

CANADIANS AND 'PEACEKEEPING': AN ANALYSIS OF  
CANADIAN UNDERSTANDING OF PEACEKEEPING AND  
CANADA'S INVOLVEMENT IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS  
SINCE 1991

LES CANADIENS ET « LE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX » : UNE  
ANALYSE DE LA COMPRÉHENSION DES CANADIENS DES  
OPÉRATIONS DE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX ET LA PARTICIPATION  
CANADIENNE AUX OPÉRATIONS DE SOUTIEN DE LA PAIX  
DEPUIS 1991

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Jamie Edward Hill,  
Captain

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## **Statement of Ethics Approval**

The research involving human subjects that is reported in this thesis was conducted with the approval of the Royal Military College of Canada General Research Ethics Board and the Queen's University General Research Ethics Board.

## **Dedication**

To Katherine, Tristan, and Alex, who ceaselessly supported and encouraged me throughout the last two years.

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## Abstract

Peacekeeping is frequently associated with Canadian identity and often referred to as a proud aspect of Canada's history, but how much do Canadians really know about peacekeeping and peace support operations (PSOs), Canada's involvement in them, and Canada's and the CAF's role in such operations? This research included an original survey and analysis of previous polls and studies to explore the extent to which Canadians were aware of the types of PSOs as defined by the UN and whether they see these operations as separate entities from merely peacekeeping, which speaks to Canadian understanding of the changing nature of conflict and PSOs. Furthermore, it explored the awareness of participants concerning the number of peacekeeping missions Canada has been involved in since the end of the Cold War and how Canadians see Canada's and the CAF's role in PSOs.

Pre-existing polls and surveys related to peacekeeping were examined and an original survey was conducted with over two hundred and fifty participants to explore their ability to answer PSO-related questions correctly and to gauge their perceptions of peacekeeping. It was found that statistically significant differences in responses between groups of participants existed, contingent on military service, as illustrated by using Chi-Square tests. The results also indicated that there is a delta between understanding of PSOs and Canada's role compared to support for such missions. This work partially fills the gap in literature that exists concerning the perceived lack of awareness that Canadians have regarding the nature of PSOs today and the differences between those with and without military service vis-à-vis support levels and perceptions of PSOs, which to this point has been largely anecdotal.

## Résumé

Les missions de maintien de la paix sont fréquemment associées à l'identité canadienne. Cet aspect de l'histoire militaire canadienne est souvent mentionné comme suscitant la fierté des citoyens. Or, qu'est-ce que les Canadiens savent vraiment des opérations de maintien et de soutien de la paix, de l'engagement du Canada à leur égard, et du rôle du Canada et des Forces armées canadiennes en leur sein? La présente recherche utilise une enquête originale et des sondages préexistants afin de faire la lumière sur le niveau de connaissance des Canadiens sur les différents types d'opérations de soutien de la paix, tel qu'entendu par l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sur la distinction entre ces missions et les opérations de maintien de la paix, et sur la nature changeante de ces opérations en situation de conflit. De plus, elle a cherché à déterminer la connaissance des Canadiens sur le nombre de missions de maintien de la paix auxquelles le Canada a participé depuis la fin de la Guerre froide, et de jauger l'interprétation qu'ont les Canadiens du rôle du Canada et des Forces armées canadiennes dans les opérations de soutien de la paix.

Le niveau de connaissance des Canadiens au sujet des opérations de soutien de la paix et leurs perceptions du maintien de la paix ont été explorées à l'aide de sondages préexistants et d'une enquête originale auprès de plus de deux cent cinquante participants. Des différences statistiquement significatives entre différents groupes de participants, selon qu'ils aient une expérience de service militaire ou non, illustrées par le test du Chi-carré. Les résultats ont aussi déterminé qu'il existait une différence delta entre la compréhension qu'ont les Canadiens de ces missions et le soutien qu'ils leur accordent. Cette recherche comble en partie une lacune dans la littérature existante concernant, d'une part, le manque perçu de connaissance des Canadiens sur la nature des opérations de soutien de la paix, et d'autre part, sur la différence de soutien et de perception des opérations de soutien de la paix entre les Canadiens ayant fait leur service militaire et ceux qui n'ont pas servi dans l'armée – un écart qui n'a été soulevé, jusqu'à maintenant, que de façon anecdotique.

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## List of Symbols, Abbreviations, & Acronyms

$\chi^2$	Chi-Square
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
CF	Canadian Forces
DND	Department of National Defence
df	Degrees of Freedom
DPKO	Department for Peacekeeping Operations
IFOR	Implementation Force
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MINUGUA	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala
MINURCA	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MIPONUH	United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MICAH	International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti
ONUCA	United Nations Observer Group in Central America
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
ONUSAL	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador
PKO	Peacekeeping Operation
PSO	Peace Support Operation
RMC	Royal Military College of Canada
ROE	Rules of Engagement
SFOR	Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq

UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNAMID	United Nations/African Union Mission in Darfur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNAMUR	United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda-Rwanda
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCRO	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNMOP	United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPF	United Nations Peace Forces
UNPREDEP	United Nations Preventative Deployment Force
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSMIH	United Nations Support Mission in Haiti
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAES	United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirium
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

## Introduction

In his work *Comparative Political Analysis*, Howard Scarrow stated that, "... action and orientation are to be seen as two sides of the same coin, even though the analyst's focus is usually on one side of the coin or the other. When the analyst identifies a pattern of action, he can be sure that there is a pattern of orientation which underlies this; and when he identifies the pattern of orientation he can be sure there are action patterns reflecting it."<sup>1</sup> This work strives to illustrate the pattern of action supporting peacekeeping and then illustrate what factors support the orientation towards peacekeeping in Canada. Exploring how people feel or perceive aspects of a particular issue can be a difficult task and identifying key issues that influence peoples' perceptions is equally complicated. In Canada, studies of political sociology often use surveys as a means gain insights into the thoughts of study participants regarding certain issues and explore what factors may influence those perceptions.<sup>2</sup> This method was pursued in this research to glean insights into Canadian understanding and perceptions of PSOs and subsequently consider what factors may have been influential.

Conflict has permeated human history. In an effort to limit the outbreak of violence, there has been "[an] idea that great powers have special responsibilities for maintaining peace and security [that] can be traced back to antiquity."<sup>3</sup> In fact, the origins of PSOs to manage conflict and prevent great power wars started as early as the nineteenth century following the Congress of Vienna, which established cooperative frameworks by which European states could conduct operations to maintain the international or domestic status quo, conduct humanitarian

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<sup>1</sup> Howard Scarrow, *Comparative Political Analysis* (New York: Harper, 1969): 35.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Baer. *Political Sociology: Canadian Perspectives* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 71-73.

operations, and conduct colonial policing or stability operations.<sup>4</sup> Thus, despite the popular perception that PSOs, and peacekeeping specifically, were a Canadian invention, they were in fact conceived far earlier. That said, they have become more frequent in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, with 16 UN PSOs currently being conducted and numerous parallel and separate operations by regional and national organizations, such as the European Union and the African Union, are also occurring.

In the current UN context, PSOs encapsulate a wide variety of activities to deal with conflicts that include operations such as peacekeeping, peacebuilding, peacemaking, peace enforcement, and conflict prevention.<sup>5</sup> In the aftermath of the Second World War, the United Nations embedded within its founding Charter specific chapters to address the ways by which the organization could assist with, or enforce, the cessation of hostilities.<sup>6</sup> The most relevant chapters of the UN Charter for PSOs are: Chapter VI, which deals with the “Pacific Settlement of Disputes,” Chapter VII, which addresses “Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression,” and Chapter VIII, which focuses on “Regional Arrangements.”<sup>7</sup> Neither peacekeeping nor any of the other PSOs are listed in the UN Charter, however their mandates are authorized based on the chapters listed above.<sup>8</sup> Some have argued that this has resulted in principles of peacekeeping, such as impartiality, consent, and the minimum use of force, being dominant in PSO thinking, despite them no longer fitting the nature of modern conflicts.<sup>9</sup> These principles, often referred to as the Hammarskjöld principles, held a

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<sup>4</sup> Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*, 71-73.

<sup>5</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines* (New York: United Nations, 2008). Refer to pg. 14 for definitions of those terms.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, accessed: 20/10/2016, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Ronald Hatto, “From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: The Evolution of the Role of the United Nations in Peace Operation,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 95 (2013) 497.

<sup>9</sup> Alex Bellamy, “The Great Beyond: Rethinking Military Responses to New Wars and Complex Emergencies,” *Defence Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 26, 45-46.

crucial role in peacekeeping thinking throughout the Cold War and into the post-Cold War era; filling the void of an established doctrine, which some have argued set the conditions for the problems in UN operations of the 1990s.<sup>10</sup>

Many would say that modern peacekeeping was developed in the wake of the Suez Crisis in 1956. It was during this time that Lester B. Pearson and Dag Hammarskjöld devised a plan to deploy UN troops to prevent the outbreak of a larger conflict in Egypt, which became UNEF I.<sup>11</sup> However, some would argue that other missions, such as UNTSO and UNMOGIP, embodied the concepts of peacekeeping and in fact predated UNEF, which may speak to the obscuring nature of the national identity regarding peacekeeping thinking in Canada.<sup>12</sup> Regardless of the actual origin of peacekeeping and the follow-on development of other PSOs, their creation played an important role in preventing the escalation of conflicts between both smaller states and the major powers during the Cold War and have remained relevant in the post-Cold War era.

### **Canada's History with PSO**

Canada became involved in PSOs at the very outset and provided commanders to both UNMOGIP and UNTSO before UNEF was even conceived.<sup>13</sup> The country played a crucial role not only in the manning of UNEF, but also its conceptual development. Not only was Canada the number one personnel contributor to UN PSOs for a number of years and within the top ten contributors until 1996, but it also had the second most fatalities in UN PSOs as of 2006 and remains amongst the states with the most deaths today.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, Canada participated in

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<sup>10</sup> Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*, 175; and Dominick Donald, "The Doctrine Gap: The Enduring Problem of Contemporary Peace Support Operations Thinking," *Contemporary Security Policy* 22, no. 3 (2001): 107.

<sup>11</sup> Carl Bildt, "Dag Hammarskjöld and United Nations Peacekeeping," *United Nations Chronicle* 48, no. 2 (2011): 4-7.

<sup>12</sup> Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization," *Policy Options*, September 2005, 41; and Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*, 83-84.

<sup>13</sup> Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization," 41-42.

<sup>14</sup> United Nations, "Troop and Police Contributors Archive (1990-2014)," accessed: 4/10/2016, [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors\\_archive.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml); United Nations,

every UN mission until UNAVEM I, which started in 1985.<sup>15</sup> As shown, Canada's involvement demonstrates a significant contribution to peace and security efforts throughout the Cold War and into the mid to late 1990s. Some would argue, that in this period peacekeeping gained a mythological status in Canada, that was "... designed to differentiate Canada from the United States" and identify Canada as a peace-oriented society as opposed to a war-oriented nation.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of where one stands on the role of peacekeeping in Canadian identity and thinking, it is evident that peacekeeping is a concept present in the collective Canadian psyche and Canada's past involvement is a potential reason.

### **Goal of the Research**

What do Canadians know about the different types of PSOs as defined by the United Nations and the frequency of Canada's involvement in such operations? Furthermore, how supportive of PSOs are Canadians, and how do they see them in terms of Canadian identity and as a role for the CAF? Lastly, do factors such as military service, education in fields related to PSOs, or other factors, influence understanding, support, and perception of PSOs? These questions will be addressed and considered through the creation of a potential theoretical explanatory model, which indicates Canadian understanding and perceptions are potentially affected by socialization and subsequent factors potentially caused by socialization and its agents,

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"Fatalities by Nationality by Mission," accessed: 10/10/2016, [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats\\_2.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats_2.pdf); and Walter Dorn, "Canada's Honourable Role as a Peacekeeping Nation," in *Afghanistan and Canada: Is There an Alternative to War?*, ed. Lucia Kowaluk and Steven Staples (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009), 276, 283.

<sup>15</sup> Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 15.

<sup>16</sup> Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization," 45; See also: Eric Wagner, "The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War," *Canadian Military Journal* 7, no. 4 (Winter 2006-2007): 45-54; Michael Adams. *Sex in the Snow: Canadian Social Values at the End of the Millennium* (Toronto: Penguin, 1997); Sean Maloney, "Why Keep the Myth Alive?," *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 100-102; David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 709-727; and Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970* (St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 2002), 6;

such as the creation of lenses that impact Canadian thinking regarding PSOs.<sup>17</sup> This research is one of exploratory political sociology regarding Canadian perceptions of PSOs and peacekeeping. This will be achieved through the use of pre-existing polls, surveys, studies, and original survey work. The survey will assist in exploring the perceptions and knowledge regarding peacekeeping and PSOs demonstrated by participants. The hypothesis of this work is that even though Canada has been involved in PSOs since the end of the Second World War, the understanding of PSOs and Canada's role does not match the level of support for such missions. Furthermore, there is a substantial gap between the level of support for PSOs and the understanding of what those operations entail, which can lead to unrealistic expectations. An additional gap exists between public support levels for PSOs as a theoretical construct compared to support for ongoing operations. This work will demonstrate that military service has a statistically significant influence on some responses to questions related to peacekeeping perceptions, but limited influence on knowledge-based questions. Furthermore, it will illustrate that political and military socialization, Canadian print media, the UN definitions themselves, the peacekeeping myth, and peacekeeping's relationship to Canadian identity are also potential sources of influence on an individual's level of PSO understanding and support.<sup>18</sup> Lastly, the level of understanding regarding PSOs and potential differences between respondent groups will be explored to determine potential implications.

## **Structure**

This work will commence by providing an overall background to the topic and literature in the introduction. Following that, the main body of the thesis will be divided into three sections,

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<sup>17</sup> Refer to pg. 63 for the diagram of the potential theoretical explanatory model.

<sup>18</sup> In terms of the peacekeeping myth, this work refers to the mischaracterization of Canada's primary motives for Cold War peacekeeping as being altruistic in nature and the overrepresentation of the frequency of Canada's participation in peacekeeping, which links to the misidentification of peacekeeping as a tradition of the CAF. Proponents of this argument include scholars such as Sean Maloney, Lewis Mackenzie, and others.

survey and research methodology, survey and research results and analysis, and finally potential explanatory factors of the findings. Lastly, the conclusion section will be broken down into a short summary, an exploration of the potential implications of the findings.

## 1.2 Literature Review

This is a work of exploratory political sociology. Orum contends that political sociology is “... the social circumstances of politics, that is, to how politics both is shaped by and shapes other events in societies.”<sup>19</sup> As a work of political sociology, this work aims to consider the perceptions of Canadians with respect to PSOs and peacekeeping by identifying factors that influence the sentiment and understanding of Canadians with respect to these topics. As a result, the goal of this literature review will be two-fold. The first will be to establish the prominent literature within the field of political sociology and the second will be to consider PSO literature and literature relevant to each of the potential factors.

In terms of considering factors that potentially affect public opinion, PSOs, as a subject of study, provide an excellent topic for research, the records of previous operations and contributions are readily accessible and the pool of secondary literature is both wide and deep. When approached holistically, debates concerning the utility of peacekeeping, participation and burden sharing, and the shifting nature of PSOs come to fore. Additionally, once one applies a Canadian lens, the literature is again expanded by works on how and why peacekeeping fits into Canadian identity, the ongoing debate about Canada’s substantiation and tradition of peacekeeping, known as the peacekeeping myth debate, public opinion (including polls and surveys, regarding peacekeeping), and how these concepts interact. Lastly, there are a myriad of UN documents that discuss PSOs, best practices, and definitions. That said, there is a gap in the literature when it comes to addressing whether Canadians, as people of a country that has both contributed greatly to operations and associates peacekeeping with their own identity, can

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<sup>19</sup> Anthony Orum. *Introduction to Political Sociology: The Social Anatomy of the Body Politic* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 1.

identify the definitions of PSOs that are consistent with UN definitions.<sup>20</sup> This has implications as to whether Canadians understand the differences between types of operations, which may be influenced by factors such as, socialization of specific groups. Furthermore, little is written on whether Canadians are aware of the frequency of PSOs and types of PSOs conducted since the 1990s. This work aims to fill the gap within the literature and explore how informed Canadians are regarding the nature and realities of PSOs, the degree of awareness regarding Canada's participation and role in such operations, and the potential factors that influence Canadian thinking and understanding of PSOs. This has implications not only for understanding the impact of factors such as political socialization, print media and media effects, and national identity on understanding of issues, but what societal gaps may exist between groups regarding thinking and perceptions of PSOs.

This literature review will be subdivided into nine sections. The first section will discuss the political sociology literature and the field within Canada and the context of this work. The second section will address the UN documents that discuss and attempt to define peacekeeping and PSOs. These will serve as the authoritative definitions for this study and a potential factor that could serve to influence the understanding of PSO issues and definitions. The third section will discuss socialization, specifically military and political socialization, which is important as it is a potential explanatory factor as to the differences that exist between groups and the results as a whole. The fourth and fifth sections will explore the literature on peacekeeping or PSOs as part of Canadian identity and asserts that aspects of Canadian peacekeeping thinking represent a myth, which will serve as intervening variables in the explanatory model. The sixth section will outline Canadian participation in PSOs. This will provide an understanding of what Canada has

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<sup>20</sup> Bellamy and Williams consider national identity, among other issues, as a potential factor in why similar states choose to contribute to PSOs in: Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

done in the past regarding PSOs and will be key to not only determining the accuracy of survey responses, but also the statistical realities of Canadian involvement in past and current operations. The seventh section will be works that explore the realities of peacekeeping since 1991 with regard to the types of operations, frequency of operations, and the nature of operations. This will be an important consideration when discussing the potential gap that exists between public understanding and the reality of PSOs. This section will also allow for an assessment of recent and current operations when compared with the UN definitions of the different PSOs. The eighth section will discuss media effects and Canadian print media that reports on peacekeeping and PSOs, which will be another potential explanation for the gap between the understanding and reality of types and natures of modern missions. The ninth section will identify pre-existing polls and surveys that focus on PSOs and peacekeeping and how that relates to public support for operations and Canadian identity. Polls and surveys will be compared against new survey data collected for this thesis to identify similarities and divergences in the results.

### **Political Sociology**

As already introduced, Orum explains political sociology as “... the social circumstances of politics, that is, to how politics both is shaped by and shapes other events in societies.”<sup>21</sup> As a field of study, “... political sociology approaches centre on groups and societal forces[,]” which differs from “institutional approaches [that generally] focus on rules.”<sup>22</sup> In Canada, political sociology is often characterized by the pluralist, Marxist (or class), and social cleavages approaches.<sup>23</sup> Other issues however, such as political culture, are also part of the field.<sup>24</sup> In the Canadian context, William Carroll contends that political sociology is a field that is both rich and

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<sup>21</sup> Anthony Orum. *Introduction to Political Sociology: The Social Anatomy of the Body Politic*, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Rand Dyck and Christopher Cochrane, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches* (Toronto: Nelson, 2014), 13.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Douglas Baer. *Political Sociology: Canadian Perspectives*, 1.

ambiguous.<sup>25</sup> However, he also acknowledges that "... [the field's] intrinsic interdisciplinarity makes for perennial fuzzy boundaries, cutting across the neat border [that people] may delimit for scholarly purposes."<sup>26</sup> With that in mind, this work, as one of exploratory political sociology, falls outside the realm of the three main approaches and is more closely akin to exploring what were potential factors that influenced the responses of individual groups within this study as opposed to showing causality.

### **UN Definitions of PSO Terms**

As discussed, the nature of peacekeeping and PSOs changed from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era and continues to develop.<sup>27</sup> That said, in order to determine what kinds of missions are actually taking place and to ensure that practitioners and academics alike are using the same terms and in a similar manner, a taxonomy of PSO terms and ideas is required. It may not be necessary for the average citizen to know the intricacies between each of the PSOs because the lines between them, especially as they transition, "... have become increasingly blurred..."<sup>28</sup> Unlike experts and scholars who use definitions to minimize confusion and ensure commonality, the average individual may not need this level of accuracy, but they ought to be informed of the broader differences between operations as what each of the missions entails may differ drastically. However, it is important to recognize that not all operations conducted by the UN are peacekeeping. As Donald notes, "[the term peacekeeping] was formalized in the establishment of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in

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<sup>25</sup> William Carroll, "The Rich Ambiguity of Political Sociology in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 53, 3 (2016): 346.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> UNFICYP 1974 and ONUC 1960-61 being exceptions to the general characterization of Cold War peacekeeping being traditional interpositional peacekeeping missions.

<sup>28</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*, 18.

1965.”<sup>29</sup> Since then, academics and other organizations that focus on PSOs have created definitions that they use to characterize peacekeeping and other types of operations.<sup>30</sup> Others have noted the difficulty and issues related to PSO definitions and doctrine within the context of the UN.<sup>31</sup> However, the United Nations, as the organization that conducts and often provides mandates to conduct PSOs, maintains definitions which, for the purposes of this work, will serve as a common nomenclature.

As previously presented, neither the definitions of PSOs nor the word peacekeeping are present in the UN Charter.<sup>32</sup> A number of efforts have been made to develop definitions of PSOs from sources both within and outside of the United Nations, which includes states, organizations, and academics; Fortna and Howard provide an in-depth evaluation of the evolution of peacekeeping literature, which includes discussions of both definitions and the shifting nature of terms through time.<sup>33</sup> In terms of this work however, the evolution of UN PSO terms will be explored.<sup>34</sup>

The first work to define terms related to PSOs in the post-Cold War era by the UN was then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s *An Agenda for Peace*, which was presented

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<sup>29</sup> Dominick Donald, “The Doctrine Gap: The Enduring Problem of Contemporary Peace Support Operations Thinking,” 130.

<sup>30</sup> William Durch, *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2006); Paul Diehl, *International Peacekeeping* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993); Murrack Goulding, “The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping,” *International Affairs* 69, no. 3 (1993): 451-464; Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*; and International Peace Academy, *Peacekeeper’s Handbook* (New York: International Peace Academy, 2006). These are merely a select few as there are an immense number of available definitions.

<sup>31</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 15; Jane Boulden, *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia* (Westport: Praeger, 2001);

<sup>32</sup> See pg. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Howard, “Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (June 2008): 283-301.

<sup>34</sup> CAF doctrine (B-GJ-005-307/FP-030) regarding PSOs were also considered, but seeing how Canada does not conduct unilateral PSOs and due to the fact that Canadians associated peacekeeping with the UN, UN doctrine was chosen. That said, there are only minor variances between the UN and Canadian doctrinal definitions of PSO terms, the most significant being the use of two terms to distinguish between traditional and complex peacekeeping, which although is discussed in other UN works, is not present in the UN glossary.

in June of 1992.<sup>35</sup> *An Agenda for Peace* was written after a request was made by the President of the Security Council in January of the same year in response to the recognition of the changing nature of PSOs and conflict.<sup>36</sup> The work established definitions of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and preventative diplomacy; the last better reflects one of the five current PSOs called, conflict prevention.<sup>37</sup> Amendments were made to the definitions regarding consent of the parties for peacekeeping and the lack of consent required for peace enforcement in 1993.<sup>38</sup> A supplement was written to *An Agenda for Peace* in 1995 that again spoke to the changes and challenges of PSOs, but made no significant changes to the definitions presented in 1992; however in light of the tragic events that had occurred during PSOs in the previous three years, it is far less optimistic than its predecessor.<sup>39</sup> In 2000, another UN document put forward new definitions and again outlined the challenges and changes of PSOs following the failures in Rwanda and Srebrenica, which also coincided with declining involvement by Western nations in PSOs, and concerns over PSOs as a whole. This new work was the *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, which is more commonly referred to as *The Brahimi Report*.<sup>40</sup> The goal of the report was, "... to present a clear set of specific, concrete and practical recommendations to assist the United Nations in conducting [PSOs] better in the future."<sup>41</sup> Within the work, the UN attempted to address significant issues surrounding PSOs, provided recommendations for

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<sup>35</sup> UN General Assembly and Security Council, A/47/277-S/24111, *Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to the Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992* [*An Agenda for Peace*], 17 June 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Jane Boulden's work covers the early genesis of Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace*. See: Jane Boulden, *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia*, 14-16.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* and UN Security Council, *Note by the President of the Security Council*, S/23500, 31 January 1992, 2-4.

<sup>38</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Report on the Work of the Organization from the Forty-seventh to the Forty-eighth Session of the General Assembly* (New York: United Nations, 1993).

<sup>39</sup> UN General Assembly and Security Council, A/50/60-S/1995/1, *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, [Supplement to An Agenda for Peace], 25 January 1995.

<sup>40</sup> United Nations General Assembly and Security Council A/55/305-S/2000/809, *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* [The Brahimi Report], 21 August, 2000.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, i.

changes and best practices, attempted to clarify elements of definitions, and put forward doctrinal concepts for future operations.<sup>42</sup>

The most recent publication that addresses UN definitions, however, is the *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*.<sup>43</sup> It was published in 2008 by the UN DPKO and the Department of Field Support and is commonly referred to as *The Capstone Doctrine*. This work identifies five different PSOs within the spectrum of peace and security operations conducted by the UN, which includes peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace enforcement, conflict prevention, and peacebuilding.<sup>44</sup> The work addresses some of the concepts that are implicit to each of the operations listed above, but ultimately it refers to the UN DPKO Glossary of Terms as the authoritative location for definitions when it states that, “[o]fficial United Nations definitions are being considered in the context of the ongoing terminology deliberations of the General Assembly’s Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations on the basis of the DPKO Interim Glossary of Terms.”<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the definitions for this thesis will be those present in the UN DPKO Glossary of Terms.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately however, neither peace enforcement nor conflict prevention are included within that glossary, so the explanations put forward in *The Capstone Doctrine* will be used, as it is the most recent and encompassing work surrounding peacekeeping concepts put forward by the UN. PSOs will refer to any of the five operations listed above and peacekeeper, will refer to police, civilians or military members currently conducting a PSO, which is in line with the UN DPKO Glossary’s definition.<sup>47</sup> These

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 2-83.

<sup>43</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>46</sup> UN DPKO. “Glossary of UN Peacekeeping Terms,” accessed on: 05/10/16, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/sites/glossary/>. Other scholars have come to the same conclusion when determining the authoritative definitions for peacekeeping operations. See: Karsten Jung, *Of Peace and Power: Promoting Canadian Interests Through Peacekeeping* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> UN DPKO. “Glossary of UN Peacekeeping Terms.”

terms will serve as tools during the survey to determine whether people can identify the different types of missions as defined by the UN. Therefore, the definitions of operations for this thesis will be as follows:

**Peacebuilding** – An activity conducted “in the aftermath of conflict; it means identifying and supporting measures and structures which will solidify peace and build trust and interaction among former enemies, in order to avoid a relapse into conflict; often involves elections organized, supervised or conducted by the United Nations, the rebuilding of civil physical infrastructures and institutions such as schools and hospitals, and economic reconstruction.”<sup>48</sup>

**Peacekeeping** – A “hybrid politico-military activity aimed at conflict control, which involves a United Nations presence in the field (usually involving military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement or monitor the implementation of arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces etc.), and their resolution (partial or comprehensive settlements) and/or to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief.”<sup>49</sup>

**Peacemaking** – A “diplomatic process of brokering an end to conflict, principally through mediation and negotiation [*sic*], as foreseen under Chapter VI of the UN Charter; military activities contributing to peacemaking include military-to-military contacts, security assistance, shows of force and preventive deployments.”<sup>50</sup>

**Peace Enforcement** – “Peace Enforcement involves the application, with the authorization of the Security Council, of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force. Such actions are authorized to restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. The Security Council may utilize, where appropriate, regional organizations and agencies for enforcement action under its authority.”<sup>51</sup>

The definitions and discussions surrounding PSOs have evolved substantially in the post-Cold War era and the debate surrounding United Nations’ definitions will continue from both

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*, 19.

inside and outside of the organization. The genesis from *An Agenda for Peace* all the way until *The Capstone Doctrine* is one that demonstrates an awareness of the changing nature of conflicts and the complexity of modern PSOs. Although there are a number of definitions available from other sources, this work will use the PSO definitions found in the UN DPKO Glossary and *The Capstone Doctrine*.

## Socialization

The role of identity and its influence on Canadian understanding of peacekeeping falls into the larger socialization, identity, and culture literature, which is characterized by scholars such as Grusec, Pammett and Whittington, Renshan, Hastings, Berdahl, and Raney and for military culture Gow, English, Dandeker, Winslow, Broesder et al. and Kasurak.<sup>52</sup> According to Rosengren, “[w]hat socialization often means is that representatives of old generations - parents and grandparents - hand over the values and opinions of their generations to representatives of the upcoming generations, their children and grandchildren.”<sup>53</sup> This is a common understanding of the term within the literature and Pammett and Whittington echo this in their generalized characterization of socialization as being “... the transmission of attitudes and behaviors from

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<sup>52</sup> Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings, eds. *Handbook of Socialization, First Edition: Theory and Research*. (New York: The Guilford Press, 2006); Jon Pammett and Michael Whittington, eds., *Foundations of Political Culture: Political Socialization in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976); Stanley Renshon ed., *Handbook of Political Socialization* (New York: The Free Press, 1977); Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 115; Christopher Dandeker and James Gow, “Military Culture and Strategic Peacekeeping,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 10, no. 2 (1999): 58; Peter Kasurak, “Army Culture(s),” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22, no. 2 (2016): 180; Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012); Donna Winslow, “Canadian Society and Its Army,” *Canadian Military Journal* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2003-2004): 11-24; Wendy Broesder et al., “Can Soldiers Combine Swords and Ploughshares? The Construction of the Warrior-Peacekeeper Role Identity Survey (WPRIS),” *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 3 (2014): 519-540; and James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>53</sup> Karl Erik Rosengren, *Media Effects and Beyond*, 16. See also: Joan E. Grusec, and Paul D. Hastings, eds. *Handbook of Socialization, First Edition: Theory and Research*.

one generation of a particular society to the next.”<sup>54</sup> More specifically, “[p]olitical socialization refers to the learning process by which the political norms and behaviors acceptable to an ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation.”<sup>55</sup>

The way these concepts are transferred is through agents of socialization and they include, parents, educators, the mass media, and social groups, in addition to the “... culture of the surrounding society...”<sup>56</sup> Within the agents of socialization, Pammett and Whittington argue that the media and formal education are the most influential.<sup>57</sup> In terms of culture, there are both informal and formal elements. The informal consists of “...legends, history, and shared beliefs ...,” which within Canada, peacekeeping is deeply ingrained.<sup>58</sup> This work will explain how the socialization process of Canadians has included the incorporation of peacekeeping and how that has potential impacts upon Canadian understanding and perceptions of peacekeeping.

Those who join the armed forces also undergo another form of the socialization process related to the military and the role of soldiers, however “[m]ilitary practice shows that when young people decide to join the armed forces, the base for their professional (military) role already exists. Derived from their cultural background and their own understanding, they have given meaning to what a soldier is or should be.”<sup>59</sup> This plays an important role in how those with and without military service may differ in terms of opinions and values. In fact, some argue that “... after military socialization the military role will dominate all other roles the soldiers used

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<sup>54</sup> Jon Pammett and Michael Whittington, eds., *Foundations of Political Culture: Political Socialization in Canada*, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Robert Sigel, *Political Socialization: Its Role in the Political Process* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 1965), 1.

<sup>56</sup> Karl Erik Rosengren, *Media Effects and Beyond*, 16. See also: Joan E. Grusec, and Paul D. Hastings, eds. *Handbook of Socialization, First Edition: Theory and Research*; Jon Pammett and Michael Whittington, eds., *Foundations of Political Culture: Political Socialization in Canada*, 21-23; and Stanley Renshon ed., *Handbook of Political Socialization*, 115-326

<sup>57</sup> Jon Pammett and Michael Whittington, eds., *Foundations of Political Culture: Political Socialization in Canada*, 28.

<sup>58</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 35.

<sup>59</sup> Wendy Broesder et al., “Can Soldiers Combine Swords and Ploughshares? The Construction of the Warrior-Peacekeeper Role Identity Survey (WPRIS),” 522.

to play, and values and goals of the organization will have been incorporated into one's identity."<sup>60</sup> This work will incorporate theories of military socialization to explain potential differences of perception related to peacekeeping between those with and without military service.

### **The Peacekeeping Myth and Canadian National Identity**

Canada's role in peacekeeping has played, and continues to play, an important part in Canadian identity both at home and abroad. Some argue, that peacekeeping is "... an important element of the way Canadian national identity [i]s defined."<sup>61</sup> This work will not debate the essence of identity formation, but accepts the argument that peacekeeping is an established aspect of Canadian national identity; it should be noted that this thread is common even between scholars on opposite sides of the peacekeeping debate in Canada, such as Dorn and Maloney. There is little debate from either side of the larger peacekeeping literature within the academic sphere as to whether peacekeeping is an important part of Canadian identity, which is supported by empirical data which shows that Canadians have identified peacekeeping not only as part of Canadian identity, but also Canada's greatest contribution to the world in every *Focus Canada* survey conducted by Environics from 1993-2012.<sup>62</sup> What is often debated however, is not whether Canadians think peacekeeping is part of their identity, but whether the identity of Canadians and the CAF as peacekeepers is the perpetuation of a myth or the results of some other

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Laurence Cros, "The Narrative of Canada as a Peacekeeping Nation since the 1990s: Permanence and Evolution of a National Paradigm," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 52 (2015): 83-106; See also: Loleen Berdahl and Tracey Raney, "Being Canadian in the World," *International Journal* 65, no. 4 (Autumn 2010): 995-1010. Heike Harting and Smaro Kamboureli, "Introduction: Discourse of Security, Peacekeeping Narratives, And the Cultural Imagination in Canada," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 659-686; Jocelyn Coulon and Michel Liégeois, *Whatever Happened to Peacekeeping? The Future of a Tradition*, Calgary: Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute (January 2010), 41; and Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?."

<sup>62</sup> The Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2012* (Toronto: The Environics Institute, 2012), 48.

phenomenon; such as, a desire to see Canadian identity as kinder and gentler than their American neighbours.<sup>63</sup>

Scholars such as Dorn and Paris are avid supporters of peacekeeping and argue its role and tradition within the CAF, while others such as Maloney, Wagner, and Anker argue that it is not a longstanding tradition of the CAF, but merely a type of operation the CAF has conducted, and that it is grossly mischaracterized and romanticized.<sup>64</sup> This work will address whether factors, such as military service or education in political studies or similar programmes have an influence on the level that people link peacekeeping to Canadian identity.<sup>65</sup> This work will not only contribute to the wider research on whether Canadians understand the nature and frequency of involvement of PSOs relative to their support for such operations, but also what factors influence individuals' understanding and perceptions. This is important in a political sociological sense as it explores what Canadians think about peacekeeping and what factors may be influential, which when considered alongside support for the concept, has potential avenues for future research within the realm of political sociology and how that may result in policy implications. Equally important to why and how often Canada has been involved in PSOs, and

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<sup>63</sup> Eric Wagner, "The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War," 45-54; Michael Adams. *Sex in the Snow: Canadian Social Values at the End of the Millennium*; Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization," 40-46; Sean Maloney, "Why Keep the Myth Alive?," 100-102; and David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," 709-727. Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*; and Matthew Trudgen, "A Canadian Approach: Canada's Cold War Grand Strategy 1945 to 1989," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 14, no. 3/4 (2012): 1-27.

<sup>64</sup> Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?"; Martin Shadwick, "The Renaissance of Peacekeeping and Peace Operations," *Canadian Military Journal* 72, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 75; Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era," 295-296; Walter Dorn, "Canada's Honourable Role as a Peacekeeping Nation"; Lewis MacKenzie, "Canada's Army – Post Peacekeeping," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 12, no. 1 (2009): 1-17; Eric Wagner, "The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War"; Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization,"; Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," *Canadian Military Journal* 6, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 23-32; and Sean Maloney, "Why Keep the Myth Alive?."

<sup>65</sup> James Arbuckle addresses some issues soldiers have experienced during PSOs that are likely influences in their attitudes towards them. See: James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*.

the debate of the peacekeeping myth is the current realities of those operations and the nature of the conflicts that have brought about those missions. The evolution and changing nature of PSOs will be explored in the following section.

Similar to the debate within the academic sphere surrounding the peacekeeping myth, within Canadian media there is a debate between whether peacekeeping is a Canadian tradition and a tradition of the CAF or whether Canada's peacekeeping history is merely a short-lived anomaly.<sup>66</sup> This is further complicated by the framing of activities as peacekeeping, which has begun to change to more encompassing terms such as, PSOs or peace operations recently in the media to delineate potential missions from Cold War peacekeeping, due to the current government's acknowledgement of the current nature, demands, and danger of current UN missions.<sup>67</sup>

### **Canadian Participation in UN Peacekeeping**

Canadians have historically been largely supportive of peacekeeping and PSOs, but are they aware of the frequency and type of PSOs that Canada has been involved in since 1991? One informative source on the issue of Canada's involvement is UN records, which are located within the UN's "Troop and Police Contributors Archive (1990-2014)."<sup>68</sup> One can readily identify the peak in the early 1990s and the two substantial declines between 1995 and 1998 in Canadian personnel contributions to UN Chapter VI and VII missions (see Figure 1.1), which predates the war in Afghanistan and fell to its lowest point following the increase of contributions to that war and the transition to Kandahar province in 2006. The move to Kandahar constituted a higher

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<sup>66</sup> Matt Gurney, "Let's Get Real – Peacekeeping Never has been the Primary Role of the Canadian Armed Forces," *National Post*, October 5, 2015; and Michelle Shepard, "How Canada Abandoned its Role as a Peacekeeper," *Toronto Star*, 31 October, 2014.

<sup>67</sup> Steven Chase, "Nature of Peacekeeping No Longer Fits Demands of Conflict Zones: Sajjan," *The Globe and Mail*, 10 August, 2016; and Editorial, "The Liberals Promised Peacekeeping, but it's not 1957 Any More," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 August, 2016.

<sup>68</sup> United Nations, "Troop and Police Contributors Archive (1990-2014)."

tempo with greater logistic and troop demands. In fact, shifts in international involvement and the influence of events, such as the massacres and genocides in Srebrenica and Rwanda, and long term implications of Somalia and national policies, such as the Clinton Administration's Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD 25), had an impact not only on Canada's contributions, but many other developed Western nations.<sup>69</sup> Canada's decline in contributions to Chapter VI and VII missions closely reflects that of the trend of all OECD nations (see Figure 1.2), which illustrates that Canada is not an anomaly amongst similarly developed states, but in reality, was part of a broader pattern; a number of Western states and regional organizations have been

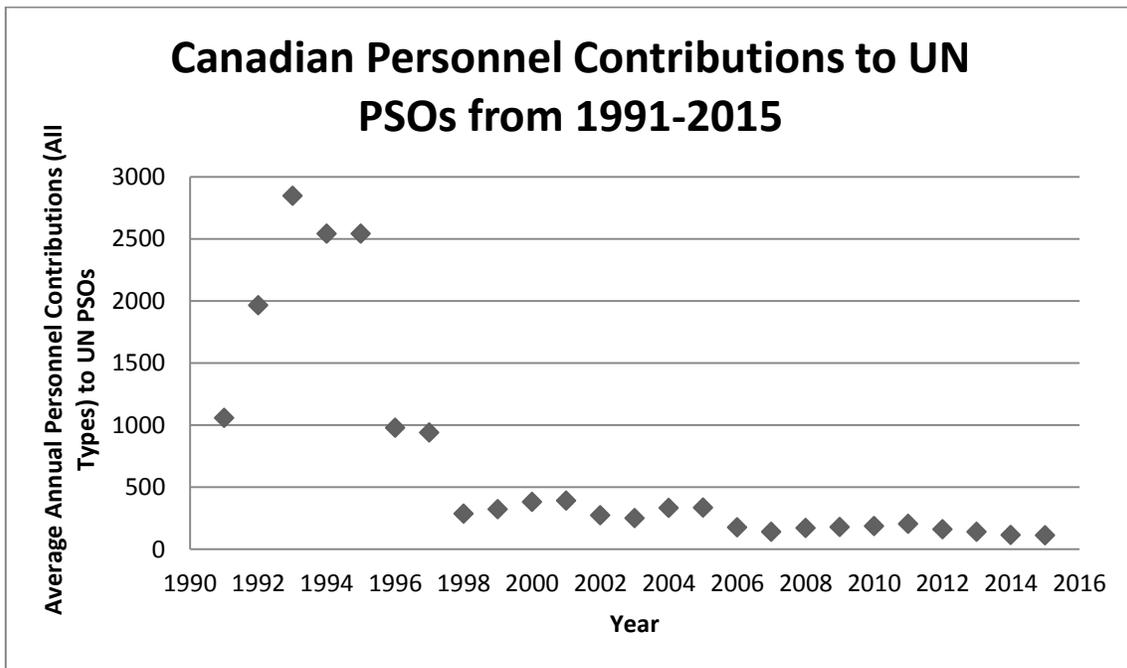


Figure 1.1 – Graph - Canadian Personnel Contributions to Chapter VI and Chapter VII UN Peace Support Operations from 1991-2015.

\* Personnel contributions calculated by averaging the total combined monthly contributions of police, observers, experts, and troops to determine a total annual average. Each month was tabulated using the UN Police and Troop Contribution Archive (1990-2014) records found at: [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors\\_archive.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml)

<sup>69</sup> PDD 25 was put in place during the Clinton Administration in the wake of the events in Somalia in order to avoid future disasters during ambiguous PSOs. It speaks to the larger debate about American deployment of troops in multilateral operations with limited American national interests.

prioritizing participation in Ch. VIII PSOs with regional partners and allies.<sup>70</sup> This is not however reflected in support levels which remain largely unchanged throughout this period, which will be explored later in the chapter. This repudiates domestic partisan criticism that attributes the decline in participation to the election of the Harper government in 2006, which ignores declines in personnel contributions of far greater magnitudes prior to the 2006 election and the increased demands on the CAF at the time.<sup>71</sup>

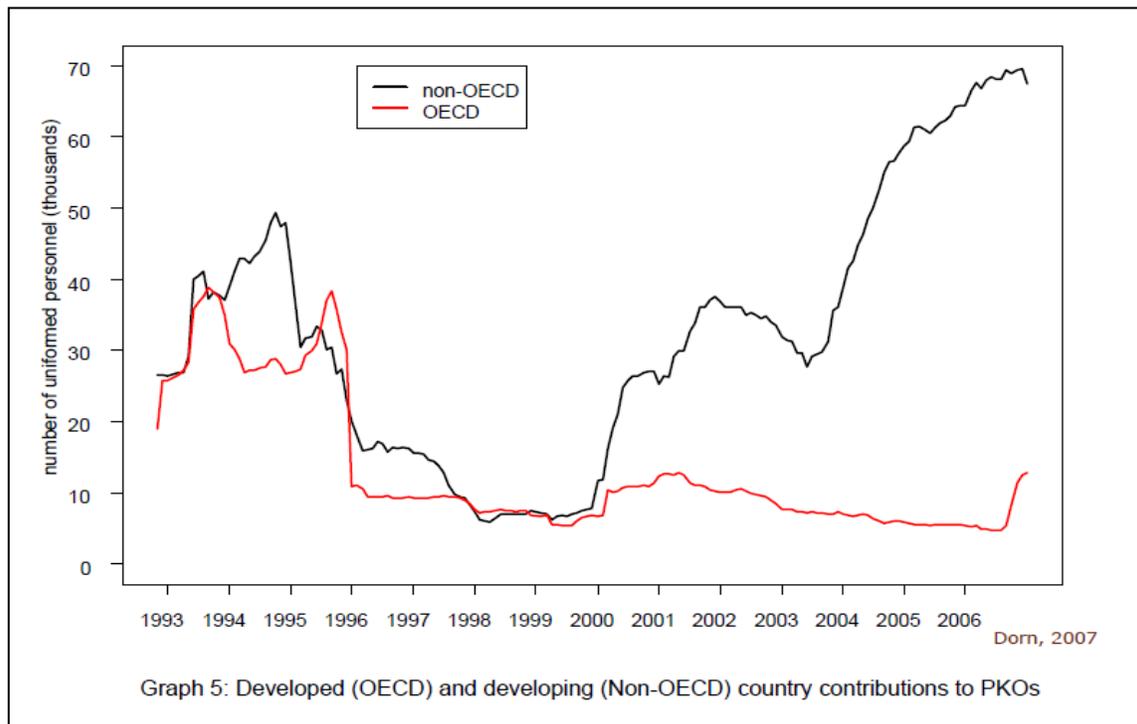


Figure 1.2 – Graph - OECD/Non-OECD uniformed personnel contributions to PSOs.<sup>72</sup>

Canada’s participation in all types of PSOs is important, but it is also crucial to determine to what extent Canada has been involved specifically in actual ‘peacekeeping’

<sup>70</sup> Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, “Who’s Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations,” *International Security* 29, no. 4 (Spring 2005): 157-195; Alexandru Balas, “It Takes Two (or More) to Keep the Peace: Multiple Simultaneous Peace Operations,” *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 15 (2011): 384-421.

<sup>71</sup> Walter Dorn, “Canada’s Honourable Role as a Peacekeeping Nation,” 276; and Roland Paris, “Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era,” *International Journal* 69, no. 3 (2014): 274-307.

<sup>72</sup> Walter Dorn, “Canada’s Honourable Role as a Peacekeeping Nation,” 283.

missions. UN mandates will be used to categorize Canada's involvement in PSOs since 1991 and explore the changing nature of Canada's participation in Chapter VI and Chapter VII missions. Furthermore, numerous secondary works discuss Canada's shift from traditional peacekeeping to peace enforcement and peacemaking missions. Although more policy driven, this debate also addresses what Canadian and other states' personnel contributions to global peace and security could be going forward and includes authors such as, Dorn, Paris, and Carrol, which is important as it speaks to what people feel Canada should be doing based on their conceptualization of peacekeeping.<sup>73</sup> Understanding the debate around Canada's participation, in addition to categorizing actual involvement, will assist in determining the accuracy of the peacekeeping narrative. As such, one must consider the literature that addresses the nature of 21<sup>st</sup> century PSOs, which will now be discussed.

### **Realities of the nature of Peacekeeping and Peace Support Operations**

There is little debate about whether the realities on the ground during PSOs and their nature of conflicts have shifted since the end of the Cold War. Post-Cold War PSOs are typically larger in size and scope and more complex than those of the Cold War period.<sup>74</sup> This transition began in the 1990s and has continued to the present day.<sup>75</sup> This is acknowledged not only in UN reports and publications, such as the *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (The Capstone Doctrine)* and the *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace*

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<sup>73</sup> Michael Carrol, "Peacekeeping: Canada's Past, but not its Present and Future," *International Journal* 71, no. 1 (2016): 167-176; Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016); John Conrad, *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns* (Toronto: Dundun, 2011); Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?," 7-32; and Alistair Edgar, "Canada's Changing Participation in International Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement: What if Anything Does it Mean?," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 107-157.

<sup>74</sup> Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*, 93, 152; Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.) 1; Alex Bellamy, "The Great Beyond: Rethinking Military Responses to New Wars and Complex Emergencies," 25-50; and Ronald Hatto, "From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: The Evolution of the Role of the United Nations in Peace Operation," 495-515.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

*Operations (The Brahimi Report)*, which represents the acknowledgement from practitioners, but also from academia; the shifting nature of peacekeeping literature is covered in Fortna and Howard's, "Pitfalls and Prospects and Peacekeeping Literature."<sup>76</sup>

The realization of the changes in PSOs and conflict zones where they are being employed has slowly begun to find its way into the popular discussion, albeit slowly. The political communication from the current federal government and the Canadian media, to a lesser extent, has slowly begun to acknowledge that modern PSOs have often become just as dangerous as operations like Canada's mission in Afghanistan, which runs counter to common perceptions of and the previous use of the terms surrounding PSOs.<sup>77</sup> This sentiment has been evident in communication from Members of Parliament and Ministers, such as the Minister of National Defence; although it occurred far after the realization of some media outlets, academia, and the UN.<sup>78</sup> The government's public acknowledgment may in fact serve as a medium to inform Canadians about the nature of current operations and the increased risks that are associated with

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<sup>76</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*; United Nations General Assembly and Security Council A/55/305-S/2000/809, *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* [The Brahimi Report]; See also: Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Howard, "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature," 283-301; Paul Diehl and Daniel Druckman, *Evaluating Peace Operations*; Alex J. Bellamy and Paul Williams, "Conclusions: What Future for Peace Operations? Brahimi and Beyond," *International Peacekeeping* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 183-212; Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*; Adam Roberts, "The Crisis in UN Peacekeeping," *Survival* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 93-120; Marrack Goulding, "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping," *International Affairs* 69, no. 3 (1993): 451-464; Charles Dobbie. "A Concept for Post-Cold War Peacekeeping," *Survival* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 1994):121-148; Donald Daniel and Bradd Hayes ed., *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995); and Ronald Hatto, "From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: The Evolution of the Role of the United Nations in Peace Operation," 495-515.

<sup>77</sup> Somewhat exceptions to the Cold War characterization of most Peacekeeping mission were ONUC in 1960-61. and UNFICYP in 1974 with 135 and 15 casualties respectively from "malicious acts," as characterized by the UN; See: United Nations, "Fatalities by Mission and Incident Type," accessed: 12/04/17, [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats\\_4feb.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats_4feb.pdf); For media discussion of changing nature of PSOs see: Steven Chase, "Nature of Peacekeeping No Longer Fits Demands of Conflict Zones: Sajjan," *The Globe and Mail*, 10 August, 2016; Matthew Fisher, "Why an African Mission Could be More Dangerous than Afghanistan," *National Post*, 29 August, 2016; Campbell Clark, "A Canadian Peacekeeping Mission in Mali Could Be Most Dangerous Choice," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 September, 2016; and Editorial, "Senators Show their Misgivings on the New 'Peacekeeping,'" *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December, 2016.

<sup>78</sup> Steven Chase, "Nature of Peacekeeping No Longer Fits Demands of Conflict Zones: Sajjan."

complex PSOs. Ultimately, the PSOs of the Pearson era are often not the modern reality, which is important to understand, as not differentiating the two can lead to a misunderstanding of the demands, risks, and needs of current missions. Unfortunately, it is commonly argued that the Canadian public and media are not informed about the current realities of PSOs, including peacekeeping, peacebuilding, peace enforcement, peacemaking, and multidimensional operations, compared to the nature of conflicts permissible to peacekeeping vice other types of operations, though this argument is often anecdotal, this study hopes to partially fill the gap and show this assertion to be true.<sup>79</sup> A potential factor regarding the misrepresentation of PSOs that influence the perspectives of Canadians are media effects, which are present in print media, and will now be explained.

### **Print Media and Media Effects**

Major print media outlets have the capacity to influence public opinion through the dissemination of ideas to a large audience, which are now both in print and online. Print media was selected for analysis for this work as it is measurable in terms of what is published and the frequency of publications. It should be noted that print and online articles from the major dailies are generally released on both platforms, but due to an inability to track IP addresses and demographic information from online readership, print media analysis was selected due to its replicability and testability. Wholly acknowledging that the Canadian print media outlets are by no means a monolithic actor, “[m]ore than any other medium [they] provided the language and

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<sup>79</sup> United Nations Association of Canada, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-2007* (Ottawa: United Nations Association of Canada, 2007); Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*; Roland Paris, “Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era,” 274-307; and Lane Anker, “Peacekeeping and Public Opinion,” 23-32.

imagery that linked peacekeeping to the country's national identity..." and they often portrayed it positively and framed peacekeeping in domestic terms.<sup>80</sup>

With regards to media and more broadly communication writ large, specifically political communication in this case, one should consider media effects such as agenda setting, priming, and framing. Agenda setting is, "... the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphases that mass media place on certain issues ... and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences."<sup>81</sup> Similarly, priming refers to "... changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluation ... which occurs when news content suggest to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments."<sup>82</sup> Lastly, "...[f]raming refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience ... [it] is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media... and in a way makes them accessible to lay audiences..."<sup>83</sup> This work contends that framing is influential in terms of peacekeeping in print media within Canada.

More specifically, "[f]rames are deployed to shape or change the opinions, perceptions, beliefs and values of the public, generally with the aim of achieving support and supportive

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<sup>80</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 111.

<sup>81</sup> Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 11; See also: Karl Erik Rosengren, *Media Effects and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2005); David Weaver, "Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming," *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (March 2007): 142-147; and Dietram Scheufele, "Agenda-Setting, Priming, Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects on Political Communication," *Mass Communication & Society* 3, no. 2 and 3 (2000): 297-316.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," 12. See also: Claes de Vreese, "News Framing: Theory and Typology," *Information Design Journal + Document Design* 12, no. 1 (2005): 51-62; and Kirk Hallahan, "Seven Models of Framing: Implication for Public Relations," *Journal of Public Relations Research* 11, no. 3 (1999): 205-242.

behaviour.”<sup>84</sup> An important aspect of framing is “... *frame alignment* [which]... refer[s] to the linkage of individual and [framers’] interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and [the framers’] activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary.”<sup>85</sup> Tying this to the earlier literature of socialization and culture, some contend that “[f]raming [i]s a bridging concept between cognition and culture,” which in this sense “... refers to an organized set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames, and so forth that are shared in the collective memory of a group or society.”<sup>86</sup> In terms of frames in the media and other forms” [they] suggests a definition, an explanation, a problematization, and an evaluation of the event and ultimately results in a number of logical conclusions.”<sup>87</sup> McCullough for example, who analyzed Canadian print media with regards to peacekeeping, argues that framing of peacekeeping in the media was done to characterize in terms of domestic importance, as part of Canadian identity, and in a positive light, which will be explored in this thesis as a potential explanation as to continued high levels of public support.<sup>88</sup>

The impact that these concepts have on public relations and the media are well documented in academic works and studies have even been done to track their influence during PSOs.<sup>89</sup> These concepts are crucial to consider when evaluating Canadian print media and PSOs because their effects are clearly present. Although framing, for example, may make peacekeeping and PSO-related content more accessible or increase the amount of coverage, it has the

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<sup>84</sup> Marie-Eve Desrosiers and Philippe Lagassé, “Military Frames and Canada’s Conservative Government: From Extending to Transforming Perceptions of Canadian Identity,” *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 54, no. 3 (2016): 292.

<sup>85</sup> David Snow, et al. “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation,” *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 464.

<sup>86</sup> Baldwin Van Gorp. “The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In,” 62.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>88</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada’s Peacekeeping Past*, 111, 140..

<sup>89</sup> Alice Holmes Cooper, “Media Framing and Social Movement Mobilization: German Peace Protest Against INF Missiles, the Gulf War, and NATO Peace Enforcement in Bosnia,” *European Journal of Political Research* 41 (2002): 37-80; Claes de Vreese, “News Framing: Theory and Typology,” 51-62; and Kirk Hallahan, “Seven Models of Framing: Implication for Public Relations,” 205-242.

unintended consequence, or not so unintended consequence, of often identifying operations or activities as peacekeeping, when they are in fact other types of operations, or putting a disproportionate focus or importance on a specific topic.

Agenda setting, priming, and framing have all played a pivotal role in Canada's media with regard to PSOs and more specifically, peacekeeping. The Proquest database of Canadian major daily newspapers provides substantial insights into not only how much content has been published about the different kinds of operations, but also allows researchers to determine how operations are being characterized in print media, that are also circulated online via websites, which increases their accessibility. It should be noted that this database, like others, are not static entities and the number of publications do change slightly over time. That said, the small changes in the number of articles are not significant to the scale considered in this work and as such, general patterns can be inferred. This will illustrate the effects of framing, priming, and agenda setting on accuracy and frequency of reporting surrounding modern conflicts and PSOs. In order to assess the degree that these media effects influence public perception, understanding, and priorities, however one must consider surveys and polls regarding PSOs.

### **Survey and Polls**

Gaining insights into the psyche of the general populace can be a difficult task. One of the ways to gauge support for peacekeeping and other PSOs is through surveys and polls. There are numerous polls and surveys conducted by interest groups and media outlets that pose questions related to Canada's role regarding PSOs and the UN. Consistently surveys and studies conducted in Canada since the 1990s and into the 2000s indicate a pattern of high levels of support (often 80-90 percent or higher) for peacekeeping.<sup>90</sup> Canadian support for peacekeeping

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<sup>90</sup> Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 23; GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians Fall 2003*, cclc2003-3a, Canadian Opinion Research Archive; United Nations Association of Canada. *Report on a Survey of Canadians during the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Year of the United Nations (in 2005)* (Ottawa: United

and Canada's involvement in such operations is further supported by surveys that indicate that over 90 percent of Canadians believe peacekeeping should be a middle to high priority for the country.<sup>91</sup> Further, even during the peak of Canada's personnel contributions, most Canadians thought that contributions should remain the same or increase.<sup>92</sup> Additionally, Canadians have identified peacekeeping as Canada's most positive contribution to the world (most frequently selected option in annual studies from 1993-2012 between 40-20 percent), that it is a source of pride for Canadians (71 percent), and that it is the UN's greatest success (most frequently selection option at 40.3 percent).<sup>93</sup> Overall, studies resoundingly indicate that Canadians are highly supportive and have positive opinions of peacekeeping.<sup>94</sup>

One statistic that has seen some variation and conflicting results between studies over the previous two decades is the levels of support for peacekeeping compared to peacemaking.<sup>95</sup> A 2014 DND tracking study showed that Canadians have similar levels of support for peacekeeping (44 percent) and peacemaking (52 percent) operations.<sup>96</sup> This tracking study has collected results on this question since 2008 and at the outset, peacekeeping had higher support levels, but since 2011 peacemaking operations have had comparably slightly higher public support.<sup>97</sup> On the

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Nations Association in Canada, 2005), 12; Don Munton, *Canadians and the United Nations at 60+* (Ottawa: United Nations Association in Canada, 2007); and Gallup Canada Inc., *Canadian Gallup Poll December 1994*, cipo-E-1994-12, Data Centre Carleton University.

<sup>91</sup> GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians Fall 2003*.

<sup>92</sup> Gallup Canada Inc. *Canadian Gallup Poll December 1994*.

<sup>93</sup> The Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2012*; Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *Globe and Mail Research on the New Canada (2003)*, GMSNC-E-2003, Data Centre Carleton University; and United Nations Association of Canada. *Report on a Survey of Canadians during the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Year of the United Nations (in 2005)*, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Appendix B consists of an amalgamation of surveys and polls concerning support levels for peacekeeping and involvement in operations.

<sup>95</sup> Shadwick's article and the DND tracking poll defined peacemaking as, "operations around the world that could include security patrols, development assistance, and fighting alongside allied troops to implement peace in an unstable area." This definition is slightly more offensively oriented than the UN peacemaking definition, which will be explained shortly. Martin Shadwick. "Public Opinion and Defence" *Canadian Military Journal* 15, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 55.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

contrary, when asked about priorities and impressions or images of the CAF in two separate polls by Ekos and Nanos, conducted in 2012 and 2010 respectively, Canadians chose peacekeeping over all other options.<sup>98</sup> This result is similar to a study from 2006 where it was illustrated that Canadians supported a peacekeeping role (91 percent) and were strongly against having an “active combat” role (16 percent); a potential influencing factor would be Canada’s role in Afghanistan, including the increased numbers of injuries and fatalities, during that time period.<sup>99</sup>

PSOs are by no means without their own risks. There have been 35 Canadian fatalities on UN and Ch. VIII PSOs since the end of the Cold War and 122 total deaths over all of Canada’s contributions to UN PSOs.<sup>100</sup> During Canada’s mission in Afghanistan there were a total of 158 fatalities, which represents a larger total number in a shorter time period, but it was representative of a different type of operation after 2006 including: counterinsurgency and conventional operations with multiple stability and nation-building aspects as well.<sup>101</sup> In terms of polls, support levels for peacekeeping missions that put the lives of soldiers at risk (54-69 percent) also slightly increased from 1993 to 2011 in consecutive studies; with the exception of a small decline in 2011.<sup>102</sup> Oddly however, there is a disparity between the level of support for operations that contribute to peace and security or peacekeeping and ongoing operations, which may be the

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<sup>98</sup> As found in: Roland Paris, “Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era.”

<sup>99</sup> Environics Research Group, *Focus Canada 2006-4* (Ottawa: Environics Research Group, 2006); Jean-Christophe Boucher, “Evaluating the “Trenton Effect”: Canadian Public Opinion and Military Casualties in Afghanistan (2006–2010),” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 2 (June 2010): 237-258.

<sup>100</sup> United Nations. “Fatalities by Nation and by Mission,”; and Canadian Peacekeeping Veterans Association, “Canadian Peacekeeping Casualty Figures,” accessed: 06/03/17, [http://www.cpva.ca/documents\\_e/news/obituaries/The%20Fallen.pdf](http://www.cpva.ca/documents_e/news/obituaries/The%20Fallen.pdf).

<sup>101</sup> In this sense, Canada’s contribution in Kabul before 2006 can be considered a PSO, while Canada’s contribution in Kanadahaar from 2006 onward would not fall into the same category. Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada in Afghanistan – Fallen Canadian Armed Forces Members,” accessed: 06/03/17, <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/canadian-armed-forces/afghanistan-remembered/fallen>.

<sup>102</sup> Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*, CES-E-2004-2011, Scholars Portal.

result of an in anachronistic understanding of peacekeeping.<sup>103</sup> This is indicated by a continued disconnect between support for PSOs or other operations that contribute to global peace and security compared to support for ongoing operations, or potential future operations, which is represented by studies concerning UNPROFOR, Afghanistan, and potential future operations in Mali.<sup>104</sup> This may be reflective of the fact that Canadians are supportive of the theory or idea of peacekeeping or PSOs, but are less willing to accept the financial or physical costs of such operations, which was reflected in declining support for the mission in Afghanistan in some provinces as casualties and costs increased.<sup>105</sup>

Surveys and polls have long been used to glean insights into the degree of support for PSOs and other military operations. Furthermore, they have shed light onto what Canadians see as priorities and what they see as beneficial contributions from Canada to the world. Save one however, surveys and polls have not attempted to assess Canadian understanding of peacekeeping terms and involvement. In order to determine if Canadians are aware of the differences in peacekeeping terminology, definitions will have to be explored and some selected to use as an established terminology. The debate surrounding definitions and those selected for this study, including the justification, will now be addressed.

## **Conclusion**

The bodies of literature related to political sociology, socialization, and peacekeeping are extensive. There are large bodies of works and substantial debates that discuss definitions and the nature of PSOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which includes not only academics, but practitioners and the

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<sup>103</sup> Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 23.

<sup>104</sup> UNPROFOR: Gallup Canada Inc. *Canadian Gallup Poll December 1994*. Afghanistan: GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians Fall 2003a*. Mali: Harris Decima, *Majority Oppose Sending Combat Troops to Mali* (Ottawa: Harris Decima, 2013). compared to Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*. Lane Anker notes the disparity between support for peace and security and Canada's commitment in Afghanistan in: Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion."

<sup>105</sup> Jean-Christophe Boucher, "Evaluating the "Trenton Effect": Canadian Public Opinion and Military Casualties in Afghanistan (2006–2010)," 237-258.

media. These operations are more complex than those of the Cold War and the numerous definitions have not always reflected the realities of the operations on the ground. In the Canadian context, there are extensive arguments surrounding the substantiation for Canadian involvement in PSOs and the extent to which peacekeeping is part of Canadian identity, and a tradition of the CAF. These are not only important to the broader peacekeeping discussion, but are important factors that influence the understanding of peacekeeping in Canada. The surveys and polls that have already been conducted in Canada show a trend indicating support for peacekeeping as a concept and the desire to contribute to global peace and security. Though this has not necessarily reflected in support for ongoing operations, the nature of peacekeeping understanding in Canada may be a potential explanation. In order to explore these concepts and assess the larger understanding of PSOs in Canada, this work will conduct a survey and relate it to previous polls. It aims to fill a gap in the literature regarding whether Canadians are informed about PSOs, whether different groups of people see peacekeeping differently, and what factors influence the results of the population as a whole and individual groups. The following chapter will explain the approach to that survey and the methodology of this study.

## 2.1 Methodology

The existing peacekeeping literature is characterized by extensive discussions surrounding the nature of current PSOs, PSO definitions, and others. In Canada, the literature expands to include the debated existence of a peacekeeping myth, and the role of peacekeeping on Canadian identity. Some have argued that neither the Canadian public nor the press are informed about peacekeeping and that the military perceives peacekeeping differently.<sup>1</sup> This study will test these arguments through both original research and comparison to existing surveys and polls. It will show that despite high levels of support for peacekeeping, knowledge related to definitions, involvement, and what differentiates operations is substantially lower. The gap that exists is between support/perceptions and knowledge related to peacekeeping is what this work intends to explain with factors such as, socialization, national identity, the peacekeeping myth, media effects in Canadian print media, and PSO definitions themselves as potential explanations for this phenomena. Furthermore, it will consider aspects of the existing literature, such as arguments surrounding the alleged peacekeeping myth, Canadian national identity, media effects, and others as potential explanations of the results.

The goal of this research is ultimately two-fold. The first thrust of the research is to determine whether participants are aware of the differences between multiple types of UN PSOs, and the frequency for Canada's involvement in such operations. Furthermore, it will assess support levels and sentiment regarding PSOs and the CAF's role in them in conjunction with pre-existing polls and survey to achieve a broader research base. The second thrust of the research is

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<sup>1</sup> Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*; United Nations Association of Canada, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-2007*; Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era." 303; See also, Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 23; Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?," 22.

to compare and contrast the results from the survey created for this research based on respondents belonging to certain groups. This will allow for an investigation into potential factors that may influence certain groups of people that result in trends within their responses. In order to achieve the aims of the research, a survey was conducted at RMC and Queen's University, and was further disseminated through social media in order to obtain responses. As such, much of the sample represents what some may characterize as 'future elites' or elite 'undergraduate students'. The following section will discuss the survey and collection method, including exclusion criteria for responses, and limitations of the research. Furthermore, it will outline the criteria of the four groups selected for comparison and discuss the method for analyzing the results of the survey. This survey will not only fit into the wider array surveys and data that address support for PSOs and understanding of Canada's involvement in such operations, but it will add to the existing literature by exploring the extent to which Canadians are aware of the types of PSOs and their differences.

### **Survey Design**

The survey created for this research had two main goals (Survey – Appendix A). The first goal was to determine if participants were aware of the differences between each of the types of PSOs, which was pursued by survey questions to select definitions of PSOs as defined by the UN using a multiple choice method. Additionally, the first goal aimed to determine if participants could correctly identify the frequency of Canada's involvement in PSOs since 1991 and gauge if the participants thought that any type of operation that contributed to peace and security with a UN mandate was peacekeeping; these were pursued by multiple choice and true and false questions respectively. The second goal was to measure public support for and the perception of the CAF's role in peacekeeping. This was achieved through questions that had participants select their level of agreement for statements addressing the CAF's and Canada's role and involvement

in peacekeeping. In addition to merely comparing survey results to existing works, the survey contained control questions to provide demographic data on participants. This was specifically done to allow for the isolation of variables that identified participants belonging to specific groups. This will enable an exploration of potential differences between groups and potential explanations, such as socialization or education/training.

### **Collection Method**

Participants were mainly solicited through two methods and the surveys were completed using an online survey program ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)).<sup>2</sup> The first method of identifying survey participants was through Queen's University and RMC. Willing professors provided class time for the presentation of the research topic to students where a link to complete the survey online was provided. At Queen's University, all students were from courses run by the Centre for International Defence Policy and thus, were mainly political studies students. RMC students were again solicited in a similar manner, but were from political science or military strategic studies and non-political science related programmes.

The last method of collection was a snowball method using Facebook as the medium, which was originally posted and then shared by others to reach a wider audience.<sup>3</sup> Snowball methods and presentations to specific groups of people can have the unintended consequence of "... skew[ing] to one type of group, clique, or demographic (as participants tend to suggest others who are similar to themselves)."<sup>4</sup> Though this may present the risk of a selection bias in some cases, the specific groups that were formed through the targeted recruitment will be controlled during the research as explanatory variables and therefore reduces the implications of selection

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<sup>2</sup> Due to the available manpower and finances for this study, it is reflective of a convenience sample.

<sup>3</sup> Sarah Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 136.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

bias.<sup>5</sup> Self-selection bias is also a concern with online surveys, as it is “... the driving force of most internet samples.”<sup>6</sup> The potential implication on the research is that participants of internet surveys are usually more knowledgeable of survey topics that they choose to take part in.<sup>7</sup> As a result, questions surrounding definitions and Canada’s involvement in PSOs have the potential to have an increased rate of success at selecting the correct responses, due to the self-selection bias.

### **Exclusions**

Individual responses will be considered to ensure that spoiled contributions are not included in the analysis. Each survey will be reviewed to ensure that responses are adequately and appropriately completed. For example, questions with an “other” option that have clearly uncandid inputs from a single survey will have the entire survey removed from the data set when also considered alongside the length of time taken to complete the survey.<sup>8</sup> This was done in order to safeguard the integrity of the research and the validity of the results. The number of excluded responses and reasoning was clearly indicated in the presentation of the dataset. Furthermore, surveys that skipped the demographic questions relating to political science/studies education and military service will also be excluded for group comparison analysis as their inclusion risks skewing the results if incorporated into Group C when they ought not to be.

### **Groups**

As explained, one of the thrusts of the research is to explore potential influencing factors between different groups that form out of the survey participants. Control questions are present in the survey so that responses from participants with military service in the CAF (Group A),

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<sup>5</sup> Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 137.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Johnston, “Survey Methodology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, ed. Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Henry Brady, and David Collier (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 391.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> For example, a person puts a degree program or profession that does not exist.

students of political science/studies and similar disciplines (Group B),<sup>9</sup> and those that fit into both (Group AB) or neither (Group C) of those categories can be compiled to see if a statistically significant difference in responses exists between the groups (See Figure 2.1).

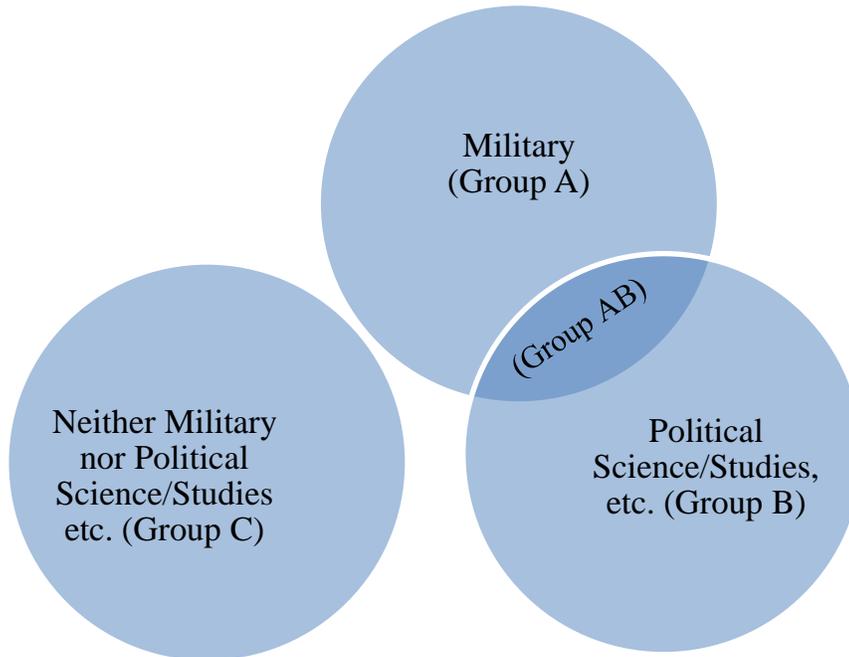


Figure 2.1 – Diagram - Demographic Groups within Study.

This will not only allow for comparisons between the groups to determine if the differences in the responses are statistically significant, but also enable follow-on research of potential underlying influences that impact the potential differences. Based on the nature of both training and education specific to conflict and PSOs, responses from Group AB will be considered a “critical incident sample,” meaning that this group ought to be better informed than the general population and if their responses to specific questions are frequently incorrect, it is likely the

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<sup>9</sup> Participants were asked if they were enrolled in, or had completed, a degree programme in Political Studies/Sciences, Conflict Studies, Peace and Security Studies, or a similar programme. They self-identified that they belonged to such a programme.

general population would be as well.<sup>10</sup> This also serves to reduce the implications of a potential non-representative sample, because the group represents those who ought to know better and allows for the drawing of inference to the larger public.<sup>11</sup>

### **Analysis Method, Validity, Reliability**

In all survey work, it is important to ensure reliability and validity of findings. "... [R]eliability concerns the extent to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials."<sup>12</sup> In surveys in particular, this is assessed through a confidence level and margin of error calculation. The target confidence level for this survey is 95 out of 100 with a margin of error of under  $\pm 10$  percent. Equally important to reliability is validity, which "... concerns the crucial relationship between concept and indicator" and is a measure of whether what one is measuring indeed accurately addresses the goal of the research.<sup>13</sup> The survey was designed to address the specific questions pursued by this research and focused on ensuring responses could produce valid results. All other surveys used as comparisons or to illustrate the larger trend will also fall within these confidence and error guidelines.

Two methods will be used to analyze the data for this research. The first will be an analysis of the raw data found from the newly conducted survey as well as pre-existing surveys. Another of the analytical methods used for this research will be a Chi-Square test.<sup>14</sup> This will serve as the primary method to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between groups of respondents from the survey and allow for a rejection of a null hypothesis to a certain

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<sup>10</sup> Sarah Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 137; Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 2 (April 2006): 229-233; and Bent Flyvbjerg, "Case Study," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, ed. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2011), 307.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Edward Carmines and Richard Zeller, *Reliability and Validity Assessment* (California: SAGE Publications, 1979), 11.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>14</sup> All Chi-Square tests will be conducted using the following Chi-Square calculator. Lawrence Turner, "χ<sup>2</sup> Calculations," accessed: 16/12/2016, <http://turner.faculty.swau.edu/mathematics/math241/materials/contablecalc/>.

degree of confidence. Any use of Chi-Square tests will have the identified groups as the independent variable while the number of correct responses will be the dependent variables. The target level of confidence for this research in all Chi-Square tests will be 95 out of 100. A benefit to using Chi-Square tests is that the use of a mathematical model removes the human factor in determining if the differences between groups are significant. This will assist in limiting the risk confirmation bias; a resistance to accepting new evidence or conclusions that run contrary to prior understanding of beliefs and readily accepting results that match one's beliefs.<sup>15</sup> Chi-Square tests will be used specifically for questions that assess participants' understanding of PSO terms, support for peacekeeping, and perception of Canada's and the CAF's role in regards to PSOs. Analysis of Variances (ANOVA) was also considered as a potential method for statistical analysis, but Chi-Square was found to be better suited. This was due to the likelihood of uneven sample sizes between groups and the greater number of available responses to questions, which Chi-Square tests better mitigate.

### **Limitations**

The number of sources where participants were drawn from will serve as limitations as to what this study can hope to achieve in terms of a representative sample. That said, the use of a critical incident sample and the relative size of that sample will enable the drawing of valid inferences and larger trends within the data.<sup>16</sup> Based on the total size of the population available and the collection methods used, the number of responses is less than optimal. Furthermore, the disproportionate number of people that belong to Group A and/or Group B based on the collection method will surely result in a sample that is not reflective of the Canadian population

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<sup>15</sup> Amy Masnick and Corinne Zimmerman, "Evaluating Scientific Research in the Context of Prior Belief: Hindsight Bias or Confirmation Bias," *Journal of Psychology of Science of Technology* 2, no. 1 (2009): 29; and Armen Allahverdyan and Aram Galstyan, "Opinion Dynamics and Confirmation Bias," *Public Library of Science One* 9, no. 7 (July 2014): 1-14.

<sup>16</sup> While the sample for this study does represent a convenience sample, the use of critical incident is intended to offset that disadvantage.

as a whole. In order to mitigate this issue, polls with similar questions that address Canada's involvement in international operations and support levels for PSO will be used to identify continued trends or anomalies between this research and previous works.<sup>17</sup> Another limitation that is present in all survey work is an inability to determine if respondents answer the questions truthfully. However, despite issues of a representative sample, the total number of participants in conjunction with the use of a critical incident sample method, provides more than acceptable confidence levels and margins of error relative to the size and scope of the study.

## **Conclusion**

Wholly acknowledging that there are some limitations to this study, which are mainly linked to the number and availability of responses and a limited demographic distribution, the survey will still be able to achieve a comparative analysis of answer trends of respondent groups and provide insights into the beliefs and perceptions of those surveyed regarding PSOs. Potential concerns regarding both selection and confirmation bias are being taken into account and controlled to ensure the legitimacy of results. Limitations will be further mitigated by using other works to confirm that results match the broader trend and the use of critical incident samples to more accurately make valid inferences to the Canadian population. Potential differences in trends between respondent groups will provide insights into variations within the population based on education and training specific to PSOs and allow for exploration into potential explanatory factors.

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<sup>17</sup> Stephen Brown, Duncan McDowell, and Adam Parker, *Canada Day Poll, 2003*, di-ir-cdp-E-2003-06, Data Centre Carleton University and Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy; GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians Fall 2003*; Environics Research Group, *Focus Canada 2006-4*; and Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*.

## 2.2 Data Results

As previously introduced, a survey was developed and presented at Queen's University, RMC, and online through Facebook in order to obtain responses. The survey was open from 16 September until 13 November 2016. The survey received 462 total responses and 274 completed responses. Due to an inability to give legal consent to participate, 19 surveys were removed because they were completed by minors and there were a total of two other exclusions from the data set; one completed and one part completed survey. Both of which had inappropriate responses to questions in dialogue boxes, did not spend to adequate amount of time to have actually completed the surveys, and their responses to the questions showed no variation. Both of these were removed before data analysis to maintain the integrity of the study with a more than reasonable assumption that these were not genuine responses. That said, in the event that excluding them is in fact an error, the two exclusions would not have had a substantial impact on the results or findings research as a whole. After exclusions, the survey had 428 responses and 264 usable responses, which results in a 61.7% completion rate.<sup>18</sup>

The survey sample is not representative of the Canadian population as a whole, the two largest differences being a substantially disproportionate number of responses coming from Ontario (76.79%), and an increased number of current and former serving military members having responded (35.35%). This issue is somewhat mitigated by the use of a critical incident sample method as described in the previous chapter. Using Statistics Canada's most recent Canadian population of 36 286 400 as the total target population and the number of non-excluded completed responses as 264, the resulting confidence level of the survey is 95 out of 100 with a margin of error of  $\pm 6.04\%$ , which meets the criteria previously established in the previous

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<sup>18</sup> The low completion rate is not unexpected due to the length and difficulty of the questions and the absence of any incentive to complete the survey.

methodology chapter.<sup>19</sup> Though a lower margin of error would be ideal, the nature and scale of this research would not reasonably permit a substantially lower result.

### **Data Results From Survey**

Before delving into the differences between individual groups it is first important to get an understanding of the overall response rates to the survey questions. This provides initial insights into the ability of participants to select the definitions consistent with UN definitions of PSOs and select the appropriate responses to other PSO related questions. Additionally, it allows for an exploration into the perceptions and support of PSO involvement through results to questions that asked participants to rate their support to a number of statements related to Canada's role in peacekeeping, the CAF's role, and how it relates to Canadian identity.

The means of responses consistent with UN definitions for the definition-related questions were as follows: peacekeeping 31.95%, peacebuilding 38.39%, peacemaking 22.01%, and peace enforcement 31.85%. Within those questions, the UN definition was twice the most frequently selected option (peacebuilding and peace enforcement) and twice the second most popular selection (peacemaking and peacekeeping). Additionally, 79.7% of those surveyed responded that any missions with a UN mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict were peacekeeping, which is ultimately false as peacekeeping is only one type of mission available that can be used to achieve those aims. Furthermore, only 14% could correctly identify the number of peacekeeping missions Canada had taken part in since 1991.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Statistics Canada, "Population by year, by Province and Territory," accessed: 13/12/2016, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo02a-eng.htm>; and Survey Monkey, "Sample Size Calculator," accessed 13/12/2016, <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/sample-size-calculator/>.

<sup>20</sup> Missions were characterized based on the UN Security Council's explanation of missions found at: United Nations Security Council, "Peacekeeping Missions," accessed: 15/12/2016, [http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/subsidiary\\_organisms/peacekeeping\\_missions.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/subsidiary_organisms/peacekeeping_missions.shtml). Multi-dimensional operations that had peacekeeping elements were included into the total number of peacekeeping operations. This study asserts that Canada has taken part in 20 'Peacekeeping' missions since 1991, which includes: MINUGUA, MINURSO, MINUSMA, MONUC, ONUZCO, UNAMIC, UNAMID,

Looking towards perceptions of both Canada's and the CAF's role in peacekeeping, 54.11% agreed (42.54%) or strongly agreed (11.57%) that Canada should be involved in more peacekeeping missions while only 26.12% disagreed (16.79%) or strongly disagreed (9.33%) with that sentiment. A majority of those surveyed, 61.36%, agreed (39.77%) or strongly agreed (21.59) that peacekeeping is an essential part of Canadian identity while only 26.52% disagreed (16.29%) or strongly disagreed (10.23%). Looking towards the CAF's role with regard to peacekeeping, 40.3% agreed (33.08%) or strongly agreed (7.22%) that peacekeeping is a primary role of the CAF and an almost equal 41.07% disagreed (25.86) or strongly disagreed (15.21). Lastly, assessing whether people thought peacekeeping should be a primary role of the CAF, 33.71% agreed (26.89%) or strongly agreed (6.82%) while 46.21% disagreed (26.89%) or strongly disagreed (19.32%).

The results reflect the broader pattern of support for peacekeeping operations and its relation to Canadian identity found in other polls and surveys.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore they support the assertion that Canadians lack detailed knowledge regarding PSOs, which suggests a conflation between peacekeeping and PSOs, due to the observed rate of responses to the definition and frequency of operations questions. Additionally, the results of this survey support the argument that those polled tend to see all UN activity as peacekeeping and not as one of many tools at the disposal of the UN or other organizations. The results will now be analyzed by group to identify potential trends.

### **Groups**

Each of the four groups explained in the methodology section had a number of responses that allowed for examination of similarities in the responses and potential explanations for those

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UNAMIR, UNAMSIL, UNAVEM, UNCRO, UNFICYP, UNIKOM, UNMEE, UNMIS, UNMIT, UNOCI, UNOSOM, UNPROFOR, and UNTSO.

<sup>21</sup> See pg. 27-30 and Appendix B.

differences. The individual number of responses from each group for any given question can be found in the corresponding Chi-Square tables found below. In total, the respondents had disproportionately either education in political studies/science or similar fields or were serving or previously serving military members. The first set of questions asked participants to select the UN definitions of each type of PSO. The proportion of responses that reflected the UN definitions by group can be found in Figure 2.2.

	Percentage of Respondents that Selected UN-consistent PSO Definition for:			
	Peacekeeping	Peacebuilding	Peacemaking	Peace Enforcement
Group A	36.99%	29.17%	18.84%	24.64%
Group B	30.83%	46.61%	27.27%	38.38%
Group AB	43.24%	35.14%	6.06%	39.39%
Group C	24.39%	36.59%	23.88%	26.09%

Figure 2.2 – Survey Responses – UN-consistent PSO Definition Responses by Group.

In terms of definitions, both Group B and Group AB had the highest percentage of correct responses to two of the questions each. Group AB fell well below the average on the peacemaking question, which is partly explained by the small sample size and potential socialization factors, which will be discussed later.

Next, each group’s responses to the question regarding the number of PSOs Canada has been involved in since 1991 and whether all missions with a UN mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict were peacekeeping will be addressed. These questions hoped to achieve two things. The first was to determine whether or not participants were aware of the frequency of Canada’s involvement in peacekeeping itself in the post-Cold War era, which informs the gap between the perceived role of the CAF and current role. The second was to determine whether or not respondents differentiated between the types of operations conducted that contribute to peace and security, or if they believed all of such operations were peacekeeping. The rate of correct responses can be found in Figure 2.3.

Percentage of Respondents that Selected Correct Response to:		
	Is any mission with a UN mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict peacekeeping?	Frequency of Operations of Canada's involvement in peacekeeping missions since 1991.
Group A	29.41%	14.29%
Group B	16.49%	14.14%
Group AB	51.52%	21.21%
Group C	10.14%	10.00%

Figure 2.3 – Survey Responses - Correct Responses to Questions on Frequency and Mandates for Missions regarding Peace and Security.

The final group of questions that pertain to participants’ sentiments regarding increased involvement in peacekeeping, peacekeeping as part of Canadian identity, and the CAF’s role in peacekeeping, which are also important to consider within the context of emerging trends in responses between the groups. The responses by group and sentiment can be found in Figures 2.4-2.7.

Canada should be involved in more peacekeeping missions.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Group A	13.04%	27.54%	24.64%	23.19%	11.59%
Group B	9.28%	51.55%	20.62%	16.49%	2.06%
Group AB	12.12%	24.24%	9.09%	21.21%	33.33%
Group C	11.59%	53.62%	20.29%	8.70%	5.80%

Figure 2.4 – Survey Responses – Canada Should be Involved in More Peacekeeping Missions.

Peacekeeping is an essential part of Canadian identity.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Group A	16.18%	35.29%	14.71%	22.06%	11.76%
Group B	18.95%	48.42%	13.68%	15.79%	3.16%
Group AB	18.18%	15.15%	6.06%	24.24%	36.36%
Group C	32.84%	43.28%	10.45%	7.46%	5.97%

Figure 2.5 – Survey Responses – Peacekeeping is an Essential Part of Canadian Identity.

Peacekeeping is a primary role of the CAF.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Group A	5.88%	17.65%	17.65%	33.82%	25.00%
Group B	8.51%	40.43%	21.28%	27.66%	2.13%
Group AB	3.03%	9.09%	15.15%	18.18%	54.55%
Group C	8.96%	49.25%	17.91%	19.40%	4.48%

Figure 2.6 – Survey Responses – Peacekeeping is a Primary Role of the CAF.

Peacekeeping should be a primary role of the CAF.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Group A	1.47%	11.76%	22.06%	35.29%	29.41%
Group B	8.42%	34.74%	21.05%	30.53%	5.26%
Group AB	0.00%	18.18%	9.09%	9.09%	63.63%
Group C	11.94%	35.82%	22.39%	22.39%	7.46%

Figure 2.7 – Survey Responses – Peacekeeping Should be a Primary Role of the CAF.

Before moving onto an analysis of the survey results, they will first be put into context of other pre-existing surveys with similar questions to see if they fall into the broader pattern. Looking towards Canada's continued or increased role in peacekeeping, recent polls ranging from the mid-2000's to 2011 have established support levels for continuing Canada's involvement in PSOs, even if it puts soldiers' lives at risk, to be between 64% and 94%.<sup>22</sup> Looking slightly further back, a 1994 poll indicated that 58.4% of Canadians believed that Canada's peacekeeping involvement should increase (18.5%) or remain the same (49.6%); it is important to note that the 1994 figure occurs near Canada's peak of UN PSO personnel contributions, which would constitute a drastic increase from the current contribution numbers.<sup>23</sup> The levels of support for continued participation in recent and earlier surveys to increase or

<sup>22</sup> Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*; United Nations Association of Canada. *Report on a Survey of Canadians during the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Year of the United Nations (in 2005)*; and Environics Research Group, *Focus Canada 2006-4*.

<sup>23</sup> Gallup Canada Inc. *Canadian Gallup Poll December 1994*.

continue similar contributions adequately reflect the results from this survey to increase Canada's current involvement; which at present, is quite a limited contribution when compared to the timeframes of some of the previous studies.

Looking towards the capacity of Canadians to identify involvement in international operations, a 2003 study found that only 40.5% of those polled could identify two military operations that Canada had been involved in since 1990, with 30.7% not able to name any operations.<sup>24</sup> Although this question is not directly related to the question posed in this study, both this survey and the 2003 poll suggest that those polled were not overly aware of Canada's involvement in PSOs or other military operations, which speaks to the potential confusion between the perceived role of Canadians as peacekeepers and the current role of the CAF. Ultimately, there is little exact comparison between the other questions posed for this survey and previous polls, but there are similarities between some of the questions and the nature of the responses. The true test is to determine if these responses and the comparison between groups is statistically significant.

### **Data Analysis**

As introduced in methodology, the study will use a Chi-Square test to determine if the differences between results from the respondent groups are statistically significant.<sup>25</sup> Each of the questions previously presented will be tested to determine if the null hypothesis can in fact be rejected. A rejection of the null hypothesis will occur when the P-value is 0.05 or less, which correlates to a confidence level of 95 out of 100 or higher. The null hypothesis for each of the

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<sup>24</sup> Steven Brown, Duncan McDowell, and Adam Parker, *Canada Day Poll, 2003*.

<sup>25</sup> In an effort to determine if political science/studies education had a substantial influence on the groups without military service, the responses of the two were also subjected to Chi-Square tests for each question without Groups A or AB. At no point for any question could the null hypotheses be rejected due to a failure to meet the confidence level threshold. Thus, there was not a statistically significant difference between the responses of groups B and C throughout the survey. For the sake of space and repetitiveness, it will neither be stated after each question nor the data shown.

definition, true or false, and frequency of Canadian participation in peacekeeping missions questions will be: there is no statistically significant difference between respondent groups' ability to select the UN-consistent or correct survey response. The null hypothesis for questions that gauge sentiments of respondent groups related to questions regarding increased peacekeeping participation, if peacekeeping is part of Canadian identity, and the role of the CAF in peacekeeping operations will be: there is no statistically significant difference between the respondent groups' agreement or disagreement to this question.

The first group of questions to be considered using the Chi-Square model were questions related to PSO definitions. The responses of each respondent group were compiled based on the whether they were correct or incorrect based on whether they were consistent with the UN definitions. The statistically expected number of responses is in italics, while the actual number of responses is above the expected value in plain text. In parentheses is the individual  $\chi^2$  value, which corresponds to a probability value. The first question asked participants to select the definition for peacekeeping and the responses can be found below in Figure 2.8.

	Peacekeeping Definition Question Results.		
	Correct	Incorrect	
<b>Group A</b>	27 23.40 ( 0.55)	46 49.60 ( 0.26)	<b>73</b>
<b>Group B</b>	37 38.46 ( 0.06)	83 81.54 ( 0.03)	<b>120</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	16 11.86 ( 1.45)	21 25.14 ( 0.68)	<b>37</b>
<b>Group C</b>	20 26.28 ( 1.50)	62 55.72 ( 0.71)	<b>82</b>
	<b>100</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>312</b>

$$\chi^2 = 5.236, \quad df = 3, \quad \chi^2/df = 1.75, \quad P(\chi^2 > 5.236) = 0.1553$$

Figure 2.8 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Please select an option that you think best defines peacekeeping.”

Even though Group AB had the highest rate of responses consistent with the UN definition, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected as the confidence level does not meet the target of 95 out of 100, but merely 84.47. This indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between the respondent groups’ ability to select the definition of peacekeeping consistent with the UN definition. As already shown in Figure 2.2, the rate of responses consistent with the UN definitions for all of the groups falls well below 50% and the overall average across the entirety of the survey was 31.95%. This indicates that as a whole, the participants had difficulty selecting the answer consistent with the UN definition.

The next question that was examined asked participants to select the definition for peacebuilding. The responses can be found below in Figure 2.9. Group B had the highest average of responses consistent with the UN definition, but the differences between groups were still not

statistically significant enough to reject the null hypothesis due to a confidence level of only 89.01 out of 100. Therefore, the difference between respondent groups was not determined to be statistically significant with regards to selecting the definition of peacebuilding consistent with the UN definition, but as with peacekeeping, the overall average of responses consistent with the UN definition continued to be quite low at 38.39%. This pattern continued with each of the questions that asked participants to select the definitions of both peacemaking and peace enforcement consistent with the UN definition.

	Peacebuilding Definition Question Results.		
	Correct	Incorrect	
<b>Group A</b>	21 27.73 ( 1.63)	51 44.27 ( 1.02)	<b>72</b>
<b>Group B</b>	55 45.44 ( 2.01)	63 72.56 ( 1.26)	<b>118</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	13 14.25 ( 0.11)	24 22.75 ( 0.07)	<b>37</b>
<b>Group C</b>	30 31.58 ( 0.08)	52 50.42 ( 0.05)	<b>82</b>
	<b>119</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>309</b>

$$\chi^2 = 6.230, \quad df = 3, \quad \chi^2/df = 2.08, \quad P(\chi^2 > 6.230) = 0.1009$$

Figure 2.9 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Please select an option that you think best defines peacebuilding.”

Both sets of responses failed to meet the appropriate confidence levels at 92.10 and 78.70 respectively and therefore, neither null hypothesis could be rejected. Chi-Square tables for peacemaking and peace enforcement can be found in Figures 2.10 and 2.11. The group with the highest rate of responses consistent with the UN definition is Group B for peacemaking and

Group AB for peace enforcement, but as with peacekeeping and peacebuilding, the overall average of responses consistent with the UN definition were quite low at 22.01% and 31.85% respectively. Considered collectively, the set of responses for all of the definition based questions indicate an overall inability to consistently select the definitions of PSOs consistent with the UN definitions regardless of respondent group. Though Groups AB and B were the only two groups that had the highest rate of selecting the responses consistent with the UN definition in each of the definition questions, at no point did any group exceed 50% or more responses consistent with the UN definitions to any individual question. Using Chi-Square tests as a mathematical

	Peacemaking Definition Question Results.		
	Correct	Incorrect	
<b>Group A</b>	13 14.93 ( 0.25)	56 54.07 ( 0.07)	<b>69</b>
<b>Group B</b>	27 21.43 ( 1.45)	72 77.57 ( 0.40)	<b>99</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	2 7.14 ( 3.70)	31 25.86 ( 1.02)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	16 14.50 ( 0.16)	51 52.50 ( 0.04)	<b>67</b>
	<b>58</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>268</b>

$$\chi^2 = 7.093, \quad df = 3, \quad \chi^2/df = 2.36, \quad P(\chi^2 > 7.093) = 0.0690$$

Figure 2.10 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Please select an option that you think best defines peacemaking.”

	Peace Enforcement Definition Question Results.		
	Correct	Incorrect	
<b>Group A</b>	17 21.47 ( 0.93)	52 47.53 ( 0.42)	<b>69</b>
<b>Group B</b>	36 30.80 ( 0.88)	63 68.20 ( 0.40)	<b>99</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	13 10.27 ( 0.73)	20 22.73 ( 0.33)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	18 21.47 ( 0.56)	51 47.53 ( 0.25)	<b>69</b>
	<b>84</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>270</b>

$$\chi^2 = 4.493, \quad df = 3, \quad \chi^2/df = 1.50, \quad P(\chi^2 > 4.493) = 0.2130$$

Figure 2.11 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Please select an option that you think best defines peace enforcement.”

model, none of data indicates a statistically significant difference between respondent groups even though Groups AB and B are repeatedly the highest performers on the questions. Potential explanations for the low rates of responses consistent with the UN definitions and lack of statistically significant differences between groups will be explored in the following chapter.

Knowing that the PSO definitions themselves can be difficult, it is also important to explore whether participants distinguished peacekeeping from other types of operations with a UN mandate. The next survey query provided respondents with a true or false question that asked if, “missions with a United Nations mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict are peacekeeping missions.” Based on the UN definitions, which are those being considered in this work, the answer to this question is false. Any number of missions, including missions such as ISAF’s in Afghanistan, were not peacekeeping, but had a UN mandate with the

above listed goals.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, peacebuilding, peacemaking, and peace enforcement missions may have those same goals and are not peacekeeping. In essence, this question probed whether participants conflated all UN mandated operations as peacekeeping and the results can be found below in Figure 2.12.

Utilizing the Chi-Square test for this question, one can reject the null hypothesis as the resulting  $\chi^2$  value far exceeds the 95 out of 100 confidence level and approaches 100 out of 100, indicated by the P value of 0.0000. Thus, there is a statistical significance between the responses of respondent groups with the most substantial variations from the expected values being from Group AB. Groups A and AB both exceeded the expected number of correct responses according to the Chi-Square test, while Groups B and C were below the expected number of correct responses. It should be noted that Groups A and AB are groups formed of military members or former serving members, while Groups B and C are groups without military service.

The results indicate that from the participants of this survey, those with military service, and specifically those that fell within group AB, were able to correctly identify that not all operations with a UN mandate were peacekeeping more often than any other group polled. Furthermore, those in group B were more likely to respond correctly than those in group C, which may indicate that both military service and education related to political science/studies may have had some influence, although not enough to reject the null hypothesis, and will be further explored in the following chapter.

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<sup>26</sup> Some other missions Canada has been involved in since the end of the Cold War that would meet the same criteria with a UN mandate and were not peacekeeping include: MICAH, MINURCA, MINUSTAH, MONUSCO, UNAMA, UNAMET, UNAMI, UNISFA, UNMISSET, UNMISS, UNTAC, UNTAES, UNTAET, IFOR, SFOR, KFOR, the 2011 Military Intervention in Libya, and others.

	United Nations Mandate and Peacekeeping Question.		
	Correct	Incorrect	
Group A	20 15.28 ( 1.46)	48 52.72 ( 0.42)	68
Group B	16 21.80 ( 1.54)	81 75.20 ( 0.45)	97
Group AB	17 7.42 ( 12.39)	16 25.58 ( 3.59)	33
Group C	7 15.51 ( 4.67)	62 53.49 ( 1.35)	69
	<b>60</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>267</b>

$$\chi^2 = 25.864, \quad df = 3, \quad \chi^2/df = 8.62, \quad P(\chi^2 > 25.864) = 0.0000$$

Figure 2.12 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “True or False. Missions with a United Nations mandate to promote peace, stability, or security, or bring an end to conflict are peacekeeping missions.”

The next question asked participants to select the number of peacekeeping missions that Canada had taken part in since 1991. The results can be found below in Figure 2.13. Group AB correctly answered the question more often than the other groups, but on the whole was correct in a mere 21.21% of cases and in total, all respondents answered correctly only 13.97% of the time. When tested using the Chi-Square model one cannot reject the null hypothesis as the confidence level falls far short of the 95 out of 100 target at approximately  $\approx 50$  out of 100. It should be noted that the most frequently selected answer to the questions was “I do not know” at 23.53%, which indicates an overall lack of awareness regarding Canada’s involvement in peacekeeping during the previous two and a half decades. Potential explanations for the low number of correct responses will be explored in the following chapters, but as previously mentioned, this coincides

with a previous study that indicates a lack of awareness concerning the CAF’s involvement in operations abroad.<sup>27</sup>

	Canadian Peacekeeping Mission Involvement Question.		
	Correct	Incorrect	
<b>Group A</b>	10 9.78 ( 0.00)	60 60.22 ( 0.00)	<b>70</b>
<b>Group B</b>	14 13.83 ( 0.00)	85 85.17 ( 0.00)	<b>99</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	7 4.61 ( 1.24)	26 28.39 ( 0.20)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	7 9.78 ( 0.79)	63 60.22 ( 0.13)	<b>70</b>
	<b>38</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>272</b>

$$\chi^2 = 2.366, \quad df = 3, \quad \chi^2/df = 0.79, \quad P(\chi^2 > 2.366) = 0.4999$$

Figure 2.13 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Please indicate the number range that represents the number of peacekeeping missions that Canada has taken part in since 1991.”

As mentioned in the literature review, there are those that argue peacekeeping is part of Canadian identity and that one of many reasons for this is to differentiate Canadians from Americans by identifying the former a peacekeeping society while labelling the latter a warfighting society.<sup>28</sup> Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they thought peacekeeping was an essential part of Canadian identity and the responses separated by group can be seen in Figure 2.14. Once one applies the Chi-Square test to the results it is evident that

<sup>27</sup> Steven Brown, Duncan McDowell, and Adam Parker, *Canada Day Poll, 2003*.

<sup>28</sup> See pg. 4.

the null hypothesis can be rejected due to the exceptionally high  $\chi^2$  value and the resulting confidence level approaches 100 out of 100, which indicates that the differences between groups are statistically significant. The interesting phenomenon present in the results is that groups AB and A fall below the expected values in strongly agree and agree, while exceeding the expected values in disagree and strongly disagree. Meanwhile, groups B and C exceed the expected values in agree (group C in strongly agree as well), but both fall short of the expected values for disagree and the strongly disagree. Referring back to Figure 2.5, there is an evident schism between the groups on the issue. The potential explanation for the divide between the groups with military service and those without will be pursued in the following chapters.

	Peacekeeping is an Essential Part of Canadian Identity.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree/Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
<b>Group A</b>	11 14.74 (0.95)	24 26.89 (0.31)	10 8.27 (0.36)	15 11.12 (1.36)	8 6.98 (0.15)	<b>68</b>
<b>Group B</b>	18 20.59 (0.33)	46 37.57 (1.89)	13 11.56 (0.18)	15 15.53 (0.02)	3 9.75 (4.68)	<b>95</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	6 7.15 (0.19)	5 13.05 (4.97)	2 4.02 (1.01)	8 5.40 (1.26)	12 3.39 (21.89)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	22 14.52 (3.85)	29 26.49 (0.24)	7 8.15 (0.16)	5 10.95 (3.24)	4 6.88 (1.20)	<b>67</b>
	<b>57</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>263</b>

$$\chi^2 = 48.221, \quad df = 12, \quad \chi^2/df = 4.02, \quad P(\chi^2 > 48.221) = 0.0000$$

Figure 2.14 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Peacekeeping is an essential part of Canadian identity.”

Further pursuing the potential variation in responses between the groups, respondents were also asked to rate the degree to which they believed Canada should be involved in more peacekeeping missions. The results of the Chi-Square test can be found in Figure 2.15. This

questions which again allows for the rejection of the null hypothesis as the confidence level approaches 100 out of 100, which means that the variation between respondent groups is statistically significant. Similar to the previous question, Groups A and AB have some of the largest variations from the expected values by falling short in the agree category while exceeding both the disagree and strongly disagree values. Conversely, Groups B and C exceed the agree values and are below the expected disagree and strongly disagree values. This demonstrates that the rates of agreement or disagreement for each group presented in Figure 2.4 represent not only statistically significant differences between the respondent groups, but are similar to that of the previous sentiment question in the survey. Potential underlying causes for the similarities and differences between the groups will be expanded upon in the following chapter.

	Canada Should be Involved in More Peacekeeping Missions.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree/Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
<b>Group A</b>	9 7.72 ( 0.21)	19 29.35 ( 3.65)	17 13.90 ( 0.69)	16 11.59 ( 1.68)	8 6.44 ( 0.38)	<b>69</b>
<b>Group B</b>	9 10.86 ( 0.32)	50 41.26 ( 1.85)	20 19.54 ( 0.01)	16 16.29 ( 0.01)	2 9.05 ( 5.49)	<b>97</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	4 3.69 ( 0.03)	8 14.04 ( 2.60)	3 6.65 ( 2.00)	7 5.54 ( 0.38)	11 3.08 ( 20.39)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	8 7.72 ( 0.01)	37 29.35 ( 1.99)	14 13.90 ( 0.00)	6 11.59 ( 2.69)	4 6.44 ( 0.92)	<b>69</b>
	<b>30</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>268</b>

$$\chi^2 = 45.301, \quad df = 12, \quad \chi^2/df = 3.78, \quad P(\chi^2 > 45.301) = 0.0000$$

Figure 2.15 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Canada should be involved in more peacekeeping missions.”

After participants had been asked to rate how they perceive peacekeeping fits into Canadian identity and whether Canada should be involved in more peacekeeping missions, they

were asked questions regarding the CAF’s role in peacekeeping. First, they were asked to rate their level of agreement as to whether peacekeeping is a primary role of the CAF, which provides potential insights into how the participants understand the CAF’s role regarding peacekeeping. The corresponding Chi-Square test of their responses can be found in Figure 2.16. Similar to the two previous questions regarding peacekeeping, the null hypothesis can be resoundingly rejected with a  $\chi^2$  value of 76.587, which corresponds to a confidence level of approaching 100 out of 100. The largest variations from the expected values can be observed in the agree and strongly disagree columns with Groups A and AB falling well below in agree and well above in strongly disagree while groups B and C vary in a reciprocal manner. Thus, the differences between groups with and without military service are not only significant in the fact that they are reciprocal in nature, but they are statistically significant based on the results of the Chi-Square test.

	Peacekeeping is be a Primary Role of the CAF.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree/Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
<b>Group A</b>	4 4.93 ( 0.18)	12 22.32 ( 4.77)	12 12.72 ( 0.04)	23 17.65 ( 1.62)	17 10.38 ( 4.22)	<b>68</b>
<b>Group B</b>	8 6.82 ( 0.21)	38 30.85 ( 1.65)	20 17.58 ( 0.33)	26 24.40 ( 0.11)	2 14.35 ( 10.63)	<b>94</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	1 2.39 ( 0.81)	3 10.83 ( 5.66)	5 6.17 ( 0.22)	6 8.56 ( 0.77)	18 5.04 ( 33.35)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	6 4.86 ( 0.27)	33 21.99 ( 5.51)	12 12.53 ( 0.02)	13 17.39 ( 1.11)	3 10.23 ( 5.11)	<b>67</b>
	<b>19</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>262</b>

$$\chi^2 = 76.587, \quad df = 12, \quad \chi^2/df = 6.38, \quad P(\chi^2 > 76.587) = 0.0000$$

Figure 2.16 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Peacekeeping is a primary role of the Canadian Armed Forces.”

After probing whether participants thought peacekeeping was, in fact, a primary role of the CAF, they were asked whether they believed peacekeeping should be a primary role of the CAF. This question allowed for two things. Firstly, it provided insights into whether people thought peacekeeping should have a primary role within the CAF's assigned tasks. Secondly, it allowed for a potential comparison to the previous question of whether respondents thought the CAF should do more peacekeeping, which would realistically need to be the case if peacekeeping was to become a primary role of the CAF. Participant responses were compiled and subjected to a Chi-Square test and the results are located in Figure 2.17. As with the three previous questions, the null hypothesis can be rejected with a confidence level of approximately 100 out of 100. Furthermore, the largest relative deviations also resembled that of the previous questions with Groups AB and A falling short in the agree columns and above in most of the disagree columns while Groups B and C were the inverse in all but one column as well. These results are also similar to the question regarding increased peacekeeping involvement, which indicates that participants responded in a similar manner to both questions; as would be expected. All told, there is a statistically significant difference between the responses in this question, which indicates that respondent groups feel differently about what role the CAF should have regarding peacekeeping. Neither of these results regarding the CAF's role and peacekeeping were ultimately that surprising when considered alongside other polls that address this topic. Two separate Ekos and Nanos polls from 2012 and 2010 found that UN peacekeeping was found to be the highest desired future priority for the CAF by those polled and that "peacekeeping" was the most frequently selected image or impression of the Canadian military by participants.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> As cited in: Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era," 293.

	Peacekeeping Should be a Primary Role of the CAF.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree/Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
<b>Group A</b>	1 4.40 ( 2.62)	8 18.36 ( 5.84)	15 13.70 ( 0.12)	24 18.36 ( 1.73)	20 13.19 ( 3.52)	<b>68</b>
<b>Group B</b>	8 6.14 ( 0.56)	33 25.65 ( 2.11)	20 19.14 ( 0.04)	29 25.65 ( 0.44)	5 18.42 ( 9.78)	<b>95</b>
<b>Group AB</b>	0 2.13 ( 2.13)	6 8.91 ( 0.95)	3 6.65 ( 2.00)	3 8.91 ( 3.92)	21 6.40 ( 33.31)	<b>33</b>
<b>Group C</b>	8 4.33 ( 3.11)	24 18.09 ( 1.93)	15 13.50 ( 0.17)	15 18.09 ( 0.53)	5 12.99 ( 4.92)	<b>67</b>
	<b>17</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>263</b>

$$\chi^2 = 79.742, \quad df = 12, \quad \chi^2/df = 6.65, \quad P(\chi^2 > 79.742) = 0.0000$$

Figure 2.17 – Survey Question Chi-Square Test Results - Original Question: “Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Peacekeeping should be a primary role of the Canadian Armed Forces.”

## Conclusion

After considering the responses from the survey, clear trends emerge. Throughout each of the definition questions, not a single respondent group identified any of the PSO terms consistently with the UN definitions more than half of the time with the cumulative average never exceeding 40%. Furthermore, the null hypothesis could not be rejected for any of the PSO definitions, which indicates that regardless of military service or post-secondary education related to political studies/science there is no statistically significant difference between each groups’ ability to select PSO definitions consistent with the UN definitions. This indicates that even those who ought to be better informed about how the PSOs differ are not. However, when asked if missions with a United Nations mandate to promote peace, stability, or security, or bring an end to conflict were peacekeeping missions, there was a statistically significant difference between the groups with and without military service. This indicates that even though military

members may not be better informed about PSO definitions as defined by the UN, they are more aware that peacekeeping is not an all-encompassing term for any operations with a UN mandate. Lastly, the survey results indicated that there was no statistical significance between groups when asked about Canada's frequency of peacekeeping operations and that participants were relatively unaware of Canada's involvement in peacekeeping operations since 1991, which reflects a previously conducted survey.<sup>30</sup>

Contrary to the definition questions however, each of the questions that asked participants to rate their agreement or disagreement to statements regarding peacekeeping allowed for a firm rejection of the null hypotheses with a confidence level approaching 100 out of 100.<sup>31</sup> In each of the four questions the deviations from the expected values were most often below in agreement and above in disagreement for groups A and AB and the inverse for groups B and C. This illustrates that military service may have an impact on one's thoughts or beliefs about Canada's role in peacekeeping and peacekeeping as a whole. A potential explanation for this observed military-societal gap, potentially caused by military socialization, which is indicated from the results of this survey will be explored in the following chapter. As previously noted, the questions that gauged whether participants believed that peacekeeping was part of Canadian identity and whether Canada should do more peacekeeping also reflected previous polling data. Although the support for these concepts found in this study were somewhat lower than other works, which is likely the result of an increased military representation and their differing support for peacekeeping compared to the general public, which was evident from the results of those polled.

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<sup>30</sup> Steven Brown, Duncan McDowell, and Adam Parker, *Canada Day Poll, 2003*.

<sup>31</sup> The probability values were noted as 0.0000 in each of the tests, which indicates that the confidence level exceeds 99.99%.

Given that there is a statistically significant difference between responses from each of the groups regarding peacekeeping based on military service, potential explanations for that difference will be probed in the upcoming chapter. Furthermore, the low number of responses consistent with the UN definitions and the acceptance of the null hypotheses from the definition and frequency of operations questions will also be considered as to potentially explain why there was not a statistically significant difference between the respondent groups.

### 2.3 Potential Explanations

To this point it has been demonstrated that there is a statistical significance between the different groups of participants regarding their ability to differentiate between any operation with a UN mandate and peacekeeping, their sentiment towards increased peacekeeping involvement, their association of peacekeeping and Canadian identity, and their beliefs regarding the CAF's role in peacekeeping. Based on the results of the Chi-Square tests, the largest variations from the expected results were generally influenced by military service or a lack thereof. It has also been shown that there is no statistically significant difference between each group's ability to select the definitions of PSOs consistent with the UN definitions or identify the number of peacekeeping missions that Canada has been involved in since 1991. Going back to one of the original research questions, which inquired as to whether military service, education in fields related to PSOs, or other factors, influence understanding, support, and perceptions of PSOs, it can be argued from the findings of this research that the answer is yes. Within the survey a gap was observed between those with and without military service regarding the role of peacekeeping in Canadian identity and the role of the CAF with regards to peacekeeping. Furthermore, it was observed that those with military service, primarily Group AB, were more likely to differentiate any operation with a UN mandate to promote peace, stability, and security or bring about the end of a conflict from peacekeeping. This study contends that this may speak to the influence of military culture and is relevant as it identifies a potential gap between groups within Canadian society.

Why then, did some of these groups have starkly different responses to some questions, which resulted in statistical significance with confidence levels approaching 100 out of 100, and little variation on others? The following chapter will explore a number of factors, such as the nature of the PSO definitions from the UN, print media, the peacekeeping myth, peacekeeping

and Canada’s national identity, socialization, and military socialization, as potential explanations to why there were variations between groups in some questions and not others. These same factors will also serve as potential explanations as to why the overall support levels remain high for peacekeeping in Canada across surveys and why the rates of responses for definitions and frequency of operations were substantially lower. To simplify this concept, the following theoretical explanatory model represents a potential way in which a number of these factors interact, which can be found in Figure 2.18

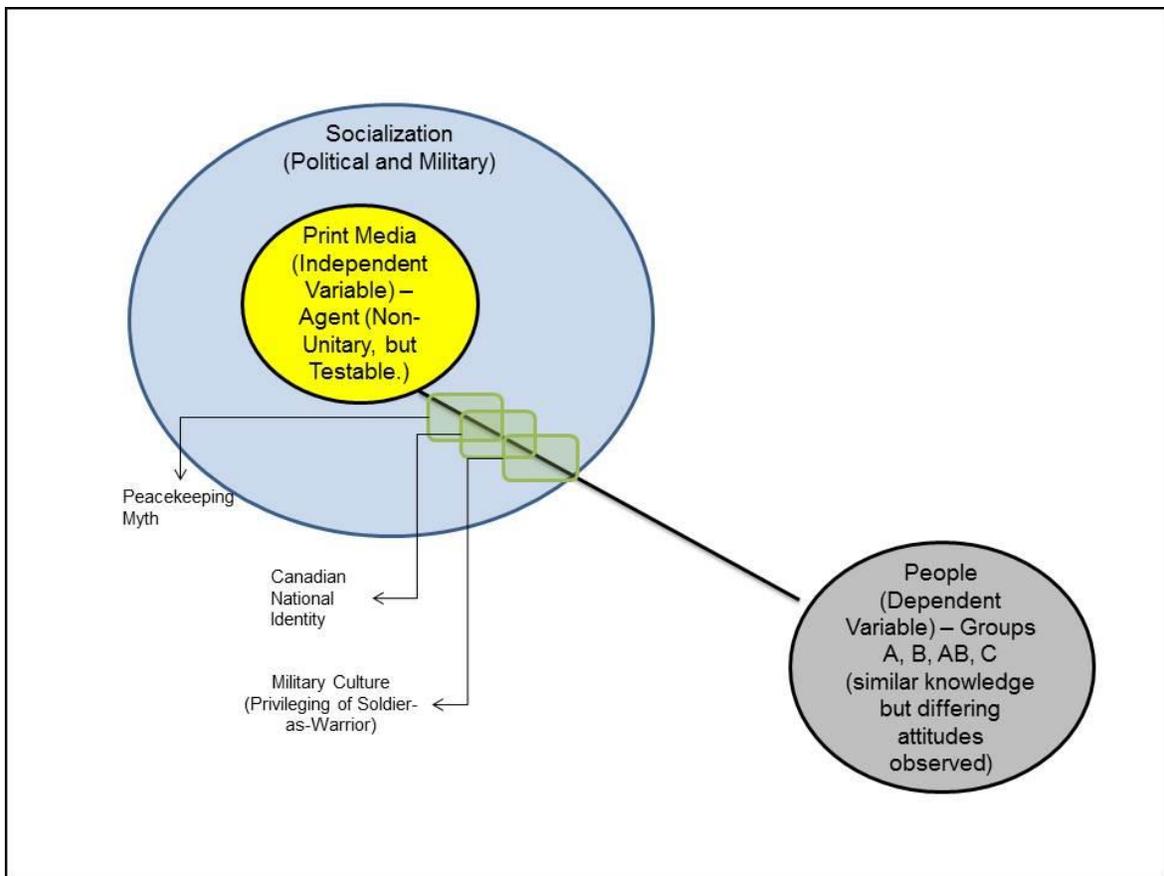


Figure 2.18 – Model – Potential Theoretical Explanatory Model.

The potential theoretical explanatory model above is one explanation of how factors observed in this study interact and influence perceptions and understanding of PSOs and peacekeeping. It is a theoretical representation of the influence of socialization, both political and

military, on knowledge and perceptions of PSOs. Indicated in the bottom right are the Canadian public, which in the case of this study is represented by all four groups (A, B, AB, and C). To the top left there is a larger circle, which indicates socialization as a process that influences the people. Within it there is the print media (acknowledging it is not a unitary actor), being one of the agents of socialization, which is the independent variable for the purpose of this study. Intervening variables are also located within the broader socialization process, which include the peacekeeping myth, Canadian national identity, and the incorporation of military culture for Groups A and AB. These serve as lenses that affect the perceptions and understanding of peacekeeping and PSOs which still fall within the realm of socialization as they are factors related to the socialization process. This theoretical model is a potential explanation of the interaction of factors that influence the understanding and perceptions of peacekeeping and incorporates all of the factors to be discussed in this chapter with the exception of issues surrounding the UN definitions themselves.

## **Socialization**

The first aspect of the theoretical explanatory model to discuss is socialization. In broad terms, “[w]hat socialization often means is that representatives of old generations - parents and grandparents - hand over the values and opinions of their generations to representatives of the upcoming generations, their children and grandchildren.”<sup>32</sup> Educators, the mass media, and social groups are also important agents of socialization, as is the “... culture of the surrounding society...”<sup>33</sup> In terms of culture, there are both informal and formal elements. The informal consists of “...legends, history, and shared beliefs ...,” which within Canada, peacekeeping is

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<sup>32</sup> It should be noted however, that there are numerous definitions of socialization, which is illustrated by Jon Pammett and Michael Whittington, eds., *Foundations of Political Culture: Political Socialization in Canada*. Karl Erik Rosengren, *Media Effects and Beyond*, 16. See also: Joan E. Grusec, and Paul D. Hastings, eds. *Handbook of Socialization, First Edition: Theory and Research*; and Stanley Renshon ed., *Handbook of Political Socialization*.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

deeply ingrained.<sup>34</sup> Socialization through agents such as, family, educators, and the media, in addition to an informal culture in Canada, which is steeped in the peacekeeping mythology, presents potential explanations as to both why support for peacekeeping is so strong, despite a general lack of understanding, and also potentially explains the lack of understanding itself.

As noted in the literature review, peacekeeping plays an important role in the national identity of Canadians.<sup>35</sup> As such, the way Canadians see themselves and the identity of the country is also linked to peacekeeping. In terms of socialization then, when agents of socialization, such as parents or guardians pass on their values and opinions to the next generation, which includes the positive notions of peacekeeping and the integration of peacekeeping into the fabric of Canadian identity, a possible result is that the next generation will also hold similar beliefs. In the peacekeeping context, this socialization effect can permeate through generations and it is a potential explanation as to why support and perceptions of peacekeeping continue to be largely positive, despite a substantial decrease in Canadian involvement and an overall lack of understanding surrounding peacekeeping and Canada's involvement in PSOs. Furthermore, the anachronistic view of peacekeeping held by Canadians and the tendency to confuse not only PSOs, but most Canadian deployments as peacekeeping, also permeates Canadian thinking through socialization.<sup>36</sup> This is not only a potential explanation as to the high levels of support found in this study, but also potentially explains the consistently high levels of support for peacekeeping across polls and surveys over the previous decades. In addition, it may explain why there is a continued misunderstanding regarding what constitutes peacekeeping and Canada's involvement in such operations, as opposed to other types of PSOs or combat operations.

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<sup>34</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 35.

<sup>35</sup> See pg 17-19.

<sup>36</sup> Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era." 303; and Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 30.

Another potential socialization agent is educators or teachers. Like family, those in teaching roles have been exposed to peacekeeping and influenced by the socializing factors related to peacekeeping already discussed. In addition however, they are also in a position of authority where they are passing on knowledge to the next generation in a more formal setting. Given that “[h]igh school history textbooks advanced positive national narratives and downplayed any domestic divisions in favour of portrayals of peacekeeping as being indicative of Canadian independence,” young Canadians are also potentially socialized by positive notions and concepts related to peacekeeping in the classroom as well as at home.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, some argue that political messaging from the government has pushed a positive image of peacekeeping and the benefits of a largely peacekeeping-based armed forces.<sup>38</sup> Thus, educators and those in positions of authority may have acted as socializing agents regarding peacekeeping and also serve as a potential explanation as to why survey and poll results continue in a similar manner, despite a general lack of informed debate surrounding peacekeeping.

Peacekeeping plays an important role in Canadian national identity and culture, which is also an element of socialization. Belonging to a social group and identifying with that group can influence public perceptions of issues and policies.<sup>39</sup> “One reason for this identity-opinion congruence is that group identifications may provide cues on political information and knowledge, thus enabling individuals to conform to more prototypical in-group member values and beliefs on a range of public policy issues.”<sup>40</sup> As part of peacekeeping’s incorporation into Canadian identity and political culture, it continues to have a possible impact on socialization, which is not unlike its potential influence through family and social groups, educators, or the media. Each of the agents of socialization discussed are potential explanations as to why public

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<sup>37</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada’s Peacekeeping Past*, 201.

<sup>38</sup> John Conrad, *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns*, 63-64.

<sup>39</sup> Loleen Berdahl and Tracey Raney, “Being Canadian in the World,” 997.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 998.

support and perceptions of peacekeeping are generally positive despite a general misunderstanding of peacekeeping realities, terms, and involvement. The noted mischaracterization of educational tools, and some political communication also serve as potential explanations as to why survey results were so low regarding definitions, differentiation of operations, and frequency of Canadian involvement in peacekeeping. Next to consider is the measurable agent of socialization within the model, which is Canadian print media.

### **Canadian Print Media**

Referring back to the potential theoretical model, the independent variable is print media. Like educators, family, and social groups, print media plays an important role as an agent of socialization. Within the context of print media, this study will speak to three media effects, framing, agenda setting, and priming, which all play an additional role in regard to socialization through the media in Canada. As a source for information to the general public, the media has the ability to influence those who are exposed to it. Agenda setting is one of the concepts that affect the public and it is a model that purports that there is a link between the emphasis that the media puts on a topic and the corresponding emphasis put on the same topic by the general public.<sup>41</sup> Peacekeeping has been characterized by print media outlets as "... the proudest postwar tradition in the Canadian military ..." and has received similar accolades that are not only the fallout of the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize for UN Peacekeeping and Lester Pearson's 1957 Nobel Peace Prize, but a longstanding tradition within Canadian print news outlets that tout the work of Canadian Peacekeepers.<sup>42</sup> It has been noted that "... Canada's involvement in United Nations peacekeeping operations grabbed considerable front-page and editorial space" in the media and that the media

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<sup>41</sup> Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," 11.

<sup>42</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 130-141; and Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*. See pg. 27-30 and Appendix B for insights into surveys and polls and their findings.

has largely "... described [peacekeeping] as a Canadian activity" that all Canadians have supported.<sup>43</sup> In addition, statistically speaking, according to the Proquest "Major Canadian Dailies" Database, since the end of the Cold War there have been a total of 48604 newspaper articles that comment on peacekeeping, while only a total of 7476 articles were published in the same time period discussing any of the other three types of UN PSOs combined.<sup>44</sup>

Newspapers also tended to focus primarily on the successes of operations and although they were critical of events of the 1990s with Somalia, Rwanda, and Srebrenica, they often still reminisced of the positive aspects of peacekeeping.<sup>45</sup> This is because by that point in time, peacekeeping was already cemented as a national symbol and mythologized.<sup>46</sup> The over-representation of peacekeeping in Canadian media is also noted in a report by the UN Association in Canada, which states that, "[the n]ational media was found to be partly responsible for fostering certain myths about Canada, most importantly that Canada is more involved in UN peacekeeping than it really is."<sup>47</sup> The amount of coverage coupled with the positive characterization of peacekeeping is a potential source of influence that is present in print media, which as an agent of socialization influences the transfer of ideas, norms, and values to those exposed to it.

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<sup>43</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 111, 131; and Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*.

<sup>44</sup> Proquest, "Canadian Major Dailies – Database," accessed: 1/2/2017, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.queensu.ca/canadiannewsmajor/results/2EEF81EF158C49FAPQ/1?accountid=6180>. Search parameters were from 9 December 1991 to 31 December 2016 and excluding duplicate results. Each search term was entered as follows: "peacekeeping", "peacemaking", "peacebuilding", "peace enforcement." After testing and retesting the search criteria it has been found that small variations in search results do occur over time, but largely there are not substantial changes. This is because databases are not static entities and subscribership and other factors change.

<sup>45</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 111-131.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> United Nations Association of Canada, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-2007*, 171.

Public support for peacekeeping and linkages made by the public to Canadian identity show similarities to the emphasis put forward by the media, which may indicate the influence of agenda setting. The survey from this research indicated that 61.36% of those polled believed peacekeeping was an essential part of Canadian identity. In other research, participants rated peacekeeping as Canada's greatest contribution to the world in every *Focus Canada* survey conducted by Environics from 1993-2012, 71% are proud of Canada's peacekeeping involvement, election issue polls ranging from the mid-2000's to 2011 established support levels for continuing Canada's involvement in PSOs, even if it puts soldiers' lives at risk, to be between 57% and 64%, a 2003 poll indicated that over 80 percent of participants believed peacekeeping should be a high priority for the government, and as far back as 1994 near Canada's peak of contributions, polls indicated that 58.4% of Canadians believed that Canada's peacekeeping involvement should increase or remain the same.<sup>48</sup> Some also argue that the small decline in the rate that Canadians identified peacekeeping as Canada's greatest contribution and the increased support for peacemaking compared to peacekeeping was potentially the result of Canada's involvement in Afghanistan. Canada's deployment, in addition to the creation of a warrior image for the CAF more often seen in the United States was present in the media, public fora, and supported by the government, which indicates that agenda setting may have again been a factor regarding other types of military operations as well.<sup>49</sup> As a result, there is a potential that survey participants were influenced by agenda setting to believe that Canada should take part in more peacekeeping missions, that peacekeeping is part of national identity, and also influenced

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<sup>48</sup> Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*; United Nations Association of Canada. *Report on a Survey of Canadians during the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Year of the United Nations (in 2005)*; Environics Research Group, *Focus Canada 2006-4*; Gallup Canada Inc. *Canadian Gallup Poll December 1994*; GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians Fall 2003*; and The Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2012*, 48; Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *Globe and Mail Research on the New Canada (2003)*.

<sup>49</sup> Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding," *Review of International Studies* 36 (2010): 337- 365; Martin Shadwick. "Public Opinion and Defence," 55; and Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety*.

regarding beliefs about the CAF's and Canada's role in peacekeeping. This is not only a potential factor for this survey, but generally across all polls and surveys in Canada related to peacekeeping and involvement in PSOs.

Another media effect to consider in relation to peacekeeping is priming. It is a phenomenon by which the media's content influences the public's standards for evaluating political leaders and government decision-making by making certain issues seem more important through an increased amount of reporting and focus.<sup>50</sup> McCullough asserts that throughout Canada's peacekeeping involvement, "[p]oliticians were often left scrambling to address the linkages made by the press, and their words in turn reinforced what newspapers had already said regarding peacekeeping."<sup>51</sup> This speaks to the influence of priming, as the media's focus and linkages regarding peacekeeping caused the government to react in order to maintain appearances in the public sphere. Furthermore, "... newspapers advance[d] ideas about peacekeeping's being representative of the best or worst Canadian international action, and encouraged peacekeeping to be framed in domestic terms."<sup>52</sup> Contextualizing peacekeeping issues domestically not only helped the public relate to missions and the substantiation for taking part in such operations, but since the media had a hand in tying peacekeeping to national identity, it became politically important for Canadians. This can be seen in the previously mentioned election studies from 1993-2011, which showed peacekeeping as an important election issue for voters.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, the current government's campaign promise and focus on PSOs through the UN also speaks to the importance of the issue to the public.

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<sup>50</sup> Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," 11.

<sup>51</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 130-141, 109.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix B.

Though debatably less prevalent than the effects of both agenda setting and framing, priming still plays a role in the media's influence on the Canadian public and is a potential explanation as to why the survey results for the participants without military service were substantially higher; between  $\approx$ 49-65% for questions regarding increasing Canada's peacekeeping involvement and whether peacekeeping is a primary role of the CAF. Results from this survey as to whether Canada should do more peacekeeping is consistent with other polls and surveys, which indicates consistent public support and interest in increasing Canada's peacekeeping involvement.

The last media effect to discuss is framing, which this study asserts presents the most prominent media effect with regards to Canadians and PSOs. Framing is the manner in which information is presented "that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience ... [it] is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media... and in a way makes them accessible to lay audiences..."<sup>54</sup> However, since it is used to reduce the complexity and make issues more accessible, there is a potential for issues with accuracy and proper terminology, which this research asserts has been a potential issue for print media related to peacekeeping. As previously discussed, even though the current government has made steps to demonstrate the differences between more traditional peacekeeping missions and current PSOs, this has not necessarily been the case in mainstream print media.<sup>55</sup>

One of the largest issues regarding peacekeeping and the media is that even though the CAF had been involved in different types of PSOs since the end of Second World War, neither the media, the public, nor the practitioners themselves accurately differentiated the different

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<sup>54</sup> Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," 12.

<sup>55</sup> See pg. 24-27.

types of operations.<sup>56</sup> This presents an issue, as it mischaracterizes other operations as peacekeeping that are not and is a potential explanation as to why 79.7% of survey respondents believed that any missions with a UN mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict were peacekeeping. Using the term peacekeeping, as opposed to peacebuilding or peace enforcement, does use existing schemas, reduce complexity, and make the concepts more accessible, but by doing so it potentially misleads readers. This is also a potential explanation as to why the rate of correct responses to the PSO definitions were so low, as many readers could have been less exposed to the other types of PSOs as often as peacekeeping because of framing.

This issue is further complicated by the observation that “[d]ebates over Canada’s participation in peacekeeping were largely forgotten or ignored ... [and] [b]y selectively framing peacekeeping as a policy that also embodied Canada’s national character, the press contributed to an overly rosy view of Canada’s potential as a world peacekeeper.”<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, “[m]ore than any other medium, Canada’s newspapers provided the language and imagery that linked peacekeeping to the country’s national identity.”<sup>58</sup> By framing peacekeeping in a certain way and tying it to Canada’s national character, while omitting negative aspects, the framing effect is a potential explanation as to why support levels and belief in peacekeeping as an essential aspect of Canadian identity are so high. Conversely, the military results being statistically lower for those same questions could be the result of military socialization that has overridden some of the effects of framing, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Using peacekeeping to relate to existing schemas and simplifying concepts, making peacekeeping appear to be a way to assess political parties, and emphasizing peacekeeping so it

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<sup>56</sup> Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*, 6-7; and United Nations Association of Canada, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-2007*.

<sup>57</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada’s Peacekeeping Past*, 140.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

becomes more important to the public not only has the potential to influence current readers, but those influenced may also pass on the implications of the media effects through socialization. Additionally, the print media, though not one entity, displays similarities regarding the portrayal of Canadian military operations and the overly positive view of peacekeeping, which has the ability to further influence readers. In terms of a potential explanation to high levels of support for peacekeeping and the lack of informed discussion in Canada related to peacekeeping, print media, as a socializing agent, is a potential factor. As such, not only does print media potentially act as a socializing agent in Canada with regard to peacekeeping, but it may also play a role in the perpetuation of peacekeeping as part of Canadian national identity and the peacekeeping myth, which serve as intervening variables in the theoretical explanatory model and will now be addressed.

### **The Peacekeeping Myth**

Within the theoretical model for this work, the peacekeeping myth serves as an intervening variable between print media and the people. In essence, it acts as a lens that influences the way people see peacekeeping and PSOs. The existence of a peacekeeping myth, supported by scholars such as Maloney, Wagner, and Jefferess and former practitioners, such as MacKenzie, has potentially played an important role in influencing how people think about peacekeeping and the shaping of the peacekeeping narrative in Canada.<sup>59</sup> Two aspects of the peacekeeping myth that are important to the results of this survey are the belief that Canada's involvement in peacekeeping was not born out of national interest or alliances, but altruism and humanitarianism, and the other is that Canada is traditionally a peacekeeping nation.

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<sup>59</sup> Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*; Eric Wagner, "The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War," 45-54; Sean Maloney, "Why Keep the Myth Alive?," 100-102; Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization," 40-46; David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," 709-727; and Lewis MacKenzie, "Canada's Army – Post Peacekeeping," 1-17.

The peacekeeping myth is possibly influential with regards to the results of the survey and the public conceptualization of peacekeeping for two reasons. The first reason is due to the part of the peacekeeping myth that portrays Canada's peacekeeping involvement as purely altruistic and humanitarian in nature. This belief continues to exist even though many have effectively argued that Canada's involvement in peacekeeping during the Cold War was not a policy of liberal internationalism, altruism, or humanitarianism, but a policy of defence of national interests and support for other NATO allies in an attempt to limit Soviet aggression and the outbreak of a larger conflict.<sup>60</sup> The resulting potential impact of this part of the myth is a continued positive perception of peacekeeping due to the misunderstood substantiation for such operations, which is further influenced by the media's tendency to perpetuate some aspects of the peacekeeping myth and to focus on the successes of peacekeeping.<sup>61</sup> The result is that Canadians may see peacekeeping operations in a more positive light and as such, answers to questions related to perceptions of peacekeeping in this research and other surveys and polls could be more positive, despite participants having a limited understanding on the topic.<sup>62</sup> The lower levels of support in this survey compared to others are likely the result of an increased proportion of respondents with military service in the total sample. Explanations as to why these differences exist in those with military service will be explored later in the chapter.

The second aspect of the peacekeeping myth relevant to this survey and peacekeeping and PSOs in Canada is the argument that Canada is a peacekeeping nation and not a warfighting nation. This myth continues to persist despite the fact that throughout most of Cold War there

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<sup>60</sup> Lewis MacKenzie, "Canada's Army – Post Peacekeeping," 1-17; Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means*; and Eric Wagner, "The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War," 45, 53; Matthew Trudgen, "A Canadian Approach: Canada's Cold War Grand Strategy 1945 to 1989," 1-27.

<sup>61</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 111-131.

<sup>62</sup> The assertion that Canadians are generally uniformed about peacekeeping is not only due to the results of this survey, but also from: United Nations Association of Canada's, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-200*, 35.

were more Canadian soldiers deployed close to the inter-German border in defence of Western Europe than there were deployed on UN PSOs, and historically, Canada's involvement in both World Wars, the Boer War, Afghanistan, and others.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, as Jefferess notes, "... aberrations [to the peacekeeping narrative] are marginalized, if not intentionally forgotten, as peacekeeping is reaffirmed as the nation's historical purpose. As a product of nostalgia, peacekeeping functions not simply as a suitable historical past, but as both a tradition (a history) and a longing (values that must be fulfilled)."<sup>64</sup> This is not to say that Canada has not taken part in peacekeeping, but that these do not equate to Canada's commitments to other military efforts previous to and including deployments during the Cold War and beyond. Canada was frequently involved in peacekeeping from the mid-twentieth century onward with the decline starting the mid-1990s. By this time though, PSOs had changed and characterizing most missions as peacekeeping instead of multidimensional or another term would be a misnomer.<sup>65</sup> Looking at the nature of current UN PSOs this is largely true, but not widely understood by the public, which is even supported by major peacekeeping advocates such as, Roland Paris, who asserts that most Canadians are not aware of the changes that have occurred related to peacekeeping since UNFICYP.<sup>66</sup> As such, the issue here is twofold. The first issue is that the public considers Canada as a peacekeeping nation, ignoring its warfighting past and continued involvement throughout the Cold War and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The second is that Canadians are unaware of the changes that have occurred in PSOs in the post-Cold War era and advocate for peacekeeping despite not understanding it. This stands a potential explanation as to the continually high support

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<sup>63</sup> Lewis MacKenzie, "Canada's Army – Post Peacekeeping," 4.

<sup>64</sup> David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," 712.

<sup>65</sup> See pg. 22-24.

<sup>66</sup> Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era." 303. See also, Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 23.

levels for increased peacekeeping, peacekeeping as part of Canadian identity, peacekeeping a high priority to Canadians, and peacekeeping as a role for the CAF in this survey and others.

The peacekeeping myth might have resulted in a misunderstanding in the frequency of Canada's involvement, Canada's history with peacekeeping, and the substantiation for Canada's involvement with peacekeeping. Sean Maloney argues that, "[t]here are inherent dangers in an unhealthy adherence to mythology. Mythology distorts. Mythology pigeon-holes. Mythology produces blinders, it limits action."<sup>67</sup> The peacekeeping myth is a possible explanation for high levels of support for peacekeeping, despite misunderstanding in this research and other polls and surveys because it acts as a lens that affects the way the public thinks of peacekeeping and PSOs, which has been constructed as part of the socialization process. In the model it is considered alongside the incorporation of peacekeeping in Canadian identity, which will now be addressed.

### **Canadian National Identity**

Like the peacekeeping myth, the incorporation of peacekeeping into Canadian national identity serves as a lens within the potential theoretical explanatory model because it possibly skews the way Canadians think about and understand peacekeeping and PSOs. As previously discussed, there is little debate as to whether peacekeeping is a part of the Canadian national identity, as the acknowledgement is present in opinion polls, the media, and numerous symbols in Canada, such as currency, holidays, and literature.<sup>68</sup> Canadian identity is a difficult issue due to the country's history, diversity, and relationship with the United States. Some argue that, "[p]art of the mythology of what it means to be Canadian is bound to Canada's status as a peacekeeping, multilateral nation. Canada's relationship with the [United States] is also central to its national identity, as Canada has historically attempted to carve a collective national identity that is unique

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<sup>67</sup> Sean Maloney, "From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization," 41.

<sup>68</sup> David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," 709-710; See also pg. 17-19.

and separate from that of its powerful neighbour to the south.”<sup>69</sup> Focussing on peacekeeping as a means for Canadians to differentiate themselves from the US is not a new phenomenon and some argue that the Canadian belief in its altruistic peacekeeping history is an expression of “Canadian exceptionalism.”<sup>70</sup>

The survey results from this work and others also confirm that Canadians do, in fact, see peacekeeping as part of Canada’s national identity and consider it a source of pride and Canada’s best contribution to the world.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, the survey has shown that many are not aware of the UN definitions, do not differentiate between types of operations, and are not aware of how frequently Canada has been involved in such operations. As noted in the previous section, Canadian identity is complex, the country is relatively young and regularly trying to distinguish itself from its southern neighbour, which is demonstrated by Jefferess who contends that, “... Canada’s peacekeeping identity [is] invested in both a ... national becoming and a desire for distinction.”<sup>72</sup> The possibility that Canadians cling to peacekeeping as part of how they define themselves, despite a lack of knowledge or understanding, may indicate this.

Though both proponents and opponents of the peacekeeping myth do not dispute that peacekeeping is part of Canadian identity, they do dispute whether its influence is a benefit or a detriment. Walter Dorn, a major proponent of peacekeeping and passionate supporter of Canada’s altruistic substantiation for peacekeeping argues that, “[t]he concept of *peacekeeping* is too deeply ingrained in the public consciousness and too valuable to dismiss.”<sup>73</sup> Though one does not need to debate the ingratiation of the term within the public sphere, there is much need for

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<sup>69</sup> Loleen Berdahl and Tracey Raney, “Being Canadian in the World,” 999.

<sup>70</sup> Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*, 2; See also: Eric Wagner, “The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War,” 46; Sean Maloney, “Why Keep the Myth Alive?,” 101.

<sup>71</sup> Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *Globe and Mail Research on the New Canada (2003)*; and The Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2012*, 48.

<sup>72</sup> David Jefferess, “Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper,” 711.

<sup>73</sup> Walter Dorn, “Peacekeeping Then, Now and Always,” *Canadian Military Journal* 6, no. 4 (Winter 2005-2006): 106.

debate surrounding the value of such a term when those polled did not differentiate from any other kind of UN operation, nor did they understand what it specifically entailed, and when some have noted that the concept is misrepresented and overrepresented in the media.<sup>74</sup> It has been argued “... that peacekeeping is understood by very few in Canada and by the media in general. It can also be said that general knowledge of Canada’s contribution to UN peacekeeping remains limited and somewhat confused.”<sup>75</sup> The survey conducted for this research supports this assertion and the peacekeeping myth and peacekeeping’s importance to Canadian national identity, as a lens that impacts the way people see and conceive of peacekeeping and PSOs, serve as potential explanations.

As a result of the focus and importance of peacekeeping within Canada’s national identity, a potential misunderstanding of CAF’s role has emerged.<sup>76</sup> It has been said that, “[t]he peacekeeping myth dominates discussions of Canada’s post-war military past, and continues to confuse debates over Canada’s military future.”<sup>77</sup> The statement holds some truth, especially when considered in conjunction with the issues surrounding peacekeeping in the Canadian print media. Its effects are also prevalent in the survey, in that 40.3% of those polled for this study believed that peacekeeping was a primary role of the CAF. This is mind, peacekeeping’s incorporation into Canadian national identity potentially influences the way Canadians think about peacekeeping or PSOs and the CAF. In doing so, like the peacekeeping myth, it acts as a lens that influences peoples’ understanding and perception of PSOs, which may have been a significant factor for those without military service in the survey results.

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<sup>74</sup> United Nations Association of Canada, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-2007*, 35.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Eric Wagner, “The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War,” 46.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 48.

## Military Socialization and Military Culture

Military culture is the final intervening variable in the potential theoretical explanatory model and it is influential when considering the results of Groups A and AB, as it serves as a potential lens that influences the way those with military service think and feel about PSOs. It is important to specifically Groups A and AB because they have undergone the socialization process in a military environment. A report from the Center for Strategic and International Studies, which addresses military culture in the American military, contends that “[m]ilitary culture is an amalgam of values, customs, traditions, and their philosophical underpinnings that, over time, has created a shared institutional ethos.”<sup>78</sup> If this study’s potential theoretical model is correct and peacekeeping is part of Canada’s national identity, the print media influences how it is perceived, and the peacekeeping myth clouds the historical accuracy of how much peacekeeping Canada has done and its motives, why then do those with military experience see peacekeeping differently? A number of works discuss how the military perceives peacekeeping compared to their civilian counterparts, how the military would pursue such operations differently, and some go as far as to say that “some soldiers loathe and abhor the term [peacekeeping].”<sup>79</sup> Broesder et al. contend that “... after military socialization the military role will dominate all other roles the soldiers used to play, and values and goals of the organization will have been incorporated into one’s identity.”<sup>80</sup> Additionally, Winslow states that despite involvement in PSOs, “... war fighting still determines the central beliefs, values and complex symbolic formations that define Army culture. This ethos does not resonate well in post-modern

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<sup>78</sup> Center for Strategic and International Studies, *American Military Culture in the Twenty-First Century* (Washington: The CSIS Press, 2000), xviii.

<sup>79</sup> Lane Anker, “Peacekeeping and Public Opinion,” 29; James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 78; Walter Dorn, “Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?,” 22.

<sup>80</sup> Wendy Broesder et al., “Can Soldiers Combine Swords and Ploughshares? The Construction of the Warrior-Peacekeeper Role Identity Survey (WPRIS),” 522.

Canadian society.”<sup>81</sup> This study contends that military culture has potentially resulted in the effects of the peacekeeping myth and peacekeeping as part of Canadian national identity being subordinated to the influence of military culture for those with military service and as such it becomes their primary lens. This serves as a potential explanation to the differences observed in the questions regarding peacekeeping and national identity, whether Canada should take part in more peacekeeping, and peacekeeping as a role for the CAF, between those with and without military service.

The military shares its own informal and formal culture much like the rest of Canadians, but more specifically, “[the military culture is] one characterized by traditions of study, discipline, hardihood, service and diversity...”<sup>82</sup> The CAF is a proud organization that is a representation of the society that it serves, however the Canadian public has largely been disinterested in its military, with a lack of understanding of the CAF’s operational involvement, and the complexities of modern conflicts.<sup>83</sup> In the Canadian context, “[i]t is not commonly the desire of Canadian soldiers to be Praetorian Guardsmen, but it is common for Canadian society tacitly, even if unintentionally, to assign that role to Canadian soldiers.”<sup>84</sup> A potential explanation to the differences observed between those with and without military service to questions that the primary role of the CAF and the question about UN mandates and missions being peacekeeping is military culture. This is potentially due to the primacy of the military culture lens over the peacekeeping myth lens, which is reflective of the assertion by Broesder et al. that after military socialization, military values and roles will become dominant. Though the assertion that CAF members were primarily peacekeepers may have been less prevalent at the height of Canada’s

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<sup>81</sup> Donna Winslow, “Canadian Society and Its Army,” 19.

<sup>82</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 10.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

UN troop contributions, the shifting narrative within the military during Canada's involvement in Afghanistan made the issue more prevalent.<sup>85</sup>

Another issue is the fact that the roles and missions that militaries take part in affect their culture. Since militaries are primarily warfighting entities, warfighting is ingrained in their culture and how they think about conflict.<sup>86</sup> This warrior mentality or warrior ethos is therefore present in those with military experience. Similarly, military culture puts an emphasis on famous battles and events in its history, such as: Vimy Ridge, Dieppe, D-Day, and the medals and stories attached to those events.<sup>87</sup> PSOs are not wars, though they may at times be similar, and the end states, goals, and perceived success of the two can be at opposite sides of the spectrum; especially in traditional UNFICYP or UNMEE peacekeeping type missions.<sup>88</sup> Even at the highest echelons of the CAF, there has been an effort to illustrate to the Canadian public that the CAF is a warfighting entity, which was evident in 2005 by Canada's then Chief of Defence Staff General Rick Hillier who "proclaimed that the primary aim of the Canadian Forces is to protect Canada's national interests ... the job of Canadian soldiers is 'to kill people.'"<sup>89</sup> This is not only a resistance to the peacekeeping myth, but an illustration of what is present in Canada's military culture. Thus, "... the much higher combat component of the Afghanistan mission made it more consistent with soldiers' own professional values ...," as opposed to peacekeeping or PSOs, which had commonly been the role attributed to the CAF by the public.<sup>90</sup> This is not to say that the military is incapable or resistant to conduct PSOs. Some even argue that the CAF, with experiences in peacekeeping from the 1950s on, is more accepting of taking part in PSOs than

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<sup>85</sup> Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era," 282-283; and Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 28.

<sup>86</sup> Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective*, 115; Christopher Dandeker and James Gow, "Military Culture and Strategic Peacekeeping," 58.

<sup>87</sup> Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 106.

<sup>88</sup> Christopher Dandeker and James Gow, "Military Culture and Strategic Peacekeeping," 74.

<sup>89</sup> Cited in: David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," 709.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Kasurak, "Army Culture(s)," 180.

their American counterparts because of their comparative amount of past involvement and slight differences in military cultures.<sup>91</sup> Ultimately, the possibility of resistance to the peacekeeping myth due to the primacy of the military culture lens and a military culture that portrays the CAF as primarily warfighters, are both potential explanations as to the differences in survey results between those with and without military service. A way to close the potential gap between military culture and less combat-oriented PSOs would be adapting the military conceptualization of "... [the] end-state, the use of force, flexibility in the chain of command, the ideas of neutrality and impartiality, the interaction of military and political actors as well as the interactions between military and non-military actors..."<sup>92</sup>

As mentioned in the previous section on socialization, agents' past experiences and beliefs are an important aspect of the socialization process. In terms of the hierarchical nature of the military, the senior non-commissioned members and officers who teach and lead new members are the ones socializing those within the military. The CAF has had a number of negative experiences in PSOs since the end of the Cold War, such as Rwanda, UNPROFOR, and Somalia. These experiences on operations and interactions with people or groups serve as potential explanations for more negative perceptions of peacekeeping and PSOs from those with military experience.

The failures on behalf of the international community during the genocide in Rwanda and massacre in Srebrenica, in addition to the actions of Canadian soldiers during Somalia are without a doubt, negative events in the history of PSOs. Given that these are experiences and memories of those with military service, they are likely to influence the opinions of those with military experience and therefore potentially influence their perceptions of peacekeeping and PSOs as a whole. This is not to say that the military does not see peacekeeping as important, "...

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<sup>91</sup> Allan D. English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective*, 115.

<sup>92</sup> Christopher Dandeker and James Gow, "Military Culture and Strategic Peacekeeping," 58.

the average soldier sees UN peacekeeping as an important task, he or she is reluctant to see it become the primary task ... they also fear dangerous missions where they are ill equipped or otherwise unable to carry out the difficult mandate of keeping the peace.”<sup>93</sup> This inability to act could be the result of insufficient support from the international community and ROEs, like in Rwanda and Bosnia.<sup>94</sup> There were numerous requests by states to have more robust ROEs and support during PSOs, which was outlined in *The Brahimi Report*.<sup>95</sup> Some of the recommendations from the report were adopted, but continued declining involvement in UN PSOs since the 1990s by Canadians means that there are fewer of those both in and out of uniform that have served in these types of operations. This means that many have not experienced the changes that have occurred. Furthermore, there have been far fewer Canadian soldiers deployed on PSOs in the last decade, which means that there is less experience and stories of such operations to be passed on, which in turn have been replaced with experiences like Afghanistan. As a result, many with military service could have negative experience or perceptions of peacekeeping due to past missions and the lack of deployments on new missions perpetuates the warfighting tradition as opposed to a peacekeeping tradition, which is already more accepted within the military culture.

In addition to failures within missions themselves and the concern over ROEs are the attitudes of those that work alongside military members on PSOs. It has been said that the CAF faces prejudice or distrust from NGOs at home and abroad regarding their capacity to effectively conduct PSOs.<sup>96</sup> “Ironically, [military and civilians working within PSOs] often seem to agree:

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<sup>93</sup> Walter Dorn, “Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?,” 23.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.; and Alex Bellamy, “The Great Beyond: Rethinking Military Responses to New Wars and Complex Emergencies,” 39.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> James Arbuckle provides a lengthy explanation of the issues officers face while on PSOs when dealing with both NGOs and other civilians working on the same operations. This is largely due to a misunderstanding of cultures, roles, and terminology that results in a distrust between the civilian and

[peacekeeping] is no job for a soldier,” but one that has been repeatedly assigned to CAF members.<sup>97</sup> The different cultures and social influences within NGOs and the military can lead to friction on operations and distrust between those in and out of uniform. These are a different kind of negative experience than those of soldiers conducting operations on the ground, but none the less impact the way those who have experienced this perceive PSOs and their experiences. Considering both the potential negative experiences between military and non-military on operations and the failures during previous operations, there is a reasonable expectation that these negative events have found their way into military thinking of PSOs. As such, they also serve as potential explanations as to the lower levels of support for an increased peacekeeping role and how those with military service perceive peacekeeping as part of national identity.

After considering why there were differences between respondent groups, it is also important to consider why there were no statistically significant differences between the participants with and without military service and their ability to select the correct PSO definitions; especially given that CAF members are generally those involved in such operations. A potential explanation to the lack of statistically significant differences between the groups is education, or more specifically, a lack thereof. Even though military members do receive some training related to peacekeeping, “the CAF provides less than a quarter of the peacekeeping training activities that it did a decade ago.”<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, “the decline in peacekeeping training and education in the CAF is readily apparent when looking at the primary training institutions that prepare Canadian officers for service.”<sup>99</sup> This decline is not surprising given the tempo of the

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military sides of the operations.

James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 78. See also: Christopher Dandeker and James Gow, “Military Culture and Strategic Peacekeeping,” 74.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>98</sup> Walter Dorn and Joshua Libben, *Unprepared for Peace: The Decline of Canadian Peacekeeping Training (and What to Do About It)*, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

CAF over the past decade with Canada's involvement in Afghanistan and an increased focus on NATO or alliance-based operations as opposed to peacekeeping itself.<sup>100</sup> This is not to say that training and education related to alliance-style operations is not valuable, nor that there are not clear similarities or transferrable lessons between some types of PSOs and the ISAF mission in Afghanistan. This is merely to state that there has been a reduction in peacekeeping training for CAF members throughout the 2000s and it is a potential explanation as to why those with military service were not statistically better at selecting the correct definitions for PSOs. Furthermore, the training model for the CAF has put primacy on members being soldiers first and training for other types of operations, like PSOs, on a case by case basis, which means training related to conventional operations is representative of what most with military service would be exposed to.<sup>101</sup> The issues surrounding access and complexity of the PSO definitions explains the overall low rate of correct responses, which exist in both the military and civilian communities and will be covered later in the chapter.

Military culture, past experiences in peacekeeping, and peacekeeping education are potential explanations as to why there is a gap between the public and the military regarding understanding and perceptions of peacekeeping. Socialization is the process by which those with military experience are exposed to these factors and integrate the norms, values, and beliefs into those previously held; with those obtained through military socialization taking a primary role. This is not to say that the military does not see a role for peacekeeping, but that they do not see peacekeeping as the primary role for the CAF. Though education has declined, the military is "... [a] cultur[e] orientated towards the study of their profession," and although it has been focused on conventional and asymmetric conflicts, and not peacekeeping for almost two decades, the

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Howard Coombs, "Soldiers First": Preparing the Canadian Army for Twenty-First Century Peace Operations," Draft submitted to *International Journal*.

military is the most likely organization to retain its capacity to conduct PSOs despite the short break.<sup>102</sup> Echoing the early assertion by Dag Hammarskjöld about soldiers in peacekeeping, James Arbuckle stated that, “[t]o ensure the success of existing peace-support operations, armed forces with the ethos and physique of war-fighting soldiers have to be recruited and trained. No-one else can be relied on if peacekeeping suddenly regresses into civil war, and studies has shown no-one else get the necessary respect from local people in the immediate aftermath of a bloody conflict.”<sup>103</sup> Referring back to the theoretical model, a potential explanation as to why some argue and this study has observed that “Canadian soldiers feel less enthusiastic toward peacekeeping than the Canadian public ...”<sup>104</sup> is the primacy of the influence of the military culture lens over the other two.

### **UN PSO Definitions**

Although not within the potential theoretical explanatory model, the UN PSO definitions and general terminology surrounding peacekeeping are another potential explanation to the low rate of correct responses in the survey and overall confusion surrounding differences between types of PSOs. In order to attempt to explain the low rate of responses across all groups and why there was no statistically significant difference between groups in each of the PSO definition questions, one must first look at the definitions themselves. As explained in the literature review, the definitions selected for this work were from the UN DPKO’s Glossary of Terms and *The Capstone Doctrine*, but they are just one set of definitions for PSO terms among many from a large selection of potential sources.<sup>105</sup> There are three factors to consider when looking at the

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<sup>102</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 152; Walter Dorn and Joshua Libben, *Unprepared for Peace: The Decline of Canadian Peacekeeping Training (and What to Do About It)*.

<sup>103</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 75.

<sup>104</sup> Walter Dorn, “Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?,” 22.

<sup>105</sup> See pg. 10-11.

PSO definitions, which assist in potentially explaining both the low rate of correct responses and the inability to reject the null hypothesis for statistical significance between respondent groups. The three factors are: constant shift and debate surrounding United Nations terms, the difficulty and complexity of definitions, and the number of available definitions for each of the PSO terms.

The repeated shift and debate surrounding definitions within the UN is a potential explanatory factor as to why all participants had difficulty selecting the correct terms. The genesis of PSO definitions from the UN was previously outlined in the literature review, and the numerous changes since Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace* are a potential explanation for the low rate of UN-consistent responses.<sup>106</sup> The definitions were modified or the terms were explained in a different manner in each *An Agenda for Peace*, *The Brahimi Report*, *The Capstone Doctrine*, and some are again different in the current DPKO's Glossary of Terms. Similarly, not all of the five types of PSOs outlined in *The Capstone Doctrine* are even present in the DPKO's Glossary of Terms, but are present in some of the previous works, which again causes more ambiguity as to not only what are the official definitions from the UN, but where to find them. As previously noted, *The Capstone Doctrine* states that, "Official United Nations definitions are being considered in the context of the ongoing terminology deliberations of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations."<sup>107</sup> This identifies that even the current definitions in the DPKO's Glossary are subject to change, based on deliberations, which again causes the potential for more definitions being presented or current definitions being changed. Given that research or any works related to PSOs released between the publication of *An Agenda for Peace* and *The Capstone Doctrine* could be using different UN definitions for PSOs and the further potential for ongoing changes, there is a risk that the same

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<sup>106</sup> See pg. 11-15.

<sup>107</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*, 100.

terms may be being used with different connotations or implications, which could lead to confusion.

As such, there is the potential that participants had difficulty because of the sheer number of definitions for PSOs from the UN in the previous decades. The gap between UN definitions and those chosen by academics and others can be vast. For example, George Melnyk states that “peacemaking, refers to a military action that is robust and intense. It generates conflict and combat until such time as there is a military resolution.”<sup>108</sup> This is an immensely different definition than the UN’s peacemaking definition of “[a] diplomatic process of brokering an end to conflict, principally through mediation and negotiation [sic].”<sup>109</sup> Although his definition is likely the response of ISAF’s mission in Afghanistan often being referred to as peacemaking, it is nonetheless far from the definition of peacemaking established by the UN. Similarly, academics, some practitioners, and the media alike refer to operations in conflicts that have yet to receive a cease-fire or agreement between factions as peacekeeping, despite it not aligning with the definition. The use of the established terminology and definitions by the UN would alleviate much of the confusion and simplify the debate surrounding PSOs. Similarly, though policy-related, the UN could simplify their definitions and clearly differentiate terms in order to facilitate a better exchange and discussion of ideas.

Aside from issues of complexity, ambiguity, and similarity, there is also the fact that there are a substantial number of peacekeeping definitions available. As noted in the literature review, a vast number of definitions exist and it is not entirely clear which are the authoritative definitions without delving into a substantial number of documents.<sup>110</sup> For example, though *The Capstone Doctrine* does identify the UN DPKO’s Glossary of Terms as the authority for PSO

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<sup>108</sup> George Melnyk, “Canada and Afghanistan: Peacemaking as Counter-Insurgency Warfare: A Study of Political Rhetoric,” *Peace Research* 43, no. 1 (2011): 9.

<sup>109</sup> UN DPKO. “Glossary of UN Peacekeeping Terms.”

<sup>110</sup> See pg. 10-15.

definitions, it does not do so until the very end of the document.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the definition of peacekeeping is neither present on the UN DPKO's "What is peacekeeping?" page of their website nor is the UN DPKO Glossary of Terms specifically referred to on the webpage.<sup>112</sup> The result of the lack of reference to the authoritative UN definitions and the difficulty accessing the proper definitions without previous knowledge or extensive research has two implications. First, people are provided with more accessible, but less authoritative definitions and second, there is a lack of clarity as to what the correct definitions are, which leads to a lack of common terminology and understanding. Looking towards texts that focus on PSOs, such as Bellamy and Williams' *Understanding Peacekeeping*, the authors identify a number of existing definitions both from within and outside the UN and still choose to develop their own definition of "peace operations" for use in their book.<sup>113</sup> Although this is understandable as a means to limit and set bounds for their argument, it runs the risk of causing confusion; as peace operations, like peacekeeping and the other PSOs, have numerous other definitions created by academics, practitioners, and organizations.

Another problem with terms related to PSOs is their similarity to one another. At the outset of PSOs, there was largely no distinction made between the different types of UN operations and as such, all were put under the peacekeeping umbrella.<sup>114</sup> That changed as peacekeeping developed and now there are a host of different operations other than peacekeeping used by the UN, individual states, or regional organizations. This thesis has opted to use PSO as the term to represent peacekeeping, peacebuilding, peace enforcement, peacemaking, and conflict

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<sup>111</sup> UN DPKO and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*, 100.

<sup>112</sup> United Nations, "What is peacekeeping?," accessed: 26/1/2017, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml>.

<sup>113</sup> Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*, 16-18.

<sup>114</sup> Sean Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*, 6; and Inis Claude Jr., "United Nations Use of Military Force," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 7, no. 2 (June 1963): 117-129.

prevention, but other groups or states use other terms such as, peace operations or peacekeeping operations.<sup>115</sup> The UN for example uses peacekeeping operations (PKO), which is defined as “noncombat military operations undertaken by outside forces with the consent of all major belligerent parties and designed to monitor and facilitate the implementation of an existing truce agreement in support of diplomatic efforts to reach a political settlement; 'PKOs' covers: peace-keeping forces, observer missions and mixed operations,” but that term is exceptionally similar to simply peacekeeping and could cause confusion between an individual peacekeeping mission and peacekeeping operations, which could be two separate things or at the very least, not the same.<sup>116</sup> Similarly, it would not include peace enforcement or conflict prevention.

Throughout the research a comment frequently received was why the definitions used for the survey had been chosen. A number of participants commented that they were both complex and verbose. Furthermore, others mentioned that they were unable to find any of the definitions that were chosen using a simple online search engine. This speaks to the previously mentioned lack of reference to the UN DPKO Glossary on the DPKO website, the “What is peacekeeping?” page, which makes no reference to the authoritative UN PSO definitions, and the fact that the reference to the UN definitions is found in one of their doctrinal publications, as opposed to an easily visible link on their website. The length and difficulty of the definitions is potentially partly responsible for the number of survey responses declining from 309 to 268 after the first page of definition questions, which represents the largest decline between survey pages once the personal information had been completed.

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<sup>115</sup> PSO is also the term used by the CAF when discussing a multitude of UN peace-related operations. Walter Dorn and Joshua Libben, *Unprepared for Peace: The Decline of Canadian Peacekeeping Training (and What to Do About It)* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternative and The Rideau Institute, 2016), 5.

<sup>116</sup> UN DPKO. “Glossary of UN Peacekeeping Terms.”

The complexity of PSO definitions, the similarity of PSO terms, and the number and changing nature of definitions for peacekeeping and PSOs available both from the UN and other sources, are all potential explanations as to why no statistical significance was found when analysing the rate of UN-consistent definition responses between groups. James Arbuckle states that, “[p]eacekeeping doctrine is notoriously imprecise, and the frequent vacuums, lacunae, duplications, and misunderstandings encountered by students and practitioners of peace operations are themselves a major obstacle in a cross-cultural communications exercise which is already complex enough.”<sup>117</sup> This statement not only holds true with respect to the results of the survey, but also the similarity of terms and the fact that not all PSOs conducted by the UN are even found within their own glossary. As such, despite the fact that definitions for PSOs do not fit within the potential explanatory model, they serve as another possible explanation to the low rate of survey results consistent with UN definitions and the general confusion that others have noted concerning PSO understanding.

## **Conclusion**

Referring back to the potential theoretical explanatory model, socialization, including that experienced by those with military service, may play an important role in the understanding of PSOs and peacekeeping in Canada; including the high levels of support despite lower levels of understanding. Canadian print media, as an agent of socialization, is an actor within the socialization process, which through priming, framing, and agenda setting may increase the level of importance placed on peacekeeping in Canada and potentially contributes to the confusion of terms through using existing schemas related to peacekeeping in the framing process. The Canadian print media may play a role in perpetuating the peacekeeping myth, overemphasizes the role of peacekeeping in Canadian identity, mischaracterizes Canada’s peacekeeping

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<sup>117</sup> James Arbuckle, *Military Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Operations: No Job for a Soldier?*, 15.

involvement, and frames CAF operations as peacekeeping, which could further complicate issues surrounding the understanding and the realities of peacekeeping in Canada.

As intervening variables or lenses, the peacekeeping myth, Canadian national identity, and military culture are potential explanations to the statistically significant differences between respondent groups because of their effect on individuals' understanding and beliefs. The peacekeeping myth mischaracterizes the justification for Canada's involvement and the frequency of that involvement with regards to other operations conducted by the CAF. Canadian national identity has clung to these concepts as a way to differentiate itself as a nation from the United States and because it places the country's actions in a positive light (ie. altruistic), as opposed to *realpolitik*. Lastly, the UN definitions themselves are potential explanations for the lack of statistically significant differences between respondent groups from this survey due to their complexity, similarity, accessibility, and the number of definitions and terms available.

The potential theoretical explanatory model for this study is just one interpretation of how the factors could interact to influence peacekeeping and PSO understanding and perceptions in Canada. That said, one thing that is evident, is that in this study military service had a statistically significant impact on the perception of peacekeeping and the ability of respondents to differentiate any operation with a UN mandate to promote peace security and stability from peacekeeping. This is potentially the result of military culture and negative past experiences. The lack of differences between respondent groups with and without military service regarding definitions and the frequency of Canadian operations is potentially linked to declining peacekeeping education within the CAF and the definitions themselves, in addition to the same issues faced by their non-military counterparts.

It is now clear where the differences between respondent groups lie in this survey and the general patterns have been established in the larger body of Canadian surveys and polls related to

peacekeeping. Furthermore, the potential explanations for these differences have also been explored. Thus, the next logical step is to conclude with the potential implications of a uninformed peacekeeping debate in Canada and the societal gap observed between those with and without military service.

### 3.1 Conclusion

At the beginning of this work a number of questions were posed, which can now be re-examined. Using Group AB as a critical incident sample for questions related to definitions and Canadian involvement, valid inferences can be made to the general public; although a larger scale study could provide a more accurate result, this is an accepted limitation of the study.

Furthermore, against the total Canadian population this study still results in a margin of error of  $\pm 6.04\%$  with a confidence level of 95 out of 100, which is not unreasonable given the scale and scope of this research. First, can Canadians identify the different types of PSOs as defined by the United Nations? The answer to this question is generally no as the average rate of responses consistent with the UN definitions was below 40% for each of the different types of operations and a mere 22% for peacemaking. This was not only found across the survey as a whole, but even the critical incident group (Group AB), did not outperform the others in a statistically significant manner. The lack of understanding between the different types of operations is also illustrated by the fact that 79.7% of those polled believed that any mission with a UN mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict was peacekeeping. Potential explanations for this are the UN definitions themselves and the impact of the theoretical model.

Second, can Canadians identify the number of operations Canada has been involved in since the end of the Cold War? The response to this question is again no, as the rate of correct responses for this question was 14%. Again, even the differences between the critical incident sample and the others was not statistically significant; even though it did outperform them. The potential explanations for this are similar to that of the question above. Despite a misunderstanding of what peacekeeping and PSOs are and how often Canada has been involved in such operations, how supportive of PSOs are Canadians and how do they see them in terms of Canadian identity and as a role for the CAF? In this survey, and others, respondents have been

supportive of an increased peacekeeping role for Canada and tie peacekeeping to Canadian national identity. Continued high levels of support for peacekeeping, despite being misinformed on the topic, are again related to how peacekeeping has been integrated into Canadian thinking and a general misunderstanding of what it entails today. Furthermore, an almost equal number of respondents ( $\approx 40\%$ ) believed peacekeeping was a primary role of the CAF and although less believed it should be a primary role in the follow-on question, still 33.71% agreed or strongly agreed it should be. The theoretical model and the UN definitions again serve as a potential explanation.

Lastly, do factors such as military service, education in fields related to PSOs, or other factors, influence understanding, support, and perception of PSOs? Firstly, at no point could the null hypothesis be rejected to indicate that there was statistical significance between the responses of groups B and C when tested separately from groups A and AB in any of the questions. This indicates that education in Political Studies/Science or related fields did not result in a statistically significant difference in the results of the questions posed in this study. Additionally, none of the questions related to the definitions of PSOs or Canadian involvement in UN PSOs since 1991 indicated statistical significance between the respondent groups. That said, questions related the CAF's role in peacekeeping, peacekeeping and national identity, whether Canada should take part in more peacekeeping, and whether any mission with a UN mandate for peace and security was peacekeeping, resulted in a rejection of the null hypothesis with confidence levels approaching 100 out of 100 on each question. This indicates that perceptions of Canada's and the CAF's role in peacekeeping and its role in Canadian identity are affected by military service. The effects of military socialization and culture, which includes education and past experiences, are a potential explanation for these differences.

In regards to peacekeeping, Lane Anker stated that "... some soldiers loathe and abhor the term, others debate definitions, and academics deconstruct the mythology."<sup>1</sup> The potential explanations surrounding the responses of the survey for this study and other surveys and polls ring true in this statement. The differences between those with and without military experience in regard to support for an increased role in peacekeeping for Canada and the CAF is the consequence of negative past experiences, declining peacekeeping education, and a potential misalignment with the larger military culture. The statistically significant difference delineating any operation with a UN mandate and peacekeeping between those same groups may be born out of a realization within military culture that stability and peace can be brought about in different ways than just UN-authorized peacekeeping.

The debate surrounding definitions continues and likely will well into the future. Though policy related, a well-established clear and concise set of definitions from the UN could assist in the alleviation of this issue and could mitigate decrease the influence of factors found in the potential theoretical model as well. However, many have and will continue to create their own definitions to suit their needs and this is evident in the sheer number of definitions available and the vastly different scope of those definitions. The debate surrounding the mythological nature of peacekeeping in Canada and the perpetuation of that mythology will continue in both the academic and journalistic fields as well. A potential avenue for further research includes a large-scale investigation into the potential gap between support levels for ongoing operations compared to the support for concepts such as global peace and security or UN PSOs as a whole.

Many works have argued that those with military service have a more negative view of peacekeeping than their civilian counterparts and that the general public is largely misinformed regarding peacekeeping. With the exception of one poll regarding Canadian overseas operations,

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<sup>1</sup> Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 29.

these assertions have been largely anecdotal, though not necessarily inaccurate.<sup>2</sup> This work aims to at least partially fill the substantial gap within the literature that addresses whether Canadians are informed regarding PSOs definitions, Canadian involvement in PSOs, and whether the perceptions of those with and without military service are different. This has been done by establishing an observed statistical difference in perceptions between those with and without military service and measuring the ability of participants to select UN definitions, the frequency of Canada's involvement, and differentiate any operation with a UN mandate to promote peace, security, and stability or bring about an end to conflict from peacekeeping.

So why does this all matter? There are a number of implications as a result of an uninformed debate about peacekeeping in Canada, if Canadian thinking about peacekeeping is grounded in mythology, and if those with and without military service have differing opinions on PSOs. The first is a misunderstanding of the realities of 21<sup>st</sup> century PSOs. Though understanding the realities of 21<sup>st</sup> century PSOs is not an aspect of the theoretical model itself, the impact of the model is a potential explanation as to why Canadians are not aware of the realities of modern PSOs. This is due to the influence of the process (socialization), agents (print media being the one measurable agent), and lenses (the peacekeeping myth and Canadian national identity) influencing the understanding of PSOs for the people (the dependent variable). The layperson reading current academic works and some statements from the Minister of National Defence may be confused as to why the terms PSO or peace operations are being used instead of simply peacekeeping. There are a number of reasons for this, including shifting definitions and modern terminology in national and international doctrine, but a key reason is the nature of PSOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. PSOs are more complex, demanding, and larger in scale and scope than they have

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<sup>2</sup> See: Steven Brown, Duncan McDowell, and Adam Parker, *Canada Day Poll, 2003*. This survey found that only 40.5% of participants could name 2 operations that the CAF had been involved in since 1990, with another 30.7 percent not able to name any operations.

ever been.<sup>3</sup> Not only is it already difficult to change the image that Canadians have of peacekeeping in their minds due to the effects of the media framing, priming, and agenda setting, and the role of peacekeeping in Canadian national identity, but “Canada’s peacekeeping mythology functions ... through nostalgia.”<sup>4</sup> As such, Canadians may think of peacekeeping when presented with questions about UN operations and the history of the CAF, even if it is potentially not accurate. Jefferess contends that “Canadians often group any CF activity overseas under the rubric of ‘peacekeeping,’ even full-combat operations such as the 1999 Kosovo War.”<sup>5</sup> A general misunderstanding of the realities of PSOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including who is generally involved and what the operations demand, serves as a potential explanation as to why the Canadians are so supportive of peacekeeping or security as a concept, compared to actual ongoing military operations.

Sean Maloney argues that, “[t]here is no more ‘peacekeeping’ per se, though there was a minor exception when Ethiopia and Eritrea requested a classic interpositional force in 1999-2000.”<sup>6</sup> Looking at the nature of current UN PSOs this is largely true, but not widely understood by the public. The belief that the public is misinformed is even supported by major peacekeeping advocates such as, Roland Paris, who asserts that most Canadians are not aware of the changes that have occurred related to peacekeeping since UNFICYP.<sup>7</sup> This gap is quite substantial in terms of what people expect peacekeeping is today, as the type of operations that the Intervention Brigade of MONUSCO is conducting compared to the interpositional timeframe of UNFICYP are vastly different, as one is was a traditional interpositional force and the other is conducting combined arms operations against rebel groups.

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<sup>3</sup> See pg. 22-24.

<sup>4</sup> David Jefferess, “Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper,” 711.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>6</sup> Sean Maloney, “From Myth to Reality Check; From Peacekeeping to Stabilization,” 45-46.

<sup>7</sup> Roland Paris, “Are Canadians still Liberal Internationalists? Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the Harper Era.” 303. See also, Lane Anker, “Peacekeeping and Public Opinion,” 23.

Another potential gap is not only the mandates or missions themselves, but also what entities are taking part in PSOs. The EU, the African Union, NATO, and other regional organizations are regularly conducting peace operations abroad and often alongside or in conjunction with UN missions.<sup>8</sup> These regional organization missions allow for states or groups of states to make more specialized contributions with a greater chance of working alongside states with similar doctrine, procedures, and terminology.<sup>9</sup> This provides an opportunity to achieve better results with less because of commonality and pre-established arrangements, as opposed to the uncertainty that can come from working with countries within the UN.<sup>10</sup> However some argue that regional organization missions weaken the abilities of UN missions.<sup>11</sup> Others, such as Walter Dorn, are somewhat undecided on the issue. He stated that "... the choice between NATO and UN [operations] is not vital. What matters most is the operations is UN-authorized, that lives are being saved, that suffering is being reduced, and that peace is being restored[.]" but he has also however critiqued Canada's operations in Afghanistan, which had a UN mandate and stated a strong preference for UN operations.<sup>12</sup> What all of this illustrates is that there is a divide in the understanding of 21<sup>st</sup> century PSOs not only in the media and mainstream Canadian thinking, but also a substantial gap between scholars and practitioners on the issue.

The general support for peacekeeping as a concept is well-established, but the misunderstanding of the realities, risks, and types of modern PSOs has led to a disconnect between peacekeeping as a concept and ongoing UN or regional organization PSOs. Lane Anker illustrates a gap between studies that show strong support for Canada contributing to global peace

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<sup>8</sup> Alexandru Balas, "It Takes Two (or More) to Keep the Peace: Multiple Simultaneous Peace Operations," 384.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 384-421.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> United Nations Association of Canada, *Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past Building for the Future: Report on the UNA-Canada 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping International Panel Series 2006-2007*, 171.

<sup>12</sup> Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?," 26.

and security, but lower levels of support for Canada's operation in Afghanistan.<sup>13</sup> This disconnect is not only present in the case of Afghanistan. Similar high levels of support in polls for contributing to global peace, stability, or security and similar concepts are present in studies that coincide with polls that indicate lower levels of support for then ongoing or proposed operations (UNPROFOR and the proposed operation in Mali). For Afghanistan, Anker asserts that, "[a] plausible explanation for this disconnect is that an anachronistic understanding of peacekeeping influences public opinion: UN missions involving blue-bereted troops monitoring buffer zones. The quandary is that the days when [PSOs] meant deploying static observers wearing blue berets along a cease-fire line have, for the most part, passed."<sup>14</sup> This is a possible explanation for UNPROFOR and the potential mission to Mali as well, because Canadians see peacekeeping "nostalgically."<sup>15</sup> This may not be an issue if Canadians differentiated between different types of operations, but as already demonstrated, media framing has been found to conflate non-peacekeeping missions as peacekeeping for simplicity's sake and it has been done politically as well because it is something Canadians identify with. Regardless of the justification, because Canadians tend not to distinguish between peacekeeping and other operations conceptually, alongside an anachronistic understanding of the concept, there is support for PSOs in a theoretical sense, but not equal support for ongoing operations. A misunderstanding of current PSOs, alongside the peacekeeping myth, issues related to definitions, Canadian national identity, and the media are potential explanations as to the disconnect between support for theory vice practice of PSOs.

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<sup>13</sup> UNPROFOR: Gallup Canada Inc. *Canadian Gallup Poll December 1994*. Afghanistan: GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians Fall 2003a*. Mali: Harris Decima, *Majority Oppose Sending Combat Troops to Mali*. Compared to Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*. Lane Anker notes the disparity between support for peace and security and Canada's commitment in Afghanistan in: Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion."

<sup>14</sup> Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 23.

<sup>15</sup> David Jefferess, "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," 711.

The second potential implication of the impact of the theoretical model, is the role and funding of the CAF.<sup>16</sup> Multi-role combat capable forces are expensive to train, equip, and maintain, but those influenced by military culture lens have a preference towards operations that call for this type of force.<sup>17</sup> Those influenced by the other two lenses may believe that peacekeeping is an effective way for the government to keep costs low while still effectively engaging as a middle power globally.<sup>18</sup> Numerous Canadian governments have used Canada's peacekeeping involvement as a way to cut defence expenditures with little concern from the general public, due to the potential influence of theoretical model and the positive view of the perceived role Canada has regarding peacekeeping.<sup>19</sup> A potential implication is that as Canada's role in Afghanistan fades into history, Canadians and governments may think that a historically conceptualized peacekeeping-based force is a way to cut costs, despite it not aligning with the demands and needs of current PSO.

Another potential implication is that the public may be asking or voting for something that rarely occurs and that they neither understand nor necessarily want. Foremost, it has been established that very few traditional peacekeeping missions have occurred in the two previous decades.<sup>20</sup> Given that Canadians' view of peacekeeping is generally that of interpositional forces in blue berets, what they are asking for more of, or supporting, may not exist.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, since there is a misunderstanding of what modern multidimensional operations entail and Canadians tend to conflate all operations as peacekeeping, a deployment on a UN or Ch. VIII PSO may result in a commitment Canadians did not expect and may not be willing to pay the

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<sup>16</sup> John Conrad, *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns*, 63-64.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.; Colin McCullough, *Creating Canada's Peacekeeping Past*, 206; and Lewis MacKenzie, "Canada's Army – Post Peacekeeping," 4.

<sup>19</sup> John Conrad, *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns*, 63-64; Lewis MacKenzie, "Canada's Army – Post Peacekeeping," 4.

<sup>20</sup> See pg. 98.

<sup>21</sup> See pg. 98.

cost of monetarily or in terms of soldiers' lives. Martin Shadwick contends that, "Indeed, [peacekeeping missions] have been mythologized and romanticized to such an extent that there is some risk of fuelling unrealistic expectations."<sup>22</sup> It is reasonable to believe that this would be the results of a Canadian deployment on a mission such as Mali, which much more closely mirrors Afghanistan than Cyprus. The differences between traditional peacekeeping and modern PSOs, in addition to the infrequent potential for traditional peacekeeping in the 21<sup>st</sup> century was noted by former Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, who stated that, "[t]he prerequisites of traditional peacekeeping will not exist in the majority of cases. If the UN has no other method at its disposal, it will become largely irrelevant."<sup>23</sup> It would serve Canadians well to heed his wisdom, as it serves to inform Canadians regarding PSOs today.

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<sup>22</sup> Martin Shadwick, "The Renaissance of Peacekeeping and Peace Operations," 75.

<sup>23</sup> Cited in: Alex Bellamy, "The Great Beyond," 25.

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## Appendix A - Survey

### Information and Consent

#### Information and consent for survey participants:

1. This research is being conducted by Jamie Hill, MA student in War Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada.
2. This is exploratory research about participant knowledge and understanding of peace support operations, peace support operation definitions, and public support for such operations. Survey participants will complete the following survey, which consists of multiple choice questions, true or false questions, and questions that identify to what degree participants agree with statements.
3. The survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes.
4. There are no likely risks associated with the completion of this survey.
5. Participation in this survey is voluntary, and participants are free to cease completing the survey at any time.
6. Participants are not obliged to answer any questions that they find objectionable or make them feel uncomfortable
7. The following survey is anonymous and all surveys and data will be encrypted. There will not be sufficient personal information to connect surveys to individuals who have completed the survey. Data will only be accessible by those involved in the study.
8. Data will be published as part of a thesis and results will be available upon email request when the study is completed. Survey results may be used in future research projects.
9. Participants can use the contact information below if they have any questions or concerns regarding the research or to request the results of the research:

Jamie Hill, RMCC War Studies MA Student, 613.585.3676, Jamie.Hill@rmc.ca (results requests) Dr.

Sarah Hill, Chair, RMC Research Ethics Board, 613.541.6000, ext 6017, sarah.hill@rmc.ca

Chair of the General Research Ethics Board at chair.GREB@queensu.ca or 613-533-6081. (Queen's Students)

This research project has also received ethical clearance from the St. Lawrence College Research Ethics Board (SLC-REB). If you have any questions about the research project at SLC you can contact the researcher, Mr. Jamie Hill, at 613-585-3676 or Jamie.hill@rmc.ca. If you have any concerns about your rights as a research participant or the way in which the research was conducted at SLC, please contact the St. Lawrence College Research Ethics Chair at reb@sl.on.ca or call 613-544-5400 ext. 1621.

The intent of this research is to obtain insights into Canadian understanding of peace support operations and as such, is only open to individuals who are of legal age to consent (18 or older) and who are also Canadian citizens or landed immigrants. It is imperative that when completing this survey that you do not attempt to research the questions to find the answers, but to answer them to the best of your ability without

**the use of any aids (colleagues, internet, books, etc.). You will not be able to go back pages to modify answers. Participants are asked to fill out the survey only one time.**

**By continuing and completing the survey you consent to the use of the data you provide. Your participation is voluntary and you may cease the survey at any time. Your responses will not be linked to any identifying data.**

**Thank you,**

1. Do you give consent to use the answers provided for academic research.

Yes

No

2. Please indicate how you heard about this survey:

From a Professor

Peace First Conference

From another student

From a friend

From social media

Other (please specify)

3. Please indicate if you are you a Canadian citizen or a landed immigrant?

Canadian citizen

Landed immigrant

Neither

4. What is your age?

- under 18
- 18 to 24
- 25 to 34
- 35 to 44
- 45 to 54
- 55 to 64
- 65 to 74
- 75 or older

5. What is your gender?

- Female
- Male
- Other

6. Please indicate your current field of employment, if you are a student (even at a military academy/institution) please indicate student:

- Student
- Other (please specify)

7. Please indicate the province of your current primary residence or if you are living abroad:

- Alberta
- British Columbia
- Manitoba
- New Brunswick
- Newfoundland and Labrador
- Northwest Territories
- Nova Scotia
- Nunavut
- Ontario
- PEI
- Quebec
- Saskatchewan
- Yukon
- Living Abroad

8. Please indicate whether you are enrolled in, or have completed, a degree program in Political Studies/Sciences, Conflict Studies, Peace and Security Studies, or a similar program:

- Yes
- No

9. Please indicate the highest level of formal education that you have completed:

- Secondary School Diploma
- College Diploma
- Undergraduate Degree
- Master's Degree
- Doctorate Degree Other
- (please specify)

10. Are you a current, or retired, member of the Canadian Armed Forces (Reserve or Regular Force)?

- Yes
- No

11. Please select an option below that you think best defines peacekeeping:

- A hybrid politico-military activity and diplomatic process of brokering an end to conflict through cease-fires and treaties, principally through mediation and negotiation, as foreseen under Chapter VI of the UN Charter; military activities contributing to peacekeeping include military-to-military contacts, security assistance, shows of force and preventive deployments.
- A hybrid politico-military activity that involves the imposition of peace on behalf of the United Nations to increase peace and stability in a region. It may involve the use of force to decrease hostilities between parties that are in conflict and may not require an established cease-fire or treaty between the parties or their consent.
- A hybrid politico-military activity by the UN with a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peacekeeping is a complex, long-term process of creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace. It works by addressing the deep-rooted, structural causes of violent conflict in a comprehensive manner. Peacekeeping measures address core issues that effect the functioning of society and the State, and seek to enhance the capacity of the State to effectively and legitimately carry out its core functions.
- A hybrid politico-military activity aimed at conflict control, which involves a United Nations presence in the field (usually involving military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement or monitor the implementation of arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces etc.), and their resolution (partial or comprehensive settlements) and/or to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief.
- I do not know.

12. Please select an option below that you think best defines peacebuilding:

- A hybrid politico-military activity aimed at conflict control, which involves a United Nations presence in the field (usually involving military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement or monitor the implementation of arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces etc.), and their resolution (partial or comprehensive settlements) and/or to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief.
- The targeted use of military force to build a peaceful environment from which stability and security can be maintained; which may include negotiations and talks brokered by the UN or other multilateral organizations between parties in conflict. Peacebuilding, as such, will assist in the creation of an environment from which the state can move away from armed conflict and began re- establishing the rule of law and good governance.
- An activity conducted in the aftermath of conflict; it means identifying and supporting measures and structures which will solidify peace and build trust and interaction among former enemies, in order to avoid a relapse into conflict; often involves elections organized, supervised or conducted by the United Nations, the rebuilding of civil physical infrastructures and institutions such as schools and hospitals, and economic reconstruction.
- A diplomatic process of brokering an end to conflict, principally through mediation and negotiation, as foreseen under Chapter VI of the UN Charter; military activities contributing to peacebuilding include military-to-military contacts, security assistance, shows of force and preventive deployments.
- I do not know.

13. Please select an option below that you think best defines peacemaking:

- An activity that involves the imposition of peace on behalf of the United Nations to increase peace and stability in a region. It may involve the use of force to decrease hostilities between parties that are in conflict and may not require an established cease-fire or treaty between the parties or their consent.
- A hybrid politico-military activity aimed at conflict control, which involves a United Nations presence in the field (usually involving military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement or monitor the implementation of arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces etc.), and their resolution (partial or comprehensive settlements) and/or to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief.
- The application, with the authorization of the UN Security Council, of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force. Such actions are authorized to restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. The Security Council may utilize, where appropriate, regional organizations and agencies for peacemaking action under its authority.
- A diplomatic process of brokering an end to conflict, principally through mediation and negotiation, as foreseen under Chapter VI of the UN Charter; military activities contributing to peacemaking include military-to-military contacts, security assistance, shows of force and preventive deployments.
- I do not know.

14. Please select an option below that you think best defines peace enforcement:

- A hybrid politico-military activity aimed at conflict control, which involves a United Nations presence in the field (usually involving military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement or monitor the implementation of arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces etc.), and their resolution (partial or comprehensive settlements) and/or to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief.
- A hybrid politico-military activity by the UN with a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peace enforcement is a complex, long-term process of creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace. It works by addressing the deep-rooted, structural causes of violent conflict in a comprehensive manner.  
Peace enforcement measures address core issues that effect the functioning of society and the State, and seek to enhance the capacity of the State to effectively and legitimately carry out its core functions.
- An activity that involves the application, with the authorization of the Security Council, of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force. Such actions are authorized to restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. The Security Council may utilize, where appropriate, regional organizations and agencies for enforcement action under its authority.
- An enforced diplomatic process of brokering an end to conflict, principally through mediation and negotiation, as foreseen under Chapter VI of the UN Charter; military activities contributing to peace enforcement include military-to-military contacts, security assistance, shows of force and preventive deployments.
- I do not know.

15. Please indicate the number range that represents the number of peacekeeping missions that Canada has taken part in since 1991:

- 0-5
- 6-10
- 11-15
- 16-20
- 21-25
- 26-30
- More than 30
- I do not know.

16. True or False. Missions with a United Nations mandate to promote peace, stability, or security or bring an end to conflict are peacekeeping missions.

- True
- False
- I do not know.

17. Peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding, peacemaking, and conflict prevention are the five different types of peace support operations defined by the United Nations. Excluding conflict prevention, which of the remaining peace support operations do you believe is the most commonly conducted type of operation across all multinational and national forces globally since 1991?

- Peacekeeping
- Peace Enforcement
- Peacebuilding
- Peacemaking
- I do not know.

18. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Canada should be involved in more peacekeeping missions:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

19. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Peacekeeping is an essential part of Canadian identity:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

20. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Peacekeeping is a primary role of the Canadian Armed Forces:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

21. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. Peacekeeping should be a primary role of the Canadian Armed Forces:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

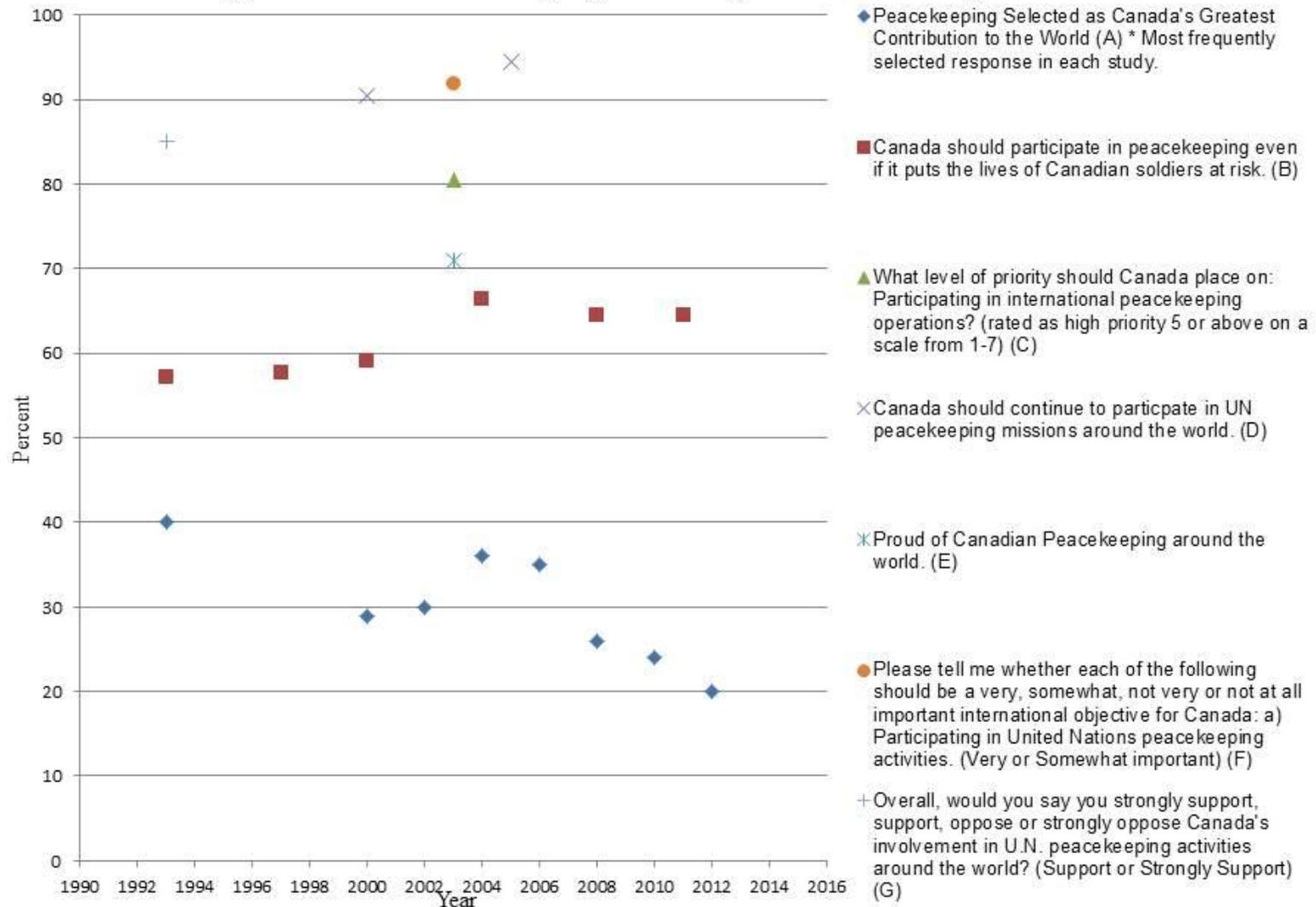
Thank you for completing the survey. Click 'done' below to submit your answers.

22. Did you use any resources to find the answers to these questions (online, peers, etc.)?

Yes

No

## Appendix B – Peacekeeping Public Opinion Polls Graph



(A) The Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2012*; (B) Institute for Social Research, *Canadian Election Study 2004-2011*; André Blais, et al., *Canadian Election Study, 1993 Incorporating the 1992 Referendum Survey on the Charlottetown Accord*, CES-E-1993, Canadian Opinion Research Group; André Blais, et al., *Canadian Election Study, 1997*, CES97, Canadian Opinion Research Group; and André Blais, et al., *Canadian Election Study, 2000*, CES-E-2000, Canadian Opinion Research Group; (C) GPC Research, *Listening to Canadians: Fall 2003*; (D) Don Munton, *Canadians and the United Nations at 60+*; (E) Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *Globe and Mail Research on the New Canada (2003)*; (F) Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *Portraits of Canada, 2004 [Canada]*, poc-pn-5769-E-2004, Centre for Research and Information on Canada; (G) Decima Research, *DQ53 [Decima Quarterly 53 March 1993]*, DQ53, Canadian Opinion Research Group and Decima Research.