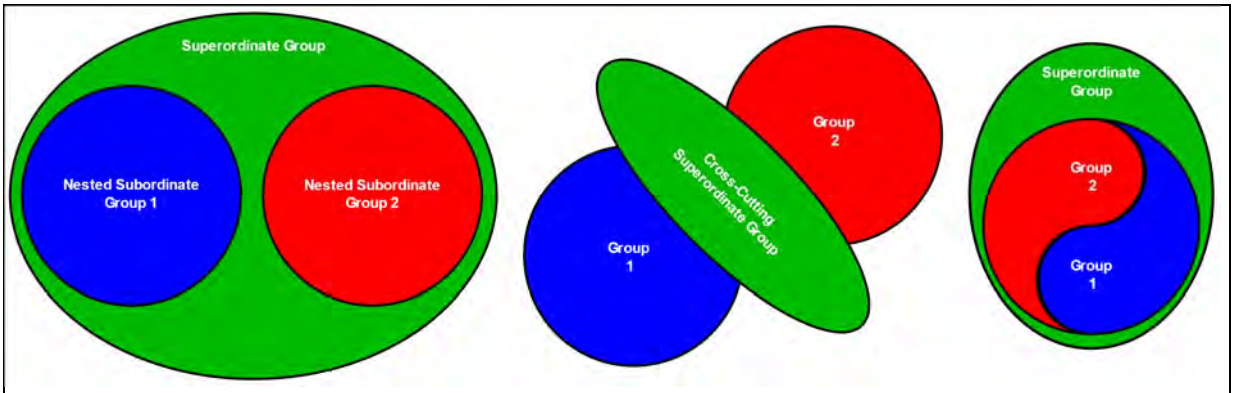

Figure 1- Nested identities within a superordinate identity (left), a cross-cutting identity overlapping distinct subordinate identities (centre), and complimentary indispensable identities within a superordinate group (right).

A study by Stone and Crisp took a closer examination of interactions between distinct nested identities in the form of British and French identities within a broader European identity.[125] They found increased negative outgroup bias amongst individuals who strongly identified with their ingroup (British) regardless of strong or weak identification with the superordinate identity (European) and the bias was measurable with or without manipulation to increase the salience of the superordinate identity in participants' minds. Conversely, individuals who identified with the superordinate identity displayed increased positive outgroup bias, but only after manipulation to increase the salience of the superordinate identity. They

[125] Catriona H. Stone, and Richard J. Crisp. "Superordinate and Subgroup Identification as Predictors of Intergroup Evaluation in Common Ingroup Contexts." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 10, no. 4 (Oct, 2007): 493-513.

note the utility of a superordinate identity is limited by strong nested sub-identities. Wenzel et al offer a few more options for managing nested identities. Because ingroup projection requires that the superordinate group have a single clearly defined prototype, the negative effects of IPM may be avoided if the prototype of the superordinate group is kept vague or undefined, or if the superordinate group is defined as complex and consisting of several separate prototypes.[126] They specifically recommend:

> The most promising measure to reduce ingroup projection is in our view the establishment of a more complex representation of the superordinate group, made up of different prototypes, where a single group cannot reasonably claim to be the part that represents the whole.[127]

It is quite easy to imagine that such a complex system would have existed even in the tribal societies that are illustrative of Dunbar's social spheres. As noted in Mark van Vugt's criticism of SBT, there would be a leadership cast which, depending upon the society, might be labelled as chiefs, elders, matriarchs, or something else. These leaders may have been older and so, despite being of different clans, they would have had more opportunity to meet and potentially establish "bilateral relationships of obligation and reciprocity." These leaders may also have perceived themselves as a common group because of the shared role as leaders. Below the cast of leaders, other tribe members may have categorized themselves along the lines of functional roles, gender roles, or age.

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[126] Michael Wenzel, Amélie Mummendey, and Sven Waldzus. "Superordinate Identities and Intergroup Conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model." *European Review of Social Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2007), p366.

[127] Michael Wenzel, Amélie Mummendey, and Sven Waldzus. "Superordinate Identities and Intergroup Conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model." *European Review of Social Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2007), p366.

CONCLUSION

The CAF is not an ancient tribe, though it does contain many subordinate identities that have been described as tribal. Some of these identities may be quite small and able to remain strongly cohesive through social interaction alone. At an aggregate level, the CAF is a large anonymous society that will require labels and symbols to unite members who cannot possibly all know each other. Multiple deliberate sub-identities are required to satiate the human desire for distinctiveness while pre-empting the informal formation of anti-mainstream sub-identities. A single unifying CAF identity within which all other identities are nested is necessary. The unifying identity should be rooted in national Canadian identity and it should be sufficiently well defined that senior CAF leadership can evoke the prototype to steer the institution on matters significant to national defence or to the profession of arms. Simultaneously, the unifying identity should be sufficiently abstract or complex so that no one subordinate identity perceives itself to be the most prototypical of the whole. Subordinate identities must perceive themselves to be complimentary and strongly interdependent, or they must be cross-cutting. These identities will have their own unique symbols, totems, and other indicators of membership. These identities may be attached to specific units but will exist above the unit level to extend cohesion beyond the limits that can otherwise be sustained by social interaction. But understanding what that might look like requires first looking at the identities that already exist in the CAF

CHAPTER 4: CANADA'S MILITARY TRIBES

> Canadian Forces personnel derive a collective unity and identity from the unique function they perform. In the Canadian case, the core of this function evolves around three concepts with which all members identify: voluntary military service; unlimited liability; and service before self.
>
> Canadian military personnel are aware as well that they are an integral part of an important national institution. This entails an acceptance of the basic bilingual nature of the country, which is enshrined in law, an acknowledgement of how Aboriginal history has shaped our nation, an understanding of Canadian multiculturalism, and an appreciation of Canadian values.
>
> Environmental identities are further formed within the context of a unified and integrated force that socializes new members in the Forces' training and education establishments, and uses a common set of badges and symbols of rank to designate [non-commissioned members (NCMs)] and officers.
>
> A wide range of customs and traditions associated with membership in the Canadian Forces, including branch and environmental affiliations, form the distinguishing characteristics that bond its members together. These customs and traditions produce special social structures that contribute to a sense of organic unity and military identity. This is further reinforced by the Canadian military ethos that provides members with a common understanding of the values that guide individual and collective action.
>
> - *Canadian Armed Forces, Duty with Honour 2009*

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

The importance of identity was understood by the authors of *Duty with Honour*, the "defining document for Canada's profession of arms".[128] With few differences between the original 2003 publication and the most recent 2009 update, both versions provide a full sub-section description in chapter 1 for each of the attributes of the profession of arms, which are listed as being responsibility, expertise, military identity, and military ethos.[129] All four attributes are again discussed in their own sub-sections in the third chapter and the fourth chapter.[130] The reoccurring theme on identity, printed twice in each version of *Duty with Honour,* is that "military professionals in Canada are unified by a concept of loyalty to the Canadian Forces that

[128] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-PA-005-000/AP-001, Duty with Honour: The Profession of Arms in Canada*. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy, Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003; Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-PA-005-000/AP-001, Duty with Honour: The Profession of Arms in Canada*. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy, Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2009.

[129] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2003, p20-21; Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p20-21.

[130] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2003, p53, 71-71; Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p55, 74.

transcends particular differentiation by environment or role." Despite this claim of a unifying identity, CAF leadership doctrine acknowledges that the interests of military sub-identities may not always align with institutional interests, noting that institutional leaders must "make tough ethical and moral decisions that can … conflict with expected loyalty to a particular branch or environment in the Canadian Forces."[131] These sub-identities are specifically defined under what is known as the CAF identity system.

THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES IDENTITY SYSTEM

The official structure of the CAF identity system is authorized in Defence Administrative Order and Directive 5040-2 (DAOD 5040-2). This system is largely laid-out in the introduction and first chapter of *A-AD-200-000/AG-000 the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, except for several changes made in the last ten years. While officially a single service, the identities of separate service tribes exist and are perpetuated through symbols, rituals, and practices distinct from one another. The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN), Canadian Army (CA), and Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) constitute Canada's original three service identities, though today they are instead known as "environments." These service identities are marked by distinctive environmental uniforms (DEUs) coloured black, rifle green, or light blue respectively.[132] In 2017, a fourth service identity was created when Canada's special forces adopted its own DEU in the colours of the American "pinks and greens" uniform that was worn even by Canadian Army soldiers of the First Special Service Force in the Second World War.[133] These four services may even be joined by more with the PFEC giving cyber, space, and

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[131] Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations*, p144.

[132] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-DH-265-000/AG-001 Canadian Armed Forces Dress Instructions*. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2017, p 1-3.

[133] David Pugliese, "New Special Forces Uniform a Throwback to Second World War Devil's Brigade," *Ottawa Citizen,* October 15, 2017, Online. https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/new-special-forces-uniform-a-throwback-to-second-world-war-devils-brigade.

information domains equal standing with land, sea, and air.[134] The space and cyber domains in particular gain extensive coverage in Canada's defence policy.[135] While existing service identities have already started defining their roles in these new domains,[136] the question is already being asked as to whether the role of a cyber-trooper is compatible with any existing service identity.[137]

The CAF identity system is further defined into personnel branches that were first created in 1969 under Canadian Forces Administration Order 2-10 (CFAO 2-10) "to further the bonds between officers and men of classifications and trades who have common and associated tasks, so that each group can feel part of an association which draws its strength from the respect and support fostered within itself."[138] Within two years, the initial four branches had been expanded to sixteen branches that encompassed all members of the Canadian Forces of the rank of colonel or below.[139] CFAO 2-10 was cancelled in 2017, and the branch structure is now documented in *the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*. Today there are twenty-one personnel branch identities, many of which are recently rebranded as corps identities.[140]

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[134] Canada. Department of National Defence. *Pan-Domain Force Employment*, p13.

[135] Canada. National Defence. *Strong Secure Engaged.*

[136] Canada. Department of National Defence. *Advancing with Purpose: The Canadian Army Modernization Strategy*. 4th ed. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Army Headquarters, 2020.

[137] Paxton Mayer, *What's in a Soldier? how to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Global Affairs Institute, 2020. https://www.cgai.ca/whats_in_a_soldier_how_to_rebrand_the_canadian_armed_forces.

[138] Canada. Canadian Forces. "CFAO 2-10, Service Groupings within the Canadian Forces." *Canadian Forces Administrative Orders,* May 2, 1969.

[139] Canada. Canadian Forces. "CFAO 2-10, Personnel Groupings within the Canadian Forces." *Canadian Forces Administrative Orders,* August 27, 1971.

[140] Canada, Department of National Defence, Introduction and Chapter 1 to *A-AD-200-000/AG-000 the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, 7th ed. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2008; Canada. Government of Canada. "Canadian Forces Camp and Branch Flags." Accessed April 25, 2021. https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/flags.html; Canada. The Governor General of Canada. *Special Operations Forces Branch*. Ottawa, ON: Register of Arms, Flags and Badges, 2017. https://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project-pic.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=2939&ProjectElementID=10334.

The assigned social identity of a service member can generally be understood as the intersection of service identity and personnel branch identity, a detailed depiction of which can be found in Annex A. Six personnel branches exist exclusively within only one service identity. The infantry and armoured branches, which exist exclusively in the Canadian Army, are further broken down into many regimental identities. Three other personnel branches (military engineers, communications, and intelligence) have unique regimental-corps identities that further differentiate Canadian Army from non-army members of the branch. Personnel branch, corps, and regimental identities are marked by distinctive cap badges as well as potentially other insignia that vary dependant on the superordinate service identity. These identities are portable and, with few exceptions, will follow a service member through their full career. One instance where a CAF identity will change is when branch, corps, and regimental identities are replaced on advancement to certain senior ranks.[141] Instead of branch or regimental identifiers, admirals and generals wear one common cap badge, army colonels have their common cap badge, and chief warrant officers in senior appointments wear a simplified version of the Canadian coat of arms as a cap badge.

The CAF identity system applies not only to individuals but also to units, formations, and commands. Like individual identities, unit identities may be defined by the intersection of personnel branch and service identity, such as in an Air Force Construction Engineering Squadron. Unlike individuals, it is also possible for organizations to have identities defined only by service or by branch. This is illustrated by army divisional training centres which have an Army service identity independent of any personnel branch identities, and by the Canadian Forces Logistics Training Centre which has the Royal Canadian Logistics Service (RCLS)

[141] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-DH-265-000/AG-001 Canadian Armed Forces Dress Instructions*. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2017, p 3-4-1

identity while being independent of service identities. Organizations that are inclusive of multiple service identities are described as "joint" but there is no joint or pan-environmental identity at the individual level. Occasionally, units are defined by binary or multi branch identities such as army service battalions which reflect the identities of both the Royal Canadian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (RCEME) and the RCLS within an army service identity, with each identity primarily associated with particular sub-units.[142] It is also common to find units that will have at least one sub-unit that is defined by one or more branch identities that are distinct from yet critical for the daily operations of the dominant identity's functions. Examples of this include the administration or services sub-unit of army field units, or the logistics department of a warship.

With 71,500 members in the CAF Regular Force,[143] most of the personnel branches and corps will contain a few to several thousand members. These branch and corps identities are functional identities that fill a unique role or provide a unique capability within the CAF. They are also, for the most part, cross-cutting identities that exist across multiple service identities and within both the Regular Force and Reserve Force components. As a result, these branch and corps identities constitute anonymous societies that facilitate movement within a Common Ingroup Identity (CII). Through depersonalization, individuals of a branch identity can become more easily interchangeable and moved between units of different commands to fill branch-related functions. At an intergroup level, the unique roles or capabilities mean that branches and corps can perceive each other as complimentary and indispensable identities such as those that were proposed by Wenzel et al as a means of enabling a unifying superordinate identity. The

[142] Canada. Department of National Defence. *B-GL-321-003/FP-001 Brigade Tactics*. Kingston, ON: Army Doctrine Centre, 2017, p2-33 – 2-34.

[143] Canada. Department of National Defence. *Department of National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces 2021-22 Departmental Plan*. Ottawa, ON: Department of National Defence, 2021, p86.

CAF identity system, therefore, appears to be a reasonable foundation upon which to build military identities to achieve within-service cohesion. However, because the CAF identity system represents several anonymous societies, additional cross-cutting linkages supported by a superordinate unifying identity would strengthen the integration of these CAF identities for a more cohesive whole CAF.

THE CANADIAN ARMY REGIMENTAL SYSTEM

Within the Canadian Army, an additional layer of the military identity system must be understood before drawing conclusions on improvements to the CAF identity system. This regimental system is another very powerful set of constructed sub-identities that simultaneously are tied to specific units while also transcending the formal organizational structures. The Canadian Army "inherited its particular regimental tradition from the British army that conquered New France in the Seven Years' War and [then] stayed behind to protect Canada from its enemies."[144] For members of a regiment, that regiment is typically the dominant military identity and the badges and symbols of the regiment will take precedence over and even displace symbols of branch, service, and even national identity. The Canadian Army describes that the regimental system's "utility and value further lies in the strong sense of comradeship it fosters among members of a regiment and its tribal/familial nature which bonds soldiers in devotion, loyalty, and selflessness to each other, contributing powerfully to unit cohesion."[145] Like the CAF identity system, the regimental system facilitates the employment of regimental members as interchangeable representatives of a CII. A regimental collective identity gives a sense of kinship between a soldier of 2nd Battalion The Royal Canadian Regiment in New Brunswick and

[144] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, pXI.

[145] Canada, Department of National Defence, *B-GL-300-000/FP-000, Canada's Army: We Stand on Guard for Thee*, Canada: Chief of the Land Staff, 1998, p44.

a soldier of 1st Battalion The Royal Canadian Regiment in Ontario. Unfortunately, the ingroup cohesion comes with the cost of intergroup competition and conflict as the ingroup seeks to positively distinguish itself over outgroups. When regimental identities fragment personnel branches, the real differences between regimental groups are negligible but the competition to achieve positive ingroup distinctiveness will escalate. In the absence of perceiving each other as complimentary and indispensable, regiments of a common corps will instead see eachother as potential threats and as competitors for the status of being most prototypical of the corps. A soldier from any battalion of the Royal 22e Régiment will likely find it a lot harder to get a strong sense of kinship from a peer in any battalion of The Royal Canadian Regiment. There is a danger that the favouritism, predicted in SIT, will be given by senior leaders toward the regimental identity they associate with. Just as CAF publications give warnings about misplaced loyalties to subordinate identities, so too does the Canadian Army give similar cautions about not allowing regimental interests to take precedence over professional, operational or army interests.[146]

Structure of the Regimental System

The exact nature of inter-regimental competition will vary, in part, because the regimental system is not uniform across the components and personnel branches that it affects. The modern Canadian regimental system is overlaid upon the personnel branches and corps of the CAF identity system[147] and, it can be argued, that the regimental system takes four forms. The first system is that of the "corps-regiments"[148] – those regimental identities that encompass every Canadian Army soldier of a CAF personnel branch, including both Regular Force and

[146] Canada, Department of National Defence, *B-GL-300-000/FP-000, Canada's Army: We Stand on Guard for Thee*, Canada: Chief of the Land Staff, 1998, p44.

[147] Canada, Department of National Defence, *B-GL-300-000/FP-000, Canada's Army: We Stand on Guard for Thee*, Canada: Chief of the Land Staff, 1998, p43.

[148] This is not an official term, but it is consistent with similar language used to describe the same structures in the British army by David French, *Military Identities*.

Reserve Force members. Because of their similarity to personnel branches, corps-regiments will offer the same benefits. Cohesion is reinforced across all members of a functional group, movement of personnel between organizations of the corps-regiment is facilitated, positive group distinctiveness is enhanced through role and label, and intergroup cooperation is facilitated by the complimentary and indispensable function of the corps-regiment. The three other types of regimental systems are found in the infantry and armoured corps. The Regular Force infantry is composed of three regiments that are three battalions each, the Regular Force armoured is composed of three single unit regiments, and the regimental system of the Reserve Force infantry and armoured is defined by sixty-five regional single unit regiments and two regional regiments of two battalions.[149] In contrast to the corps-regiments, the regiments of the infantry and armoured fragment a corps into multiple separate identities.

The multi-battalion regimental system of the Regular Force infantry is a sound structure when considered against Dunbar's social spheres. Each battalion is composed of a few hundred members which are organized into companies that are equivalently sized to a Dunbar clan. The three battalions collectively would correspond to the size of a Dunbar tribe, while the whole regimental identity encompasses an anonymous society after accounting for regimental members employed outside of regimental units. The regiments are also organizationally compartmentalized away from each other with each regiment providing the three battalions to a different one of the three regular brigades. As a result, at the tactical level, the three Regular Force infantry regiments should function like corps-regiments and be perceived as

[149] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p119; David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p14; Canada. Auditor General. "Report 5—Canadian Army Reserve—National Defence," in *2016 Spring Reports of the Auditor General of Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016. https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201602_05_e_41249.html#ex4; Canada. Department of National Defence. "Canada's Reserve Force." Supporting document in *Departmental Results Report 2017-2018*. Ottawa, ON, 2018. https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/departmental-results-report/departmental-results-2017-18-index/supporting-documents-index/canadas-reserve-force.html.

complimentary and indispensable identities within their brigades. At the institutional level, there remains a danger that ingroup favouritism may influence senior leader decision processes that will differently impact upon the infantry regiments.

The single-unit regimental system of the Regular Force armoured is also sound when considered against Dunbar's social spheres, but it is less optimized than the infantry regiments. At only a single unit, a Regular Force armoured regimental identity compartmentalizes an armoured soldier's career path to a single field unit. As a result, the armoured regimental identity does not become a passport to quick cohesion and acceptance in multiple units of a CII. Further, an armoured regimental identity reinforces a unit that could adequately maintain a unique identity and cohesion through social interaction, but that unit is still large enough to benefit from enhanced entitativity between the clan to the extended-clan levels. Much like Regular Force infantry regiments, the armoured regiments are compartmentalized within different brigades. It can therefore be expected that armoured regimental identities will contribute to the perception of complimentary and indispensable identities at the tactical level, though they may be inefficiently sized to maximize inter-unit mobility of regimental members and they are still a potential source of ingroup impartiality at the institutional level.

The potential introduction of favouritism and ingroup projection, by infantry and armoured regimental systems at an institutional level, may be counterbalanced if these identities also serve to minimize the salience of a more potent identity barrier. Language is a powerful delineator of group identity[150] and the CAF is a bilingual institution. The infantry is composed of one French regiment and two English regiments, and the armoured is also composed of one French regiment and two English regiments. Even with a regimental system, significant ingroup-

[150] Mark Moffett, "Human Identity and the Evolution of Societies," *p* 222, 227, 229.

outgroup differentiation occurs along linguistic lines. But the regimental system bifurcates the English-speaking group. It may shift some focus of intergroup competition from two very unequal groups of French and English speakers, and place the focus on competition between three equal regiments. Future research should explore the extent to which regimental identities do or do not mitigate (or possibly exacerbate) language as a focus for intergroup differentiation and conflict. A regimental system will never obviate linguistic identity conflict in the CAF but if it can mitigate such conflict, by transferring salience to be more focused on artificially constructed identities, then that would seem to be an outcome beneficial to the national interest.

Regimental System of the Reserve Force

While the regimental systems of regular force infantry and armoured may have room for improvement, they both can enhance tactical level entitativity and cohesion to levels beyond what could be achieved through social interaction alone. The same is not true in the Army Reserve. The Canadian Army Reserve is structured into 123 units and ten brigade headquarters.[151] These units are further broken down into 47 single-unit infantry regiments, two two-unit infantry regiments, eighteen single unit armoured regiments, four multi-unit corps-regiments, and two corps-regiments that are paired inside ten service battalions. These units are spread across 117 different Canadian communities[152] to which regimental identities are deliberately linked to "build upon the already existing cohesion of friends, family and neighbourhood."[153] An assessment of this reserve organization, from the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, offers an unflattering insight:

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[151] Canada. Auditor General. "Report 5—Canadian Army Reserve—National Defence"; Canada. Department of National Defence. "Canada's Reserve Force."

[152] Canada. Auditor General. "Report 5—Canadian Army Reserve—National Defence"; Canada. Department of National Defence. "Canada's Reserve Force."

[153] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p119.

> A typical Reserve unit or regiment is composed of 140 soldiers of all ranks, in effect, producing a company of soldiers with the trappings of a regimental command structure. These companies have no vehicles and more importantly no logistics capability. They cannot move themselves and cannot sustain themselves (food, fuel, water and medical). And hence assigning a true operational task to a Reserve regiment is unachievable. During summer training concentrations, various militia units are grouped into composite units for which the Regular force provides support. At least these composite units have a modicum of ability to deliver operational effect.[154]

If this assessment is accurate, the reserve regimental system is quite likely an impediment to cohesion. Each reserve infantry or armoured regiment reflects an organization about the size of one of Dunbar's clans while having a constructed identity reinforced with labels, symbols, and a manufactured history. The regional make-up of the regiments and part-time nature of employment also mitigates against the frequency and extent to which positive contact situations and inter-regimental social engagement can occur. Yet, to conduct significant training or operations, these diverse identities must combine in composite organizations below the sub-unit level. The number of soldiers expected in a reserve unit can be confirmed easily. A 2016 Auditor General report identified the ideal size for the Army reserve to be 29,000 soldiers, while the funded size was only 21,000 soldiers and the actual size averaged 19,544 soldiers.[155] The department itself reported 19,084 reserve soldiers at the end of March 2018,[156] and the Canadian Army's website currently indicates there are 18,500 reserve soldiers with a goal of growing to 21,000.[157] Recognizing that the ten brigade headquarters constitute units in themselves, the

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[154] George Petrolekas, *Reserve Options*. Ottawa: Canadian Global Affairs Institute, 2016. https://www.cgai.ca/reserve_options.

[155] Canada. Auditor General. *Report 5—Canadian Army Reserve—National Defence*. 2016 Spring Reports of the Auditor General of Canada. Ottawa, ON: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016. https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201602_05_e_41249.html#ex4.

[156] Canada. Department of National Defence. "Canada's Reserve Force." Chap. Supporting document, In *Departmental Results Report 2017-2018*. Ottawa, ON, 2018. https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/departmental-results-report/departmental-results-2017-18-index/supporting-documents-index/canadas-reserve-force.html.

[157] Canada. Canadian Army. "Canadian Army Reserve." Accessed March 20, 2021. http://www.army-armee.forces.gc.ca/en/reserve/index.page.

available numbers would support an assertion that the average reserve unit size varied from 139 to 147 members through the last six years. Using Dunbar's tribal spheres as guideposts, it is also possible to calculate that fifty-one infantry units, each containing 150 soldiers, are more optimally nested within five to fifteen superordinate identities as opposed to the forty-nine regiments that exist. Similarly, the eighteen armoured units might be more cohesive within five superordinate identities. This consideration is shown in Table 3, which calculates an appropriate range of superordinate identities relative to an average unit size for the existing number of infantry and armoured units.

Corps	Existing Units	Existing Regimental Identities	Average Soldiers per Unit	Expected Soldiers per Corps	Potential 1500 Member Identities	Potential 500 Member Identities
Infantry	51	49	250	12,750	9	26
			225	11,475	8	23
			200	10,200	7	20
			170	8,670	6	17
			160	8,160	5	16
			150	**7,650**	**5**	**15**
			140	7,140	5	14
Armoured	18	18	250	4,500	3	9
			225	4,050	3	8
			200	3,600	2	7
			170	3060	2	6
			160	2,880	2	6
			150	**2,700**	**2**	**5**
			140	2,520	2	5

Table 3- Predicted number of superordinate identities for existing Army Reserve units.

Table 3 demonstrates that even if reserve unit average size grew by over 60% to 250 members, the appropriate number of superordinate identities would still be far fewer than the number of regiments that currently exist. Reserve growth is planned by 1,500 new positions

across all services.[158] Even if all of those new positions were put into army reserve units (excluding brigade headquarters), the units would still only average 170 soldiers. The reserve infantry and armoured corps are, therefore, oversaturated in constructed identities that reinforce clan-sized units to the potential detriment of forming cohesive units and sub-units for training or operations.

Reducing an over-saturation of regimental identities cannot necessarily be solved by assimilating existing regimental identities into fewer new regiments. Examinations of British regimental mergers have found that transformation initiatives benefit from less resistance and greater perceived legitimacy when continuity of existing identities is preserved.[159] A new identity structure might be achieved by allowing sub-units to retain their regimental names while reorganizing them into new larger territorial battalions for which there will be new badges, symbols, and labels. Alternately, it may be possible to create larger reserve regimental identities by extending Regular Force identities across the reserve force as there are already three regiments (RCR, R22eR, and RCD) that exist within both the Regular Force and Reserve Force regimental systems. The exact optimal structure of a reserve regimental system could be the focus of a whole separate study. The answer may even leverage other symbols that the Army and CAF currently use for non-portable identities.

TRANSIENT IDENTITIES

In addition to assigned CAF identities, most units, formations, and commands will have their own unique identity. Even inside a regimental system this is true, and every Regular Force infantry battalion considers itself distinct even against the other two battalions with which it

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[158] Canada. National Defence. *Strong Secure Engaged*, p44.

[159] Jolanda Jetten and Paul Hutchison. "When Groups have a Lot to Lose: Historical Continuity Enhances Resistance to a Merger." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (2011): 335-343; also see Part II, Chapter 9 of this paper.

shares a regimental identity.[160] These identities are transient in that they apply to service members only so long as the service member is a part of the unit, formation, or command. Yet, transient identities can still be powerful, particularly in the case of a unit within which NCMs may serve most of their careers. Some transient identities seek to enhance inclusion and entitativity using symbols and labels. On their DEU, every CAF member will wear a command badge of the command to which they currently belong.[161] Soldiers posted into an armoured unit and any CAF members posted to a special operations unit are required to wear the distinctive headdress of those identities, with some caveats linked to specific service identities.[162] Army formations also have distinctive formation patches that are worn on the sleeves of operational dress by any personnel who are a part of these formations, and the patches are also worn on the DEU sleeves of soldiers who are part of these formations.[163] The Army's use of formation patches at the brigade and division level effectively increases the salience of superordinate identities one and two levels higher than the field units with their regimental identities. The RCAF and RCN, in contrast, do not have formation patches but do wear unit patches on operational uniforms.

The choice between unit patches or formation patches is explicable through the different ways these service identities typically operate. In the Canadian Army, composite units and sub-units, in the form of battlegroups and combat teams, are often created by bringing together organizations from different units and different identities to conduct operations up to and including combat. While these composite organizations might generally be of comparable size to

[160] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p14

[161] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-DH-265-000/AG-001 Canadian Armed Forces Dress Instructions*. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2017, p 3-5-1, 3-5-4.

[162] Canada. *Canadian Armed Forces Dress Instructions*, p 5-1-1, 5-1-2.

[163] Canada. *Canadian Armed Forces Dress Instructions*, p 3-5-1, 3-5-2, 3-5-4.

one of Dunbar's tribes, their temporary nature means they will not have been the afforded sufficient time and opportunity to invest the social effort necessary to naturally forge a cohesive group. However, Regular Force army formations can ensure frequent positive contact situations, such as interunit sporting or social events, between units of the formation. These positive contact situations then enable formation soldiers to extrapolate the perception of a CII to all soldiers of different identities within the formation.[164] Within the navy, ships are self-contained units which do not lend themselves to complex inter-ship subunit groupings, and inter-unit cooperation necessarily occurs at the platform level. In the air force, operations are conducted from fixed airbases where there is a much-diminished requirement, as compared to the army, for the frequent formation of ad hoc composite organizations with elements from multiple units of differing identities. For the Army, the regimental system already enhances the entitativity of unit identities and so visibly marking the formation identity onto the soldiers' identities is a way to enhance the salience of the CII within which positive contact satiations were hosted. For the RCN and RCAF, there is not the same value to enhancing formation identity and so unit identity is reinforced. A quick review of active missions on the CAF image gallery shows that mission patches or task force patches are used in lieu of formation patches for all major named international operations regardless of the dominant service identity.[165]

THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES AS A TRIBE

The CAF has still more collective identities such as paratroopers, submariners, maritime aviators, tactical aviators, divers, and more. Membership in these communities may be visibly

[164] Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Phyllis A. Anastasio, Betty A. Bachman, and Mary C. Rust. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias." *European Review of Social Psychology* 4, no. 1 (1993): p20.

[165] Canada. Canadian Forces. Combat Camera. "Canadian Armed Forces Imagery Gallery." Accessed May 06, 2021. http://www.combatcamera.forces.gc.ca/en/index.page.

displayed by a distinctive beret, a special skill or hazard badge, or nothing at all. Some of these communities have complex questions about their relation to the larger service identities. The identity of tactical aviation has been the subject of reoccurring debate, with commentators observing that the community incorporates and benefits from bits of both air force and army cultures while arguing over which command and which service identity should "own" this functional community.[166] So it is clear, the CAF does contain a complex ecosystem of collective identities that encompasses the cross-cutting combinations of branch, regimental, and service identities that constitute the CAF identity system, the transient identities associated with specific units and formations, and other more informally defined communities. Despite that, a long history of Canadian service tribalism[167] shows that the CAF is not benefiting from the CIIM but is instead suffering effects of the IPM. The CAF identity ecosystem is not complex enough because the service identities are too powerful and the unifying CAF CII is not sufficiently significant to service members.

While *Duty with Honour* did declare there to be a unifying CAF CII, this declaration is what noted social psychologist and management professor, Edgar Schein, would describe as an "espoused valued."[168] In this case, the observed behaviour does not match this espoused value. Allan English, a research fellow of the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute and associate professor of history at Queen's University, notes that such incongruities, between behaviours and espoused values, may occur when espoused values are developed predominately to be consumed by an external audience for "the purposes of legitimization and image building."[169] Everyone

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[166] D. W. Forbes, "Soldier, Aviator, or Both: Analyzing the Impact of Canada's Unified Air Power Structure on Tactical Aviation," Canadian Forces College, 2016; John W. King, "1 Wing Or First Aviation Regiment," Canadian Army Journal 8, no. 3 (Fall, 2005): 65-76.

[167] see Part II, Chapter 7 & 8 of this paper.

[168] Edgar H. Schein and Peter A. Schein. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2016. p17-21.

[169] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture*, p21.

within the organization will be aware of and probably agree with the espoused values, but they will actually have different "values in use." The other time incongruities will appear is when espoused values are aspirational and are expressed in normative statements.[170] There is evidence that suggests the unifying CAF CII is an aspirational goal. The manual *Leadership in the Canadian Forces – Leading the Institution* instructs military leaders to promote "doctrine, concepts, symbols, traditions and rituals that establish and embed a CF identity" and then it calls on them to be role models for a transformation principle, first espoused in 2005, that seeks "the movement of the CF from an environmental culture to a CF culture."[171] The manual then offers that

> Canadian military professionals understand that branch and environmental identities, while important and discrete, are moulded into a single identity symbolized by the CF. The promotion of a strong CF culture is necessary to support the development of strong, joint doctrine embedded in truly joint organizations. This serves to enhance CF identity.[172]

Thus it is fairly clear that the CAF viewed the unifying superordinate identity as an unmet goal when it described it within *Leading the Institution* in 2007, and this CII, therefore, would also have been an aspirational objective when stated in the 2003 *Duty with Honour*, and so likely was still aspirational when restated verbatim in the 2009 *Duty with Honour*.

The nameless identity

Achieving the aspiration of a strong, unifying CAF identity is un-helped by the lack of a salient English language word with which to label a member of the CAF. The word "serviceman" has been known to describe male members of armed forces since at least 1899, but

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[170] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture*, p19.

[171] Canada. Department of National Defence. A-PA-005-000/AP-006 Leadership in the Canadian Forces - Leading the Institution. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2007. p.5.

[172] Canada. Department of National Defence. A-PA-005-000/AP-006 Leadership in the Canadian Forces - Leading the Institution. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2007. p.6.

the same word can also describe someone who services equipment and machinery or even a gas station attendant.[173] Since 1955, there has also been the more gender-inclusive term of "service member."[174] Neither of these terms has the same salience as the English labels of subordinate identities such as sailor, soldier, aviator, gunner, sapper, infanteer, etc. In contrast, the French language offers "les militaires" which occurs at least 67 times in the national defence act corresponding to an English language occurrence of "members."[175] In *Strong Secured Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* there are twenty-two occurrences of "military members" seven occurrences of "our women and men in uniform" and four instances of "sailors, soldiers, airwomen and men"[176] and the majority of these occurrences are translated with "les militaires" or "nos militaires" in the French version.[177]

How significant can an identity be if it does not merit its own noun? It is known that labels and symbols, which include a name for the identity, are an important facet of identity and establishing entitativity[178] and altering names of identities has proved problematic for militaries. In the US Army, the renaming of psychological operations (PSYOP) as "military information support operations" failed in part due to "ideological resistance" and "half-hearted implementation" on the part of PSYOP soldiers themselves.[179] Similarly in 1920, forty-five

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[173] Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary. "Serviceman." Accessed Mar 10, 2021. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/serviceman.

[174] Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary. "Service Member." Accessed March 10, 2021. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/service%20member.

[175] Canada. National Defence Act, R.S., c. N-5.

[176] Canada. National Defence. *Strong Secure Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy*. Ottawa, ON: Department of National Defence, 2017.

[177] Canada. National Defence. *Protection, Sécurité, Engagement: La politique de défense du Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Department of National Defence, 2017.

[178] Shannon P. Callahan and Alison Ledgerwood. "On the Psychological Function of Flags and Logos: Group Identity Symbols Increase Perceived Entitativity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 110, no. 4 (2016): 528-550; Mark Moffett, "Human Identity and the Evolution of Societies," *p* 219-220; Samuel L. Gaetner, and John F. Dovidio. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model." Chap. 48, In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*. Vol. 2, 439-457. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012. p448 – 449.

[179] Cowan, David and Chaveso Cook. "What's in a Name? Psychological Operations Versus Military Information Support Operations and an Analysis of Organizational Change." *Military Review*, Online Exclusive

British army regiments successfully petitioned the King for approval of name changes to resolve frustrations reaching back to imposed reorganizations thirty-nine years earlier.[180] It is clear that names and labels matter and they are effectively one of the most easily reproduced symbols of the group to which they apply. So, it might be possible to measurably enhance the significance of a CAF CII if the CAF can determine how to create a noun that is accepted and even embraced as a label by English language members. Many potential cognates of "militaire" already come with incompatible meanings in English (eg. militarist or militant), so the most Canadian approach might be to do a direct lift from the French language and declare all CAF members to be militairs. Future research should be conducted to measure and compare the influence upon entitativity of the labels "service members," "CAF members," "les militaires," and "les members des FAC" as well as impacts on intergroup perceptions, common ingroup perceptions, and receptiveness messages aimed at the superordinate identity.

The symbol-less identity

Not only does the CAF lack a concise label to unify its members while increasing salience and entitativity, but the CAF also does not even have a standard insignia that marks all its members. While *Duty with Honour* stressed the existence of a unifying CAF CII, there is no mention of such a superordinate identity in the description of the CAF identity system and the CAF dress instructions do not include any mechanism to reinforce such an identity. [181] In contrast every service identity, command, branch, and regiment has its set of symbols and insignia of membership that mark members. A standard CANADA badge is worn by CAF

(March 06, 2018). https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review/Online-Exclusive/2018-OLE/Mar/PSYOP/.

[180] David French, *Military Identities*, p96.

[181] Canada, Department of National Defence, Introduction and Chapter 1 to *A-AD-200-000/AG-000 the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, 7th ed. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2008.

members 2.5 cm lower than the shoulder seam on both sleeves of the distinctive environmental uniforms (DEU), but this label of CAF identity is not safe from modification or removal in deference to a preferred service or regimental symbol.[182] The RCAF has restyled it with the addition of an eagle for non-commissioned ranks, the special operations force has replaced it with a metal insignia worn on the epaulets, and the Princes Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry has removed it completely to display a brightly coloured shoulder flash which had been worn through both world wars and Korea. Symbolically, the message is that the unifying CAF CII is the least important element of a service member's military identity.

CONCLUSION

The CAF identity system does create a complex system of function-based mutually interdependent collective identities which span whole anonymous societies. The system is reinforced with labels and symbols that enhance entitativity for ingroup and outgroup members. As a result, the CAF identity system provides an effective baseline from which to build tactical cohesion. It facilitates the movement of individuals between different units, formations, and commands or even from one side of the country to the other, and for that individual to then promptly be recognized as part of the ingroup. It is diverse to satiate needs for distinctiveness. But it also requires deliberate effort to ensure positive contact situations, where members of different CAF identities interact as representatives of their respective groups, become a routine component of the local formation culture. There are some areas for improvement or where a better understanding of identity dynamics would be beneficial. Attention must be paid to the regimental system of Reserve Force manoeuvre arms which does not currently unify groups large enough to conduct operations or complex training. Research should also be undertaken to

[182] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-DH-265-000/AG-001 Canadian Armed Forces Dress Instructions*. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2017, p 3E1-1, 3E3-1.

determine if the regimental systems of Regular Force manoeuvre arms have any measurable impact on the dynamic of linguistic identities within the CAF, with the goal of better informing future discussions on constructed CAF identities. At the institutional level, there remains a danger that regimental identities may exert influences of favouritism toward their particular group, and more so that service identities, which still prefer to conduct operations separately, will still compete over which is more necessary for CAF objectives and which is more prototypical of the CAF identity.

All the service, branch, and regimental tribes are nested within a very weak common CAF identity. Because the CAF CII is weak and lacks significant relevance to members, it is not unifying and it alone cannot mitigate social identity effects of intergroup competition,[183] ingroup favouritism, or misplaced loyalties. The solution to this is not a second attempt at Unification, which would harm those elements of the CAF identity system that do work for the tactical level. A "Unification 2.0" would also be defeated by the same powerful service identities that blunted the 2005 CF Transformation and before that had resisted then rolled-back much of the previous attempt at Integration and Unification. Instead, more subtle techniques can lay the groundwork for closer integration.

It may be possible to elevate the salience, and thus influence, of the CAF CII by creating an English language word to label CAF members. The significance of the CAF CII may also be enhanced by defining the CAF identity within the heritage structure and dress standards, and then ensuring that all members of the CAF, in each standard of dress, wear the same standard badge(s) of the CAF CII which takes precedence over any service or regimental symbols. Positive influence of the CAF CII could also be enhanced if the sub-identity ecosystem were

[183] See Part II, Chapter 7 & 8 of this paper.

made more complex at the institutional level by delinking service identities from specific commands and reorganizing the CAF into a series of joint commands.[184] There is still one important set of cross-cutting identities that this paper has not yet reviewed, and these hold the key to ultimately tying together and integrating all the other groups.

[184] This could look similar to the post-Integration CAF structure of 1967, or the series of combatant commands used by the US today, or something else entirely.

CHAPTER 5: CROSS-CUTTING TRIBES OF LEADERS

> Given the current distribution of responsibilities and expertise between officers and NCMs, each corps has a distinct identity. These respective identities are reflected in the insignias of rank that visibly denote responsibility, authority and specialized expertise, and in such traditions as separate messing and marks of respect. Commissioned officers identify themselves as potential commanders and leaders, both direct and institutional. NCMs identify themselves as those responsible for the effective and efficient accomplishment of all tasks, always with an eye on the immediate welfare of individual subordinates. They know that their leadership and discipline of physically fit subordinates are absolutely essential to the professional effectiveness of the force as a whole, as well as the accomplishment of missions.
>
> - *Canadian Armed Forces, Duty with Honour 2009*

IDENTITY AS A BARRIER AND ENABLER TO COMMAND

Inventing a common, unifying label for all CAF members with the same emotional weight as the terms "soldiers," "sailors," and "aviators" is an ambitious goal which, even if achieved, will not completely resolve interservice rivalry nor provide any amelioration for regimental or other sub-service tribalism. In fact, it remains desirable that a unifying CAF identity does not completely eclipse subordinate identities so as to avert the negative effects of the Ingroup Projection Model (IPM). Instead, the benefits afforded by a Common Ingroup Identity (CII) can be had without whole groups being recategorized to a CII provided that the key leaders perceive themselves within a common superordinate cross-cutting identity.[185] These leaders can then guide coalitions of subordinate groups. For a "tribe of leaders" to be successful, subordinate tribal identities cannot be allowed as a barrier to proper leadership engagement. It is critical that leaders do not look on groups of subordinates with lens of "this one is my tribe and those ones are others," and it is important that subordinates do not perceive their legitimate superiors to lack legitimacy because of coming from the wrong tribe. This was the dynamic in 2005 when General Rick Hillier's CF Transformation initiative faced significant resistance over

[185] Samuel L. Gaetner and John F. Dovidio. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model." Chap. 48, In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*. Vol. 2, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012. p453.

legitimacy because it was perceived (perhaps accurately) to be rooted in army interests and army identity.[186]

An even worse dynamic was at play during the Canadian Forces leadership crisis of the early 1990s, and particularly illustrative of this problem were the Canadian Airborne Regiment battlegroup in Somalia and a battlegroup, formed of the 12e Régiment blindé du Canada (12 RBC) with an attached company of the Royal 22e Régiment (R22eR) and a squadron of engineers, in Bosnia. [187] Both battlegroups were composed of subunits with very different tribal identities, and in both battlegroups officers of one identity were reticent to report or even concern themselves with misconduct that occurred inside a sub-unit of a different identity.[188] Despite misuse of alcohol, sexual misconduct, insubordination, violence and even black-marketeering, officers of the R22eR company did not want to present their problems to their 12 RBC commanding officer.[189] In Somalia, a few questionable incidents of use of force were allowed to transpire and ultimately, over a period of several hours, a camp full of soldiers did nothing while a local civilian was tortured to death.[190] These leadership breakdowns have been examined as features of Army culture,[191] but it is clear that these are manifestations of social identity theory.

All these challenges occurred under an identity system that currently defines and treats rank as an individual and not a collective identity.[192] But to ameliorate identity barriers to

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[186] Allan English, "Outside CF Transformation Looking in," *Canadian Military Journal* 11, no. 2 (Spring, 2011), p12-20; Michael K. Jeffery, "Inside Canadian Forces Transformation," *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 2 (2010), p9-18; Devin Conley and Eric Ouellet, "The Canadian Forces and Military Transformation: An Elusive Quest for Efficiency," *The Canadian Army Journal* 14, no. 1 (Spring, 2012), p71-83

[187] Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," p173-183; Donna Winslow, "Misplaced Loyalties: The Role of Military Culture in the Breakdown of Discipline in Peace Operations."

[188] Donna Winslow, "Misplaced Loyalties," p360-361.

[189] Donna Winslow, "Misplaced Loyalties," p347, 359-360; Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)." p177.

[190] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p6-13; Donna Winslow, "Misplaced Loyalties," p346; Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)." p178-179.

[191] Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)." p173-183; Donna Winslow, "Misplaced Loyalties," p345-367.

[192] Canada, Department of National Defence, Introduction and Chapter 1 to *A-AD-200-000/AG-000 the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, 7th ed. Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2008.

leadership, it would be beneficial to reconceive military rank to be a collective identity. Subsequently, CAF leaders will need to perceive themselves and be perceived by others as having a dual identity. The first collective identity is a leader's CAF identity: the nested combination of regimental, branch, and service identity. The second collective identity must be a leader's rank group. Rank identity must be a cross-cutting identity so it should not be nested within subordinate identities but instead must be nested within a superordinate identity that encompasses all the other identities that a leader may have to bridge together.

To simplify the process of reconceiving rank identities as collective identities, existing rank groups can be used as a starting framework. *Duty with Honour* emphasizes officers and NCMs as being distinct identities within the CAF[193] and these are further divided into several groups.

> Officers are designated as junior, senior or Flag/General, while the non-commissioned are further differentiated as privates, non-commissioned officers and warrant officers (warrant officers, master warrant officers and chief warrant officers) and the naval equivalents (able seamen, leading seamen and master seamen, petty officers and chief petty officers).[194]

It is these rank groups that provide an initial structure for superordinate cross-cutting identities that can enable the CAF to function as a integrated implement of national power. CAF leadership doctrine insists that "it is essential that CF Officers, Warrant Officers, and NCOs think of themselves as belonging to the same leadership team, sharing a common set of values and engaged in a common enterprise."[195] But separateness of these groups is required and, as described by David Bercuson, "virtually all armies observe a time-honoured separation between officers and NCOs in both work and social life" with the role of officers being to command and

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[193] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p21.
[194] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p55.
[195] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-PA-005-000/AP-003, Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Doctrine.* Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2005. p13.

the role of NCOs being to ensure that commands were followed.[196] And so it is worth briefly taking a separate look at the officer and NCM structures.

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

Commissioned Officers are the senior leaders of a military and, as noted by Allan English, it is the Officer Corps which "bears the responsibility for creating and modifying organisational culture of military forces as necessary."[197] As such, it is incumbent upon officers to ensure identity structures in the CAF prioritize institutional needs over interests of subordinate identities. For individual officers, CAF identity and rank identity requirements will change as they progress in seniority through their careers because leadership roles and responsibilities will also change with seniority. Lower- to mid-ranking officers are predominantly employed directly leading people "in the execution of operations and implementation of policy" while the most senior officers are predominantly employed in leading the institution.[198]

Branch and regimental identity are of greatest importance to an officer early in their career. Bercuson has cited "detractors" of the regimental system as believing that the benefits of the system are weakened by the requirement of officers to come and go from regimental units.[199] It is the opposite of that belief which is true. A value of the CAF identity system (to include the regimental system) is that these constructed identities facilitate the return of officers by providing quick recognition as a member of the tribe after serving necessary time in non-branch or extra-regimental jobs. It is regimental identity that gives CII between a captain of the Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians) and the non-commissioned members (NCMs) of the

[196] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p35.
[197] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture*, p95.
[198] Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations*, p4.
[199] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p11.

regiment, but it is rank identity that gives a CII between that armoured captain and an infantry combat team commander and a supporting engineer troop commander.

Junior officers, which are those trained officers filling the first three rank levels,[200] will require identities that connect them to their unit and facilitate trust and acceptance from the NCMs they will lead. Most junior officers will initially be employed in a unit that is a match to their CAF identity, and some junior officers may even spend most of their time working in units that are a match to the officer's CAF identity. In these units, the junior officer's subordinates will also be of the same CAF identity. Typically, junior officers will spend some time employed in a unit or headquarters that does not conform to the officer's CAF identity, but it is entirely possible that a junior officer is never employed in an organization that is different from their service identity. For army officers, the frequent formation of composite battlegroups and combat teams means that all officers, even the junior officers, must see themselves as comprising a common ingroup responsible for coordinating coalitions of differently identified sub-subunits. Thus, a junior officer's dual identities should include a strong CAF identity and a rank identity that is branded to enhance the salience of service identity or the unifying CAF CII.

For senior officers, who comprise the middle three officer rank levels,[201] it becomes important that a broader and more diverse range of subordinates look upon that officer not as a representative of some other tribe but as a legitimate leader of a shared tribe. Senior officers will likely return to lead units and sub-units of their CAF identity but, unlike junior officers, senior

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[200] Canada, Government of Canada, "Canadian Army Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/army-ranks.html; Canada, Government of Canada, "Royal Canadian Air Force Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/air-force-ranks.html; Canada, Government of Canada, "Royal Canadian Navy Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/navy-ranks.html.

[201] Canada, "Canadian Army Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021; Canada, "Royal Canadian Air Force Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021; Canada, "Royal Canadian Navy Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021.

officers will spend more of their time employed in units and headquarters that are not an exact match to the officer's CAF identity, and they will be employed in units and headquarters with joint or different service identities. As the "middle-rank officers" of the CAF, the balance of senior officers' responsibilities increasingly shifts from predominantly leading people to predominantly leading the institution.[202] As institutional leaders, senior officers will be involved in plans and decisions that have broad impacts across multiple groups. It is important that these plans and decisions are driven by the best interests of the CAF without the favouritism that SIT predicts will be afforded to subordinate ingroups. Following the Somalia debacle, an effort was made within the army to shift identity and loyalty to the service level by directing that land environment Colonels would no longer wear regimental or branch identifying insignia on their uniforms.[203] Thus, a senior officer's dual identities should include their CAF identity that retains branch and service identities, but which de-emphasises regimental affiliations once the officer can no longer be employed in regimental unit. The rank identity must be branded to enhance the salience of the unifying CAF CII.

General officers and flag officers (GOFOs) encompass the four most senior rank levels in the CAF.[204] They retain their service identities, but no longer wear insignia or indicators of personnel branch, corps, or regiment. GOFO will command formations and commands and will fill senior staff positions within their service identity or in a joint environment. Except for a few specialist functions, they do not return to employment that is constrained by their former personnel branch. The GOFO dual identity should be dominated by its rank group identity which

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[202] Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations*, p4.

[203] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p20; Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22, no. 2 (Spring, 2016), p179.

[204] Canada, "Canadian Army Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021; Canada, "Royal Canadian Air Force Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021; Canada, "Royal Canadian Navy Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021.

is singularly nested in the unified CAF CII. GOFO still require service identities for the legitimacy it provides when employed within their parent service commands, but for periods when employed in a joint role this service identity should be subdued so that it does not weaken legitimacy or feed perceptions of favouritism.

NON-COMMISSIONED MEMBERS

Like officers, the rank group identity requirements of NCMs will change progressively through advancement into successively more senior rank groups. At the start of a career, NCM rank identity is not tied to leadership but to advancement within a highly valued military trade. *Duty with Honour* argues that all NCMs are members of the profession of arms because they hold "leadership responsibilities and are required to master complex skills and gain extensive knowledge of the theory of conflict."[205] However, it is not universally agreed that NCMs, or even NCOs, are part of the profession of arms and the counter argument is that NCMs are actually members of skilled trades.[206] Certainly the task of leadership, the need for understanding the theory of conflict, and the obligation over " the immediate welfare of individual subordinates"[207] are things that characterize NCOs more so than all NCMs in general. Where *Duty with Honour* provides observations that are inclusive of all NCMs, it states that they "identify themselves as those responsible for the effective and efficient accomplishment of all tasks" and it emphasises an increasingly technical role for NCMs.[208] It is therefore appropriate that the newly trained NCM's identity is of themself as a member of an indispensable trade that is nested within the CAF identity system, which is already strongly linked to function. This function-based military identity will facilitate the integration of the new NCM into their first unit, and that NCM's

[205] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p11.
[206] Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture*, p36.
[207] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p21.
[208] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p21, 77.

acceptance of similarly categorized officers and especially NCOs as their tribal leaders. At this level, an NCM's rank identity can be fully intertwined with the member's CAF and regimental identities.

Junior Non-Commissioned Officers

On becoming an NCO, members' military identities must change to reflect a status as journeymen of their trades and apprentices of the profession of arms. Junior NCOs are the vital first level of leadership within the CAF, while their employment and responsibilities are still primarily defined by their specific CAF identity. A jr NCO is most likely to lead a small team of personnel sharing the same CAF identity while reporting to a sr NCO also of the same CAF identity. Having been categorized into a more exclusive identity, jr NCOs are provided the new normative ingroup prototype of "the NCO" which is described extensively in CAF literature on leadership and the profession of arms. At this level, a jr NCO's rank identity may continue to hold strong connections with the member's CAF and regimental identities.

Senior Non-Commissioned Officers

On becoming a sr NCO, service personnel are masters of their trades and full members of the profession of arms. For NCOs, professional responsibilities of leadership and gaining an "extensive knowledge of the theory of conflict" will come to prominence as a sr NCO.[209] The employment of a sr NCO is still typically within units of a matching CAF identity, but this is the level at which NCOs are likely to start spending some time employed in a unit or headquarters that does not conform to their CAF identity. Just as with junior Army officers, sr NCO play a critical role in unifying the composite organizations often built to conduct land operations. Within battlegroups and combat teams, success in both combat and in coordinating sustainment

[209] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p11.

is vastly improved by the ability of sr NCOs of differing identities to collaborate as a single tribe. It is, therefore, amongst sr NCOs that CAF identity and rank identity must diverge into dual identities. Thus, a sr NCO's dual identities should include a strong CAF identity and a rank identity that is branded to enhance the salience of a service identity or the unifying CAF CII.

Within the Canadian Army, NCOs have been described as "regimental" because they could serve a whole career within one regiment, in contrast to officers who would come and go from regimental units.[210] The characteristic of staying within a community of one or a few related units is not unique to the Army, and it is the characteristic that makes sr NCOs effective "bridging leaders"[211] between officers and other NCMs. The officer-NCO leadership team is culturally engrained in the CAF, as illustrated by it being mentioned no-less than eleven times between Canadian Forces leadership doctrine and conceptual foundations.[212] The exemplar of this leadership team is often held out to be the influential dyad formed between the senior officer and the senior sr NCO within an organization, but this powerful CII should be understood to encompass all a unit's officers and sr NCOs.[213] The officers and sr NCOs each recognize each other to be to mutually dependant and indispensable parts of the team, and they have been inculcated to value the leadership team as show in figure 2.

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[210] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p35;

[211] United States. Department of Defense. *The Noncommissioned Officer and Petty Officer - Backbone of the Armed Forces.* Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2013. p2.

[212] Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations*; Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Doctrine*.

[213] Canada. Department of National Defence. *A-PA-005-000/AP-003, Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Doctrine.* Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2005. p13.

Figure 2 – Officer/NCO Leadership Team as a superordinate identity of two complimentary, indispensable sub-identities.

To this team, the NCOs brings two significant things: knowledge and experience in the application of their military trade, and intimate familiarity of the unit. Because they spend more time employed within their sphere of the CAF identity system, NCOs have had more time to invest the social effort that develops the active network, acquaintance network, and tribal network through the units of that identity. A sr NCO of the PPCLI will have many personal connections in all three battalions of the regiment, while a west coast sr NCO of the maritime operations branch will have personal connections in every ship of the Canadian Pacific Fleet. Officers, who do not spend as much time in units of their CAF identity and who are often seen as "other" particularly by junior ranking members, gain the benefit of greater acceptance when they are known to have formed a leadership team with an already personally accepted sr NCO. An R22ᵉR major may join a regimental battalion within which he/she is largely unknown by the NCMs, and that major will be recognized as part of the R22ᵉR ingroup, but the acceptance of that major will be significantly increased when the soldiers see the effective formation of a leadership team with the competent master warrant officer that everyone knows.

Warrant Officers

Indispensable members of the profession of arms, warrant officers are mentioned as a distinct group of ranks no fewer than eleven times between Canadian Forces Leadership doctrine

and conceptual foundations as well as an additional three mentions in *Duty with Honour*.[214] The modern warrant officer class, as found in Commonwealth militaries, was a product of the Childers reforms in the British Army. This warrant officer class is different than the warrant officers of the United States, and it is different than the warrant officers that existed in the Royal Navy at the end of the 19th century. The class was created by the elevation of the most senior non-commissioned positions, those of regimental quartermaster sergeant (RQMS) and regimental sergeant major (RSM), to fill a role between non-commissioned and commissioned officers.[215] This elevation of RSMs has had a lasting impact on the culture of commonwealth armies, with an RSM in the Canadian Army today being the "keeper of regimental tradition and guardian of regimental memory."[216] They are the paragons of branch and service identities and they are ultimate prototypes against which junior members, to include junior officers, will self-stereotype. Today, warrant officer ranks comprise the two most senior non-commissioned ranks levels in each of the armed services in Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.[217]

Warrant Officers are employed in the same roles as other sr NCOs, though they will be employed outside of their CAF identity more frequently and the rank group is increasingly being "employed in staff positions once reserved for officers at the operational and strategic levels."[218] Therefore, the warrant officer ranks must be prepared for leading the institution roles. Like other sr NCOs, warrant officer ranks must share a CII with their peers of other CAF identities in order

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[214] Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations*; Canada, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Doctrine*; Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009.

[215] David French, *Military Identities*, p21-22.

[216] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p63.

[217] New Zealand, *Defence Act 1990,* s2, 1990, p9; Australia. Australian Defence Force, "Badges of Rank and Special Insignia," Australian Defence Force. Accessed March 18, 2021. https://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/ADF_badges_of_rank.pdf; North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *NATO Standard APers P-01 NATO Codes for Grades of Military Personnel*, Edition A, Version 1, Brussels: NATO Standardization Office, 2021, pD-3, E-3, F-3.

[218] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p16.

to integrate coalitions of differing identities within their service identity. It may also be desirable that the warrant officer ranks capably facilitate joint interactions. The American Command Sgt. Maj. John Wayne Troxell, the former Senior Enlisted Advisor to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the US, recently expressed an opinion that there was an increasing need for employment of American sr NCOs and CPOs within joint environments.[219] To do this, a warrant officer's dual identities would include a strong CAF identity and a rank identity that is branded to enhance the salience of the unifying CAF CII.

RECONCEIVING COLLECTIVE RANK IDENTITY

Both officers and NCMs, therefore, have slightly different paths that their rank identities follow. For an NCM, rank identity initially reinforces an individual's CAF identity and recognizes their accomplishment in a skilled military trade. As the member becomes an NCO, their rank identity marks the member as a leader and may still be inclusive of CAF identity and trade. On becoming a sr NCO, rank identity must be delinked from CAF identity and trade so that it may be the focal point to establish entitativity and a CII between all sr NCOs within a given service identity. The identity of warrant officer ranks may continue in the same path as the sr NCO identity or, if the warrant officer ranks are to be employed as integrators in joint environments, then the warrant officer CII must encompass all service identities. For commissioned ranks, Junior officer rank identity must, from the beginning, be delinked from CAF identity and perceived in a way that sets it as the focal point to establish entitativity and a CII between all officers within, at the very least, a common service identity. Senior officer rank identity must set the focal point to enhance a CII between all CAF officers. GOFO rank identity

[219] Jim Garamone, "Noncommissioned Officers Give Big Advantage to U.S. Military." *US Department of Defence,* November 7, 2019. https://www.defense.gov/Explore/News/Article/Article/2011393/noncommissioned-officers-give-big-advantage-to-us-military/.

must enhance the entitativity of GOFO as being of one CII, but simultaneously GOFO must shed their branch identities while subduing the prominence of service identities. With the possible exception of GOFO, all of these rank groups will contain several thousand members; they will be anonymous societies that require common labels and symbols to unify members. Even the GOFO group, while potentially not a true anonymous society, will have members who are not known and recognized across the CAF and so it too will require common labels and symbols so that its members may be recognized by other CAF members.

Where a rank identity is required to achieve a CII, the labels and symbols of that rank group must give focus to the superordinate identity and not increase salience of sub-group distinction. Labels are easily evoked symbols to emphasise the oneness of rank groups. By focusing the CII on rank groups instead of ranks themselves, it does not matter that some service identities have different names for different ranks. In this regard the labels “junior officer” and “senior officer” are broad, inclusive, and don’t draw attention to tribal differences between commander and lieutenant colonel. These broad labels can be used in normative literature, such as Duty with Honour, to develop a shared ingroup prototype that defined the values and behaviours expected of these rank groups. In contrast to these groups, the labels “general officers and flag officers” and “GOFO” serve to highlight that these officers are representatives of different groups. The US military also refers to “general officers and flag officers”, but it is also acceptable in practice to just use “flag officers” for this same group.[220] A similar practice in Canada would allow shifting the dialog from an identity of distinct groups to an identity of a single group.

[220] "Difference between General Officers and Flag Officers." Accessed Mach 18, 2021. https://officerassignments.com/difference-between-general-officers-and-flag-officers/.

Labels are also problematic for non-commissioned rank groups, because much of the normative CAF literature references the importance of the warrant officer ranks, but the RCN does not have any ranks of warrant officer and its CPO ranks do not exactly algin with the three warrant officer ranks of the other service identities.[221] Use of another service's rank title to describe CPO may even be perceived as alienating, but this label was likely chosen because QR&O lock the description of non-commissioned rank groups into discreet elements on an escalating continuum. A Canadian NCO is officially "a member holding the rank of sergeant or corporal"[222] (or naval equivalents). In practice non-commissioned identities are often understood to be rank groups of increasing authority nested within the broader group that proceeded it. As such, the terms "NCO" and "sr NCO" are often used colloquially to include warrant officer ranks and CPO ranks. This broader colloquial meaning, though not always explicitly defined, can be seen in professional military writing[223] and in the work of academics and historians.[224] The difference of these structure is show in Figure 3.

[221] Canada, Government of Canada, "Royal Canadian Navy Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/navy-ranks.html.

[222] Canada. National Defence. "Queen's Regulations and Orders: Volume I - Chapter 1 - Introduction and Definitions." Accessed March 18, 2021.

[223] Bernd Horn, "A Timeless Strength: The Army's Senior NCO Corps." Canadian Military Journal 3, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 39-47; Smith, Stephan R. "Reform and the Non-Commissioned Officer." Canadian Military Journal 6, no. 2 (Summer, 2005): 33-40.

[224] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*.

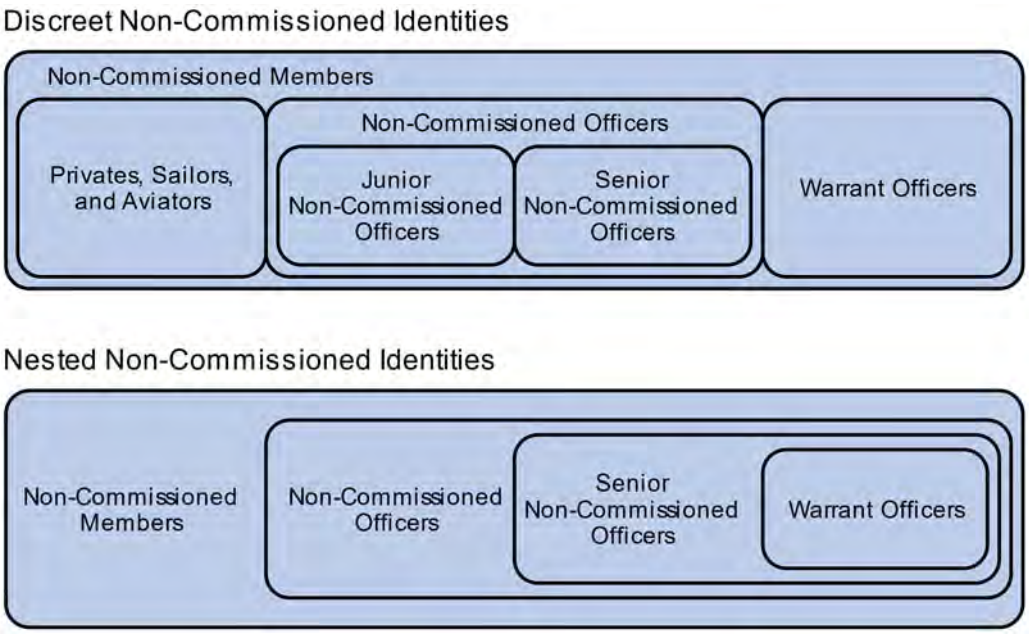

Figure 3- Discreet and Nested Non-Commissioned Identities

This broader meaning of "NCO" is also relatively consistent with NATO usage, where NCOs are composed of the ranks of OR-5 (a sergeant in Canada) through OR-9 (a chief warrant officer in Canada),[225] and the United States, which uses the term "noncommissioned officers and petty officers" (NCOs/POs)[226] to describe ranks of OR-4 or OR-5 up to OR-9. New Zealand also nests the warrant officer ranks of army, navy, and air force within its NCO corps. [227] Canada further recognizes senior non-commissioned officers (sr NCO) which officially is composed of those members holding the rank of sergeant[228] but is often intended to include sergeants and all

[225] North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *NATO Standard APers P-01 NATO Codes for Grades of Military Personnel*, Edition A, Version 1, Brussels: NATO Standardization Office, 2021, p1-1; North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Allied Command Transformation. *Non-Commissioned Officer - Professional Military Education - Reference Curriculum - English Version*. n.p.: Defence Education Enhancement Programmes., 2014.

[226] "U.S. Military Rank Insignia." U.S. Department of Defense. Accessed March 18, 2021. https://www.defense.gov/Resources/Insignia/; United States. Department of Defense. The Noncommissioned Officer and Petty Officer - Backbone of the Armed Forces. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2013.

[227] New Zealand. Defence Act 1990. S2. 1990

[228] Canada, Government of Canada, "Canadian Army Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/army-ranks.html; Canada, Government of Canada, "Royal Canadian Air Force Ranks and Badges," Accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/air-force-ranks.html;

warrant officer ranks. Similarly, the United States uses the term "senior non-commissioned officers and chief petty officers" (Sr NCO/CPO) to describe ranks from OR-7 to OR-9.[229] This broader meaning can be seen in *Leadership in the Canadian Forces – Leading the Institution* where a reference to sr NCOs is inclusive of warrant officer and all petty officer ranks.[230] The CAF should formally adopt a definition of NCO and sr NCO ranks that is inclusive of warrant officer ranks. Subsequently, the warrant officer rank group could stop being referenced in literature on leadership and the profession of arms because, despite the importance of the warrant officer ranks, such references consistently appear only for the purpose of emphasising that warrant officers are doing the same things as sr NCOs.

With the establishment of inclusive rank group labels for sr NCOs, jr officers, sr officers, and flag officers all future spoken and written communication will reinforce the entitativity and unified identity of these groups. Homogeneity and uniformity enhance entitativity,[231] and that is why *Duty with Honour* emphasised the fact that the various environments of the CAF all used "a common set of badges and symbols of rank to designate NCMs and officers."[232] The message in 2003 and 2009 was that officers and NCOs are CAF leaders, not tribal leaders. However, beginning with the navy in 2010,[233] the government began the process of establishing distinctive environmental rank insignia for officers. Today, each of the traditional service identities has distinct officer rank insignia and Canadian Army officer rank insignia even distinguishes

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[229] Military.com. "Air Force Enlisted Ranks." Accessed March 18, 2021. https://www.military.com/air-force/enlisted-ranks.html; Military.com "Army Ranks for Enlisted Personnel." Accessed March 18, 2021. https://www.military.com/army/enlisted-ranks.html; Military.com. "Enlisted Navy Rates." Accessed March 18, 2021. https://www.military.com/navy/enlisted-rates.html.

[230] Canada. Department of National Defence. A-PA-005-000/AP-006 Leadership in the Canadian Forces - Leading the Institution. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2007. p.ix

[231] Shannon P. Callahan and Alison Ledgerwood. "On the Psychological Function of Flags and Logos."

[232] Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2009, p20; Canada, *Duty with Honour*, 2003, p20.

[233] Canada. House of Commons. *40th Parliament, 3rd Session, Edited Hansard Number 003*. Ottawa, ON: 2010. https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/40-3/house/sitting-3/hansard#Int-3023945.

personnel branch and regimental affiliations via colour variations. At the same time, only the RCAF provided a distinctive rank insignia (an aircraft propeller) to its junior NCMs but this insignia is universal for RCAF members and does not reinforce branch identity and specific member advancement within a skilled trade.

In the absence of common symbols to increase the entitativity of the rank-based CIIs, the next, and potentially most important, step to forging strong CII based on rank group is social reinforcement. At the unit and formation level and within higher headquarters, the social reinforcement includes investing the time and effort to build an active network and acquaintance links that reaches into neighboring units, higher and lower headquarters, and into adjacent working groups through various members of a common rank group. More importantly, the social reinforcement is about positive contact situations that bring together members of different CAF identities within a common rank identity. It is about ensuring that groups of infantry sr NCOs and groups of artillery sr NCOs routinely engage in positive social interaction so that when an unfamiliar face appears during the conduct of an operation, that new unknown individual from a trusted other tribe is accepted as a member of the sr NCO tribe. Similarly, RCN sr officers and RCAF sr officers should frequently find themselves in positive contact situations with each other so that, when a previously unmet individual comes seeking help with a problem, the individual is seen as a member of the sr officer tribe before being seen as on outsider from another service.

Historically, the venue for these vital social interactions has been the officers' messes and sr NCOs' messes, which also serve as symbols that enhances the entitativity of the officer and sr NCO groups. Most bases will have one officers' mess and one sr NCOs' mess. These messes usually maintain a schedule of routine social events as well as hosting mess dinners, which are an important part of military ritual. Unfortunately, NDHQ is supported by three officers' messes,

each with a different service identity and all located in the downtown away from many of the main office locations of NDHQ.[234] Instead of facilitating a sense of oneness across institutional leaders of differing CAF identities these messes generate more in-group social engagement that reinforces the separateness of the service identities and they are poorly located to facilitate day-to-day positive inter-service contact situations. Consideration should be given to modifying the arrangement of NDHQ messes to enhance interservice contact situation between officers.

CONCLUSION

With an identity ecosystem that includes multiple constructed CAF identities that each constitute anonymous societies, the CAF requires cross-cutting leader groups to orchestrate the institution as an effective coalition of services, regiments, and branches. These leadership identities should be based on rank groups already defined in CAF regulations and doctrine, and at most rank levels these leader groups will themselves constitute anonymous societies. It is therefore imperative that rank identities be reinforced with common labels and symbols that enhance entitativity and allow members to identify each other as sharing the same ingroup. It is also important that the labels and symbols of leadership rank be unencumbered by any baggage that might prime the salience of a subordinate identity at the expense of the unified cross-cutting rank identity.

To increase the entitativity of rank groups as actual CII, broad and inclusive labels must be used. Where the term “NCO” officially only applies to sergeants and corporals, it leaves no labels for all senior non-commissioned ranks unless one uses exclusionary language and applies the label “warrant officer” to RCN POs and CPOs. Therefore, the formal definitions of NCO and of senior NCO must be inclusive of all warrant officer, petty officer, and chief petty officer

[234] Canada. Canadian Forces Morale & Welfare Services. "National Capital Region Messes." Accessed May 06, 2021. https://www.cafconnection.ca/National-Capital-Region/Facilities/Messes.aspx.

ranks. Similarly, the term “flag officer” should encompass all commodore, general, and admiral ranks. Symbols of rank should generally be delinked from “tribes.” Common rank symbols should mark flag officers and senior officers as a single team of leaders. Junior officers should be similarly marked with some flexibility for distinguishing marks of service identity. Sr NCOs should also have common rank symbols to enhance the entitativity of their group. While junior ranks, who do not constitute a cross-cutting leadership group, could be adorned with distinctive rank insignia that highlight their branch identity and advancement within a trade. Actual rank insignia are almost the invers of this requirement with nearly all NCM wearing a common pattern of rank insignia while officers wear distinctive environmental rank insignia that in some cases even include branch and regimental indicators.

Social interaction is a critical component both to building and maintaining an individual’s active network and acquaintance network and to experiencing positive contact situations which allow for the extrapolation of a CII perception onto people that have not previously been met. Officers’ messes and sr NCOs’ messes have historically filled the dual roles of being a symbol that enhances the entitativity of the officer and sr NCO groups and of being the venues to host much of the vital social interactions. It is important the messes evolve to remain relevant and able to foster the social interactions of unified leadership tribes.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

A REVIEW

Within the CAF there is a complex identity system that brands service members as belonging to particular services, branches, and regiments. Members are further identified by occupations, ranks, skillsets, and the units they serve within. These identities are especially powerful as they have been inculcated through training and ritual, and they are reinforced with manufactured histories and symbols. Because these identities are significant to CAF members, the members self-categorize which is the process by which an individual associates their identity with that of the group. The self-categorized individual will behave favourably toward other members of the Common Ingroup Identity (CII) and they may come to perceive their personal fate as intertwined with that of their group. The self-categorized individual will also self-stereotype, which is the modeling of oneself after the ingroup prototype or exemplar, and they will also increasingly conform to expected group norms and behaviours, and act to enhance the ingroup relative to others. This behaviour corresponds to the predictions of social identity theory (SIT). The influences of social identity can be beneficial for a military where identity enhances cohesion, but they can also be detrimental where identity enhances sub-group favouritism and organizational conflict. In the military, SIT manifests itself in the form of service tribalism, the competition between armed services for prestige and resources. For over 100 years the navy, army, and air force in Canada have competed for resources, resisted centralized command, occasionally pointed to each other as disposable options for lowering budgets, and preferred to conduct operations separately.

Despite the risk of ingroup favoritism and intergroup conflict that come with strong, constructed military identities, these identities are necessary. Relative to other mammals, the social brain theory (SBT) shows that humans have a cognitive capacity to form and sustain very

large groups through social interaction alone. Yet, cognitive limitations constrain the upper limit of those groups to only approximately 1,500 members while highly cohesive groups are typically limited to a size of about 150 members. The numbers 150 and 1,500 have been equated as reflective of sizes of ancient and historic clans and tribes respectively. Groups larger than the 1,500 member tribes become anonymous societies. These are groups so large that it is impossible for members to know (or to even know of) all other members. These anonymous societies employ distinct labels and symbols so that unknown group members can recognize each other and establish affinity. Labels and symbols may take a broad range of forms and include the names that groups apply to themselves and their members, the rituals associated with greetings such as waving or saluting, a flag or totem, the use of a language or jargon, or even an official group colour and mascot. Labels and symbols enhance group entitativity which is to say they enhance the perception, by ingroup and outgroup members, that the group really is a single cohesive entity and not a collection of individuals. Labels and symbols are also powerful rallying points for social identities, and self-categorized individuals can perceive threats to ingroup symbols as though they were threats to the group itself. An anonymous society supported by a strong social identity and reinforced with labels and symbols can be a very large and cohesive entity. Examples of anonymous societies may include national and ethnic identities, or political party affiliations. The CAF is an anonymous society.

Even anonymous societies have limitations when it comes to forming groups that are very large, homogeneous, and cohesive. The experiment of Canadian Forces Unification struggled because it failed to address or even consider social identities in several ways.[235] One aspects of this oversight was that people want distinctiveness. That distinctiveness can be

[235] See Part II, Chapter 8 of this paper.

realized individually or through the groups to which people belong but, when a group becomes too large and overly inclusive, individuals or sub-groups will seek out their own paths to distinction. The pursuit of role differentiation likely, at least partially, motivated the air force identity to pursue reconsolidation of all flying capabilities from various commands into a new Air Command. The pursuit of perceptual differentiation likely facilitated the return of distinctive environmental uniforms, distinctive environmental officer ranks, and other "traditional" names and badges. Observers might point to the United States Marine Corps (USMC) as an organization that is larger than the CAF yet still maintains a very broad range of functions within a homogeneous and very cohesive identity. Those observers would be right, but the need for distinction is relative. The USMC is small relative to the United States Army, or the United States Air Force, or the United States Navy. Relative to its comparable outgroups, the USMC is very distinct. A unified, homogeneous CAF has no comparable outgroups and so the CAF needs subordinate identities to provide internal distinctiveness.

To control the risks of ingroup favouritism and intergroup conflict, the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) suggest that different groups can come to see each other as being one group through "positive contact engagements." These positive contact engagements may take the form of social interaction or of the groups collaboratively overcoming a challenge. CIIM also posits that positive contact engagements between representatives of different groups can later be extrapolated to perceive a CII that encompasses the whole groups from which representatives had come. Ingroup Projection Model (IPM) cautions that the ability to achieve cohesion within a shared superordinate identity be contingent upon a complex identity ecosystem within which sub-identities see themselves as complementary and that these identities are further overlaid with cross-cutting identities. If these conditions are not met, the benefits of a CII will not be achieved

and instead subordinate identities may compete over their understanding of which group is most prototypical of the superordinate identity.

Fortunately, the CAF identity system does provide a complex subordinate identity ecosystem. This ecosystem is nested within a very weak superordinate CAF CII. Because the CAF CII is weak and lacks significant relevance to members, it is not unifying and it alone cannot mitigate social identity effects of intergroup competition, ingroup favouritism, or misplaced loyalties. *Duty with Honour* espouses the existence and vital importance of a unifying CAF identity to which all members ultimately owe primary loyalty, and certainly the most senior leaders of the institution should strongly self-categorize with to the superordinate CAF identity. The institution should, therefore, take deliberate though potentially subtle steps to enhance the entitativity of the CAF CII and strengthen the salience of this identity amongst institutional decision makers. A stronger CAF CII will provide a valuable tool to improve cohesion and support diffusion of institutional normative efforts across the force, but it will not completely resolve interservice rivalry nor provide any amelioration for regimental or other sub-service tribalism.

Ultimately, CIIM and IPM point to the solution for optimal interservice and inter-regimental integration. When the leaders of multiple groups can be recategorized to a CII then this “tribe of tribal leaders” can guide and coordinate coalitions of subordinate groups. When the CII of leaders has an entitativity and significance comparable to subordinate identities and it is nested within a superordinate identity shared by all sub-groups, then the leaders’ CII will have the dual benefits of focusing loyalties to the superordinate level while increasing the complexity of the ecosystem of identities. Within the CAF, existing rank groups provide the start point for cross-cutting leadership identities. Most of these rank groups include several thousand members.

This means that rank groups are anonymous societies, and so these groups require shared labels and symbols to give them entitativity and value. At all levels of the institution, positive contact situations are required within rank identities between members of differing service and regimental identities. At the working level, which include within units, formations, and headquarters staffs, the leadership societies must be forged into representative clans and tribes to match entitativity of the representative clans and tribes of the service and regimental societies. Clans and tribes are socially sustained groups, so leadership groups required dedicated social investment.

The identity requirements of various rank groups will vary with the relative seniority of these groups. Junior ranks, including jr NCOs, do not contribute to cross-cutting groups. These ranks are still important, but members can remain more focused on delivering the specialist skills of their trades. At this level, rank insignia can be constructively leveraged to enhance relative distinctiveness and connection to branch or regimental identities. Sr NCOs do constitute a cross-cutting group of leaders. It is a group that initially influences within a service identity, bringing together differing branch or regimental identities, but at more senior levels sr NCOs can also find themselves synchronizing coalitions of inter-service identities. At the entry rank, sr NCO rank insignia may be embellished according to service identity, but all subsequent rank insignia should be common. Jr officers may work at all levels of the institution, but they are primarily focused within their service identities. Senior officers still have significant roles within their service identities, but they are increasingly employed in joint settings and in institutional roles. Flag officers are the most senior leaders of the institution and, even when employed within their service identities, their decisions impact on the broader CAF. Officers should therefore have a common system of rank which may provide service identity embellishments (but not branch or

regimental embellishments) in junior officer insignia but becomes a common CAF insignia for senior and flag officers.

The CAF has the flexibility to afford the greatest distinctiveness and separateness along service, branch, regimental, and occupational identity to those most junior in ranks. Instead, this greater distinctiveness and separateness has been awarded to officers who have the greatest need to see each other as being of a single tribe. It is time to reverse this. Service and regimental identities are optimized by lore, symbols, and social interaction. CAF leadership groups already have lore in the form of extensive normative literature on officers and NCOs within professional and leadership publications. The final steps are shared symbols of rank and a mess structure to support positive interservice social contact situations in Ottawa. As rank insignia is currently an extension of service identity insignia and Ottawa area officers' messes are service identity institutions, these changes will likely be seen as threats to the respective service identities. During a change to rank identities, those service concerns would have to be addressed. Once rank groups are reconceived as cross-cutting collective identities, which at senior levels are tied to the CAF and not to service identity, it will be possible to build the normative prototypes that allow leaders to retain distinctive environmental identities while still growing increasingly stronger loyalties to a unifying superordinate CAF identity.

IMMEDIATE APPLICATIONS

This paper explored social identity in the CAF with a goal of improving intergroup cohesion and achieving loyalty to the CAF ahead of subordinate identities. But social identity is a tool that can provide insights into other facets of group behaviour that are often considered through a lens of culture. Today, the CAF finds itself again going through an institutional level leadership crisis related to sexual misconduct. The current CDS, Admiral Art McDonald, is under investigation for an allegation of sexual assault against a naval combat systems engineer

who admits complicated feelings on bringing her complaint forward.[236] Noting that there had not been an admiral in the CDS job for thirty years, Lt(N) Heather Macdonald told media "We need very strong leadership to get the navy through the next little while, and I feel a little bit robbed that we might lose our admiral over this." This statement is powerful evidence that social identity is influencing even victims of the current climate. There are calls to tackle the current crisis with cultural reform in the CAF, but culturally focused efforts under Operation HONOUR have already fallen short in achieving change focused by a cultural lens. SIT provides an alternate perspective on group and social dynamics,[237] and so it can improve upon a purely cultural lens to help find other possible solutions or weaknesses in current approaches. Therefore, SIT must be a tool that is used as the institution determines how it will make itself better.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

This paper raised several specific considerations and recommendations to leverage identity most beneficially for cohesion across the CAF. Many of these recommendations will have the added benefit of increasing the normative influence of strengthened superordinate identities for Officers, Sr NCO, and the CAF as a whole. Seven key recommendations were:

1. Increase the significance of the superordinate CAF identity by specifically acknowledging this identity in the CAF heritage structure manual and establish the pre-eminence of the superordinate CAF identity via dress standards. For each standard of dress, all members should wear the same standard badge(s) of the CAF CII which takes precedence over any service or regimental symbols.

[236] Mercedes Stephenson, Marc-André Cossetta, and Amanda Connolly. "In Her Words: The Woman Behind McDonald Allegation Tells Her Story." *Global News,* March 28, 2021, Online. https://globalnews.ca/news/7722021/canadian-forces-sexual-misconduct-art-mcdonald-investigation/.

[237] Alejandro Grimson, "Culture and Identity: Two Different Notions," p61-77.

2. Modify the QR&O definition of Non-Commissioned Officers to be inclusive of all Chief Petty Officer, Petty Officer, and Warrant Officer ranks. This definition is consistent with NATO and colloquial uses. More importantly, it provides an inclusive, unifying label which emphasises the common identity and not the different groups that NCOs come from.
3. Use the term “flag officers” to emphasise a single group and avoid the term “general officers and flag officers” which highlights two separate and distinct groups.
4. Develop distinctive personnel branch rank insignia for junior ranks. These should enhance a member’s connection to their branch identity while highlighting the member’s accomplishments within their trade.
5. Develop new common symbols of rank for officers but avoid a simple restoration of the rank insignia of Unification which may trigger resentments based on service identities.
6. Examine the regimental system of Reserve Force manoeuvre arms which does not currently unify groups large enough to conduct operations or complex training.
7. Restructure the officers’ messes that support NDHQ so that they are relevant, and they foster a CII across officers of all services without psychologically reinforcing separateness of each service.

AREAS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

This paper also identified a few areas for further research including:

1. Labels and subtle uses of language can be used to enhance the entitativity of a CII or to manipulate the salience of subordinate or superordinate identities. Quantitative studies should explore the preceptive impacts on superordinate identity and outgroup perceptions from the alternate use of “soldiers, sailors, and aviators” vs “Canadian Armed Forces members.” Parallel French language studies should also contrast the utility of “les

militaires" in relation to wordier descriptive phrases for manipulating the salience of a unified CAF identity. This research would inform language used in CAF publications and official communications. It should also advise on the relative merits of creating an English language label for CAF members that would be comparable to "les militaires."

2. Regular Force infantry and armoured regimental systems both include two English regiments and one French regiment. Potentially this has the effect of shifting some focus of intergroup competition away from two very unequal groups of French and English speakers, and puts that focus on competition between three equal regiments. Quantitative research should determine if this regimental structure does have any measurable impact on the dynamic of linguistic identity and conflict within the CAF. The results would inform future discussions on constructed CAF identities and force structures.
3. While not specific to the military, empirical research should develop the relationships between social identity theory and social brain theory, to include any influences of cross-cutting identities upon socially sustainable group sizes.

With the recommendations contained in this paper, the CAF can increase cohesion and strengthen the unifying CII that it espouses in *Duty with Honour*. The strengthened CAF CII will reduce discrimination between sub-identities of the CAF and enhance normative efforts aimed at the whole institution. It may even facilitate future change initiatives as "commitment to common ingroup identities may be able to act as a buffer in times of identity change, especially when group members are faced with the potential dissolution of inter-category boundaries."[238] Consideration of social identity should be incorporated, as an alternate perspective that

[238] Catriona H. Stone and Richard J. Crisp. "Superordinate and Subgroup Identification as Predictors of Intergroup Evaluation in Common Ingroup Contexts." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 10, no. 4 (Oct, 2007), p510.

compliments typical cultural approaches, into the search for solutions to current and future CAF social problems. The remainder of this document provides amplifying historical context to support a history of social identity based conflict within the CAF and insights into organizational transformation in an environment of strong identities.

PART II
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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON CANADIAN MILITARY IDENTITY

The following supplemental chapters demonstrate a history of collective identity in the CAF

CHAPTER 7: MILITARY SERVICE TRIBES

> Intraservice rivalry, however, never rivaled interservice rivalry. The services were like nation-states: loyalties to them tended to override sectional or class affiliations and also to be stronger than transnational loyalties. … within the military, the lines between functional groupings within a service were seldom as clearcut as the lines between services.
>
> - *Samuel P. Huntington, Interservice Competition and the Political Roles of the Armed Services*

CANADIAN MILITARY SERVICES TRIBES

Different service identities are so notoriously bad at working together that the dysfunction has been named "interservice rivalry" and described in Oxford University Press's library of reference as "the competition between military services (Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines) for prestige, funding, and influence, particularly in the Congress."[239] While this definition is American-focused, examples of interservice rivalry can be found across the world, such as with Italy's navy and air force "tussling" over the order in which they will each receive new F-35B fighter jets.[240] This chapter will take a quick look into history to show that Canada has experienced its share of interservice rivalry over a period almost as long as there has been more than one Canadian service identity. It will be seen that all three of Canada's service identities evolved to see themselves as quite distinct from each other, that service identities were largely replicated from Britain and in some ways deferred to British identity over Canadian, and that interservice rivalry is a behaviour inherent in the copied British military identities.

Founding of Canadian service tribes

The colonies that formed Canada at confederation brought with them existing formal militias, with the Province of Canada's most recent Militia Act having been approved in 1863

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[239] Oxford Dictionaries, "Interservice Rivalry," in *The Oxford Essential Dictionary of the U.S. Military*: Oxford University Press, 2001. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199891580.001.0001/acref-9780199891580-e-4075.

[240] Tom Kington, "Italy's Navy-Air Force Tussle Over the F-35 Comes to a Head." *DefenseNews*, October 21, 2020. https://www.defensenews.com/global/europe/2020/10/21/italys-navy-air-force-tussle-over-the-f-35-comes-to-a-head/?utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=Socialflow+DFN.

during the American Civil war.[241] Both Canada and New Brunswick had recently increased the training and activity of their militias in response to the Fenian threat that arose in 1865.[242] The newly formed Dominion of Canada adopted its first Militia Act in 1868, the first permanent militia organizations (two garrison artillery batteries in Kingston and Quebec) were created in 1871, and in 1883 a new Militia Act established a 750 man Permanent Force that included infantry, cavalry, and the two existing garrison artillery batteries.[243] The militia, including part-time soldiers (Non-Permanent Active Militia or "NPAM") and full-time soldiers (Permanent Force or Permanent Active Militia), was Canada's first armed service and, in 1940, it was renamed as the Canadian Army.[244] Canada's second armed service came about, largely as an alternative to supporting the British Dreadnaught arms race, when Canada approved a Naval Service on 04 May 1910 with its first warships being the surplus British cruisers *Niobe* in Halifax and *Rainbow* in Esquimalt.[245] In August of the next year, King George V approved a redesignation of the Naval Service of Canada to the Royal Canadian Navy.[246] The Canadian Air Force was created in April 1920, in part motivated by post-war British and American donations of aircraft and parts[247]. In February 1923 the title "Royal" was granted by the British, and by April 1924 the Canadian Government formally renamed the service as the Royal Canadian Air Force at which point the new service took to "adopting the uniforms, badges, and youthful traditions of the [Royal Air Force]."[248] Thus, briefly, Canada had three different armed services

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[241] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, p20.

[242] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p21.

[243] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p27; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p43; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada: From Champlain to Kosovo*. 4th ed. Toronto: M&S, 1999. p93.

[244] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p190; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p181.

[245] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p125-126.

[246] Canada. Government of Canada. "Toward a Canadian Naval Service (1867-1914)." Accessed March 27, 2021. https://www.canada.ca/en/navy/services/history/naval-service-1910-2010/toward.html.

[247] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p169.

[248] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p171.

that were under three different government departments with three separate budgets and reporting to three different cabinet ministers. And while they were Canadian, all three services looked to their analogous service in Britain for elements of training, military education, and doctrine as well as to emulate uniforms, rank structures, and symbols.

Early Canadian service tribalism

Consolidation of defence structures and identity-based competition between the services began promptly during the period between world wars. The National Defence Act of 1922 merged the Department of Militia and Defence with the Department of the Naval Service and with the Air Board to form the Department of National Defence which reported to the Minister of National Defence. To advise this minister, the army position of Chief of General Staff was retitled as "Chief of Staff." The incumbent, Major General James MacBrien, was supposed to speak on behalf of all three services but, as Canadian military historian Desmond Morton notes, "he remained a soldier"[249] and so his advise reflected a soldier's priorities. At the head of the navy was Commodore Walter Hose, a former Royal Navy officer[250] who "never accepted subordination to a general"[251] and, with the help of the Deputy Minister of National Defence (who had been Deputy Minister of the Naval Service), "fought a guerilla war"[252] against many of MacBrien's initiatives. MacBrien retired having only really influenced within the army, and his successor abandoned the new title in favour of the army focused "Chief of General Staff."[253] Army-Navy tensions would flare significantly in 1933 when a newer CGS, Major General Andrew McNaughton, was directed to reduce defence spending by $3.6 million and he proposed

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[249] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p171.
[250] Canada. Government of Canada. "Rear-Admiral Walter Hose, CBE." Accessed March 27, 2021. https://www.canada.ca/en/navy/services/history/leaders/commanders-list/walter-hose.html.
[251] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p171.
[252] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p168.
[253] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p168.

elimination of the RCN and use of aircraft to defend Canada's coast.[254] Commodore Hose successfully defended the RCN against this. Through these early days, the air force was a lesser partner within DND, as its service chief was not at the level of general or flag officer, and it would largely have been managed at the whims of the army had the service not been established with several civil aviation duties that it was able to leverage for both public funds and national fame until 1936.[255] Relative command equality was achieved in 1938 with the promotion of Air Vice Marshal George Croil as the Chief of the Air Staff.[256] At this time, the Second World War provided a brief reprieve from the budgetary constraints that normally exacerbate interservice rivalry, while the Canadian services themselves went off to work predominantly with analogous services of other nations.

Wartime pursuit of service prototypes

While Canadian interservice rivalry may have taken a backseat during the war, service tribalism continued in the form of services seeking to model themselves in what they saw as the ideal prototypes of their identities. This occasionally resulted in a clash between operational objectives and identity objectives, and it can perhaps be illustrated by the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN), which at the start of the Second World War had only thirteen ships including four minesweepers and six destroyers.[257] In early 1940, all RCN destroyers were placed under the command of the RN and they very soon after found themselves defending Britain from Nazi invasion.[258] In May and June 1941, the RCN formed the Newfoundland Escort Force with

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[254] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p174.
[255] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p171, 173, 177.
[256] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p177.
[257] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2003, p211; Marc Milner, "The Implications of Technological Backwardness: The Canadian Navy 1939 – 1945," in *Canadian Military History: Selected Readings*, edited by Milner, Marc, 298-312. Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998, p299.
[258] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p215; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p195.

several corvettes, its destroyers just returned from the RN, and two RN destroyers.[259] Though command of this force, which was responsible for one-third of the North Atlantic convoy route, was handed to the United States Navy (USN) in September 1941.[260] Over the winter of 1942/1943, the RN observed that 80% of sunk merchant shipping had been under RCN escort and so the RCN was briefly pulled from North Atlantic escort duty for retraining on less arduous routes.[261] By spring 1943, the RCN was again assigned responsibility for operations in the northwest Atlantic.[262] The service had done yeoman's work to enable allied war shipping. But, as Canadian military historian Desmond Morton describes, the RCN did not view escort duties or antisubmarine warfare as the role of a "real navy." [263] The RCN's ingroup prototype was defined by the operation of the major warships employed by the navies of Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy, and Japan.[264] In late 1943, the British government agreed to transfer several warships to the RCN. By the war's end, the RCN had achieved its "big ship" ambitions, operating over twenty destroyers, two light cruisers, and even two aircraft carriers (though aircrew were provided by the RN).[265] But on the path to attaining that identity-based ambition, resources and dry-dock space were diverted away from the repair and upgrade of corvettes so that large Tribal Class destroyers could be built in Halifax from 1942 to 1945.[266] As Morton notes, that was a decision which "probably meant that merchant ships went to the bottom of the

[259] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p218; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p196-198; Marc Milner, "The Implications of Technological Backwardness," p302.
[260] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p218; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p196-198.
[261] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p226; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p201; Marc Milner, "The Implications of Technological Backwardness," p308-309.
[262] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p226; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p200.
[263] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p228; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p195.
[264] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p195, 224.
[265] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p228 – 230, 341.
[266] Marc Milner, "The Implications of Technological Backwardness," p301.

for want of escort and men and supplies were lost."[267] The RCN was not alone in pursuit of its tribal prototype. A similar criticism was leveled at the 1st Canadian Army which, under command of General McNaughton, resisted efforts to deploy subordinate formations to where they may have gained vital combat experience because of a concern that the army itself may have been dissolved if too many of its parts were detached to other commands.[268] As the war's end approached, all three services had grown substantially from their 1939 structures, and each had developed quite elaborate visions for their desired post war structures.[269]

Post-war Canadian service tribalism

Coming out of the Second World War, the Canadian military underwent a rapid downsizing, ambitious service plans for post-war structures were quickly dashed, and a new defence minister, Brooke Claxton, was appointed late in 1946.[270] Claxton believed interservice rivalry was bad for both military and budgetary planning, and he was a proponent of tri-service institutions.[271] He promptly consolidated the three separately located service headquarters into a single National Defence Headquarters and forced the service chiefs to move their offices to a common building.[272] He was also quick to re-open the Royal Military College, which had been closed since 1942, as a tri-service institution to train new officers.[273] Through twelve and a half years as MND, Claxton implemented several more reforms that eliminated service duplication including the move to a single tri-service defence budget, standardization of tri-service personnel policies, introduction of a common military law system, and the creation of a unified Defence

[267] J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *Canada and the Two World Wars*, p228.
[268] J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War*, Toronto: Stoddart, 1993, p73-74, 77.
[269] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p227.
[270] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p227; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p46-47.
[271] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p48; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228.
David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p47; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228.
[273] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p48.

Research Board.[274] Also significant was Claxton's creation of the position of Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff (CCS), on 01 February 1951.[275] The separate service chiefs continued to command their respective services while the CCS, with a small staff of his own, existed to coordinate between the services, build consensus where possible, and advise the minister holistically on all matters of national defence.[276] Unfortunately, these significant transformations were insufficient to eliminate interservice tribalism as illustrated by a bitter dispute that erupted between the RCAF and RCN over roles and research funding when the RCN chose to develop its own fleet air arm.[277]

Claxton also took steps to supplant British identity within the Canadian military, including an instance that a Canadian flag and not a Union Jack would be flown in front of the newly consolidated NDHQ.[278] He opened the National Defence College in Kingston which, from 1948 until its closure in 1993, allowed Canada to patriate the sort of curriculum delivered by the Imperial Defence College of Britain or the National War College of the United States.[279] The Canadian Army and the RCAF also opened their own staff colleges in this period to patriate the professional development of mid-ranking officers, and in 1952 the Collège Militare Royal was opened to increase francophone representation in the services.[280]

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[274] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p47; J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p70-71.

[275] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p319, 352; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p48; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p238.

[276] J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p352; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p48.

[277] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p238.

[278] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p47.

[279] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228; The curriculum of the National Defence College was subsequently assumed by the Canadian Forces College in 1998 as described by Canada, Department of National Defence, "History of the Canadian Forces College," Accessed March 21, 2021. https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/124/273-eng.html.

[280] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228, 238-9; J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p317-318;

BRITISH MILITARY SERVICE TRIBES

Despite these efforts, all three Canadian services retained strongly British connected identities well into the 1960s. Even though the army had a francophone regiment, the Royal 22e Régiment, all three services were solidly English and the officer corps of the RCN was even accused in 1949 of having fully adopted RN "accents and snobbery."[281] This much probably should have been expected. The Royal Canadian Naval College, opened with the founding of the Royal Canadian Navy, was closed in 1922 leaving the Canadian navy without any training facilities and entirely dependant on the RN.[282] A quick search of official biographies shows that every one of the RCN's service chiefs, during its time as an independent service, had either joined the RN and transferred to the RCN or had spent three to seven of their formative years serving and being trained on RN warships. [283] In fact, before 1989 there had been only two commanders of Maritime Command whose formative early service years had not seen them immersed in the RN on warships or in a RN college. [284] The RCN's wartime experiences were also more closely linked to the RN than to other Canadian services, having worked beside and received extensive mentoring from the British senior service. During the Korean War, the RCN ships again fought within a Commonwealth fleet alongside British, Australian, and New Zealand ships in the Yellow Sea.[285] The Canadian Army was in a similar position. While the Royal Military College provided early training for permanent and non-permanent militia officers, many of the Canadian Army's senior leaders had been students at Staff College Camberley and

[281] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p228, 238-239.
[282] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p125, 170, 171.
[283] Canada. Government of Canada. " List of Commanders of the Royal Canadian Navy " Accessed March 28, 2021. https://www.canada.ca/en/navy/services/history/leaders/commanders-list.html.
[284] Canada. Government of Canada. " List of Commanders of the Royal Canadian Navy " Accessed March 28, 2021. https://www.canada.ca/en/navy/services/history/leaders/commanders-list.html.
[285] Ted Barris, *Deadlock in Korea: Canadians at War, 1950 - 1953*. Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1999. p34.

Imperial Defence College London, or had served in British staff positions.[286] The Canadian Army's wartime experience was also predominantly embedded inside the British army from the Canadian contingents that fought for the British in the Boer War, to the Canadian Corps that served with various British Armies during the Great War, and the 1st Canadian Army in the British 21st Army Group in the Second World War, and finally the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade of the British Commonwealth Division in the Korean War. Even the Canadian Army's contribution to the Cold War was a brigade serving under the British Army of the Rhine (BAOR) in NATO's Northern Army Group (NORTHAG) from 1951 until 1970 when it was transferred south to Central Army Group (CENTAG).[287]

The RCAF, like the other two services, was thoroughly embedded into the RAF with 60% of RCAF aircrew serving in RAF squadrons at the time the Second World War ended. Actual RCAF units included forty squadrons in Canada and forty-eight squadrons overseas, but many of these squadrons were in RAF formations because the RCAF had few wings and only one group.[288] No. 6 Group (RCAF) was assembled in 1943 by pulling together Canadian bomber crews from across the RAF.[289] The RCAF's experience began to deviate from the other services after the war. It had post-war leaders who had been trained in the RAF staff college and been employed in senior RAF staff positions, but it was also commanded by the only Reserve Force member to ever serve in the role of a Canadian service chief.[290] The RCAF participation in the Korean War was limited to 426 Squadron, which supported the USAF airbridge to keep the war

[286] J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals*, p 57, 87-89, 120, 125, 150-151, 174, 209, 211, 252-253.

[287] Sean M. Maloney, *War without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993*. Whitby, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1997. p14, 264.

[288] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p201-202.

[289] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p206.

[290] Harris, Stephen John, Bernd Horn, Inc OverDrive, and OverDrive ebook. *Warrior Chiefs: Perspectives on Senior Canadian Military Leaders*, edited by Horn, Bernd, Stephen Harris. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2000, p 237-238, 265, 269.

effort supplied, and twenty-one fighter pilots who served tours flying as part of 4th Fighter Squadron or 51st Fighter Squadron of the USAF.[291] Instead of deploying units to Korea, the RCAF's focus was the deployment of twelve fighter squadrons under 1 Canadian Air Division to serve with NATO under Americans in Europe.[292] By the late 1960s, the air division had grown smaller and consolidated its footprint in southwest Germany, but it continued a "close relationship" with the Americans.[293] By 1965, the RCAF was contemplating renaming all its ranks consistent with the other Air Forces with which it typically worked with under NATO and United Nations auspices, though RAF pattern rank insignia and uniforms were intended to remain.[294]

While the RCAF may have been transitioning to a stronger association with the USAF, the historic service identities of Canada were derivatives of British service identities. The three services' operational experiences and perceptions of how to conduct operations were based upon working with like services from other nations and not upon working with other Canadian services in pursuit of Canadian goals. The Canadian services suffered from a lack of interoperability, such as when RCAF and RCN signallers could not be employed to support the needs of an army mission in the Congo in 1960,[295] and they experienced their share of clashes between their identities. Throughout their existence, the services introduced efforts to increase efficiency and cooperation while reducing triplication only in the instances when these changes

[291] Carl Mills, "Canadian Airmen and Airwomen in Korea." Royal Canadian Air Force. Accessed April 01, 2021. http://www.rcaf-arc.forces.gc.ca/en/history-heritage/korean-war/airmen-airwomen-in-korea.page.

[292] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p236-237.

[293] Sean M. Maloney, *War without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993*. Whitby, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1997. p241.

[294] John J. Alexander, "A Return to the Royal Canadian Air Force Ranks: A Historical Examination." *The Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 3, no. 1 (Winter, 2014), p9-10.

[295] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p251;

were imposed by government. In part, this may be because interservice rivalry is a characteristic inherited from, though not unique to, British service identities.

Parallel developments of British armed services

The same pattern of identity clashes happened between the British services that donated their identities to Canada. British naval historian, Stephen Prince, described the historic struggle of separate British service identities and the eventual impacts on the Falklands War.[296] At the outset of the Second World War, the RN, British army, and RAF remained separate services commanded by separate service chiefs within separate ministries overseen by separate cabinet ministers. There was a Chiefs of Staff Committee, which was chaired by one of the service chiefs while including the other two, to serve as a coordinating body but no structure existed to command the full military capabilities of the nation. Each service maintained its distinct chain of command across the globe and within each theatre. As German armies advanced through France, some improvement to centralized national control was achieved when Winston Churchill appointed himself Minister of Defence and "working with and through [the Chiefs of Staff Committee], sometimes tried to function as the joint commander at the strategic level."[297] But at lower levels, interservice coordination was achieved by the collocation of headquarters. US pressure eventually brought the British to accept multinational and multiservice commands, but still only at the "highest regional level" with parallel service command below. This way of business trickled down to the Canadian experience by way of Headquarters 84 Group RAF collocating with Headquarters 1st Canadian Army during training exercises and operations after

[296] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002): 333-349.

[297] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p334.

the invasion.[298] While lack of a unified commander and headquarters served the exigencies of separate service identities, 1st Canadian Army found itself particularly ill-served when its supporting air group headquarters could not promptly be deployed during the battle for Normandy, and again when a relatively supportive air commander was replaced with a new commander of less cooperativeness.[299]

At the end of the Second World War, the British military returned to three parallel-but-separate command structures based on the three services. In 1955 the position of Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) was created to be chair of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, though the position was only a coordinating role until January 1982 when it was elevated to commander of the three service chiefs.[300] Only in 1964, forty-two years later than in Canada, were the service ministries consolidated into the new Ministry of Defence to provide a single government department responsible for the three services.[301] A global system of regional tri-service commands was created in 1960, but it was short-lived as defence reviews between 1966 and 1968 removed British military commitments outside of Europe.[302] During this period an interservice quarrel erupted after the British government approved the construction of a large aircraft carrier for the RN and the RAF responded with open opposition arguing that the land-based strike aircraft could achieve British defence requirements around the globe. Under the pressure of defence reviews and with two services each providing the arguments against the

[298] Paul Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. p243, 311-312.
[299] Paul Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. p294, 312.
[300] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p335.
[301] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p335.
[302] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p335; Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p365.

other's plans, both the RN aircraft carrier and the RAF strike aircraft were cancelled.[303] Another defence review in 1975 further reduced the British military's global reach and focused it on contributing to NATO.[304] "By the early 1980s, except for a few small garrisons, Britain's forces were all committed to domestically based single Service command structures and combined NATO commands."[305] Much like the Canadian services that drew inspiration from them through the World Wars and post-war periods, the British services preferred to conduct operations separately, fought for resources, and resisted integrated command.

Anticipating the Argentinian invasion of the Falkland Islands in April 1982, the decision that Britain would recapture by force was influenced by service identities when Admiral Leach, service chief of the RN, confidently advised Margret Thatcher that a military task force could and should be assembled for the task.[306] War studies professor, Alastair Finlan, described the moment through the lens of RN culture and noted two potential motivators to Leach's advise.[307] The 1981 defence review had just recently committed to massive British defence reductions with the RN being the most impacted by force structural changes of all the services.[308] The RN, which had just recently seen its last large aircraft carrier retired without replacement, was to see a reduction of 23% to its fleet of frigates and destroyers, a 33% reduction to its planned fleet of

[303] Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p364-365.

[304] Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p365.

[305] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p335.

[306] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p25; Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p337.

[307] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p24-27;

[308] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p46-48; Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p365-366.

small aircraft carriers, and the elimination of its amphibious warship fleet.[309] The defence review intended that a greater proportion of the RN's efforts be focused on the culturally less desirable tasks of hunting Russian submarines and providing nuclear deterrence, with the Polaris equipped ballistic missile submarines to become "the most important element" of the RN.[310] Finlan acknowledges arguments that Leach's motivation may have been to prevent the planned cuts,[311] and that the proposal may have been an act of service tribalism that would showcase exactly what the RN could do for the country, but only if it still had all the resources slated to be cut. Finlan believes a greater motivation came from a RN sense of what it is and how it wins wars. For the RN, the surface warship epitomized naval power while the service culture emphasised a history that promoted an offensive "style of warfare" as well as a tradition of attacking and destroying enemies that held tactical advantage.[312] Citing Nelson at Trafalgar and RN battles in the Second World War, Finlan declares that, because of culture, any RN officer would have offered the same advice as Leach. Whether the advice was offered to protect the tribe or to embrace the tribal perception of how it gets things done, the identity nexus is inescapable.

With the decision made that the islands would be retaken by force, operational command of the Falkland Islands mission was given to the RN which assigned it to the British fleet. The British fleet, in turn, decided not to work directly with its counterpart formation, RAF Strike Command, but instead chose to work with No. 18 Group, the subordinate RAF formation that was collocated with and normally supported the fleet headquarters.[313] For a land forces

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[309] Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p365-366, 368; Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p46-48.

[310] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p33-34, 49-50;

[311] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p24-27;

[312] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p26, 33, 34;

[313] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p339.

headquarters, the fleet turned to its Royal Marines. At a higher level, other Chiefs of Staff were disinclined to exercise comment on the path of activities due to the "naval-centric nature of the preparations."[314] Such compartmentalized planning could only have inhibited interservice collaboration and it was likely a factor in observations that Finlan quotes from the memoires of British defence minister, Sir John Nott.[315] Nott was skeptical of Leach's claim that the RN could conduct the operation with only the brigade of Royal Marines and a few attached battalions of the Parachute Regiment, and he equated the sentiment with a desire that Leach wanted it to be "the Royal Navy's show." But even on consulting with the army's service chief, General Bramall, the input he received was that the RN itself had to get to the point of making that decision. It was one or two weeks later that a decision was made to send a second army brigade to support. Command of the deployed force was also confusing, with no deployed over-all commander and each of three separate task groups reporting separately back to the British fleet in Northwood, it was assessed by Finlan that there was no individual in the mission area who had an "all encompassing picture of events occurring in theater."[316] Yet, the British task force did win the war, and some lessons were observed and acted upon. Plans to reduce the carrier, amphibian, and destroyer fleets were reversed.[317] The requirement for a deployed Joint commander was recognized and became built into the structure of deploying forces.[318] At the operational level a decision had been reached prior to the conflict and was reaffirmed in the

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[314] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p337.

[315] Sir John Nott quoted in Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p71

[316] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p60, 72, 76-77; Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p340, 345.

[317] Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p369, 371.

[318] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p346.

lessons afterward, to create an operational headquarters commanded by a "two-star" to take responsibility for command of expeditionary operations away from the service commands.[319] In practice this joint headquarters was created and commander appointed when needed, and it was not until 1994 that Britain actually committed to creating a Permanent Joint Headquarters (PJHQ) commanded by a "three-star."[320] For any Canadian military leaders still looking to the British for example, the message through to the end of the Cold War was that separate service stovepipes were an effective structure for command and control.

Recent progress of British armed services

Despite the eventual establishment of PJHQ, Professor Anthony King, Chair of War Studies at Warwick University, suggests that interservice rivalries continue to haunt the UK military and that these rivalries "had an inordinate influence over strategic decisions" in the years 2001 to 2011.[321] King points to several decisions, relating to the employment of UK forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, that were seemingly misguided by service interests. He questions the employment of the British Special Operations Forces (SOF), specifically the Special Air Service (SAS), in Iraq as an adjunct to American SOF in Bagdad instead of using the SAS to enable the British area of operations across the south of Iraq and particularly in the city of Basra.[322] The British special forces are said to have preferred working for the Americans and having access to the significant American SOF assets. The SAS also performed very well and "sustained the national reputation while the British were perceived as failing in the south." But British Army failings in the south were in part attributable to having given away "one of Britain's most potent

[319] Ian Speller, "Delayed Reaction: UK Maritime Expeditionary Capabilities and the Lessons of the Falklands Conflict." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p369.
[320] Stephen Prince, "British Command and Control in the Falklands Campaign." *Defense & Security Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2002), p346.
[321] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p389.
[322] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p386-388.

military assets" so that it could operate with an American force that shared the same service identity. This is concerning as King shows that, despite some ambiguity as to who made certain decisions, it was British SOF themselves who influenced to work with American SOF over directly supporting their own nation's military. The Basra mission was subsequently compromised by another service in 2005 when "senior commanders in the army were desperate to get involved in a 'popular' war before the next Strategic Defence Review in order to promote themselves over the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force."[323] The British army, with the help of an army general as CDS, persuaded the government that it was able to "commit to two medium-sized campaigns" and so, in 2006, the British army began a new mission in Helmand province of Afghanistan before concluding the mission in southern Iraq.[324] At the time of his analysis, King noted the British campaign in Helmand had started showing coherence and progress but that the achievements had come at the expense of the Basra campaign being executed without attack helicopters and sufficient soldiers because these resources had been prioritized to Afghanistan.[325] While the overextended army struggled to deliver its operational commitments, its tribal objectives were met.

> The army has certainly benefited from an extraordinary programme of procurements under 'urgent operational requirement' provisions, and as a result of its heavy commitment to Helmand seems to have inflicted major defeats on the navy and air force in debates around the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) of 2010.[326]

For Britain, service identities proved a barrier to integrated command and control through most of the twentieth century. Weaknesses exposed by the Falklands War were corrected with the eventual creation of a permanent joint headquarters to control British operations outside of

[323] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p389.
[324] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p383.
[325] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p379, 383-384.
[326] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p389.

service base stovepipes. But even in the post-9/11 conflicts, service interests always mediate in a decision that links national interests to military means, to the detriment of good defence policy.

CONCLUSION

Service tribalism is an obvious impediment to optimal military performance. Through the first hundred years of Canada's existence, the service identities were not in harmony. They competed for resources, resisted centralized command, occasionally pointed to each other as disposable options for lowering budgets, and preferred to conduct operations separately. Canada's three service identities were modeled on and subsequently influenced by the three British service identities. Service tribalism is amongst the behaviour patterns that would have been reinforced through observance of the British example. Through both world wars and continuing into the conflicts of today, the British services competed for resources, resisted centralized command, undermined each other's initiatives, and preferred to conduct operations separately. In the early 1960s the Canadian military was on the same path as the British and, left to their own momentum, the three services likely would have continued in same unintegrated, confrontational pattern as did their British prototypes.

CHAPTER 8: EXPERIMENTS OF ALTERING CANADIAN MILITARY TRIBES

> *Unification was not worth the fuss. It imposed a common green uniform, modelled on that of the US Air Force, which, wearers complained, made them look like a bus driver. Robbed of traditional navy blue uniforms, sailors made even less flattering comparisons.*
>
> ...
>
> *When distinct navy, army, and air force uniforms returned with Brian Mulroney's government in 1985, many CF personnel again complained. Why revive an old fuss and wreck the uniformity most units could now achieve only with the common green?*
>
> - Desmond Morton, Understanding Canadian Defence

UNIFICATION AND THE CANADIAN FORCES

The Canadian service identities were significantly impacted by a radical experiment in military identity and organization that was conducted following the appointment of a new MND, Paul Hellyer, after the 1963 election.[327] Hellyer's perspective on service identities was framed by his experience in the Second World War when he had joined and been trained by the RCAF and then, at the same moment the Canadian Army was experiencing a personnel shortage that precipitated a conscription crisis for the government, he was released from the RCAF which determined itself to have surplus aircrew.[328] Hellyer saw inefficiency in the slow administrative process of being released from the RCAF, the slow process to subsequently enrol into the Canadian Army, and the requirement to repeat training, vaccinations, and other administration before being deployable to the war. As Granatstein describes, Hellyer saw the same inefficiency when he became MND.

> Each service had its own tasks and war plans, and none was geared to support the others in war. The service chiefs competed with each other for funds, while the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee vainly tried to referee. Committees piled atop committees, and triplication of functions was common. … Hellyer saw nothing but open competition among the services and constant political

[327] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p249-254; J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p352-358; J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p67-94.

[328] J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p69-70.

> manoeuvring, as each service chief exercised his right of direct access to the Minister.[329]

The defence white paper published in March 1964 committed Canada both to an integrated command structure with a single Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), supported by an integrated defence staff in a single Canadian Forces Headquarters (CFHQ), commanding Canada's military, and to a "single unified defence force."[330] In July 1964, Parliament passed the legislation that would allow the first step of integration. Hellyer moved initially on administrative integration, demanding a single recruiting system, a 30% cut in headquarters personnel in Ottawa, and integration of such functions as construction engineering, communications, military intelligence, and logistics. Command integration followed in 1965 with elimination of the three service chief positions, and eleven existing commands of the services being reorganized into six joint functional commands: Mobile Command (comprising much of what used to be the Canadian Army along with the supporting RCAF tactical air support), Maritime Command (comprising much of what used to be the RCN along with RCAF antisubmarine warfare aircraft), Air Defence Command, Air Transport Command, Training Command, and Material Command.[331]

Before integration was even complete, Hellyer had made known his next objective was unification: the merger of the three separate service identities into a single Canadian Forces. In addition to the single command structure created through integration, there would be a single uniform, a single rank structure, and a single identity to which members would devote loyalty. The response, from members of the three armed services, would be predictable through SIT today. Opposition internal and external to the military fought to preserve the service identities.

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[329] J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p73.
[330] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p250; J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p354.
[331] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p70; J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p75.

The first incumbent of the CDS position, Air Chief Marshal Miller, resigned in protest, the senior RCN commander on the Atlantic coast, Rear Admiral Landymore, was fired for his opposition to unification, and several more general officers and flag officers resigned. Granatstein pointed to twenty-eight such senior leaders left the services between January 1965 and August 1966, and Morton identified ten such resignations linked to protest.[332] Veterans, reservists, and other supporters of service identities formed anti-unification organizations that were able to gain attention from media, the public, and members of parliament.[333] The Canadian Forces Reorganization Bill overcame resistance to be passed in April 1967, and Unification took effect on 01 February 1968.

There are varying assessments of Hellyer's integration and unification efforts. Looking at them as a whole, Major Devin Conley and Dr. Eric Ouellet, writing in the Canadian Army Journal, conclude that the changes were implemented through legitimate regulatory processes, but they lacked any legitimacy against military cultural norms, and there was mixed assessment of the intellectual underpinnings with recognition that achievement of efficiencies was good but concern that unification could undermine the unique capabilities of army, navy, and air force.[334] In contrast, a short review by Dr. Wilf Lund, who served with the RCN then CAF through unification, is quite critical of unification and accuses Hellyer of abandoning the military to "muddle through" at the movement of implementation, but when it comes to integration he concedes that "arguments for integration were plausible and the new structure was implemented and accepted with some reservations."[335] Other Canadian military historians distinguish between

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[332] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p252; J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p76, 79.

[333] J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p80.

[334] Devin Conley and Eric Ouellet. "The Canadian Forces and Military Transformation," p71-83

[335] Wilf Lund, "Integration and Unification." CFB Esquimault Naval Military Museum. Accessed April 11, 2021. https://navalandmilitarymuseum.org/archives/articles/controversies/integration-and-unification/.

integration and unification when casting appraisals. Morton stated that "integration worked well"[336] and noted that senior officers may have had mixed opinions on integration but were generally united in opposition to unification.[337] Bercuson noted that CFHQ "worked well over the course of its brief life, but never had a chance to achieve long-lasting reforms."[338] Granatstein's assessment is that had "Hellyer only stopped [at integration]" then he would have ranked amongst "the greatest of Canadian military reformers" but he "went that one step too far when he created a unified service wearing a single uniform with a common rank structure."[339] But Hellyer did not stop with integration and his second CDS, General Jean-Victor Allard, was keen to support "Canadianization" and the removal of engrained British identity.[340]

DE-INTEGRATION AND THE CANADIAN FORCES

Despite Unification wiping away many of the unique labels, totems and other symbols of service identities, the identities survived and clawed their way back to prominence. By the mid-1970s, it was again allowed to refer to "army," "navy," and "air force" which had become verboten terms during Unification.[341] In 1975 on the argument that a newly reorganized NDHQ was incapable of overseeing flight safety and a belief that CAF aviators lacked "organizational identity," Air Command was created from the merger of Air Transport Command, Air Defence Command, and air formations of Mobile Command, Maritime Command, and Training Command.[342] The environmental commands of Mobile Command, Maritime Command, and Air

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[336] Desmond Morton, *Understanding Canadian Defence*, p 181

[337] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p252.

[338] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p70;

[339] J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* P82.

[340] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p253; J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, p356-357; Desmond Morton, *Understanding Canadian Defence*, p 181; J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* P76-77.

[341] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p261.

[342] Canada. Royal Canadian Air Force. "Air Command (1975 - 2011)." Royal Canadian Air Force. Accessed April 11., 2021. https://www.rcaf-arc.forces.gc.ca/en/on-windswept-heights-2/58-history-1975-2011.page.

Command were the three principal elements of the CAF and within these commands was embodied the identities of the Canadian Army, RCN, and RCAF respectively.[343] The training command ceased to exist as a command, but a new Communications Command had been created. Morton suggests that the Communications Command and the Logistics Branch might have been looked upon as two additional service identities at that time. But these did not have the same pull as "true" service identities. Granatstein observes that the CDS started losing control to the environmental chiefs of staff (ECS) with the NDHQ reorganization of 1972 and that "service driven agendas" consumed ever-growing levels of attention. The three ESC received increased authorities in the 1980s, and in the 1990s were consolidated back into NDHQ as the service chiefs had been before unification. Communications Command disappeared some time after the Cold War. The functional commands that Hellyer created were no longer functional but instead purely aligned along service identity lines. In 1984, despite the CDS recommending that it would be more important to invest in equipment, MND Robert Coats chose to introduce new distinctive environmental uniforms (DEUs) for each of the land, maritime, and air environments.[344] Forty years after Unification, the DEUs provided visible indicators of the old service identities, but those service identities had actually experienced more success rolling back integration than unification. The joint functional commands were gone, and the land, air, and maritime commands had each unquestionably established themselves as the successor to a former service.

CANADIAN FORCES TRANSFORMATION

Shortly after becoming CDS in 2005, General Rick Hillier countered the growing influence of the service identities when initiated the first major military-led transformation of

[343] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, p261; David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p71.
[344] J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* p91, 129.

Canada's military.[345] Hillier wanted the military to play a more significant role in supporting Canada's achievement of its national objectives, and he believed the military could be more impactful by concentrating its efforts on fewer, larger missions which more strongly highlighted the Canadian brand on an international stage.[346] Hillier was concerned with service-environment focused cultures and a bureaucratic approach to activities, and he wanted a structure that gave greater focus and priority to the conduct and support of operations.[347] His ambition was initially received positively, but concerns and disagreement appeared amongst GOFO within months. While the intent for an operationally focused command structure remained generally supported, the maritime and air commands felt that an Army CDS was subordinating all their potential contributions and relegating the commands to supporting roles in a new land-centric or "JArmy" way of warfare.[348] The Land Forces Command, for its part, saw the creation of a special operations command as a threat.[349] Across all three ECSs, there was apprehension about loosing power to the new operational commands. In 2006, Hillier's operational command structure was created with the formation of a special operations command (CANSOFCOM), a domestic operations command (Canada Command), an expeditionary operations command (CEFCOM), and an operational support command (CANOSCOM).[350] But the other contentious element of CF Transformation, the "Team Canada" approach to operations and its many key enabling

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[345] Devin Conley and Eric Ouellet. "The Canadian Forces and Military Transformation," p78; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part One," p8.

[346] Michael K. Jeffery, "Inside Canadian Forces Transformation." *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 2 (2010), p14; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part One," p9.

[347] Devin Conley and Eric Ouellet. "The Canadian Forces and Military Transformation," p79; Michael K. Jeffery, "Inside Canadian Forces Transformation." *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 2 (2010), p13-14; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part One," p12.

[348] Allan English, "Outside CF Transformation Looking In," p14; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part One," p10.

[349] Allan English, "Outside CF Transformation Looking In," p15.

[350] Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part Two." *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 3 (2009), p8.

capabilities like “big honkin’ ships,” never did happen. Like Hellyer, Hillier had also hoped to establish loyalty to the CAF as paramount and greater than loyalties to service identities and, as happened before, the service identities prevailed.[351] In 2012, Canada Command, CEFCOM, and CANOSCOM were all merged into the Canadian Joint Operations Command leaving a single command responsible for all Canadian operations around the globe. By this time, other changes were already occurring to again strengthen separate service identities.

DE-UNIFICATION AND THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

While DEUs were introduced in 1984, other symbols that visibly differentiated the service identities were slower to return. Then in 2010 a private member’s initiative in the House of Commons revived the distinctive rank insignia of RCN officers.[352] This was followed in August 2011 with MND, Peter Mackay, announcing that the government was restoring the old service names to the ECS and the “royal” designation for RCN and RCAF.[353] In subsequent years, further announcements were made reverting to pre-unification inspired rank insignia for army and air force officers, restoring other royal designations that were removed following unification, applying the names and patches of army divisions of the world wars to present day land force areas, and other changes to symbols and insignia.[354] Conley and Ouellet suggest the

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[351] Devin Conley and Eric Ouellet. "The Canadian Forces and Military Transformation," p78,80; Allan English, "Outside CF Transformation Looking In," p16-17; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part One," p7; Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old - Part Two," p12-13.

[352] Canada. House of Commons. *40th Parliament, 3rd Session, Edited Hansard Number 003*. Ottawa, ON: 2010. https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/40-3/house/sitting-3/hansard#Int-3023945.

[353] Meagan Fitzpatrick, "Peter MacKay Hails 'Royal' Renaming of Military." CBC News, August 16, 2011, Online. https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/peter-mackay-hails-royal-renaming-of-military-1.1059811; Tristin Hopper, "'Royal' Returns for Canada's Armed Forces " National Post, August 15, 2011, Online. https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/royal-returns-for-canadas-armed-forces.

[354] Canada. National Defence. "Canada Restores Historical Features of the Canadian Army." Accessed February 06, 2021. https://web.archive.org/web/20130714110550/http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/news-nouvelles/news-nouvelles-eng.asp?id=4882; Canada. National Defence. "Restoring the Canadian Army’s Historical Identity." Accessed February 06, 2021; https://web.archive.org/web/20130714110545/http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/news-nouvelles/news-nouvelles-eng.asp?id=4880; Ellen O'Connor. "Traditional Colours Restored to RCAF Uniforms."

restoration of pre-unification service names may have been "sponsored by a discreet group of CF naval officers" and offer this as proof that the Hellyer changes were never fully normalized within the CAF sense of identity.[355] Alternately, the name change may have been spearheaded by "nostalgia" of long retired naval and air force veterans still fighting for the identity they had once served under as suggested by Douglas Bland, chairman of Defence Management studies at Queen's University, who also cautioned restored service names may embolden the environmental commands to more strongly "influence on defence policy in the interest of their service."[356] Since 2014, the Royal Canadian Navy, Canadian Army, and Royal Canadian Air Force have been re-enshrined in the National Defence Act as subordinate commands of the CAF.[357] Elements of British identity superseding Canadian identity can again be seen by the decision of the RCEME to pronounce their acronym the same as though it were the British Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (REME), leaving out the "C" which stands for Canada.[358]

CONCLUSION

Having survived Hellyer's attempt to destroy service identities, Canada's armed service identities have proven themselves resilient and more powerful than any unified CAF identity that may be espouse by military leaders and doctrine. The common ingroup identity model (CIIM) and the in-group projection model (IPM) explain that service identities need to perceive each other as complimentary before a superordinate identity can be leveraged. Leveraging that

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Legion Magazine, January 13, 2015, Online. https://legionmagazine.com/en/2015/01/traditional-colours-restored-to-rcaf-uniforms/.

[355] Devin Conley and Eric Ouellet. "The Canadian Forces and Military Transformation," p76.

[356] Tristin Hopper, "'Royal' Returns for Canada's Armed Forces " National Post, August 15, 2011, Online. https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/royal-returns-for-canadas-armed-forces.

[357] Canada. National Defence Act, R.S., c. N-4, s. 14 (1985); Canada. National Defence Act, R.S., c. N-5, s. 17; 2014, c. 20, s. 168.

[358] Corps of RCEME / Corps du GEMRC. "Snapshot of the "Royal Communique"." Accessed May 01, 2021. https://www.facebook.com/RCEME.GEMRC/posts/here-is-a-snapshot-of-the-royal-communique-circulating-through-the-regional-netw/544519128931439/.

superordinate identity will be further challenged by a lack of a concise, unambiguously military English label for CAF members. But the first challenge is building the perceptions of complementary sub-identities. A look at smaller, lower-level tribal identities will reveal some clues as to how that can be done.

CHAPTER 9: EVOLVING AND STAGNANT TRIBES

> Particularly through customs, traditions, symbols and rites of passage, the profession of arms provides strong signals of a past to be preserved and lessons to be remembered which can serve as barriers to change.
>
> - *Vanessa Brown and Alan Okros. "New Leaders, 'New Wars'*

CHANGE IN MILITARY TRIBES

Militaries have been accused of resistance to change, and much of this resistance is rooted in protection of a social identities. Through its long history, the British regimental system has been transformed and modified on several occasions. It, therefore, provides an illustrative example of the ins and outs of modifying military identities. This chapter will look at two discrete periods of change imposed on the British army's regimental system to understand the challenges of organizational change when dealing with strong sub-organizational identities. In the late nineteenth century, the combined Cardwell and Childers reforms completely transformed the British regimental system. The changes were met with skepticism and opposition from regimental communities and, despite regimental resistance seeing some changes reversed decades after, the changes were largely successful because they leveraged identity. More than a century later, the merger of Scottish regiments in 2004 provided an opportunity for SIT researchers to examine the impact of change on military identities and to identify strategies to facilitate change.

THE BRITISH REGIMENTAL SYSTEM

The 18th century marked a significant period of change as European armies transitioned from organizations that "gathered when necessary to fight for the king or master" and became permanent standing forces that were organized by specializations and functions.[359] Entering the 19th century, European armies continued an evolutionary trend that began with Napoleon's

[359] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p33.

Grande Armée and continued through the Prussians' successful wars of German unification. Continental armies grew larger with the use of national conscription, established standardized training programmes, established staff colleges, and organized reserve units.[360] The British army similarly attempted transition to a more national institution and efforts were made, not always successfully, to increase standardization of rank structures, uniforms, and military drill.[361] Overall, the British army and its regimental system, originating from 1662,[362] did not keep up with the evolution of continental peers.

Professor Anthony King, while linking the period to the present-day culture of the British army, describes the army of the 18th and 19th centuries as a highly decentralized organization wherein Colonels "'owned' their regiments" and there was neither a central general staff nor a central command college to influence the standardization of thought or activity.[363] A regiment was effectively an "independent fiefdom." King identifies parallels between the British regimental culture and business culture of the period.[364] Specifically, that the British regimental system matched a pattern of small, local organization that eschews centralization. Instead of tight control, professional organizations embraced individual "autonomy and freedom" while the manufacturing industry "was relatively small scale, unregulated and privately run." In contrast, French and German government control, coordination, and investment provided for larger, more robust business and army structures in those countries. For King, the small-scale organizing and decentralized execution of operations reflected a "laissez-fair" approach which may have inhibited the formation of manufacturing empires but which "was adequate and even optimal"

[360] David J. Bercuson, *Significant Incident*, p25-6.
[361] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p13.
[362] David French, *Military Identities*, p5.
[363] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p391.
[364] Anthony King, "Military Command in the Last Decade," p391-3.

for the Army focused on policing the British Empire. For contemporary observers, the mid-19th century British army was accused of being overly expensive of personnel costs, unattractive to potential recruits, and aristocratic.[365] The army was noted for lacking an ability to rapidly expand in time of crisis, and for having no ready reserve or replacement pool when large contingents did deploy.[366] Additionally the continued use of the purchase system, where regimental colonels supplemented their income through the sale of officer commissions and promotions, was seen both as discouraging potential officer candidates from a growing middle class, and as encouraging an amateurish rather than professional officer corps.[367]

By the 1860s, the British army was composed of the Regular Army, the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers. The Regular Army was organized with 3 regiments of horse guards, 28 regiments of line cavalry, 3 regiments of foot guards, 110 regiments of line infantry (consisting eighty-five single battalion regiments, twenty-five regiments of two battalions, and two rifle regiments of four battalions for a total of 143 battalions) and two "corps-regiments" (the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers).[368] Guards and cavalry regiments were all single unit regiments, while the two "corps-regiments" each contained all the units of their respective functions. Units of the infantry and cavalry were commanded by lieutenant colonels while units of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, known as batteries and companies respectively, were commanded by majors. Under this regimental system, officers and soldiers had not joined the army; they had joined their respective regiment.

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[365] David French, *Military Identities*, p12.
[366] David French, *Military Identities*, p12.
[367] John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p7-10; David French, *Military Identities*, p3, 12; John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, First Vintage Books Edition, New York: Vintage Books, 1994, p14.
[368] David French, *Military Identities*, p10-11.

CARDWELL AND CHILDERS REFORMS

This regimental system and the British army were significantly changed by two Secretaries of State for War, with Edward Cardwell's reforms of the late 1860s through early 1870s and the Hugh Childers' reforms of 1881. These reforms and the regimental system that resulted are described in detail by University College of London military history professor, David French, in this book *Military Identities*. The Cardwell reforms reduced the numbers of personnel in overseas garrisons and made self-governing colonies responsible for raising their own defences, abolished the purchasing of commissions and promotions of officers, and reduced the terms of enrollment from twenty-one years of service to twelve years of service with an option to complete those years in the reserve force after six years of full-time service.[369] Of significance to the regimental system was that Cardwell linked all single battalion line infantry regiments into pairs and, within these linked-pairs, officers would continue to serve only in the regiment they joined but soldiers could be posted between either regiment.[370] Additionally, the country was divided into sixty-six sub-districts which each contained a training depot, two militia battalions, one volunteer battalions, and either a linked-pair of single-battalion infantry regiments or a single two-battalion infantry regiment. Under this localization scheme, linked regiments were garrisoned within and recruited from the county or counties of their assigned sub-district, and one battalion at home would train soldiers to sustain another battalion deployed to an overseas garrison or expeditionary mission.[371] There was significant interaction between Cardwell reforms and identity in the British army. Under the purchase system, officers could transfer between regiments in pursuit of the fastest path to purchase lieutenancies, captaincies,

[369] David French, *Military Identities*, p14-16.
[370] David French, *Military Identities*, p14-16.
[371] David French, *Military Identities*, p14, 78; John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p7, 15

and lieutenant-colonelcies[372] but the introduction of regimental seniority lists "made loyalty to the regiment and service within the regiment, and to no other regiment, the passport to a successful career."[373] While the Cardwell reforms more strongly bound officers to their regiments, the opposite would have been true of soldiers in linked regiments. Where soldiers previously served much longer careers in a single regiment, they now had less opportunity to develop similar loyalty as they served for shorter periods and could be passed, like a commodity, from one regiment to the other according to need. Instead, leveraging civilian identities linked to home counties, it was hoped that localization would encourage strong loyalty, quality performance, and good discipline.[374] The Cardwell reforms were only a transition point as more changes were required just ten years later in response to criticisms that short-service NCOs had become too inexperienced, officer career progression had become too slow, and the army still struggled to meet operational demands when the number of battalions deployed exceeded the number of battalions at home.[375]

The Childers reforms built upon perceived strengths and corrected perceived weaknesses of the Cardwell reforms.[376] Furthering the professionalization of officers, Childers introduced pensions for captains, mandatory retirement ages, term limits for commanding officer appointments, and seniority-based promotions. To correct the reduced experience levels that resulted amongst non-commissioned officers due to shorter service Childers extended to seven years the period of full-time service required before transfer to the reserve, he introduced options of longer service for corporals and sergeants, he improved pay, he made pensions available to

[372] John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p7-10; David French, *Military Identities*, p12; John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, p14.
[373] John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p9.
[374] David French, *Military Identities*, p15.
[375] David French, *Military Identities*, p16-19.
[376] David French, *Military Identities*, p20-24.

soldiers who reached the rank of sergeants, and he increased the flexibility for sergeants to get married. The Childers reforms also advanced the localization model by merging one-hundred-ten line infantry regiments of the Regular Army into sixty-seven territorial (or county) regiments.[377] Within territorial regiments, the 1st and 2nd battalions were of the Regular Army, while the Militia constituted the 3rd and 4th battalions, and the Volunteer battalions were numbered behind those of the Militia. Childers intended that soldiers would see themselves to "belong to a Regiment not a Battalion."[378] Localization would continue to keep one Regular Army battalion at home training new soldiers and supporting the other battalion deployed somewhere across the empire, but now soldiers and officers could be moved between two battalions of a regiment without ever being separated from their regimental identity. The first challenge was that many of these new regimental identities would need to be created. Childers' transformations created forty-eight new regiments through mergers that saw titles of twenty-three pre-reform regiments shifted to different counties and eleven titles were transferred from distant parts of the empire. Regiments of wildly divergent identities were smashed together to create new regiments, such as with the merger of the 100th (Prince of Wales's Royal Canadian) Regiment of Foot with the 109th (Bombay Infantry) Regiment and localized to Leinster Ireland as the Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians).[379]

There were many exceptions within the regimental system created through the combined Cardwell-Childers reforms.[380] There was an odd number of line infantry battalions, so the Cameron Highlanders remained an un-paired single unit regiment until 1897. Rifle regiments

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[377] David French, *Military Identities*, p20, 77-78; John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p7.
[378] David French, *Military Identities*, p77.
[379] John S. Farmer, *The Regimental Records of the British Army: A Historical Résumé Chronologically Arranged of Titles. Campaigns, Honours, Uniforms, Facings, Badges, Nicknames, etc*. London, UK: Grant Rishards, 1901. p208-9.
[380] David French, *Military Identities*, p28.

and foot guards were not tied to the new territorial structure and recruited nationally. Irish regiments had no volunteer battalions, while guards regiments had neither militia nor volunteer battalions. Those few exceptions aside, merged regiments needed new shared identities and creating shared regimental identity was further challenged by the fact that a regiment's battalions were rarely ever in the same place at the same time. To solidify the emotional bonds that would facilitate the free movement and loyalty of members across all battalions of their regiment, "military authorities manipulated symbols, rituals, ceremonies, and 'histories', to create … new regimental [identities and] esprit de corps"[381]

During training and throughout a member's career, history is leveraged as a tool for positive ingroup differentiation. In Canada and Britain, "each regiment considers itself unique and even superior to others. History is key to that uniqueness."[382] To that end, the regimental associations publish regimental journals, operate regimental museums, and publish or commission regimental histories.[383] The regimental histories come in two types: the detailed chronology of the regiment in a book or multi-volume set, and a condensed "regimental pamphlet" or "regimental book."[384] The regimental pamphlet serves the purpose to "ensure that the regiment's unique rituals, dress uniforms, accoutrements, order of conducting business, and means of governing"[385] while also acting as "a tool for justifying existing institutions and for imbuing the reader with a sense of moral righteousness."[386] These histories, in either the detailed or pamphlet form, always presented the past in a positive light.

> Much of what passed for regimental history consisted of the legends the regimental authorities developed to make members of the regiment feel content

[381] David French, *Military Identities*, p78.
[382] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p14.
[383] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p15-16
[384] David French, *Military Identities*, p82; David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p15.
[385] David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians*, p15.
[386] David French, *Military Identities*, p83.

> about who they were, the functions they had to perform, and the hardships they had to endure. When history might tell them what they did not want to hear, it was rewritten in a more acceptable form. Defeats, when they were mentioned, were always redeemed because they were accompanied by acts of individual and collective heroism. Few regimental histories made mention of events that showed their regiment in a poor light.[387]

The leveraging of history by regiments and services extends from the published and unpublished regimental or service lore to the paintings hanging in officers' messes that constitute a "visual history that the institution deliberately wants to expose to new recruits."[388] For military identities, a central pillar of regimental or service history is the great battles and specifically the great victories along with their great heroes and great leaders. Four separate committees sat, between 1882 and 1909, to consider regimental lineages and assign battle honours linking new regiments to the histories of Marlborough's victories, the Battle of Dettingen, the fall of Louisburg and Québec, the Battle of Tangier, and the Peninsular War.[389] These manufactured histories then became the foundations upon which much of regimental rituals, traditions, and symbols were based.

THREATENED IDENTITIES AND THE MERGER OF SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

Transformation of the British regimental system did not stop with the Cardwell-Childers reforms. There were changes to the reserve force in the early 1900s, significant downsizing in the late 1950s, the formation of larger multi-battalion regiments in the 1960s, and still more mergers in the current century.[390] Military historian John Keegan notes that many neighboring county regiments were merged, and he notes a case of four light infantry regiments that deliberately pursued a merger that "preserved the existence of all at the expense of some blurring

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[387] David French, *Military Identities*, p84.
[388] Alistair Finlan, *The Royal Navy in the Falklands Conflict and the Gulf War*, p7-8.
[389] David French, *Military Identities*, p86-88.
[390] Dave. "The British Regimental System: Essential Or Outdated?" *The Wavell Room* (August 16, 2018). https://wavellroom.com/2018/08/16/the-british-regimental-system-essential-or-outdated/.

of their identities."[391] The pattern of reduction through merger continues to be used through significant transformations of the British Army. The impact of merger on regimental identity was explored in two studies, by social psychology professor Jolanda Jetten and principal lecturer Paul Hutchison, concerning a major restructuring of British regiments that was announced in December 2004.[392] At the time, downsizing since the end of the Cold War had resulted in an army of multiple single-battalion regiments and the government directed the creation of nine new infantry regiments (most being multi-battalion) through the mergers of twenty-five existing regiments.[393] Jetten and Hutchison examined the formation of the Royal Regiment of Scotland which was to consist of five battalions following the merger of the six existing Scottish regiments. The first study examined perceptions within the regimental community of the Black Watch, one of the precursor regiments to the Royal Regiment of Scotland and a regiment which itself had been formed by a merger of the *42nd Royal Highland (The Black Watch) Regiment of Foot* and the *73rd (Perthshire) Regiment* under the Childers reforms of 1881.[394] Three-hundred-eight current and former members or family completed surveys that measured perception of continuity in the regiment's historical roots, personal identification with the pre-merger identity, perceptions that the merger represents a break with the past, perceptions that the merger was legitimate, and beliefs that the merger would result in positive outcomes.[395] The results showed that strong perceptions of the Black Watch as being historically continuous were correlated with

[391] John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p12.

[392] Jolanda Jetten and Paul Hutchison. "When Groups have a Lot to Lose: Historical Continuity Enhances Resistance to a Merger." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (2011): 335-343.

[393] Drummond, Nicholas. "A Review of the British Army's Regimental System." UKLandPower.com. Accessed November 12, 2020. https://uklandpower.com/2020/04/16/a-review-of-the-british-armys-regimental-system/.

[394] Farmer, John S. The Regimental Records of the British Army : A Historical Résumé Chronologically Arranged of Titles. Campaigns, Honours, Uniforms, Facings, Badges, Nicknames, etc. London, UK: Grant Rishards, 1901. p158.

[395] Jolanda Jetten and Paul Hutchison. "When Groups have a Lot to Lose: Historical Continuity Enhances Resistance to a Merger." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (2011). p336-338

a perception that the merger into a new regiment would be breaking from the past, that the merger lacked legitimacy, and that the merger was unlikely to yield positive outcomes.[396] Resistance to change was observable outside the confines of the study with protests and petitions against the merger occurring in Scotland.[397] As a consequence of opposition, the British government offered a concession that some of the regiments would be able to retain their pre-merger names as battalions of the Royal Regiment of Scotland.[398] Interested to see if this concession moderated any of their findings, Jetten and Hutchison surveyed 498 current and former members as well as family with a connection to any of the pre-existing Scottish regiments. The second study surveyed the same question areas as the first study and expanded to gauge individual expectations that "their regiment" would retain its name and whether individuals anticipated they would positively identify with the new regiment when it was formed. This second study confirmed the results of the first. It also found that strong identification with a pre-merger regiment or strong perceptions of pre-merger regiments having historical continuity were correlated with low expectations of coming to identify with the new post-merger regiment. But fundamental to overcoming military tribal resistance to change was the finding that, when participants anticipated their regiment keeping its premerger name, they were more likely to anticipate coming to identify with the Royal Regiment of Scotland and perceptions of breaking pre-merger historical continuity no longer impacted expectations of post-merger identification with the Royal Regiment of Scotland. Therefore, Jetten and Hutchison conclude that regimental communities were not opposed to change itself but the members felt their historical continuity

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[396] Jolanda Jetten and Paul Hutchison. "When Groups have a Lot to Lose: Historical Continuity Enhances Resistance to a Merger." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (2011). p338-339.

[397] "Army's Blast at Merger Petition " BBC News, November 30, 2005a, Online. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4483482.stm; "Regiments Group Holds Dundee Demo." BBC News, March 04, 2005b, Online. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4318563.stm.

[398] Jolanda Jetten and Paul Hutchison. "When Groups have a Lot to Lose: Historical Continuity Enhances Resistance to a Merger." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (2011). p339

was threatened and "resistance to the merger was lower as soon as there was some reassurance that the historical continuity of the group remained intact"[399]

CONCLUSION

Keegan believes there is a limit to the extent to which mergers are possible, suggesting that neither officers nor soldiers of British infantry regiments would accept being grouped into a single homogeneous, "supra-regimental" Royal Corps of Infantry and noting that the British cavalry regiments successfully prevented their identities from being subsumed into a monolithic Royal Armoured Corps.[400] But the British regimental system is a flexible system and its implementation in the Australian Army is far less heterogeneous than either British or Canadian models. The Australians have all regular infantry contained within seven battalions of The Royal Australian Regiment while the reserve infantry is composed of six multi-battalion regiments that are each localized to and named after one of the six states.[401] It is not that the regimental system requires multiple infantry and armoured regiments to function. What is demonstrated from the British experience is that when required to deliberately changing military identities, the change must account for current identities and it must develop the desired future identities.

Where Jetten and Hutchison demonstrated that the preservation of historic identities reduced resistance to adopting new superordinate identities, Canada's Unification failed because it ignored and discarded identities. The Cardwell-Childers reforms were enabled by artificially connecting new regimental identities to historic legacies, employing new regimental totems across new in-groups, leveraging old rituals and routines that emphasised identity and hierarch,

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[399] Jolanda Jetten and Paul Hutchison. "When Groups have a Lot to Lose: Historical Continuity Enhances Resistance to a Merger." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (2011). p342.

[400] John Keegan, "Regimental Ideology," p12.

[401] Australia, Army Headquarters, *The Australian Army: An Aide-Memoire*, ed 1.2, Canberra: Australian Army Headquarters, 2014, p17, 36.

and benefiting from an immersive total-institution within which soldiers, NCOs, and officers lived their military identities through every hour of their day. In Canada, the post-unification CAF continued shedding symbols that may have maintained connection to historic legacies. Worse, the post-Unification CAF very promptly found itself in another restructuring that neglected to foster the new CAF identity system while simultaneously undermining the very existence of a military identity itself through "civilianization".

In the future, it may be necessary to completely remove a subordinate identity within the CAF should it become corrupted and supportive of deviances, such as was assessed to be the situation in the cases of the Canadian Airborne Regiment and 2 Squadron of Australia's Special Air Service Regiment. Such extreme cases are not inevitable, but in the absence of such extremes it is likely that change would be hampered by the attempted destruction of existing military identities. Instead, it is more likely that changes to the CAF will cause a requirement to merge, create, emphasise, deemphasise, or otherwise manipulate military identities. When this occurs, the desired future state must be defined, and efforts must be made to identify both identities that will be impacted by the change and identities which may be leveraged to achieve the change. Planners must then address the challenge of protecting the continuity of impacted identities, while developing and fostering the identities required for the transformative end-state.

ANNEX A: MATRIX OF CANADIAN MILITARY IDENTITIES

The basic identity structure of the Canadian Armed Forces consists of the intersection of four service identities with twenty-one personnel branch identities. Six personnel branches exist exclusively within only one service identity. Two personnel branches that exist exclusively in the Canadian Army, the infantry and armoured, are further broken down into many regimental identities. Three other personnel branches, the military engineers, communications, and intelligence, have unique corps identities that further differentiate Canadian Army from non-army members of the branch. Service identities are marked by distinctive environmental uniforms (black, green, blue, or brown). Personnel branch, corps, and regimental identities are marked by a distinctive cap badge as well as potentially other insignia that vary dependant on the superordinate service identity. These identities are portable and, with few exceptions, will follow a service member through their full career. The various identities are principally laid-out in A-AD-200-000/AG-000 the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces, but the book is out of date and must be corrected against other online CAF resources.[402]

Personnel Branch, Corps, or Service	Royal Canadian Navy	Canadian Army	Royal Canadian Air Force	Canadian Special Operations Forces
Naval Operations Branch	X			
Royal Canadian Armoured Corps (Formerly Armour Branch)		Divided into 20 regiments		
Royal Regiment of Canadian Artillery (Formerly Artillery Branch)		X		
Military Engineering Branch		Royal Canadian Engineers	X	
Communications and Electronics Branch		Royal Canadian Corps of Signals	X	
Royal Canadian Infantry Corps (Formerly Infantry Branch)		Divided into 50 regiments		
Air Operations Branch			X	
Royal Canadian Logistics Service (Formerly Logistics Branch)	X	X	X	
Royal Canadian Medical Service (Formerly Medical Branch)	X	X	X	
Royal Canadian Dental Service (Formerly Dental Branch)	X	X	X	
Royal Canadian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (Formerly Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Branch)		X		
Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (Formerly Chaplain Branch)	X	X	X	
Military Police Branch	X	X	X	
Legal Branch	X	X	X	
Music Branch	X	X	X	
Personnel Selectin Branch	X	X	X	
Training Development Branch	X	X	X	
Public Affairs Branch	X	X	X	
Intelligence Branch	X	Canadian Intelligence Corps	X	
Special Operations Force Branch				X
Cadet Instructor Cadre	X	X	X	

[402] Canada, Department of National Defence, *A-AD-200-000/AG-000 the Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*; Canada. Government of Canada. "Canadian Forces Camp and Branch Flags."; Canada. The Governor General of Canada. *Special Operations Forces Branch*.

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