The Socialization of Cadets at the Royal Military College of Canada: A Conceptual Overview

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1.0 Introduction

1. Canada's history and experience are fundamental determinants of the culture of its society that continue to be influenced by change. The Canadian military profession, like most other professions (e.g. medicine and law) has had to adapt to new social trends exhibited by social and cultural change in the larger society (Pinch, 2003, Linden, 2003). Some of these trends have escalated during the past decade or so and seek to challenge the status quo in society and in the military profession as a result. Diversity, multiculturalism, gender integration, cultural change, professionalism, and leadership have all taken on new and significant meaning and have become embedded in the overall socialization and cultural dimensions that help to shape the image of the profession itself. New theoretical approaches to interpreting the impact and consequences of these trends in the military, particularly as they relate to the environmental services, are being developed by scholars both external (Segal, 2003; Winslow, 2002) and internal (Pinch, 2002; Davis 1998; Wenek, 2002) to the Canadian military profession. Further compounding the complexity of change is the fact that the Canadian military, in adapting to the new features of war, has acquired an expanded spectrum of responsibilities that goes beyond war fighting to include peace keeping, peacemaking, security and humanitarian roles alongside other governmental and non-governmental agencies. The nature of the issues emerging from current trends is a challenge to the historical and traditional construction of war and the military profession in its response, and consequently, should have an impinging impact on the Royal Military College (RMC), its training processes, its culture and its leadership.

2. This paper presents a conceptual overview of some of the pertinent issues that have emerged as a consequence of societal change in Canada specifically and at the international level generally. It further provides issues of debate to which the new strategic environment of military missions and the increasing dependence on allied forces, have given rise. Additionally, the paper points to the role of the Royal Military College in meeting the demands and challenges that will be imposed on the future leadership of the Canadian military in post-Cold War military missions. To accomplish its objectives, the paper will examine three components of the professional development of the officer cadet at the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) during the four-year period of officer training. The three components for examination are:

(i) the recruitment and selection processes
(ii) academic development
(iii) military training.

3. The purpose of the study is to explore and analyze the processes of socialization engaged in by RMC in carrying out its mission of developing the future leadership of the Canadian Forces (CF). The significance of this study hinges on the fact that the Canadian military is more frequently called upon particularly in the post-Cold War period as an exemplary force, to take on an increasingly visible leadership role in peacekeeping, peace making, security, and as a respected agent of humanitarian aid. The complex nature of these roles becomes more profound due to the collaboration required from the diverse people involved internationally, and of governmental and non-governmental agencies as well as the immediacy of the press and other non-military personnel.

4. The global village that the world has evolved into during the last two or so decades is indicative of the level of interdependence and interconnectedness of countries as a consequence of shrinking economies and the technological impact of the international division of labour. Similarly, the Canadian military has become a cog in the wheel of the international allied forces with whom it shares its expertise, knowledge and skill sets among others, in participating in military operations. Socialization therefore becomes a fundamental function of military success in operations conducted by combined, joint, or allied forces. In the Canadian military therefore, socialization takes on new significance brought about by developing social trends in Canadian society that embrace language, religion, cultural diversity, gender equality, and the accompanying sub-issues.

5. This study addresses some of these trends and issues of socialization in relation to the officer cadet at RMC. It is aimed at determining whether the current methods of socialization are congruent with the demands made of the Canadian military leadership as a component of increasingly dependent allied forces. It will accomplish this by investigating the role of the curriculum and in analyzing changes in the past two decades and making recommendations. It will also examine whether the objectives of leader development at RMC are linked to the new roles and responsibilities of the military leader, functioning at the international level. This is of importance as the Canadian military is increasingly perceived as exemplary in its security and humanitarian roles.

6. Additionally, the study will focus on selected key issues including cultural change, diversity, gender integration, recruitment and retention, career choice and expectations, professional development, military ethos and professionalism. It will also explore the extent to which legislation and social change in the wider society have impacted processes of professional development at RMC. It is expected that the study will provide a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms employed in transforming the civilian into the military person and leader, and in identifying the paths of career development of the military officer.

7. The research methodology includes a broad based review and analysis of the existing literature generally, and an examination of in-house studies and reports that have specifically addressed the role of RMC in training military officers for the CF.

8. This methodology encompasses a three-dimensional approach identified as:

a) Focus groups
b) A questionnaire
c) An interview protocol

2.0 Background

9. The first noticeable characteristics of the Canadian Forces (CF) and its culture are the differentiated services by color code: the Army (green), the Navy (blue and white) and the Air Force (light/sky blue). The military ethos, essentially the amalgamation of Canadian values, expectations and beliefs together with beliefs and expectations about military service, becomes the genetic code for the three services in every aspect of their conduct whether operating as individual, combined or joint forces or whether operating as military individuals. Furthermore, the Canadian military ethos determines the parameters of the service environments and shapes the professionalism with which they are expected to carry out their missions. As stated in the Profession of Arms Manual, it is by adhering to the principles of the ethos in an altruistic fashion that the Canadian military is characterized as having performed its duty with honour.

10. The Canadian Forces as an amalgam of the environmental services was originally three distinct and independent services known as the Canadian Army, the Canadian Navy, and the Canadian Air Force, managed by their individual chiefs of staff (Pinch et al. 2003). To create a more cohesive and perhaps more effective military, the three services were disbanded as independent entities and merged in 1968 for administrative purposes, into what is known today as the Canadian Forces, identified at that time by a common uniform. However as the CFLI Research Program points out, by 1985 it was successfully argued that the singularity of uniform created confusion of identity and lowered morale within and even between the services. And although the overarching umbrella of the Canadian Forces was retained, the services reverted to individual uniforms, creating once more three entities under the CF (Pinch, 2003). The fluctuation in morale within and between the environments, was perceived to be directly linked to the loss and restoration of service identity, decreasing and escalating, respectively. This gives rise to a number of questions: Is there a common CF identity and if so, what are its specific characteristics? How is the identity sustained and to what extent does it contribute to the operational and professional effectiveness of the Canadian Forces? Is there a difference in norms, behaviors and attitudes specific to each service environment and if so, does this contribute to the development of a specific service culture? To what extent does the Royal Military College nurture a CF culture?

3.0 Societal Values and Change

3.1 Cultural Change

11. First of all, there needs to be a clear understanding of the definition of culture and according to the Canadian Oxford Dictionary (2001), culture is "the customs, civilization, and achievements of a particular time or people..." while academically, it is defined as the manner in which people eat, talk and dress (Callaghan and Kernic, 2003). At another level culture is defined as " collective programming of the mind", with the human mental program consisting of three elements, identified as biological (response to stimuli), personality (the individuality of the person), and culture (learned behaviors specific to a society or a people) (Callaghan and Kernic, 2003). But at the same time, culture seems to take on a state of abstractness, while also appearing as something tangible or physical. These three definitions seem to approach culture initially from a macro perspective and from the micro perspective as a more individual response to an already recognized culture. Culture in the public and private spheres is characterized as an important component of organizational performance (Khademian, 2002:16). The military in this respect is structured around the existing Canadian culture and the Canadian values and interests that it is charged with defending, which are fundamental elements of that culture. However, the emergence of other cultures within each of the three environments, is perhaps a consequence of the work that is specific to the groups, as well as the time spent together, the jargon that develops as a form of communication specific to the functioning of the group, the habits, camaraderie, protocol and to a large extent the isolation from external influences. Organizational cultures are often identified by demonstration or practice of certain rituals, stories, themes, jargon, humor, and even physical arrangements.

12. Culture plays a role of prediction as well. The culture of a society or organization can, to some degree, predict behavior of the majority of its members and if there is a strong culture embedded, it can be used to motivate the members of the organization or institution (Khademian, 2002). However, in responding to cultural change, that deeply entrenched culture may also become a barrier to change particularly when resisted by those who gain maximum benefit from maintaining the status quo. Never the less not all members conform to all aspects of the existing culture. Those who do not fully conform, usually construct their own, and by so doing, give rise to the emergence of either a subculture which shares many of the values of the larger group but have values specific to its own group (e.g. gays/lesbians); or a counter-culture within society might emerge as a consequence of rejecting the established cultural values of the majority (e.g. the hippie movement).

13. As a microcosm of the larger social system, the Canadian military is reflective of the culture that captures the essence of Canadian society and in carrying out its mandate, the CF is expected to reflect the society it was established to serve by emulating the values that distinguish it from other societies. This calls for the adjustment to social change specifically guaranteed by legislation such as the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1978, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 and 1985, the Multiculturalism Act of

1982, and the Employment Equity Act of 1986 (Pinch et al, 2003). In response to this legislation, RMC and ultimately the CF are becoming more culturally diverse institutions based on language, ethnicity and gender integration, in reflecting the multicultural nature of Canadian society. To date, the integration of women both at RMC and in the CF is perhaps the most noticeable departure from the status quo that once characterized the military as a white male warrior culture. This also suggests that a different approach to socialization of officer cadets may facilitate their preparation for future leadership roles.

14. To be socialized in a new environment means learning the culture of that environment, how it works, what are the norms, values, beliefs, behaviors and attitudes that are specific to that environment. This is more readily understood in Western societies in terms of a social structure where status, power, rewards and punishment are vital elements of the social system. The Canadian military is an institution with a structure that reflects these key factors which are embedded in the socialization and training of the officer cadet. In the military environment, tradition seems to take precedence over change. At the functional level, socialization is designed to transform the individual from a social being into the "desired" military person. Strategies to accomplish this fall under the overarching concepts of power, ritual and control. This process of socialization provides military acculturation for the individual who develops the kind of identity required for military service. Historically, isolation has been a key factor in military socialization and has been perceived as an agent of change. The Canadian military colleges have traditionally separated its recruits from the larger society by housing them at a military base where all aspects of their lives, for the most part, come under the control of the college. This is unlike civilian universities where students who move away from home to attend university, assume full responsibility for themselves, whereas RMC students are subjected to military discipline, conformity and protocol as key areas of their socialization.

15. To a large degree, RMC students have very little control over their daily lives from wake up time (0600 hours) to bedtime (2300 hours) with activities between the two extremes determined for them. When one considers that RMC is training and developing Canadian military future leadership, one cautions that this level of control could easily militate against the development of the individual's full potential as a leader and thereby become a source of deprivation to the individual, the CF, and ultimately the country. In juxtaposition to civilian university students, there are enormous differences in the two types of socialization processes. Okros (2003) points out that civilian university students must not only manage their academic responsibilities, but they must also manage, often for the first time, every aspect of their daily lives. This includes crucial decision-making like negotiating a lease and managing an income (such as buying groceries and paying bills). Many civilian students also carry the responsibility of a part-time job. Okros defines these activities as essential life skills that help to shape the character of the individual and develop the ability for managing more complex and spontaneous decision-making. The RMC experience at the personal level might contribute to inner conflict for the officer cadet, particularly so for the more mature ones. Arriving from an environment where independence is encouraged, and immaturity in the young adulthood frowned upon, the cadet abandons these values by fully embracing the dictates and protocol of a

military environment. A number of questions surface as a result and include: To what extent, if any, are these social values perceived as a threat to leader development and training at RMC? Is there a distinction made between the social values of arriving officer cadets and those that help to capture the essence of the Canadian military ethos? In abandoning the social values with which officer cadets arrive, mechanisms should be in place to restore or even inculcate the same (Canadian) social values within a military context. A case in point is the issue of diversity. Is diversity taught at any level at RMC and are diversity issues integrated in the curriculum, in training and more specifically in leader development?

3.2 The Integration of Women in the Canadian Military

16. Historically perceived as the nurturing type suited only to the role of motherhood in the domestic sphere, women were largely excluded from most professions, particularly the traditional ones, but more specifically, the military. As Davis (2001) observes, when Canadian women gained admission into the military, they not only filled support and care-giving functions, but they were also called upon to fill positions that men held before going off to war. These non-traditional roles that women performed clearly indicated both their ability and their versatility. Davis further notes that Canadian women filled roles in all major wars of the twentieth century. Women's support functions in the Canadian military continued until 1970 when the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended equality of opportunity in the Canadian Forces for women. Included in this was "enrolment criteria, equal pension benefits for women and men, the opportunity to attend Canadian Military Colleges, the opening of all trades and officer classifications to women and the termination of regulations which prohibited the enrolment of married women and required the release of service women on the birth of a child" (Davis, 1996: 7).

17. The traditional image of the military profession in Western societies has been one of a male culture that did not seem appropriate for women. However, the maleness associated with the military had been socially constructed in conformity with the social construction of gender roles in Western societies. Barriers to women's participation in Canada were addressed and subsequently removed beginning initially with traditional fields such as medical, dental and administrative and technical support, and subsequently operational combat occupations and units (Pinch, n.d.). Full integration of women in the Canadian military except in submarine service, was extended to women by means of the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal of 1989 (Davis, 1996; Pinch, n.d.) with barriers to submarine service being removed in 2001(Pinch 2001). Such dramatic change in the Canadian military, as indeed in most other professions, came about as a direct response to legislation and Canadian formal policies. Much of this hinged on the passage of the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1978, the Multiculturalism Act of 1982, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 and 1985. However, any internal pressure at the full integration of women was perhaps accelerated by external momentum garnered nationally and internationally from the impact generated by the Women's Movement. Even in face of legislation and policy change, the full integration of women was initially

perceived as an impediment to operational effectiveness and a threat to morale, two factors germane to military success.

18. There were a number of initiatives throughout the 1980s and 1990s that addressed the integration of women in the military. Two of the most notable are perhaps the trial periods for identifying the impact of the initiatives, namely, SWINTER (Servicewomen in Non-traditional Environments and Roles) and CREW (Combat Related Employment of Women). However, as a minority group, opposition to women in non-traditional roles was similar to that experienced by any other minority group desirous of moving into the mainstream, for example, gays and lesbians, African Canadians, and Aboriginals. Some stereotypical claims were made suggesting that to integrate women in units would lead to a breakdown in discipline and cohesion; that gender equality in combat arms would lead to lower standards (Advisory Board on Canadian Forces Gender Integration and Employment Equity; Annual Report, 2000); and that that it would result in more work for the men. These are all presumptions that generally revolve around the fear of change and the need to limit the distribution of benefits and status associated with a closed profession (Pinch et al. 2003).

19. The successful integration of women in all aspects of the military has proven these stereotypes to be misplaced and in the case of females at the Royal Military College, males nurtured a similar attitude towards their female cohorts. Since its establishment in 1874, RMC had been a male institution until 1980 when it admitted its first female recruits. According to Phillippo (1983), it was generally agreed that to preserve the status quo, few changes would be made to accommodate the introduction of females, including the non-segregation of living arrangements as a means of promoting interaction and providing the opportunity for females to be identified first as cadets. But how much of this accommodation was to discourage women from moving into a traditional male culture? This approach does not recognize or acknowledge however, that the culture as constructed, resulted from the military college being a male institution responding to the needs of a "male profession" from which women were excluded. It further fails to acknowledge that the inclusion of women necessitated change that recognized their biological differences and needs.

20. Adjustment to emerging social trends has become part of the debate on professions and professionalism engaged in by scholars both in the USA (Segal, 2003) and in Canada (Okras, 2003; Pinch, 2003; Winslow, 2002; and Zwerman, 2003) all of whom have identified the relevance to military effectiveness. Several internal studies including the P of A Manual, 2003; CFLI Research Program, 2003; The Withers Report 1998; and Davis, (2001), address these issues. They also articulate the need for the CF to reform itself in responding to emerging social trends that will perhaps ultimately enhance its professional and operational effectiveness in the new strategic environment of the post-modern era. In its efforts to become an inclusive type institution that welcomes and embraces minority groups, what impact if any, have these efforts had on the patriarchal culture of the CF? How does the concept of equality apply in this approach to inclusivity, and to what extent has the ratio of male/female senior officer positions changed in the past two decades?

21. Duxbury (1996) suggests that the male/female dichotomy may be more valuable if the organization focuses on the different abilities which diverse groups bring to the organization. To support her contention, she provides quotes from some organizations on the issue:

> "*We're stepping away from policies that address what used to be, in equity terminology, the 'designated groups'. We no longer focus on individual diversity 'categories'. To tap into any one of these differences makes you less of a team. Instead, we're now looking for ways in which we can reinforce the value of differences. We're ignoring the traditional ones – male-female, black-white – to talk about different skills, roles and perspectives. We're backing away from the federal contractor definition of differences to a much higher level to approach problems from different context. This adds value." (HR).*

What Duxbury fails to challenge or even acknowledge is the fact that the terms "designated groups" and "individual diversity categories" are still living concepts and any attempt to submerge these under the pretext of valuing "different skills, roles and perspectives..." is to fail to recognize that the custodians of these attributes are still perceived as external to mainstream society. It is perhaps close to half of a century that women were vigorously challenging the status quo and even though they have made significant progress, half a century later they still have to wage a challenge and the same is true for most other minority groups.

22. The concept of gender integration in the professional class routinely held women back to the periphery of the professions while males were often siphoned off to management and decision-making positions, gaining ready access to the requisite management training (Browne, 1994). This is perhaps a strategy that circumvented the integration of women in professions and created loopholes that disadvantaged them. In the Canadian military, the challenge for women is evident but unlike most of the major professions, the structure of the military is one that facilitates their advancement. To condone anything else would run counter to the tenets of the Canadian military ethos, professionalism and the dictates of Canadian values entrenched in legislation. Questions arising therefore include: What are the major challenges women in the military face in their professional advancement? To what extent does the male culture of RMC create barriers to the professional development of females? Given the historical/traditional perspectives of the military and warfare does the concept of the "Old Boys Network" in the Canadian military become a disadvantage to military women? In recognition of the "Old Boys' Network", have women been able to establish a parallel network to harness the spirit of femaleness for their own advancement? To what extent has social change in Canadian society reformed or impacted recruitment strategies of RMC particularly in relation to women and is there any noticeable influence on retention patterns?

3.3 Diversity in the Military

23. Gender mainstreaming and gender-based analysis have become tools for addressing diversity both among and between women and men (Davis, 2002). However, diversity in terms of race and ethnicity, addressed in John Porter's (1971) The Vertical Mosaic, has not reached levels of significance at RMC, the reasons for which should be explored at some other point in time. What is important to note is that visible minorities and Aboriginals who were previously excluded from the military are now being targeted for recruitment and employment (Pinch, 2002). Never the less, sexual orientation seems to have overcome the taboo it once had in the military as a consequence of the Canadian official policy on discrimination. There are also some concerns associated with the recruitment of visible minorities in the Canadian Forces but the reasons for this are unclear. One of the reasons is perhaps tied to the intergenerational phenomenon in the military profession sustained through the annual high number of recruits arriving from military families. Another explanation may also be linked to immigrants being perceived of as "New Canadians" in terms of citizenship and status and may be a deterrent to such individuals to join the military. Cultural diversity in the CF raises a number of issues that need to be examined in terms of its role of training the future military leadership and in representing Canada and its interests. However, it is equally significant from the point of view of being able to function professionally, effectively, and efficiently in working alongside with, and in representing diverse cultures and peoples in the new theatres of military engagements.

24. The post-modern demands of military engagements including the increasing dependence on allied forces indicate a need for decision-makers of RMC and the CF administration to modify the processes of socialization of officer cadets. This should involve a process that will assist them in working effectively with not only allied forces from different cultural backgrounds and belief systems but also in understanding the cultures and value systems of the peoples for whom they supply peacekeeping support and humanitarian aid. In other words, the training of officer cadets should be extended to include subjects that are relevant to the changing role of military leadership in post-modern military missions. In their CFLI Research Program, Pinch et al. (2003) pay much attention to the potential impact of new engagements and the concomitant issues associated with such dramatic change. The Program points out for example that military engagements are involving an increasingly large number of participants and agencies both military and non-military with each having its own agenda in terms of mission, roles, goals, organization, ideologies and operating methods. As a result, it cautions that this could have inherent implications for professional role identities, areas of expertise of participating CF members and ultimately for the military profession itself. This seems to suggest the need for a re-examination of the socialization and training of officer cadets at RMC in particular, in order to provide the leadership skills and expertise required and the method of implementation needed to facilitate the process.

25. Although Gaudet (1983) and Fodor (1987) provide in depth analyses of the socialization processes at two Canadian military colleges, the Royal Military College (RMC) and Royal Roads Military College (RRMC), respectively, they are limited in

terms of addressing the social requirements of the new security environment. However, The Withers' Report (1998: 16) points to the responsibility of RMC in stating that "...The College must also promote a common vision of the profession of arms, the common military ethos underpinning leadership in the CF and the increasingly joint nature of all foreseeable operations." This points to two fundamental elements of the effectiveness of the Canadian military – a common vision of the profession of arms and a common military ethos -- as critical to CF leadership in joint operations. To sustain this common vision, consideration should be given to the changing dynamics of the cultural dimensions of the Canadian military. This gives rise to a number of questions that need to be addressed: How do education and training methods of RMC cadets incorporate the changing features of war and the increasing visible role of the Canadian Forces? To what extent is cultural diversity a feature of the training and development programs designed for officer cadets particularly in terms of values and beliefs systems of a more diverse RMC population? What is the significance of cultural diversity to the CF and how is this integrated into its initiatives to be more reflective of a multicultural Canada? Are there differentiated strategies to integrate women, visible minorities and Aboriginals in the CF? How is the level of success in these initiatives measured?

3.4 Recruitment and Retention

26. In the absence of conscription, the Canadian military college competes with all other institutions of higher learning in attracting students each year and employs three major incentives for encouraging students to sign up. These incentives have been identified as free education, the opportunity to serve one's country, and job security upon graduation. Conversely however, civilian universities and colleges have a high profile recruitment process conducted at high schools in their efforts to attract the best students. Some colleges and universities are known for their high admission standards and often have trained personnel to promote the academic and commercial advantages of attending their institutions. Furthermore, as Okros (2004) points out, prospective students of civilian universities often in the company of their parents, conduct their own research in determining which institution meets their demands. This seems to indicate that there are increasing selection criteria on both sides of the process and the competition for students is becoming increasingly fierce. According to the Withers' Report (1998) recruitment at RMC is generally dependent upon potential candidates approaching recruitment centers to sign up. This suggests that the college is excluding itself from the vigorous campaign engaged in by civilian universities and exaggerates the potential for recruitment shortages. However, the intergenerational phenomenon at RMC through which the tradition of military service in a family becomes the norm, accounts for a much as 50% of its annual intake. This gives the college a slight advantage in this regard. Never the less, even though the intergenerational phenomenon also occurs with civilian universities where some students tend to study at the same alma mater as one of the parents, it is asserted that the level of this occurrence is not as great as it is in the military. The Withers' Report suggests the need to re-examine Ram's recruiting strategies in an effort to determine how the Royal Military College can be made more competitive.

27. Unlike civilian institutions of higher learning, RMC admits students as young as 16 years of age who, together with those students who do not meet the admission standards are posted to St-Jean-Sur-Richilieu in Quebec for a one-year preparatory program before joining their fellow officer cadets at RMC. For both sets of students going off to a civilian university and military college, there is some adjustment to be made. However, in the latter case, there may be more associational stress due to the rigid environment and the level of control that dominates daily life at the college. Retention becomes a function of recruitment and socialization and if these processes are not carefully managed, they could result in negative consequences including early departure. Given the rigid structure and control patterns of the military college, are there mechanisms in place to alleviate the stresses associated with adjustment and integration of young officer cadets into a military environment? What is the drop out rate of officer cadets at RMC? What is the relationship between recruitment and retention patterns for the four-year program? Is there a recruitment plan developed for RMC that will facilitate competition with other colleges and universities? If so, what are the short and long-term goals and how frequently is the plan re-evaluated? In complying with Canadian official policy on discrimination, what are the efforts crafted to target minority groups specifically for recruitment into RMC? What mechanisms if any, have been put in place to assist young recruits in selecting their trade/occupation and service environment in order to realize their career ambitions and expectations?

3.5 Career Choice, Aspirations and Expectations

28. Structured similarly to other Canadian institutions of higher learning, the Royal military College is designed to train the future leadership of the Canadian Forces academically and militarily. However, there are some variations between the two types of institutions the most salient of which is the difference in mission. The management of violence has always been a focal point of the expertise of the Canadian military leadership and the profound importance of this is intricately intertwined with Huntington's definition of the military professional. Contrastingly, Canadian civilian universities are primarily concerned with providing academic instruction to members of society to meet the needs of capitalist economies. RMC admission requirements, though high, are more flexible with provision for a preparatory year at one of their bases for those below the required standard. During the four-year program at RMC, officer cadets are trained both academically and militarily and receive their commissioning scroll on successfully completing their program.

29. The choice of the military as a career must be a very difficult one for any young male or female in the contexts of anticipatory socialization and the endo-recruitment process, advanced by Caforio (2003), as well as in the context of post-modern warfare. Recruitment levels have fluctuated over the years (Dunn & Morrow, 2002; Tanner, 1999) for varying reasons. This is particularly so as the recruitment pool seemed to reflect the impact of an all-volunteer force coupled with the declining birth rates. Added to this situation is the attraction of the commercial sector and the increasing fields of occupations in both the private and public spheres and the attraction of a broader based commercial sector underpinned by increasing technological advancement. Incentives for

the entrepreneurial-minded to venture into the creation of small businesses attract young persons as early as college level. While these are all values driven and beneficial for any capitalist economy, particularly the more advanced industrial ones, they, never the less, can have a negative impact on elements of the same societies such as an all-volunteer military.

30. In the case of the Canadian Forces, however, anti-discriminatory legislation provides latent benefits that can offset the scarcity of youth in the recruitment pool. As a consequence of the legislation, women, visible minorities and Aboriginals have been added to the target groups and could potentially counteract the shortage that was feared. In any event, the challenge is still to motivate young men and women to choose the military as their career, over any other competing interests. What needs to be worked out is how best to compete. Determine ways to impress upon the youth that the military can be a rewarding career with significant benefits and identify those benefits and rewards. Focus on the satisfaction derived from serving one's country at home and abroad; Stress that training for this career can be achieved at no monetary costs to the individual. It can also be pointed out that a military career is one of honour and the military community at home becomes the extended family, particularly when loved ones have been deployed.

31. RMC's expectations are often articulated in statements such as "... the curriculum is broad-based and interdisciplinary, offering the advantage of a superior education...". To better validate this claim, the interdisciplinary arts program at RMC could be compared to that of a civilian university in order to establish similarities and differences, and the grading standards. A Significant aspect of the civilian student's development is linked to extra-curricular activities including student organizations during their university years. One may argue that students at RMC move away from home and into a more controlled environment where they lose much of their freedom in decision-making both at the academic and personal levels. Okros (2003) for instance, provides a comparative analysis of the maturation of the civilian university student with the RMC student, demonstrating in the process, the disadvantaged position of the latter in terms of "self-regulation" and decision-making. From a three-dimensional perspective, Okros examines development of the individual in terms of the officer, scholar and adult and contends that at RMC, while there is adequate focus on the dimensions of scholar and officer of the individual, hardly any attention, if any at all, is given to the adult dimension in terms of acquisition of life skills and social awareness. These are characteristics generally mastered by most civilian students by the time of graduation. This kind of disjointedness or even skewedness in development could easily lead to frustration and perhaps tension for the RMC student when placed in a position of authority that calls for social awareness and life skills in the decision-making process. Additionally, civilian students become politically active both in the university environment and in the local community. They also learn political astuteness by organizing themselves and writing petitions and they have the freedom to challenge aspects of the university system that disadvantage students. Their involvement in social issues in the wider society, often reach national and international events such as opposing an increase in student fees; and demonstrating at a G8 Summit, respectively. These experiences frequently become the foundation for a political career and other leadership positions for many graduates. All of this is to suggest

that leadership training is broad-based, and should include adaptability and flexibility training, and could be valuable in forming a critical component of the officer cadet's professional development.

32. Questions for consideration revolve around the following: Are there comparable experiences that will provide an equal measure of leader development in the acquisition of social skills and life experiences of RMC officer cadets and civilian university students? What are the career aspirations and expectations of officer cadets and how do they compare between cadets from military families and cadets from non-military families? Is there a change in aspirations and expectations of officer cadets between their first years at the college and their year of graduation? What are the factors of influence in both retention and drop out patterns between intergenerational cadets and non-military cadets? Are there any recognized values and experiences of recruits educated at civilian universities and how do these compare with those of RMC graduates?

3.6 Professional Development

33. The Profession of Arms Manual (2003) states that the military profession sustains itself by "...conferring upon its soldiers, sailors and air force members who subscribe to its tenets the most treasured of military qualities – honour." This is derived from adhering to the values inherent in the military ethos. Honour therefore shapes the consciousness of the military person not only in times of war but also in times of peace where she/he continues to represent the profession of arms. In his book, *The Soldier and the State*, Samuel Huntington contends that the profession of arms is that core of commissioned officers whose possession of the relevant abstract body of knowledge and their ability to manage violence, distinguish them from the rest of the military. This has been challenged by the P of A Manual (2003) that states that Non-Commissioned Members (NCMs) are also members of the profession, justifying its argument with the fact that due to the collective nature of the profession, members who serve in the Regular Force and Primary Reserve including NCMs, are members of the profession.

34. Huntington's (1957) assertion is premised on the perspective of exclusivity in, or closure to membership that most professions at the time embraced. conversely, Janowitz (1960, 1973) argues for a more collaborative and inclusive approach to the military profession that has important relevance to professional and operational effectiveness. This is a perspective that is supported by the CFLI Research Program and the Profession of Arms Manual. It clearly points to exclusivity and closure advanced by Huntington and practised by the traditional professions such as medicine, law, and the clergy. It further states that these concepts have more to do with the distribution of the high rewards and status associated with membership, based on ascribed characteristics and self-regulation, than with achieved characteristics which form the basis of Huntington's argument. The ascribed characteristics were imposed to exclude various groups based on race, gender, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation among others, and are not associated with ability or performance (Pinch et al., 2003).

35. This brings us to the question of the training and socialization of the RMC officer cadet and the professional development she/he experiences. Where the Withers' Report (1998) concurs with Huntington's concepts of expertise, corporateness and social responsibility, in characterizing the military professional (officer), both the P of A Manual (developed for the most part by a broad spectrum of senior military personnel) and the CFLI Research program, provide a more inclusive approach to membership. This approach more closely supports Janowitz's open systems model. In both instances, membership derives from fully internalizing the Canadian military ethos, performing one's duty according to the dictates of the core responsibilities of the profession of arms and augmenting their relevant expertise including their combat skills (P of A, 2003; Pinch et al, 2003). This is more readily observed in responding to the new international security agenda in which Canada plays a primary role. Consequently, RMC training of officer cadets should include perspectives appropriate to the expanded military agenda, the new demands of operations of combined, joint, and allied forces, characteristics of the new enemy, and emerging social trends, all of which, to some degree, will influence operational and professional effectiveness. In her work in Bosnia, Winslow (2003) captures the state of the Canadian soldiers in their plea for appropriate training to better respond to the missions for which they are being deployed by calling for : "...programs in world history, international affairs, international law, international development, etc.", and that "... we need cross-cultural awareness/political/social in relation to the mission area of operations." (p.9). In other words, the socialization and training processes for RMC students do not seem to be conducive to the demands placed on the military in modern day warfare.

36. Questions that should be considered in terms of the professional development of the officer cadet include: What mechanisms can be put in place for the professional development of the officer cadet to incorporate a broad-based curriculum that includes non-military courses critical to leader effectiveness? Given the expanded security agenda of the Canadian military and the diversity of cultures involved in international forces, what changes in training, if any, can be undertaken to meet the challenges that these will impose on future military leadership? What are the tools required for cultural sensitivity of officers not only in the theatre of operations, but within the CF itself where cultural diversity is beginning to redefine the image of the Canadian military, its ethos and the concept of professionalism?

3.7 Military Ethos and Professionalism

> "The Canadian military ethos is neither static nor fixed but maintained and sustained by the accumulated actions of individuals and groups, shaping it over time and ensuring that it remains relevant."
>
> (The P of A Manual, 2003:33)

37. The above quote suggests that the Canadian Forces are the custodians of the Canadian military ethos, and it recognizes as well, that it is a living thing that is affected by the actions of its custodians, whether good or bad. However, it further recognizes that

it encompasses the Canadian values that the military protects, and as such, all actions and conduct of the CF are reflective of this responsibility and embody the honour that they generate. The ethos therefore is pivotal to the effectiveness of the Canadian military.

38. From an expanded viewpoint, the ethos has profound importance to the Canadian Forces and encompasses the values, beliefs and expectations that reflect core Canadian values. Inherent in these values are democratic principles, peace, order and good government, rights and freedoms, respect for the dignity of all persons, obedience and support for lawful authority (The P of A Manual, 2003). The Manual also indicates that the complex nature of military ethos is also shaped by beliefs and expectations of military service guided by the four principles of unlimited liability, fighting spirit, teamwork and discipline. These principles, when integrated with the core Canadian values, form Canadian military values espoused in duty, loyalty, integrity and courage. However, these values are more broadly and routinely tested as the military agenda expands. Consider for example the principle of loyalty. In the CF alone, the soldier's loyalty is multidimensional within and between combined and joint services. At the international level, if engaged in allied operations or international missions, loyalty moves to yet another level. And the same holds true for integrity. It is the norms, values, expectations and beliefs embedded in the Canadian military ethos that keep integrity intact for Canadian military personnel and the level of professionalism that is expected of them as Canadian ambassadors. When cultural differences characterize military operations and local populations, integrity becomes particularly challenging as Winslow (2003) observes in the post-Cold War period: "The biggest problem for Canadian soldiers is their ability to respect Canadian cultural norms (honesty, integrity, responsibility, self-discipline, and respect for law and legitimate authority) while dealing with cultural differences and unethical behavior..." And the Profession of Arms Manual demonstrates that military ethos comprises all that the military is. It is the convergence of the fabric of military spirit (distinguishing it from all other professions) and the values, beliefs and expectations that separate Canada from any other country. It is these unique qualities that ultimately determine the concept of professionalism that guides military personnel into performing honourable duty.

39. Military professionalism is also examined from the perspective of the extent to which the changing military operations contradict or oppose Canadian values. Emphasized largely in cases where recruits are more culturally diverse due to the multicultural nature of change in the larger society, it therefore provides a greater challenge to socializing officer cadets in the traditional military culture (Linden, 2003). The socialization process at RMC encompasses the acquisition of the professional attitudes, values and behaviors specific to the military culture and it is the professional identifications that are formed through socialization that will determine the cadets' dedication to military service (Phillippo, 1983). Questions emerging from these perspectives are: How do changes in social values affect the current military ethos and what requirements are needed to maintain professionalism and uphold Canadian values? To what extent can value systems of subcultures in the military be respected without compromising the fundamentals of the Canadian military ethos? In recognizing the changing culture of Canadian society to what extent is the Royal Military College

restructuring itself and its programs in meeting the challenges of a more liberal democracy?

3.8 The Process of Socialization

40. Socialization is a sociological concept that focuses on the ways in which the individual learns skills, values, knowledge and roles that are appropriate to his/her position in a group or a society (Bush and Simmons, (1981). Put differently, the individual learns how to interact with his/her society and the symbiotic influence of the process on the individual and on society. To be even more explicit, Bush and Simmons (p. 135), provide Sewell's (1963) definition of socialization as "processes by which individuals selectively acquire skills, knowledge, attitudes, values and motives current in the groups of which they are or will become members." Although this definition offers some clarity for the study of officer cadets at RMC, a challenge can still be made in that it refers to socialization at a mature life stage as a general definition, since it points to the individual as "**selectively**" acquiring skills, knowledge, attitudes, values and motives.

41. One of the important factors in Sewell's definition of socialization is attitudes. Attitudinal change is generally difficult to accomplish and isolation is known as an effective mechanism to bring about change in attitude. In this regard, RMC isolates its students from the rest of society during academic and military training, facilitating the acculturation process. The significance of this is intertwined with the fact that the military has always projected itself as a white, male warrior culture, concerned with the attributes and requirements of war and the war fighting spirit. At the acculturation level, socialization is expected to aid the individual in adapting to the environment and adopting the mentality but it can also become the method for perpetuating cultures and societies, as outlined by Bush and Simmons in citing Inkeles (1968: 79):

> An individual is adequately socialized if he has been inculcated with a sufficient portion of the structure of action of his society to permit the effective performance of his roles in the society. There is adequate socialization in a society if there is a sufficient number of adequately socialized individuals for the structural requisites of a society to operate.

42. This seems to be the case at RMC as a socializing agent, with its structural influence commencing early in the recruiting process. But Schein (1985) cautions against over-socializing by way of internalizing every detail of the culture. He further cautions that this can result in total conformity which then inhibits the organization's innovation and its ability to adequately respond to environmental demands. Schein also distinguishes between this and optimal socialization or learning those aspects of the culture that are critical to the survival of the organization. This is substantiated for RMC with the recruit being first exposed to the structural and cultural impact of the military at the recruiting office which is staffed with military personnel in uniform (The Withers' Report, 1998).

43. Socialization in the military generally (Gaudet, 1983; Nuciari, 2003), and at RMC specifically (Fodor, 1987; Phillippo, 1983), has been analyzed from various perspectives. Professional socialization and adult socialization have been differentiated by Fodor to demonstrate the role of the professional institution in the socialization of the amateur on the way to becoming a professional. Professional socialization, he argues, can be addressed from three different perspectives which he identifies as the induction or structural approach, the reaction or situational approach and the interaction approach. In spite of each approach being easily linked to socialization at RMC, Fodor employs the interaction perspective (which he explains is a combination of the structural and situational approaches) for data analysis of his case study of the 1970 recruits of the Royal Roads Military College in British Columbia. He uses the university link with traditional professions as a distinguishing feature between the traditional professions such as law and medicine, and the military. One can argue however, that due to the specificity of the military and the unique training and development it requires, it necessitates a non-traditional educational establishment such as the military college to accomplish its mission.

44. The college provides a military university environment which projects the norms, values and belief system of the institution that new recruits are expected to embrace. This includes structural elements inherent in the socialization process that introduces the student to military culture. Social change in the wider society is largely responsible for a more diverse college environment in terms of language, gender integration and sexual orientation. English and French equally influence the culture at the college and officer cadets are expected to be fluent in both languages by the time of graduation. The full integration of women on the other hand, was recommended in the Report of the Royal commission on the Status of Women in 1970, and by 1971 the majority of the barriers were removed (Pinch, n.d.; Davis, 1996). Women's military progress can be charted by the removal of barriers to submarine service in 2001 (Winslow and Dunn, 2002), their recognition as full professionals, and attainment of senior rank positions (Pinch, 2003). As a traditional male institution and even with the accompanying structural changes, women have been unable, to this point, to reach the senior positions in combat arms. As a matter of fact, Pinch (2003) contends that in these units, women continue to be "socially isolated and marginalized" and that it will require a "critical mass" (popularized by Kanter, 1977) in the army to overcome the problems associated with the vertical integration of women. Family responsibilities and parenthood present women with challenges to career advancement with which men do not generally have to cope. Consequently, in areas where the concept of continuity in the military profession is vital, women will perhaps experience limitations to their career aspirations. Women of the professional class generally, face similar career ambiguities brought about by their dual roles of primary caregiver and professional inherited from their integration in the labor force. This has been documented in nations such as the Caribbean (Browne, 1994); in Canada (Armstrong, 1982); and in the USA (Hooks, 1991; and Kanter, 1977). Generally, women's labor force integration has initiated what is popularly known as the feminization of work. As a result, those in traditional professions function from the periphery in the more routine and low paying jobs. Contrastingly, and because of history and tradition,

men function from the core and dominate the decision-making positions, and this is still the case in the Canadian military as well, in spite of the progress made.

4.0 Socialization of Officer Cadets at RMC

45. Admission into the Canadian Forces can be obtained through seven different avenues all of which are common to the three environmental services of land, sea and air, and each of which leads to the same initial socialization process delivered by way of an eleven-week basic training program. Gaudet (1983) outlines each of the seven avenues and identifies them as (1) Regular Officer Training Plan – military college (ROTP-M); (2) Regular Officer training Plan – civilian university (ROTP-CIV); (3) Officer Candidate Training Plan – military personnel (OCTP-M); (4) Officer Candidate Training Plan – civilian entry (OCTP-CIV); (5) Direct Entry Officer (DEO); (6) University Training Plan –Men (UTPM); and (7) Commissioning from the Ranks Plan (CFRP). Gaudet provides a full description of each socialization path with tabular comparison in terms of classifications, incentives and unique training/socialization experiences (p. 33) making it unnecessary to repeat it here. However, he states that the last three paths are the avenues for becoming a commissioned officer. Consequently, the focus shifts to the way in which these officers become socialized in the military.

46. There are two models of socialization associated with the framework for analyzing officers in the military, and in the case of RMC, these are equally applicable. These models characterized as bureaucratic/professional and professional/occupational are directly related to the dichotomy that exists in the department of defense from which the ubiquitous dimension of civil-military relations emerges. It points to the civilian (or bureaucratic) arm and the military (or professional) arm of the defense portfolio. And although these are separate and distinct to a large extent, there is an overlap, or convergence that channels them into one portfolio. And it is at this point of convergence that tensions are often manifested and relations strained due largely to the competing values of bureaucratic and military principles and demands.

47. At the level of the military college, the models of socialization alluded to above, present a more individualistic approach generated by anticipatory socialization and the individual's personal perception of, and ambitions for, choosing a military career. Often listed as individualism, creativity, self-actualization, and personal independence, they reflect a divergence from the traditional solidarity, cooperation, altruism, tradition, and discipline usually associated with the military institution (Caforio, 2003). Caforio also explains that the professional/occupational model originates from American sociological literature. In citing Moskos, 1988, he examines the opposing views of the officer from the professional and occupational perspectives, respectively, where on the one hand, military tradition and values are high priorities, and on the other, where the officer associates market values of the military profession, as he/she would with any other job (Caforio, 2003).

48. Professional socialization according to Heiss (1981) is a formal process and he makes a distinction between the formal process and the informal process of socialization for his subsequent comparison with anticipatory socialization. Heiss defines formal socialization as "... a specific training program of a formal organization designed to induct persons into a role or group. The training is purposive, intended to result in a definite social product: a person of particular skills and beliefs... Responsibility for training is clearly designated..." (p. 108). Comparatively, the informal process to a large extent seems to offer much less structure on every level of this formal approach.

49. In the studies conducted at both the Royal Roads Military College, Victoria, B.C. (Fodor, 1987) and the Royal Military College, Kingston, ON, (Gaudet, 1983), professional socialization is depicted as a phase of adult socialization where the professional school becomes the agent of change. At both locations there are clear rules and regulations, with rigid training and development processes. Socialization takes place in a tightly controlled environment leaving hardly any manoeuvrability for the assertiveness of the officer cadet as an individual. The four-year academic program at the military college is interspersed with military training during summer months, and upon graduation, the granting of the commission and degree renders the individual a commissioned military officer. This raises the question of change. To what extent has professional socialization at the Royal Military College changed to incorporate the social, cultural, political and religious dimensions that now shape the reality of modern day warfare? And how is this reflected in the academic component of the officer professional development program? What are the competing concepts of professionalism in traditional warfare and post-modern warfare that need to be re-evaluated? What are the characteristics being developed or inculcated to facilitate flexibility and initiative in spontaneous military decision-making? These are questions that should be addressed in at least three of the four pillars of training and development of the officer cadet at RMC, as identified in the Withers' Report.

50. Characterized as academic, language, military and physical, these four pillars of training and development at RMC distinguish it from civilian universities, particularly the military and physical pillars. Much effort is invested in transforming the individual from a civilian to a military person with mastery of these pillars as part of the outcome. To accomplish this, the core curriculum includes subjects such as military and strategic studies, war studies, and military history, that will complement military training. This is further reinforced with the presence of military women and men in uniform who form part of the faculty at RMC and it facilitates the acquisition of the military professional perspective. At the interaction/acculturation level, there are models of weaponry, insignia, historiography and military documents that discretely assist the socialization process. Both Gaudet (1983) and Fodor (1987) provide different models of socialization at Canadian military colleges. Utilizing a descriptive approach, the studies do not offer an analytical perspective of the successes and/or failures of the approaches to professional socialization at either institution. Professional socialization continues according to the Profession of Arms Manual, over a much longer period of time than suggested by either of the two studies cited above. It states that:

> "In Canada, an individual becomes a member of the profession by swearing the Oath of Allegiance and adopting the military uniform, thus establishing an essential distinctiveness in Canadian society. Thereafter, members demonstrate their professionalism by:
>
> - embracing the military ethos;
> - reaching and maintaining the point at which a member has achieved the requirements for first employment in an occupation and maintaining this qualification;
> - pursuing the highest standards of the required expertise;
> - understanding, accepting and fulfilling all the commitments and responsibilities inherent in the profession of arms" (p.11).

51. This is a succinct description of the socialization process of the individual in the Canadian military, demonstrating also that it continues over one's military career. It conveys the impression that the individual, as an active participant in the process of socialization, is relatively in control of his/her own progress. It also points to a sharp departure from Huntington's closure definition that differentiates between non-commissioned and commissioned members, contending that only the latter can attain the requirements for professional status. This socialization process outlined above corroborates the emergent issues raised in the CFLI Research Program which are pivotal to the closed systems theory that shrouded the Canadian military of the past. It also alludes to the open systems model that represents the inclusive approach of the post-modern Canadian military and goes much beyond what Gaudet and Fordor identify as professional socialization in the military colleges in Canada.

5.0 The Occupational/Professional/Organizational Socialization Paradigm

52. In employing the above paradigm, Gaudet contends that when an occupation is recognized as a profession, the process of socialization is perceived as professional socialization and in citing Miller and Wager (1971:152) he confirms that professional socialization entails the "acquisition of the values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge of the professional subculture". Contrastingly, and in the words of Van Maanen and Schein, (1979: 211), Gaudet presents organizational socialization as:

> "[T]he process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role. Across the role, the process may appear in many forms, ranging from a relatively quick, self-guided, trial-and-error process to a far more elaborate one requiring a lengthy preparation period of education and training followed by an equally drawn-out period of official apprenticeship."

53. In pointing out the similarities in these processes of socialization including occupational, organizational and professional, Gaudet states that the intention of the overall socialization process is to bring into line the beliefs, attitudes and perspectives of

the individual, which he categorizes as expressive socialization. But he makes a distinction with institutional socialization whose key factors are context, nature of the skills/ knowledge imparted, and forms of training. On the other hand, he states that occupational socialization revolves around the development of attitudes, values and norms specific to certain occupations, and where the reference group is a profession, the process becomes one of professional socialization. If Huntington's definition of the military professional held true, it would suggest that within the military profession, there is professional and occupational socialization going on simultaneously, thereby challenging the reference group argument.

54. Fodor on the other hand explores the military college as a socializing agency for the professionalization of the military officer. He describes the professional school as an area of adult socialization designed to change the occupational attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of the individual, and makes a distinction between this form of adult socialization and other forms that he characterizes as re-socialization. He bases this on the claim that the professional school "builds and develops" pre-existing skills and beliefs instead of imparting new "attitudes and behavior dispositions". In his analogous comparison of the mental institution and the prison to the professional school, Fodor claims that in the latter, there is a "serial" pattern of socialization in terms of amount of time established for training recruits, while in the former, the socialization time frame varies according to the individual. Similarly, where recruits at the professional school enter as cohorts, cohortism in the mental institution and prison, develops over time. But Fodor fails to recognize from this line of argument, that cohortism also develops over time in the professional school as a consequence of emergent subcultures due to specific attributes, shared only by the subgroup. The acquisition of a moral outlook, value system, and knowledge and skills to perform roles according to Fodor, are equally matched with the lifestyle and professional status that recruits reflect.

55. The induction (structural) model that Fodor utilizes in his analysis of the socialization of the military officer is based on four assumptions with which he finds similarities with the military college. He outlines these as:

i) A profession becomes institutionalized in society, with a professional subculture developing around it.
ii) The primary receptacle of the culture becomes the professional school and its faculty.
iii) The professional school is a subsystem of the larger professional system and complementary interests between faculty and student roles are tied together.
iv) In the professional school students are perceived as student-professionals and faculty recognize them as junior professionals and treats them accordingly.

56. All of these assumptions bear some kind of relationship to the traditional professions generally, but issue can perhaps be taken with the last assumption in relating it to the situation at RMC. If RMC students are perceived as junior professionals by faculty, is there a contradistinction between this perception and the students' perception of the way they are treated? To what extent do officer cadets believe they are perceived

and treated as junior professionals by faculty? How compatible are the expectations these junior professionals have of themselves with those that are held by the faculty? Does the cadet's perception of securing the recognition of faculty as a junior professional, as significant as it is to faculty, and what are the implications of this as far as faculty is concerned? As junior professionals, to what extent are they responsible for their professional development and leadership skills? According to Fodor's induction model, the professional outcome of recruits' participation is the motivation for them to learn the professional role supported by faculty and is demonstrated by their teaching and their relationship with the students (Fodor, 1987).

57. Conversely, the reaction (situational) model according to Fodor, posits that students are responsible for their own destiny, as opposed to the induction approach that views the faculty as the socializing agent. Proponents of the situational approach suggest that the professional school is an independent entity and not the subsystem of a parent profession as supported by the induction approach. The reaction model also states that the professional culture of the students is determined by current situations and circumstances and conditions of work can be manipulated to predict students' behavior.

58. Fodor finds relevance of both the induction and reaction paradigms to the Royal Military College and its philosophy, but contends that by merging the two into what he characterizes as his interaction model there is even greater relevance. It is this model that he uses for his analysis of the socialization of professional military officers in Canada. This diverges from the present study in that the latter seeks to analyze not only the socialization process but also the environment in which it takes place along with the symbolic elements and their impact on the officer cadet as part of socialization.

59. Contrastingly, Gaudet's attitudinal dimension of socialization that he defines as the structural dimension, is represented in this present study which is expanded to include the base, the structural arrangements of the college, the displays of awards, medals and historical pieces of military engagements. These are thought to play a critical role in conditioning the individual into perpetuating the historical significance and respect for military persons of the past and present. What is of concern here, however, is the degree to which the officer cadet respects and honours war heroes, military symbolism, rank, status, protocol, and Canadian values and belief system and the way in which they interpret and attribute meaning to them. Is there any divergence from the value system developed in the traditional military profession and the post-modern military of Canada? And does cultural diversity within the CF have any impact, positive or negative, on the elements of socialization mentioned here or is it a continuation of business as usual?

60. Gaudet cites Wheeler (1969), in referencing two methods of socialization as re-socialization and developmental socialization that begin in childhood and continue throughout life. It is Wheeler's contention that all forms of socialization fall into one of these two categories and relate to either additional socialization or socialization aimed at making up for some deficiency acquired in early socialization. This perhaps can be termed remedial socialization that seems to be reflective of the process that takes place in prisons, mental institutions and other rehabilitative facilities.

61. The socialization process is pivotal to the development of leadership skills and the inculcation of military expertise. Consequently, the theoretical perspectives in which the analysis is framed first consider the type of institution that RMC was created as, and the type it has evolved into, over its history. The concept of Goffman's total institution as applied to the military has been the example cited by most works including Caforio (2003), Fodor (1987) and Gaudet (1983). For Goffman, the characteristics of a total institution are as follows: it is a rational means to an end that otherwise would have been difficult to realize; it has physical and psychological barriers between its inmates or residents and the outside world; work and private life are integrated; all activities are scheduled; there is segregation of inmates and staff; and life is controlled under one authority.

62. These six characteristics are all easily identifiable in the Canadian military but more specifically, at the training facilities, particularly, the Royal Military College. Caforio however, points out that the characteristics are associated with the socialization process at the Royal Netherlands Military Academy. To make a cross reference to RMC, taking the first characteristic into consideration, the socialization of the officer cadet in any type of civilian setting would perhaps make it extremely difficult to develop the military mind associated with war fighting and the management of violence. Secondly, the existence of physical and psychological barriers between the RMC's population and the outside world greatly facilitates the process of socialization and acculturation. The integration of work and private life at RMC, particularly in the first year or two is part of the socialization that helps to transform the individual into a military person. Furthermore, not only are cadets and staff geographically segregated, there is also a fundamental rank hierarchy that promotes segregation of rank and status among officer cadets that is further perpetuated in the larger military system. The scheduling of activities at RMC is perceived as critical to the socialization process and the desired outcome, and effectively controls freedom of movement. In relation to the total institution having one authority, it is generally accepted that indirectly, life at RMC falls under one authority in view of the fact that everyone at the college is ultimately accountable to the person who occupies the highest position of the hierarchy.

63. Officer cadets at RMC bring two different perspectives to the college upon arrival. One is developed from the intergenerational phenomenon or what Caforio (2003) refers to as endo-recruitment that is largely in response to life stories and experiences of past generations, and those with the ingrained desire to "serve one's country". Consequently, there are a number of beliefs about the military that are held by potential military officers through the process of anticipatory socialization that they experience before arriving at the college. RMC, it seems, becomes diametrically opposed to the reality of cadets' expectations and their experiences are often characterized as frustrating and having a demotivating effect. Anticipatory socialization according to Kendall, Murray and Linden (2002), is the process through which knowledge and skills are learned for future roles. They further contend that societies organize social experiences according to age, into four categories defined as infancy, childhood, adolescence and adulthood. In the general social process of development, these are incremental experiences that become more complex for

which the earlier stage forms the foundation. In this study of socialization of officer cadets at RMC, the adult socialization phase will become the focus with cursory reference given to adolescence in clarifying points as the need arises.

64. The officer cadet, unlike the civilian university student, experiences a structured process of socialization designed for a specific military outcome, the success of which is largely dependent on the reaction or response of the individual. Through the process of self-regulation, the officer cadet initially regulates his/her actions and behavior in accordance with those of the group or culture through three stages inherent in the process. Olsen (1978) describes these stages as internalization, identification, and compliance. For Olsen, internalization is the unconscious process by which the individual accepts the norms of the group or culture as his/her own personal standards. This goes beyond the individual simply inculcating the norms but internalizing them as well into the personality. Olsen uses George Herbert Mead's "the generalized other" and the stages involved to corroborate his own process of self-regulation. Put simply, the stages identified as the "play stage" where the young child imitates the mother or sibling; the "game stage" (a more mature stage) where the child learns to participate in complex group activities and organized games. This allows the child to understand not only his/her role, but also the role of others and the interrelationships involved. Finally, there is "the generalized other". This is the stage of maturity at which the individual has a clear understanding of others' expectations of him/her, and also his/her own expectations of him/herself based on personal self-images and self-identity as a consequence of the social norms that the individual has internalized.

65. Identification, on the other hand, involves the individual identifying with a specific social organization to which he/she would like to belong. By so doing, the individual accepts the organization's rules and norms as a means of participating in it. But even though accepting these norms and rules, he/she does not necessarily have to internalize them. Identification as a process of self-regulation, according to Olsen, can occur regardless of whether or not the individual is a member of the organization.

66. The last stage of the self-regulation process occurs when the individual abides by the social standards of the organization with the expectation of gaining from conformity. This stage is called compliance. "Gaining" in this context, refers to obtaining rewards or avoiding punishment. Compliance as far as the individual is concerned has more to do with benefits than with internalizing the organization's rules and norms. The internalization and identification processes of self-regulation that Olsen describes are quite similar to elements of symbolic interactionism. However, symbolic interactionism incorporates as well, the structural arrangements and symbolism of the organization and the way in which members and potential members interact with them. Therefore in view of the fundamental role that these symbols and processes play in internalization and acculturation in professional training and development at RMC, it is perceived not only as important but generally valuable, to analyze the socialization of officer cadets at RMC from the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism.

6.0 Theoretical Foundations for Further Research

67. Many studies have been conducted to analyze various aspects of the military as an organization (Pinch and Segal, 2003; Hofstede, 1991; Segal and Segal, 1983;) and as a profession (Department of National Defence, 2003; Linden, 2003; Okros, 2003; Mathews, 2002; English, 2002; Wakin, 1986) utilizing different approaches and perspectives of analysis. Employing the perspective of symbolic interactionism, this study addresses the culture and socialization of officer cadets at RMC and its affiliates. This perspective is particularly relevant to the situation of RMC's officer cadets who are concentrated within a military environment designed to significantly change their belief system and social outlook. It also discretely coerces them to conform to military demands and practices through symbols of language, regalia, behavior, attitude, interaction, artefacts and structures that are fundamental to their environment during their time at the military college.

68. The tenets of symbolic interactionism revolve around the process through which the individual interprets and responds to the attitudes and expectations held by the "generalized other" for the individual, based on his/her own internalization of these attitudes and expectations. It is the self of the individual, in its objective role that allows for interaction with society from an objective position. This is derived from a general understanding of gestures and how they are interpreted. As such, the individual is able to respond to his/her own gestures and enables others to respond similarly. This amounts to what Mead refers to as role-playing or sharing in common experiences. By utilizing this perspective George H. Mead contends that the self is made up of two parts identified as the "I" and the "me". The "me", argues Mead, functions in relation to the "generalized other" by taking its role and is thereby able to participate in complex role-playing in a complex social system. This occurs in accordance with the actions and expectations of the significant others. Being able to respond to one's own gestures is indicative of the existence of a self to which the individual can react in much the same way as he/she would to any other person or object. Meltzer et al. also support the perspective that the development of the self is related to the development of the ability to take on roles. Therefore, the internalization of roles and their concomitant gestures becomes the medium through which the individual can create an internal image of him/herself as perceived through the expectations held for the individual by the generalized other or the group, or even society.

69. In countering this perspective of the self, Hitch (1983) suggests that it provides the perception of the self as an unstable object that changes as the social context, expectations and "the generalized other" change. What other proponents seem to be articulating, however, is that the self has a core whose genetic construction determines the individual's process of interpretation of the expectations and social context to which he/she has the ability to adapt. In Mead's perspective of the "I" and the "me", the "me" represents the self as perceived by "generalized others" and functions in accordance with the expectations of the group. The internalized attitudes and expectations of others that Mead suggests, determine the "me" component of the self and the reaction to them is performed by the "I". The "me" places the self in an objective position and by so doing,

allows the "I" to respond to the attitudes of others toward the individual in demonstrating his/her own attitude toward them. The "I" and the "me are polarized into subject and object and have an interdependent relationship.

70. At the collective level, symbolic interaction presumes the fitting together of different individual sets of action and relationships through role taking by diverse groups of human beings. Mead asserts that society consists of actions of people taking place in response to specific situations and that the construction of the response reflects the interpretation of the situation, the assessment of which becomes the basis for the required action. It also suggests that from the point of contact with a stimulus, an interpretive process begins and is terminated only on reaching the desired action. The perspective also holds that there is a process through which stimuli are selected for action and some interactionists such as Manford H. Kuhn contend that it is the covert or interpretative process of action that generates significance of the interaction. Kuhn also states that the organization or structure of a human society provides the framework within which social action takes place but it does not determine the action itself. According to Herbert Blumer, people or action units do not respond to culture, or social structure, but to situations therein, making it critical to understand that the response to a situation and how that situation is interpreted are the most important aspects of interactionism. In other words, the way in which people interact with one another is central to symbolic interactionism, with the method of interpretation of action being the covert process.

71. It is against this background that the present study will be conducted utilizing the perspective of symbolic interactionism. This perspective will facilitate the examination of the role and significance of the symbols of culture, language, behavior, attitudes, interaction and artifacts that are germane to the cultural environment in which officer cadets at RMC are immersed for training and development. This training period can be described as having three major components, identified as academic training, acculturation, and military development. In each component, socialization plays a pivotal role in the experiences of the officer cadet who constantly interacts with the cultural symbols specific to the military and interprets them according to the expectations of others, which the officer cadet has internalized. To a large extent, a mixture of non-verbal mechanisms of symbols is used to inculcate specific meaning to culture, events, organizational structure and relationships. It is expected that this will generate a group response as a result of social conditioning so that expressions of action by the group may be expressions of cultural demands and expectations, societal purposes, social values, or interpretive stresses. Such an approach ignores the fact that group action/group life consists of collective or concerted actions of the individuals of the group in response to the situation at hand. In examining some of the issues facing RMC as identified in the CFLI Research Program (2003), the Profession of Arms Manual (2003), and the Withers' Report (1998), the study will focus on, but is not limited to, examining the attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, norms, and identity associated with the experiences and training of officer cadets at the Royal Military College.

7.0 Conclusion

72. The above outlines some of the key issues that the Royal Military College faces as a consequence of social change and developing trends not only in Canadian society but at the international level as well. It also highlights some of the critical factors that give rise to the changing patterns of war and war fighting as well as the increasing dependence on allied and coalition forces in responding to differentiated elements of post-modern warfare. This conceptual overview also points to the increasing demands made on these forces specifically in relation to the cross cultural dimensions that can now influence and perhaps determine the outcome of military missions. Command and control of missions conducted by allied or coalition forces places heightened levels of responsibility on the commander in achieving professional effectiveness and operational success. This suggests that training military personnel particularly at the officer level must be structured so as to include courses in multicultural education, history, sociology and anthropology. The role that the Royal Military College plays in the Canadian Forces needs to be redefined and articulated as determined by these two institutions. Eventually, this will promote harmonization of overall objectives and avoid confusion or misunderstanding, disjointedness, and redundancy in purpose. Consequently, RMC and the CF should be functioning as institutions of the same profession charged with different areas of responsibility in achieving the same objectives. This directly points to the role of RMC in protecting Canada and its interests, as well as providing the required future military leadership in responding to military engagements at increasing levels of international participation. To accomplish this, RMC's critical obligations must include respecting social change in Canadian society by demonstrating the integration of Canadian social values and responding to the needs of the Canadian Forces. In addition, it must also adequately prepare its officer cadets to meet the challenges of all military responsibilities imposed on Canada and to do so professionally, efficiently, and as effective leaders.

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