WHO JOINS THE CANADIAN FORCES?

DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS USING BOURDIEU, HABERMAS, AND GIDDENS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the results of an exploratory study aimed at developing an understanding of Canadian Forces demographics and linking those demographics to current bodies of sociological theory. The background and literature review provide a starting point for sociological analysis; the study begins with a detailed review of existing literature in Canadian and United States military sociology, utilizing an exploratory approach that incorporates key elements from Bourdieu's concepts of *field* and *habitus*, Habermas's *lifeworld* and *structure*, and Giddens's notion of *structuration*. Once the key sociological theories are isolated, research methods and methodologies are developed. Data are collected from the 2006 Canada Census and the demographics of Canadian Forces members are explored through a logistic regression model. Data are interpreted within a sociological framework based on an integration of select theories from Bourdieu, Habermas and Giddens. This research identifies weak relationships between demographic characteristics and CF membership, along with socioeconomic factors and Canadian Forces membership. The completed research provides a starting point for future analyses in Canadian military sociology. Given that demographic and socioeconomic factors demonstrate weak correlation with Canadian Forces membership, future studies can focus on the motivations of Canadian Forces members knowing that background characteristics do not predetermine service. Although the Canadian Forces is primarily composed of Caucasian males, this accounts for only a small portion of variance in the Canadian Forces membership variable.

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PREFACE

When I first joined the Canadian Forces, I knew the branch I had chosen was different from other Reserve and Regular Force Units. As a member of the Cadet Instructors Cadre, I undertook a unique set of courses that focused on the training, administration, and logistics of working with Canadian youth; however, I soon discovered that every military occupation is unique and heterogeneity is what characterizes the Canadian Forces experience. It was this realization, coupled with my personal background as a young female joining the Officer ranks, which first sparked my interest in studying the Canadian Forces. Once I completed my undergraduate degree in sociology and focused my research on military sociology, it became apparent that the only time I had learned about the Canadian Forces in a sociology class was in my first year, when my professor was introducing Erving Goffman's *Total Institutions*, a framework that was useful in its time and place but does not appropriately acknowledge the complex heterogeneity of the Canadian Forces at present. I wrote this thesis because there is more substance to the Canadian Forces than is currently included in sociological education and publications; it is time for Canadian military sociologists to join the debate.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to Canadian Military Sociology and Thesis Objectives

What determines who enlists in the Canadian Forces (CF)? Military sociology in the United States (US) has a tendency toward empiricism and statistical evaluation, coupled with a detached and often theoretically ineffectual base that has traditionally been focused at the structural, or rational, level of analysis. In Canada, Willett (1980, p. 246) observes that "sociologists have shown little or no interest in the military; indeed the literature on it is negligible and research is almost non-existent". Although extensive research exists in the area of US military sociology, military sociology in Canada is in its infancy. The differences between the CF and US military in terms of culture and demographic composition necessitate the completion of independent yet informed studies in Canadian military sociology, and prevent the direct extrapolation of US military studies on the CF.

The first step in studying the CF within a sociological framework is to examine who joins the CF. Such study provides a background in demographic characteristics and serves as a starting point for future analyses. In this exploration, a few key theories are utilized: Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *field* and *habitus*, Jürgen Habermas's *lifeworld* and *structure*, and Anthony Giddens's *structuration*. I draw from this integrated selection of frameworks and demonstrate their applicability in exploring both individual motivations and structural forces in this study, and develop a useful tool for sociological studies involving the analysis of CF service.

The predominant discussion in this thesis centres around the underrepresentation of Aboriginals, visible minorities and females in the CF. As Canadians, we should be paying particular attention to the integration of these individuals into the CF labour force. At present, there is an underrepresentation of these groups in the CF when compared to the population of working civilians in Canada. This thesis will argue that the current profile of CF members is not reflective of Canadian citizens in the labour force, a topic that resonates with academics, CF members, and Canadians alike.

1.2 Chapter 2 Summary – Background and Literature Review

Chapter 2 provides a concise summary of relevant sociological literature in the US and the limited contribution of Canadian military sociologists. The US tradition of empiricism rarely incorporates sociological theory into interpretations of research data and primarily bases its studies on either theoretical or empirical assessment, seldom fostering an integration of the two. Canadian sociological analyses on the CF are almost non-existent and provide little research guidance. Therefore, the backgrounds of these two bodies of literature are combined in this study to explore the relevant contributions from each stream to this thesis research. An examination of US military studies and limited CF literature provides insight into the uniqueness of military culture and the motivations of military recruits, and offers two important implications to this research: the attraction of low socioeconomic status (SES) youth to careers in the US military and the resultant social mobility. After reviewing the relevant literature in military sociology, the Canadian and American streams are united in a way forward that incorporates existing literature with sociological theory and frames the thesis objectives.

1.3 Chapter 3 Summary – Theory, Methods and Methodology

This thesis utilizes a quantitative approach, an appropriate method to establish the required background characteristics of CF members in Canada. The ontological assumptions held by the researcher are in line with Giddens's *structuration* theory (Giddens, 1976; Giddens, 1979a; Giddens, 1979b; Baber, 1991; Layder, 1994; Turner, 1998; Grabb, 2002). Individuals are driven by their belief systems; their choices are made based on both structures from within, those of socialization, and external structures. With these ontological assumptions at the forefront, this study employs a quantitative approach to determine which individuals are inclined toward CF membership and to theorize whether CF members enjoy an increased SES after serving.

Epistemological assumptions also lend influence to the research design. Knowledge is constructed both at the individual level, based on structural surroundings, and at the collective level, through interpersonal interactions. This framework for knowledge construction is guided by Giddens (Giddens, 1976, Giddens, 1979a; Giddens, 1979b; Baber, 1991; Layder, 1994; Grabb, 2002), with further consideration given to the theories of Habermas (Habermas, 1981; Habermas, 1990; Layder, 1994; Seidman, 2008) and Bourdieu (1984; 1998), whose *social field* is recommended as a tool for military sociology by vom Hagen (2004). Giddens argues for an integration of knowledge construction that incorporates the impact of both macro and micro forces on individual conceptions of reality (Giddens, 1976; 1979a; 1979b). Bourdieu offers a theoretical framework which characterizes certain taste dispositions as determined by a collective background or common social experience in individuals (Bourdieu, 1984; 1998). Habermas's concept of communicative action (Habermas, 1981; Habermas, 1990; Layder, 1994; Seidman, 2008) is integrated into this epistemological framework to illustrate the internalization of *structure*. This thesis will incorporate an integrated epistemological framework of Bourdieu, Giddens and Habermas to study *structure* on the *macro* level while simultaneously acknowledging *micro* level knowledge construction and establishing a base for future research that studies the motivations and social mobility of CF recruits.

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, SPSS Version 16.0, is employed for data analysis. Access to the 2006 Census data was provided by the Saskatoon Statistics Canada Research Data Centre. The 2006 Canada Census is the most recent Canada Census conducted. This survey data makes readily available a crucial variable to this study: the population of military members in Canada. This secondary data source was chosen as a cost effective alternative to primary survey research.

This thesis contains two distinct research objectives. The first objective, to identify those demographic characteristics associated with CF service, is explored through correlations matrices and logistic regression models for all CF members, CF Officers, and CF Non-Commissioned Members (NCMs).

The second objective, to postulate the SES outcomes of CF service, is explored through correlations matrices.

1.4 Chapter 4 Summary – Presentation of Data

Variables of interest within the 2006 Canada Census are isolated, described, and grouped into the following categories: demographic, occupation, income, and education variables. The target population of this study is current and former CF members, and variables are assembled into these groupings to distinguish the two statistical objectives of this study. Chapter 4 depicts the frequencies, measures of central tendency, correlations matrices and logistic regression models, indicating significant areas that generate discussion in Chapter 5. The correlations matrix illustrating relationships between CF membership and isolated demographic characteristics exposes very weak associations, while the matrices that independently study Officers and NCMs yield similar results. The logistic regression analysis finds little variance in the probability of CF membership when demographic characteristics are input as independent variables in the regression model. Similarly, the correlations matrices constructed to examine the second objective of this thesis report weak relationships between CF membership and the selected SES indicators.

1.5 Chapter 5 Summary – Discussion of Data

Chapter 5 examines the results presented in Chapter 4, linking sociological interpretations for those results to the integrated framework of sociological theories. The theories of Bourdieu, Habermas, and Giddens are used to explore the demographic profile, weak correlation and regression models, and the underrepresentation of females, Aboriginals, and visible minorities in the CF. Given the uniqueness of each group in Canadian society, all are considered separately in light of the structural factors they face. The discussion in Chapter 5 is stimulated by significant data output and provides an explanation for noted anomalies utilizing the integrated theoretical framework.

1.6 Conclusion

Chapter 1 has provided an overview of this thesis, including an outline of thesis objectives and a chronological outline of thesis topics. This paper begins by providing background information and a literature review (Chapter 2), moves to the presentation of theory, methods and methodology (Chapter 3), presents and interprets data (Chapters 4 & 5), and concludes with a summary and way forward (Chapter 6). Chapter 2 seeks to concisely present the relevant background literature in military sociology to clarify thesis objectives and the contributions of previous works, providing a useful starting point for the development of Canadian military sociology.

2.0 BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The field of Canadian military sociology is almost non-existent. Countless positivist studies have been conducted to study the US military, highlighting the uniqueness of military culture as an institution and lifestyle separate from civilian culture (Kummel, 2003; Nuciari, 2003; Soeters *et al.*, 2003; Winslow *et al.*, 2003), with differing psychological impacts (Defleur & Warner, 1985; Cooney *et al.*, 2003; Moelker & van der Kloet, 2003). United States military studies are based in a long history of research, many of which focus on the motivations of recruits (Kuvlesky & Dietrich, 1973; Chisholm *et al.*, 1980; Useem, 1980; Baker, 1985; Gorman & Thomas, 1993; Bachman *et al.*, 2000; Gifford, 2005; Kleykamp, 2006; Gibson *et al.*, 2007). However, due to the development differences between US and Canadian societies generally (explored in Chapter 5), and their militaries in particular (Cowan, 2004; Nossal, 2007; Barry & Bratt, 2008; Park, 2008), findings are often not transferable to the Canadian context.

What the US empirical studies offer to the proposed research is fourfold. First, they highlight the uniqueness of military culture in contrast with broader society. Second, a long history of research exists in US military sociology, some of which has been oriented toward understanding motivations for military enrolment in the US. Third, key factors worth consideration in the Canadian context emerge from US military studies. Research results point to the attraction of low SES youth to military service and their resulting increased individual SES (e.g. Kuvlesky & Dietrich, 1973; Chisholm *et al.*, 1980; Useem, 1980; Baker, 1985; Gorman & Thomas, 1993; Bachman *et al.*, 2000; Gifford, 2005; Kleykamp, 2006; Gibson *et al.*, 2007), while also demonstrating key differences in the motivations of visible minorities prior to joining. Special attention should be paid to breaking down the CF composition relative to the broader Canadian labour force, specifically the predominantly male and low representation of visible minority members in the CF (Park, 2008). This thesis defines visible minority from a Canadian perspective. "For the 2006 census, the variable 'visible minority' contained the categories of Chinese, south Asian, black, and 'other visible minority'" (Satzevich & Liodakis, 2010, p.

129). Finally, the empirical research conducted in the US highlights the individual experience of social mobility resulting from military service.

2.1 The Distinctiveness of Military Culture

Kummel (2003) argues that soldiers' roles have evolved over time, shifting from a war-focus to a focus on management and technical skills, meaning that contemporary US soldiers are expected to balance both traditional and non-traditional roles. Soeters, Winslow and Weibull (2003) depict military culture as unique and separate from civil society. Although Soeters *et al.*. (2003) explicitly recognize the heterogeneous nature of the military organization, they simultaneously characterize the military lifestyle as a common experience uniting its members by promoting shared cultural values. Winslow, Heinechen and Soeters (2003) identify the existence of diversity in the Armed Forces internationally, and address the need for intercultural awareness. They acknowledge the prevalence of multiculturalism and immigration, arguing that the US armed forces are internally diverse and simultaneously interact with culturally diverse nations, explicating a need for the development of diversity programming for military members.

A second important dimension to military distinctiveness is the differing psychological and economic impact of military service on its members, particularly women. Defleur and Warner (1985) study the socioeconomic and social-psychological effects of military service on women, concluding that serving women receive some benefits, although short term and less beneficial than those received by men. Defleur and Warner (1985), writing at a time when the integration of women into the military was still relatively new, concluded that monetary rewards are more immediate for military women than their civilian counterparts. Additionally, Cooney, Segal, Segal & Falk (2003) study the impact of military service on women, arguing that women-specific military studies are largely non-existent. Using the human capital perspective of Browning, Lopreato, and Poston, Cooney *et al.* (2003) argue that career decisions are part of a cost-benefit analysis and find that minority women receive more economic

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benefits from US military service than non-minorities, although they fair only equally to their non-serving counterparts, while non-minorities were economically disadvantaged after military service. Moelker & van der Kloet (2003) research the family support system of the Royal Netherlands Army and examine spousal experiences during deployments. However, this study fails to target the members themselves, omitting their overall experiences – socially, psychologically, and socioeconomically. These studies are not concerned with the Canadian experience.

2.2 The Motivations of Military Recruits

American sociologists have conducted numerous empirical surveys intending to measure and understand the motivations of recruits, or what compels individuals to enrol in the US military. Morris Janowitz's *The American Soldier* was the first major work that focused on military life in the US (Merton & Lazarsfeld, 1950). Since the time of Janowitz, military life and the attraction to military service have been key areas of interest for sociologists in the American tradition. Useem (1980) identifies the curvilinear relationship between parental SES and sons' educational and military experience, demonstrating the prevalence of lower SES youth enlisting in the US military. Baker (1985) examines the assistance given to first-time job applicants by military personnel, those individuals who are in the transition period from student to worker, and determines that typical recruits have limited job experience and are unmarried. Chisholm, Gauntner, & Munzenrider (1980) also follow the positivist tradition, using statistical surveys to determine that extrinsic motives are the most important factors in enlistment while general job satisfaction is likely to lead to re-enlistment.

Studies conducted in the southern US demonstrate that African Americans are more favourably inclined toward military service, with no difference between rural and urban residents (Kuvlesky & Dietrich, 1973). Gorman and Thomas (1993) conduct research that yields similar results; however they analyze factors of general intellectual achievement, age, poverty status and race as contributing to enlistment. The involvement of African Americans in US military service is followed up by Gifford

(2005), who explores a popular question arising out of the Iraq War, whether minorities are more likely to end up as casualties (not unlike Vietnam). Gifford (2005) identifies the high enrolment of African Americans in the US military and concludes that the probability of becoming a casualty is related to which unit a member belongs to, having demonstrated that African Americans in the US military have a lower casualty rate than African Americans in US civilian occupations. Bachman, Segal, Freedman-Doan and O'Malley (2000) spearhead a US study that measures propensity to enlist against actual enlistment. Their findings conclude that African Americans and Hispanics are more likely to pursue careers in the armed forces, although this pattern is more often descriptive of men than women.

Bachman *et al.* (2000) found additional contributing factors to propensity for enlistment, such as lack of college plans, lower high school grades, fewer parents living in the home, pro-military ideas and participation in rigorous exercise. Kleykamp (2006) confirms that those individuals more likely to enlist come from low SES families, do not have plans to attend college, and reside in an area of visible military presence. Her study differs from those mentioned previously, as she does not find a relationship between ethnicity and enrolment, and provides no explanation for this alleged reversal over time. In another attempt to explore motivations to enlist in the US military, the theory of planned behaviour, proposed to explore the relationship between intention to perform a behaviour and actual performance, is used to determine parental influence on potential enlistment (Gibson, Griepentrog & Marsh, 2007). Gibson *et al.* (2007) demonstrate that links between parent and child norms and beliefs play a factor in career choice, and that parents speaking to their children about enlisting, along with the frequency of those talks, play an important role.

2.3 Implications

Several significant implications flow from this literature. Although these studies provide a useful understanding of US citizens and the US military after the Vietnam War to present day, they do not measure the motivations or contributing factors to enrolment in the CF, and few of them employ

sociological theory in their analyses, focusing primarily on empirical observations and statistical analyses. Completing sociological research without the guidance of a theoretical framework is not desirable; sociological theories are what distinguish the discipline of sociology from other social sciences and are vitally important components in social research. The reviewed literature demonstrates an absence of sociological theory in military sociology, specifically in its relation to empirical military sociology. This thesis aims to move forward with an analysis that incorporates theoretical orientations and focuses on Canadian-based research. This work presents Canadian-based research that builds on the results of previous studies while employing a relevant and necessary integration of theories.

2.3.1 Limited Canadian Forces Literature

Due to the importance of the second identified theme, the reasons for studying CF sociology independently from US military sociology will be explored. It is important to note the differences between Canada and the US and the potential applicability of the CF to show more likeness to militaries in other Commonwealth nations. Canadian demographics differ from the US, with the former having regionally-concentrated minority populations of approximately one million Chinese, one million South Asians, along with African-Canadians, Filipinos, and other ethnic minorities (Park, 2008). Canadian Forces members are a distinctive group, and should be viewed separately from the Canadian labour force. What is perhaps the most interesting surface difference in the demographical information of the CF is that white males are overrepresented at present while females, Aboriginals and visible minorities are underrepresented, at six percent. By contrast, the US military is composed of thirty-three percent visible minorities (Park, 2008). These three groups are isolated for analysis in this research because they are not proportionally represented in the CF when compared to their levels of participation in the civilian Canadian labour force. Additionally, Statistics Canada identifies that CF veterans' incomes have declined on average by 10% during the first three years of release (Statistics Canada, 2011, p. 1), demonstrating that military retirement and increased SES are not necessarily synonymous in Canada.

These factors imply that the CF is institutionally and socially very different from the US military, and suggest that Canadians are joining the CF for different reasons than Americans joining their military.

The ideological distinctions that fuel Canadian and American military policy and culture further illuminate the differences between the two militaries and the requirement to advance Canadian military sociology as an independent field. What is of note here, also applicable in contemporary public perception, is that the CF is not typically perceived as assertive (Pinch, 2000; Cowan, 2004). Instead, the perception of the Canadian military is one of peace-keeping (Willett, 1980) (despite Canada's current engagement in a war in Afghanistan). Differences between Canadian and American military policy range from global policy differences, the release of doctrines in the US, the use (or threat) of force by the US internationally, differences in military technology, and considerable differences in military spending (Nossal, 2007, p. 23). Park (2008) identifies the CF focus as follows:

> On the international front, these highly trained men and women are repeatedly called upon to participate in the humanitarian, peacekeeping and security missions of international organizations such as the UN and NATO; while domestically, their expertise is often needed in search and rescue operations and aiding citizens to cope with natural disasters such as forest fires, floods, avalanches and ice storms. (p. 1)

Sondhaus (2006) supports the Canadian peacekeeper identity in his book on international war strategies. He notes that "the domestic political and public myth focuses on Canadians as 'peacekeepers,' as 'helpful fixers' who deploy troops for the common good rather than for selfish national interests" (p. 70). While the CF has participated in the war on terror, the US military is tied to its initiation while simultaneously remaining focused on its own domestic security (Barry & Bratt, 2008, p. 67). Still, it is essential to note that Canadian policies and CF strategies are deeply integrated with those of the US; the CF does not operate independently from the US military (Pinch, 2000, p. 157), the United Nations (UN) or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The differences between the US military and the CF, from demographics to cultural identity, are likely to attract individuals with different

motivations and backgrounds to military service. The literature review, combined with demographic

and strategy-based information on the role of the CF, demonstrates the need for research in Canadian

military sociology that focuses on the demographic composition of CF members.

In a rare but excellent chapter on military sociology published in Canada, German sociologist

vom Hagen (2004) examines social capital in the CF, using Bourdieu's concepts of *field* and *habitus*. He

advocates the use of Bourdieu in his research on the adaptation of military forces to social and cultural

change. Although vom Hagen's (2004) research is indirectly related to this study, his application of

Bourdieu's framework is a functional starting point. Utilizing Bourdieu's notion of social inequality, vom

Hagen (2004, p.74-75) is able to demonstrate that Officers typically come from a similar social

background, and that an institution such as a staff college or military academy would embody all three

of Bourdieu's cultural capital forms – the incorporated, objectified, and institutionalized. Bourdieu

perceives economic and cultural capital as individual resources that contribute to their placement within

his model of social space, which, according to vom Hagen (2004, p. 77) is a more appropriate way of

assessing social capital when compared with the positivist American traditions. What vom Hagen (2004)

contributes to this thesis is that the military can be viewed as a social *field*, through which military

culture is created and recreated, allowing a framework that can "study the relations between the

objective characteristics of the military institution (such as ranks, units, and activities) and the socially

constituted dispositions of military personnel (such as values, attitudes and norms) as they interact

within the institution" (p. 79). From vom Hagen's (2004) assertion that those who choose to become

Officers in the CF usually do so with the intent of social mobility, the usefulness of this theory emerges

in examining the intersection of two social *field*s, the first being family or civilian social space and the

second being the military *field*.

Practicing Canadian military sociologist T.C. Willett (1990) reports on his detailed sociological

study of the Canadian militia (Reserve Forces). Willett did fieldwork from 1975 through 1980 in Canada,

issuing questionnaires to twenty-nine reserve units and conducting interviews with senior NCMs and Officers. He conducted the most comprehensive study of Reserve Units across Canada to date, and is a rare example of military sociology in practice in Canada. Willett (1990) puts forth the notion that the CF is or was seen as a prestigious and respected career. He calls this the social mobility hypothesis, which he describes as one of the major theses of his research: "the Militia was once – and might still be – an attractive means of attaining good repute and social mobility in communities" (Willett, 1990, p. 129). Willett's social mobility hypothesis is utilized as a contribution to the second objective of this study.

2.3.2 The Absence of Sociological Theory

There is a noted absence of sociological theory in the existing empirical literature reviewed. The US tradition of empiricism is met with a separate *macro* tradition that describes military strategies from an entirely theoretical base. Although these studies provide a suitable understanding of US citizens and the US military after the Vietnam War to present day, they do not measure the motivations or contributing factors to enrolment in the CF, and few employ sociological theory in their analyses, focusing primarily on empirical observations and the use of statistics. The literature demonstrates a lack of application of sociological theory to empirical military sociology studies.   There are, however, accepted theoretical frameworks for use in military sociology – this thesis aims to practically apply those frameworks in this field for the first time.

2.3.3 Toward a Canadian Forces Study Rich with Theory

Bourdieu argues that, "a social scientific research must begin with a reasoned theory, at least a preliminary theory, before the researcher can head out to the field and make observations" (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 163). This thesis differs from the traditional US studies explored above by utilizing sociological tools to understand or explain a given social phenomena in terms of individual background and the structures that impact social action. Sociology has moved away from describing social phenomena into a description of human action:

Sociology, then, is no longer defined as the study of society or social systems in general but as the study of processes through which economic or political determinants, on the one side, and cultural and socially defined individuals and groups, on the other, can be connected, giving birth to collective action, political processes, and personal and collective attitudes. (Touraine, 2007, p. 69)

With this change to the field of sociology comes a call for the development of a thorough theory base that will allow for predictability, or truths about the future. Stinchcombe (2007) states that the "deep problem with public or policy sociology is the same as the problem of economics: its truths must be truths about the future" (p. 136). With this orientation toward predictability in mind, the next chapter constructs the theoretical framework employed in this study.

3.0 THEORY, METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Giddens's theory of *structuration*, Bourdieu's *social space* and Habermas's *lifeworld* are utilized to create a complementary theory base that builds on vom Hagen's (2004) application of Bourdieu to Canadian military sociology. An integrated theoretical approach is necessary to appropriately frame studies of the CF in terms of both structural forces and individual agency. According to Last (2004):

> Two varieties of military sociology are evident in IUS [Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society] scholarship. Some work is essentially inward looking, considering the social structures and relationships of military forces and military personnel. Other work is outward looking, considering military forces and personnel as parts of a larger civilian society. (p. 2)

The traditional, empirical analyses examined study the latter when exploring recruit motivations, and place a great deal of emphasis on structure, not accounting for human agency or factors that influence individual decision making. Nuciari (2003) outlines a theoretical framework that focuses on rational individual choice as a streamlined process, perpetuating an emphasis on structural forces. Adopting the framework for analysis proposed by vom Hagen (2004), which has been recognized as a useful tool for measuring the influence of theoretical class backgrounds, along with Willett's (1990) social mobility hypothesis, this thesis will actively deconstruct the agency-structure dualism using Bourdieu, Giddens and Habermas.

Prior to assembling a contemporary theoretical framework for analysis of the CF, it is important to review the most traditional theoretical viewpoint for conceptualizing the military institution within the discipline of sociology. Erving Goffman's (1961) work on *Asylums* characterizes the military as a *total institution*. This theory remains a part of first year undergraduate sociology classes, and is commonly accepted as the sociological way of analyzing military organizations. In his work, Goffman alludes to the entrapment of military recruits in *total institutions* where every aspect of their lives is "controlled, monitored, supervised, regulated, and molded" (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 110). Goffman

characterizes four elements of *total institutions*, and contends that the military environment for recruits meets these criteria. The first characteristic of *total institutions* is that all life is conducted under one authority in one location. Second, activities take place in the presence of others without distinction between the individuals. Third, all activities are scheduled, regulated, and observed. Fourth, the activities form a coherent design that fulfills the aims of the institution (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 111). In his essays, Goffman (1961, p. 6) describes the central feature of *total institutions* as a breaking down of the barriers between different places, different co-participants, and the different authorities individuals encounter throughout life, under the overall structure of a rational plan. Goffman (1961) accounts for voluntary participants as follows: "I might add that when entrance is voluntary, the recruit has already partially withdrawn from his home world; what is clearly severed by the institution is something that had already started to decay" (p. 15). Goffman (1961, p. 20) asserts that individuals in the care of total institutions are stripped of their physical 'identity kits'. This assessment of the military as a total institution is useful at the surface level, but as Willett (1980) notes, "the military is not necessarily a conservative and rigidly obedient instrument; on the contrary, it can be a dynamic means for inducing and compelling change" (p. 248). Willett (1980) argues that it is naive to see the military as necessarily favouring capitalism or conservatism: "The Canadian military cannot be observed as a threat to liberty within the state or to the state, nor an obedient machine, functioning mindlessly to oppress the masses in capitalist interests with totalitarian power" (p. 280). The CF is a heterogeneous organization with complexities that must be reviewed on the whole and in conjunction with its membership.

3.1.1 Bourdieu's Theoretical Concepts of *Field* and *Habitus*

The applicability of Bourdieu's theoretical base in CF sociological studies is identified by vom Hagen. Its applicability to this thesis is in determining which demographic characteristics predetermine individual enrolment in the CF. Bourdieu (1998) developed his theoretical model to analyze the

interactions of social stratification and individual dispositions of French citizens in the 1970s. Bourdieu's

(1984) concept of *distinction* is based on noted differences of taste among similar individuals. He

explains that individuals sharing specific backgrounds might be predisposed toward military service. In

his research, Bourdieu (1984) utilized surveys:

> to determine how the cultivated disposition and cultural competence that are revealed in the
> nature of the cultural goods consumed, and in the way they are consumed, vary according to the
> category of agents and the area to which they applied, from the most legitimate areas such as
> painting or music to the most 'personal' ones such as clothing, furniture or cookery, and, within
> the legitimate domains, according to the markets – 'academic' and 'non-academic' – in which
> they may be placed. (p. 13)

Bourdieu (1984) contends that cultural practices are linked to educational capital and social origin (p.

13). His research searches for *distinctions* between individuals, in the attempt to explain how these

differences come about and therefore to add an element of predictability to sociological analysis.

Specifically, Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and the organization of *social space* according to

symbolic and cultural capital are utilized in this study:

> The concept of social space enables us to grasp how different agents (in terms of race, gender,
> and sexual orientation) can occupy similar positions in geographical space (in terms of where
> they desire to buy housing) and, because they are immersed in similar social and material
> conditions within social space, are likely to have similar dispositions and interests. (Hancock &
> Garner, 2009, p. 171)

The *habitus* are interpretive schema, or a lens through which the world is interpreted based on one's

social positioning; it is how individuals make choices in the world, and what those choices are based on

(Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu (1984) describes the *habitus* as:

> not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but
> also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the
> perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social
> classes. (p. 170)

The *field* is comprised of individuals who possess various forms of resources, and therefore power

(Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu's method of defining social classes is more flexible than the traditional

Marxist definition of class, and accounts for social factors in addition to economic ones, contributing to its appropriateness for use in this particular study.

Bourdieu's theoretical class distinctions assess cultural and social capital possession and its affiliation with individual disposition toward military service. In Bourdieu's (1998) assessment of the new capital, he argues that the educational system perpetuates the reproduction of theoretical classes. In this study, it is hypothesized that individuals holding less human capital will be more inclined toward military service that does not require a university degree, i.e. NCMs. It is conversely postulated that low capital individuals will aspire toward degrees, and therefore become CF Officers out of the desire toward social mobility. Bourdieu recognizes the complex interplay between structure and agency, ultimately maintaining that the "social space is indeed the first and last reality, since it still commands the representations that the social agents can have of it" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 13). This notion is similar to Habermas' communicative action theory, which is now incorporated to clarify the structural aspects of this proposed theoretical framework.

3.1.2 Habermas's *Lifeworld* and *System*

While Habermas presents a society that is similar to Bourdieu's, his communicative action theory is incorporated in this thesis for its unique depiction of the inner structural interactions that guide the human existence. Habermas's theory of communicative action illustrates the internalization of structure and attempts to transcend the dichotomy of structure and agency. In his work, Habermas (1990) describes his assessment of human beings and their internal interactions:

> Communicative action can be understood as a circular process in which the actor is two things in one: an *initiator* who masters situations through actions for which he is accountable and a *product* of the traditions surrounding him, of groups whose cohesion is based on solidarity to which he belongs, and of processes of socialization in which he is reared. (p. 135)

Therefore, Habermas theorizes that individual agency is the product of external and internal structures. He develops a grand theory of social evolution, central to which is the dualism he presents in defining society in terms of *lifeworld* and *system*:

> The former refers to a realm of behaviour in which social coordination or regulation occurs by means of shared beliefs and values…The *lifeworld* makes society possible by maintaining the identities and motivations necessary for institutional stability. Social life requires not only shared meanings but strategies for coordinating resources and controlling natural and social forces. This is the function of the systems level of society… Whereas, in the *lifeworld*, action is oriented to mutual understanding, at the systems level, the emphasis is on instrumental control and efficiency. (Seidman, 2008, p. 125)

Habermas argues that within the *lifeworld* lays a set of background assumptions and stocks of knowledge (1990; Layder, 1994). The *lifeworld* represents culture, ethics, and values that make up the symbolic universe, while the *system* represents rationality and *structure*, institutions which predominate in modern society. Habermas argues that the *lifeworld* has been colonized by the *system*, making communicative action through validity claims less and less possible as societies become more complex (Layder, 1994).

Habermas's designs of *lifeworld* and *system* will prove useful in this study of the CF. Military culture is separate and distinct from civilian culture, and embodies guiding social forces from both the *lifeworld* and *system* aspects of societal organization. The CF utilizes structural power, combined with *lifeworld* monopolization, to construct a unique setting of encapsulating military culture; the military becomes a way of living, and thus Habermas's concept of the colonized *lifeworld* is employed to enhance researcher and audience understanding of the CF's ability to create a strong, distinct culture by strengthening the collective *military lifeworld*. As Habermas identifies, "in the *lifeworld*, individuals draw from custom and cultural traditions to construct identities, negotiate situational definitions, coordinate action, and create social solidarity" (Seidman, 2008, p. 125). This differentiation allows us to identify the importance of public perception of military culture and the associated perceptions of social

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solidarity between 'brothers' (and occasionally 'sisters') in military service. The importance of the familial nature of CF culture is thus brought forward as guiding aspect that highlights the difference between the Canadian civilian labour force and the CF. The *system* and *lifeworld* appear to interact in military society, strengthening the solidarity of this organization and presenting social cohesion and familial attachment to potential new recruits.

3.1.3 Giddens's *Structuration*

Giddens will be incorporated for his concrete method of defining the structural organizations that operate within society. "All organizations or collectivities 'consist of' systems of interaction, and can be analysed as *structure*s: but as systems, their existence depends upon modes of *structuration* whereby they are reproduced" (Giddens, 1979, p. 227). He refers to the social system as a *structured totality*, and, like Bourdieu, treats individual resources as tools used for obtaining power or *structures of domination* (Giddens, 1979, p. 236-237). Giddens conceptualizes human beings as individual actors in society in terms of their capacity to make change and exert power (Layder, 1994, p. 144). Similar to Habermas and Bourdieu, Giddens attempts to construct a grand social theory that ontologically defines the nature of structure and agency in society. He furthers his analysis by transcending structure and agency in the *duality of structure*, playing a key role in advancing sociological understanding of this infamous dichotomy.

Baber (1991, p. 219) observes that, "Giddens has systematically selected elements from the works of a wide range of social theorists and philosophers, providing a synthesis which is helpful for understanding social structure and the nature of human social activity." The theoretical framework and ontological assumptions of Giddens are employed to demonstrate the interaction between structure and agency. An integrated combination of theories, Giddens's *structuration* analyzes social processes through the adaptation of both Marx and Weber's conceptions of society (Grabb, 2002, p. 185). He uses Marx's class structure as an abstract approach for explaining inequality, while including the Weberian

position that class divisions exist as a result of unequal power distribution, arguing that a third category of resources (property and labour power being the first two) exist for consideration in the capitalist society – recognized skills or educational qualifications (Grabb, 2002, p. 187). Giddens accounts for anomalies in the three categories, and develops his theory of *structuration* to account for different *degrees of structuration* that vary according to differences at the proximate (everyday) level, in terms of the way labour is divided in the work setting, the structure of authority relations, and patterns of 'distributive groupings' or clustering of material consumption habits (Grabb, 2002, p. 188). Giddens perceives the role of the state not simply as a vehicle for domination, which he perceives as existing everywhere in society, but in terms of a more pluralist view of power which is distributed among a variety of people and institutions, with pockets of centralized, disproportionate distribution (Grabb, 2002, p. 194).

What is most applicable in Giddens's theory is his attempt to remove the dualism between *structure* and *agency*. Baber (1991, p. 219) notes that, "at the core of Giddens's effort lies the theory of *structuration*, the attempt to provide an adequate theoretical account of action which does not obliterate the role of either structure or agency." For Giddens, *structure* exists in two forms: *structures* are the rules that individual actors have internalized and live by, while *systems* comprise the collective patterns that exist and are reproduced in both time and space (Baber, 1991, p. 222). With this assumption in mind, that *structure* comes from both within and without, the dichotomy between *structure* and *agency* is transformed:

> *Structure* represents the rules and resources and exists only in the constituting moments of social systems; social systems, on the other hand, represent the reproduced relations between actors and collectivities organized as regular practices, while *structuration* refers to the conditions governing the continuity or transformation of *structure*s and the reproduction of systems. Finally, action represents a wide range of options for the actor. (Baber, 1991, p. 224)

Utilizing Giddens, it is noted that although individual actors are free to make their own independent choices, these choices are patterned and therefore predictable: by examining the patterned choices that individuals make to enlist in the CF, human behaviour can be studied and extrapolated into a thesis that postulates which individuals are attracted to CF service and what role the military system and individually internalized rules play on this decision.

3.1.4 Point the Way

Bourdieu, Giddens and Habermas collectively offer a framework that agrees on a few key elements in sociological analysis. First, all three theorists transcend the rigid *structure/agency* dichotomy by arguing that a type of *structure* inherently guides individuals from within, yet individuals are free to make their own choices. Second, the argument prevails that human action can be explained and even predicted, based on certain common class factors, tastes, predispositions, and other related factors. Third, all three theorists posit that a differentiation in individual resources leads to a power or domination that is typically associated with the higher economic classes, contending that there are factors beyond economic ones that must be taken into account. This theoretical convergence provides a useful framework for several different aspects of military sociology. It simultaneously accounts for human action and structural influences, and which patterns or rules guide the actions of individuals, noting that they do not neatly and predictably operate on rational choice. This aspect of the theoretical framework can be applied in studies at the individual level, with a focus on determining both social background in terms of cultural or economic capital/resources, as well as personal attraction to certain military occupations. Completing research that explores the patterns of individual choices to enlist will build a foundation for individual orientations toward CF service, moving closer to the desired predictive capacity of contemporary sociology.

3.2 Research Methodology and Methods

The aim of this research is to gain an enhanced understanding of the enrolment composition of the CF and to provide preliminary insight into individual motivations for enrolment. In this thesis, a quantitative approach is utilized to establish the background information required to provide insight into the motivations of CF recruits, implementing statistical research to answer the thesis objectives. This thesis uses the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, SPSS Version 16.0 to analyze social statistics on the 2006 Canada Census Data. Using this pre-existing data in place of conducting primary survey research is more cost effective and provides access to information that is already available secondarily. Access to Census data was requested and obtained through Statistics Canada, where a research proposal was submitted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Statistics Canada then granted access to 2006 Census data through the Saskatoon Research Data Centre, where rigid guidelines for data release are strictly adhered to. The 2006 Canada Census provides suitable data as the most recent Canada Census conducted, and because it makes readily available which respondents are/were CF members, which is a crucial variable to this study. Other Canadian surveys, such as the General Social Survey, do not have the relevant occupation variables to isolate a population based on CF membership.

Following the literature review, it is hypothesized that SES plays a central role in the decision to enlist, or that Canadians believe the military will provide a means toward social mobility. This research explores the impact of demographic characteristics on the decision to enlist in the CF. Do members with similar SES backgrounds join the CF? The specific objectives of this research are to *identify which demographic characteristics are associated with service in the CF* and *to postulate the socioeconomic outcomes of CF service.* Table 1 demonstrates the research methodology of this thesis.

Table 1: Study Objectives and Related Research Methods		
Objective	**Method**	**Activity**

1. To identify which demographic characteristics are associated with service in the CF	Quantitative	a. Obtain access to 2006 Census Data
		b. Analyze and interpret those data:
		  1. Isolate relevant occupational variables and determine the best predictor of CF service by running central tendencies
		  2. Recode nominal variables to allow for the completion of a correlations matrix
		  3. Run a logistic regression analysis with significant demographic variables, using the CF occupational variable as the dependent variable
		c. Report on findings

2. To postulate the socioeconomic outcomes of CF service	Quantitative	a. Obtain access to 2006 Census Data
		b. Analyze and interpret those data:
		  1. Isolate relevant income and education variables and run central tendencies
		  2. Recode nominal variables to allow for the completion of a correlations matrix
		  3. Make inferences about which socioeconomic benefits of CF service are worth exploring in future studies where time-ordering can be proven
		c. Report on findings

The statistical analyses conducted in this study are primarily descriptive statistics that identify the population of interest, specifically measures of central tendency and multivariate measures of association in the form of correlations and logistic regression. The correlations matrices are first utilized to define the relationships between all possible pairs of variables of interest (Healey, 2009, p. 376). Next, a regression analysis is completed to summarize the relationship between several independent variables, the demographic characteristics of CF members, and the dependent variable, CF membership. The regression model has a predictive capability in determining the probability of being a CF member with knowledge of common demographic characteristics. The dependent variable in the regression model is the dichotomous nominal (categorical) variable of CF membership. The chosen occupational

variable was isolated and recoded into two categories; either the respondent self-identified as a member of the CF or did not self-identify as a member of the CF. Recoding this variable allows for the isolation of the CF population and the construction of a logistic regression model. A logistic regression analysis was chosen because the model does not fit the assumptions of multiple linear regression; the dependent variable can only be studied at the nominal level and is not continuous, linearity cannot be assumed between the dependent and independent variables, and the dependent variable is not normally distributed or homoscedastic (Healey, 2009, p. 440; Garson, 2010). Because time-ordering cannot be proven between SES variables and CF membership, a regression model is not appropriate for use in studying the second objective.

Since the CF membership variable can be split into Officers and NCMs, and it is hypothesized that there may be resulting differences in the correlations between demographic variables and these two types of CF members, this thesis examines Officers and NCMs separately. Table 2 demonstrates a simple breakdown of the differences between the two occupational streams in the CF. The CF represents a diverse set of branches, most of which are not represented in this study. Further study is required on the differences between Regular and Reserve Force members, along with a more detailed occupation-based breakdown. However, given that there are typically different educational requirements for Officers and NCMs, and Officers usually require a university degree (Huntington, 1957, p. 17-18), it is expected that their demographic characteristics will differ. Differences noted by Huntington (1957) are detailed in Table 2.

Table 2: Differences between Officers and Non-Commissioned Members	
Officer	**Non-Commissioned Member**
Command	Execute as Skilled Professionals
Queen's Commission	Authority Based on Promotion/Rank
Responsible for Broad Planning and Organization	Responsible for Daily Operations and Details, Timings, etc.
E.g. Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Colonel, General, etc.	E.g. Private, Sergeant, Corporal, Petty Officer, Chief Warrant Officer, etc.

3.2.1 Ontological Assumptions

The ontological assumptions guiding this research are driven by Giddens's *structuration* theory: individuals are driven by their belief systems, and choices are made based on both *structure*s from within, or socialization, and external *structure*s. Ontological assumptions are also influenced by Bourdieu, whose goal was to construct a way of explaining patterns of social behaviour without relying merely on external *structure*s or conscious choice (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 165). This study will determine which individuals are inclined to join the CF and postulate whether they enjoy an increased SES as a result of that service.

3.2.2 Epistemological Assumptions

The epistemological assumptions grounding this thesis are the result of contributions from Giddens, Habermas and Bourdieu: knowledge is constructed both at the individual level, based on structural surroundings, and at the collective level, through interactions with others. This research focuses on structure at the *macro* level due to resource-related restrictions, and simultaneously aims to pave the way for future studies at the *micro* level that will allow for a more complete analysis of CF demographics and motivations for enlisting.

3.2.3 Parameters / Limitations of Data

There are some important limitations to the data used for this thesis. The 2006 Canada Census provides secondarily available survey data collected by Statistics Canada. Therefore, this thesis is limited to the variables available in the 2006 Census. The dependent variable is limited to a distinction between Officers and NCMs, and does not account for differences between Regular or Reserve Force members or different trades within the CF. Most significantly, the data do not specifically support the study of SES factors because there is no chronological ordering present to identify whether increased levels of education and income are the result of CF service or whether these variables remain unchanged as a result of CF membership.

4.0 PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.1 Sample and Sampling Method

Data for this study were extracted from the 2006 Canada Census, administered by Statistics Canada. The Canada Census draws its sample from households in the Canadian population. The Census sample design is "a stratified systematic sample of private occupied dwellings using a constant one-in-five sampling rate in all strata. As a sample of persons, it can be regarded as a stratified systematic cluster sample with dwellings as clusters" (Statistics Canada, 2010). One in five dwellings make up the sample and receive the full questionnaire, while the remaining dwellings respond to the shorter questionnaire. The long questionnaire asks every survey question while the short questionnaire is limited to a selection of basic demographic questions that extrapolate the sample to the population by applying a weight variable. Sample weights have been applied to the statistical outputs to ensure the sample accurately reflects the wider Canadian population. The Census variables examined in this study are detailed in Table A1, attached at Appendix A.

4.2 Recoded Variables

In order to complete the statistical objectives of this thesis, I recoded many variables into 'dummy' or categorical variables. When the variables were selected for recoding into categorical variables, a '1.0' often indicated possession of the variable of interest and a '0.0' indicated a lack of possession. These recodes were run in order to appropriately run correlations and regression models. Details of the recoded categorical variables are outlined in Table 3.

Table 3: Recoded Categorical Variables				
Variable Name	**Recoded**	**1.0 = Indicator**	**0.0 = Absent**	**Type**
MarStH	RecodeMarStH	Married or Common Law	Else	Demographic
POB_CNTRY	RecodePOB	Canada	Else	
POBF	RecodePOBF	Canada	Else	
POBM	RecodePOBM	Canada	Else	
Sex	RecodeSex	Female	Male	
Eth1	RecodeEth	Self-Identify Canadian First	Else	
DVisMin	RecodeVM	Any Visible minority	Else	
FOL	RecodeFOL	First Off Language Eng/Fr or Both	Else	
Immder	RecodeImm	Immigrant	Else	
Inacflgh	RecodeRes	On Reserve	Else	
Triber	RecodeAbo	Any Aboriginal	Else	
LF71	RecodeLF71	Canadian Forces Members	Else	Occ
Nochrd	RecodeOffr	Officers	Else	
Nochrd	RecodeNCM	Non-Commissioned Members	Else	
HCDD	RecodeUE	University Education	Else	Ed
HCDD	RecodeHE	High School Education	Else	

4.3 Variable Descriptions and Measures of Central Tendency

Measures of central tendency were run for each variable to determine their suitability for use in descriptive statistics. Variables were grouped according to type (whether the variable was interval-ratio/continuous, ordinal, or nominal/categorical by nature). In Table A1, variables are grouped according to whether they describe demographic, occupational, educational, or economic characteristics of respondents. The demographic variables of interest were identified as age, marital status, place of birth and parental place of birth, sex, ethnic origin, citizenship, visible minority or Aboriginal self-identification, and first official language spoken. Occupational variables of interest included labour force activity levels, occupation, and full time or part time weeks worked. Economic variables of interest included personal income, household income, and retirement income while the education variables of interest were high school graduation, highest diploma or degree received, and major field of study. Table 4 demonstrates the frequencies and percentages of the nominal variables analyzed in this study. Due to restrictions surrounding the release of Census data, all values in Tables 4, 5 and 6 have been rounded to the nearest five. Therefore, the percentages presented below indicate

that 0.0% of respondents in 2006 were in the CF, 0.0% of respondents spoke neither English nor French as their first official language, 0.0% of respondents were Aboriginal or living on reserve, and 0.0% were CF Officers or CF NCMs. As these percentages were very low and rounded to the nearest five, they are presented as 0.0. For each frequency listed below, the total number of respondents was 31,241,030.

Table 4: Variable Frequencies and Percentages				
	0.0 Value		1.0 Value (Indicator)	
Variable Studied	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Recoded LF71 Armed Forces Members	31179700	100.0	61330	**0.0**
Canadian Citizenship	6452305	20.0	24788725	80.0
Recoded Detailed visible minority	26172940	85.0	5068090	15.0
Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	22465350	70.0	8775680	30.0
Recoded First Official Language	507620	**0.0**	30733410	100.0
Recoded Immigrant Status	25054080	80.0	6186950	20.0
Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	30620688	100.0	620342	**0.0**
Recoded Living on Reserve	30898160	100.0	342870	**0.0**
Recoded Marital Status Historical	16065950	50.0	15175080	50.0
Recoded Place of Birth Respondent	6524190	20.0	24716840	80.0
Recoded Place of Birth Father	14745880	45.0	16495150	55.0
Recoded Place of Birth Mother	14429940	45.0	16811090	55.0
Recoded Sex	15326270	50.0	15914760	50.0
Recoded Nochrd: CF Officers Only	31222520	100.0	18510	**0.0**
Recoded Nochrd: CF NCMs Only	31226850	100.0	14180	**0.0**
Recoded High School Education	24687610	80.0	6553420	20.0
Recoded University Education	19872305	65.0	11368725	35.0

Table 5 summarizes the measures of central tendency for the continuous variables used in this study. Income, Retirement Income, and Age are described below. The average Income in 2006 was $27, 740 while the average Retirement Income was $1,820. The average age of respondents was 40 years old, while the age reported most often was 45 years.

Table 5: Measures of Central Tendency – Continuous Variables			
Variable Studied	Mean	Median	Mode
Income: Total Income (50% of Cases)	27740.0000	17330.0000	0.00
Retirement Pension Income (50% of Cases)	1820.0000	0.0000	0.00
Age: Single Years (50% of Cases)	40.0000	40.0000	45.00

A comparative demographic profile likens the results of Park's (2008) data from the 2002 Community Health Survey to the 2006 Canada Census data made available in this study. Since most of Park's (2008) results distinguish CF members by Regular and Reserve Force, a division that cannot be made with the 2006 Census data, the two studies cannot be compared directly on most criteria. However, what can be measured given the 2006 Census data are the number of respondents who are CF members and females, males, Aboriginals, or visible minorities. Again, because these values are so close to 0, they become absolutes when rounded to the nearest five. While Park (2008) reported that 14.7% of CF members were females in 2002, the 2006 Canada Census reports 0.0%. Similarly, the Canada Census reports 0.0% of visible minorities in the CF while Park (2008) identifies 6.4% using his 2002 Community Health Survey Data.

Table 6: A Comparative Demographic Profile		
% in the CF	Canadian Community Health Survey 2002 (Park, 2008)	Canada Census 2006 (Rounded to 5)
Females	14.7 %	0.0 %
Male	85.3 %	100.0 %
Aboriginals	Data Not Available	0.0 %
Visible Minorities	6.4 %	0.0 %

4.4 Correlations Matrices

Correlations matrices are conducted to explore the relationships between CF membership, age, visible minorities, self-identifying Canadian, speaking English and/or French as a first language, immigrant status, Aboriginal identification, marital status, mother birthplace, and sex. After examining the relationship between CF membership and demographic variables, CF membership is broken down into Officers and NCMs to observe the differences in career vocations.

4.4.1 Correlations Matrix – Canadian Forces Membership and Demographic Variables

Table 7: Correlations – CF Officers and Demographic Variables

Correlations[a]

		Recoded LF71 Armed Forces Members	AGE : SINGLE YEARS OF AGE (FROM 0 TO 121)	Recoded Detailed Visible Minority	Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	Recoded First Official Language Spoken	Recode of Immigrant Status	Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	Recoded Marital Status Historical	Recoded Place of Birth Mother	Recoded Sex
Recoded LF71 Armed Forces Members	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.006**	-.014**	.007**	.006**	-.014**	-.003**	.014**	.027**	-.032**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
AGE : SINGLE YEARS OF AGE (FROM 0 TO 121)	Pearson Correlation		1.000	-.107**	-.053**	-.062**	.190**	-.067**	.471**	.275**	.039**
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Detailed Visible Minority	Pearson Correlation			1.000	-.249**	-.197**	.514**	-.062**	-.033**	-.447**	.004**
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	Pearson Correlation				1.000	.077**	-.299**	-.065**	-.034**	.287**	.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)					.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.177
Recoded First Official Language Spoken	Pearson Correlation					1.000	-.186**	.004**	-.014**	.133**	-.025**
	Sig. (2-tailed)						.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recode of Immigrant Status	Pearson Correlation						1.000	-.069**	.150**	-.518**	.011**
	Sig. (2-tailed)							.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	Pearson Correlation							1.000	-.048**	.037**	.003**
	Sig. (2-tailed)								.000	.000	.000
Recoded Marital Status Historical	Pearson Correlation								1.000	.197**	-.019**
	Sig. (2-tailed)									.000	.000
Recoded Place of Birth Mother	Pearson Correlation									1.000	.006**
	Sig. (2-tailed)										.000
Recoded Sex	Pearson Correlation										1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)										

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=31241030

The correlations matrix in Table 7 demonstrates that all variables are significantly correlated at the .01 alpha level and all relationships are weak. The numbers in bold demonstrate the correlations between the proposed dependent variable, CF Membership, and the remaining independent variables. Empirical literature from the US would predict high to moderate relationships between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable. However, this is not the case; weak relationships exist between all independent variables and the dependent variable, whether positive or negative. Table 8 shows that weak negative relationships exist between CF membership and age, visible minority status, immigrant status, Aboriginal status, and sex. Weak positive relationships exist between CF membership and self-identifying Canadian first, speaking a Canadian official language first, being married or common law, and having a mother born in Canada. The weakness of these relationships

suggests that there are a number of outside factors beyond demographic characteristics that account for Canadian Forces membership.

4.4.2 Correlations Matrix – Canadian Forces Officers and Demographic Variables

Table 8: Correlations – CF Officers and Demographic Variables

Correlations[a]

		Recoded Nochrd for Officers	AGE : SINGLE YEARS OF AGE (FROM 0 TO 121)	Recoded Detailed Visible Minority	Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	Recoded First Official Language Spoken	Recode of Immigrant Status	Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	Recoded Marital Status Historical	Recoded Place of Birth Mother	Recoded Sex
Recoded Nochrd for Officers	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.000	-.008**	.000	.003**	-.007**	-.002**	.011**	.013**	-.017**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.107	.000	.452	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
AGE : SINGLE YEARS OF AGE (FROM 0 TO 121)	Pearson Correlation		1.000	-.107**	-.053**	-.062**	.190**	-.067**	.471**	.275**	.039**
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Detailed Visible Minority	Pearson Correlation			1.000	-.249**	-.197**	.514**	-.062**	-.033**	-.447**	.004**
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	Pearson Correlation				1.000	.077**	-.299**	-.065**	-.034**	.287**	.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)					.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.177
Recoded First Official Language Spoken	Pearson Correlation					1.000	-.186**	.004**	-.014**	.133**	-.025**
	Sig. (2-tailed)						.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recode of Immigrant Status	Pearson Correlation						1.000	-.069**	.150**	-.518**	.011**
	Sig. (2-tailed)							.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	Pearson Correlation							1.000	-.048**	.037**	.003**
	Sig. (2-tailed)								.000	.000	.000
Recoded Marital Status Historical	Pearson Correlation								1.000	.197**	-.019**
	Sig. (2-tailed)									.000	.000
Recoded Place of Birth Mother	Pearson Correlation									1.000	.006**
	Sig. (2-tailed)										.000
Recoded Sex	Pearson Correlation										1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)										

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=31241030

When CF Officers are examined independently for correlations with the isolated demographic variables, the resulting output also demonstrates weak relationships. Age and self-identifying Canadian are the first two variables to lose significance. Positive weak relationships exist between CF Officers and speaking English and/or French first, being married or common law, and having a mother born in Canada. Negative weak relationships exist between CF officers and self-identification as a visible minority, immigrant, having Aboriginal ancestry, and being female.

4.4.3 Correlations Matrix – Canadian Forces Non-Commissioned Members and Demographic Variables

Table 9: Correlations – CF NCMs and Demographic Variables

Correlations^a

		Recoded Nochrd for NCMs	AGE : SINGLE YEARS OF AGE (FROM 0 TO 121)	Recoded Detailed Visible Minority	Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	Recoded First Official Language Spoken	Recode of Immigrant Status	Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	Recoded Marital Status Historical	Recoded Place of Birth Mother	Recoded Sex
Recoded Nochrd for NCMs	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.001**	.004**	-.006**	.002**	.005**	.000**	.005**	.000**	.007**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
AGE : SINGLE YEARS OF AGE (FROM 0 TO 121)	Pearson Correlation		1.000	-.107**	-.053**	-.062**	.190**	-.067**	.471**	.275**	.039**
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Detailed Visible Minority	Pearson Correlation			1.000	-.249**	-.197**	.514**	-.062**	-.033**	-.447**	.004**
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Ethnic Origin Component 1	Pearson Correlation				1.000	.077**	-.299**	-.065**	-.034**	.287**	.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)					.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.177
Recoded First Official Language Spoken	Pearson Correlation					1.000	-.186**	.004**	-.014**	.133**	-.025**
	Sig. (2-tailed)						.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Recode of Immigrant Status	Pearson Correlation						1.000	-.069**	.150**	-.518**	.011**
	Sig. (2-tailed)							.000	.000	.000	.000
Recoded Aboriginal TribEr Variable	Pearson Correlation							1.000	-.048**	.037**	.003**
	Sig. (2-tailed)								.000	.000	.000
Recoded Marital Status Historical	Pearson Correlation								1.000	.197**	-.019**
	Sig. (2-tailed)									.000	.000
Recoded Place of Birth Mother	Pearson Correlation									1.000	.006**
	Sig. (2-tailed)										.000
Recoded Sex	Pearson Correlation										1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)										

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=31241030

When the correlations between CF NCMs and demographic variables are examined, all relationships hold significance. The strength of the relationships remains weak, with the exception of the relationships between CF NCMs and Aboriginal status, and CF NCMs and having a mother born in Canada, where no visible relationship exists. Significant weak positive relationships exist between CF NCMs and age, visible minority status, speaking a Canadian official language first, immigrant status, being married or common law, and self-identifying female. A significant weak negative relationship exists between CF NCMs and self-identifying Canadian first.

4.4.4 Correlations Matrices – Canadian Forces Membership, Education and Income

Table 10: Correlations – CF Members, Education and Income

Correlations[a]

		Recoded LF71 Armed Forces Members	Recoded High School Education	INCOME : TOTAL INCOME	INCOME : RETIREMENT PENSIONS
Recoded LF71 Armed Forces Members	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.020[**]	.018[**]	-.004[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
Recoded High School Education	Pearson Correlation		1.000	-.001[**]	-.002[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.000	.000
INCOME : TOTAL INCOME	Pearson Correlation			1.000	.145[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.000
INCOME : RETIREMENT PENSIONS	Pearson Correlation				1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)				

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=31241030

Table 11: Correlations – CF Officers, Education and Income

Correlations[a]

		Recoded Nochrd for Officers	Recoded University Education	INCOME : TOTAL INCOME	INCOME : RETIREMENT PENSIONS
Recoded Nochrd for Officers	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.011[**]	.015[**]	.001[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.003
Recoded University Education	Pearson Correlation		1.000	.000[**]	-.005[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.000	.000
INCOME : TOTAL INCOME	Pearson Correlation			1.000	.145[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.000
INCOME : RETIREMENT PENSIONS	Pearson Correlation				1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)				

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=31241030

Table 12: Correlations – CF NCMs, Education and Income

Correlations[a]

		Recoded Nochrd for NCMs	Recoded High School Education	INCOME : TOTAL INCOME	INCOME : RETIREMENT PENSIONS
Recoded Nochrd for NCMs	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.008[**]	.002[**]	-.003[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
Recoded High School Education	Pearson Correlation		1.000	-.001[**]	-.002[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.000	.000
INCOME : TOTAL INCOME	Pearson Correlation			1.000	.145[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.000
INCOME : RETIREMENT PENSIONS	Pearson Correlation				1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)				

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=31241030

In terms of the relationships between CF membership, CF Officer and CF NCM membership and SES, Tables 10, 11, and 12 reveal the weak relationships that exist between the CF membership variables and the chosen SES measures: education, income and retirement pensions. There is no visible indication of a strong relationship between SES, as it is defined here, and CF membership. Because time-ordering cannot be proven in this case, a regression model is inappropriate.

4.5 Logistic Regressions

4.5.1 Logistic Regression – Canadian Forces Membership as Dependent Variable, Demographic Variables as Independent Variables

Table 13: Regression – CF Members and Demographic Variables

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	age	-.036	.000	13124.656	1	.000	.965
	RecodeVM(1)	.590	.023	665.860	1	.000	1.804
	RecodeEth(1)	.116	.009	177.504	1	.000	1.123
	RecodeFOL(1)	-2.028	.178	129.837	1	.000	.132
	RecodeImm(1)	-.594	.021	814.600	1	.000	.552
	RecodeAbo(1)	1.073	.043	633.119	1	.000	2.923
	RecodeMarsth(1)	-.960	.010	8582.143	1	.000	.383
	RecodePOBM(1)	-1.828	.015	15092.171	1	.000	.161
	RecodeSex(1)	1.826	.012	25095.248	1	.000	6.207
	Constant	-6.393	.054	14261.353	1	.000	.002

In the first logistic regression model, the CF membership variable, Recoded LF71, is isolated as the dependent variable. Table 13 depicts the results of the logistic regression model that aims to determine the probability that CF members will hold specific demographic characteristics used as the model's independent variables: similar age, visible minority status, self-identifying Canadian, speaking English or French as a first official language, immigrant status, Aboriginal identification, being married or common law, having a mother born in Canada, and being female. All resulting weights are significant. With membership in the CF, the probability of being younger increases .965 times, controlling for all other variables. The probability of being a visible minority decreases 1.804 times, and the probability of self-identifying Canadian first decreases 1.123 times. The probability of speaking English or French as a

first official language increases 0.132 times, and the probability of being an immigrant increases .552 times. The probability of self-identifying Aboriginal decreases 2.923 times, while the probability of being married or in a common law marriage increases .383 times, controlling for other variables. With CF membership, the probability of having a mother born in Canada increases .161 times and the probability of being female decreases 6.207 times, controlling for all other variables.

The Cox & Snell R Square indicates that approximately 0.4% of the variance in CF membership is explained by knowledge of the independent variables, while the Nagelkerke R Square indicates that 10.3% of the variance in the dependent variable is explained with knowledge of the independent variables. If the Cox & Snell R Square is accepted, very little of the variance in CF membership is explained with knowledge of the demographic characteristics of its members. However, the Nagelkerke R Square attributes a greater percentage of CF membership variance on demographic variables.

4.5.2 Logistic Regression – Canadian Forces Officers as Dependent Variable, Demographic Variables as Independent Variables

Table 14: Regression – CF Officers and Demographic Variables

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	age	-.025	.001	2316.705	1	.000	.975
	RecodeVM(1)	.915	.042	486.428	1	.000	2.498
	RecodeEth(1)	.379	.017	513.247	1	.000	1.460
	RecodeFOL(1)	-12.366	52.644	.055	1	.814	.000
	RecodeImm(1)	-.159	.035	20.139	1	.000	.853
	RecodeAbo(1)	1.183	.082	206.491	1	.000	3.263
	RecodeMarsth(1)	-1.170	.020	3502.579	1	.000	.310
	RecodePOBM(1)	-1.139	.024	2182.391	1	.000	.320
	RecodeSex(1)	1.720	.020	7215.894	1	.000	5.584
	Constant	-8.929	.101	7893.415	1	.000	.000

When the CF variable is further divided into a sub-sample of CF Officers and the same logistic regression model is run, the output yields similar results. All resultant weights are significant, with the exception of the first official language variable. With membership in the CF Officer ranks, the probability of being younger increases .975 times, controlling for all other variables. The probability of being a

visible minority decreases 2.498 times, and the probability of self-identifying Canadian first decreases 1.460 times. The probability of being an immigrant increases .853 times with one unit of change in the dependent variable, while the probability of self-identifying Aboriginal decreases 3.263 times and the probability of being married or in a common law marriage increases .310 times. With CF Officer membership, the probability of having a mother born in Canada increases .320 times and the probability of being female decreases 5.584 times, controlling for all other variables. Although the Canadian official language variable loses significance when CF Officers are specifically examined, the results of this regression model are markedly similar to those of CF members in general.

4.5.3 Logistic Regression – Canadian Forces Non-Commissioned Members as Dependent Variable, Demographic Variables as Independent Variables

Table 15: Regression – CF NCMs and Demographic Variables

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	RecodeVM(1)	-.356	.025	199.343	1	.000	.700
	RecodeEth(1)	.643	.024	708.988	1	.000	1.901
	RecodeFOL(1)	-2.694	.197	187.343	1	.000	.068
	RecodeImm(1)	-.433	.027	253.162	1	.000	.649
	RecodeMarsth(1)	-.330	.018	333.396	1	.000	.719
	RecodePOBM(1)	-.347	.024	206.111	1	.000	.707
	RecodeSex(1)	-.676	.018	1432.359	1	.000	.509
	Constant	-6.979	.038	33220.743	1	.000	.001

When CF NCMs are substituted as the dependent variable with the set of significant independent variables from the correlations matrix, all resulting weights bear significance. With CF NCM membership, the probability of being a visible minority increases .700 times, controlling for all other variables. The probability of self-identifying Canadian first decreases 1.901 times, while the probability of speaking English and/or French as a first official language increases 0.068 times. The probability of being an immigrant increases .649 times, while the probability of being married or in a

common law marriage increases .719 times, controlling for other variables. Given membership as a CF

NCM, the probability of having a mother born in Canada increases .707 times and the probability of

being female increases .509 times, controlling for all other variables. When comparing the regression

models of CF Officers and CF NCMs, the results are similar. One noted difference is a change in the sex

variable between CF Officers and NCMs. When individuals are members of the CF, their probability of

being female increases for NCM membership but decreases for Officer membership, controlling for all

other variables.

5.0 WHO JOINS THE CANADIAN FORCES? A DISCUSSION ON OBSERVABLE PATTERNS

The statistical analysis presented in Chapter 4 raises several important questions for discussion. Canadian Forces members have primarily been identified as white males; however, relationships between demographic characteristics outlined in this profile and CF membership variables are weak. This study has not found a strong observable pattern between CF membership and demographic characteristics, and no pattern between CF membership and the selected measures of SES – income, education and retirement income. Although little variance in CF membership is described by demographic characteristics, a profile on its members provides insight into who joins the CF. Descriptive data, in the form of frequencies and percentages presented in Chapter 4, were compared to Park's (2008) profile in an effort to identify the archetypal profile of a CF member. This discussion will first explore the profile of a CF member. Second, the anomalies in the statistical output will specifically be examined. Third, the broader issues that have been exposed in this study will be explored: the underrepresentation of Aboriginals, women and visible minorities in the CF. The ontological and epistemological assumptions of Bourdieu, Habermas, and Giddens will serve as a guiding framework throughout the analysis.

5.1 Who Joins the Canadian Forces?

The descriptive statistics outlined in Tables 4, 5, and 6 provide a starting point for the analysis of CF members and an insight into the typical membership profile. Tables 4 and 5 identify the characteristics of representative respondents who answered the Canada Census, while Table 6 specifically identifies the characteristics of respondents who were CF members. Respondents of the 2006 Canada Census were representative of the Canadian population. Any anomalies to this representation are corrected by applying the weight variable. This process ensures that the sampled individuals reflect the demographic composition of Canadian society, making the Canada Census highly representative. With this representation in mind, the demographic characteristics of CF members in

Canada are examined and it is demonstrated that the CF is comprised almost entirely of non-Aboriginal, non-visible minority males. Although it would seem that the CF has successfully integrated minorities in the past, especially considering the case of French Canadians, this integration appears to have been limited to a linguistic minority and the CF has not demonstrated the same success integrating visible minorities, Aboriginals and women.

The significance of the lack of Aboriginals, women, and visible minorities in the CF will be explored in the latter portion of this chapter. There are a number of factors that might contribute to the differences between the 2002 Community Health Survey and the 2006 Census data. It appears that the number of women and visible minorities in the CF has drastically decreased from 14.7% to 0.0% in the case of females and 6.4% to 0.0% in the case of visible minorities. However, further study is required to determine whether or not this trend is significant utilizing the same sample size and survey data in a longitudinal analysis. At present, these differences can be characterized by different sampling methods, different access to CF members and a specific focus on the CF *field* that allows for closer examination without also accounting for the cases of civilian respondents.

5.1.1 Distinguishing this Study from United States Empirical Research

According to the available empirical research on visible minorities joining the US Armed Forces, ethnoracial minorities are more inclined to join the military than their white European counterparts (Kuvlesky & Dietrich, 1973; Baker, 1985; Gorman & Thomas, 1993; Bachman, Segal, Freedman-Doan & O'Malley, 2000; Cooney, Wechsler-Segal, Segal & Falk, 2003; Gifford, 2005; Kleykamp, 2006). Unfortunately, most empirical research in this area has been conducted in the US, and does not hold the same relevance for studies of ethnoracial membership in the CF due to its unique demographic composition. The CF reflects widespread underrepresentation of women, visible ethnoracial minorities, and Aboriginal peoples, despite its attempts at increasing diversity (Jung, 2007; Park, 2008). Perhaps the most interesting difference in CF demographic trends is that white males are overrepresented while

females and visible minorities are underrepresented, suggesting that Canadians are joining the CF for different reasons than Americans join the US military (Park, 2008, p. 21). Park utilizes data from the 2002 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) to identify this difference empirically:

> More than one in five reservists were women compared with about one in eight in the regular forces in 2002. Also, while less than 5% of regular force personnel were immigrants or from a visible minority, more than 10% of reservists were. This reflects the many young reserve members from visible minority or immigrant groups. (2008, p. 19)

Only 6 % of CF members are visible minorities. Park notes that this number differs from the percentage of visible minorities in the Canadian workforce at 17%, and is much lower than the US rate of 33%. Similarly, there are also low rates of immigrant members (2008, p. 21).

There are a number of different factors that distinguish the CF from the US Armed Forces. Size and level of national focus alone mean that the US Armed Forces are on a scale that no other military approaches. However, there are obvious differences in their historical integration of African Americans since the nineteenth century that are also worth exploring. Similarly, when analyzing the federal funding set aside for the US military and their unique recruiting campaign, it becomes evident that the US Armed Forces has had measured success in building diversity, while the CF is still attempting to proportionally represent minorities in Canada.

While the US military is often accused of sending its poor and ethnoracial minorities into the military and off to war, and there is a great deal of controversy over the underrepresentation of 'upper class' individuals, the story is somewhat different in Canada, where these minorities are simply not proportionally present in the CF. Other structural factors that may influence membership include the amount of money spent on recruiting, and on the two militaries in general. Park (2008) reports that Canada's 2001 annual military spending amounted to approximately seven billion US dollars, one percent of Canadian Gross Domestic Product, while the US spent three-hundred ten billion US dollars, or just under three percent of Gross Domestic Product (p. 21). Funds dedicated to the military, which

include the recruiting budget of the US military, have the capacity to influence the power of the US military to reach their intended audience more effectively than the CF.

Does the CF recruiting campaign appropriately target the groups it aims to diversify with? The recruiting advertisements run by the CF feature current CF members who reflect the dominant Caucasian male majority. Examining the content of these advertisements, it appears that there are fewer minorities featured in their television advertisements (Canadian Forces, 2009). Comparatively, the US Army and Air Force websites highlight diversity. They profile actual US Armed Forces members, an array of minorities, filling diverse roles within the military. Profiles of women and visible minorities are readily available and demonstrate more than a promotion of diversity but a lived diversity; on completing a content analysis of the US television advertisements and available recruiting materials on their websites (U.S. Air Force, 2009; U.S. Army, 2009), it becomes apparent that the US Armed Forces are not using token representatives from these demographic groups but merely profiling actual members with whom target US citizens can easily identify. This analysis provides the background of an area of great potential for further sociological analysis; if the CF is not successfully advertising to minorities, how does it expect that women, visible minority and Aboriginal Canadians will relate to its advertisements? The differences in recruiting strategies point to an important contributing factor in the demographic differences found in the CF. While the US Army website highlights diversity in the military and proudly states that African Americans have participated (although segregated at first) in every conflict in US history (African Americans in the US Army, 2009), the CF does not appear as successful at promoting diversity through recruiting advertisements.

Jung (2007) points to a number of key elements that tie this analysis together by discussing the tangible recruiting goals of the CF:

In trying to achieve greater diversity, the CF has set targets, based upon a model of proportional representation, in compliance with the EE [Employment Equity] Act and the Human Rights Commission. The consequences, however, of setting unrealistic targets – and subsequently not achieving those targets – could produce a perception of institutional inertia. (p. 27)

Jung (2007) quotes the 2006 Auditor General report, which states that the CF has been unable to recruit more Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and women since 2002. In fact, it appears that these numbers are decreasing across the board (p. 27-28). He recognizes the discrepancy between CF demographics and the Canadian workforce composition and identifies this disconnect as a serious problem, not only for the image of diversity but because the current pool of typical CF recruits is decreasing as visible minorities are increasingly located in large metropolitan areas:

The recruitment pool for the CF has traditionally been fit young men between the ages of 17 and 24, coming from rural areas or from urban areas with a population of less than 100,000. Recruits have generally been white males with previous familial CF ties, possessing a high school education or less. (Jung, 2007, p. 28)

Jung links this idea to the cultural notion that immigrants are typically highly educated, outlining a few potential reasons for these discrepancies: the power of cultural values in influencing the possibility of enrolling; visible minorities are relatively new to Canada and located in ethnic enclaves in atypical recruiting areas (larger cities); the promotion of education among immigrants; refugee entrance as viewing government institutions as corrupt and brutal; and the lack of current representation of visible minorities in the higher ranks of the CF (Jung, 2007, p. 31). Jung's (2007) analysis offers an insightful integration of concepts into the discussion of statistical outputs in this study, and assists by providing useful areas for future analysis.

5.2 Observable Patterns

5.2.1 Weak Correlations between Canadian Forces Membership and Demographic Variables – Little Variance Explained by Logistic Regression

Tables 4, 5, and 6 in Chapter 4 demonstrate weak correlations between the CF membership variables and selected demographic variables. Similarly, the logistic regression in Tables 10, 11 and 12

report that little variance in the dependent variables is explained with knowledge of the independent variables. This output indicates that little of the decision to enrol in the CF is explained by an individual's demographic characteristics; these weak correlations imply that there are a number of other factors contributing to CF membership beyond demographic characteristics such as age, place of birth, sex, language spoken, immigrant status, Aboriginal status, marital status, and self-identifying Canadian. The limited contribution of demographic characteristics to variance in CF membership will be explored in detail in Section 5.4.

5.2.2 Weak Correlations between Canadian Forces Membership and Socioeconomic Status Variables

Guided by Bourdieu's theory of *distinction*, the correlations between SES variables and the isolated CF membership variables were examined in an attempt to treat the choice of CF membership as a specific behaviour or *taste* within that analysis. If the noted SES variables representing income and education proved to be highly correlated with membership in the CF, then sociologists could begin to link CF Officer and NCM membership with a specific category of *distinction* as postulated by Bourdieu, and therefore have the capacity to predict CF membership in individuals possessing the same specific amount of human and/or economic capital. Tables 7, 8, and 9 demonstrate weak correlations between CF members (specifically Officers and NCMs) and the SES variables representing education and income. Since SES variables within the data cannot be ordered chronologically, no regression model was completed in this analysis. Given the output on weak correlations and the inability to continue studying these relationships using a multivariate analysis, it can be said that weak relationships exist between the variables of CF membership, education and income. Further sociological study is required to detail the relationship between SES and CF membership in a definitive way. If Bourdieu's assessment of *tastes* or *dispositions,* originally applied to French citizens in the 1970s, can be effectively applied to the contemporary CF, a study that allows for a more detailed analysis of the human and economic capital of CF members is required.

5.2.3 Differences between Positive and Negative Correlations – Officers and Non-Commissioned Members

Bourdieu argues that all *tastes* define the *distinctions,* or differences in the amount of capital, between one individual and the next. The differences between positive and negative correlations in Tables 4, 5, and 6 are important to the remaining discussion, as is the variance in CF Officer and NCM results. Notable observations that have emerged from the data output include the decreased probability of a CF member being Aboriginal, a visible minority, or a female, as they relate to CF membership and CF Officers in particular. One noted difference for CF NCMs includes a slight increase in the probability of being a visible minority and a female, an expected and noteworthy difference given the nature of CF NCM work and access to jobs at the lower end of the pay scale and military hierarchy. In the Chapter that follows, careful attention will be paid to these observable patterns, providing sociological insight in the discussion of female, Aboriginal and visible minority underrepresentation in the CF officer ranks.

This thesis contributes to the development of Canadian military sociology by identifying the important role that non-demographic factors play in predicting CF membership. I have demonstrated that external factors are principally responsible for CF membership and provided an important foundation in building Canadian military sociology. If there are contemporary Canadian patterns that reproduce social *classes* in Bourdieu's sense of this concept, these have not yet been uncovered. What has been exposed is the lack of visible minority, Aboriginal, and female representation within the CF, and the CF Officer cadre in specific. These three patterns will be explored independently in the discussion that follows.

5.3 Underrepresentations Explored

5.3.1 Women as Canadian Forces Officers

It has been identified that the probability of being female decreases significantly with CF membership, particularly in the case of CF Officers. Although demographic characteristics account for only a small portion of the variance in CF membership, this is a significant pattern and a factor worth exploring independently. Bourdieu's conception of social space can be utilized to map out a *field* within broader Canadian society. However, due to the heterogeneity of the CF, this concept can also be applied to help sociologists navigate within a *field* that is designed using a framework of exclusively CF members. If the CF *field* is being utilized to position females, structural factors must be examined. Giddens's *duality of structure* and Habermas's notion of the *system* allow us to identify females within their institutionally framed social positions. According to Calixte, Johnson & Motapanyane (2005), feminism aims to "achieve gender equality in all spheres of life (social, political, economic, religious, and cultural). Feminism is also about seeing the connection between our day-to-day activities as women and larger social processes" (p. 1). Guided by the integrated theoretical framework conceived here, I will explore appropriate feminist theorists' explanations for the structural factors that influence this anomaly.

While these are structural factors, they help us understand the unique background that influences the female experience. One potential explanation for the underrepresentation of women in the CF, given the overarching system of Western socialization, is that females are naturally motherly, nurturing, and intuitive, and are therefore markedly different biological humans than men, who are often considered rational and goal-oriented humans. According to Park (2008), "women's roles in the CF are quite different from those of men…while about one-third of men in the CF reported combat arms as their occupation, 11% of women did so" (p. 21). Women continue to fill traditionally supportive roles in the CF, with marginal increases in less traditional and combat style roles (Park, 2008, p. 21). From the

standpoint of a postmodern feminist, gender roles are identified and performed according to societal expectations and socialization, not biological inclinations or intuitions (Seidman, 2008, p. 212). Therefore, it is more likely that females are filling the socialized and institutionalized roles of nurturing mothers, the same gender roles that foster the idea that the military is an inherently masculine role that serves Canadian society. Judith Butler argues that these gender roles are socially constructed, performed, and reinforced throughout a woman's existence (Seidman, 2008, p. 211). In this study, females can be typecast as performing their gender roles by not participating in stereotypically 'masculine' careers in the CF. Additionally, the participation of females in the CF NCM stream reflects the internalized subordination of female roles to those filled by men. Officers are commanders who exert power at the policy level, while NCMs execute the plans devised by Officers. This subordination can also be viewed as a gender role that is performed based on socially constructed and institutionally reinforced gender identities.

Although postmodern feminist theory is separate from the theories presented by Bourdieu, Habermas and Giddens, its use as a governing ideology in the study of women's experiences is applicable in illuminating the unique influence of institutionalized systems as identified by Giddens and Habermas. Although Butler (Seidman, 2008) and Calixte *et al.* (2005) propose notions that are unique to the female experience and way of knowing, their conceptualizations of the internalization of *structure* and resultant actions are reminiscent of and complimentary to Habermas and Giddens. Consequently, these theories are utilized collectively to enhance the understanding of female underrepresentation in the CF.

5.3.2 The Aboriginal Experience in Canada

In addition to female underrepresentation, the relative underrepresentation of Aboriginals in the CF has been identified in this study. This section will attempt to locate Aboriginals within the CF *field* and determine the *structural* influences on Aboriginal CF memberships that are institutionalized within

Canadian society. Since Aboriginals are not included in the definition of visible minorities in Canada –

the Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as "persons other than Aboriginal people who are

non-Caucasian in race and non-White in colour" (Canada, 2004) – it is important to incorporate an

independent assessment of Aboriginal peoples. Guided by Habermas's communicative action theory, I

will explore the structural experiences that Aboriginals face in present day Canadian society and the

Canadian labour force. Habermas focuses on structural interactions within the human existence. I apply

his theory to an analysis of the structural treatment of Aboriginals in Canada in an attempt to draw out

the internalization of *structure* and resulting tensions applicable generally to Canada's regionally diverse

Aboriginal population. Historic and cultural structural factors that will be explored for their influence on

CF membership include geographic relocation, fertility rates, the urbanization of Aboriginal Peoples, the

concentration of Aboriginals in core neighbourhoods, education and the development of human capital,

and rates of crime and imprisonment. At this point, it is important to note that the observed

underrepresentation of Aboriginals may or may not include Aboriginal Canadians serving in the US

military and/or the Canadian Rangers; the occupation variable used in the 2006 Census does not specify

this distinction.

In their study on Canadian demography, Halli, Trovato and Driedger (1995) argue that

Aboriginals in Canada hold a unique position because they share a greater propensity for relocation than

the total Canadian population. Demographically, they are a distinct people with a higher fertility rate

and a death rate that is ten years younger than the national average (Halli *et al.*, 1995, p. 2-3). The

population of Aboriginal Peoples across the prairies has increased, and will continue to increase with

high reproduction rates and a high percentage of youth in the Aboriginal population. In his examination

of prairie Aboriginal migration from cities to First Nations, Cooke (2002) illustrates that the growing

population of urban Aboriginal Peoples could be the most significant change in Canadian demographics

since the 1950s (p. 41). This has commonly been constructed as a social problem for many Canadian

cities, which see the rising population of Aboriginals as resulting in increased unemployment and economic disparity. Cooke offers a counter argument that is less focused on the narrative of individual responsibility for social mobility and more focused on the policies that construct the experiences of Aboriginals in cities, indicating that there is often little support for Aboriginal adjustment to urban settings (Cooke, 2002, p. 41-42). Cooke (2002) argues that the occurrence of Aboriginal urbanization is met with very few social policies designed to assist Aboriginals with adjustment to the urban economy and the capitalist way of life. The urbanization of Aboriginals is applicable to analyses of Aboriginal CF members. With little guidance toward the adaptation to a capitalist economy, including more traditional British careers such as careers in the CF (see Cooke, 2002), Aboriginals might be structurally less inclined toward military service.

When Aboriginals migrate to cities and are faced with a non-traditional economic system, they become highly mobile and are often concentrated into neighbourhoods with high poverty and crime rates. Chettleburgh (2007) identifies several Aboriginal ghettos of economic disparity that resemble black ghettos in the US. Notable urban Aboriginal ghettos are located across Canada in Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg (Chettleburgh, 2007, p. 38). Anderson and Spence (2008) account for this occurrence in their study of Aboriginals living in Saskatoon:

> Saskatoon now has both the highest proportion of Aboriginal residents to total city population and unfortunately also has the highest proportion of Aboriginal residents living below the poverty line (i.e. defined using Statistics Canada's low-income cut-off) of any CMA (Census Metropolitan Area) in Canada. (p. 41)

The Bridges and Foundations Project in Saskatoon also found that the highest proportion of these Aboriginal residents lived in the inner-city neighbourhoods of Saskatoon, where crime rates, prostitution, violence, slum rental housing, and youth gangs flourished (Anderson & Spence, 2008, p. 41-42). Urban Aboriginals are frequently living in impoverished and crime-ridden areas of Canadian cities, emplacing some significant barriers on CF membership.

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The education system in Canada is another institutionalized *structure* that defines the Aboriginal experience in Canada and affects the propensity of Aboriginals to enlist in the CF. The educational system in Canada was developed in post-colonial society without the input of Aboriginals, which had a separate and distinct worldview from the European settlers. Policy makers in the education system are still redressing this error, recognizing that Aboriginal culture values concepts of community and connections to land while the non-Aboriginal dominant culture emphasizes the development of human capital and individual success in the capitalist economy. In attempts to deliver more holistic and culturally appropriate curricula, public educators have expressed a commitment for reform. The current problem in Aboriginal education, according to Wotherspoon (2008) is, "the absence of strong integrative mechanisms to link teachers' professional needs, Aboriginal community interests, and clear system commitments to education equity for Aboriginal people" (p. 390). Although Aboriginal education levels have improved, without a tangible system for Aboriginal education it becomes more difficult for Canadian Aboriginals to obtain high levels of education, as this pursuit is incompatible with their traditional beliefs. Therefore, Aboriginals have been less likely to obtain the types of human capital that will allow them success in the capitalist economy, including membership in CF.

Using a theoretical framework guided by the *structural* theories of Habermas and Giddens, I have presented the unique experiences Canadian Aboriginals face and pointed to institutional factors contributing to their underrepresentation in the CF. Aboriginal experiences of urbanization, living in core neighbourhoods and in poverty, involved in crime and imprisonment, and facing barriers to accumulation of human capital can be seen as *structural* factors that are internalized by individuals facing these obstacles in Canadian society. Additionally, Giddens's framework contributes to the assessment of Canadian Aboriginal propensity to enrol with his *structuration* theory; there exists a linkage between the *structure* and *systems* to the individual actions of Canadian Aboriginals in not enlisting in the CF. Similarly, it can be postulated that Aboriginals fall into a distinct *habitus* in their

social positioning in the CF *field*, a social position which has resulted in a decreased inclination to become CF Officers.

5.3.3 Treatment of Visible Minorities

In addition to the assessment of females and Aboriginals in the CF Officer ranks, the underrepresentation of visible minorities is explored applying the same theoretical framework. The unique position of Canadian visible minorities is explored in relation to a broad overview of the social position and treatment of American visible minorities, in an attempt to draw out differences between the American literature and the differing results of this study. In US literature, the military was identified as possessing a high percentage of visible minorities in its ranks. Comparatively, the CF does not reflect the same representative population. This section will explore the uniqueness of the visible minority experience in Canada and identify some structural factors that influence the propensity of these individuals to join the CF. Specifically, this section will identify the demographic differences between Canada and the US based on early European settlement patterns, the differing historical treatment of visible minorities in both countries, Canada's policy on multiculturalism, and the changing immigrant population in Canada. This section is not intended to provide a comprehensive history of Western settlement patterns or the treatment of visible minorities; however, it aims to provide a brief overview of the *structural* cultural differences faced by visible minorities in Canada, to illuminate barriers to CF enrolment.

The basic demographic differences between the CF and the US military are explained by comparing the settlement patterns unique to each nation. Canadian and American societies have developed differently, and have treated their visible minorities according to that development. Russell (2009) explains the differences between Canada and the US in terms of colonial and post-colonial economic development. In his assessment of the strength of New France, which later became Quebec, a feudal system was partially transplanted from the home country while capitalism simultaneously

developed with the cooperation of First Nations people during the fur trade period. This economy was significantly different from the more developed capitalism of the British colonies, which favoured the development of plantation labour and slavery. While the French cooperated with Indigenous peoples in what is now Quebec, the British were more oppositional toward First Nations people in the quest for land (p. 30-31). Russell (2009) analyses the treatment of Aboriginals during colonization to elucidate the treatment of visible minorities by colonizers during the colonial period and explains how Canada developed into a multicultural country. The unique settlement patterns in Quebec led to a French Canadian influence that impacts Canadian visible minorities by creating a different culture in Canada that is concentrated on multiculturalism. The distinctive treatment of visible minorities within Canadian culture provides insight into the dissimilar composition of minorities within the CF.

Russell's assessment of historic settlement differences between the two countries is not unique. Canada and the US also consequently differ in their treatment of visible minorities – likely an influential factor contributing to the structural differences these cultures face in accessing CF careers. When comparing the treatment of visible minorities in Canada and the US, Chiswick (1992) states that:

> Both are economically developed liberal democracies with institutions of essentially similar European origin, but modified according to the requirements of their particular circumstances. The bulk of the populations of both countries can trace their origins to Europe, but with increasing proportions from other continents. Both countries have large minorities that differ from the majority by race and ethnicity and, for some, by language. (p. 2)

The two countries experience basic differences in that Canada has a large geographically concentrated native-born ethnic and linguistic minority, the French Canadians, culturally present since 1608. Conversely, the US has a large and growing Spanish population concentrated in a few states, primarily resulting from post-World War II migration. This group differs from French Canadians because it does not hold majority status or specific legal/political rights in any state. There is also a difference in terms of the role of language in entering these countries. In the US, the English language gives no advantage to persons seeking an immigrant VISA. In contrast, the skills-based entrance system for Canada rewards

French or English fluency (Chiswick, 1992, p. 3). With regards to immigration itself, however, Chiswick identifies some similarities. Most notably, "after several decades of tight restriction favouring northwestern Europe, both the United States and Canada liberalized immigration policies following the end of World War II" (Chiswick, 1992, p. 4). Chiswick provides a broad assessment of Canada's unique development of an immigration policy in comparison to the US, adding insight to the comparative analysis of their differing military compositions.

The complex multiculturalism policy in Canada adds depth to the discussion on cultural differences and identifies Canada as possessing a different structural base than the US. Li (1997) acknowledges the intricate development of the treatment of visible minorities in Canada, and provides a detailed assessment of the Canadian policy on multiculturalism. Since 1971, multiculturalism has been the official Canadian policy on assimilation and integration. Li (1997) asserts that there is confusion over this ambiguous term; academically, the term 'multiculturalism' means 'cultural pluralism' while functionally there is still a lack of clarity surrounding the official Canadian policy (p. 147-150). The official policy of multiculturalism distinguishes Canada and the CF from the US and US Armed Forces, reflected in the relatively recent ethnoracial diversification of Canada.

The changing immigrant population in Canada suggests that the presence of visible minorities is relatively new, leaving a short period of time to develop a family history of Canadian military service. Recent changes in Canadian immigrants' host countries have meant that Canada has faced an influx of visible minorities in the past few decades. Canada has become increasingly diverse, with citizens recently reporting more than two-hundred different ethnic origins. Although Canadian, French and English are still the most commonly reported origins by 39% of Canadians, and the numbers still identify most respondents as Protestant or Roman Catholic, the immigrant population is undergoing significant changes. More than half of immigrants to Canada in 2001 came from Asia, including the Middle East, where very few came from these areas in the 1950s. Most importantly, there is a growing population of

visible minorities in Canada at four million, or 13% of the total population. Of this group, 26% are

Chinese, 23% are South Asians, and 17% are Blacks, with smaller percentages of Filipinos, Arabs, West

Asians, Latin Americans, Southeast Asians, Koreans, and Japanese (Multiculturalism & Citizenship, 2004).

Kralt (1995, p. 13) discusses the arrival of a large number of immigrants from developing countries since

the 1960s. This shifting immigrant population holds significance for the underrepresentation of visible

minorities in the CF. Without that historical component, and having a family member who has

previously participated in the Canadian military, the recent wave of visible minority immigrants may not

see the CF as an attractive career.

As a caveat to the previous paragraph, it is important to identify the limitations of the Canadian

Census and the shaping of ethnic identities through the assignment and definition that takes place

during the survey. In their study of ethnic demography in Canada, Halli, Trovato and Driedger (1995)

argue that perceptions on ethnicity in Canada are shaped by the Census Canada definitions and

constructions (p. 2). Similarly, Kralt's (1995) study on ethnic origins and the Canadian Census asserts

that the changing definitions of ethnicity by Statistics Canada reshape how Canadians identify with

ethnicity and impact the reporting process (p. 13). Definitions play an important role in the

identification of visible minorities and Aboriginals in Canada. This point is worth further analysis,

especially when comparing the Census to a demographic profile that is completed by the Government of

Canada. If these studies are defining visible minorities and Aboriginals differently, it is possible that the

incongruity in their numbers is a result of different survey variables and responses. Ethnic definitions

are complicated and sometimes sensitive matters, not just in the Census, but in legislation as well.

Utilizing an analysis of institutional structures guided by Habermas, Bourdieu and Giddens, it

becomes evident that internalized structural forces guide the experiences of Canadian visible minorities

and differentiate their experiences. Visible minorities occupy unique positions in Canadian society, and

as a result may be positioned in the CF *field* where they are unlikely to enrol as CF Officers due to

different individual expressions of those tastes. An integrated theoretical framework was utilized in this discussion to draw attention to the weak correlations and logistic regressions presented in Chapter 4, as well as the overarching themes exposed on the underrepresentation of Aboriginals, females and visible minorities as Officers in the CF. Although demographic characteristics account for only a small portion of variance in CF membership, that contribution has been explored in detail and connections have been drawn between the structural factors internalized by individuals and the choices those individuals make as a result.

6.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of this study were twofold. First, this thesis aimed to identify those demographic characteristics associated with service in the CF and, second, it aimed to postulate the socioeconomic outcomes of CF service. The results indicate that relatively little variance in CF membership is explained by demographic factors and demonstrate weak relationships between CF membership and socioeconomic indicators.

6.1 Contribution to Canadian Military Sociology

On the whole, what this study adds to Canadian military sociology is the incorporation of sociological theory with a demographic study on CF membership, along with a detailed discussion on the underrepresentation of Aboriginals, visible minorities, and women in the CF. The weak relationships present in the statistical output indicate that several external factors account for CF membership beyond those of age, marital status, visible minority status, sex, place of birth, and language spoken. The discussion provided in Chapter 5 aims to bring potential explanations to the forefront, and to explain the key finding in this study: the overrepresentation of white males in the CF.

Habermas's theories aid in the understanding of recruit motivations. His communicative action theory helps broaden understandings of the internalization of *structure*; social action is based on the *structure* of society, which includes strategies for coordinating resources and controlling natural and social forces, but it is also based on the *lifeworld*, where action is based on mutual understanding, background assumptions and stocks of knowledge. Habermas furthers understandings of the symbolic universe created by the military, and its distinctiveness from civilian culture. I have incorporated Habermas to assist with the structural conceptualization of the Canadian military as a social institution: its encapsulation of *structure* and the colonized *lifeworld*.

Bourdieu`s conception of social space, grouping human capital according to symbolic and cultural capital, has aided the understanding of individual choices to join the CF. The *habitus* are

interpretive schema, a lens through which the world is interpreted based on one's social positioning; it is how individuals make choices in the world, and what their choices are based on. Bourdieu helps us to determine whether a low allocation of capital would attract someone to a particular CF career path (Officer or NCM). Bourdieu argues that the education system perpetuates these theoretical classes. This study explored potential patterns of demographic characteristics to highlight which patterns, if any, predetermine membership. Weak correlation outputs resulted, indicating that educational background is not directly linked to CF service, or whether individuals choose to work as Officers or NCMs.

Giddens's *structuration* is a useful concept that illuminated a few important aspects of the study results. Giddens sees actors as independent beings in society in their capacity to make change and exert power. Like Bourdieu, he treats individual resources as tools used for obtaining power or *structure*s *of domination*. For Giddens, *structure* exists in two forms. First, *structure*s are the rules that actors have internalized and live by. Second, systems comprise the collective patterns that exist and are reproduced in time and space. Applying the concept of *structuration* to this study, individuals are free to make the independent choice to join the military; however this choice can be patterned and should therefore be predictable.

Although the empirical analysis of this study was exploratory in nature, the researcher's assumptions were grounded in an integration of select theories. Bourdieu, Habermas, and Giddens guided the conceptual framework that steered this study. The ontological assumptions were driven by Giddens's *structuration*. The epistemological assumptions remain that knowledge is constructed both at the individual level, based on structural surroundings, and the collective level, through interactions with others. This approach to theory strengthened the sociological analysis, and is recommended for use in future studies that focus on the CF.

6.2 Laying the Foundation for Future Study

Bourdieu argues that "one must break down the appearances of surface relations in order to construct an understanding of deeper relations among the shattered appearances" (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 163). This study focused on the *macro* level of analysis and paves the way for future studies at the *micro* level. Therefore, the researcher acknowledges the limitations of exclusively examining the broad background characteristics and identifies the requirement for analysis at the individual level.

6.3 Moving Forward

Accepting the results of this study, future studies that explore CF demographic composition will downplay the significance of demographic characteristics and recognize that they account for only a small portion of the variance in CF membership. Additionally, it is recommended that qualitative research is incorporated to balance the quantitative approach, such as interviewing new recruits following enrolment to determine their motivations to enlist. This thesis provides a useful starting point for future research on the demographic composition of the CF, the motivations of recruits who join the CF, and on CF recruiting strategies, while illuminating a range of potential theoretical frameworks for CF analysis. The framework constructed here sets up future applications and explorations of CF sociological theory, including but not limited to: boundaries in terms of the *CF field*, how the CF fits into Habermas's *lifeworld*, the multidimensional power structures within the CF, and the concept of community in relation to women's roles as Reservists within a specific geographic area. Most importantly, this research provides a foundation for other studies in Canadian military sociology, and opens up the field for other interested researchers in an almost non-existent area. The first step is to determine who the CF members are. Now that a CF profile has been established, Canadian sociological studies can compete with international studies on military sociology. Further, since a profile of CF members has been established and paired with its weak relation to demographic characteristics, sociologists can begin examining recruit motivations and studying individual career choices on a closer level.

APPENDIX A – VARIABLES OF INTEREST IN THE 2006 CANADA CENSUS: DETAILED

Variable	Variable Description	Type	
Table A1: Variables of Interest in 2006 Census Data			
Variable	**Variable Description**	**Type**	
Age	Age: Single Years of Age (0 to 121) – Q3	Interval Ratio	Demographic
MarSt	Marital Status (Legal) – Q4	Nominal	
MarStH	Marital Status (Historical)	Nominal	
POB_CNTRY	Place of birth: country of birth of respondent	Nominal	
POBF	Place of birth: father-detailed – Q25a	Nominal	
POBM	Place of birth: mother-detailed – Q25b	Nominal	
Sex	Sex – Q2	Nominal	
Deth123	Ethnic Origin: Single/Multiple response	Nominal	
Eth1	Ethnic Origin(Component): 1st Ethnic	Nominal	
CitBir	Citizenship: Canada by birth – Q10	Nominal	
DVisMin	Visible minority population: Detailed – Q19	Nominal	
FOL	First Official Language	Nominal	
Immder	Immigrant Status – Derived	Nominal	
Inacflgh	On Reserve	Nominal	
Triber	Aboriginal: Detailed	Nominal	
LF71	Labour Market: Labour Force 1971 Concepts	Nominal	Occupational
LFTag	Labour Market: Labour Force Activity	Nominal	
Nochrd	Labour Market Activities: Occupation	Nominal	
NOCS2006	Labour Market Activities: Occupation	Nominal	
SOC91H	Labour Market Activities: Derived Occupational	Nominal	
FPTlm	Labour Market: Full-time or Part-time Weeks	Interval Ratio	
Retir	Income: Retirement Pensions	Interval Ratio	Economic
Wages	Income: Wages and Salaries	Interval Ratio	
Empin	Income: Employment Income	Interval Ratio	
HhInc	Income: Total Household Income	Interval Ratio	
CIPCODE	Education: Major *Field* of Study	Nominal	Edu
HCDD	Education: Highest certificate, diploma, degree	Ordinal	
SSGRAD	Education: High school graduation certificate	Ordinal	

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