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USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE: THE WESTPHALIAN PYRAMID MEETS THE 'STRATEGIC CORPORAL'

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INTRODUCTION

"The medium is the message"[1] was famously coined by the Canadian scholar,

philosopher, educator Marshall McLuhan in his 1964 work "Understanding Media: The

Extensions of Man": McLuhan identifies why it is important to study the medium through which

information is passed. He used the simple example of the light bulb which although it doesn't

have content per se, does create a nighttime space which has a social effect.[2] Ironically close to

50 years later this visionary notion of McLuhan is clearly still important to understanding the

impact of social media in the internet age. Social media is creating a new social space, not

unlike the light bulb did.

"Facebook", "Twitter"," You Tube"," "Flickr", and blogging are examples of the social

media tools that have entered our lives over the past few years, and we find ourselves living in a

'sea of social media' which is changing the way many of us communicate and interact with each

other. Social media tools are extremely powerful and have been significantly influencing social

behavior to tremendous effect.

Every day there are new books, journal or newspaper articles, blogs or web pages

illustrating the impact of social media on our day to day lives[3]. We have seen the power of

social media during the very destructive Vancouver Stanley Cup riots in June 2011 whereby

social media not only helped fuel the destructive behaviour of the crowds, but it also was a tool

that afterwards was instrumental in weeding out the instigators and offenders who performed the

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[1] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* 1st edition (New York, NY McGraw-Hill 1964)

[2] *Ibid*., 8

[3] Adam Ostrow, "Facebook Fired: 8% of US Companies Have Sacked Social Media Miscreants" http://mashable.com/2009/08/10/social-media-misuse/ Internet; accessed 14 May 2012. "Margaret Atwood says Twitter, internet boost literacy" http://www.cbc.ca/news/arts/story/2011/12/05/margaret-atwood-digital-twitter-publishing.html Internet; accessed 14 May 2012

violent acts[4]. Social media has been a tool to help large groups of young adults conduct mischievous behavior, organizing them to arrive at a corner store or department store at a specific planned time, overwhelm the store owners with their numbers and then steal and loot the store's contents[5]. It was also the medium through which the Occupy Wall Street movement was organized.[6] Arguably, the greatest news event of 2011, the uprisings in the Middle East in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya identified in the mainstream media as 'Arab Spring' was in many ways attributed to the widespread growth of the use of social media in the Middle East and North Africa.[7] Furthermore, it is widely recognized that social media is now well-established as a means to communicate for many Canadians[8]. What we are witnessing is social organizations forming in various shapes and sizes, for a variety of reasons, with the help of inexpensive electronic tools.

As the above examples illustrate, there is an important social 'effect' invoked by the variety of social media tools available today in combination with the continued expansion of internet access around the world. There is a capability for many people to have greater

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[4] Wendy Stueck, "A Tale of Two Riots-The Role of Social Media" *Globe and Mail* 18 June 2011 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/british-columbia/a-tale-of-two-riots-the-role-of-social-media/article2064685/ Internet; accessed 25 March 2012. There are several other sources but this one is particularly effective as it comments on rioters, concerned citizens and law enforcement officials' use of social media during and after the Vancouver Stanley Cup riot of June 2011.

[5] Bill Wasik, "#Riot: Self-Organized, Hyper-Networked Revolts—Coming to a City Near You" *Wired Magazine* 16 December 2011: 5; http://www.wired.com/magazine/2011/12/ff_riots/5/ Internet; accessed 16 April 2012. Several instances of youth's looting across the world including London, England and Kansas City, USA which upon investigation determined that social media tools were used as the means to organize the groups.

[6] Ibid., 5. Refers to the occupy movement being organized through the use of Twitter.com and Tumblr.com

[7] John Pollock, "How Egyptian and Tunisian Youth Hacked the Arab Spring" *Technology Review Streetbook* September October 2011 http://www.technologyreview.com/web/38379/ Internet; accessed 14 February 2012.

[8] Ipsos Reid *The IPSOS Canadian inter@ctive Reid Report – The Definitive Source on Canadians and the Internet* (February 2012), 2, 4-5. Report indicates that 86% of Canadians have access to internet from any location and 80% from home. This has been the case for the last 5 years. Report also draws conclusion that "Majority of online Canadians now use online social networking sites with a large portion doing so daily". Furthermore "86% have a Facebook profile, with Facebook as the favourite social media site, followed by Twitter (80% have profiles), and Linked In (73% have profiles).

awareness and global reach if they have access to a personal computer or hand held device and the internet. At a very low cost of entry, people can access content on the internet, generate content, and communicate those ideas with a global audience. [9] Clay Shirkey best describes this by saying "there are dozens of weblogs with audiences of millions and millions of weblogs have an audience of a dozen or less". Another way of looking at the effect of social media is to describe it as a suite of "communications tools that are flexible enough to match our social capabilities"[10] These tools are powerful, inexpensive, and can organize people very quickly. The principle question that confronts governments and other hierarchical organizations is "Do they represent the beginnings of a new social hierarchy and order?" Can large organizations bring them effectively into their tool chests?

There has been much written and studied regarding the arrival and use of social media. Many have observed that social media is having an "effect" on contemporary social relations that is changing how people orient themselves to political or other questions. Many groups in business and civil society are effectively exploiting this "effect" successfully to pursue their individual agendas. Attempts by governments and militaries in specific to replicate this success have been mixed to date. By way of example, The Clerk of the Privy Council's March 2012 report from the Advisory Committee to the Prime Minister (which the Prime Minister has tabled in Parliament[11]) made a specific recommendation about the use of Web 2.0 tools (which, in this context, refers to social media) in the Federal Government. The basic message was to senior

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[9] Clay Shirkey, *Here Comes Everyone: the power of organizing without organization* (NewYork: Penguin, 2008), 84 Like conventional media, placing content on social media doesn't guarantee broad readership and or rallying behind an idea, belief or concern.

[10] *Ibid.,* 20.

[11] *Annual Report on the Public Service of Canada 2012: Moving ahead: Public service renewal in a time of change,* The Honourable Paul Tellier and The Honourable David Emerson, Co-Chairs. (Ottawa March 2012) http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=1&featureId=6&pageId=26&id=4774 Internet; accessed 2 May 2012. Prime Minister's Office website identifies tabling of report on 1 May 2012.

leaders in Government that social media is here to stay. The recommendation in the report

emphasized the need for senior leaders in the Government to understand social media tools are

part of today's society and that management's focus should not be to "control what can't be

controlled" but rather to ensure employees make the best use of the tools to conduct their work.[12]

The fact that one of the four specific recommendations in the report addressed Web 2.0 tools and

that the highest ranking public servant in the country expresses to the Prime Minister concerns

about controlling the uncontrollable and encouraging the best use of social media tools speaks

volumes about the internal struggle going on over social media in the Federal Government in

Canada.

It is therefore meaningful to explore the question, why do Governments in general and

specifically the Defence Department in Canada find the operationalization of social media tools

so difficult?

This paper will argue that the difficulty in adapting to the use of social media for the

Department of National Defence (DND) is based upon its role as a key institution within the

Westphalian state. It will argue that as an institution of the Westphalian State, DND carries out

the wishes of the sovereign ruler as a priority, in other words the state possesses sovereignty

which enables it to establish rules under which government functionaries must operate. This

contrasts with the natural environment of social media in which the tool allows groups to

organize themselves inexpensively, mobilize and act quickly, more easily than ever before. It

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[12] *Annual Report on the Public Service of Canada 2012: Moving ahead: Public service renewal in a time of change, The Honourable Paul Tellier and The Honourable David Emerson, Co-Chairs.* Ottawa March 2012), 8-9. http://www.clerk.gc.ca/local_grfx/docs/pmac-ccpm/6-2012-eng.pdf Internet; accessed March 29 2012. From the report conclusion in reference to Web 2.0 [social media tools]. "…These tools are transformative and unstoppable and the Public Service must take full advantage of these new ways of working. The communications challenge for political leaders and deputy heads is not to try to control what cannot be controlled. The task is to ensure that employees understand their responsibilities as public servants so they can use these new collaborative tools to support their work and the mandate of their organization."

enables the 'people' to more readily organize, mobilize and take action in ways not necessarily aligned with the interests of the State. It will therefore argue that the Military as a key institution entrusted with the protection of the state is in direct conflict with the 'effect' of social media.

In more detail, it will argue the Military 'chain of command' that reinforces the pyramidal organizational structure of DND and the Canadian Forces (CF) is based on formal lines of communication and direction is also in conflict with social media's easy, inexpensive, and rapid 'many-to-many' communications that often transcends all hierarchy. Additionally it will argue that the demographics of DND's Military and Civilian workforce as a result of the reduction of the CF and Public Service in the mid 1990's along with a hiring freeze also contributes to the difficulty in adapting to social media for DND. Finally, it will argue that the nature of employment contracts for DND civilian public service employees, also contributes to the difficulty to adapt to the use of social media.

The paper begins by reviewing a variety of definitions of social media including that of the Government of Canada itself. It then describes more broadly the characteristics and the effects of social media, particularly how it is allowing people to organize themselves in different non-traditional ways. It will then briefly describe some of the most popular social media tools and their capabilities

It will then turn to a brief explanation of the origins of what this papers calls the "Westphalian State" and the importance of the Defence Institution as a part of it. Shifting specifically to Canada, an explanation of DND as an important institution with a unique role in the protection of the State with specific legal authorities will be given with a particular focus on the role of Command and Chain of Command to DND.

The current demographics of the public service and some specific aspects of public service collective agreements or 'contracts of employment' are then analyzed in some detail to demonstrate that there are demographic and employment contract influences on DND's civilian workforce, that further contribute to making social media adoption a 'difficult fit' for DND.

An analysis of social media in comparison with the military chain of command and the public service contracts and demographics to illustrate their incompatibility will then follow. The paper will then conclude with a summary of the key arguments that explain some of the difficulty for DND to adopt social media.

CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL MEDIA

Social Media is a relatively new concept, and as such, has been defined in a variety of ways. According to the Merriam Webster on-line Dictionary 'social media is a term that appears to have been first used in 2004. Merriam has defined it as: "Forms of electronic communication ([such] as Web sites for social networking and micro blogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content ([such] as videos)" [13] There are thousands of other on-line definitions of social media. Here are a couple of examples:

- "Social Media is the democratization of information, transforming people from content readers into publishers. It is the shift from a broadcast mechanism, one-to-many, to a many-to-many model, rooted in conversations between authors, people, and peers."

or a shorter form is;

- "Any tool or service that uses the internet to facilitate conversations." [14]

The Treasury Board of Canada defines Web 2.0 tools in its policy "Guidelines for External Use of Web 2.0", as:

- Internet based tools and services that allow for participatory multi-way information sharing, dialogue, and user generated content. This can include social media, which allow participants with distinct social/user profiles to create, share and interact with user generated content, including text, images, video and audio (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, You

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[13] Merriam Webster on-line Dictionary http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/social%20media Internet; accessed 23 May 2012.

[14] Brian Solis, "Defining Social Media" http://www.briansolis.com/2010/01/defining-social-media-the-saga-continues/ Internet; accessed 22 November 2011.

Tube, Linked-In, blogs) as well as collaborative technologies that allow multiple users to collaboratively create content (e.g. Wikis, Google Docs).[15]

There are three important common elements in these definitions that are critical to the full understanding of social media. The first element is that social media is built upon the technological infrastructure of the internet. The internet is not in itself the principle tool, but is the medium through which business is conducted. Social media, as described in the arguments of authors such as Castells,[16] Shirkey[17] and Benkler[18] has arrived because the internet and social media tools allow groups to be created and link to each other quickly and inexpensively. Twitter's notes about itself on its website:

> And with just a Tweet, millions of people learn about or show their support for positive initiatives that might have otherwise gone unnoticed. Programs like Twitter Ads for Good offer a way for non-profit organizations to promote their efforts the same way as businesses can. As more community-centric organizations join the platform, citizens will increasingly engage with the efforts taking place to move their community forward.[19]

A second common element in the definitions is the notion of 'many-to-many' online communications amongst new and emerging online communities sharing ideas and concepts in an unmoderated fashion. This is an evolution in the way people communicate, in that previously,

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[15] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, *Guidelines for External Use of Web 2.0* http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?section=text&id=24835 Internet; accessed 8 December 2011.

[16] Manuel Castells, *The Internet Galaxy – Reflections on the Internet, Business and Society* (New York Oxford University Press, 2001), 1. Castells identifies that networks are inherently flexible and adaptable and can flourish in a quickly changing environment.

[17] Shirkey, *Here Comes Everybody*..., 11-12. "It [social media] demonstrates the ways in which the information we give off about ourselves in photos and emails and MySpace pages and all the rest of it, has dramatically increased our social visibility and made it easier for us to find each other but also to be scrutinized in public. It demonstrates that the old limitations of media have been radically reduced, with much of the power accruing to the former audience. It demonstrates how a story can go from local to global in a heart-beat. And it demonstrates the ease and speed with which a group can be mobilized for the right kind of cause."

[18] Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production transforms markets and freedom* (Newhaven: Yale University Press 2006), 6. Benkler comments that at the cost of a home computer and an internet connection a good deal more can be done by individuals who interact with each other socially as human beings and as social beings, rather than as market actors through the price system.

[19] "Twitter in the Community", http://twitter.com/about; Internet; accessed 26 April 2012.

this type of outreach was only possible with conventional broadcast media. With conventional media, there is control of the message by intermediaries such as editors, publishers or broadcasting networks. In essence with conventional media, a single source determines what content will be provided to many viewers, listeners etc. whereas with social media, users have greater choice and control. This leads to the third common characteristic of the social media definitions that identifies users are not only viewers but are, themselves, editors of content and thus able to create, share, and collaborate in their interactions within these emerging online communities. As Shirkey describes it, 'the distinction between news worthiness and news publication has been broken with the advent of the internet, blogging etc. Ideas can break into the public without the institution of the press raising them.[20]

The three above characteristics are extremely powerful, especially when considering the relatively low entry cost of individual participation in social media communication. They are truly groundbreaking because traditionally group formation was typically achieved through institutional structures[21] whose management overhead was costly and often a barrier that limited how groups could be formed. Management overhead results from how a traditional institution like Government, the Church or a large manufacturing firm organize themselves by specialized activities. Organizational divisions could be, for example, by region or by responsibilities or specialized functions, like, production, marketing, payroll, purchasing, and accounting. Built into these divisions of responsibilities portrayed in organizational charts are professional managers for each area of responsibility who have subordinates with their own specialized knowledge and unique skills reporting to them. These managers in turn report to higher level managers, each with information unique to their individual area of responsibility. This hierarchy

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[20] Shirkey, *Here Comes Everybody*..., 64-65.
[21] *Ibid.,* 21.

of managers is the management overhead of traditional organizations.[22] Previously people had

the choice to accept these overhead costs in group formation, or to not form because of the

prohibitive costs associated with it. They now have a third alternative open to them through the

characteristics of social media: association through loosely structured groups using social media,

operating with little or no overhead and without necessarily any profit motive. [23]

      With social media, the cost of group formation is low: as little as the cost of an

inexpensive hand held device and a connection to the internet. For example, hundreds of

students with Asperger's Syndrome around the world have organized themselves into a self-help

group which is equally, if not more powerful and arguably less expensive, than disparate boards

of education trying to do piece meal efforts for individual or small groups of students. Another

example is that of Estonian efforts to clean up illegal hazardous waste dumping sites in their

country without the help of the Government, led by the efforts of two resourceful people with

social media tools inexpensively who organized a massive 50,000 person mobilization.[24] Two

secretive Tunisians known as "Foetus" and "Waterman," and their organization, Takriz,

performed a central role by using social media to organize and mobilize people from all walks of

life in Tunisia which led to the eventual overthrow its President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali[25].

These real world examples demonstrate the power of social media to form groups of people

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[22] Edwin L. Makadamson *"The History of Management - The Rise of The Professional Manager in America"* Management Guru (2000) [on-line course Management 301] http://www.mgmtguru.com/mgt301/301_Lecture1Page7.htm Internet; accessed 18 May 2012. The hierarchy of the Western Railroad is illustrative of specialized management categories including president, chief financial officer, purchasing, chief operating officer etc. by region.

[23] Shirkey, *Here Comes Everybody*..., 47.

[24] Don Tapscott and Anthony D. Williams, *Macrowikinomics* (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada 2010) 262-263. Both Asperger and Estonian examples are from the book. Estonian example had 50,000 people cleaning up toxic waste sites across the country in one day.

[25] John Pollock "How Egyptian and Tunisian youth hacked the Arab Spring." *Technology Review Streetbook* (September October 2011) http://www.technologyreview.com/web/38379/ Internet; accessed 14 February 2012.

behind a social cause and not always in a positive manner for the State, as shown by the examples of hacker groups like "Anonymous".[26]

Social media's other organizational properties are flexibility and adaptability. Groups can form quickly and disband just as quickly. While this is not a typical quality you would consider desirable for a state institution like the CF (the notion of disbanding the CF because there was not a war or imminent threat to Canada, only to reconstitute it again is, of course, absurd), the previous illustration of the mobilization to clean up hazardous waste sites in Estonia demonstrates well this agility to start and to stop as necessary.

Social media can improve profitability of corporations. An example of social media's facilitation of information sharing involves Hewlett Packard. It was recognized that the sum of the information held within the workers' minds in the corporation was much more than what the company could store itself. It was an observation that employees in many cases are better at sharing information with one another directly than going through official channels, using official procedures, or standardized information.[27] Providing collaborative social media tools allowed Hewlett Packard to better utilize existing knowledge in its workforce. This case of a private company like Hewlett Packard illustrates a fundamental difference between attitudes and approaches toward social media adoption in the public sector. If there is an opportunity to improve profits for shareholders, companies like Hewlett Packard will promptly use social media to take advantage of that opportunity. This incentive for private sector by default gives the appearance public sector is naturally less interested and laggard in social media adoption.

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[26] Kevin McCaney, "Hackers declare open season on government websites" http://fcw.com/articles/2011/06/20/lulzsec-anonymous-open-season-government-websites.aspx Internet; accessed 19 June 2012. and Nate Anderson, "How One Man Tracked Down Anonymous - And Paid a Heavy Price" http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2011/02/anonymous/all/1 Internet; accessed 19 June 2012. These are two examples of hacker groups using social media in a negative way.

[27] Shirkey, *Here Comes Everybody*..., 100

At the same time social media is being used to take advantage of opportunities to improve profits for shareholders, it is also having a very different effect in some spheres and is leading to a change in the economics of information production. With the advent of social media, there has been tremendous growth in information production in the nonmarket environment[28]. Individuals can reach and inform or edify millions around the world, leading to widespread cooperative efforts and collaboration for motives other than personal financial gain or corporate profit. The best example of this is in the area of open source software[29] or Wikipedia type efforts. Making the cost of information production even lower breaks the monopoly on its production, control, and distribution. On the surface making the cost of information production even lower would appear to be attractive to public institutions and particularly desirable for taxpayers who are footing the bill for these public institutions.

Don Tapscott describes some examples where social media and internet have changed how Government delivers its services. He argues that the phenomenon of open government ushered in by the social media age results in greater levels of innovation coming from front line workers.[30] Taking into consideration there have been some applications of social media in government and knowing that it allows for greater information sharing and innovation, fundamental changes to how services are being considered and delivered by government should be widespread. Why, then, in large institutions like the CF is social media's use not more widespread?

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[28] In a non-market environment information production occurs for other than economic or profit motives.

[29] Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks...,* 4-5.

[30] Tapscott/Williams, *Macrowikinomics,* 264. Tapscott used the example of United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). After a call from President Obama to improve the immigrant application experience, Vivek Kundra a senior in the Obama administration responsible for directing technology projects for the whole of the US Government pushed USCIS to make application status available on-line. The transparency led to improved turn-around times for applicants. Additionally, allowing applicants to get updates by text message has led to more efficient service and greater customer satisfaction at low cost.

The answer to the question is complex and has more to do with a culture of control of both product and product distribution which will be explained further in the Chapter 5 analysis. Social media's power to innovate and provide new ways of communicating, collaborating, and doing business and allowing people to organize in novel ways is clearly evident. But as powerful and innovative as social media tools are, there is a last element that one must understand: their social effect is one of potential. While there have been successful uses of social media, there have also been failures. As Shirkey points out: "The use of social media tools – text messaging, e-mail, photo sharing, social networking, and the like – does not have a single preordained outcome."[31] The risk or challenge is to know in which instances the use of social media tools[32] will lead to success in mobilizing people around a social cause and in which instances it will not.

This chapter has explained some of the fundamental characteristics of social media and social media tools and they are summarized below:

- They are built on the technology of the internet;

- 'Many-to- many' communications and greater user choice and control are key features of social media that differentiates it from traditional media;

- Users are editors and can create, share, and collaborate;

- Formalized institutions, with management overhead costs no longer have a monopoly on forming of groups;

- loosely associated groups can form with little or no overhead;

- The cost of entry is as low as that of a handheld device and an internet connection;

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[31] Clay Shirkey, "The Political Power of Social Media" *Foreign Affairs 90* (Jan Feb 2011): 29

[32] There are a variety of social media tools now available. They fall into three principle categories, those that allow for the sharing of text, photos, and videos. A list of some of the currently popular social media tools and their functions is provided as an annex to this paper.

- Flexible and adaptable, they can allow a social movement to form quickly and disband equally as quickly;

- There are incentives for profit making companies to exploit social media;

- Providing collaborative Social media tools can allow corporations to better tap into and share the collective corporate memory of their organization;

- It has changed the economics of information production allowing for more widespread production of information in the nonmarket environment;

- With the advent of social media, the opportunity for more open Government and innovation from front line workers exists;

These are significant qualities and in chapter 5 of this paper I will analyze them in comparison with some of the qualities of the Defence institution as a cornerstone of the Westphalian state which is the subject of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER 2: THE WESTPHALIAN STATE – THE INSTITUTION OF DEFENCE, COMMAND AND CHAIN OF COMMAND

This Chapter will discuss the Westphalian State, its institutions, its history, and particularly the role of the Military as an institution of the Westphalian state. It will then further describe in Canada the CF has the legal authority to use violence and to be put in 'harm's way' to carry out lawfully directed duties. Finally, the characteristics of Command and Chain of Command as they apply to DND will also be described.

The basic state structure is the result of the Westphalian Peace of 1648. The period previous had been marked by two significant wars in what we know today as continental Europe: the Europe wide 30 Years' War (1618-1648) and the 80 Years' War (1568-1648) between the Dutch and Spanish. The signing of the Treaty of Munster and the Treaty of Osnabruck forming the Peace ended both wars and led to a new order whereby religious rights would be guaranteed by the state and their sovereignty to do so would be mutually respected. This also moved the states away from traditional feudal societal structures to modern ones. Tilley describes the pre-Westphalian shape of things as follows:

> None of these half familiar place names, however, should disguise the enormous fragmentation of sovereignty then prevailing throughout the territory that would become Europe. The emperors, kings, princes, dukes, caliphs, sultans and other potentates…prevailed as conquerors, tribute-takers, and rentiers, not as heads of state that durably and densely regulated life within their realms. Inside their jurisdictions, furthermore, rivals and ostensible subordinates commonly used armed force on behalf of their own interests while paying little attention to the interests of their nominal sovereigns. Private armies proliferated through much of the continent. Nothing like a centralized national state existed anywhere in Europe.[33]

The Treaties included the recognition of states and people under the rule of a Sovereign whereby the Sovereign was responsible for the behaviour of their people. In essence, state sovereignty

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[33] Charles Tilley, *"Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1992"* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), 39-40.

was recognized and the need to protect the integrity of the territory and its citizens from others is paramount to the functioning of the system[34]. This all represented a significant shift that included the removal from citizens the means to effectively carry out coercion.[35] In other words, amassing the coercive forces[36] necessary to protect the state required taking lethal weapons out of the hands of citizens, mercenaries, and individual forces within the state and amassing them in the hands of standing armed forces. Means to do this included making it criminal, unpopular and impractical for citizens to bear arms.[37] It is from these beginnings that legitimized organizations responsible for the defence of the state, or to act coercively on its behalf, were created. For the purposes of this paper it can, therefore, be argued that standing defence forces, like other longstanding institutions such as the Church, have had several hundred years to develop their institutional culture, beliefs, practices, customs, norms, and behaviours. (In the case of the Church, we have thousands of years of practice shaping the institutions culture). In Canada, DND derives its practice from the United Kingdom which derives its' practice from its Westphalian history.

The role of the military in the Westphalian State, often referred to as the 'Profession of Arms', is the unique responsibility of the CF in Canada. In the Canadian context, the British North America Act of 1867 assigned the responsibility for defence of Canada to the federal government and subsequent acts for the Militia and National Defence defined in more detail the

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[34] "Westphalian Ideal State" in *International Encyclopedia of Political Science* http://sage-ereference.com/view/intlpoliticalscience/n644.xml?p=emailA8xQwKs2eJMkU&d=/intlpoliticalscience/n644.xml Internet; accessed 09 May 2012

[35] Tilley *Coercion, Capital...*, 68.

[36] Ibid., 68.

[37] Ibid., 68. United States being a noted exception with its 'right to bear arms' in its constitution.

size of forces, how they would be organized and commanded, and how civilian control of them would be exercised.[38]

The Chief of Defence Staff reinforces this connection of the CF to the state in the forward of "Duty with Honour" when he states that "As military professionals... a greater Canadian Forces Ethos binds us together and points to our higher loyalty to Canada and the rule of law. Service to Canada, is, and always shall be, our primary duty..."[39] The unique role also includes some unique authorities. Members of the CF have the legal authority to use violence in order to carry out lawfully directed duties. Furthermore, they are subject to unlimited liability, that is they accept to be put in 'harm's way' in the performance of their duties as well as being subjected to much greater levels of discipline and restrictions on their freedom of speech in public or political forums.[40]

When the CF is called upon to help meet national objectives, they can occur through domestic[41] or foreign[42] military operations and often involve unique and difficult challenges. Carrying out these operations successfully and lawfully requires significant training, education and preparation of soldiers, sailors and airmen and airwomen to develop discipline and resilience. Military Commanders need to be sure that they have disciplined resilient forces capable of carrying out their duties where the risks are high for both the individual members of the CF (who could ultimately give their life in the performance of their duties) and for the state as a military loss could mean the weakening or end of the state. As a result, carrying out their

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[38] Defence Institute Canada, *Duty with Honour* (Kingston: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2009), 38.
[39] Ibid., preface.
[40] Ibid., 46.
[41] The deployment of Military to Montreal during the FLQ crisis in the 1970s, the deployment of Military to Oka in 1980's , relief efforts for floods, forest fires, and even the great ice storm of 1998 are recent historical examples.
[42] Most Canadians are familiar with Afghanistan and Haiti in recent memory, but CF personnel have participated in hundreds of other overseas missions since the Korean war.

duties, it can be argued, requires members of the CF to suppress and subordinate individual

desires for the accomplishment of the greater national good. Thus focus, commitment, courage,

resilience, and particularly high standards of discipline are all essential for members of the CF to

conduct operations successfully. This suppression and subordination of free will has a social

effect on the CF. This social effect will be analyzed in Chapter 5 as it affects attitudes toward

social media.

One of the Defining features of Militaries is the notion of 'Command' and 'Chain of

Command' and it is through both that the suppression and subordination of individual desires

and the enforcement of high standards of discipline occur. There are a range of definitions of

Command: Pigeau and McCann define it as: "The creative and purposeful exercise of legitimate

authority to accomplish the mission legally, professionally and ethically."[43] Furthermore, Pigeau

and McCann also highlight how the defence organization is built on a traditional top down

communications structure arguing that "the hierarchical nature of most militaries actually

specifies the chain of command making the path to authority unambiguous..."[44] Expressed in a

systemic way; command decisions have also been described as:

> …major decisions influencing military transformation cannot be fully grasped if
> one is analyzing the situation only within the confines of the rational decision-
> making model. In fact, any institutional transformation, be it military or
> otherwise, is made of 'compromises' that appear irrational on the surface, but that
> are in fact geared towards preserving the foundation of the institution's
> legitimacy, which in the case of modern military is its conventional nature as a
> neutral instrument of the modern state.[45]

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[43] Ross Pigeau and Carol McCann, "Re-conceptualizing Command and Control." *Canadian Military Journal 3, no. 1 (Spring 2002)*: 56; http://www.journal.dnd.ca/vo3/no1/doc/53-64-eng.pdf. Internet; accessed 27 March 2012.

[44] Ross Pigeau and Carol McCann, "What is a Commander?" in *Generalship and Art of the Admiral* (St Catharines: Vanwell Press, 2001), 53

[45] Pierre Pahlavi and Eric Ouellet,. "Institutional analysis and irregular warfare: Israel Defense Forces during the 33-Day War of 2006". *Small Wars and Insurgency* 23, No. 1 (March 2012): 33.

These definitions of Command and command decisions further illustrate the constraining, suppression and subordination of individual desires of members of the CF is necessary for the accomplishment of the Commanders intent (which in some situations is to ensure the legitimacy of the institution).

Command is steeped in history, and it is important to examine these historical roots. As a member of the Commonwealth, Canada's military command doctrine has historically been influenced by British command doctrine. Early historical documents expressed command in the functioning of command of tactical units and formations, high command expressed in terms of leadership qualities and stipulations for the powers of discipline were also included in early doctrine. Most importantly, for the purposes of this paper, King's Regulations and Orders recognized that the function of command is to be exercised by the senior combatant commander. One individual to whom the responsibility of the unit was entrusted.[46] The military of our closest neighbour, the United States, also had some influence on how Canada implements command. Historically the United States approach was that command was essentially to have the concentration of responsibility and commensurate authority within one individual[47]. This is exemplified in the "Joint Canada US Basic Defence Plan No. 2 (ABC 22) which stipulates:

> Unity of Command, when established, vests in one commander, the responsibility and authority to co-ordinate the operations of the participating forces of both nations by the setting up of task forces, the assignment of tasks, the designation of objectives, and the exercise of such coordinating control as the commander deems necessary to ensure the success of the operations....

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[46] The preceding paragraph is based upon brief from MGen (Ret) Gosselin April 2012 DS591. A copy of the presentation is included as an annex to this paper.

[47] Richard M. Leighton, "Allied Unity of Command in the Second World War: A Study in Regional Military Organization" *Political Science Quarterly Vol. 67*, No. 3 (September 1952): 399-425.

Some have argued that military commander's responsibilities far exceed leaders of other private or public institutions.   In their analysis of military failures, Cohen and Gooch point out that a commander can:

> …order men to their deaths, he can control their activities twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week; he can and must insist on obedience and formal deference incomparable with those of the civilian world.[48]

They also point out military commanders have a heavy burden of responsibility and much greater influence on those they command to carry out actions quickly, as compared to their civilian equivalents elsewhere in the public sector or in private industry. Despite constraints due to politics, logistics, or other considerations, they can carry out actions quickly and impact more dramatically the lives of those entrusted to them.[49] Consequences of failure in Command are also more severe. Coined as the 'politics of military failure' Cohen and Gooch point out that failures in military operations often results in more loss of human life and there is also a question of national pride, self-esteem or core values[50] being affected by military failures as well a direct impact on confidence in Government by the population in general[51]. This puts a degree of pressure on Commanders as it can be argued the entire population of the nation is a shareholder in what they do as their actions are taken in the interest of the nation.

Another aspect of command that is important to understand for this analysis is concept of unity of command. Major G.R.N Collins, in Military Organization and Administration in 1918 notes:

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[48] Elliot A. Cohen and John Gooch, The Anatomy of Failure in War: Military Misfortunes (New York Free Press 1990), 33.

[49] Elliot A. Cohen and John Gooch, The Anatomy of Failure... 33-34.

[50] Ibid., 31.

[51] The CF and Canada suffered a 'black eye' internationally with the death of Shidane Abukar Arone On March 16, 1993 by a member of the Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia.

One of the most important, if not the most important, of the old principles of war which have remained unchanged is that which declares that an Army to be successful must operate under the direction of one controlling mastermind.

Furthermore, CF Joint publication 01 stipulates:

A single, clearly identified commander will be appointed for each operation. This commander has the authority to direct and control the committed resources and is responsible for success or failure.[52]

The commander has tremendous power and responsibility vested in them by the state to carry out often difficult missions where national stakes can be very high. The single commander however, does not work alone; it is the chain of command under a commander that is the conduit through which command is exercised. The following paragraphs will define and explain chain of command, the enabler that allows the conduct of command.

There are a variety of definitions of the term Chain of Command. The following example illustrates its key elements:

The order in which authority and power in an organization is wielded and delegated from top management to every employee at every level of the organization. Instructions flow downward along the chain of command and accountability flows upward. …the more clear cut the chain of command, the more effective the decision making process and greater the efficiency. Military forces are an example of straight chain of command that extends in unbroken line from the top brass to ranks….[53]

Chain of command is specifically the framework under which commanders in military organizations traditionally exert their command over forces. Chain of command is the centerpiece of traditional military structure through which formal communications flow. The powers vested in the commander, with great responsibilities placed on them, with often very high consequences of error, costing lives and or national reputation or sovereignty if they make

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[52] Department of National Defence, *Canadian Forces Joint Publication 01* Chapter 5 paragraph 0507 table 5.1 [publication on line]; available from http://www.cfd-cdf.forces.gc.ca/sites/page-eng.asp?page=10832; Internet; accessed 11 April 2012

[53] Business Dictionary.com [on-line dictionary] available from http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/chain-of-command.html; Internet; accessed 23 May 2012.

mistakes make them rely on chain of command to ensure unity of effort by the soldier under them.

These are some of the primary reasons why adopting social media is so difficult for DND. A commander exercising authority through the chain of command represents a hierarchical relationship where a singular intent in order to focus efforts of the forces under his or her control is conveyed. This does not align with communication via social media which disregards hierarchy and provides the ability to facilitate many-to-many communications and networked collaboration. These characteristics of command and chain of command will be analyzed against the characteristics of social media in Chapter 5 of this paper.

The following list summarizes some of the key characteristics of DND as an institution of the Westphalian state as discussed in this Chapter:

- The CF in various forms, has had almost a century to develop its institutional culture, beliefs, practices, customs, norms and behaviours. The British military culture upon which the CF is based, dates even further centuries back;

- Service to Canada before self is a primary duty of its members which reinforces the primacy of the state over service members;

- The CF are vested with the legal authority to use violence to carry out lawfully directed duties;

- Carrying out lawfully directed duties can put members in 'harm's way';

- Members of the CF are subject to greater levels of discipline and limitations on freedom of speech in public or political forums;

- Command doctrine and practice emphasizes 'unity of command' and a single responsible Commander who leads the mission or operation;

- Command is carried out by communications through the chain of command via a straight line from the Commander through the ranks to the bottom of the organization.

The next chapter of this paper will review the nature of public service employment contracts, also known as collective agreements and highlight their very nature as a contributor to the difficulty for DND to adapt to social media.

CHAPTER 3: THE NATURE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT CONTRACT – THE EMPHASIS ON TIME IS A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE DIFFICULTY OF ADAPTING TO SOCIAL MEDIA

As of 31 March 2010, the Federal Public Service in Canada employs approximately 283,000 people.[54] Of these, as of December 2011 slightly less than 27,000 work for National Defence.[55] There are about 80 different job classifications in the Federal Public Service (note, in this common description of the Public Service, members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Canadian Forces as well as employees of Crown Corporations are not included) many of which are employed by National Defence. Employees in those classifications perform a variety of types of work including operational, policy, scientific and research, administrative, and executive management activities. There are currently 27 collective agreements[56] under which these 80 job classifications are grouped. In short, DND has a diverse civilian workforce. However, upon close analysis of the collective agreements that apply to this workforce, there is significant commonality in the terms and conditions of their employment that specifically contribute to the difficulty to adopt social media.

A review of these collective agreements demonstrates that they are predominantly based upon time commitments to the Crown as the basis for remuneration. By way of example, the Program and Administrative Collective Agreement that governs nine different classifications of

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[54] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, "Demographic Snapshot of the Federal Public Service, 2010" http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/res/stats/demo-eng.asp Internet; accessed 13 March 2012.

[55] Cynthia Binnington, Assistant Deputy Minister Human Resources (Civilian) Lecture presentation to National Security Program 4, 14 February 2012.

[56] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, "Collective Agreements" http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pubs_pol/hrpubs/coll_agre/siglist-eng.asp Internet; accessed 15 March 2012.

employees[57] has two full pages dedicated to describing the hours of work of the employees. The

essential elements these pages define are indicated below:

- The week shall consist of seven (7) consecutive days

- The day is a twenty-four (24) hour period commencing at 00:00 hours.

- The Employer cannot reduce the hours of work of a full-time employee permanently.

- If an employee stays on the job for a full scheduled work period, inclusive of their meal period they will be compensated with overtime pay for their meal period

- Two (2) rest periods of fifteen (15) minutes each per working day except on occasions when operational requirements do not permit.

- Work week is thirty-seven decimal five (37.5) hours from Monday to Friday the normal workday shall be seven decimal five (7.5) consecutive hours, exclusive of a lunch period, between the hours of 7 a.m. and 6 p.m.

- Employees shall be informed by written notice of their scheduled hours of work. Any changes to the scheduled hours shall be by written notice to the employee(s) concerned.[58]

The example above is representative of the Public Service collective agreements as a whole. The

vast majority of the public service contracts are solely time-based. There is less focus on

efficient use of time or compensation directly related to the achievement of milestones, project

deadlines, cost reductions or sales targets. There are few exceptions, including the contract of the

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[57] Nine classifications of Federal Public Service employees covered by this collective agreement are (Administrative Services, Communications, Clerical and Regulatory, Data Processing, Information Services, Office Equipment, Program Administration, Secretarial Stenographic and Typing, Welfare Programs)

[58] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, "Collective Agreements" http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pubs_pol/hrpubs/coll_agre/pa/pa03-eng.asp#toc288724978 Internet; accessed 15 March 2012.

Executive cadre, and a few other minor exceptions[59]. This contrasts with private sector/for profit

organizations where there are incentives to be more time efficient or improve productivity. Data

collected by the United States Department of Labour in 2011 on variable pay components like

sales commissions, piece-rate payments, payments connected to individual skills, or

nonproduction bonuses (e.g. year-end and suggestion bonuses) indicates that 44%[60] of the private

industrial workforce in the United States receives non-time-based compensation.[61] This

contrasts with the Canadian Federal Public Service where the executive cadre, representing 2.4%

of the workforce, is the primary group that receives some non-time based compensation.[62] It can

be argued, therefore, in companies where additional incentive for employees to improve

productivity or increase sales exist, that there is a more of a willingness to use and adopt

innovative tools such as social media. This is not universal, as there are many companies that

are concerned about employees using social media during work hours and there are many cases

of suspension and or dismissal of employees where employers have determined abuse or misuse

of social media during working hours or off duty.[63] But as opposed to the public service, where

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[59] Exceptions include 'executive equivalents' and certain non-represented employees who during labour action are considered essential workers. These employees represent a very small minority of public service employees, such as the UT category. The contract differs in that a portion of their compensation is at risk, subject to performance.

[60] US Department of Labour "2011 Employee Benefits Survey" Table 43. Nonproduction bonuses: Access, private industry workers, National Compensation Survey, March 2011 http://www.bls.gov/ncs/ebs/benefits/2011/ownership/private/table27a.pdf; Internet; accessed 19 June 2012.

[61] US Department of Labour "NCS Reviews the Effectiveness of Variable Pay Collection" http://www.bls.gov/opub/cwc/cm20030324ar01p1.htm; Internet; accessed 19 June 2012.

[62] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, "Demographic Snapshot of the Federal Public Service, 2010" Part 2 Demographic Profile of Executives http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/res/stats/demo-eng.asp#toc2-1 Internet; accessed 15 March 2012. While not accounting for the entirety of those in the Federal Public Service in Canada who receive non-time based compensation as a portion of their overall compensation package, even if the representative percentage were doubled it would still be almost 10 times less than the US Department of Labour statistics for the Private sector in the US.

[63] John A. Gallagher, "Fired for Using the Internet at Work? You May Want to Read This!" http://www.avvo.com/legal-guides/ugc/fired-for-using-the-internet-at-work--you-may-want-to-read-this Internet; accessed 19 June 2012. and Freeman Klopott, "Should you be Fired for Using the Internet at Work?" http://www.pcworld.com/article/125597/should_you_be_fired_for_using_the_internet_while_at_work.html *PC*

there is no incentive whatsoever, it can be argued there is overall more willingness and interest to

introduce social media in the workforce.

A precedent setting case in the federal government that illustrates this conundrum

between what can be described as 'spending time' vs. 'quality of time spent' and involving the

use of the internet and social media tools by a public servant in the workplace. In 2009, an

employee working at Citizenship and Immigration Canada was fired for excessive use of the

internet and social media tools at the workplace. The accusation levied against the employee

was that 'time theft' had occurred [time that should have been spent working on Crown business,

it was argued, was not]. The case was contentious, as the behaviour of the employee included

downloading of pornographic pictures and the behaviour occurred during work hours, each day,

every week, for a period of months and years.   After the employee complained that he had been

subject to a wrongful dismissal to the Public Service Labour Relations Board the dismissal was

actually overturned in court and the employee was reinstated[64]. The judge's decision noted:

> …there can be no mistaking the intent to steal time when an employee has
> another employee punch his or her time card. But in an environment in which
> personal use of the employer's Internet services is permissible on an employee's
> own time and in which employees do not punch time cards or actively record their
> working hours, it becomes much more difficult to infer the requisite intent for a
> charge of time theft. I simply do not see excessive use of the employer's Internet
> services for non-work-related purposes as the beginning of a continuum that ends
> with time theft.[65]

This example illustrates two very important points. First, it emphasizes the focus by the

management team of the Federal Department on how time is spent as opposed to results (The

employee's performance reviews showed satisfactory results but that the employee also

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World May 2006; Internet; accessed 19 June 2012.   There are many references to employees being fired for using
the internet at work and the above are but two examples.

[64] Paul Waldie, "Does Surfing the Internet at Work Qualify as 'Time Theft'?" Globe and Mail 9 September
2011 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/does-surfing-the-internet-at-work-qualify-as-time-
theft/article2159136/ Internet; accessed 16 May 2012.

[65] Paul Waldie, "Does Surfing the Internet... redacted from para 7 of the article

complained that not enough work was being passed his way to keep him busy.). The second is the problem that is caused by the blurring of work, professional and personal space when on-line social media tools such as Facebook are introduced into the workforce. This illustrates quite clearly the challenge that is occurring with the arrival of social media in the workplace of a large government department, like DND, and how the organization is having great difficulty adapting. The path of adaptation is not easy nor is it clear to what extent large government departments like DND will adapt to the use of social media in the workplace. As the history of the last two centuries has shown with the printing press, telegraph, telephone, and XEROX machine adaptation has occurred.[66] History will also tell if adaptation to social media will occur. This chapter has examined the nature of the Public Service employee contract as a contributor to the difficulty in adapting to social media for DND. It has pointed out that although the DND civilian workforce is quite diverse; there is great similarity in the collective agreement employment contracts across the public service. The focus of these employment contracts is not on incentivizing efficient use of time and is most frequently (the primary exception being the Executive cadre) without compensation directly related to milestone achievements, project deadlines, cost reductions, or business targets. It has shown there is a contrast between private sector and public sector employment contracts whereby there is up to a ten-fold greater portion of the private workforce that receive some form of non-time based compensation. Finally, the chapter identifies the public service, like other sectors, is also struggling with concerns about employees using internet and social media tools during working hours, but the employment

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[66] Clay Shirkey, "The Political Power of Social Media"... 31-32 examples of printing press, telegraph, and telephone cited.

contracts of the private sector with a greater prevalence of non-time based compensation elements, can be argued provides greater incentive for use of innovative tools like social media. The discussion will now shift to an additional factor that is influencing the difficulties DND is experiencing in adapting to the use of Social media, what is aptly described as the demographic challenge.

CHAPTER 4: DEMOGRAPHICS REINFORCING DND'S WESTPHALIAN PYRAMID

A part of the challenge for DND to adapt and implement social media is related to demographics. This chapter will explain some of the most recent survey data in Canada and from the Australian Military about who are the users of social media and for what reasons it is used. It will then examine demographics in Canada and show that because of low birth rates the average Canadian's age is much higher than it was 40 years ago. It will then explain how the Canadian Federal Government's Program Review in the middle of the 1990's has had an additional impact of increasing the average age in the Public Service and Members of the Canadian Forces that adds to DND's challenges to adapt to and implement social media.

The most recent IPSOS Reid survey[67] of Canadians use of the internet provides some meaningful, additional information about trends of Canadians who use the internet, social media, personal computers, handheld devices and tablet computers. There is a strong correlation between age and the use of information technology:

- 95% of Canadians under age 55 have access to the internet and 47% have mobile access while only 68% age 55 plus have internet access and 16% of this group with mobile access;

- 31% of online Canadians now own a smartphone (compared to 19% in 2010), 46% of those aged 18-34 currently own a smartphone;

- Canadians use their smartphones for a variety of functions such as taking photos (70%), sending or reading email (70%), checking social networking sites (48%), and online gaming (11%);

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[67] Ipsos Reid *The IPSOS Canadian inter@ctive Reid Report – The Definitive Source on Canadians and the Internet* (Toronto, 2012)

- 62% of users have indicated they have visited or browsed an online social network (up from 57% in 2010);

- For teenagers, 67% own or share a smartphone and 83% a computer;

- The majority of teenagers visit sites like You Tube (79%) and online social networks (69%); and

- 63% of teens feel the need to keep up with technology and 57% feel they will miss out by not going online every day.

What the observations demonstrate is that internet and social media is a younger person's domain at this time. It will likely remain that way as the trends in internet usage of today's teens (who will become the young workforce of tomorrow) is clearly toward being online via computers, but increasingly through handheld devices. Furthermore, with greater than half of all teens feeling left out if they aren't online every day, the vast majority of them using social media, this confirms the point that younger generations are more interested in and using social media. Shirkey further corroborates this point: "for the young generation, the suite of social media tools are going from normal to ubiquitous to invisible."[68] Additionally, the IPSOS Reid findings are consistent with a comprehensive study conducted by the Australian Defence Force which found that more junior ranks were more apt to use social media tools and the more junior ranks are predominantly populated with younger members of the Australian Defence Force.[69]

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[68] Clay Shirkey, *Here Comes Everyone...,* 105.
[69] George Patterson *Review of Social Media and Defence* Report prepared for the Government of Australia Department of Defence (2011) [Report available on-line] http://www.defence.gov.au/culturereviews/docs/socialmedia/Annex%201%20Qualitative%20and%20quantitative%20research%20SM.pdf Internet; accessed 16 April 2012. Annex 1 page A1-6 demonstrates that 77% of rank level C military personnel were age 44 or younger as compared to 33% for rank level B military personnel and 44% for rank level A military personnel. Annex 1 page A1-8 indicates that there is a much greater propensity to use social media for rank level C military personnel.

This backdrop suggests that today the use of social media is a young person's game. When comparing this fact with the demographics of Canada and the Federal Public Service in the next part of this chapter, an argument will be made that population decline in Canada and an increasingly aging national population (and even more so in the Public Service) has further contributed to the difficulty to adopt social media in DND.

Canada, with its population of approximately 35 million[70] people, has been following a trend like most Western democratic countries whereby birth rate have been low for many years. The birthrates are low enough that population levels in Canada will continue to decline without some sort of policy intervention. As of 20 December 2011 Statistics Canada's most recent data that depicts the low Canadian rates of birth appears below:

Births and total fertility rate[71]					
Year	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**
Birth and Total Fertility Rate	**1.54**	**1.59**	**1.66**	**1.68**	**1.67**

The Canadian Federal Government has intervened, using very aggressive[72] immigration strategies in order to augment Canada's population to counteract the low birthrate.

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[70] Government of Canada - Statistics Canada "Canada's Population Clock" http://www.statcan.gc.ca/ig-gi/pop-ca-eng.htm. Internet; accessed 21 April 2012.

[71] Government of Canada - Statistics Canada "Fertility Rate" http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/hlth85b-eng.htm Source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM, table 102-4505 and Catalogue no. 84F0210X. Internet; accessed 21 April 2012. Note: Total fertility rate is the average number of children per woman and below 2.0 means population is in decline.

Nonetheless, the result is a demographic distribution of population in Canada best described as a 'declining pyramid'[73] which means a high proportion of the population are aged persons and the population is declining in numbers overall. The declining pyramid is depicted for the year 2010 below:

Age pyramid of population estimates as of July 1, 1971 and 2010, Canada[74]
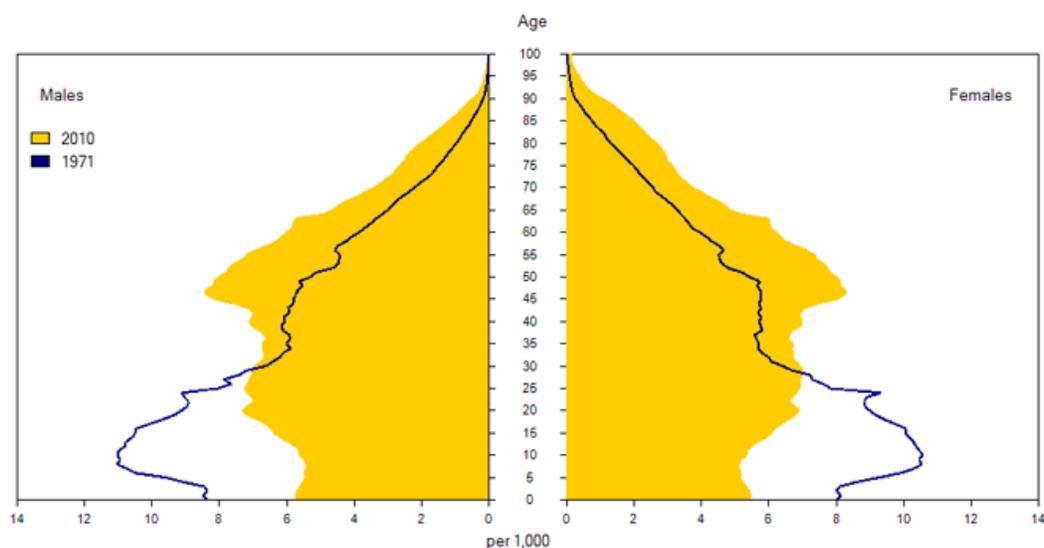
Additionally, for the last decade in Canada, there have been predictions that the post-World War Two baby boomers (known as the 'boomer bulge') would retire in large numbers. As the public service to a great degree reflects the population profile of the country, this same trend has also been anticipated. What has been transpiring, however, has been a lower rate of retirement than anticipated and as a result, the workforce currently has a greater proportion of older employees

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[72] Aggressive is used in this instance in a relative sense as compared to Western European countries and other extreme examples like Japan which, despite worse depopulation issues, are much more conservative in their immigration strategies.

[73] Government of Canada - Statistics Canada "Population Pyramids," http://www.statcan.gc.ca/kits-trousses/animat/edu06a_0000-eng.htm Internet; accessed 17 April 2012. - Declining pyramid characterized by a high proportion of aged persons and declining numbers

[74] Government of Canada - Statistics Canada "Age pyramid of population estimates as of July 1, 1971 and 2010 Canada," http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-215-x/2010000/i003-eng.htm Internet; accessed 17 April 2012.

as a part of its population. The graph below illustrates the trend whereby fewer people, eligible to

retire, are actually doing so:

Historic and Projected Retirement Rates for Federal Public Servants 2005-06 to 2014-15[75]
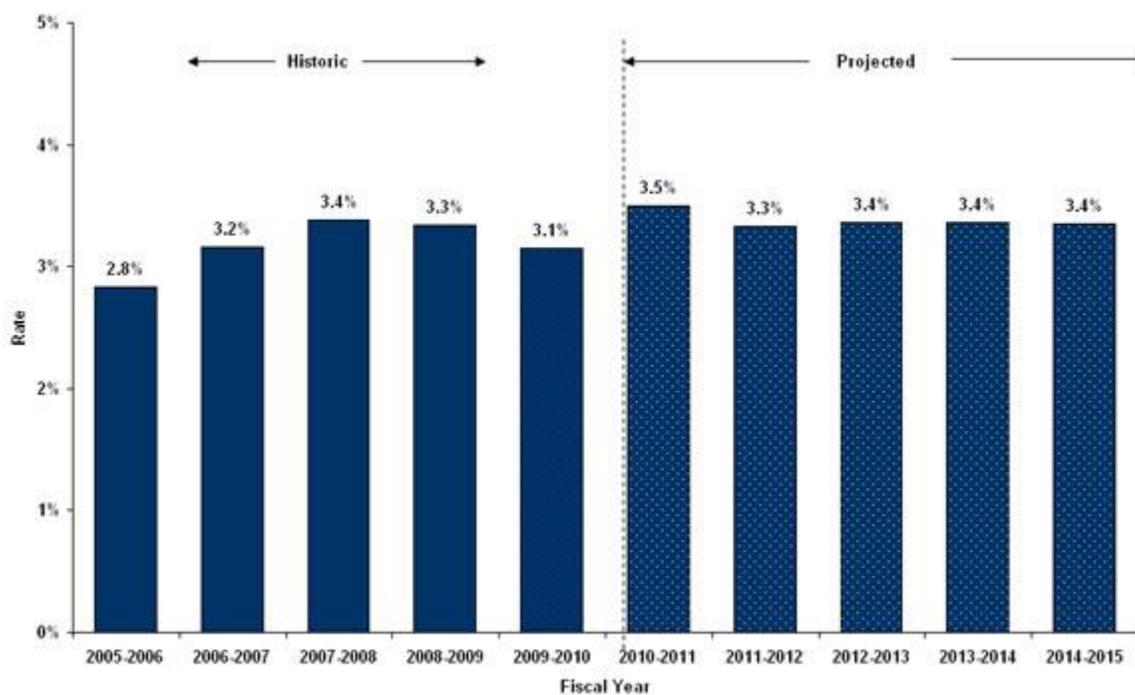
While it is not the objective of this paper to elaborate on the reasons why there have been fewer

retirements than anticipated, people retiring at a slower rate than anticipated leads to an older

workforce that, according to the previous survey data, is less willing or interested in adopting

social media tools. But there are further additional and important elements that need to be

introduced that has a multiplier effect on the challenges posed by the aging demographic that is

unique to the Federal Public Service in Canada and DND.

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[75] Government of Canada - Treasury Board Secretariat "Demographic Snapshot of the Federal Public Service, 2010," http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/res/stats/demo-eng.asp; Internet accessed 13 March 2012.

During the mid-1990's Canada's Federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces

downsized as a result of "Program Review". In essence, Program Review consisted of a

comprehensive review of *all* government programs, considering each against the strategic

priorities of and 'appropriate' role for government.[76] To illustrate the downsizing, by way of

example, the public service had declined from 225,619 personnel as of April 1995 to 195,000 by

December 1996[77] a reduction of about 14% overall. From the period of 1990 to 1999 the full

time component of the Canadian Forces dropped from just over 87,000 personnel to slightly less

than 60,000[78]. Personnel reductions along with other measures brought the Canadian Federal

Budget back into balance and began cutting Canada's federal deficit. Accompanying the

reductions was also a period of hiring freeze.   As a result of this hiring freeze and as

demonstrated by the graph below there has been a reduction in the populations that occupy the

age brackets in the middle of the workforce, that divides it by generation.

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[76] Shannon Smith, Guy Chapdelaine and Charles McColgan, "Comparing the Hellyer Reform of National Defence in the 1960s with Program Review of the Federal Public Service during the 1990s using the Kotter Change Model" (Toronto: Canadian Forces College National Security Program 4 paper 2012), 10.

[77] Lydia Scratch "Public Service Reductions in the 1990s: Background and Lessons Learned," *International Affairs, Trade and Finance Division, Parliamentary Information and Research Service,* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, April 2010, document number 2010-20-E)

[78] Extracted from Human Resources Management System Data DND 16 April 2012

Federal Public Service Population by Age Bands for 2005 and 2010 [79]
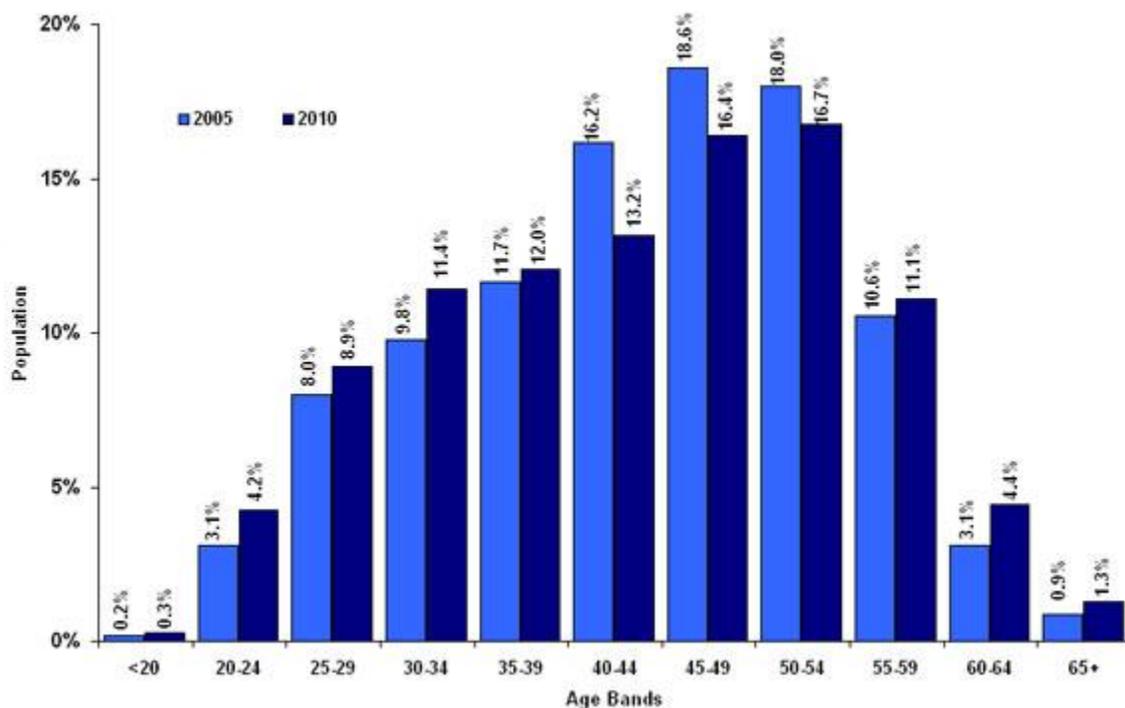
As depicted, all age groups less than 39 have grown; the 40 to 54 age groups have shrunk as an

overall proportion of the population between 2005 and 2010, and those older have grown as a

percentage of that population (similar but not identical demographic data for the Canadian

Forces describes a comparable trend[80]).

The lesser populations in the 45-49 and 50-54 groups is the generation impacted by the

hiring freeze in the 1990's This age band makes up 46.3% of the Federal public service; the

others, 53.7%. Young workers (<20 -39) make up 36.8%, and the oldest make up 16.8% and

with the increases in the lower age bands and the 55-59 band this has created a greater divide

[79] Government of Canada - Treasury Board Secretariat "Demographic Snapshot of the Federal Public Service, 2010," http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/res/stats/demo-eng.asp; Internet accessed 13 March 2012.

[80] Extract from DND Human Resources Management System 16 April 2012 demonstrate the age 26-35 largest percentage of the population at 36.34% greater than 1/3 of the population.

between old and young in DND's civilian workforce which is an important contributor to the challenges of the adoption of Social Media by DND.

Another demographic element that is important in this explanation is that, in general, older members of the workforce tend to occupy higher ranking positions with greater leadership roles and influence. This notion is depicted in the Executive Category charts below:

Average Age of Public Service Executives and Assistant Deputy Ministers Selected Years, 1983 to 2010[81]
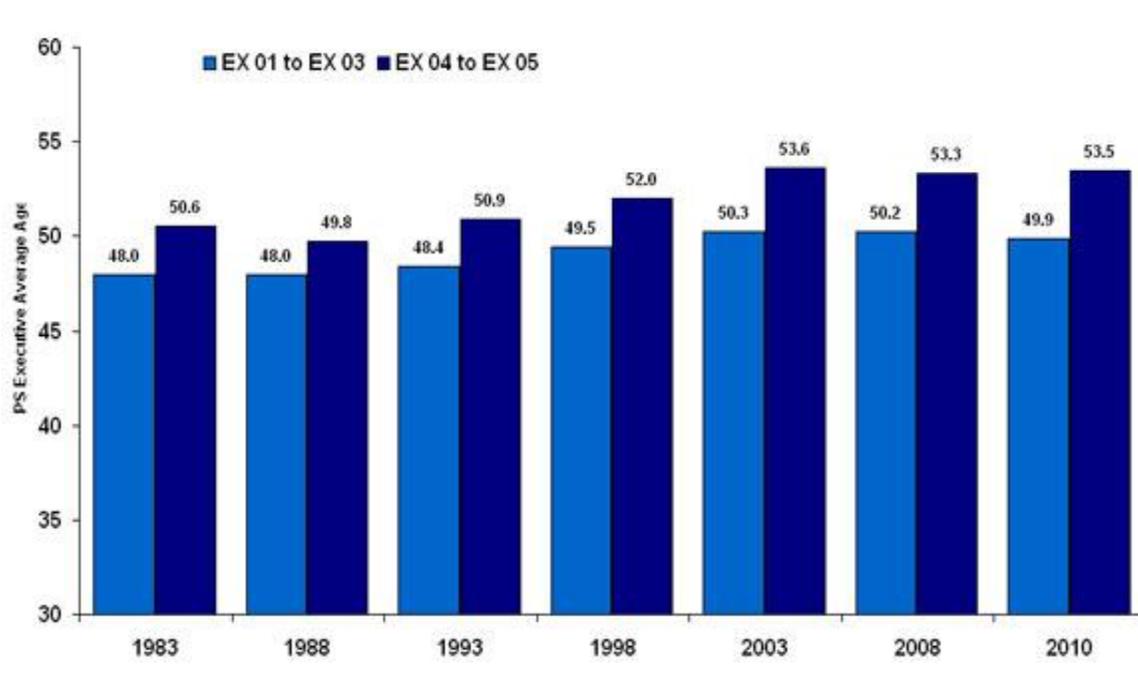
In 2010, the average age of executives was 1.7 years higher than the average for public servants at the EX minus 1 level (48.4 years versus 50.1 years), which, in turn, was 2.7 years higher than the average at the EX minus 2 level (48.4 years versus 45.7 years). The average ages in 2010 for the various employee populations described are summarized below:

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[81] Government of Canada - Treasury Board Secretariat "Demographic Snapshot of the Federal Public Service, 2010," http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/res/stats/demo-eng.asp; Internet accessed 13 March 2012.

Public Service: 43.9 years

EX minus 2: 45.7 years

EX minus 1: 48.4 years

Executives: 50.1 years

EX-01 to EX-03: 49.9 years

EX-04 to EX-05: 53.5 years[82]

The fact that older employees tend to occupy higher ranks is not in itself terribly surprising, nor is the fact that the public service and Canadian Forces[83]have a gap in the middle generation of the workforce because hiring didn't occur during the period of Program Review in the 1990's. But what the hiring freeze of the 1990's has done is skewed the population distribution in DND with a broader representation at the youngest and oldest bands of the demographic pyramid. A more normal distribution without the hiring freeze of the 1990's would have resulted in a slightly smaller component of the workforce at the younger age range. Additionally, when this demographic information is coupled with some recent findings from IPSOS Reid in Canada and a recent report on the Australian Armed Forces that studied the use of social media by its members, the particular demographic profile of DND tells a further portion of the story of challenges to the acceptance of social media by the CF and DND.

Given our similar modern Western values, relative population size and Commonwealth connections, it is reasonable to say the Australian report mirrors Canada's situation reasonably well. Because the freeze in hiring of the 1990's has resulted in a larger portion of the population

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[82] Government of Canada - Treasury Board Secretariat "Demographic Snapshot of the Federal Public Service, 2010," http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/res/stats/demo-eng.asp; Internet accessed 13 March 2012. - figure 14 data table provides information

[83] The Canadian forces in the 1990's reduced their force structure as a result of Program Review. The cuts took the Military full time population from just over 87,000 personnel to just under 60,000 during the 1990's, along with a period without hiring new personnel.

of DND being younger and more junior in rank, it can be argued there is more interest in the use of the internet and social media, by them, and the older, more senior decision makers in the organization who are less interested in the internet and social media are slow to demonstrate their interest and encourage its implementation[84]. This demographic reality contributes to the difficulty in implementing social media.

The paper now changes focus and analyses the conflict between DND and chain of command or the Westphalian pyramid and social media or the strategic corporal.

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[84] With the recent release of the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on the Public Service report and the Treasury Board Guidelines (although the guidelines are restrictive and very cautiously worded) it is reasonable to expect the further adoption of social media but perhaps at a slower rate.

CHAPTER 5: AN ANALYSIS OF THE WESTPHALIAN PYRAMID VS. THE STRATEGIC CORPORAL – INCOMPATIBILITIES BETWEEN THE STATE INSTITUTION OF DEFENCE AND THE DECENTRALIZED AGILE SOCIAL MEDIA UNIVERSE

The previous chapters have analyzed and described the characteristics of social media and some of the reasons why there are limitations to the use of social media in the public sector and particularly limitations in DND. This chapter will identify the source of this challenge in terms of how society has rationalized the use of information as discussed by Max Weber. It will then explore through the observations of Hicks, Cohen and Gooch that complexity is complicating the traditional rationalized approach to management although they do not offer a solution. However the French philosopher Foucault in the third part of this chapter points to an effective solution through his discussion of governmentality and cooperative power.   Finally, examples of the use of social media by US Army and the Vancouver Police Department suggest to us that the 'iron cage' that Weber describes in his work can be transcended.

The advent of social media and the challenge to implement it can be analyzed from the perspective of Max Weber's work, specifically his writings on the theory of rationalization. Rationalization according to Weber was the idea that with the secularization and technological advancement in Western European societies there was a societal and cultural rationalization that occurred. In very basic terms, societal and cultural   rationalization was the need for specialization due to the explosion of knowledge in Europe at the time Weber wrote, in the late 1800s and early 1900s. With specialization comes 'stove-piping' of information so that it can be managed, which in turn lessens access to it by society as a whole. People specialize in their jobs or as Weber described them, they become "sheer numbers in an accounting book." Rationalization also included enhanced control of social and material life and the establishment of hierarchy to manage and distribute specialized information. Weber famously described that

"when individuals are reduced to a "cog in a machine," or trapped in an "iron cage" that formal rationalization has spawned with irresistible efficiency and at the expense of substantive rationality."[85]

Weber's rationalization explains the DND hierarchical organization in the Westphalian State, with formal lines of communication through the chain of command and tightly coupled processes in military operations where individuals do work as 'cogs in the machine' (this is also true for both the public service and private industry, particularly in manufacturing and production line sectors). Therefore rationalization according to Weber should then have the strategic corporal performing for example, specific maintenance duties on a radar system onboard a ship, or putting shells into a piece of artillery as part of the firing process, or turning a wrench on an armoured vehicle, or holding a weapon in the face of the enemy. The strategic corporal in Weber's rationalized world is carrying out very specialized tasks, missions or processes as a 'cog in the machine'. The strategic corporal obeys a chain of command, specialized training, and follows specific instructions [orders] for that singular function she or he performs. This contrasts dramatically with the strategic corporal in possession of social media tools, where hierarchy, leadership, chain-of-command, specialization, and compartmentalization of information are not a feature and the restrictive notion of institutional power is actively fought against.

Weber's rationalization argument is reflected in the Treasury Board Web 2.0 policy document that was briefly introduced in Chapter 1. The policy applies to the Federal Government and upon close analysis it shows the difficult contrast between the traditional hierarchical rules of Government and the lack thereof with social media. It is a 25 page

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[85] *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* [encyclopaedia on line] available from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/weber/ section 3.3, 4.1. Internet; accessed 28 May 2012.

guideline[86] produced by the Chief Information Officer Branch of Treasury Board Secretariat. At

the beginning of the document it briefly lists benefits of the use of Web 2.0 tools for recruitment,

risk and emergency communications, services to the public, stakeholder outreach and education,

collaboration and consultation. The balance of the document outlines risks, governance, rules,

additional guidance sources, and language policy requirements that employees must follow in the

use of social media tools.   By way of example, in section 3.3 "Risks of Use it notes:

> Though the use of Web 2.0 is encouraged because of the many potential benefits,
> departments should remain aware of the risks and challenges that the use of Web
> 2.0 can sometimes present including:
>
> - Negative perceptions resulting from Web 2.0 initiatives associated with
>   the Government of Canada, including users posting offensive or abusive
>   comments, attempts to engage in dialogue about political decisions or
>   direction, on-line vandalism, and inability to fulfill reasonable
>   expectations of timely two-way communication;
>
> - Misinterpretation of online activity and/or comments as the official
>   position of the Government of Canada rather than that of an individual;
>
> - Challenges in protecting the privacy of both personnel and the public who
>   are interacting through Web 2.0 tools and services; and
>
> - Extensive and legally binding terms of service that can, if not sufficiently
>   understood and respected, present legal risks for the Government of
>   Canada and individuals.[87]

The Web 2.0 policy also calls for departments to have a plan that "has inputs from departmental

communications advisors about policies and procedures with respect to external communications

activities."[88] Furthermore it stipulates the plan should outline:

> How this use [of a social media tool] is aligned with overall governmental,
> departmental, program and/or project objectives to ensure that it is aligned with
> overall outcomes;

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[86] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, *Guidelines for External Use of Web 2.0*
http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?section=text&id=24835 Internet; accessed 8 December 2011.
[87] Ibid., paragraph 3.3
[88] Ibid., paragraph 4.2

And

A communications plan to:

- Help outline the expected nature of the interactions;

- Respond to stakeholders, including when responses are critical, political, off-topic or abusive; and

- Ensure that messaging on Web 2.0 tools and services aligns with Government of Canada themes and messages on other channels.

These policy constraints reflect some of the limitations on freedom of speech in public or political forums that were discussed in Chapter 3. These are all descriptions that amplify the problem of the blurring between professional and personal lives that the use of social media causes. In the context of Weber's analysis, what the guidelines depict are the need for enhanced control of social and material life and the protection of the rationalized institutional hierarchy. In informal discussions with officials who worked to create the policy, it was noted additionally that the US Government and Canadian Government were in negotiations with social media providers[89] to negotiate terms more suitable for use by their respective organizations. By way of example, the US Government template custom terms agreement – prepared by the General Services Administration for use between Government Departments or Agencies and a social media service provider – includes the following opening clause:

You, as a U.S. Government entity, are required when entering into agreements with other parties [in this case social media providers][90] to follow applicable federal laws and regulations, including those related to ethics; privacy and security; accessibility; federal records; limitations on indemnification; fiscal law

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[89] Informal discussions described efforts undertaken with You Tube and Twitter change their legal terms and conditions for use by the Government of Canada – without success as of November 2011. The entire list of terms the US Government negotiates into tailored terms of service for social media providers is listed at United States Government General Services Administration website at https://www.apps.gov/cloud/cloud/category_home.do?&c=SA

[90] Placed into text of quote to edify the social media providers are covered by this instance.

constraints; advertising and endorsements; freedom of information; and governing law and dispute resolution forum.[91]

The balance of the document articulates the rules about managing of federal records in accordance with records management laws, rules about being subjected to annual Government Information Technology audits, Companies agreeing that use by the Government of their social media tool does not constitute an endorsement by the Government etc. So what necessitates all the precision around the use of social media by a Government? Once again, the answer lies in Weber's rationalization arguments. To ensure consistent, predictable behaviour, policies, procedures and agreements are struck that restrict behaviour of employees and protect the hierarchy and proper functioning of the Government.

Somewhat ironically, the Treasury Board Web 2.0 guideline document was the result of a number of collaborative 'bottom up' initiatives of many small groups within Government Departments with a common interest [i.e. to get a social media policy in place]! These 'bottom up' initiatives recognized that employees across Government were interested in using social media tools, and because there was a common interest, the group organized itself and eventually the Treasury Board Chief Information Officer established a structure to accommodate the development of the policy. Ideas were collected through a working group known as the "leading edge technology group" which reported to the Communications Community Office at Treasury Board Secretariat which supports the Communications groups in the Federal Government.[92] Another irony is the leading edge technology group *informally* organized themselves around a

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[91] Links to Template and complete list of sample clauses available at United States Government General Services Administration website at
https://www.apps.gov/cloud/information/page.do?&keyName=CLOUD_VENDOR_FAQ#t6-a
[92] Another irony is the leading edge technology group informally organized themselves around a cause of common interest, to take best practices of the use collaborative social media tools and formalize them for widespread Government use.

cause of common interest, to take best practices of the use collaborative social media tools and then *formalized* them for widespread Government use.

To conclude, the Treasury Board Web 2.0 policy document can be best described as a prescriptive instruction that is written to ensure that any social media interaction of departmental employees with the outside world 'comply with existing legislative and policy requirements' and as such, is a clear attempt to control and police a technology (and those using it) that inherently resists such controls.[93]

Weber's rationalization idea is also predominant in the conclusion of chapter 2 of this paper that explains the characteristics of DND as a key institution of the Westphalian State.   To summarize chapter 2, The CF in various forms, has had almost a century to develop its institutional culture, beliefs, practices, customs, norms and behaviours. The British military culture, upon which the CF is based, dates even further centuries back. Service to Canada before self is a primary duty of members of the CF which reinforces the primacy of the state over service members in the organization's carrying out of its duties. Vested with the legal authority to use violence to carry out lawfully directed duties and noting the performance of those duties can put members in 'harm's way', members of the CF are subject to greater levels of discipline and limitations on freedom of speech in public or political forums. Carrying out lawful duties is guided by Command doctrine and a practice that emphasizes 'unity of command' and a single responsible Commander who leads the Mission or Operation. Using the chain of command via a straight line from the Commander through the ranks to the bottom of the organization

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[93] Government of Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, *Guidelines for External Use of Web 2.0* http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?section=text&id=24835 Internet; accessed 8 December 2011. Paragraph 2

emphasizes a linear relationship and helps ensure regularized and predictable outcomes from the many interrelated parts that make up any military operation.

So Weber's rationalization describes very well the Westphalian pyramid half of the central conflict with the social media wielding strategic Corporal. But there are some challenges to rationalization which is the subject of the paragraphs that follow.

Weber's rationalization that underpins the Westphalian Pyramid is challenged by arguments made by Hicks and Cohen and Gooch concerning complexity in military operations. Louis Hicks discussion of military organizations depicts a dilemma, growing tension, and contradiction that occur when they are faced with the challenge of implementing modern technology in weapons systems. Hicks describes how 'highly coupled' systems require centralized authority whereas ' highly complex' systems require decentralized authority.

Highly coupled systems have arisen from the advancements of military equipment and processes. Elements of highly coupled systems include, time dependent processes, sequences of highly coupled systems are more invariant, as well as sequences being invariant, there is often only one way to reach the end goal, and tightly coupled systems have little slack.[94] "Time dependent processes" means that a process cannot stand by until someone gets around to it. An aircraft returning to a carrier after a long range bombing mission doesn't have the fuel or time to 'stand by'. An example of an invariant sequence is that of an amphibious landing where no part of the sequence can be omitted. If one of following steps - sneaking up to the coast, naval bombardment, establishing local air superiority, putting assault vehicles into shallow water, storm and overwhelm the beach defences, and dig in before a counter offensive - are missed then the result is usually mission failure. Only one way to reach the end goal is exemplified by the

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[94] Louis Hicks, "Normal Accidents in Military Operations," *Pacific Sociological Association Sociological Perspectives* Vol 36 No. 4 (Winter 1993): 386.

French Maginot Line in World War 2, which served for only a single military scenario, ultimately ignored by the *Wehrmacht*. Finally examples of tightly coupled systems allowing little to no slack include aircraft that can only perform bombing missions and not fighter missions, a narrow port put out of action by a ship sunk in it, or an antitank missile that cannot be used against an aircraft as the weapon's sensors are unable to recognize the target.[95]

Highly complex systems on the other hand, are those characterized by tight spacing of equipment, proximate production steps, personnel specialization limits, and limited substitution of supplies and materials. Tighter spacing of equipment on aircraft carriers and aboard ships in general including weapons magazines, navigation computers, aircraft refueling equipment, food, and all the navigation and propulsion systems are all indicators of a highly complex system. Paratroopers leaving an aircraft and being unable to turn back if coming under enemy fire is an example of a situation with proximate production steps[96]

Hicks explores the inherent dilemma that Commanders face when dealing with highly coupled systems in a complex environment, on the one hand, highly or tightly coupled systems lend naturally to a management scheme that is very centralized [i.e. chain of command][97] so that all parts perform as intended. -On the other hand, complex systems that cannot be controlled are best managed by a decentralized management scheme.

Gooch and Cohen, in The Anatomy of Failure in War Military Misfortunes make similar observations. They argue that throughout history, military commanders have been confronted with highly coupled highly complex situations, in some cases leading to costly learning. They identify the example of armies attempting to adapt to the outcome of mass artillery and extensive

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[95] Ibid., 386-87.
[96] Ibid., 383-84.
[97] Added for emphasis

fortifications in World War 1 through the new idea of a coordinated use of artillery, infantry, tanks and airplanes. While this solved the tactical problem, it added considerable complexity to the battlefield. New "joint" tactics began appearing as early as 1916, but it would take another two years for operational planners to figure out how to manage not only a "break-through" but also a "break out", thus escaping the constraints on manoeuvre that the trenches had imposed.[98] Hicks' analysis and Cohen and Gooch's examples demonstrates the tension inherent in choosing to manage highly coupled systems tightly (read chain of command) and highly complex systems in a more decentralized manner. This dilemma mirrors the dilemma of highly controlled management by chain of command vs. decentralized management and less control present in an environment where social media is in use.[99]

Hicks and Cohen and Gooch describe a dilemma for commanders without any real solution: however the French Philosopher Michel Foucault does provide some space for dealing with the dilemma they outlined.

Foucault addresses the other side of this conflict between the Westphalian State and organizations mobilized via social media in his lectures and writings about 'governmentality' and power. While Foucault's writings and lectures are sometimes difficult to follow, his ideas about power and governmentality challenge Weber's notion of rationalization.

There are two elements from Foucault's writings and lectures that are the key counterargument to Weber's idea of rationalization and they are germane to the discussion of social media. First, is his explanation of power. He agrees there is power in the hierarchical top-down structure of the state; he acknowledges that institutions play an important role in the

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[98] Cohen, Elliot A. and Gooch, John *The Anatomy of Failure in War: Military Misfortunes* (New York Free Press 1990), 13. In discussion of British General's experience in World War 1 whereby they had to adapt to new warfare that included the coordinated use of artillery, infantry, tanks and airplanes.
[99] Ibid., 22.

establishment of power relationships, and those institutions are "concentrated, ordered and often effective".[100] However, Foucault warns of institutional behaviours that are more in the interests of maintaining the institution than serving some larger good. He suggests that power is exercised rather than possessed.[101] He also expresses power in broader terms when he suggests "power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society"[102]. The second element is his notion of governmentality which occurs when power is de-centralized and people actively self-govern themselves. Governmentality works based upon a certain level of restraint of the actions of the state and is market based. He argues from this structure a type of knowledge results, because people have a great say in how their lives are led, and they therefore "auto-regulate or auto-correct".[103]

These descriptions of power, and governmentality that place lesser importance on hierarchy and where people have knowledge and a great say in how their lives are led is the realm that social media tools enforce. The ideas from Chapter 1 of 'many-to- many' communications and greater user choice and control and allowing users to be editors who can create, share, and collaborate are all features that social media provides those that use it. To this point this chapter has focused on the different ideas of Weber and Foucault and how Weber's theory of rationality aligns with hierarchy, structure, and chain of command communication in DND and how using social media supports Foucault's direct challenge to

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[100] Bent Flybvjberg *Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 117.
[101] Ibid., 117.
[102] Ibid., 117.
[103] Isabell Lorey, "Governmentality and Self-Precarization on the normalization of cultural producers" [article on-line] available from http://eipcp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en/print Internet; accessed 22 May 2012. - provided general outline from which governmentality explanation was provided.

Weber through the concepts of governmentality and power. The chapter will now focus on some

areas where there has been some adoption of social media by the military.

The US Military has made advancements, albeit with challenges as will be described

below. Some have made the characterization that the US Military have been struggling with the

use of social media since its inception, with what others have considered are 'overblown'[104],

concerns about giving away information to the enemy[105]. These viewpoints are consistent with

Weber's rationalization ideas, information being controlled and the institution controlling the

pace of technological developments and attempting to keep the strategic corporal as a 'cog in the

wheel' only. Despite this view, however, significant advancements in the use of social media

have occurred. By way of example, the US Army Chief of Staff General Ray Odierno, on

December 2nd 2011, turned to 'crowdsourcing' via a blog in order to best determine the Army

professional development reading list[106]. While a modest gesture from General Odierno, it is an

important signal from the highest echelons of leadership on the utility of social media in the

military workplace. Guidebooks on the use of social media have been published to help US

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[104] Noah Shachtman, "Army audits: Official sites, not blogs, breach security," Wired Magazine (August 2007). Available from http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2007/08/army-report-off/. Internet; accessed 23 May 2012. The findings of internal audits of the US Army Web Risk Assessment Cell determined that there were greater chances of leaks of sensitive information from official websites and not from blogs, but rather from formal websites. They found at least 1,813 violations of operational security policy on 878 official military websites. In contrast, the 10-man, Manassas, Virginia, unit discovered 28 breaches, at most, on 594 individual blogs during the same period.

[105] Crispin J Burke, "As social media expands, military bloggers find more outlets," *New York Times (*28 Feb 2012) Available from http://atwar.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/28/as-social-media-expands-military-bloggers-find-more-outlets/ (accessed 23 May 2012). Burke argues that today, the military condones, even embraces milblogs, though this has not always been the case. In 2005, Army leaders issued stern warnings to would-be bloggers, accusing them of leaking sensitive information to the enemy (a claim that was overblown). Further policies in 2007 nearly snuffed out milblogs altogether, with some popular bloggers unceremoniously silenced. The measures backfired. During a town-hall-style meeting with President George W. Bush in 2006, a military spouse's comments prompted the President to suggested that blogs might host images of troops helping to rebuild the war-torn nation, perhaps unaware that the Pentagon's social media policies were snuffing out the diligent efforts of American troops.

[106] Ray Odeirno, "Professional reading recommendations from the chief" in US Army Live 2 December 2011. http://armylive.dodlive.mil/index.php/2011/12/professional-reading-recommendations-from-the-chief/ Internet; accessed 23 May 2012. Crowdsourcing is the distribution to an undefined network of people of a problem with the intent that the group will help to resolve the problem.

Armed Forces adapt to allow them to better exploit social media tools. [107] One of the key points

raised in the guidebook with regards to caution in use of social media is "Some Soldiers think

that once they go home and put on civilian clothes they are free to vent on social media

platforms. That's just not the case. You don't stop being a Soldier at the end of the duty day."[108]

The guidebook is, however, a proactive step forward as it is in short, a how-to guide. It has been

produced in an easy to read and understand format because there is an underlying acceptance of

the reality that soldiers want to use social media. This contrasts with the Web 2.0 guidelines

which have greater focus on control, restraint, and management of risk. This is not to say that

there are not penalties with the US military for the misuse of social media as there are in Canada,

but the US Army policy intent, tone, and attitude makes it a proactive guidance document. Why

this is different from Canada's efforts could be an indication that the US Army is more accepting

of social media. A full investigation of why should be the subject of a broader study.

Nonetheless the contrast between the two is worth noting.

The term 'Strategic Corporal' refers to the fact that in today's 24 hour news cycle and

social media environment, the actions of any individual member of the defence team (or any

other large organization/institution), can rapidly become a strategic corporate issue. Depending

upon the nature of the actions taken, the result could help or hurt the credibility of the

organization as we live in the age of things that 'go viral'[109]. The Strategic Corporal provides a

real opportunity for the leadership of DND. The Corporal is no longer just a 'cog in the wheel'

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[107] "US Army Social Media Handbook" in US Army Live 19 Jan 2011.
http://www.slideshare.net/USArmySocialMedia/army-social-media-handbook-2011 Internet; accessed 23 May 2012.
[108] "Social media misuse punishable under UCMJ" in US Army Live 9 February 2012.
http://www.army.mil/article/73367/ Internet; accessed 24 May 2012.
[109] Kelly Giles, Optimal Blog the Optimal First Impression "What Does Viral mean and how does it apply to your Social Media Strategy?" http://www.optimalresume.com/blog/?p=673 Internet; accessed 10 June 2012.
Viral means that online content spreads like wildfire across the internet as people share it with each other.

of Weber's rationalized world. With the advent of complexity in today's operating environment the strategic corporal needs more flexibility to complete the task.

A good Canadian example of the reward gained from the use of social media is the tremendous outreach capability it provides to the 'strategic corporal' for various Police Departments across Canada[110]. The case of the Vancouver Police Department stands out. Two Constable's with great initiative, Sandra Glendinning and Steve Addison have been actively blogging (in the case of Glendinning who works with the Canine unit, since 2008, and Addison who works in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside since September of 2011) about their work on a regular basis. The personal accounts and insights of their work have gained national attention to the point where the Globe and Mail in December 2011[111] published a front page article about their work. The blogs[112] are designed to give readers 'a front-line unfiltered' look at life in the downtown Eastside of Vancouver. It is one of the most troubled neighborhoods' in Canada with a high incidence of injection drug users, prostitution and other criminal activities. As part of the strategy to address the problem, the Vancouver Police Department sees value in the outreach and education ability of the blogs from their 'strategic Constables' and their allowing the blogs to continue demonstrates a social effect whereby a traditional hierarchical institution is not engaged in filtering or reviewing the content. There is something for those who are attracted to the notion of the 'first-hand and unfiltered look from the eyes of a beat cop' to those who are interested in 'igniting discussion about the pressures emergency responders face in this dangerous, political and unpredictable neighbourhood'.

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[110] Douglas Quan, "Law and Order Twitter Style" Ottawa Citizen 8 October 2011, 11.
[111] Ann Hui, "Blogging Cop Conjures up the Smell and Taste of Misery" *Globe and Mail,* 14 December 2011, 1 and 9.
[112] The first blog from Constable Addison has been included as an annex to this paper.

The examples above demonstrate what MGen Lewis Mackenzie in 'The Media as a Tool of the Military Commander' in the 1990's argued is tremendous opportunity in hearing from the 'Strategic Corporal'. It reinforces his view that whenever possible soldiers or junior ranks should talk to the media as their nervousness and candidness provide sound bites that are very appealing to the media.[113] He also admits that there is risk in this: "Department Senior Leaders there is risk (for you!) involved with this approach..."[114] There is risk that an unfiltered message damaging to DND, could get into the public. This has to be weighed against the benefit to DND of hearing from the social media wielding Strategic Corporal.

Concluding Remarks

In the case of DND, this paper has pointed out 3 areas of friction in attempts to adopt social media by the Department. It has highlighted its role as a key institution within the Westphalian state. It has elaborated on the Military 'chain of command' that reinforces the pyramidal organizational structure of DND and the Canadian Forces (CF) and its formal lines of communication and direction conflicts with social media.   It argued the nature of public service contracts with their emphasis on time and how time is spent with very limited time based elements in its compensation structure, means there is less incentive toward and interest in innovations such as social media that could potentially improve productivity. Finally, this paper has also demonstrated that there is a demographic phenomenon that has widened the generation gap in the Public Service and Canadian Forces as a result of the cuts invoked during Program Review in the 1990s. The wider gap and recognition that younger generations adopt social

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[113] Lewis J. Mackenzie "The Media as a Tool of the Military Commander" in *Generalship and the Art of the Admiral - Perspectives on Senior Canadian Military Leadership* ed. Bernd Horn and Stephen J. Harris, 405-406 (St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 2004), 405-406.

[114] Lewis J. Mackenzie "The Media as a Tool of the Military Commander"... , 406.

media more rapidly, combined with much of the decision power being held by higher ranks and older generation is a part of the barrier to the use of social media tools.

While the intent of this paper has not been to prescribe how DND should implement social media, it should be noted that despite the challenges to traditional Westphalian Institutions like Defence Departments, the examples from the US Army and Vancouver Police Departments demonstrate some adaptation and use of social media to effect.

In the end, the age of social media is upon us. Canada's Prime Minister when tabling the Advisory Committee on the Public Service Sixth Annual Report identified that there is a need to "Get used to the new World of Web 2.0 and don't try to control what cannot be controlled"[115] What we are starting to see can best be described as the Strategic Corporal transcending Weber's 'Iron cage'. How this journey will end remains to be seen.

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[115] Paul M. Tellier and David Emerson, *Prime minister's advisory committee on the public service: Sixth report to the prime minister "moving ahead: Public service renewal in a time of change."* 2012 [cited March 29 2012]. Available from http://www.clerk.gc.ca/local_grfx/docs/pmac-ccpm/6-2012-eng.pdf. Internet; accessed 29 March 2012. 8-9. From the report conclusion in reference to Web 2.0 [social media tools]. "…These tools are transformative and unstoppable and the Public Service must take full advantage of these new ways of working. The communications challenge for political leaders and deputy heads is not to try to control what cannot be controlled. The task is to ensure that employees understand their responsibilities as public servants so they can use these new collaborative tools to support their work and the mandate of their organization."

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ANNEX A – BEAT COP BLOG VANCOUVER POLICE DEPARTMENT

"Welcome to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

Posted on <u>September 7, 2011</u> by <u>Steve</u>

It's been called a chemical gulag, a place where the most hardcore drug addicts plunge poison into their veins in search of the ultimate high.

It's been defended as Vancouver's last refuge for the marginalized and working poor, the majority of them law-abiding citizens who rarely have contact with police.

It's been labeled (incorrectly) Canada's poorest postal code, a distinction that rightly goes to New Brunswick's Burnt Church First Nation.

Whatever you call it, make no mistake. Life is hard on the streets of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

No doubt you've heard about the Downtown Eastside. You've probably read about it or seen it talked about on TV. You may have driven through once or twice, maybe even got out of your car.

But do you really know what it's like to walk the streets and gutters of Vancouver's Skid Row? Do you really know what it's like to stand inside a one-room hovel with no toilet or running water? To dodge bed bugs that drip from the ceiling? To stamp out cockroaches as they scurry up your shoes and burrow into your socks?

Do you really know what it's like to see the misery? To smell it? To taste it in the air?

I do. And so does the rest of Vancouver Police Department's Beat Enforcement Team. We are the first line of defence against the violence, crime and misery that plagues this neighbourhood. We are the last resort for people with nowhere else to turn.

Welcome to a new blog about policing Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

In the coming weeks and months I will use this space to share my insights, reflections and anecdotes about the life of a Hastings Street beat cop. The goal is to give you a first-hand and unfiltered look from the eyes of a beat cop on the Downtown Eastside, and to entertain, inform and ignite discussion about the pressures emergency responders face in this dangerous, political and unpredictable neighbourhood.

I invite you to check back frequently, and to share your thoughts and questions by commenting on a specific post or by emailing me at steve.addison@vpd.ca." [116]

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[116] Steve Addison, Vancouver Police Department Website http://www.beatcopdiary.vpd.ca/ Internet; accessed 15 December 2011.

ANNEX B – DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE MOST POPULAR SOCIAL MEDIA TOOLS

The following is a short description of some of the most popular of them, with an outline of their particular utility and other unique characteristics.

Facebook

Facebook allow users to keep up with friends, upload an unlimited number of photos, share links and videos, and learn more about the people they meet." [117] Facebook claims 845 million users[118]

Twitter   Weibo

Twitter and Weibo are tremendously popular social media tool which are characterized by their short texts (up to 140 character long) as well as short videos and on line conversations, Twitter as described on its website is "a real-time information network that connects you to the latest stories, ideas, opinions and news." Twitter is available in greater than 20 languages around the world.[119] Translated literally from Chinese, Weibo means 'microblogging'. Boasting over 300 million users, as of February 2012[120], it is China's rival to Twitter. Like Twitter, messages are

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[117] http://www.facebook.com/facebook Internet; accessed 15 April 2012.

[118] Protalinski, Emil. (2012) Facebook has over 845 million users in ZD Net http://zd.net/yRdrHg Internet; accessed 16 April 2012.

[119] http://twitter.com/ Internet; accessed 26 April 2012.

[120] Belinda Cao, "Sina Weibo Outlook Buoys Internet Stock Gains in China" (28 February 2012) http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-28/sina-s-weibo-outlook-buoys-internet-stock-gains-in-n-y-china-overnight.html Internet; accessed 25 March 2012.

limited to 140 characters, and users can include images and video clips with text

communications[121]

You Tube   [122]

You Tube has been a spot for people to watch and share, at no cost, original video. Anyone with

access to the internet has access to You Tube. For seven years You Tube has been on line and

literally billions of views of video have taken place on the site since it's inception. The term

'going viral' originated from You Tube, and the term identifies videos that once posted, resulted

in millions (and in some cases hundreds of millions) of individual views. A very powerful

medium, the video from You Tube is also used by small and large commercial advertisers to pass

out product, service, or other messages. [123] Law enforcement agencies are using you tube video

feed and social media in general in conducting their investigations.[124]

Blogging [125]

"An abbreviation of 'weblogs' - [blogs are] web sites which contain dated entries in reverse

chronological order (most recent first) about a particular topic. Functioning as an online

newsletter, blogs can be written by one person or a group of contributors. A 'blog', can be

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[121] Weibo http://www.weibo.com/ Internet; accessed 18 February 2012
[122] YouTube http://www.youtube.com/ Internet; accessed 15 February 2012.
[123] YouTube http:// http://www.youtube.com/t/about_youtube Internet; accessed 15 February 2012.
[124] Tom Joslin, "Japanese Ferrari Driver Faces Jail Time after posting YouTube Video" http://jalopnik.com/5892212/japanese-ferrari-driver-faces-jail-time-after-posting-youtube-video Internet; accessed 28 April 2012. Japanese doctor posts you tube video driving at high speeds, including triple the speed limit in certain zones. Video used to apprehend him. CBC News British Columbia "Unlicensed motorcyclist identified as 300 km/h rider" http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2012/04/19/bc-motorcycle-video-victoria.html?cmp=rss Internet; accessed 28 April 2012. Victoria, British Columbia citizen riding motorcycle at speeds up to 300km/hr. Police used video to find motorcycle and charge owner of motorcycle.
[125] Blogger http://*www.blogger.com* Internet; accessed 28 February 2012.

defined as: "A Web site containing the writer's or group of writers' own experiences, observations, opinions, etc., and often having images and links to other Web sites."[126] Or "A frequent, chronological publication of personal thoughts and Web links."[127]

Flickr   Tumblr-   [128]

Flickr and Tumblr are online photo management and sharing application. They permit users to do everything from blogging to sharing privately family photos with distant relatives. People can download from home computers or handheld devices using a variety of different software. As well, sharing can occur via many different means, via their websites, email, or posting to outside blogs. Finally, organizing of photos can be collaborative by allowing others permission to access and organize content. [129]

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[126] Dictionary. com http://www.dictionary.reference.com/browse/blog Internet; accessed 3 March 2012.
[127] Marketing Terms.com http:// www.marketingterms.com/dictionary/blog/; internet; accessed 3 March 2012.
[128] Tumblr.com https://www.tumblr.com/ accessed 3 March 2012.
[129] Flickr.com http://*www.flickr.com/* accessed 3 March 2012.

ANNEX C – COMMAND BRIEF MGEN (RET) DANIEL GOSSELIN DS 591 APRIL 3 2012

Introduction to Concepts of Strategic Command and Civil-Military Relations in Canada

MGen (Ret'd) Daniel Gosselin

Standing l. to r., BGen Mike Day [Comd CANSOF Command], unidentified RCMP Chief Supt, MND Peter Mackay, Minister of Public Safety Vic Toews, MP Royal Galipeau, PM Stephen Harper, VAdm Bruce Donaldson [Comd Canada Command], CDS Gen Walter Natynczyk [DND Photo IBX2010-0008]

Outline

- Early concepts of command
- Legal authority for Armed Forces, direction and command
- Evolution of command concepts
- National command
- Civil-Military relations – problems and context
- Theories of civil-military relations
- Mechanisms of civil control of the military
- Strategic command: concluding perspectives

3

EARLY CONCEPTS OF COMMAND

British Doctrinal Influences

- Command expressed the functions of commanding tactical units and formations
- Higher command more closely associated with leadership, generalship and admiralship, than the "entire process of command"
- Powers of command described in terms of "classes of commanders" and for legally stipulating powers of discipline
- *King Regulations & Orders* recognized that the function of command is one that "...is to be exercised by the senior combatant commander"
- *KR&Os* spelled out the legal powers of commanders, with leadership remaining at the heart of command

Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, at the time of the South African War (1902)

5

British Concept of Command – early 20th century

British War Office

- Command always associated with a wartime appointment
- Control of field formations was firmly in the hands of commanders-in-chief dispersed around the globe
- Any suggestion of commanding or controlling the war from London would have meant second-guessing those commanding the imperial forces in the field, and was simply unthinkable
- Focus of responsibility of commanders was chiefly the conduct of military operations (implicitly, the task of administering the troops was left to commanders in the rear areas)

6

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American Influences

- □ U.S. Army "...entered combat on the Western Front with an ill-defined idea of how to command troops on the battlefield"
- □ American Richard Leighton argued that "the essence of [American] command was concentration of responsibility and commensurate authority within one individual"
- □ U.S. experiences relating to both inter-service and coalition warfare, especially during Second World War, would considerably influence C2 in the post war era, especially for the command arrangements for NORAD and NATO
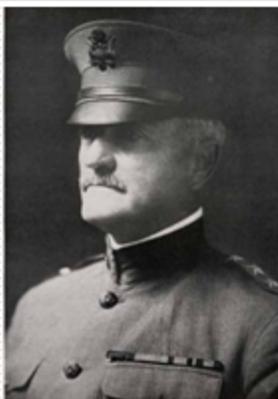
General John J. Pershing

7

Joint Canadian-U.S. Basic Defence Plan No. 2 (ABC-22)

- □ "Unity of command, when established, vests in one commander the responsibility and *authority to co-ordinate* the operations of the participating forces of both nations by the setting up of task forces, the assignment of tasks, the designation of objectives, and the exercise of such *co-ordinating control* as the commander deems necessary to ensure the success of the operations. Unity of command does not authorize a commander exercising it to control the administration and Command and Control discipline of the forces of the nation of which he is not an officer, nor to issue any instructions to such forces beyond those necessary for effective co-ordination."

Source: Joint Canadian-United States Basic Defence Plan No. 2, in Documents on Relations between Canada and Newfoundland, Volume 1, 1935-1949

8

Unity of Command

- ☐ "One of the most important, if not the most important, of the old principles of war which have remained unchanged is that which declares that an army to be successful must operate under the direction of one controlling master mind" [Major G.R.N. Collins, *Military Organization and Administration*, 1918]

- ☐ The principle has been a fundamental and enduring tenet of war in the doctrine of militaries

- ☐ Unity of command [2009]: "A single, clearly identified commander will be appointed for each operation. This commander has the authority to direct and control the committed resources and is responsible for success or failure" [CF Joint Publication 01]

9

Legal Authority for the Armed Forces, Direction and Command

10

Legal Authority and Command

- Legal basis for National Defence, the Canadian Forces, and command in Canada:
  - *National Defence Act*
  - *Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Forces*
- Concept of a lawful command is the root of all commands, orders, and regulations and applies equally in war and peace
- Authority: "The authority and powers of command of officers and non-commissioned members shall be as prescribed in regulations."

[Canadian Forces Joint Publication 3.0 Operations, 2010]

11

Command and Authority

- Command: "the authority vested in an individual of the armed forces for the direction, co-ordination, and control of military forces"
- Authority: "the power or right to enforce obedience"
  - One's right to make a decision, and to require compliance by subordinates
  - It is the right to direct and authorize others to act and to be responsible and accountable, in both legal and practical terms

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National Security Programme 4
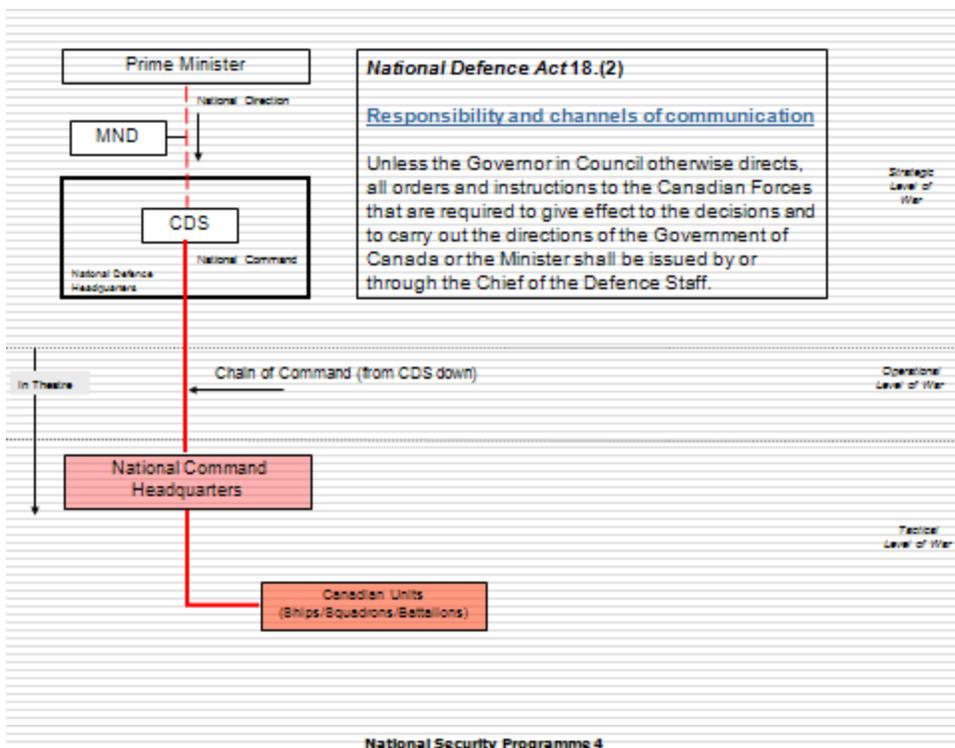
Command

- ☐ Command "fixes responsibility" on individuals in the CF
- ☐ Command embodies "... sanctioned authority, unity of direction, and irreducible responsibility for direction, coordination, control and behaviour of military forces under command"
- ☐ While QR&Os define the powers and authority of COs, many of the responsibilities of command are defined by customs, traditions and routine procedures
- ☐ Authorities of command not defined in a single matrix (like the Delegation of Authorities for Financial Administration for DND and the CF)

[Dishonoured Legacy, p. 455]

Responsibility, Authority and Accountability

- ☐ "Responsibility is a slippery and ambiguous concept, and accountability is scarcely less"

  Arthur Shafer
  "The Buck Stops Here"
  Study for the Somalia Inquiry, 1997

- ☐ Terms like responsibility, authority, accountability, answerability, liability, control, and oversight are often confused and inter-changed
- ☐ Responsibility: "the state of fact of being responsible"
  - ■ When a person has responsibilities, we usually mean that he/she has duties or obligations
  - ■ Externally imposed (role) and internally assumed or generated (personal)

Accountability

- ☐ *CDS Guidance to Commanding Officers*: "... A relationship based on the obligation to demonstrate and take responsibility for performance in light of agreed expectations."
- ☐ To be accountable means to be called to account for one's action and behaviour
- ☐ Accountability implies a superior-subordinate relationship – it means being accountable to some person or to a body of people
- ☐ Transactional nature of accountability sets it clearly apart from responsibility
- ☐ Liability: being liable, or legally bound (under an obligation)

Chain of Command in the CF

☐ Chain of Command: "an authority and accountability system linking the office of the Chief of the Defence Staff to the lowest level of the Canadian Forces and back again to the office of the CDS. It is also a hierarchy of individual commanders who make decisions within their connected functional formations and units. The chain of command is intended to be a pre-emptive instrument of command — allowing commanders actively to seek information, give direction, and oversee operations. It is a fundamental aspect of the structure and operation of the Canadian military, and ensuring its soundness is therefore a paramount responsibility of command."

[Dishonoured Legacy, 1997, 18]

17

Command and Control Confusion

☐ Pigeau and McCann:
- "...from official definitions of Command, Control and C^2 (e.g., those of NATO), we find that the definitions themselves are circular and redundant. The word command makes use of the word control, the control definition uses concepts that are part of the definition of command, and the definition of C^2 is merely a longer statement of the definition of control."

- British historian Gary Sheffield:
  - "There is often confusion about what command is actually is. In contrast to the literature on leadership, which is vast,... comparatively little has been written on the nature and practice of command."

18

National Security Programme 4

Delegating the Authority to Make Decisions over National Forces

Caveats are national limitations on any national military forces under command of coalition or alliance command that does not permit coalition or alliance commanders to deploy and employ these assets in accordance with the plan of operations. Caveats impose further employment limitations to the delegated Operational Control
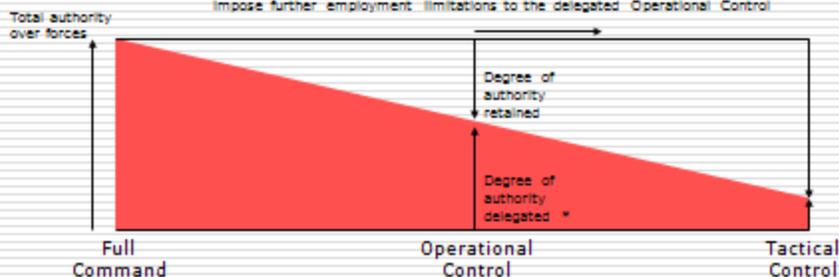
Nations delegate part of their authority depending on the scope and complexity of an operation. This delegated is usually constrained by time and space, and other restrictions (caveats).

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Annex A - Degrees of Command Authority

	Full Command [1]	COMMAND [2]		CONTROL [3]		Planning Authority [7]
		Operational Command [1][3]	Tactical Command [4]	Operational Control [6]	Tactical Control	
1. Assign separate employment of components of units/formations	X	X				
2. Assign missions [5]	X	X		X		
3. Assign tasks	X	X	X	X		
4. Delegate command authority:						
Delegate OPCOM	X	X				
Delegate TACOM	X	X	X			
Delegate OPCON	X	X		X		
Delegate TACON	X	X	X	X	X	
5. Coordination of local movement, real estate and area defence	X	X	X	X	X	
6. Planning and coordination	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. Administrative responsibility [9]	X					

Notes:

1 Canadian and Allied doctrines do not normally permit the transfer of OPCOM of a unit or formation to forces of another nation or a multi-national force commander. The national authority, normally the CDS, therefore, always retains FULL COMMAND. In coalition operations, Canada will normally retain OPCOM.

2 Command terms are normally used with the manoeuvre arms, i.e. infantry, armour, aviation and close support. However, for engineer and aviation assets, it may be more appropriate to employ TACOM or TACON relationships depending on the

[Source: Canadian Forces Joint Publication Operations 3.0, 2010]   3A-1

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Operational Control

"Operational Control: The authority delegated to a commander to direct forces assigned so that the commander may accomplish specific missions or tasks which are usually limited by function, time, or location; to deploy units concerned, and to retain or assign tactical control of those units. It does not include authority to assign separate employment of components of the units concerned. Neither does it, of itself, include administrative or logistic control."

NATO, *Glossary of Terms and Definitions*, 2-O-1

21

Alliances and Unity of Command

"Alliances in the past have often done no more than name the common foe, and 'unity of command' has been a pious aspiration thinly disguising the national jealousies and recriminations of high-ranking officers, unwilling to subordinate themselves or their forces to a commander of a different nationality or different service"

General of the Army Dwight Eisenhower

22

Typical Simplified Coalition Command Structure

| Nation A Political/Military Establishment | Nation B Political/Military Establishment | Nation C Political/Military Establishment |

R · · · · · R · · · · · R

National Chain of Command

Supreme War Council

Strategic Level of War

Allied High Command HQ

Operational Level of War

| National HQ A | National HQ B | National HQ C |

Operational Chain of Command

Allied Theatre Operational HQ

Tactical Level of War

| Military Forces Nation A | Military Forces Nation B | Military Forces Nation C |

Legend

S	Strategic Direction	— O —	Operational Control
R	Representation (of National Strategy)	· · · · ·	Liaison
C	National Command	— · — · —	Coordination
C	Operational Command		

National Security Programme 4

Realities of Multi-National Command

General Sir Michael Jackson

- ☐ "Command arrangements are the first thing you need to get absolutely right."
- ☐ "But if you as the Operational Commander have not got the necessary unity of command, you must go for unity of effort and it is a matter of leadership and personal relationships."
- ☐ A senior commander's role is often to minimize inter-allied friction, in order to maximize cohesion and unity of effort
- ☐ "Political desirability is the thesis, military friction the antithesis"

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Command in War [1985]

- Command is more than an individual authority and responsibility
- Command is "a function that has to be exercised, more or less continuously, if the army is to exist and operate"
- Three components integral to command [governance] systems: organizations, procedures, and technical means
- NATO's glossary of terms and definitions [2004] defines command and control systems as "an assembly of equipment, methods and procedures and, if necessary, personnel that enables commanders and their staffs to exercise command and control"

Martin van Creveld, Command in War

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The Quest for Certainty

- History of command is an endless quest for certainty – "a race between the demand for information and the ability of command systems to meet it"
- Command is therefore an effort to deal with uncertainty and that C^2 systems exist to support that effort
- "With uncertainty being the central fact that all command systems have to cope with, the role of uncertainty in determining the structure of command should be – and in most cases is – decisive"
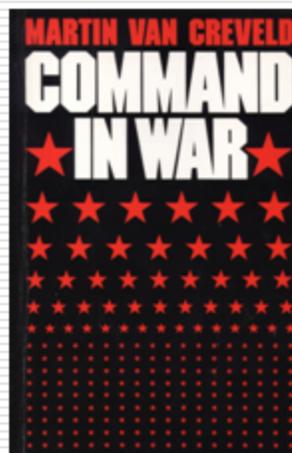
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Civil-Military Relations

"The problem of civil-military relationships is one with which, in one form or another, all societies have to deal with."

Sir Michael Howard
British Historian

Prime Minister Stephen Harper with Chief of the Defence Staff General Walter Natynczyk

Contentious State Issues

"The notion that if there is no fear of a coup there can be nothing seriously amiss with civil-military relations is one of the greatest obstacles to serious thinking about the subject.

The proper role of the military in shaping foreign policy, in setting the conditions under which it acts, in creating the kind of forces most appropriate for its tasks, in mobilizing civil society to support its activities – these are all contentious issues."

Eliot A. Cohen
Supreme Command

National Security Programme 4

THE MILITARY

An uneven power struggle

"It should not be left to Canada's top soldier to announce significant changes in Ottawa's approach to the nation's security...."

"Instead, over the past 18 months, the line between political and military duties has blurred as the two men have brushed repeatedly and uneasily against each other.

"[Hillier] is an asset in the struggle to win domestic support. But without strong political oversight, he is apt to stray onto political turf.

National Security Programme 4

THE GLOBE AND MA

CANADIAN MILITARY

O'Connor speaks, Hillier contradicts

"Mr, O'Connor and Rick Hillier, Chief of the Defence Staff have long had an uneasy relationship. But recently it has reached an untenable level of dysfunction, as evidenced by a bizarre public disagreement over the future of Canadian troops in Afghanistan."

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THE
RUNAWAY
GENERAL

Questions to study

- What is the "problematique" of civil-military relations?
- What are the forces that shape the interactions of civil and military institutions?
- What are the theoretical frameworks of analysis that help us understand civil-military relations?
- What are the determinants of civil control of the military, and how do elected politicians exercise control over the military?
- What is the "modus operandi" of the military?
- What is the line between military professionalism and political advocacy?
- When and how do military officer dissent?

Armies and threat to civil liberties

"Soldiers are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws, and blind obedience, and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer, is their only principle.... It is indeed impossible that liberties of the people in any country can be preserved where a numerous standing army is kept up."

British parliamentarian, c1788

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The Civil-Military "Problematique"

☐ "The civil-military challenge is to reconcile a military strong enough to do anything the civilians ask them to do with a military subordinate enough to do only what civilians authorize them to do."

☐ Two central and potentially conflicting principles are deducted:
   ■ the military must be strong enough to prevail in the society's wars
   ■ the military must conduct its own affairs so as not to destroy the society it is intended to protect

Source: Peter Feaver, "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control"

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Four Problems of Civil-Military Relations

- The need to curb the political power of the military
- Ensuring that the armed forces behave in a ways that safeguard the state without bringing harm to governments or citizens
- Protecting the military from politicians who would use their authority over it to enhance partisan interests and their own power
- Managing the "relationship of the expert to the minister"

Source: Douglas Bland, "A Unified Theory of Civil-Military Relations"

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Civil-Military Relationships

Government

People

Military

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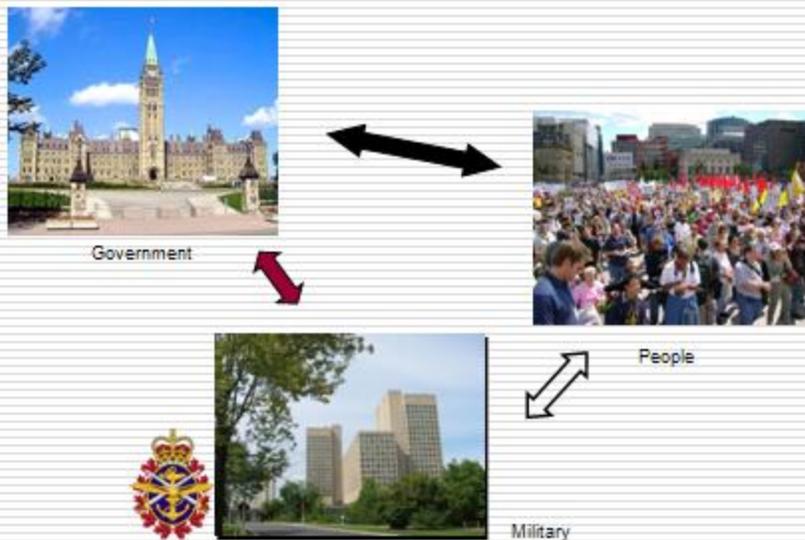
Civil-Military Relations

- Civil-military relations refers to the relationship between the armed forces of the state and the larger society they serve – how they communicate, how they interact, and how the interface between them is ordered and regulated
- Civil-military relations describe the interaction within a society between the civilian authority (the government) and the military establishment as a profession
- More narrowly, it describes the relationship between the civil authority of a society and its military authority

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Politics and War

"You cannot combine [parliamentary] politics and war. Politics require popularity, and the direction of war means inevitable unpopularity. The fighting men got all the popularity success; the statesmen, the unpopularity of any ill-success"

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Minister Gordon O'Connor with CDS General Rick Hillier

Minister Peter MacKay with CDS General Walter Natynczyk

"Civil-military relations is a game of strategic interaction"

[Peter Feaver, 2003]

President Harry Truman with General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

Theories of Civil-Military Relations

"War is too important to be left to the generals."

attributed to Georges Clémenceau,
French Prime Minister, 1917-20

"The civil hand must never relax, and it must
without one hint of apology hold the control that
has always belonged to it by right."

Bernard Brodie
American nuclear strategist

The Soldier and the State

- ❑ Samuel Huntington [1957]: his theory remains the dominant theoretical paradigm in civil-military relations
- ❑ Theory of "separation"
- ❑ Five elements that have a direct impact on the principles of subordination and separation
  - Functional versus societal imperatives
  - Ideology
  - Professionalism of the military
  - Method of control of the military
  - Structural separation of power

Professionalism and Objective Control

- Objective control through the recognition of autonomous military professionalism
  - Chain of logic: autonomy ⇨ professionalization ⇨ political neutrality ⇨ voluntary subordination ⇨ secure civilian control
  - In this way, the military would be made "... politically sterile and neutral.... A highly professional officer corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian group which secures legitimate authority within the state"
  - "An officer corps is professional only to the extent to which its loyalty is to the military ideal..."

THE
SOLDIER
AND THE
STATE
The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations

Samuel P. Huntington
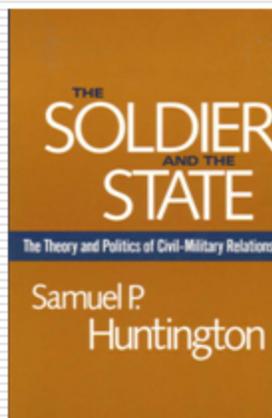
The Professional Soldier

- ❑ Morris Janowitz [1960] provided a detailed sociological assessment of the military as a professional group
  - ▪ Acknowledged the military as a socially diverse group with significant power
  - ▪ With this power, the military is an important pressure group within the political fabric of the society it serves
  - ▪ Being "above politics" does not mean being absent from the political affairs of the state
  - ▪ Provided a more nuanced and perhaps realistic of the behaviour of the military as a public institution

The Professionals in Violence

- ❑ All types of elites must be skilled in managing interpersonal relations, in making strategic decisions, and in political negotiations, rather than in the performance of technical tasks
- ❑ Evaluating the political behaviour of the military profession, he argued that:
  - ■ In the past, the military profession has been considered deficient in its ability to judge the political consequences of its conduct
  - ■ The military profession has been judged to be deficient because of its social and intellectual isolation from civilian society

Morris Janowitz

The Professional Soldier

A Social and Political Portrait
WITH A NEW PROLOGUE BY THE AUTHOR
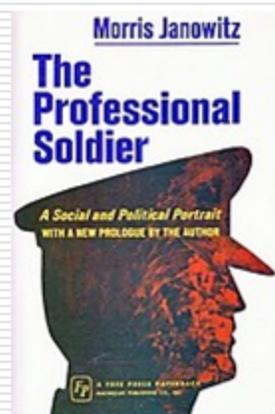
Integration with the society

"He [the officer] is subject to civilian control, not only because of the 'rule of law' and tradition, but also because of self-imposed professional standards and meaningful integration with civilian values...."

General Rick Hillier during a Red Friday

Morris Janowitz

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The Man on Horseback

☐ Samuel E. Finer focused his 1962 study on the principles of subordination of the military to civil authority
  ■ The political strengths of the military
  ■ The political weaknesses of the military
  ■ The disposition to intervene
☐ Military professionalism can often be one of the root causes of military intervention or coup attempts
☐ "The military's consciousness of themselves as professionals can lead them to see themselves as servants or guardians of the state rather than the government"

With a new introduction by **Jay Stanley**

THE MAN ON HORSEBACK

The Role of the Military in Politics

Samuel E. Finer
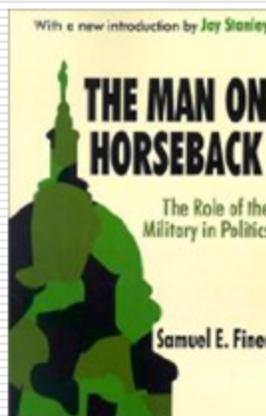
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The Corporate Self-Interest of the Armed Forces

"The military is jealous of its corporate status and privileges. Anxiety to preserve its autonomy provides one of the most widespread and powerful of the motives for intervention.

In its defensive form, it can lead to something akin to syndicalism – an insistence that the military and only the military are entitled to determine on such matters as recruitment, training numbers and equipment.

In its more aggressive form it can lead to the military demand to be the ultimate judge on all matters affecting the armed forces."

General H.D.G. Crerar

Source: S.E. Finer, The Man on Horseback, 47

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Principles of Civil Supremacy

"I find in existence a new and heretofore unknown and dangerous concept that the members of the armed forces owe primary allegiance or loyalty to those who temporarily exercise the authority of the Executive Branch of Government rather than to the country and its constitution which they are sworn to defend. No proposition could be more dangerous."

General Douglas MacArthur, 1952

Source: S.E. Finer, The Man on Horseback, 26

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A Theory of Concordance

☐ Rebecca Schiff's theory [1995] considers the unique historical and cultural experiences of nations as a predictor of civil-military relations

☐ Cultural and institutional factors offer a better explanation of civil-military relations in countries
- Composition of the officer corps
- Political decision-making processes
- Recruitment method
- Military style

☐ Concordance theory describes a concordance among the military, political elites, and the citizenry

The Military and Domestic Politics

A concordance theory of civil-military relations

Rebecca L. Schiff

Routledge Military Studies
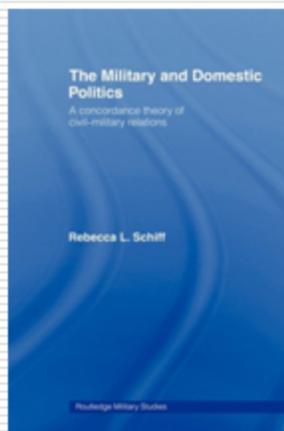
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Armed Servants

☐ Peter Feaver [1998] used an approach developed by economists to analyze the problems where one person has delegated authority to someone to act on his/her behalf

☐ The principal-agent approach assumes a superior-subordinate relationship

☐ This complex management arrangement includes looking at the motivation of the both the principals and the agents

☐ Feaver identified civilian oversight and the threat of sanctions against the military as the main casual factor that determines whether the military will 'work' or 'shirk' in reaction to the direction or requirements

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Informal Agent Theory

- Civilians and the military share the goal of national security
- Civilian principals and military agents want the same things, security for the state: they can disagree on how to provide that security
- Civilians and the military are both imperfect judges of what is needed for national security
- The crisis of the 1990s was characterized by the concurrence of civilian intrusive monitoring with military shirking
- In a democracy, "civilians have the right to be wrong"
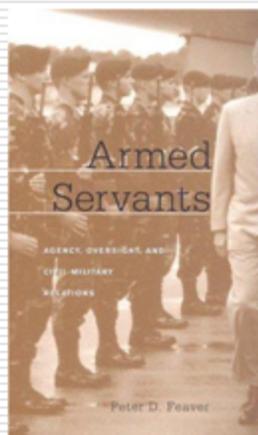
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Civil Control and the Changing Security Environment

- Michael Desch's theory [2001] is founded on the assumption that the variability in civil control of the military is based in part on the nature and intensity of the threats facing the state
- Model includes both internal and external threats
    - When threats are weak or non-existent, the military will be weak and divided due to reduced cohesiveness against a known threat and the emergence of factionalism within the military
    - A state facing high external threats will produce cohesion among both civilian and military leaders and result in more stable civil-military relations

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A Unified Theory- "The Sharing of Responsibility"

☐ Douglas Bland's main argument [1999] is that civil control of the military is managed and maintained through the sharing of responsibility for control
   - Civil authorities depend on military experts
   - There is an expectation that military leaders will share in decision-making regarding national defence and the employment of the armed forces
☐ Four central decision matrices in defence management, where sharing takes place:
   - Strategic (ends and means of defence)
   - Organizational (arrangement of defence resources)
   - Social – between armed forces and society
   - Operational – employment of forces

"Why does the military ever refrain from interfering in politics?"

"They [militaries] do obey (when they obey), not because it is natural, but because civilian direction of the armed forces and military professional concerns are legitimized and recognized by the parties within limits tolerable to both sides, and these limitations and allowances are in an important sense codified in the state's political behaviour"

Douglas Bland

Civil-Military Relations in Canada

- ☐ Shaped and conditioned by:
    - National ideas and invariants
    - Threats to the state
    - Heritage and history
    - Form of government
    - Constitutional arrangements
    - Structure and machinery of government
    - Customs and traditions
    - Professionalism of the military
    - National identity and interests
    - Politician's degree of knowledge of the military
    - Military's ability to work in the political milieu

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Mechanisms of Civil Control of the Military in Canada

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Command and Accountability

"Parliament demands that the CF be commanded by officers who are accountable to Parliament. The system of command of the CF in peacetime, crisis, and war is therefore an essential component of national civil/military relations. If the system of command is not precise, then accountability and parliamentary control of the armed forces will be diminished."

Report of the Somalia Inquiry, 1997

"Command, the legal authority to issue orders and demand obedience, must be sharply defined in law, unambiguously delineated in organization and obvious in execution..."

Douglas Bland, *Chiefs of Defence*, 1997

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"A fundamental policy dispute between the military and the civil authority can only have one outcome: the civil authority must prevail. Otherwise, we would become subject to military dictatorship. There can only be one result in the present controversy between Mr. Hellyer, the minister of defence, and those officers who oppose the next steps in integrating the armed forces, leading to a degree of unification. The policy is the minister's."

Ottawa Citizen, 16 July 1966

New Minister of Defence Paul T. Hellyer with Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1963

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Civil Control of the Military

- ☐ Civil control means the degree to which the military's civilian masters can enforce their authority on the military
- ☐ Civil control is more nuanced than simply preventing coups
- ☐ "Civil control is intended to ensure that *decisions and risks* affecting national defence and the employment of the Canadian Forces are taken by politicians accountable to the people rather than soldiers, officials, and others who are not"

Canada, Dishonoured Legacy: The Lessons of the Somalia Affair

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Mechanisms of Civil Control

- ☐ Establishes the law for National Defence (*National Defence Act*)
- ☐ Determines, influences, and controls the scope of authority delegated, in three areas:
  - ■ **Strategy**
    - ☐ Sets foreign and defence policy
    - ☐ Allocates budgets
    - ☐ Decides to commit military forces
  - ■ **Structure and Organization**
    - ☐ Approves and procures military capabilities
    - ☐ Determines higher defence organization
    - ☐ Sets the authorities of CDS and DM
    - ☐ Controls the freedom of the military to regulate its profession

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Mechanisms of Civil Control

- ☐ Determines, influences, and controls the scope of authority delegated, in three areas (cont'd):
  - **Operations**
    - ☐ Determines the employment of deployed force
    - ☐ Establishes level of monitoring of operations
- ☐ **Monitors and Audits activities of the military**
  - Parliament demands accountability from Government [and answerability from military]
    - ☐ Parliamentary committees
    - ☐ Independent agents of Parliament
  - Establishes independent monitoring committees and agencies (MPCC, Ombudsman, MMC on Change)

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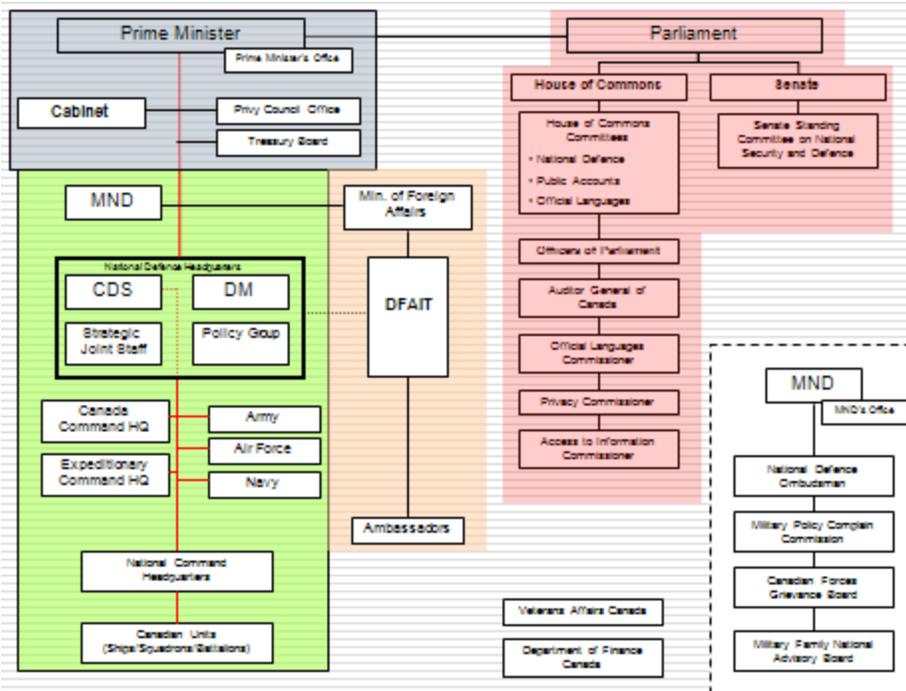
Modus Operandi of the Military

- ☐ Framing of professional military advice (expert on the management of violence)
- ☐ "Henry Kissinger" option analysis approach
- ☐ Overstate (or minimize) risks
- ☐ Delay and drag implementation of policy
- ☐ Seek assistance from coalition partners in advancing an argument / position / preference
- ☐ Rely on the Opposition and parliamentarians for supporting position, or for presenting 'opposite' views
- ☐ Use of the media (publicity given to the views of the military)
- ☐ Use of defence (and service) constituency

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Strategic Command – Concluding Perspectives

Brigadier-General Mike Gauthier passing command of JTFSWA to Brigadier Angus Watt, witnessed by Commander Central Command, General Tommy Franks

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Command Perspectives

- Modern concepts of command originated during the Second World War and, step-by-step, the doctrine of command matured significantly during the Cold War
- Doctrine of command "legally" more precise to address emerging national requirements and operationally more elaborate to account for the types and complexity of coalition warfare operations undertaken
- Coalition warfare command concepts were tested in the years after 9/11 with the growth of ad-hoc "coalitions of the willing" and NATO's out-of-area operations

Command Perspectives

- National command is significantly more complex than having military forces commanded by national commanders
- Many highly connected and interdependent elements constitute the "whole process" of national command
- Command, decision, and organization are all highly integrated, and must be combined judiciously to obtain a clear command structure and unambiguous relationships
- National command in intrinsically linked to civil control of the military, and thus the structure of command must be built to facilitate the oversight of the armed forces
- National command is a military function to be exercised, and is now more complex than ever with the "whole of government" engagement to achieving national objectives

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Strategic Command:
A Canadian Context

- ☐ Strategic command may involve creating forces, supporting forces, and employing forces
- ☐ Strategic command is often characterized by exercising leadership in an atmosphere of political, legal, and moral confusion
- ☐ Strategic command is about understanding national interests, national security, rules of warfare, allies, armed forces and society, and civil-military relations
- ☐ Strategic command will likely demand national political judgement on the part of commanders and may also involve the interaction of military commanders and their political superiors
- ☐ Command is about decision-making, and "about making choices from (usually) imperfect information"

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The Essence of Decision –
A Conceptual Framework

- ☐ Decisions are shaped by many considerations and factors:
    - ■ Ideas (policies and concepts)
    - ■ Actors
    - ■ Structure and Organizations
    - ■ Process and Machinery
    - ■ Politics and Other Factors

Adapted from Graham Allison, *The Essence of Decision*, and Douglas Bland, *Chiefs of Defence*

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"The essence of ultimate decision remains impenetrable to the observer – often, indeed, to the decider himself.... There will always be the dark and tangled stretches in the decision-making process – mysterious even to those who may be most intimately involved."

John F. Kennedy

Source: "Preface" to Theodore Sorensen, *Decision-Making in the White House: The Olive Branch and the Arrows* (New York, 1963)

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