

Millennials and the Military: The Emerging Civil-Military Gap

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Abstract

The focus of this project is to understand the impact of the Millennial generational persona on the future of defence policy in Canada. Using focus groups and survey data, this project examines the perspectives that Millennial students have about defence issues and military organizations such as the CAF and NATO. Through this examination, it appears that Millennials are distinct from older generations on many defence issues including their evaluation and awareness of the CAF and NATO and how they understand and prioritize threats. Due to this, it is likely that the civil-military gap between civil and military society will grow as Millennials become more influential in society. Additionally, this project examines the relationship between interaction and awareness with the CAF and NATO and Millennial evaluation of these organizations. The findings suggest that interaction with the CAF and NATO has a strong impact on evaluation and awareness of military organizations.

Keywords: civil-military relations; generational research; Millennials; military; public opinion

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List of Acronyms

CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
MARPAC	Maritime Forces Pacific
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDC	NATO Defence College
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SFU	Simon Fraser University

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Currently, Canadian society is in the middle of a large generational shift as the Baby Boomer generation, a generation that has dominated Canadian society for nearly 50 years declines and the next largest generation, Millennials, begins to rapidly grow in influence. When we look to the future of civil-military relations in Canada, it becomes imperative to specifically examine the perspectives and level of knowledge that the Millennial generation, particularly young Millennials (b. 1992-2001), has about defence issues and defence organizations such as the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). If the CAF and NATO are unable to attain high positive evaluation and awareness from Millennials, their funding and other resources in future years will likely decrease as Millennials begin to dominate the policy making process. Through the use of focus group and survey data, this project examines the perspectives and knowledge that young Millennial students have about defence issues and military organizations such as the CAF and NATO, determining that Millennials appear less likely to positively evaluate the CAF than older generations and lack basic knowledge and awareness of the CAF. This suggests that the civil-military gap may grow as Millennials become more influential in society. This research contributes to literature on civil-military relations in Canada. It will also be the first time that the concept of a university-military gap will be applied within the Canadian context. In addition, it will show whether academic interaction with the CAF and NATO changes the evaluation and awareness given to these organizations by Millennials. This examination will provide greater understanding of what impact Millennials may have on defence and security issues in Canada and discuss the effects of defence and security engagement methods on young Millennials.

To begin, I will review the literature on civil-military relations followed by generational research on Millennials in the United States. I will then describe the characteristics of Canadian Millennial and how they may differ from their American counterparts. This review of the current state of civil-military relations and generational research will give insight on how Millennial civilians may understand, perceive and/or engage with the Canadian military and other defence organizations. In the research design section, I outline the basic objectives and hypotheses that inform this research project. After which, I discuss this research project's methodology including the types of data used, methods of analysis, key concepts and possible limitations of my research design and generational research more generally. Following this, I examine my results beginning by examining the awareness perspectives of young Millennials on the CAF, NATO and security threats. Afterwards, I examine the NATO Field School results discussing the impact of the program on student's evaluation of the CAF and NATO. Finally, I conclude with a general discussion of my findings and how they relate to the wider literature.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

2.1. The Civil-Military Gap

To fully understand the literature of the civil-military gap, it is imperative to track the development of the concept through to its application to university-military relations and the Canadian case.

The study of civil-military relations is the study of the relationship and interactions between the civilian society or state and the military. This study dates back centuries to the writings of Sun Tzu and later Clausewitz who both argued that the military should be subordinate to the civilian state.¹ However, the foundational literature of the modern study of civil-military relations in liberal democracies can be traced to Samuel Huntington's 1957 work, *The Soldier and the State*. Huntington was concerned with the fragile balance between the highly liberal American civilian society and the conservative culture of American military society.² Huntington argued that military institutions are molded by two forces: social imperatives which are developed through the norms and values of civil society, and functional imperatives which are a product of the security threats the society faces.³ It was necessary to strike a balance between the two imperatives as a failure to do so could lead to either a military coup or an overall lack of effectiveness when dealing with security threats.⁴ This balance could be achieved by giving military officials full control of the functional imperatives while the civilian government handles all political aspects of the policy making process (social imperatives) determining the overarching goals of defence and foreign policy.⁵ This arrangement maintained military effectiveness but required American society to adjust somewhat to the conservative cultures of the military.⁶

Morris Janowitz had a similar view to Huntington that there exists a tension between the military and civil society.⁷ However, they differed on how that gap should be bridged. While Huntington argued that the military should remain separate from society to maintain balance between social and functional imperatives, Janowitz claimed that it was necessary for militaries to adjust to the social mores of the society. Failure to do so

¹ Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963): 63-64.; Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989): 87.

² Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972): 2-3.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid, 2.

⁵ Ibid, 466.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, (London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1960): 440.

may create a garrison or militarized state which opposes democratic principles.⁸ Huntington's and Janowitz's works help define the two approaches to research in this area. Huntington focuses on institutional dynamics and the balance of power while Janowitz's approach focuses on the social mores and socio-political dynamics. This work is more consistent with Janowitz's approach to civil-military relations as its aim is to identify socio-political changes in civilian society and their effect on military and defence organizations. This approach implicitly suggests that the military and other defence organizations should adapt to these socio-political changes.

While the purposes of both Huntington's and Janowitz's works were to understand how to balance the liberal values of the wider society with the conservative military values and procedures, the academic literature in civil-military relations following the end of the Cold War began to focus on the civil-military gap. This gap can be understood to be a culture gap between the military and society caused by the smaller and professional forces necessary for modern warfare where a majority of the population would have little to no contact with the military.⁹ The concern is that this gap would make the armed forces difficult for the civilian head of government to control and/or be a detriment in creating effective defence policy.¹⁰ Feaver and Kohn addressed this concern in their edited book, *Soldiers and Civilians*, where several academics systematically examined the civil-military gap using survey data and determined that the civil-military gap did indeed exist and was cause for concern if it continued to widen.¹¹ The concern of the civil-military gap dominated the literature of the civil-military relations in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, in post-9/11 America there have been shifts towards better civil-military relations as the American public has placed a stronger priority on security issues since.¹² This led many scholars to suggest a new era of stronger and healthier civil-military relations where servicemen and women are viewed to be esteemed and accomplished.¹³

However, this perspective is challenged by the work of Downs and Murtazashvili who examined the specific relationship between universities and the military, terming it the "military-university gap."¹⁴ They explain that the roles of the military and university in society are almost dichotomous as the emphasis for universities is one of reason and freethinking whereas militaries are hierarchical and disciplined organizations.¹⁵ These different roles inevitably lead to conflict as is evident from the long history of pacifist and anti-war movements being led from universities.¹⁶ Downs and Murtazashvili also explore the attitudes of university civilian and military students on the military-university gap

⁸ Ibid.

⁹Richard H. Kohn, "Out of Control: The Crisis in Civil-Military Relations," *The National Interest* 35, (Spring 1994), 3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42894926>. (Accessed June 5)

¹⁰Peter D. Feaver, Richard Kohn and Lindsay P. Kohn, "The Gap between Military and Civilian in the United States in Perspective," *Soldiers and Civilians*, ed. Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, (London: MIT Press, 2001): 1.

¹¹ Ibid, 11.

¹²Morten G. Ender, David E. Rohall, and Michael D. Mathews, *The Millennial Generation and National Defense: Attitudes of Future Military and Civilian Leaders*, (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2014): 21.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴Donald Alexander Downs and Ilia Murtazashvili, *Arms and the University*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012)" 7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

through the use of survey data.¹⁷ Many of their results indicate that, while there are positive effects of having a military presence on university campuses through military students, there remains a tension between the two institutions that creates a significant civil-military gap.¹⁸ The value of Downs and Murtazashvili's work for this project is that it shows the complexity of university-military relations and raises the question of whether the overall civil-military gap will widen in society as Millennials are more likely to be post-secondary educated than previous generations.¹⁹

While all the works discussed above provide a foundational knowledge of the civil-military relations including university-military relations from the 1950s until the present, these works focus on American civil-military relations. Canada's role as a lesser power with an active military history in the 20th and 21st century is distinct and cannot be compared to the culture of civil-military relations in American society.²⁰ Since the 1970s, the Canadian public has strongly ascribed to the concept of peacekeeping as one of the central roles or expectations of the CAF.²¹ This is significantly different than the perception of the American military as a strong fighting force. Due to this, the transferability of many of these findings to Canadian civil-military relations is minimal.

While the American case has dominated the civil-military relations literature, there are some scholars that have looked at the Canadian case. An example of this comes from Douglas Bland's work which examined how the civil authority and the military establishment share responsibility for the development of defence policy using the Canadian case as an example of this phenomenon.²² However, this work focuses on the relationship between the government and the military, not the cultural differences between the military and the public or the military and the university as this research project will examine. While there is public opinion polling and academic literature on public perceptions towards the military, such as the Canadian Government's *Views of the Canadian Armed Forces Tracking Studies* and Roland Paris's *Are Canadians still liberal internationalists? Foreign policy and public opinion in the Harper era*, they do not use the framework of civil-military relations to explain the research implications or effect of their findings.²³

¹⁷ Ibid, 415.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Doug Norris, "Millennials: Generation Du Jour," *Environics Analysis*, <http://www.environicsanalytics.ca/blog-details/ea-blog/2016/01/22/millennials-the-generation-du-jour>. (Accessed September 25, 2017)

²⁰ Ender et al, 21.

²¹ Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still liberal internationalists? Foreign policy and public opinion in the Harper era," *International Journal* 69, no. 3 (2014): 276.

²² Douglas Bland, "Who decides what? Civil-military relations in Canada and the United States," *Canadian-American Public Policy* 41 (2000); n.p. <http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/214185589?accountid=13800>. (Accessed June 5, 2017)

²³ Phoenix SPI, *Views on the Canadian Armed Forces 2016 Tracking Study*, [Ottawa], 2016. http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/pwpsc-tpsgc/por-ef/national_defence/2016/031-15-e/report.pdf ;(Accessed June 5, 2017)

Roland Paris, "Are Canadians still liberal internationalists? Foreign policy and public opinion in the Harper era," *International Journal* 69, no. 3 (2014).

Christopher Ankersen is one of the few academics who has applied the literature of civil-military relations to the relationship between the public and the military in Canada.²⁴ His work examines Canadian civil-military cooperation in overseas operations in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo. Ankersen uses his Clausewitzian framework of the trinity to understand the civil-military cooperation and the interactions between the CAF, the Canadian Government, and the people. In this framework, the people “form the context and parameters within which military activity is conceived, deployed, and ultimately, evaluated.”²⁵ The government defines and communicates the political aims they wish to achieve, and the Armed Forces are responsible for carrying out those aims using their functional expertise.²⁶ This framework highlights the importance of public opinion and expectation for military activities, which is consistent with the aims of this project. In addition, it provides some insight into the relationship between the Canadian public and the military as it suggests that the Canadian public provides the CAF with tepid support but does not necessarily prioritize national defence issues and tends to lack a clear opinion on national defence beyond a fondness for peacekeeping operations which have become increasingly rare.²⁷ Ankersen concludes that “from the perspective of the military, it is not clear what the Canadian people want, that the Canadian public know what they want, or even know much about what it is they say they want.”²⁸ Because of this lack of direction from the Canadian people, the CAF has had to improvise and continually readjust their approach in operations to either appease the public or to be effective in a particular strategic environment.²⁹ While the readjustment of approaches by the CAF can be successful, it does suggest an organization that is dealing with a large civil-military gap as they cannot get consistent and coherent policy input from the public.

In this research project, I will further examine the relationship between the public and the CAF described by Ankersen but focus on the future of this relationship by examining the attitudes and preferences of young Millennial university students in Canada. This study is unique in many ways. First, civil-military relations in Canada is largely understudied with very little research being done on whether there is a significant culture gap, generation gap, or intellectual gap between Canadian citizens and their military. In addition, it will apply Downs and Murtazashvili’s concept of university-military gap to the Canadian case for the first time providing further insight into how defence issues are taught in the Canadian context.

2.2. The Millennial Generation

The study of Millennials is part of a wider study of the sociology of generations. A generation can be “defined as a society-wide peer group, born over a period roughly the same length as the passage from youth to adulthood, who collectively possess a

²⁴ Christopher Ankersen, *The Politics of Civil-Military Cooperation: Canada in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan*, (New York: Palgrave – MacMillan, 2014): 72.

²⁵ Ibid, 72.

²⁶ Ibid, 85.

²⁷ Ibid, 73-84.

²⁸ Ibid, 84. g

²⁹ Ibid, 132-134.

common persona.”³⁰ Karl Mannheim developed this concept in 1921 claiming that generations were established through a historical-social process in which specific patterns of experience and a group’s position (age, culture, etc.) in society formed a generational persona that was common across this generational cohort.³¹ Mannheim also recognized that experiences that occur in the formative years of a generation are particularly significant as the generation’s worldviews and persona are still being formed.³²

A generational persona is essentially the defining characteristics of a generation, “a creation embodying attitudes about family life, gender roles, institutions, politics, religion, culture, lifestyle and the future... It can be safe or reckless, individualist or collegial, spiritual or secular.”³³ While a generational persona is common across a generational cohort, it is not universal as Howe and Strauss observed, “Not every member will share it, of course, but every member will have to deal with it, willingly or not, over a lifetime.”³⁴ There are three identifiers of a generational persona: “perceived membership in a common generation, common beliefs and behaviors, and a common location in history.”³⁵

2.2.1. The American Millennial

The concept of Millennials is an American concept as it was created by Howe and Strauss in a discussion of American generations in 1990 and has continued to be developed to describe generational change in the United States.³⁶ Today, the concept of Millennials is applied to generational cohorts outside of the United States, yet the literature still primarily focuses on the American case. While there is a great deal of culture sharing between Canada and the United States, there are many institutional and socio-political differences between the two countries that could have a significant impact on how Millennials develop their generational persona in Canada. Therefore, in order to understand Millennials in Canada, we must first understand how American experiences and events have developed the concept of Millennials. This will help us determine how and if the generational persona of Canadian Millennials is different from their American cousins.

Howe and Strauss mapped the formation of the generational persona of Millennials in the United States in their work, *Millennials Rising: The Next Great*

³⁰ Neil Howe and William Strauss, *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2000): 40.

³¹Karl Mannheim, “The Problem of Generations,” *Psychoanalytical Review* 57, no. 3 (1970): 378-404.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/1310157020?accountid=13800>. (Accessed October 15, 2017)

³² Ibid.

³³ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*,41.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*, 383.

Generation. This work is one of the earliest comprehensive works on the Millennial generation and remains foundational to the study of Millennials today.

Millennials are defined by Howe and Strauss as individuals born between 1982-2002 with the acknowledgement that the end of a generation is difficult to identify particularly before the end of the generational cohort.³⁷ The birth of the Millennial generation corresponds with an increase in birth rates and a new emphasis in American media and society on children and childrearing as an integral part of personal fulfillment. This created a child-centered society with extremely protective parenting techniques.³⁸ Millennials are also the most diverse generation in American history thus increasing the emphasis on diversity over assimilation in American culture.³⁹ The first Millennial cohorts grew up during the era of the Culture Wars and the economic prosperity of the 1990s. According to Howe and Strauss, they are best described as a post-awakening or hero generation meaning that they were born after a society-wide culture change “during a time of decaying civic habits, ebbing institutional trust and resurgent individualism.”⁴⁰ In the case of Millennials, this was the individualistic and vice-ridden youth culture of Gen X and the weakened political and cultural institutions that resulted from the Baby Boomers’ rebellion from conformity and traditional values in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴¹ Essentially, Millennials are growing up with “fragmenting pop culture and narrow gender role gap when individuals come first and family stability is weak (but starting to strengthen).”⁴² According to Howe and Strauss, these experiences and influences have made Millennials special (self-important), sheltered, confident (trusting and optimistic), team-oriented, achieving (best-educated and best-behaved generation in American history), pressured (pressured to excel), and conventional (rule-followers). However, as their work was published in the early 2000s, there have been significant developments in the research since, building upon many of their central themes.

Currently in the literature, Millennials appear to be defined by these key experiences: technological development, diversity, helicopter parenting, education, and uncertainty. One of the most referenced experiences across the literature is that Millennials are the “first native digital generation” meaning that they had access to the internet and various other technologies in their formative years.⁴³ The way in which Millennials use this technology, according to research, is significantly different than older generations. They are more reliant and attached to their mobile phones to complete day to day tasks. As well, they highly value their social media platforms as a way to connect with others and have used technology to develop their own “social ecosystems.”⁴⁴ According to research, this easy access to the Internet and technology has made

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid, 33.

³⁹ Ibid, 51.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 326.

⁴¹ Ibid, 54.

⁴² Ibid, 51.

⁴³Alison N. Novak, *Media, Millennials, and Politics*, (New York: Lexington Books, 2016): 97.

⁴⁴ Jacqueline K. Eastman et al., “The Role of the Involvement on Millennials’ Mobile Technology Behaviors: The Moderating Impact of Status Consumption, Innovation, and Opinion Leadership,” *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice* 22, no. 4 (2014): 455. <https://doi.org.10.2753/MTP1069-6679220407> (Accessed November 8, 2017)

Millennials more easily bored, more collaborative and team orientated, more likely to prefer informal settings and less formal leadership styles, and have more strongly egalitarian values than previous generations.⁴⁵ This access to technology is also one of the possible causes of Millennials' high levels of civic engagement (volunteering, ethical consumption, etc.) and low levels of political engagement (voting, working for a candidate, etc.).⁴⁶

A second experience that Millennials have that differentiates them is that they are more diverse than any previous generation. In their work, Howe and Strauss discuss how America's demographic landscape is changing as 20% of Millennials in the United States are the children of immigrants up from 6% to 8% from Gen X.⁴⁷ Millennials thus have greater experience with ethnic diversity than previous generations in the United States. In addition to being ethnically diverse, Millennials have also seen the growing contribution of women in the workforce in managerial and professional roles and thus have more experience with gender diversity as well.⁴⁸ Through their experience with diversity, Millennials generally place a far greater premium on diversity within their workplace and other institutions as they are more likely to view it as advantageous to the decision-making process as opposed to previous generations who view diversity as an issue of morality (diversity in the workplace is the right thing to do).⁴⁹ As well, Millennials are more likely to focus on inclusion and unique experiences of individuals instead of simple representation in the workplace.⁵⁰ These experiences with diversity have contributed to Millennials' egalitarian values⁵¹ and to the rise of the intersectionalist thinking among Millennial activists.⁵²

Helicopter parenting is a style of parenting that is common among Baby Boomer and Gen X parents of Millennial children and is characterized as an over-protective or hovering style of parenting. More specifically, it consists of a strong protection and management of a child's wellbeing by a parent and possibly the wider community and government through often intrusive means such as minimizing children's exposure to violence and things that would negatively harm their self-esteem such as failure or comparison to other children (standardized testing, losing games, etc.).⁵³ Helicopter parenting is linked to the Millennial experience of being born in a child-centred society like the late 1980s and 1990s American society where children became the focus of

⁴⁵Patricia Vincent Roehling et al., "Engaging the Millennial Generation in Class Discussions," *College Teaching* 59, no. 1 (2010): 2. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/10.1080/87567555.2010.484035>. (Accessed November 10, 2017)

⁴⁶ Novak, *Media*, 100.

⁴⁷ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*, 83.

⁴⁸Novak, *Media*, 10.

⁴⁹ Christie Smith and Stephanie Turner, "The Radical Transformation of Diversity and Inclusion: The Millennial Influence," *Deloitte University: Leadership Center for Inclusion*, 8.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵²Ruth Milkman, "A New Political Generation: Millennials and the Post-2008 Wave of Protest," *American Sociological Review* 82, no. 1 (2017): 11.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416681031>

⁵³ Novak, *Media*, 97.

public space and being a parent began to be seen as way to achieve personal fulfillment.⁵⁴ This style of parenting has led children to be far closer to their parents than previous generations in the sense that they view them not only as authority figures but friends.⁵⁵ This is also associated with many of the negative characteristics of Millennials such as overconfidence, laziness, lack of competence, poor social skills, and narcissism.⁵⁶ These effects are particularly noted in research surrounding Millennials in the classroom where, in addition to the above characteristics, an overall fear of failure or correction is noted by Roehling et al.⁵⁷ The arguably positive effects of this are that Millennials are also characterized as being highly self-assured, ambitious, and more likely to be rule-followers than previous generations.⁵⁸

Another aspect of the Millennial experience that differentiates Millennials from previous generations is the proportion of Millennials that pursue higher education in post-secondary institutions. As discussed by Howe and Strauss, Millennials were held to higher educational standards than previous generations in public schools in the United States due to concerns about the vices and listlessness of Gen X in their adolescent years.⁵⁹ Following this, Millennials are currently the most educated generation in history with far more pursuing post-secondary degrees than ever before.⁶⁰ What this possibly suggests is that universities and university students may have more influence over this generation than in previous generations.

Uncertainty is the last defining experience of Millennials. While Howe and Strauss discussed how sheltered early Millennials had been from danger in childhood, their early adulthood and adolescence has been far less peaceful. Uncertainty describes the effects of several events that occurred in Millennial's formative years: the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks, extreme climate phenomena, and the Great Recession of 2008. The combination of the experiences previously discussed gave Millennials a fairly optimistic view of their futures and the collective future.⁶¹ However, the 9/11 terror attacks and the subsequent War on Terror has caused significant anxiety among this generation about world politics and national security while they remain individually optimistic about their futures.⁶² The growing number of extreme climate events exacerbates Millennials feelings of uncertainty about the global threat environment.⁶³ While the 9/11 attacks and natural disasters have had a significant impact on Millennials' worldview, the Great Recession of 2008 has had a more direct impact on their financial

⁵⁴ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*, 110.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 135.

⁵⁶ Ng et al., "Millennials," 3280329.

⁵⁷Roehling et al., "Engaging," 3.

⁵⁸Brenda J. Kowske et al., "Millennials' (Lack of) Attitude Problem: An Empirical Examination of Generational Effects on Work Attitudes," *Journal of Business and Psychology*25, no. 2 (2010): 265. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10869-010-9171-8>. (Accessed December 10, 2017)

⁵⁹ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*, 149.

⁶⁰Norris,"Millennials," *N.P.*

⁶¹Ron Aslop, *The Trophy Kids Grow Up*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2008): 7.

⁶² *Ibid*.

⁶³ *Ibid*.

futures with wages and job stability not likely to return to pre-recession levels.⁶⁴ This has limited the career trajectories of many Millennials, but not their ambitions, making them more likely to lack job satisfaction, prioritize work-life balance, and be more stressed than any other living generation.⁶⁵ In short, Millennials deal with a wide variety of uncertainty in their lives, from global tragedy to financial stress, which has a significant impact on their worldview.

Through these experiences, Millennials have gained a unique generational persona. What becomes clear through examining these experiences is that Millennial generational research can possibly apply to cases beyond the United States with some amendments. However, it is important that researchers understand how the generational persona was developed in the American case before assuming that the same values can be applied to other cases.

2.2.2. The Canadian Millennial

The Canadian Millennial is somewhat understudied in the sense that they are often assumed to be the same as those in the United States. As previously discussed, a generation is created between individuals who share a common location in history. In the case of the United States and Canada, there are many similarities between the two countries, but it cannot be argued that Canada shared equally in all the events that defined Millennial experiences in the United States. As well, the same event or experience can impact Millennial cohorts in Canada and the United States differently due to differences in their national culture.⁶⁶ To establish a clear understanding of the Canadian Millennial, I will discuss how membership in the Millennial generation can be understood in the Canadian context, the common location or experiences that likely define Canadian Millennials, and finally the common beliefs and behaviors of Canadian Millennials.

The term Millennial is certainly within the Canadian cultural lexicon. It is used in news articles to describe the various behaviors and actions of Canadians somewhere in their late teens to mid-thirties. Therefore, it is logical to assume that Millennials in Canada, as consumers of media, are aware that they fall within this generational cohort. This is confirmed by a poll done by Mintel that shows that a majority of Canadians between the ages of 18-34 are aware they are Millennials.⁶⁷ However, they personally do not identify with the negative stereotypes that are often associated with Millennials such as entitlement and narcissism yet nearly half of Millennials view other Millennials, their generational peers, as being entitled and narcissistic.⁶⁸ This suggests a lack of solidarity within the Millennial generation as many Millennials attempt to distance

⁶⁴ Ng et al., "Millennials," 332.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Charles D. Schewe et al., "'If You've Seen One, You've Seen Them All!' Are Young Millennials the Same Worldwide?" *Journal of International Consumer Marketing* 25, no. 1 (2013): 4. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08961530.2013.751791/>. (Accessed January 19, 2018)

⁶⁷ "Misunderstood Millennials: Canadian Millennials Do Not Identify with Generational Labels," *Mintel Press Office*, February 11, 2016, <http://www.mintel.com/press-centre/social-and-lifestyle/misunderstood-millennials-canadian-millennials-do-not-identify-with-generational-labels/>. (Accessed January 29, 2018)

⁶⁸ Ibid.

themselves from the negative stereotypes of being a Millennial but continue to view their Millennial peers as embodying these stereotypes. The lack of solidarity within the Millennial cohort is perhaps due to Millennials regularly consuming news content that describes them negatively creating a level of self-hatred and self-awareness within this generation in Canada. This phenomenon can be seen as a challenge to the idea that Canadian Millennials self-identify with the Millennial persona as it suggests that Canadian Millennials may not feel that their peers share the same values and beliefs as they do. Be that as it may, as Howe and Strauss discussed, not every member of a generation must feel that their generational persona reflects their values, but every member must cope with that generational persona whether they like it or not. Mintel's poll indicates that Canadian Millennials are indeed coping with their generational persona and trying to find their place within it. While the solidarity issue certainly adds complexity to the concept of self-identification of generational membership, it does not change the fact that Millennials are aware that they are part of the Millennial generation which is sufficient to fulfill the perceived membership in a generation criteria for identifying a generational persona.

To identify the Canadian Millennial, I will discuss the extent to which the American experiences that were discussed previously apply to the Canadian case. Canada experienced a similar pattern of population growth to the United States in the second half of the 20th century, with a sharp decline in birth rates in the late 1960s and early 1970s followed by a significant increase in the 1980s and 1990s.⁶⁹ The increase in birth rates during this time period was due to similar factors to the United States including the delayed parenthood of Baby Boomers compared to previous generations.⁷⁰ This increase in birth rates paired with immigration created the large Millennial cohort in Canada. As of 2016, Millennials in Canada are the largest generational cohort as they represent 27% of the overall population.⁷¹ Due to the similar patterns of population growth between Canada and the United States during this time period, it is likely that Canadian society underwent a similar shift to a child-centred society. This is supported by adoption of helicopter parenting techniques by parents of Canadian Millennials.⁷² This suggests that Canadian and American Millennials may have had similar upbringings despite living in different socio-political environments.

The rise of digital technologies has had the same effects in Canada as the United States. Canadian Millennials are the first digital natives and have similar patterns of technology usage to their American counterparts. Due to this, it is reasonable to assume that Canadian Millennials are also more easily bored, more collaborative and team orientated, more likely to prefer informal settings, and have more strongly egalitarian values than previous generations.

Millennials in Canada are also a diverse generation with 25% of Millennials in Canada in 2011 identifying as a member of a visible minority and one-third of visible

⁶⁹Canada. Statistics Canada – Demography Division. *Canadian Demographics at a Glance, 2nd edition*, [Ottawa, Ontario], 2016: 16. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/91-003-x2014001-eng.pdf?contentType=application%2Fpdf>. (Accessed January 22, 2018)

⁷⁰"The Daily," *Statistics Canada*, June 16, 1999, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/990616/dq990616b-eng.htm>. (Accessed January 22, 2018)

⁷¹ Norris, "Millennials" N.P.

⁷²Therese Tayler, "Student affairs staff navigate helicopter parenting," *University Affairs*, April 5, 2017, <https://www.universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/student-affairs-staff-navigate-helicopter-parenting/>. (Accessed January 5, 2018)

minority Millennials being the child of an immigrant.⁷³ This is a significant increase from previous Canadian generations.⁷⁴ As well, it is arguable that Millennial Canadians have more experience with diversity policy than their American counterparts as the start of the Millennial generation corresponds with the entrenchment of multiculturalist values in Section 27 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982 which solidified the Government of Canada's commitment to multiculturalist policies. In addition, there were several instances within Canadian Millennials' lifespans in which the country grappled with multiculturalism and identity in Canadian politics such as the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, the Oka Crisis, the Quebec Separation movement and Aboriginal self-government and reconciliation. This suggests that Canadian Millennials may value diversity and multiculturalism more than American Millennials as multiculturalism has been a higher national priority in Canada over the course of their childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

There are some more key differences in Canadian and American Millennial experiences. While the early cohorts of American Millennials grew up during the culture wars and the economic prosperity of the 1990s in the United States, Canadian Millennials have had relatively limited experience with culture wars as Canadian politics was more progressive and far less polarized than in the United States during this time period. As well, the economic prosperity of the 1990s was felt in Canada, but to a lesser degree.

Uncertainty is another area where there are significant differences between the Millennial experience in the United States and Canada. While Canadians had a strong reaction to the events of 9/11 and the War on Terror, it is important to note a distinction between the American and Canadian experience in this case. For Americans, the threat of terrorism is far more immediate. Since 9/11, there have been several large-scale terrorist attacks on American soil resulting in many American casualties. In the Canadian case, there have been few terrorist attacks on Canadian soil with very few casualties in the same time period. It is therefore reasonable to assume that American Millennials may feel more threatened by terrorism than their Canadian counterparts as they have far more experience with terrorism at a national level. As well, while Canada was a combatant in the war in Afghanistan, it did not participate in the Second Gulf War and therefore many of the experiences of the Iraq War may feel more distant to Canadian Millennials than American Millennials. Due to these experiences with terrorism and the War on Terror, there may be differences in how Canadian and American Millennials perceive defence and security issues. Regardless, threats like extreme weather events and the extreme impact of the Great Recession of 2008 on Millennials' financial and career prospects have a strong global impact creating similar experiences for Millennials in Canada and the United States.

Through this comparison of Canadian and American Millennial experiences, it is clear that many of the American Millennial experiences, including growing up in a child-centred society, helicopter parenting, digital nativism, and diversity, apply to Canadian Millennials. These shared experiences suggest that Millennials in Canada have similar behaviors and perspectives to Millennials in the United States. Where Canadian and American Millennials may differ is how strongly diversity and terrorism impact and inform their worldview.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

This discussion of Millennials in Canada shows how Millennials are unique and possibly differ from previous generations in a wide variety of ways and thus need to be studied in-depth to understand the impact that their views on diversity and uncertainty have on the future of defence planning in Canada. Their influence will continue to grow as the Baby Boomer generation continues to decline.⁷⁵ In addition, Millennial experiences also show how they may possibly prove challenging for defence organizations to engage on defence and security issues. Millennials' egalitarian perspectives are likely problematic for the CAF and NATO as those organizations are inherently hierarchical in structure, which may make them less appealing to Millennials. Moreover, as Millennials are uncomfortable with formal authority and often have no experience in highly formalized environments, this may increase the perceived divide for this generation between civilian and military society, making it a more difficult transition between civilian and military life for Millennial soldiers, but may also decrease the likelihood of Millennials being able to personally identify with or understand the CAF and NATO from their position in civilian society. A lack of understanding by Millennials of these defence organizations may lead this cohort to withdraw support from CAF programs or operations. Millennials may feel that certain programs are unnecessary as they fail to understand the objectives behind them or the financial costs required to provide them. Thus, the civil-military gap may widen as Millennials become more influential in Canadian society. Moreover, Millennials may be difficult targets of recruitment as military careers are viewed as lacking the work-life balance and informal work environment that is increasingly important to this generation.

This research will examine many of these topics about Millennial student engagement on defence issues in Canada, giving some indication whether these are areas that need to be further researched. Similar issues have been explored by Ender et al., in American universities, where they found that Millennial civilian students appeared to strongly support the American Military. Millennial civilians did identify that there was a significant gap between military and civilian culture but were relatively unconcerned by it.⁷⁶ The difference between the Canadian and American case limits the transferability of Ender et al.'s findings. Additionally, this project will explore whether more interactive forms of learning on these issues in university classrooms can significantly increase awareness and alter evaluation of these issues. This project will therefore fill a gap in the current academic literature as well as contribute to the wider literature of Millennial engagement in the classroom such as Kelley's report on how NATO educational institutions must change to accommodate Millennial students.⁷⁷ Finally, by focusing on the current undergraduate Millennial student population, this project will provide some insight into the lesser studied late cohort or young Millennials (approximately 18-26).

⁷⁵Norris, "Millennials," N.P.

⁷⁶ Ender et al, *Millennials*.

⁷⁷ John Patrick Kelley, NATO Educational Readiness for the Millennials, (Old Dominion University: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2015): 1 <https://search-proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/1687841448/previewPDF/49E406AD753141C6PQ/1?accountid=13800> (Accessed January 28, 2018)

Chapter 3.

Research Design

The project has two objectives. The first is to gain an understanding of young Millennial student perceptions of the Canadian military in the direct application of domestic and international defence and security issues. This will be used to determine if a significant civil-military gap exists between this population and the military. The second is to evaluate the impact of the NATO Field School content offered in the classroom, in CAF on-site day long observations, CAF lectures, NATO Defense College-led UN-NATO Crisis simulation exercises, and briefings at NATO Headquarters and Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) on participating students.

The underlying logic of the first objective is that Millennials' experiences in their formative years and their generational persona have created a generation that has distinct views on defence and security issues in Canada. It is not possible with the data available to causally link Millennials' experiences and their generational persona to their understanding of defence and security. What is possible is to gain understanding of how Millennials view these issues and assess whether it seems counterintuitive considering the Millennial persona. For example, it would be counterintuitive if Millennials did not care about diversity issues in the Armed Forces since their generational persona suggests that they would. This allows us to identify the extent to which the generational persona explains what has been observed. Additionally, it is also possible to identify whether attitudinal shifts have occurred within the population on defence and security issues that correlate with Millennial experiences or persona.

While various aspects of the respondents' perceptions will be explored in the data, this project has two hypotheses to test as shown below.

H1a: As individuals' understanding and awareness of the role of the CAF expands to include more of the programs and objectives of the CAF, the amount of positive evaluation they have for the CAF and its role in NATO and NATO-UN missions will increase.

H1b: As individuals' interaction with the CAF at facilities such as MARPAC, Reserve Regiments, etc. as well as in-class CAF presentation increases, the amount of positive evaluation for the CAF and its role in NATO and NATO-UN missions will increase.

H1a and H1b test the impact of the NATO Field School on participants suggesting that, as Millennials gain knowledge and have interactions with the CAF and NATO, their positive evaluation of the organizations will increase. H1a draws upon two aspects of the Millennial experience that may cause low support: their low level of political engagement and their uncertainty. The low level of political engagement that characterizes Millennials may make them unaware of many of the actions of the CAF and may perhaps make them reliant on the peacekeeping image of the CAF domestically. Thus, informing them of those actions will make the CAF appear more relevant to current global issues, such as terrorism, increasing Millennial support of them. The effect of terrorism and other global events in Millennials' formative years may have made them cynical about the ability of governments to combat these issues. As their knowledge of possible strategies and the actions taken by these organizations

increases, Millennials may feel that these organizations maintain relevance in the current global threat environment increasing their positive evaluation.

This correlation between awareness of the military and support for the military is also noted in the literature of civil-military relations. In spite of controversial and relatively unpopular missions in Afghanistan and Iraq, the US military has experienced an increase in overall public confidence and support following these missions ushering in a new era of stronger civil-military relations.⁷⁸ Similar trends have been found in Canada where support for the CAF increased significantly with the start of the Kandahar deployment in 2006.⁷⁹ This support for the CAF remained strong during and after the Afghanistan mission despite waning support for the mission itself.⁸⁰ The Afghanistan mission was a highly publicized mission and Canadian awareness of the CAF was significantly higher than it was following the mission.⁸¹ This suggests that awareness of CAF activities is correlated with increased positive evaluation and a decrease in the civil-military gap. It also suggests that in certain circumstances public disapproval of a military's actions does not necessarily result in a large decrease of overall support for the military.

H1b explores the idea that young Millennial students may be more likely to negatively evaluate the CAF and NATO than the wider population because of the military-university gap and the strong egalitarian values that Millennials hold. As well, it draws upon the literature of the civil-military gap. As previously discussed, one of the possible causes of the civil-military gap is the lack of interaction between the military and civil society due to the smaller and voluntary forces used by countries like Canada and the United States today. Interaction with members of these organizations may minimize the civil-military or university-military gap between the Millennial students and the military. This may lead to increased positive evaluation of these organizations by the students.

It should be noted that there are limitations on how robustly I am able to prove my Hypotheses 1a and 1b. First, these hypotheses are only proved within the context of the SFU NATO Field School Program, a unique and specialized program. One of the main pillars of this program is to provide students with opportunities to positively interact and be briefed on issues by the CAF and other security experts from NATO and other organizations. It is reasonable to assume that if one is being briefed by a member of a defence organization, they will use a narrative or have a perspective that is conducive to the objectives and aims of their organization. This is to say that my findings may not apply to instances where individuals experience negative interactions with these organizations and/or increase their knowledge through a curriculum that is focused on critical or negative perspectives on these organizations. This is an acceptable limitation as my hypotheses are focused on assessing the effects of the NATO Field School

⁷⁸ Paul Taylor, *The Civil-Military Gap: War and Sacrifice in the Post 9/11 Era*, (Washington, D.C.: Pew Research, 2011): 60. <http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2011/10/veterans-report.pdf/> (Accessed April 4, 2018)

(accessed April 7, 2018)

⁷⁹ Pheonix SPI, *Views*, 13.

⁸⁰ Ibid; Jean-Christophe Boucher and Kim Richard Nossal, *The Politics of War*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017): 152-163.

⁸¹ Pheonix SPI, *Views*, 8.

Program and contributing to pedagogical research on defence engagement in universities and post-secondary institutions in Canada.

Second, I have taken some steps to partially isolate the effects of knowledge and interaction which will be discussed in the methodology section. But, it is not entirely possible to completely isolate the effects within the research design as learning and interaction occur concurrently within the NATO Field School Program. While this is somewhat limiting, the hypotheses are not intended to be understood as completely independent hypotheses. Therefore, they are labeled Hypotheses 1a and 1b as they are two parts of one overarching hypothesis about the effect of the NATO Field School program.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

4.1. Data

While this project tests two hypotheses, it also uses a descriptive-interpretive approach to explain how young Millennial students understand security and defence issues. In order to test these hypotheses and achieve a comprehensive understanding of student perspectives, this research project conducted surveys and focus groups on two different samples: 2017 NATO Field School students and the SFU Arts and Social Sciences Population and also interpreted additional data from the Environics Focus Canada dataset and the Views of the Canadian Armed Forces: 2016 Tracking Study.

The NATO Field School participants are used to test Hypotheses 1a and 1b and extend the understanding of Millennial perspectives through two surveys and focus groups conducted at the beginning and end of the program.

The SFU Arts and Social Science Population is taken from undergraduate political science courses at Simon Fraser University. The SFU Arts and Social Science Population (SFU Arts Sample) completed an online abridged survey with many of the questions used from the first round of surveying on NATO Field School participants. While it would be ideal to use the exact same methods and materials used in the first round of NATO Field School data collection, it is not feasible based on the large amount of time participants would have to devote to the project, which would go far beyond what most students would be willing to give for no material incentives. Even with the abridged survey, the sample was much smaller than the target sample of 100 research participants with 39 research participants.

Considering the low rate of response from the target population, it is important to note that the internal validity of the SFU Arts Sample is challenged by possible non-response bias. It is possible that those who chose to participate in the research project are unique from the overall target population because they chose to take part in the survey while so many of their peers did not. A possible type of non-response bias within the research project is that the research participants may have been motivated to participate in research because of their keen interest in the research topic, defence and security issues in Canada. Through this bias, they may have stronger knowledge and views of defence and security issues in Canada when compared to the overall target population.

However, the SFU Arts Sample still ensures that our understanding of student perspectives is more comprehensive, including students who are not studying international relations and foreign policy. As well, it allows us to compare field school participants (treatment group) to a control group to see whether field school participants at the start of term are outliers due to self-selection. The danger of self-selection in this case is that only those that like and have some knowledge of defence issues would sign up for the NATO Field School program making the sample a poor representation of the overall population.

I recognize that there are issues of external validity with sampling occurring at one university and with a relatively small sample size. However, the NATO Field School sample is unique, and I am therefore limited to the sample of 28 that was available. In addition, general population sampling at other universities due to strains on financial and time resources would require me to limit my sample size further and/or pair down the questions that I ask participants, which would severely harm the internal validity of my research.

There is the other wider problem of focusing on Millennial students as opposed to simply Millennials. First, current Millennial post-secondary students are younger than the overall Millennial population. A vast majority of my survey sample were under the age of 26.⁸² This makes a majority of my sample at least 10 years younger than the oldest Millennials who are now 36 years old. The implications of this is that some of the events that are described as key Millennial experiences such as 9/11, the Great Recession of 2008, Meech Lake Accord and the Oka Crisis may have occurred before late cohort Millennials were born or are very distant childhood memories. This could have an impact on how these Millennials understand the world around and how they behave.

While there may be some aspect of the Millennial generational persona that does not apply to late cohort Millennials, generational theory would suggest that these differences should not be extreme in nature. Generations are roughly two decades in length as it is approximately the passage of time for a child to reach adulthood in a society. Within this, there are varied personal experiences but what is more important is that the general trends of behavior and experience are the same. For example, late cohort Millennials may not have witnessed 9/11 but they have grown up in era where terrorism is an increasing concern among Western nations. As well, they may not have any reference or memory of the Oka Crisis or the Meech Lake Accord but these events increased awareness of First Nations issues in Canadian politics which has continued to grow through experiences like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Slight age-based variations within generational attitude are to be expected. However, these variations should not reverse earlier trends but build upon them. Howe and Straus stated that “Millennials will be a generation of trends, in which all of their traits will grow more obvious with each passing birth cohort.”⁸³ It is arguable that these Millennials, as they are late Millennial cohorts, may have more distinctly Millennial views than early Millennial cohorts as they are part of the last Millennial cohorts.⁸⁴ This research, by focusing on late cohort Millennials, may provide some insight into whether there are qualities of late cohort Millennials that distinguish them from the overall Millennial population.

Second, Millennial post-secondary students likely differ from non-post-secondary educated Millennials on various socio-economic factors. However, Millennials will soon become the most educated generation. Therefore, Millennial post-secondary students make up a far greater proportion of the Millennial generation than previous generations’ post-secondary students thus increasing the likelihood that they will have significant influence on how Millennial behaviour and characteristics develop over time.

⁸² See Appendix A for a table detailing the survey sample details.

⁸³ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*, 45.

⁸⁴ Howe and Strauss, *Millennials*, 48.

In addition, post-secondary students are more likely to be policy influencers as they are more likely to go into professional careers in the public and/or private sector. This puts them into positions where they can more easily engage in the policy-making process more directly than through democratic processes. Also, post-secondary students are overall going to earn significantly more than their high school educated counterparts and will be driving GDP and income generation in the future thus positioning them to have a higher influence on future spending and tax decisions. Therefore, when we study post-secondary Millennial students we are examining how the next generation of public and private sector employees and leaders understand defence and security issues in Canada.

To overcome some of the issues of external and internal validity caused by my sampling method, I compare my results to those in two other data sources, the Views of the Canadian Armed Forces Tracking Study and the Environics Focus Canada dataset, to check for consistency while using my own data to provide detail and depth of analysis. The Views of the Canadian Armed Forces: 2016 Tracking Study (henceforth referred to as the TS) collected data from 1,512 Canadians residents (over the age of 18) in a national phone survey that asked them a multitude of questions about the CAF and security and defence issues in Canada.⁸⁵ The benefit of the TS is that it provides a comprehensive overview about how Canadians feel about security and defence issues in Canada. As well, many of my own survey questions are taken from this survey, which allows me to compare my results against the larger sample to identify differences between my own sample and the national average response. I do not have access to the raw data of the TS, so I can only identify trends or differences identified in the TS's report, which is limiting as I cannot explore the data in-depth.

The Environics Focus Canada is a series of national phone surveys done multiple times a year in Canada since the late 1970s asking questions about how Canadians feel about various policy issues in Canada. The benefit of this dataset is that I have some access to the raw data, thus allowing me to divide the data between a Millennial and non-Millennial sample allowing me to compare between the two. Additionally, the survey has been done since the 1970s, which allows me to compare results over time. Being able to compare over time enables me to rule out the difference between a generational effect and a life cycle (or age) effect in some circumstances by seeing if the generational response remains constant over time. One limitation of this data is that, while I can manipulate the data somewhat in the Nesstar platform where the data is stored, I do not have enough access to the raw data thus limiting the statistical analysis I can do on this dataset to simple bivariate analysis.

4.2. Methods of Analysis

As previously discussed, there are two objectives of this project. The first is to understand how young Millennial students perceive defence issues in Canada and how that relates to the civil military gap. The second is to assess the effectiveness of the NATO Field School using Hypotheses 1a and 1b.

To achieve the first objective, I tested and compared the NATO Field School samples and the SFU Arts samples' awareness/knowledge of the CAF and NATO, their

⁸⁵Pheonix SPI, *Views*: 2.

evaluation of the CAF and NATO, and their understanding of global threats. To do this, I analyzed the results of a variety of survey questions that were asked on the NATO Field School Start of Term Surveys and the SFU Arts Abridged Surveys. This comparison also gives some insight into how the NATO Field School Sample differs from the SFU Arts Sample before the start of the NATO Field School Program. I also compared the results of these samples against the Environics Focus Canada data and the TS results to see whether these results appear consistently across data sources as a way to check the robustness of my findings.⁸⁶ The NATO Field School focus groups are then used to provide context and further explanation of many of the themes that are observed in the survey data.⁸⁷

For the second objective, I compare the responses of the NATO Field School Participants on the Start of Term Surveys to the End of Term Surveys on awareness and evaluation of the CAF and NATO to test Hypotheses 1a and 1b. As with the first objective, the NATO Field School focus groups are used to provide context to results found in the survey data. To understand how interaction and awareness impacted student's evaluation of the CAF and NATO over the course of the NATO Field School Program, the evaluative questions on the End of Term Survey asked students to record how they think they would have responded to the question before the NATO Field School Program, their response to the question after the NATO Field School Program, and if there was a change in evaluation between the two responses respondents were asked to explain what caused that change (briefings, visits, etc.)⁸⁸ The responses to what caused the change were coded thematically into categories like interaction, increased knowledge/awareness, and diversity. These coded responses to the evaluative questions allow me to partially isolate the effects of the interaction and awareness on evaluation of the CAF and NATO but not entirely as interaction and awareness often occur concurrently. This was further evidenced by many student explanations for why they experienced a change having more than one thematic code. For example, a student discussed how visiting and talking with members of the naval reserve increased their knowledge and awareness of the CAF has interaction and knowledge themes.

For both the first and second objective, my methods focus on the analysis of survey questions between various sample groups. It should be noted that I do not engage in statistical analysis to test the significance of my causal relationships and the differences in survey responses. This is because my project has a very limited and small sample. Thus, it would be somewhat misleading to consider my results in the context of statistical significance as my results may suggest at particular relationships or patterns but they need to be proven with a larger and more representative sample.

I will use descriptive inference to explain how Millennials understand defence and security issues and causal inference to test my hypotheses (e.g. whether higher knowledge leads to higher positive evaluation).

⁸⁶ It should be noted that I compare the results of my research against these other two data sources only where applicable. Some of my survey questions are unique to this project thus I cannot compare them against external samples.

⁸⁷ For a more detailed account of how the focus groups were conducted and how I analyzed the results, See Appendix. A, E, F

⁸⁸ For examples, see NATO Field School Survey 2 in Appendix D.

4.3. Researcher Bias

In this section, I will discuss why I chose to develop this research project and discuss some potential biases I may have as a researcher on this subject.

This research project was motivated by the popular discourse on Millennials within society. Millennials are increasingly objects of interest for the general public. There are many news articles and media reports describing and weighing in on the habits, behaviors and preferences of Millennials. While this discourse is entertaining and interesting, it often misrepresents the academic literature and research on Millennials by sensationalizing Millennial behaviors and traits and being overly reliant on anecdotal evidence. Because of this, I began researching Millennial behavior to fact check many of the more inflammatory or sensational contributions to this discourse.

I had previously been studying defence issues and public opinion, so I naturally began to wonder how Millennial behavior and characteristics may impact defence and security policy in the future. What I found was that there was not very much research done in this area and that it posed an opportunity for further research. I also became aware that those that discussed Millennials within the academic and popular discourse were often not Millennials themselves. While it can be argued that a non-Millennial perspective may be more objective, it is not necessarily the case. Each generation has their own common values and beliefs. For example, Baby Boomers value individualism while Millennials favour collectivism. This can be problematic as a Baby Boomer may interpret the Millennial persona through their own generational perspective and biases. This could lead to misinterpretation or misrepresentation of Millennial behavior. Therefore, it is valuable to have a Millennial perspective on Millennial generational research (in addition to other generational perspectives) as a Millennial may be able to provide insight into the Millennial generational experience. Due to this, I do not claim that my research has been completely uninfluenced by my identity as a Millennial. But, I do suggest that it can be an advantageous and important addition to the Millennial generational literature which is dominated by the perspectives of researchers from other generations.

Another potential bias is that, as a person that studies defence issues, I have had some contact with members of the military and other security organizations as part of my academic work. These interactions may inform my opinions of the Canadian Armed Forces and NATO.

While I am personally a Millennial and have opinions on the CAF, I have tried to reflect and be mindful of these possible biases and limit their impact on my work. To limit the impact of my potential biases, I have consulted with other people with varying perspectives on my research design and have tried to the best of my abilities to incorporate and improve on my research through their feedback.

4.4. Key Concepts

4.4.1. Scope of the Project: Millennials

As is always the case with generational research, there is no real consensus on where the Millennial generation ends and begins as being part of a generational cohort has more to do with experiences than year of birth.⁸⁹ However, year of birth becomes a short hand for determining the experiences an individual likely had. This is necessary for doing generational research as one cannot ask a research participant about every experience that informed their opinions and beliefs. Research roughly places the span of the Millennial generation between 1980-2000 with more restrictive dates ending in the mid-1990s.⁹⁰ I chose 1982-2001 as the range for this research project because it was one of the more inclusive date ranges and seems to be one of the most agreed upon within literature.⁹¹ However, it is important to note that this research project, as it studies current university students, will focus on younger Millennials born in the 1990s as previously discussed.

4.4.2. Independent Variable: Awareness

Awareness includes awareness of organizations and their actions, threats, and other defence issues as well as comprehensive understanding of the complexity of these issues and ability to analyze them. Awareness can be measured through many of the basic knowledge questions on the surveys such as naming a mission of the CAF. In addition, awareness can be assessed on the ability of an individual to have an opinion on issues. So, a large amount of "I don't know" responses within the data would indicate a lack of awareness.⁹² Comprehensive understanding requires student reflection and explanation of their thinking. This can be found within their analysis of the scenario-based questions in the focus groups and through their assessment of current capabilities of organizations in the surveys.

4.4.3. Dependent Variable: Positive Evaluation

Positive evaluation can be understood to mean participants' expression of support, appreciation, or use of positive words to describe an organization or their actions. In addition, positive evaluation of these organizations is closely linked with how legitimate these organization are perceived to be by the public as civic culture research

⁸⁹ Mannheim, "Problem," 378; Novak, *Media*, 3.

⁹⁰ Novak, *Media*, 3.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹²Russell J. Dalton and DohChull Shin, "Reassessing the civic culture model," *Center for the Study of Democracy*, February 16, 2011: 6.

<https://www-democracy-uci-edu.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/files/docs/conferences/2011/DaltonShin.Feb16.pdf>. (Accessed October 25, 2017)

indicates that “Legitimacy in a democracy seemingly rests upon the public’s positive opinions of representative government and its institutions.”⁹³ Thus, words or responses that show trust or confidence in the military can also be considered positive evaluation mechanisms. There are a wide variety of ways positive evaluation can be identified in the survey data such as answering multiple-choice questions regarding assessment of organizations with “strongly positive” or using words that suggest acceptance or agreement with organizations’ policies or actions (e.g. “I wouldn’t have done any different,” “they fought the war bravely,” etc.).

4.5. Limitations and Purpose of Research

This research project attempts to explain how Millennials understand defence and security issues in Canada and determine whether increased knowledge and interaction with defence organizations can change their understanding. To do so, I have developed a research design that merges elements of quantitative and qualitative analysis using a variety of data sources. I have discussed several limitations of this research design in the previous sections. However, there are general limitations to generational research that I have not discussed.

Generational research is based on the assumption that the persona of a society-wide peer group has a significant impact on how individuals in this peer-group think and feel about the world around them. This generational peer group includes individuals of different races, genders, sexualities, and socio-economic conditions. This creates a lot of variance within a generation which limits the ability of generational theory to predict individual behavior. This is a limitation of my research, as it only explains group level change. This is true even when testing hypotheses 1a and 1b. While I am interested in how the NATO Field School affects a smaller group of individuals, I am only interested in the group level change, not the individual level changes.

Generational research generally does not discuss how other demographic characteristics such as gender and race interact with the characteristics of the generational persona. This is because generational theory does not suggest that generational persona circumvent or dissipate the effect of other demographic indicators on opinion and perspective but suggests that generational persona may also have a significant effect on behavior or trends.

My work also does not account for the interaction between characteristics such as gender and race with generational persona on security and defence issues. This is a weakness as gender and socio-economic conditions have well-documented effects on one’s views of defence organizations and defence issues more generally. For example, women are less likely than men to evaluate military organizations positively.⁹⁴ I do not include these interactions for two reasons. The first is because the aim of this project is not to suggest that generational effects have a stronger effect than other demographic indicators but to suggest that generational effects are a possible area for further research in the literature of public opinion on security and defence issues.

The second reason is capacity. This research project is a small-n or small-scale examination of these trends. In this project, adding demographic analysis within the

⁹³ Ibid, 3.

⁹⁴Pheonix SPI, *Views*

generational cohort would make it difficult to determine whether these effects are accurate and representative of a wider sample. Additionally, some of the survey data collected for this project does not have demographic indicators such as gender attached, effectively limiting the amount of analysis I can do on these issues. While I will not be controlling for gender and other demographic indicators in this project, how demographic indicators impact and interact with generational persona on behavior is a possible area of further research.

Another limitation of generational research is that lifestyle (or age) effects and period effects can cause researchers to either overlook generational effects or misidentify them. A lifestyle effect is a developmental effect that suggests that one's age will significantly impact one's worldview or behavior.⁹⁵ This type of effect would dissipate or change as an individual ages.⁹⁶ For example, a man when he is 20 does not vote but when he reaches 40 he chooses to vote. If this was a generational effect, the man would continue not to vote regardless of his age which would be common in his generational cohort. A period effect is "a cultural change that affects people of all ages."⁹⁷ For example, fewer people vote in elections because the political institutions have weakened causing voting to become less valued in society. Generational, lifestyle, and period effects often occur simultaneously and cannot be completely controlled for in generational research. Comparing one generational cohort to another in the same time period can control for a period effect and comparing different generational cohorts at the same point in their development can be used to control for a lifestyle effect in generational research. Considering the limitations of my data and the relative youth of Millennials, I can only partly control for these confounding variables in my data, which is a limitation of my research.

⁹⁵ Jean M. Twenge et al., "Time Period, Generational, and Age Differences in Tolerance for Controversial Beliefs and Lifestyles in the United States, 1972-2012," *Social Forces* 94, no. 1 (2015): 379-378.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Chapter 5.

First Objective Results

For my discussion of results, I will first discuss young Millennials' awareness and evaluation of the CAF, NATO, and security threats using the data from the focus groups and start of term survey of the NATO Field School Sample, the SFU Arts Sample Survey, the TS, and the Environics Focus Canada Surveys. After discussing the general trends across these sources regarding defence organizations and security threats, I will discuss the NATO Field School results and the impact that more interaction with defence organizations and greater knowledge of these issues can have on Millennial perceptions.

5.1. Awareness and Evaluation of the Canadian Armed Forces

5.1.1. Awareness

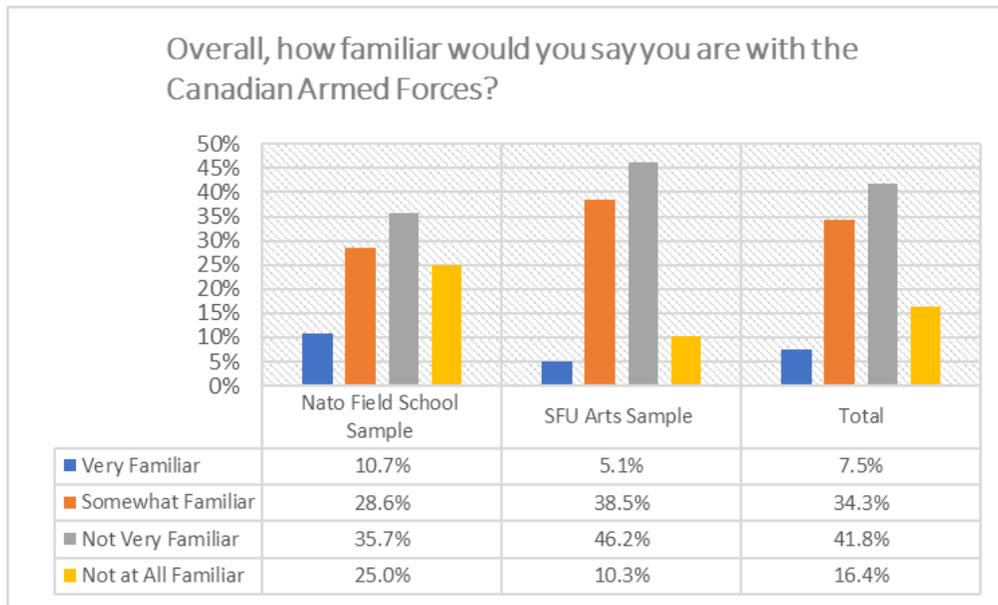


Figure 1: Familiarity with the CAF

In order to develop a sense of the level of awareness young Millennials have about the CAF. It is important to develop an understanding of how familiar respondents think they are with the CAF. There are significant differences between the two samples on familiarity as the NATO Field School sample expressed that they were less familiar with the CAF than the SFU Arts sample (Figure 1). The NATO Field School sample likely considered this question in light of their curriculum which featured the Canadian Armed Forces prominently resulting in lower levels of perceived familiarity. In any case, it appears that a majority of respondents viewed their familiarity of the Armed Forces in the middle range where they are aware of some aspects of the military but not all. In the TS,

44% of Canadians identified that they were “somewhat familiar” with the CAF while 35% identified that they were “not very familiar.”⁹⁸ The Millennials student samples’ level of perceived familiarity is lower than the national average. This is consistent with findings of the TS that identified those aged 55 and over were more likely to be familiar than those that were younger than 55.⁹⁹

While this question gives us a good reference point, it does not necessarily give us a clear representation of actual Millennial awareness as much as it does Millennials’ perception of their own awareness. When asked whether they had read, seen, or heard about the CAF recently, 57.5% (54% of the NATO Field School Sample and 61% of SFU Arts Sample) respondents said yes. This suggests that this generation has relatively strong contact with the CAF as they are regularly hearing or engaging with news from the CAF. The difficulty comes when assessing their knowledge of the CAF, an area in which they appear to be somewhat deficient.

To assess knowledge of the CAF, I asked three basic knowledge-based questions, asking them to name: all the branches of the CAF, an international mission of the CAF, and a domestic mission of the CAF. These questions show how familiar they are with the internal structure of the CAF and what they do.

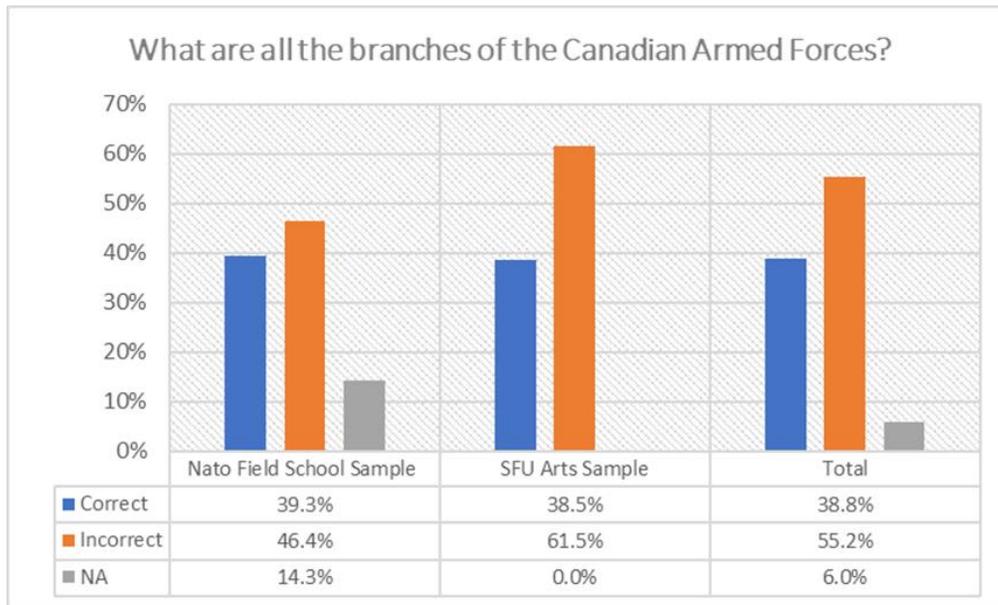


Figure 2: Branches of the CAF

When asked to name all the branches of the Canadian Armed Forces, a little over half were unable to do so (Figure 2).¹⁰⁰ Considering that only 38.8% of individuals were able to answer this basic question correctly, it may suggest that the overall level of knowledge about the CAF in the Millennial Student samples was relatively low. If this is representative of the Millennial population, an issue may occur where individuals are not

⁹⁸Phoenix SPI, *Views 3*

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Correct answers included some mention of Army, Navy and Air Force (with or without their full official titles) with no additional “branches” listed.

able to fully understand how the military functions, which may increase the civil-military gap but also make it more difficult to communicate military operational goals and protocol to the public. In order to get further insight, I asked respondents whether they could name and/or describe one international and one domestic operation/role of the CAF.

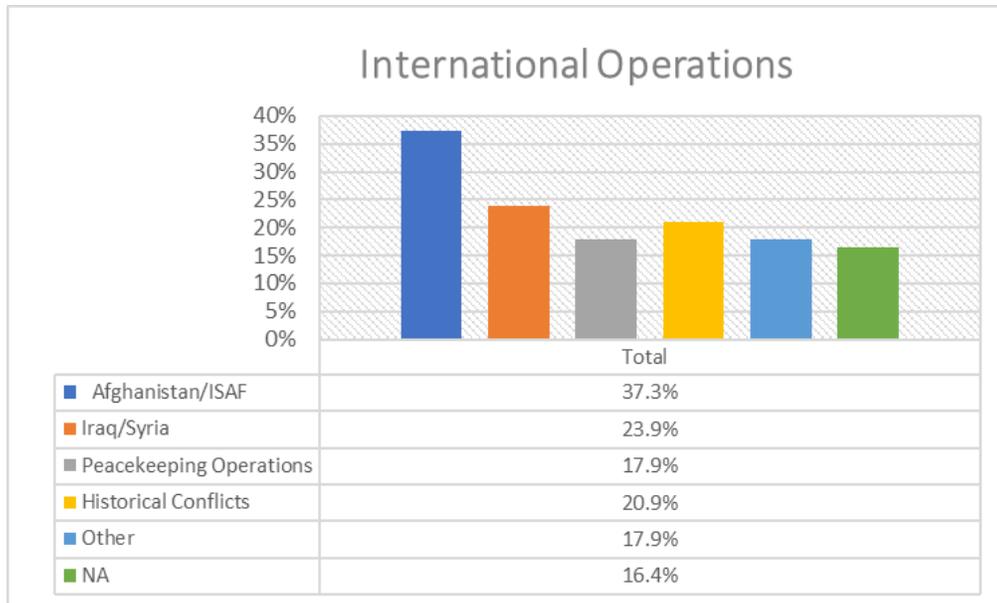


Figure 3: International Operations

The international operation question (Figure 3) was well answered with only 16.4% non-response/incorrect response. This means a vast majority of those surveyed were able to answer this question. The most popular responses across these two samples were Afghanistan, Iraq/Syria counter-insurgency operations, and peacekeeping missions (most popularly referring to the Suez Canal Crisis and the Rwandan Genocide) and historical conflicts, meaning conflicts that occurred far before the Millennial generation was born such as the Second World War, Vimy Ridge, and the Korean War.

These responses show that Millennials have some knowledge of CAF missions in Afghanistan and Iraq/Syria counter-insurgency, which makes sense since these operations have been prominent in the media throughout the adolescence and adulthood of Millennials. The question is, does this knowledge affect how Canadian Millennials view the CAF and foreign policy? In the United States, some evidence suggests that Millennials recommend or prefer more restraint in US foreign policy because of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as they show some of the consequences of conflicts in a multipolar world.¹⁰¹ In essence, these wars have created this generation's Vietnam syndrome.

Based on the prominence of Afghanistan and Iraq in the media and public discourse in Millennials' formative years, it is likely that they will inform Millennials' understanding of conflict and foreign policy decisions in the future. However, I am not convinced that these wars had the same restraining effect on Canadian Millennials as

¹⁰¹ A. Trevor Thrall and Erik Goepner, *Millennials and US Foreign Policy*, (Washington, D.C: CATO Institute, 2015): 5.

they did on American Millennials because there were significant policy differences between Canadian and American foreign policy during this time. Canada as a lesser power had a far more restrained foreign policy than the United States in the 2000s. First, Canada chose to not enter into the Second Gulf War with the United States. Second, Canada, during the Harper Government, shifted away from the Liberal Internationalist approach to foreign policy which led to less engagement with the UN during the 2000s and 2010s.¹⁰² In this sense, Canadian Millennials will perhaps negatively associate restraint in foreign policy with the Afghanistan and Iraq/Syria conflicts making them less likely to prefer restraint in their foreign policy. This is consistent with the findings in the Field School and SFU Arts survey data. Throughout the focus groups and surveys, there seemed to be a common theme that a majority of respondents wanted the CAF to be more engaged internationally. For example, in the NATO Field School Focus groups at the start of term, participants were asked “What role do you think Canada should play internationally?” While there were differences of opinion on what that role should be, a majority of responses talked about how Canada should be “a leader” in one or more areas of international relations, most commonly, peacekeeping and/or humanitarian aid.

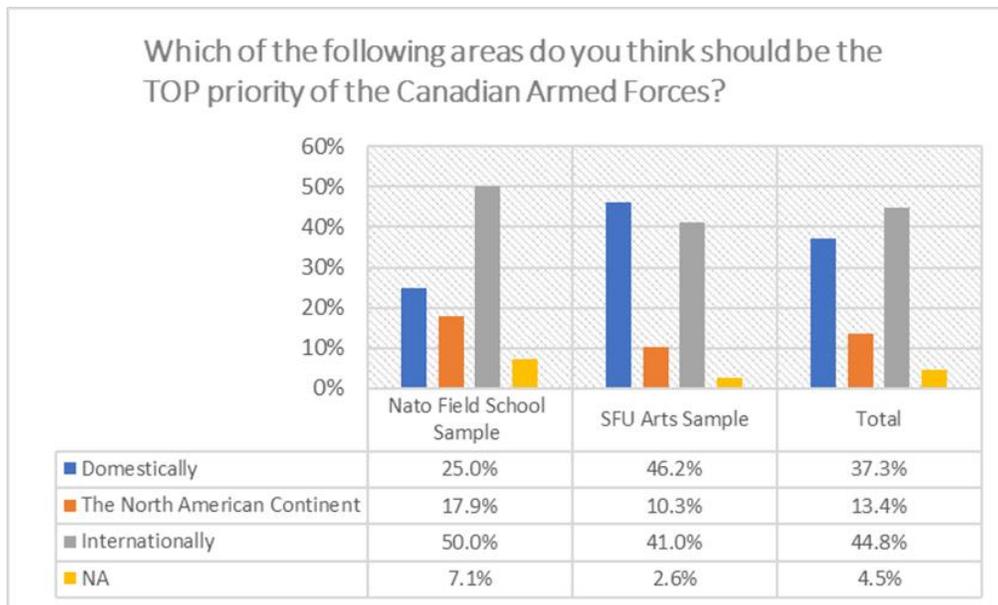


Figure 4: Top Priority Area for the CAF

This is supported by their response to the question of: Which of the following areas do you think should be the top priority of the Canadian Armed Forces? Only 37.3% of respondents wanted the CAF to focus on Canada with the 44.7% wanting the CAF to be focused internationally (Figure 4). In addition, while the respondents did not necessarily advocate for use of force abroad, they did not appear to have a strong aversion to it under certain circumstances. 59% of respondents agreed with the use of ground combat troops in support of UN and NATO missions and the percentage was even higher when it came to air or naval combat roles at 63%.

¹⁰² Paris, “Liberal,” 292.

While the data suggests that the respondents prefer a more engaged Canadian foreign policy rather than restraint, there does appear to be evidence that they would recommend or prefer restraint on the part of their American counterparts. In the Start of Term NATO Field School Surveys and the SFU Arts Survey, when asked “What do you think is the biggest threat to the security of Canadians and Canada at this time?”, the top rated threat was the United States (22 respondents cited it as a threat) with many expressing concern or criticism of American foreign policy and the close relationship between Canada and the United States. While many of these responses were likely a response to the current Trump Administration, it is important to note that this may be a possible effect of Afghanistan and Iraq on Canadian Millennials’ perception of the CAF and international relations more generally.

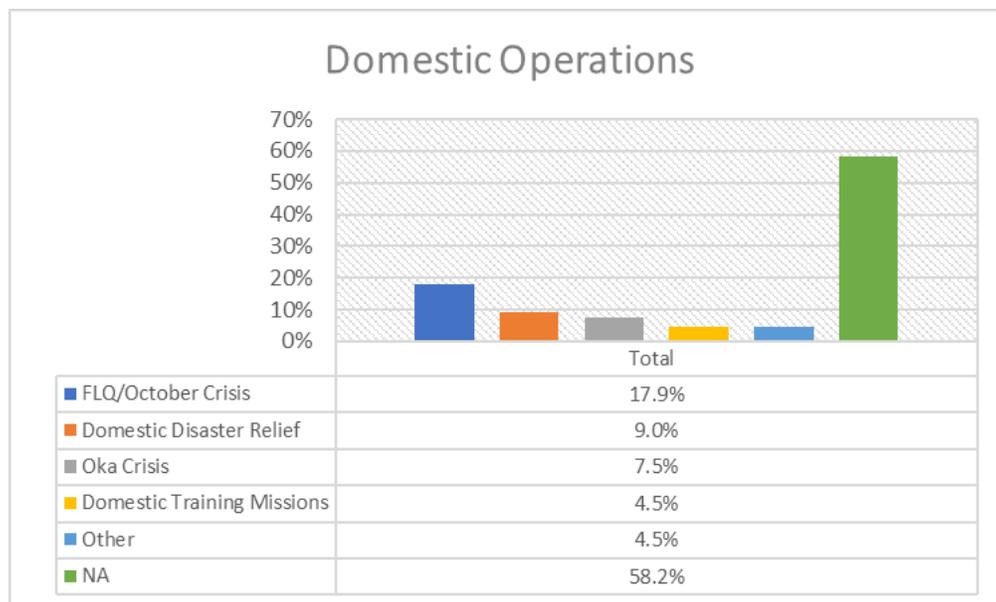


Figure 5: Domestic Operations

The international operations question shows that the awareness of the CAF’s international operations is relatively strong and that the most common reference point for the Millennial respondents is Afghanistan. The domestic operations question shows that there is a much lower level of awareness for such operations. Only 41.8% of respondents were able to answer this question correctly which shows a lower level of awareness of domestic missions. The operations that were referenced were also interesting. The most referenced operation was the October Crisis followed by domestic disaster relief operations and the Oka Crisis. The October Crisis and the Oka Crisis are both quite controversial uses of the CAF in Canada as they number among the few cases in recent history where the CAF has come to support law enforcement in an combatant/defensive posture. As well, both of these cases are significant as they relate to Quebecois and First Nations issues in Canada. Because of their significance, they are well-known cases, so it seems consistent that they would be referenced when asked to list a domestic operation. However, the implications of the high number of references that both of these cases received paired with the extremely high rate of non-response/incorrect responses for this question implies that the Millennial respondents have poor awareness of what the CAF does in Canada. In addition, the results would imply that the respondents may have a fairly fixed view on what military operations are, because, even in domestic operations, they selected operations that were associated

with conflict as opposed to aid, search and rescue, or surveillance which are far more common and larger in dimension. Domestic operations and programs are operations that directly impact Canadians and if Canadian Millennials are unaware of these operations then they will not consider themselves direct stakeholders in CAF activities.

Based on the responses to the awareness-testing questions, it appears that respondents were somewhat familiar with the CAF but at a lower rate than the national average. As well, while knowledge and awareness of international missions was relatively high, knowledge and awareness of domestic missions was very low. The implications of these findings are that young Millennial students may lack information about the CAF such as how it works and what it does domestically. This could contribute to a wider civil-military gap forming between the military and Millennials in the future as the foundational knowledge to allow for meaningful engagement, such as engaging in policy discussion regarding the missions and operations of the CAF, may not be there.

5.1.2. Evaluation

To determine the evaluation that young Millennial Canadians have about the CAF, I have compared responses to questions that ask how favourable their opinion of the CAF is across: the Environics 2008-2 Focus Canada survey, the Tracking Study, NATO Field School Start of Term Survey and the SFU Arts Survey.

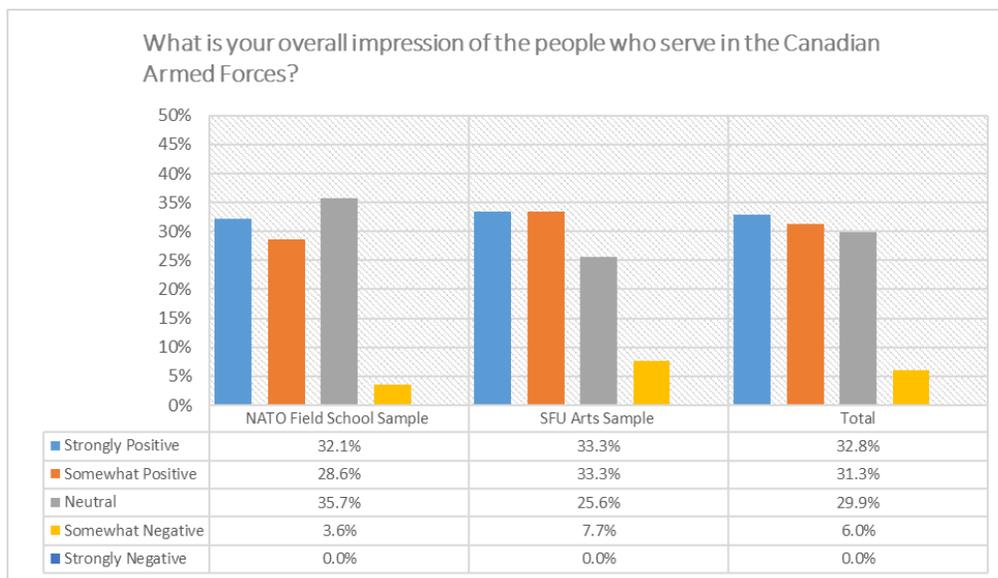


Figure 6: Overall Impression of the CAF

While there are differences between the samples in how they responded to the overall impression question (Figure 6) suggesting a difference in population, it is clear that the CAF has relatively high approval with over 60% of respondents positively evaluating the CAF. This evaluation does not necessarily mean that there were not concerns or issues that they had with the CAF. For example, when asked, “What image or impression comes to mind when you think about the Canadian Armed Forces,” some respondents, while expressing positive sentiment for the CAF, did raise issues about outdated or ineffective military equipment and firepower and others raised concerns about sexual harassment and diversity within the military. For example, one individual

who responded “somewhat positive” to the overall impression questions wrote, “I respect everyone who wants to serve their country, and I think everyone who does so. However, I have heard there is a culture of sexual abuse and gendered abuse toward women without many consequences.” While this is one individual response, it does reflect a greater theme among the focus group and survey responses that positive evaluation does not mean blind positive endorsement. This possibly means that the Millennial respondents have high expectations on what they expect from the CAF both in service members and as an organization. This is relatively consistent with the Millennial persona as they respect authority and rules, but they do tend to challenge authorities in instances where they feel the authority underperform or fail to live up to Millennial expectations.

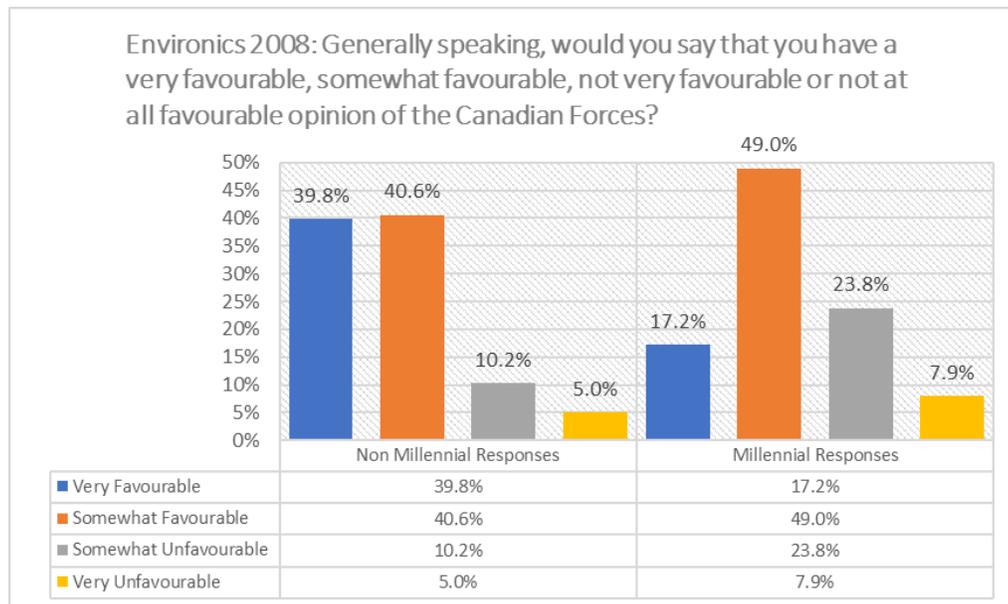


Figure 7: CAF Opinion (EnviroNics Focus Canada 2008)¹⁰³

Additionally, our survey results are significantly lower than the national average in the TS where over 90% of the population expressed positive opinion of the Canadian Armed Forces which suggests a waning of support among the late cohort Millennial student population.¹⁰⁴ As well, a difference between Non-Millennials and Millennials was noted in the 2016 TS where individuals under 35 (Millennials) were less likely to have a positive opinion of the CAF than those over the age of 35, though the study does not give information on how large a difference occurred in their study.¹⁰⁵ Since a gap occurred in all three datasets, it is reasonable to assume that this difference could be due to a generational effect. This is further supported by the EnviroNics 2008-2 dataset which asked a similar question (Figure 7) about evaluation of the CAF. While we cannot directly compare the results to our own data as the questions are worded differently, it does show a significant gap between Millennial and Non-Millennial respondents, which could indicate that there is indeed a difference between the Millennial population and the

¹⁰³ *EnviroNics Focus Canada 2008-2* (2008), distributed by EnviroNics, <http://130.15.161.246:82/webview/> (Accessed January 15, 2018).

¹⁰⁴ Phoenix SPI, “Tracking” 13.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

general population, but we do not yet know whether this is due to a generational effect or lifestyle effect.

Whether the Canadian Armed Forces is a source of pride for Canadians is an important measure of evaluation and the civil-military gap. This question gives a better assessment of how individuals feel about the organization of the CAF as opposed to the individuals.¹⁰⁶ If respondents do not feel that the CAF is a source of pride for Canadians, it suggests that they disapprove of the CAF's actions or values and/or they do not view the CAF as a symbol of national identity. Both options suggest that the military is not engaged or attuned to civilian society thus suggesting a significant civil-military gap.

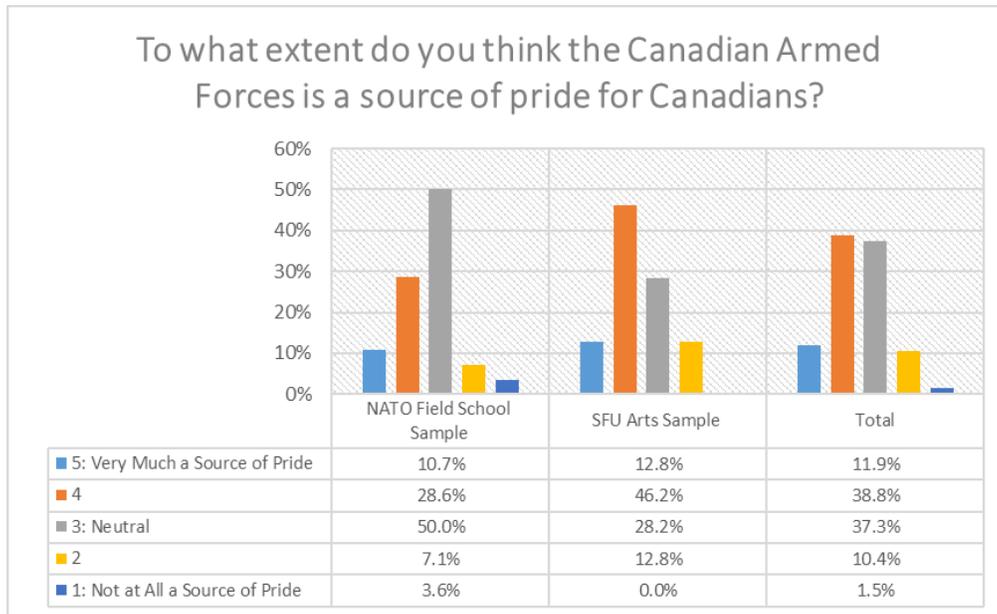


Figure 8: CAF as a Source of Pride

Based on the results of the survey (Figure 8), we do see a significant difference between the two samples in how they responded to this question with the NATO Field School sample having a more neutral response than the SFU Arts sample. It is possible that the NATO Field School framed this question differently from the SFU Arts sample. As NATO Field School participants may believe themselves to be more strongly in favour of the military than the general population so they answer the question according to how they believe the general population (not themselves) feel about the CAF. In contrast, the SFU Arts Sample, who do not necessarily have a high interest in defence issues, view themselves as representative of the entire population so answer according to their own beliefs.

What is clear from the data (Figure 8) is that roughly 75% of respondents of both samples fall in the neutral to somewhat positive range by a significant margin. According to the 2016 TS, this is significantly different from the national average where 37% think the CAF is very much a source of pride and 57% were in the neutral to somewhat positive range.¹⁰⁷ The TS noted that individuals under the age of 35 (Millennials) were

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 15.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 15.

less likely to feel that the CAF was a source of pride compared to those over the age of 55 (Baby Boomers). This appears consistent with our findings. However, the study did not give a statistical measurement on how large of a difference was found between those two groups.

Based on the data available, it is likely that young Millennials are less likely to believe that the CAF is a source of pride than older generations. This suggests that Millennials are less likely to support the CAF as an organization and may possibly have a more significant-civil-military gap than older generations. However, it should be noted that, based on the NATO Field School and SFU Arts sample, while there is a difference the majority of individuals are still in the positive to neutral range. This suggests that, while Millennials may not strongly support the CAF, they do not appear to strongly dislike the CAF either. Based on this, the CAF may experience more tepid support from Millennials in the future compared to previous generations or their support may be more conditional than Baby Boomers.

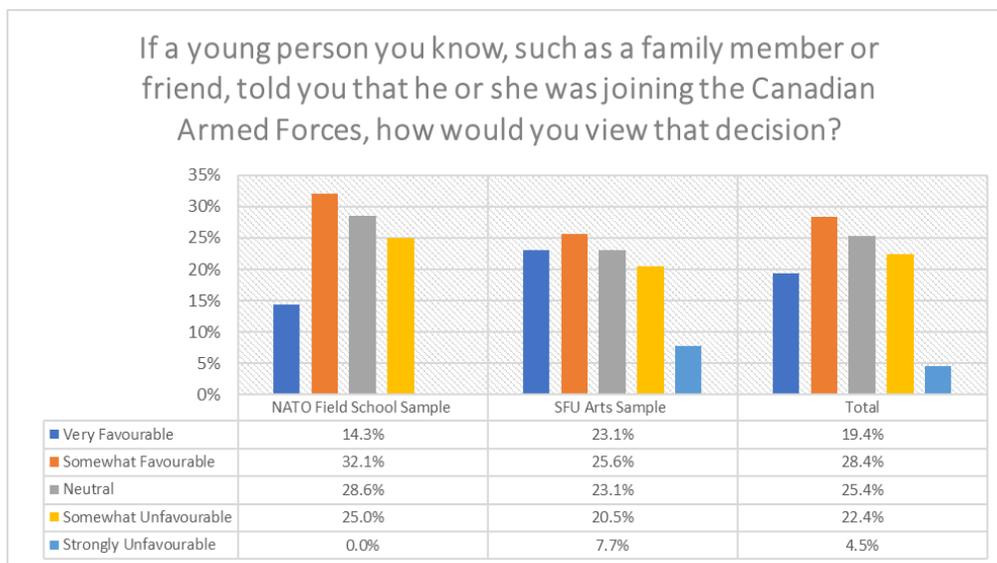


Figure 9: Joining the CAF

This question about a peer joining the Canadian Armed Forces is a good measure of how Millennials may perceive the CAF as a career option and as an organization. The assessment of the decision is relatively positive in the Millennial Student Samples with 47.8% of respondents having a somewhat or very favourable opinion of that decision (Figure 9). However, the response from our survey is lower than the national average of 57% of individuals who would view this decision as somewhat or very favourable according to the 2016 TS.¹⁰⁸ This evaluation could be through their identity as Millennials and/or because of their age as the TS report suggested that those who were aged 25 and under (roughly half of the Millennial cohort) were less likely to answer favourably on this question than those aged 45 and over.

The lower rates of favourable response among Millennials implies that Millennials may not dislike the CAF as an organization, but they may have some reservations about working for the CAF. This is supported by the discussion in the NATO Field School focus

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

groups where participants discussed how they perceived military culture. Generally, the participants seemed to hold positive views about the CAF's organizational culture and the work that the CAF does. However, they were critical of some aspects of the CAF's organizational culture including its lack of diversity.

When discussing diversity in the focus groups, a majority of participants did not believe that CAF was sufficiently diverse. For example, one participant said,

"I would say there's one problem with the army in general is it seems to attract a certain type of person. So the type of person who likes war, likes going to Afghanistan, likes Operation Caribbe. And that's fine for people who have those views, but it doesn't seem welcoming to people who don't support as extensive measures. It always seems to attract a certain gender, a certain age. So it would nice if they were more welcoming of people with different views and diversity."

Another stated that within the CAF, there was a "machismo culture" that limited their ability to translate inclusive policies into an inclusive work environment. These responses show that participants felt that the CAF was deficient in gender diversity and was not necessarily welcoming to individuals who may be more critical of CAF operations. As previously discussed, diversity as a measure of organizational success is more important to Millennials than previous generations. Therefore, Millennials thinking that the CAF is not diverse may make them less likely to view the CAF as an attractive employer. While lack of diversity could prove a challenge to the CAF in the future, it also provides them with an opportunity to increase their support among Millennials. Any substantive step taken to increase diversity in the CAF would be an effective way to improve their image among Canadian Millennials. This is supported by the largely positive survey response from both the NATO Field School sample and the SFU Arts Sample on the Defence Policy Review's goal to increase female presence in the CAF from 15% to 25% over the next 10 years. For example, one respondent said that the plan was "a very positive outlook for the CAF which creates a healthy vibrant environment that is beneficial to CAF and Canada's national interest." How Millennials understand diversity and its impact on the workplace culture of the CAF is further evidence that suggests that Millennial support may be more conditional than previous generations. The CAF, to gain Millennial support, may feel pressure to adjust their policies to cater to Millennial values like diversity.

The question of whether individuals perceive the CAF to be modern or outdated (Figure 10) is a good measure of how Millennials perceive the capabilities of the CAF; whether they have the capacity to deal with modern threats such as extreme weather events and terrorism. Overall, these results appear consistent across both the NATO Field School Sample and the SFU Arts Sample and are also relatively consistent with the findings of the TS. The TS report stated "(29%) Canadians consider Canada's military modern with only 8% viewing it as very modern. Conversely, one in five (21%) think of the military as outdated. The plurality (45%) offered no opinion, placing themselves at the mid or neutral point on the scale."¹⁰⁹ These results suggest that there is little effect of the Millennial persona in this question. In the focus groups and in some of the write-in responses on the surveys, many respondents talked about the limitations of CAF capabilities and how much of the CAF's equipment was out of date. For example, in Start of Term NATO Field School Focus Groups, one participant stated in

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 14.

regards to CAF capabilities and sovereignty concerns that, “I think on a technological side, Canada has lost its ability to participate... I think that might be a [sic] indirect concern for Canada's security.” This response and responses like this suggests that the respondents are aware of the some of the capability challenges facing the CAF even if the plurality of them replied neutrally to this question. This is supported by responses to the question of military funding where a half of respondents believed that the military was underfunded (Figure 11).

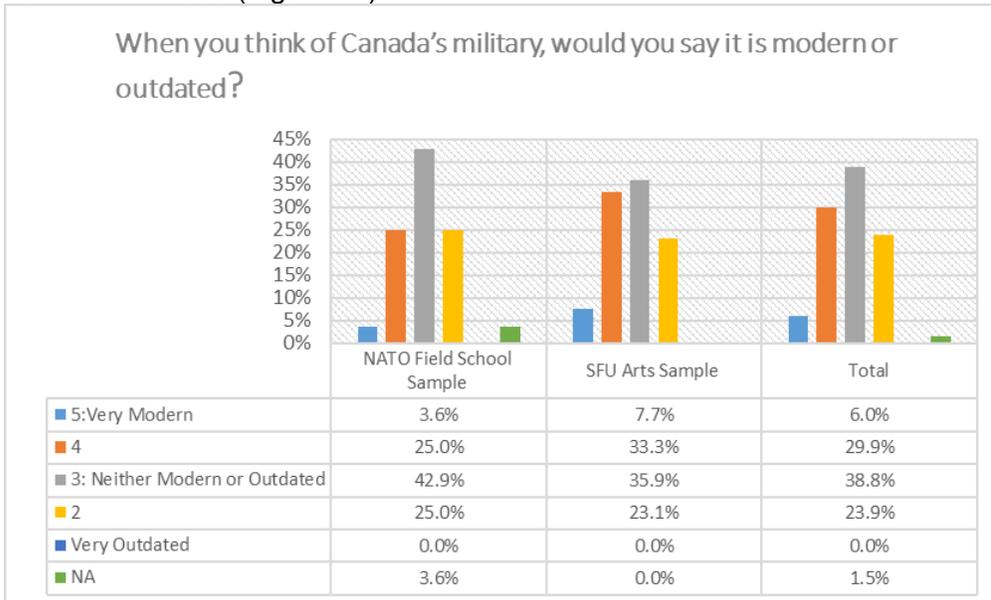


Figure 10: CAF's Modernity

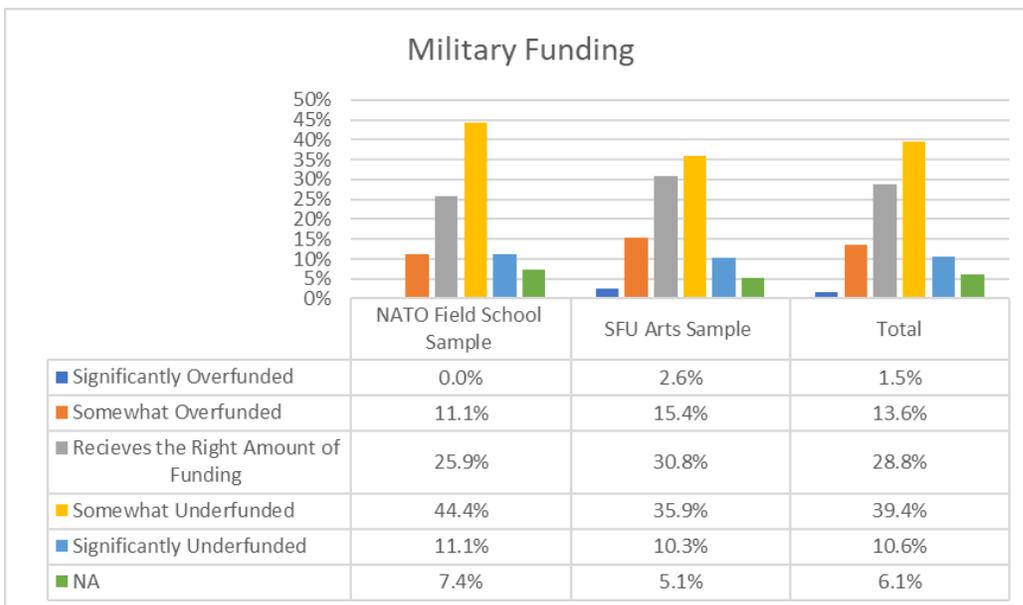


Figure 11: Military Funding

To conclude, there is evidence to support the idea that young Millennials generally have lower rates of positive evaluation for the CAF than the general population in Canada, showing that they are distinct in their views. This suggests that the

generational persona may have a significant impact on how Millennials perceive the CAF in Canada and may pose a challenge in the future.

5.2. Awareness and Evaluation of NATO

NATO plays an important part in the international security structure of Canada. Canada is a contributor of troops and resources to NATO missions. Due to the shared values of liberal democracy among the NATO member states, NATO priorities and interests often correspond closely with Canada’s priorities and interests internationally. Additionally, Canada has a preference for multilateral action, which the alliance affords, over unilateral action on the international stage. Finally, acting through the alliance increases the capacity of Canada to protect its interests abroad and at home. Because of this, it is important to measure how Millennials in Canada understand NATO and assess it. But, measuring how Millennials understand and assess NATO is challenging as very few public opinion polls ask questions about NATO. Therefore, I cannot compare many of my NATO findings from the NATO Field School and SFU Arts samples to other polls as the questions I ask are unique to these surveys.

5.2.1. Awareness

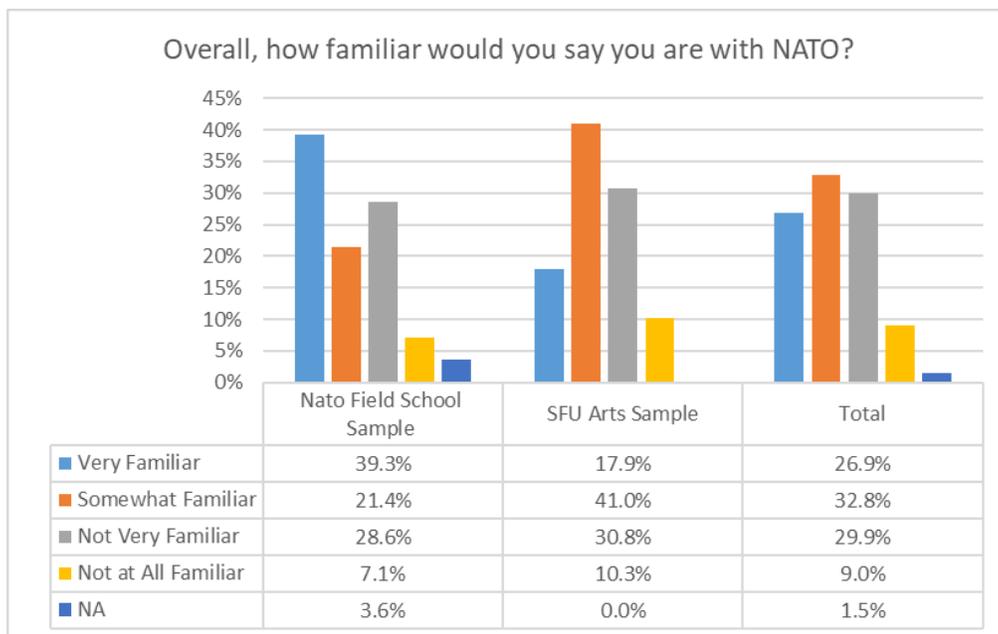


Figure 12: NATO Familiarity

The perceived familiarity question (Figure 12) shows a large difference between the NATO Field School Sample’s responses and the SFU Arts Sample’s responses. The likely reason for this is that, according to the focus group transcripts, many of the individuals in the NATO Field School Sample were recruited from the SFU Model NATO Club who regularly meet to learn about NATO and engage in Model NATO simulations thus there is a higher level of perceived familiarity in the NATO Field School Sample than in the SFU Arts Population. While there is no external data I can compare this

question to, the high level of familiarity with NATO in the NATO Field School Sample makes it likely that the SFU Arts Sample is far more representative of young Millennial Students than the NATO Field School Sample. In the SFU Arts Sample, we see comparable levels of perceived familiarity of NATO to their perceived familiarity of CAF (Figure 1) suggesting that individuals are somewhat aware of NATO and what it does.

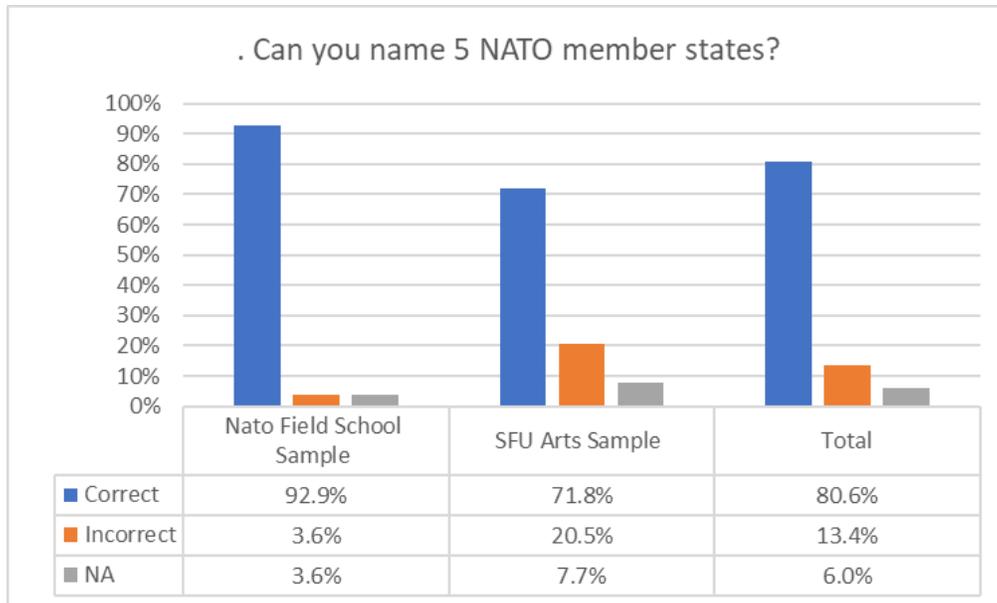


Figure 13: NATO States

To test the knowledge of the Millennial Student Samples, they were asked to name 5 NATO countries (Figure 13). A large majority of participants were able to do so suggesting a reasonably strong knowledge of who is in the Alliance and whose interests it represents. Again, we see a much higher rate of familiarity and awareness in the NATO Field School Sample. This is also supported by the responses to the question of whether they had heard or seen anything about NATO recently in which 93% of the NATO Field School Sample had while only 72% of the SFU Arts Sample had. Examining the responses of the SFU Arts Sample, it is clear that, although their knowledge and awareness is lower than the NATO Field School sample, it is still relatively strong. This suggests that young Millennial Students in Canada have a fairly strong awareness of NATO.

5.2.2. Evaluation

There are noticeable differences in the responses of the NATO Field School Sample and the SFU Arts Sample in how favourably they view NATO with the NATO Field School Sample having a significantly more positive view (Figure 14). This suggests again the bias in the NATO Field School Sample on NATO issues. The SFU Arts Sample has a relatively positive view of NATO with a majority of individuals having a strongly positive or somewhat positive impression of NATO. However, similar to the respondents' evaluation of the CAF, the positive evaluation does not necessarily preclude criticism of NATO from the respondents who positively evaluated NATO. One

respondent who positively evaluated NATO added in a write-in section of their survey, “Good idea, but it needs to adapt to a new time period if it wants to still be effective. Also, all countries should meet the minimum 2% funding amount.” while another positively evaluating respondent described NATO as, “Coalition – unstructured - little real power.” This is again in keeping with the Millennial generational persona as they challenge authority even as they approve of it in general terms.

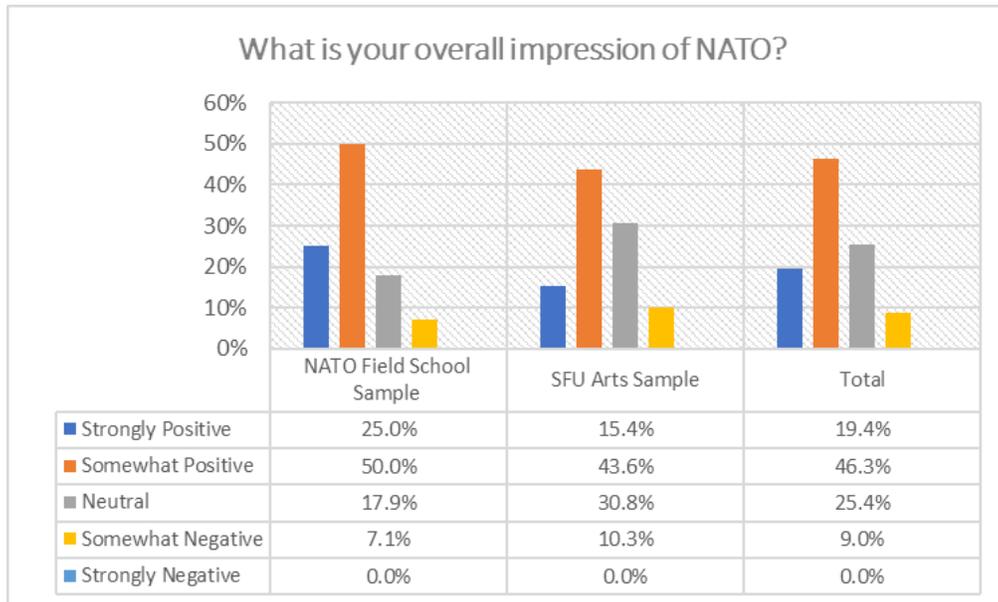


Figure 14: Overall Impression of NATO

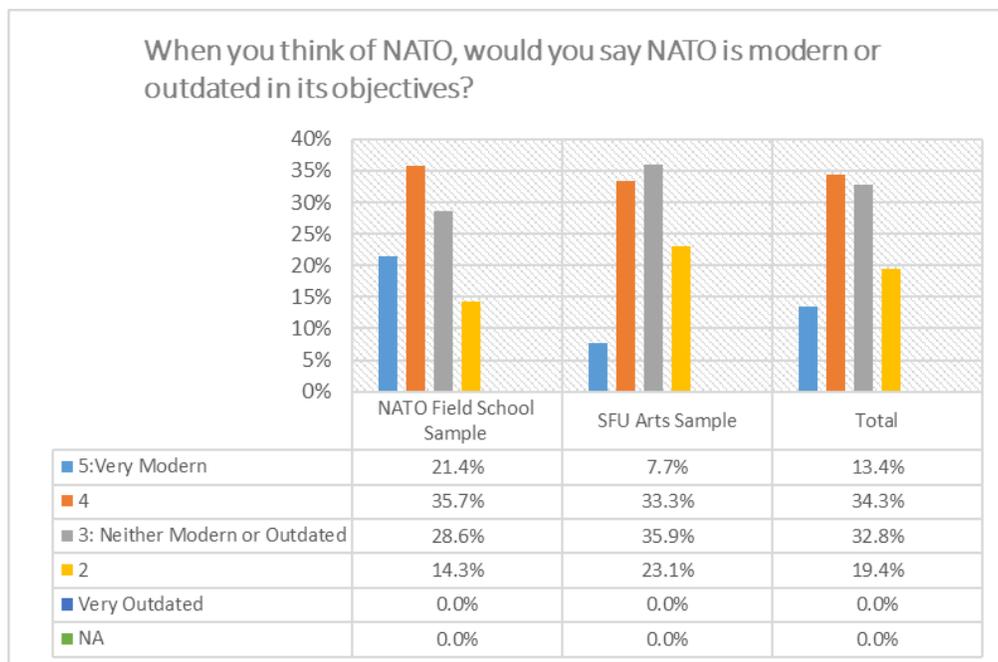


Figure 15: NATO's Modernity

Throughout the surveys, there were multiple references to the idea that NATO is no longer effective and that it needs to adapt to the new global threat/security environment. The responses to the question of NATO’s modernity (Figure 15) show that, a plurality of total respondents believe that NATO is modern. This suggests that, while Millennials may question NATO’s effectiveness at times, overall they feel that NATO has adapted reasonably well to the current global security environment.

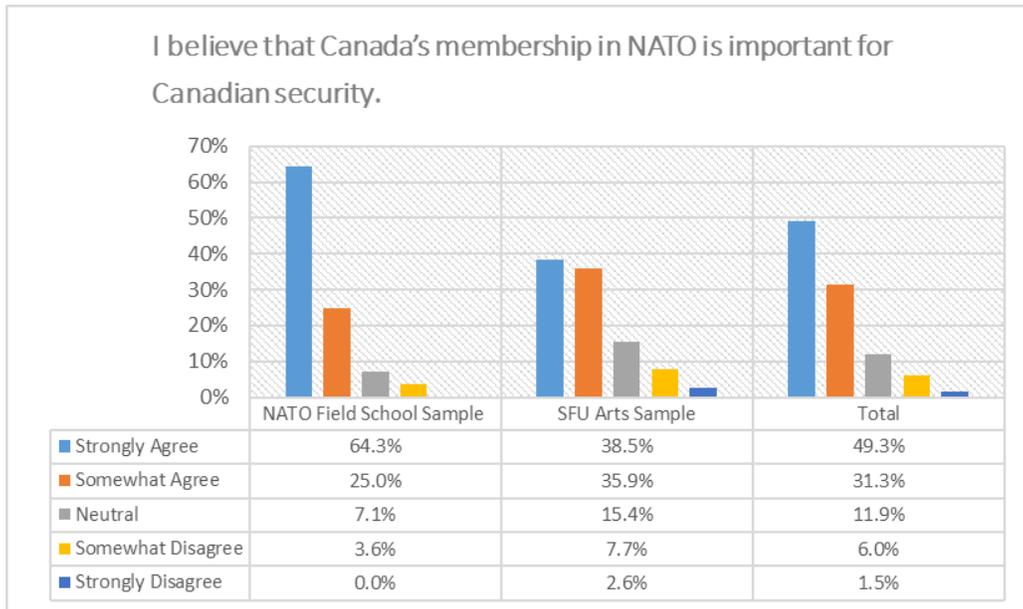


Figure 16: NATO’s Importance to Canadian Security

The question in Figure 16 directly links NATO with Canadian security which gives us a better understanding of whether the respondents actually feel that they are beneficiaries of NATO security. Unlike the NATO awareness and evaluation questions (Figures 12-14), we can compare this to the wider sample of the TS. Overall, the support for this statement is high among both samples with 80.6% of respondents agreeing with the statement. This suggests that the young Millennial respondents feel that Canada benefits from their participation in NATO, which is important to the continued support of NATO by Millennials in the future. However, while support is high for this statement in the SFU Arts Sample, the sample that is likely more representative of the general Millennial student population, it was far higher in the TS where 90% of respondents agreed with this statement. This lower rate of support among this sample could indicate that young Millennials perceive NATO as less beneficial to Canada than previous generations, but further research needs to be done on a larger sample to determine whether this is the case.

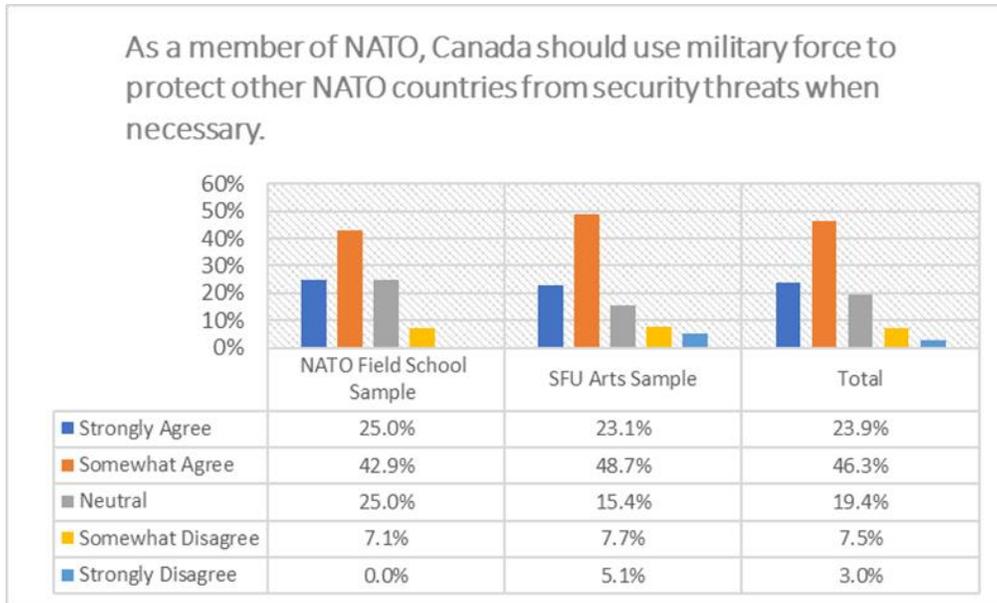


Figure 17: NATO and the Use of Force

This question (Figure 17) is important as it tests whether or not Millennial approval and positive evaluation of NATO is strong enough to withstand the cost and possible risks associated with a Canadian combat mission. The results again show an extremely high rate of respondents who agreed with this statement with over 70% of respondents agreeing with this statement. These results suggest that Millennials have a strong commitment to NATO and accept the responsibility and obligations of collective defence.

After assessing the awareness and evaluation of NATO by Millennials what has been learned? What does the Millennial generational persona tell us? What the data available suggests is that Millennials have relatively strong awareness and high evaluation of NATO as an organization. While more research needs to be done to test the significance of these findings across a larger and more representative sample of Canadian Millennials, there are indications that Millennials value the alliance and are committed to the core principle of collective defence. The strength of their support for the NATO alliance, a political-military alliance, is somewhat surprising as it seems to run counterintuitively to Millennial risk aversion. The idea of an alliance where an attack on one is an attack on all, perhaps provides some level of security for Millennials in an uncertain world. As well, the concept of an alliance may appeal to the team-oriented nature of Millennials.

5.3. Security Threats

Both the NATO Field School Survey and the SFU Arts Survey asked two questions to understand what threats are greatest in the minds of the respondents. The first question asks them “What do you think is the most pressing policy area facing Canadians and Canada today?” This open response question allows respondents to think about non-security threats or issues that they feel should be or are priorities for Canada. As well, it also creates an opportunity to see how highly security threats are ranked against non-security related policy areas and issues. The results show that, out

of the responses received, 60.9% of them were non-security threats, a majority of which were related to issues with the economy (Figure 18). This suggests that Millennials feel relatively safe in Canada as, for a majority of survey respondents, non-security issues were prioritized over security issues. In addition, the large amount of issues relating to the economy in this first question is consistent with the Millennial persona as many Millennials were significantly hampered in their career development by the 2008 Great Recession which likely had a more immediate impact on them than security and defence uncertainty.

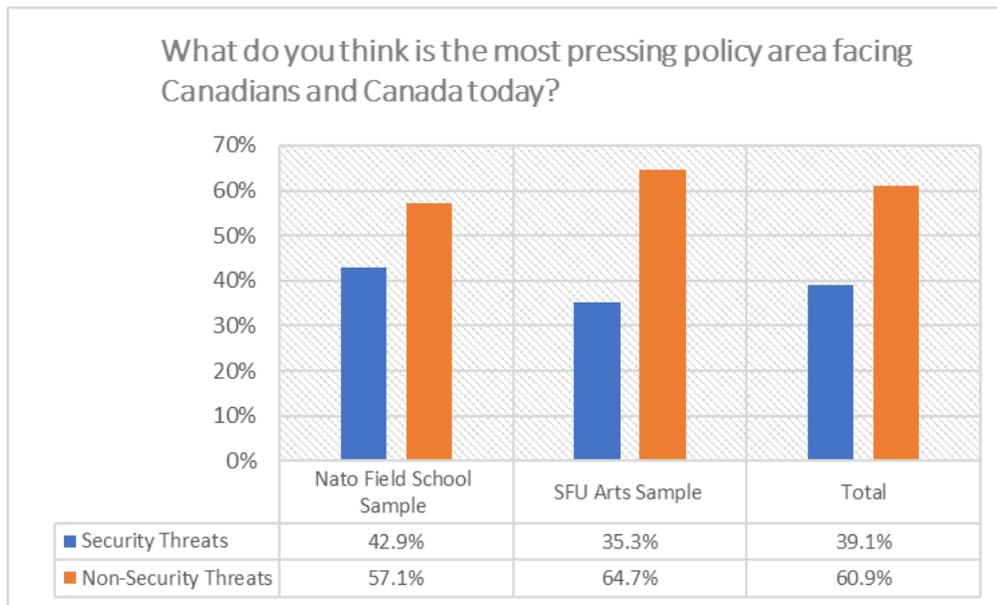


Figure 18: Most Pressing Policy Area

To understand how Millennials perceive the global threat environment, it is imperative to understand whether they think the world is becoming more or less safe. On the NATO Field School Survey and the SFU Arts Survey, respondents were asked how much they agreed with the statement, “the world is safer today than it was a decade ago.” Responses to this question indicated that 29.9% of respondents had a neutral stance on this issue and 26.9% somewhat disagreed with the statement (Figure 19).

This is significantly lower than the national average in the TS as 64% of Canadians disagreed with the statement that the world was safer now than it was a decade ago. According to the TS, age had a significant effect with those under the age of 25 more to agree with this statement than older Canadians.¹¹⁰ While this could be the effect of age, as younger people cannot remember as well what the world was like 10 years ago, it could also be a generational effect which my data suggests. This cannot be determined until Millennials grow older and out of the youth demographics to determine whether this is simply the optimism of youth or emblematic of Millennial optimism in the face of uncertainty.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 27.

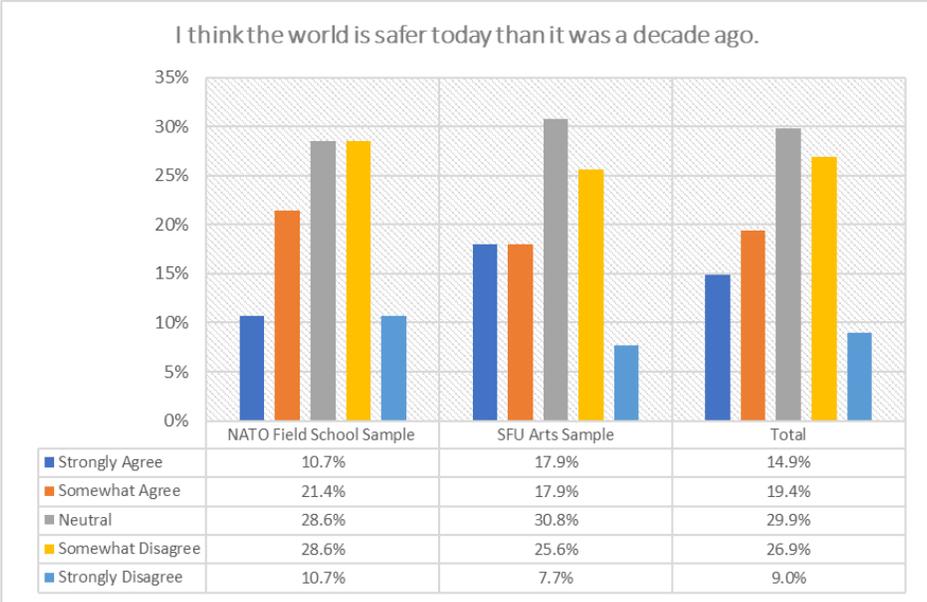


Figure 19: World Safer than It was a Decade Ago

Chapter 6.

NATO Field School Results

This section examines whether increased awareness and increased interaction caused an increase in positive evaluation of the CAF and their participation in NATO and NATO-UN Missions. To assess this, we will examine how the student's evaluation of the CAF and NATO changed over the 7 weeks of the NATO Field School program.

6.1. Canadian Armed Forces Awareness and Evaluation

6.1.1. Awareness

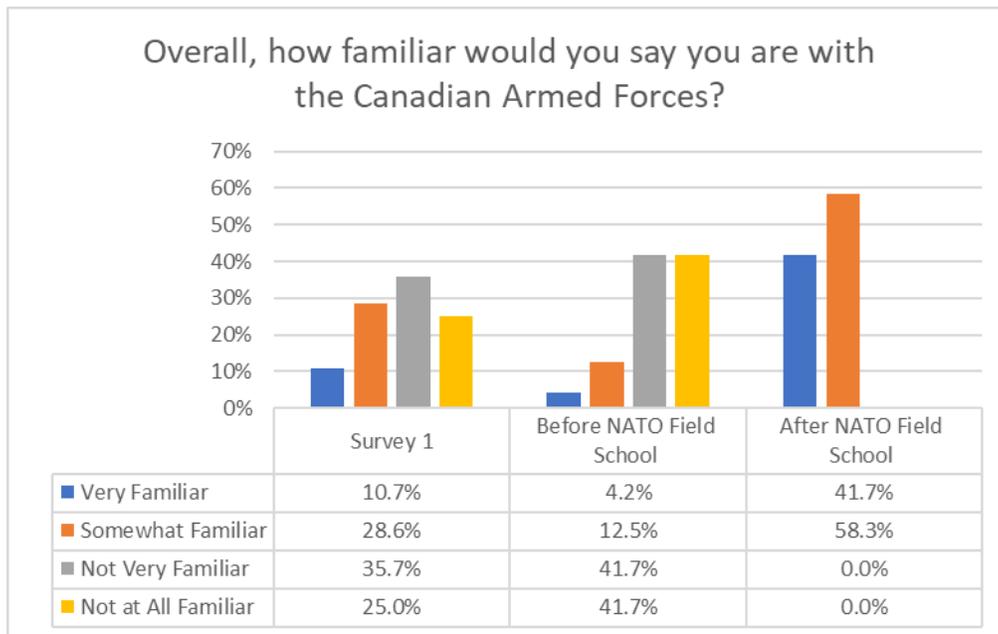


Figure 20: NATO Field School's CAF Familiarity

It is evident from the familiarity question (Figure 20) that the overall awareness and perceived familiarity of the CAF grew significantly over the course of the term as Field School participants did course work and attended various briefings about the CAF and their participation in NATO and UN missions.

The perceived familiarity chart has two methods to assess change (Figure 20). The first is by taking the first survey responses (Survey 1), which were taken at the start of term, and comparing them against the end of term responses (After the NATO Field School). Therefore, change in this method is measured by comparing student response at the beginning and end of term. The benefit of this method is that it is simple as it is based on the basic logic of longitudinal research by using the same question asked at different points in time to measure change. However, this method does not account for shifts in a respondent's reference point. For example, an individual may think that they

know almost everything they need to know about the CAF at the start of term and therefore rate themselves as being somewhat familiar with the CAF. But, after studying these issues over the course of the program and becoming aware of how much they did not know at the start of term and still do not know about the CAF, they may rate themselves as being somewhat familiar with the CAF at the end of term as well. Based on these two responses from this individual, using the first method, one would draw the conclusion that no change occurred over the course of the program. However, a significant change did occur as the program altered the respondent's reference point to the question. The second method accounts for this reference point change by asking the individual on Survey 2 at the end of term to assess how familiar they were at the start of term (Before NATO Field School results) as well as where they were at the end (After NATO Field School Results). This allows the student to reflect, compare, and identify the difference between their starting reference point in the NATO Field School and their end reference point providing insight into how their reference point changed over the course of the program. The drawback of this method is that, since it prompts respondents to think of their NATO Field School experience in the context of personal change and growth, they may be likely to exaggerate the change they experienced over the course of the program. Due to the drawbacks and benefits of both methods of measuring change, I provide the data necessary to measure change using both methods in this project.

The perceived familiarity results suggest that perceived familiarity with the CAF increased significantly over the course of the Field School (Figure 20). As well, individuals' estimation of their knowledge at the start of the course changed significantly (see Survey 1 and Before NATO Field School Results) suggesting that even those with relatively high levels of knowledge/familiarity (compared to their counterparts) still increased their knowledge/familiarity over the course of the Field School.

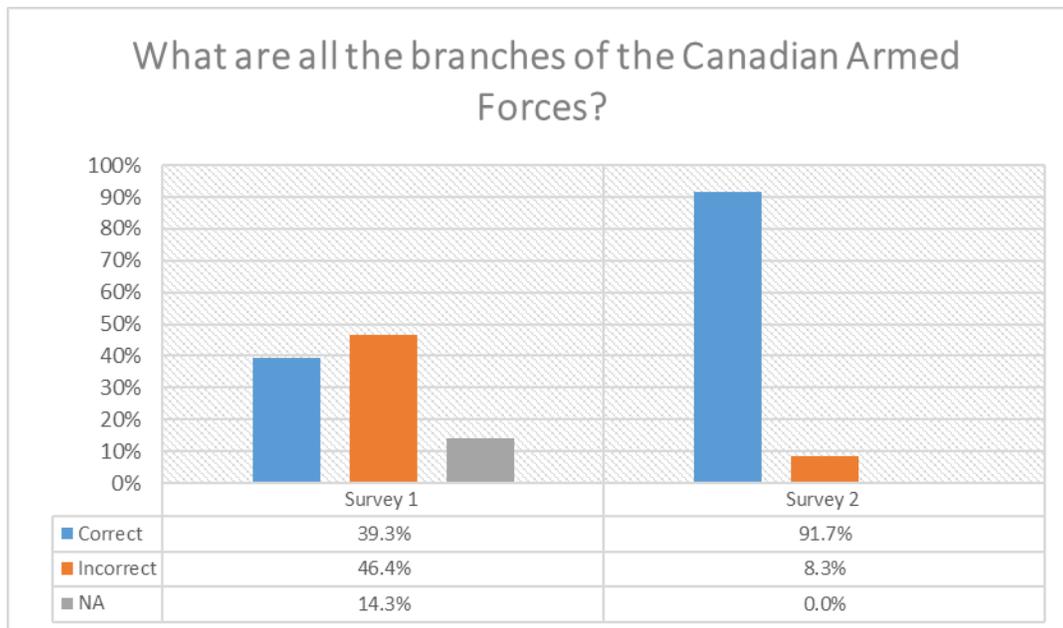


Figure 21: NATO Field School - Branches of the CAF

Student knowledge of the CAF also increased over the course of the NATO Field School as is evident from the improvement in students' abilities to correctly name all the branches of the Canadian Armed Forces between Survey 1 and Survey 2 (Figure 21).

As well, it was evident in the focus groups that students had a better grasp of military and defence concepts as they were able to engage in more in-depth discussion of these concepts in the focus groups at the end of term compared to the focus groups at the beginning of term. An example of this was the evolution of their discussion on public opinion and communications between the start and end of term focus group. In the first focus groups, students discussed the importance of managing public opinion through communication strategies. One participant said “If some of these people crossing into Manitoba do something we don't like or that affects our security, then it's gonna be easy for unsettling parts of the population to point the finger at your local ethnic minorities, so chaos can ensue if one person messes up.” While it was clear that students generally understood the importance of communication strategy in start of term focus groups, it lacked the in-depth knowledge that was shown through the discussion of strategic communications in the end of term focus groups. At the end of term focus groups, students were engaged with many of the challenges of strategic communication such as engaging target demographics, managing organizational image and the ethical and practical arguments surrounding the use of propaganda by defence organizations. These discussions show an increase in student knowledge about defence organizations and their role in strategic communication. Overall, students’ awareness and knowledge increased significantly over the course of the NATO Field School thus allowing us to determine the effects of this change on their evaluation of CAF between the start and end of the program.

6.1.2. Evaluation

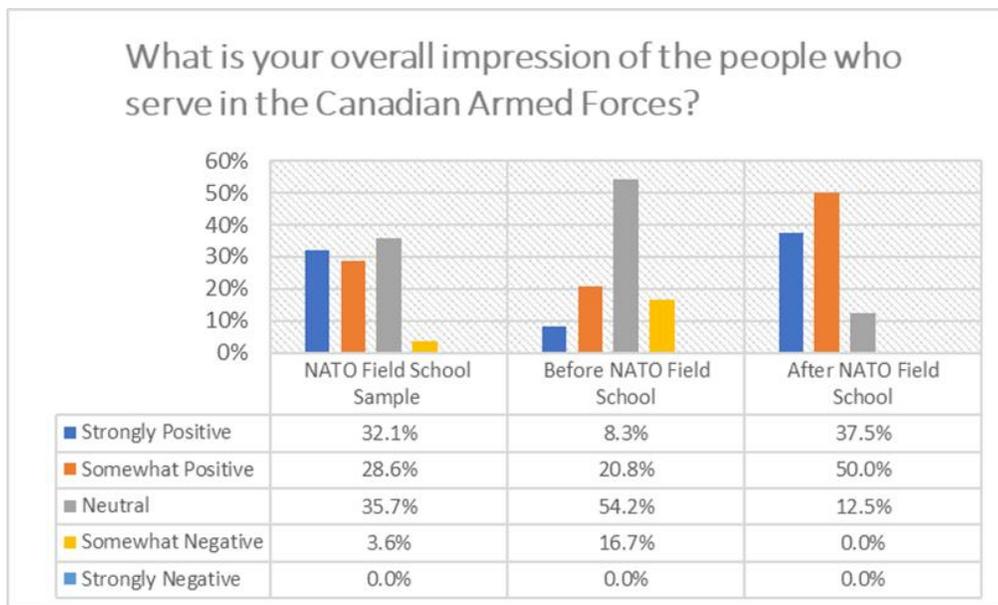


Figure 22: NATO Field School's Overall Impression of the CAF

The overall impression of the CAF questions yields interesting results. While the results from the first survey are largely positive with very few participants noting a negative impression of the CAF, we see in the Before NATO Field School results from the second survey that participants felt that their opinion of the CAF was more neutral or negative in the beginning of the course compared to where they were at the end of the

course (Figure 22). This suggests that participants were either unwilling to give neutral or negative responses at the start of the term creating a bias in the first survey results or participants were unaware of their neutral or negative impressions of the CAF at the beginning of term and only realized it after their impressions improved at the end of term. As well, this clearly shows that the NATO Field School has had a positive effect on perceptions of the people who serve in the CAF. When participants were asked to explain the difference in their results from the start of the field school compared to the end, 95% cited interaction with CAF members and 35% cited increased knowledge and awareness of the CAF. An additional, 15% cited that they perceived the CAF to be more diverse and inclusive than they previously thought thus causing an increase in positive evaluation. This is consistent with the Millennial persona, as Millennials value diversity within the workplace, and suggests that their support of the CAF is more conditional than previous generations.

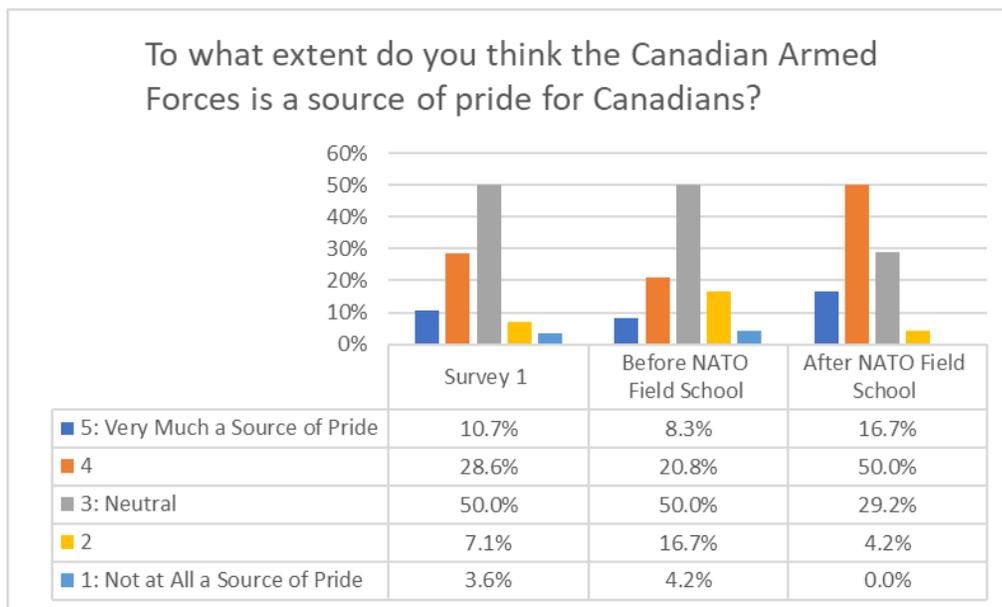


Figure 23: NATO Field School - CAF as a Source of Pride

There is a clear shift from neutral to positive in terms of the CAF being a source of pride for Canadians by the end of the Field School (Figure 23). This suggests that the NATO Field School positively impacted the students' perceptions of the CAF as an organisation. Out of the 45% of participants that experienced a change, the leading causes of the change were increased knowledge cited by 45% of those participants (20% of overall sample) and interactions with CAF members cited by 45% of participants (20% of the overall sample). In addition, 9 % of participants cited diversity in the CAF as the primary driver behind the change (4% of the overall sample).

We see the same pattern where there is significant difference between Survey 1 results and the Before NATO Field School results from Survey 2 in the Peer Recruitment Question (Figure 24). This suggests a shift in reference point on the part of participants. In addition, we see a significant increase in the number of favourable responses from the start to the end of the field school suggesting that NATO Field School experience had a strong impact on students' perceptions of the CAF as an organization and possibly as a working environment. This is supported by many students citing that they were unaware of the education and rigorous training that the CAF offered which changed their

perspective on the value of military service. 62.5% of respondents experienced a change in opinion between the start of the course and the end of the course. Similar trends to the previous evaluative questions are found in the explanation of the change with 53% citing increased knowledge and awareness of the CAF and its activities and 53% citing interaction with CAF members as their reason for the change from the start to the finish of the course.

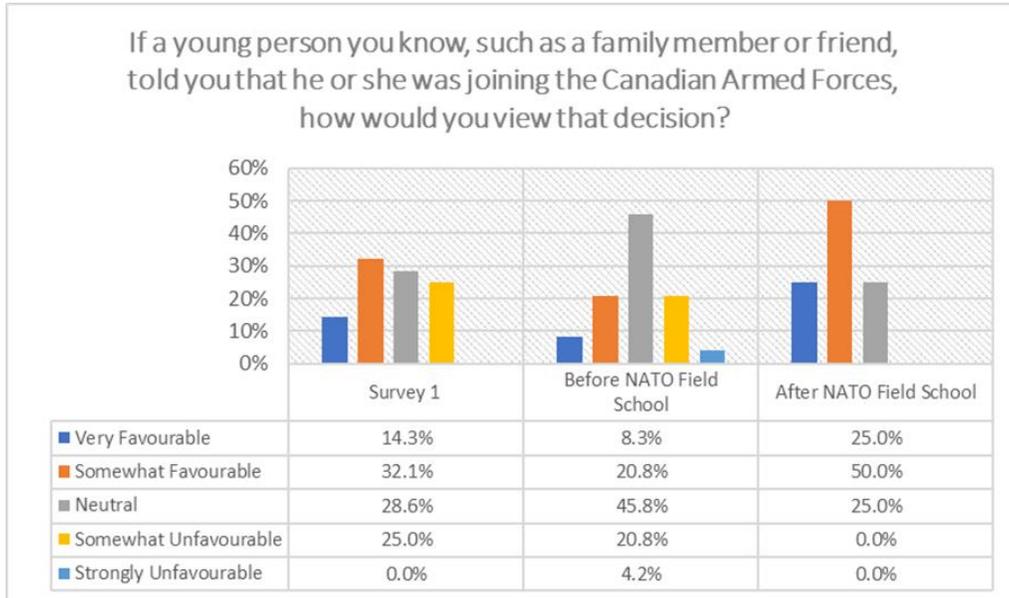


Figure 24: NATO Field School - Peer Joining the CAF

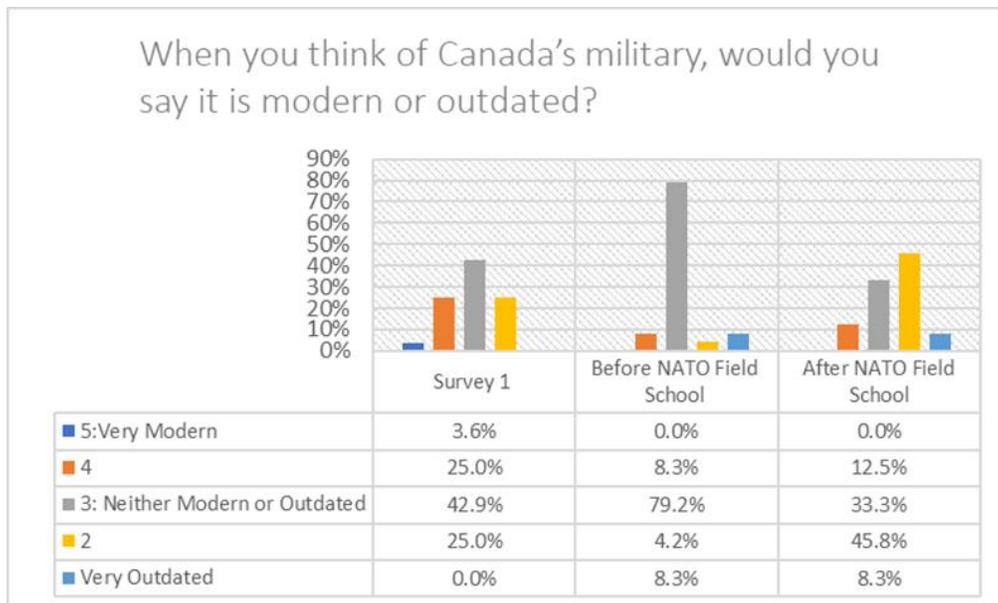


Figure 25: NATO Field School - CAF's Modernity

Unlike the other CAF evaluative questions, there is a significant decrease in the amount of respondents who perceive the CAF as modern from the start of the term to the end of the term suggesting that the NATO Field School made respondents perceive

the CAF as significantly less modern in its capabilities. Out of 54% of participants that experienced a shift in opinion from the beginning of the course to the end of the course on this question, 76.9% cited seeing the outdated equipment on military base visits as the reason for the change.

Through examining the NATO Field School data, it is clear that the NATO Field School Program was effective in increasing awareness/knowledge and positive evaluation of the CAF. Additionally, the results confirm Hypotheses 1a and 1b as increased knowledge/awareness of the CAF and interaction with the CAF were consistently the most cited reasons for the increase in positive evaluation of the CAF.

6.2. NATO Awareness and Evaluation

6.2.1. Awareness

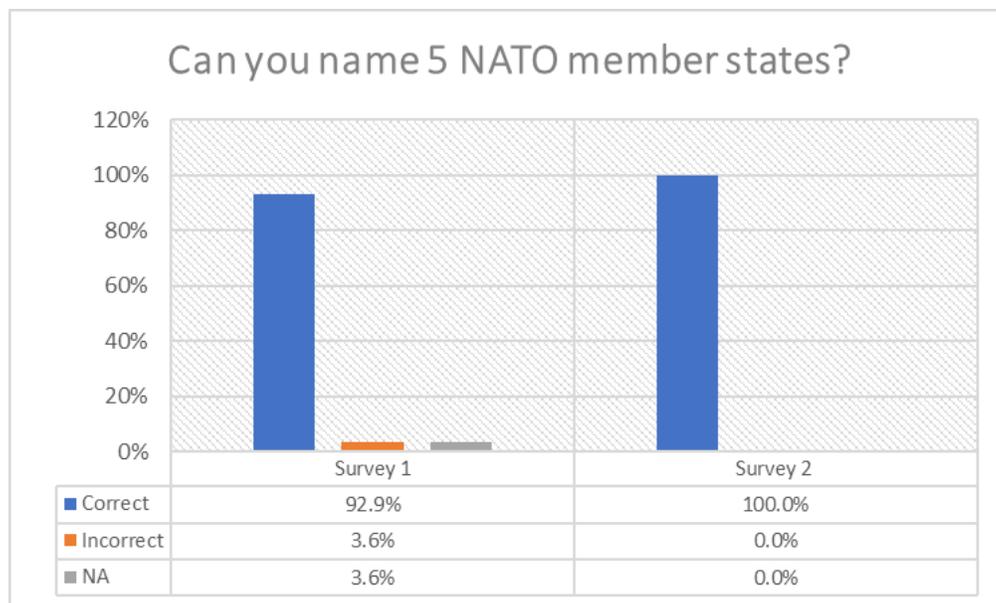


Figure 26: NATO Field School - NATO Countries

Unlike the CAF, the rates of knowledge and awareness of NATO at the start of the program were very high. Thus, to measure their progress from the start of term to the end of term does not suggest very much change in the survey data. This is evident in Figure 26 showing the responses to the 5 NATO member states question. There is only a slight increase in correct responses between the start and end of term. However, when analyzing the focus group data, it is clear that respondents grew in knowledge and awareness of NATO through the program as they were able to discuss in more detail and complexity the issues that NATO faces in the current strategic environment. For example, at the start of term, there was little to no mention of hybrid warfare as an emerging security challenge for NATO yet there was a detailed discussion of this in the second focus groups. This increase in NATO knowledge and awareness suggested by the focus group findings is supported by the responses to the perceived familiarity survey question (Figure 27). There was an increase in perceived familiarity between the start of the program to the end. This suggests that, while the students' level of

knowledge and awareness of NATO at the start of term was high, they still believed that they learned more and become more aware of NATO through their experiences in the NATO Field School Program.

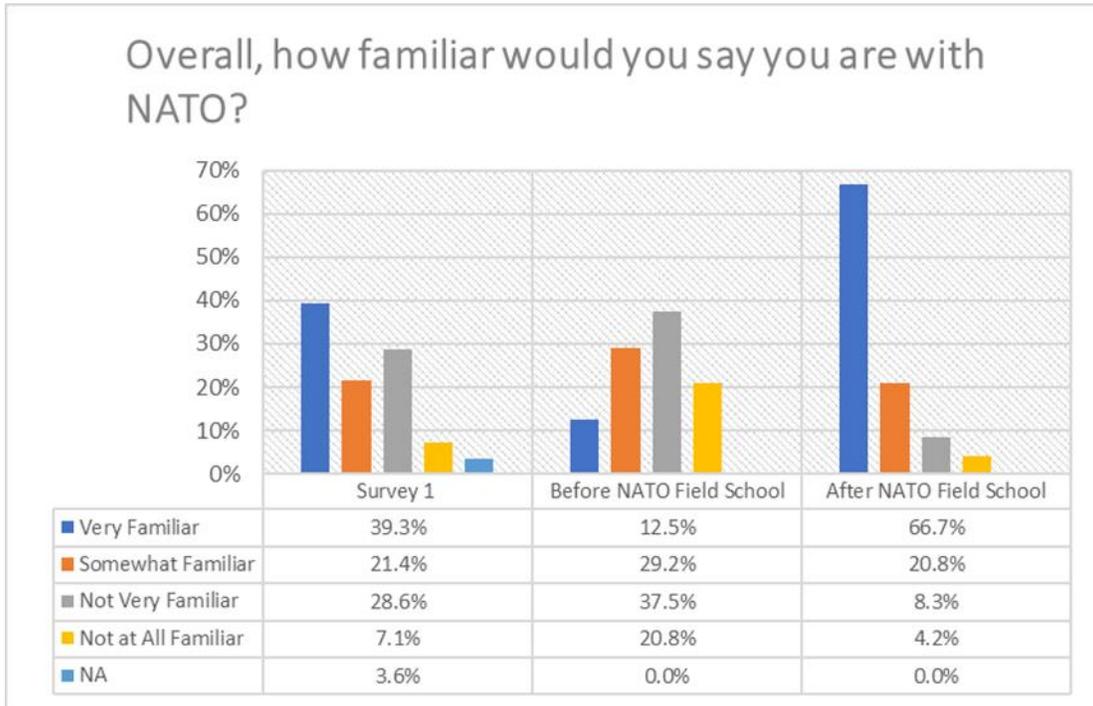


Figure 27: NATO Field School - Familiarity with NATO

6.2.2. Evaluation

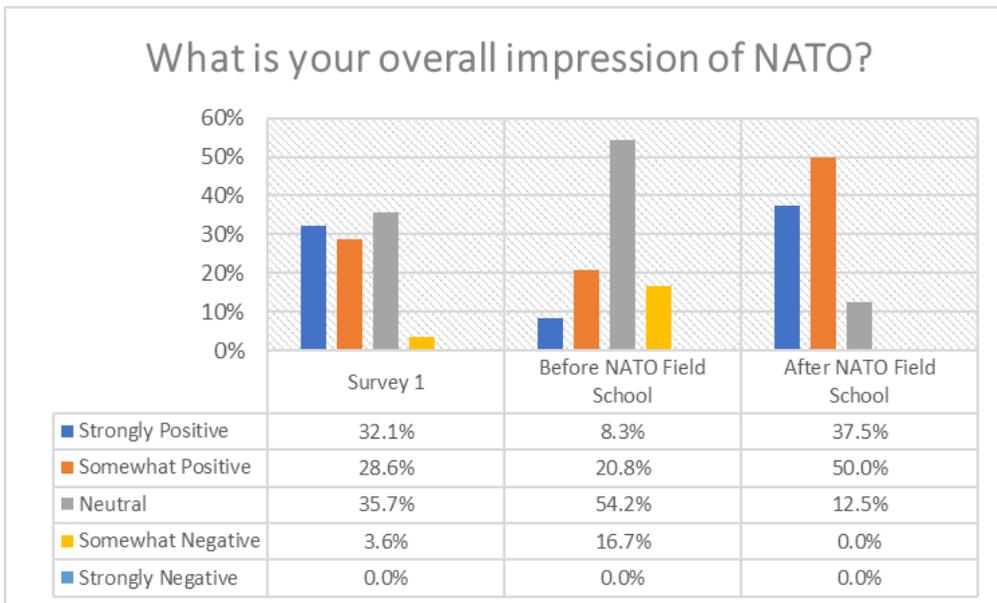


Figure 28: NATO Field School - Overall Impression of NATO

There is a significant increase in the overall positive evaluation of NATO from the start of the term to the end showing the effect of the NATO Field School Program on evaluation (Figure 28). This is supported by what respondents identified as the cause of this change. 79% of participants experienced a change in their overall impression of NATO over the course of the NATO Field Schools. 52.6% of the 79% of participants that experienced a change cited increased knowledge of NATO and their role as the reason for the change. Additionally, 31.6% of participants cited their experience in the crisis management simulation at NATO Defence College (NDC) as the reason for the change. The crisis management simulation allowed students to interact with individuals from NATO and NDC and gain in-depth knowledge of the complexity of crisis management and NATO.

Additionally, we see a similar pattern in the NATO overall impression question (Figure 28) to the CAF overall impression question (Figure 23) discussed earlier. Respondents did not have as positive evaluation of NATO at the start of the course (as reflected in the Before NATO Field School results) as they reported in Survey 1. This suggests that there was a significant change in respondents' reference points over the course of the program and that even those with high positive evaluation of NATO at the beginning of the program may have still experienced significant change over the course of the Field School.

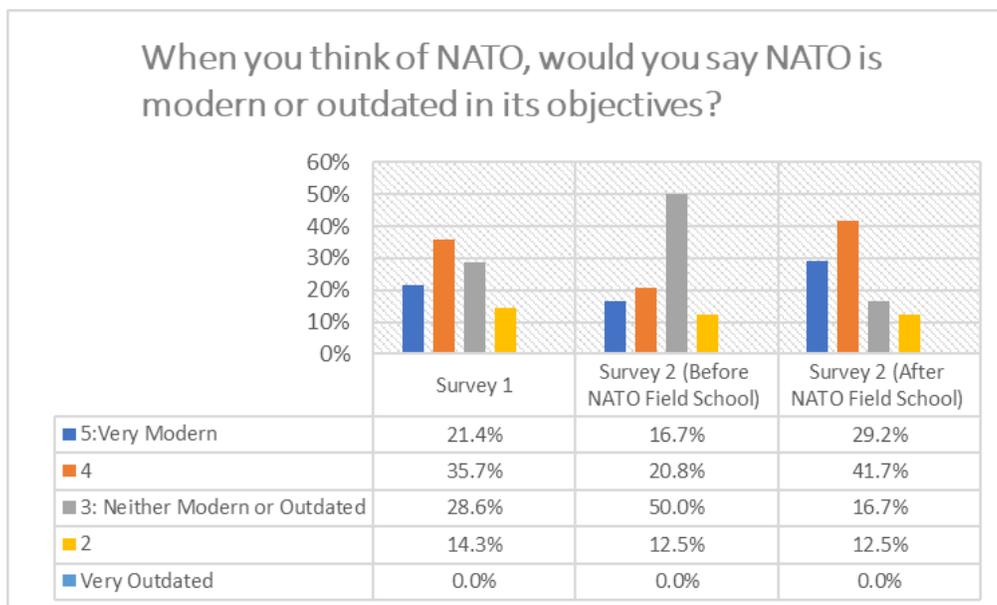


Figure 29: NATO Field School - NATO's Modernity

Unlike the CAF, participants felt that NATO was more modern after the NATO Field School than they did at the start of the course. Out of the 41.6% of participants that experienced a change in opinion, 90% cited increased knowledge of NATO and security threats more generally and 50% cited learning specifically about the Russian Resurgence as being what caused them to believe that NATO was more modern than they did previously.

A possible reason why participants were more likely to believe that NATO was modern at the end of the course than the CAF is the different roles these organizations have in Canadian security. The CAF's role is to support the Government of Canada and implement government policies and decisions as directed. Thus, they are assessed

based on their ability to implement government policies which comes down largely to military capabilities. This is evidenced by 76.9% of respondents citing that the reason why they did not believe the CAF was modern at the end of the NATO Field School as they did at the start was because of their increased awareness of the outdated equipment that the CAF was currently using. In contrast, NATO's role is more complex. As a political-military alliance, NATO is less likely to be assessed on concrete military capabilities and far more likely to be assessed on its ability to build consensus among member states to address current security threats. This appears consistent with my findings as respondents cited that the ability of NATO to deal with threats like the Russian Resurgence made them think that NATO was more modern than they used to. How these organizations' modernity is measured is an important distinction because it gives some insight into what they must do to appear modern. The CAF is assessed in concrete terms thus they will likely have to take concrete actions such as equipment and capability renewal to achieve a modern image. In contrast, NATO's modernity is assessed abstractly as it is based on NATO's ability and willingness to address modern threats. NATO has more opportunities and ways to prove their modernity compared to the CAF thus it is more likely to achieve a modern image.

The NATO evaluation results confirmed H1a that increased knowledge and awareness of the CAF (and their role in NATO) would result in an increase of positive evaluation for CAF and NATO. Unlike the NATO Field School CAF evaluation results, there is less evidence to support H1b that suggests that interaction will increase positive evaluation. This is likely because the NATO component of the NATO Field School Program relied far more heavily on briefings from NATO officials which are informative but do not allow for as much personal interaction as the tours and visits to CAF regiments and bases had. This resulted in an increased emphasis on knowledge as the agent of change in the NATO evaluative questions as opposed to interaction.

Chapter 7.

Conclusion

This project examined the perspectives and knowledge that Millennial students have about the CAF, NATO, and defence issues. This examination showed that Millennials have some awareness of the CAF and a reasonable level of knowledge of their international missions. In contrast, Millennials appear to lack knowledge of the CAF's domestic roles with less than half of respondents able to name a domestic operation of the CAF. As well, the domestic operations referenced suggest a limited understanding of the CAF's domestic roles. Based on the survey results, young Millennial respondents seem to be distinct from the general population and older generations when it comes to evaluating the CAF suggesting that the Millennial generational persona may have a significant impact on how Millennials perceive the CAF. Millennials appear to offer lower levels of positive evaluation of the CAF than previous generations and the general public. It is also important to note that positive evaluation of the CAF by Millennials did not mean a blind endorsement of CAF practices. There seems to be an element of conditionality to Millennial support where they expect the CAF to maintain certain standards or practices to maintain their support such as appropriate diversity policies and practices.

Canadian Millennial respondents appear to have a relatively high awareness and familiarity of NATO. As well, the respondents expressed strong support for NATO including support for the use of military force to protect another member of the alliance. In spite of Millennials' strong support for NATO, there remained an element of conditionality to their support with many respondents critiquing NATO practices while still having a relatively positive view of the organization. In regard to Millennials' view of the security environment, a majority of Millennial respondents did not prioritize security threats above non-security concerns such as the economy suggesting that Millennials may feel relatively safe in Canada. This is supported by Millennials being more likely than then the general population to believe the world is safer today than it was ten years ago.

In addition to its findings on Millennial perception and awareness of defence issues, this project also examined the effect of the NATO Field School program on Millennial students' perception and awareness of the CAF and NATO. The findings of this project confirmed both Hypotheses 1a and 1b. H1a, that increased awareness and knowledge of the CAF, NATO, and defence issues would increase positive evaluation of the CAF and NATO, is consistent with the results of the CAF and NATO evaluative questions. On the other hand, H1b, that increased interaction with the CAF and NATO would increase positive evaluation of the CAF and NATO, applied more strongly to the evaluation of the CAF as opposed to NATO.

The relevance of these findings is that they suggest that Millennials have a unique generational persona that may influence how they understand and perceive defence issues in Canada. The distinctiveness of Millennials in how they perceive the CAF and NATO may indicate a significant civil-military gap between Millennials and the military, currently and in the future. In particular, their understanding of diversity and the conditionality of their support may prove a challenge to the CAF and NATO as they may have to adapt their organizations to suit Millennial values and standards. Additionally,

the effect of the NATO Field School program on Millennial student evaluation and awareness of these organizations suggests that programs that offer in-depth and interactive learning experiences about the CAF, NATO, and security issues can significantly increase the level of positive evaluation that these organizations receive from Millennials. Programs like the NATO Field School program may be an effective way for these organizations to reach Millennial students.

My work, by focusing on the possible impacts of the Millennial generational persona on defence issues, may have further relevance to the academic literature on strategic culture. Strategic culture is based on the assumption that “different states have different predominant strategic preferences that are rooted in the early or formative experiences of the state, and are influenced to some degree by the philosophical, political, cultural, and cognitive characteristics of the state and its elites.”¹¹¹ Strategic culture assumes that the socio-political factors and a states historical experience can have significant impact on how the state views its military and strategic options. One of the challenges within the literature of the strategic culture is determining how strategic culture changes over time and what causes that change.¹¹² The study of generations could provide further insight into the incremental nature of strategic culture change. Strategic culture change may be influenced by the shifting generational dominance in society as my research project may implicitly suggest. My research project, due to its limited scope and resources, is unable to fully explain the relationship between generational research and strategic culture. However, my findings suggest that further research into the interaction between strategic culture and generational research on a larger and more representative sample is likely an important development in understanding the impact of generations on defence and security issues

It is important to note that the aim of this research project was not to prove the exact effect of the Millennial persona on defence issues but rather to examine its possible effects. The limitations of this research project, the limited sample selection, the small-n research design, and the limited availability of external data, do not make it possible for me to confirm that my findings are correct across the wider Canadian Millennial population. My findings *suggest* that to test the validity of these findings across a larger and more representative sample may be an interesting area of further research. Additionally, my research project did not factor in how demographic characteristics like gender or race impact Millennials’ understanding of defence and security issues, but this would certainly be one of the next steps in this area of research.

Overall, this work attempts show the value of generational research on defence and security issues as a way to understand and analyze long-term trends and effects in this area. If my findings are correct, Millennials are distinct from previous generations. They will therefore prove a unique challenge and opportunity for defence organizations in the future. The CAF and NATO may have to re-assess what the expectations of the public are for their organizations and what role the public will play in defining defence and security policy in Canada in the future.

¹¹¹ Alastair Iain Johnston, “Thinking about Strategic Culture,” *International Security* 19, no. 4 (Spring, 1995): 35. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539119> (Accessed April 6, 2018).

¹¹² Jeffrey S. Lantis, “Strategic Culture and National Security Policy,” *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002): 109. <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/10.1111/1521-9488.t01-1-00266> (Accessed April 6, 2018)

Appendix A.

NATO Field School Sample Data Collection

The NATO Field School Sample data consists of 2 surveys (Start of Term Survey and End of Term Survey) and 4 focus group transcripts (2 X Start of Term Focus Groups and 2 X End of Term Focus Groups).

On the first day of the NATO Field School Program, participants were asked if they would like to voluntarily participate in the research project. They were given a consent form that detailed what would be expected of them if they chose to participate.

Participants would:

- Fill out an informed consent form to ensure that they were aware of the risk and requirement of research participation.
- fill out two anonymous questionnaires one at the start of term (May 9, 2017) and the other at then end of the term (June 23, 2017)
- attend 2 X 1 hour-long focus groups. 1 in the first week of term and 1 in the last week of term.

As well, the benefits to participation were also outlined. To reflect the time it took to participate in the research, participants received a 3% bonus grade in the program if they completed all required research activities. An alternative bonus assignment (3% bonus) was also offered to ensure participants did not feel pressured to participate based on concern for their grades.

Due to the nature of the program, extra care was taken to stress the voluntary nature of participation and the anonymity of participation. All authority figures in the course left the room when research activities were going on and they were also not able to see the records of who participated in research to limit the possibility that students would feel pressured into participation. The surveys themselves were completely anonymous. The first survey included a random code number which the participant was asked to take note of and write onto the second survey. The idea was that this would allow for completely anonymous data as only the student would know their number but still allow the researchers to link an individual's surveys together. Unfortunately, a majority of the students forgot their code numbers despite being reminded several times to remember them, so it was actually not possible to link an individual's survey data together.

Field school participants also attended 2 focus groups. The sign-up process for the focus groups did require students to use their names to ensure a balanced focus groups (roughly half of the field school participants in each focus group). The Focus Groups were recorded using various audio devices and then after transcribed by an online transcription service. As well, for particular questions or discussion activities, participants were asked to note down their responses. These notes provided a more

concise record of focus group responses and gave some insight into whether certain perspectives were shared across individuals. Names and other identifiers were removed from the transcripts and notes from the focus groups creating anonymized data for analysis.

Below I have detailed the demographics and rate of participation for the Field School Activities.

Table 1. Details the number of research participants for each Field School Research Activity

Survey 1 (May 9th, 2017)	Survey 2 (June 23rd, 2017)	Start of Term Focus Group # 1 (May 11, 2017)	Start of Term Focus Group #2 (May 18, 2017)	End of Term Focus Group #1 (June 16, 2017)	End of Term Focus Group #2 (June 16, 2017)
28	24	15	13	14	14

Table 2. Details the demographic breakdown of NATO Field School Sample

Gender		Age		
Man	Women	18-24	25-34	NA
13	15	25	2	1

Appendix B.

NATO Field School Informed Consent

Informed Consent Form

Date: May 8, 2017

Study Name: Student Perspectives on Defence and Security Organizations in Canada

Researcher: Dr. Alexander Moens, Simon Fraser University.

Co-Researchers: Alexandra Richards ([..]@sfu.ca), Jazlyn Melnychuk, Nancy Teeple, Cornel Turdeanu

Purpose of the Research: To evaluate the effectiveness of the NATO Field School in providing students with comprehensive knowledge of defence and security issues in the Canadian context. More specifically, we will be looking for two things: knowledge of key issues and whether a participant is engaged with these issues.

What You Will be Asked to Do in the Research:

1. Fill out two anonymous questionnaires, in Week 1 and Week 7 during class time. These questionnaires will be a mix of factual, evaluative and opinion questions which will provide the researchers insight to the research participants level of knowledge and engagement with these issues. In the Week 7 questionnaire, you will be asked to reflect on your learning during the course as well. The questionnaires should take anywhere from 30 minutes to one hour to complete.
2. Take part in 2 focus groups with the Co-Researcher, Alexandra Richards and approximately 5-7 other students. The first focus groups will take place in the first and second week of the course. The second focus group will take place near the end of the course (dates TBD). In these focus groups, you will be asked to discuss solutions to fictional security and defence scenarios and asked to discuss your perspective on security and defence issues. In addition, the second focus group will also provide you with an opportunity to discuss how you felt about the NATO field school more generally. Each focus group will take 1 hour for a total of 2 hours.

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any physical harm or discomfort from your participation in this research. You may experience embarrassment or minor psychological distress from not knowing the answers to some of the questions on the questionnaire. However, the risks are not greater than what is faced in any university course. You may fear that your lack of knowledge or perspective on course issues may harm your reputation in the eyes of the instructor or student leaders – causing possible economic, social or psychological harm. However, as noted above, the questionnaires will be anonymous and your, and will be collected by the co-researcher (who is not an instructor

or student leader for this course) so the instructor and/or student leaders will not be able to link you with the data. Your responses in the focus groups will also be anonymized thus they cannot be traced to you personally either.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: The questionnaires and focus groups are a chance to evaluate your own learning in this course, and to assess whether there are gaps in knowledge or skills that you need to practice more. To reflect the time, you took in participating in this research, you will receive a 3% bonus grade in this course. It is not necessary to take part in this research to gain this 3% - an alternative assignment will be offered which will take a similar amount of time to complete.

The general benefit of the research is to evaluate whether programs like this can increase the comprehensive knowledge and engagement of individuals in defence and security issues. This inform future academic courses and programs at this university and others.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision to volunteer will not influence the grade you receive in this course (see the note above about alternative ways of gaining the 3% bonus grade). Your participation or non-participation will affect the nature of your relationship with the study researchers, or SFU either now, or in the future: neither the course instructors nor the student leaders will know whether you have participated in this research or not.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. You can withdraw by contacting Alexandra Richards (who will have the consent forms), and by not completing a questionnaire in Week 7 or participating in either focus group. If you decide to stop participating, you will remain part of the course and still take part in all course assignments, projects and organized activities. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not be known by the course instructor. It will not affect your relationship with the researchers, SFU, or any other group associated with this project.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be submitted anonymously. There will be a code number on the top right of your Week 1 questionnaire, you will be asked to make a note of this, and enter it on your Week 7 questionnaire. This code number is to allow researchers to link the two questionnaires to each other not to you. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your questionnaires will be stored in locked facilities (hard copies) and a password protected computer file (soft copies and data analysis) and only research staff will have access to this information. At the end of the study, the data will be archived in case of ongoing queries about any published article may result. It will continue to be held in locked facilities or in password protected files. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have any questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact either the researcher or co-researchers by email or in person.

Based on the policies of Simon Fraser University and the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics Guidelines, this study was not required and did not undergo a full ethics review as it is in compliance with Article 2.5 of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics Guidelines that states that full research ethics review as it is designed to assess and improve a program at SFU, namely the NATO Field School. If you have questions about this or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Office of Research Ethics (dore@sfu.ca) or the researchers of this study.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____, consent to participate on Student Perspectives on Defence and Security Organizations in Canada study conducted by Dr. Alexander Moens, Jazlyn Melnychuk, Alexandra Richards, Nancy Teeple, and Cornel Turdeanu. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____

Participant

Date _____

Signature _____

Alexandra Richards, Co-Investigator

Date _____

Appendix C.

NATO Field School Start of Term Survey

Student Perspectives on Defence and Security Organizations in Canada (1 of 2)

Thank you for participating in this study. We greatly appreciate your help!

1. Please complete the questionnaire, then hand it to researcher (Alexandra Richards). **If you do not know the answer or have no opinion on a particular question, please leave it blank, rather than looking it up or asking a neighbour.** This is not a test – we are trying to assess general level of knowledge and perspectives on defence and security issues etc. in the student body.
2. Sign your consent form, and put it into the envelope at the front of the classroom.
3. Make a note of the index number which was given to you through the random draw – you will be using it on the follow-up questionnaire you will complete at the end of term.

Index Number:

Section 1

1. Have you recently seen, read or heard anything about the Canadian Armed Forces?

Yes

No

If YES, what have you seen, read or heard?

2. Overall, how familiar would you say you are with the Canadian Armed Forces?

Very Familiar

Somewhat

Not Very Familiar

Not at all familiar

Familiar

3. What is your overall impression of the people who serve in the Canadian Armed Forces?

Strongly

Positive

Somewhat

Positive

Neutral

Somewhat

Negative

Strongly

Negative

4. What image or impression comes to mind when you think about the Canadian Armed Forces?

5. If a young person you know, such as a family member or friend, told you that he or she was joining the Canadian Armed Forces, how would you view that decision? Would your reaction be:

Very Favourable
 Somewhat Favourable
 Neutral
 Somewhat Unfavourable
 Very Unfavourable

6. To what extent do you think the Canadian Armed Forces is a source of pride for Canadians? Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means not at all a source of pride, “3” is neutral, and “5” means very much a source of pride.

Not at all a source of pride		Neutral		Very much a source of pride
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

7. When you think of Canada’s military, would you say it is modern or outdated? Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means very outdated, “3” means neither outdated or modern, and “5” means very modern.

Very outdated		Neither outdated or modern		Very Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

8. Do you feel that Canada’s military is:

Significantly Overfunded
 Somewhat Overfunded
 Receives the right amount of funding
 Somewhat Underfunded
 Significantly Underfunded

Section 2

1. Have you recently seen, read or heard anything about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?

Yes

No

If Yes, what have you seen, read or heard?

2. Overall, how familiar would you say you are with NATO?

Very Familiar

Somewhat

Not Very Familiar

Not at all familiar

Familiar

What is your overall impression of NATO?

Strongly

Somewhat

Somewhat

Strongly

Positive

Positive

Neutral

Negative

Negative

3. What image or impression comes to mind when you think about NATO?

4. When you think of NATO, would you say NATO is modern or outdated in its objectives?

Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means very outdated, “3” means neither outdated or modern, and “5” means very modern.

Very outdated		Neither outdated or modern		Very Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

5. Do you feel that collectively all the NATO members:

<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly Overspend on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Overspend on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Spend the right amount of funding on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat underspend on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly underspend on defence.
--	---	--	--	---

Section 3

1. What are all the branches of the Canadian Armed Forces?

2. Name and/or describe one past, present or future operation/role that was undertaken by the Canadian Armed Forces internationally?
3. Name and/or describe one past, present or future operation/role that was undertaken by the Canadian Armed Forces domestically?

4. Can you name 5 NATO member states?

5. What is one of NATO's core tasks/objectives as an organization?

Section 4

1. What do you think is the most pressing policy area facing Canadians and Canada today?

3.1. What do you think is the biggest threat to the security of Canadians and Canada at this time?

3.2. Do you think that the Canadian Armed Forces are equipped to deal with this threat? Please explain why or why not. 1-2 sentences is enough.

2. There are a number of possible areas where the Government of Canada could focus the efforts of the Canadian Armed Forces. Which of the following areas do you think should be the TOP priority of the Canadian Armed Forces? (Please check one only).

- Domestically (In Canada) The North American Continent Internationally

4. There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in each of the following? Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means strongly disagree, 2 means somewhat disagree, “3” means neutral, 4 means somewhat agree, and “5” means strongly agree. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
--	-------------------	-------------------	---------	----------------	----------------

	1	2	3	4	5
Ground combat roles in support of United Nations and NATO Missions					
Air or naval combat roles in support of United Nations and NATO Missions					
Non-Combat support roles in support of United Nations and NATO missions. This could include things like medical assistance, communications and logistical support, or transportation.					
Peace support operations.					
Disaster relief or humanitarian aid in response to a request for help from another country					
Training the militaries or police forces of other countries.					
Missions that target drug, weapons, or other illegal trafficking activities in international waters.					

5. To the best of your knowledge, which of the following types of international do you the Canadian Armed Forces are *CURRENTLY* involved in?

	Definitely is	Probably is	Probably is not	Definitely is not	Don't Know
Combat Missions					

Non-combat support missions, such as providing medical assistance, communications and logistical support, or transportation					
Peace support operations					
Disaster relief or humanitarian aid					
Training missions					
Anti-Trafficking missions in international waters.					

6. Please rate the extent of which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements using the five-point scale below, where “1” means strongly disagree, 2 means somewhat disagree, “3” means neutral, 4 means somewhat agree, and “5” means strongly agree. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that Canada’s membership in NATO is important for Canadian security.					
I believe that Canada’s membership in the United Nations is important for Canadian security.					
I think its critical that Canada and the United States cooperate actively for the defence of North America.					

I think the world is safer today than it is a decade ago.					
As a member of NATO, Canada should use military force to protect other NATO countries from security threats when necessary.					

7. There are a number of roles that the Canadian Armed Forces plays here in Canada. Please tell me how important each of the following roles should be, in your opinion. use the five point scale below, where “1” means not important at all, and “5” means very important. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Not Important at All				Very Important
	1	2	3	4	5
Responding to natural disasters, including catastrophic weather events such as floods or ice storms.					
Search and rescue.					
Helping prevent illegal drug smuggling.					
Helping prevent illegal immigration, including human smuggling.					
Providing protection against terrorist threats.					
Providing protection from cyber security threats emanating from state and non-state actors.					

Assisting civilian police and other partners when needed.					
Patrolling the Arctic.					

8. There are a number of roles that NATO plays. Please tell me how important each of the following roles should be, in your opinion. Use the five point scale below, where “1” means not important at all, and “5” means very important. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Not Important at All				Very Important
	1	2	3	4	5
Collective defence – NATO members assist each other when one or more NATO members is under attack or threat.					
Crisis management – Use of political and military capabilities to prevent crises, manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and support reconstruction efforts.					
Cooperative Security - Facilitate partnerships with relevant countries and other international organisations, contribute to arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, and/or NATO enlargement.					

9. How do you feel that the enlargement of the NATO alliance in Europe affects the security of the region?

- Strongly Positive Somewhat Positive Neutral Somewhat Negative Strongly Negative

Section 5

Note: this section will only be used for evaluative purposes and will not be used to identify the respondent.

1. Which of the following best describes your citizenship status? Please

- Born in Canada and is Canadian citizen Immigrated to Canada and became a Canadian citizen Landed Immigrant or Permanent Resident of Canada International student Other (please write in): _____

2. To which gender identity do you most identify?

- Man Woman Other (please write in): _____

3. Which of the following age groups you fall into?

- Under 18
 18-24
 25-34
 35-44
 45-64
 65-70
 71 and over

Appendix D.

NATO Field School End of Term Survey

Student Perspectives on Defence and Security Organizations in Canada (2 of 2)

Thank you for participating in this study. We greatly appreciate your help!

4. Please complete the questionnaire, then hand it to researcher (Alexandra Richards). **If you do not know the answer or have no opinion on a particular question, please leave it blank, rather than looking it up or asking a neighbour.** This is not a test – we are trying to assess general level of knowledge and perspectives on defence and security issues etc. in the student body.

Index Number:

Section 1

1. Have you recently seen, read or heard anything about the Canadian Armed Forces?

Yes

No

If YES, what have you seen, read or heard?

2. Overall, how familiar would you say you are with the Canadian Armed Forces?

Before the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all familiar
After the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all familiar

3. What is your overall impression of the people who serve in the Canadian Armed Forces?

Before the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative
After the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative

b. If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

4. What image or impression comes to mind when you think about the Canadian Armed Forces?

5.1.If a young person you know, such as a family member or friend, told you that he or she was joining the Canadian Armed Forces, how would you view that decision?
Would your reaction be:

Before the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Favourable	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Favourable	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unfavourable	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Unfavourable
After the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Favourable	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Favourable	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unfavourable	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Unfavourable

5.2.If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

6.1.To what extent do you think the Canadian Armed Forces is a source of pride for Canadians? Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means not at all a source of pride, “3” is neutral, and “5” means very much a source of pride.

Before the NATO Field School				
Not at all a source of pride		Neutral		Very much a source of pride
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
After the NATO Field School				

Not at all a source of pride		Neutral		Very much a source of pride
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

6.2.If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

7.1.When you think of Canada’s military, would you say it is modern or outdated?

Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means very outdated, “3” means neither outdated or modern, and “5” means very modern.

Before the NATO Field School				
Very outdated		Neither outdated or modern		Very Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
After the NATO Field School				
Very outdated		Neither outdated or modern		Very Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

7.2.If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

8.1.Do you feel that Canada’s military is:

Before the NATO Field School				
<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly Overfunded	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Overfunded	<input type="checkbox"/> Receives the right amount of funding	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Underfunded	<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly Underfunded
After the NATO Field School				
<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly Overfunded	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Overfunded	<input type="checkbox"/> Receives the right amount of funding	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Underfunded	<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly Underfunded

8.2.If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

Section 2

1. Have you recently seen, read or heard anything about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?

Yes

No

If Yes, what have you seen, read or heard?

2. Overall, how familiar would you say you are with NATO?

Before the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all familiar
After the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not Very Familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all familiar

3.1. What is your overall impression of NATO?

Before the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative
After the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative

b. If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

4. What image or impression comes to mind when you think about NATO?

5.1. When you think of NATO, would you say NATO is modern or outdated in its objectives?

Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means very outdated, “3” means neither outdated or modern, and “5” means very modern.

Before the NATO Field School				
Very outdated		Neither outdated or modern		Very Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
After the NATO Field School				
Very outdated		Neither outdated or modern		Very Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

5.2.If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

6. Do you feel that collectively all the NATO members:

<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly Overspend on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Overspend on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Spend the right amount of funding on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat underspend on defence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Significantly underspend on defence.
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Section 3

6. What are all the branches of the Canadian Armed Forces?

7. Name and/or describe one past, present or future operation/role that was undertaken by the Canadian Armed Forces internationally?

8. Name and/or describe one past, present or future operation/role that was undertaken by the Canadian Armed Forces domestically?

9. Can you name 5 NATO member states?
10. What is one of NATO's core tasks/objectives as an organization?

Section 4

3. What do you think is the most pressing policy area facing Canadians and Canada today?

2.1. There are a number of possible areas where the Government of Canada could focus the efforts of the Canadian Armed Forces. Which of the following areas do you think should be the TOP priority of the Canadian Armed Forces? (Please check one only).

Before the NATO Field School

<input type="checkbox"/> Domestically (In Canada)	<input type="checkbox"/> The North American Continent	<input type="checkbox"/> Internationally
After the NATO Field School		
<input type="checkbox"/> Domestically (In Canada)	<input type="checkbox"/> The North American Continent	<input type="checkbox"/> Internationally

. What do you think is the biggest threat to the security of Canadians and Canada at this time?

3.2. If this has changed since the start of the Field School, is there a particular experience in the field school that has caused this change? If so, please describe.

3.3. Do you think that the Canadian Armed Forces are equipped to deal with this threat? Please explain why or why not. 1-2 sentences is enough.

2.2.If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

9. There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in each of the following? Please use the five-point scale below, where “1” means strongly disagree, 2 means somewhat disagree, “3” means neutral, 4 means somewhat agree, and “5” means strongly agree. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
Ground combat roles in support of United Nations and NATO Missions					
Air or naval combat roles in support of United Nations and NATO Missions					
Non-Combat support roles in support of United Nations and NATO missions. This could include things like medical assistance, communications and logistical support, or transportation.					
Peace support operations.					
Disaster relief or humanitarian aid in response to a request for help from another country					
Training the militaries or police forces of other countries.					
Missions that target drug, weapons, or other illegal trafficking activities in international waters.					

10. To the best of your knowledge, which of the following types of international do you the Canadian Armed Forces are *CURRENTLY* involved in?

	Definitely is	Probably is	Probably is not	Definitely is not	Don't Know

Combat Missions					
Non-combat support missions, such as providing medical assistance, communications and logistical support, or transportation					
Peace support operations					
Disaster relief or humanitarian aid					
Training missions					
Anti-Trafficking missions in international waters.					

11. Please rate the extent of which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements using the five-point scale below, where “1” means strongly disagree, 2 means somewhat disagree, “3” means neutral, 4 means somewhat agree, and “5” means strongly agree. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that Canada’s membership in NATO is important for Canadian security.					
I believe that Canada’s membership in the United Nations is important for Canadian security.					
I think its critical that Canada and the United States cooperate actively for the defence of North America.					
I think the world is safer today than it is a decade ago.					

As a member of NATO, Canada should use military force to protect other NATO countries from security threats when necessary.					
I believe that NATO-UN cooperation is important for global security.					

12. There are a number of roles that the Canadian Armed Forces plays here in Canada. Please tell me how important each of the following roles should be, in your opinion. use the five point scale below, where “1” means not important at all, and “5” means very important. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Not Important at All				Very Important
	1	2	3	4	5
Responding to natural disasters, including catastrophic weather events such as floods or ice storms.					
Search and rescue.					
Helping prevent illegal drug smuggling.					
Helping prevent illegal immigration, including human smuggling.					
Providing protection against terrorist threats.					
Providing protection from cyber security threats emanating from state and non-state actors.					
Assisting civilian police and other partners when needed.					
Patrolling the Arctic.					

13. There are a number of roles that NATO plays. Please tell me how important each of the following roles should be, in your opinion. Use the five point scale below,

where “1” means not important at all, and “5” means very important. Put a check in the box that applies.

	Not Important at All				Very Important
	1	2	3	4	5
Collective defence – NATO members assist each other when one or more NATO members is under attack or threat.					
Crisis management – Use of political and military capabilities to prevent crises, manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and support reconstruction efforts.					
Cooperative Security - Facilitate partnerships with relevant countries and other international organisations, contribute to arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, and/or NATO enlargement.					

9.1. How do you feel that the enlargement of the NATO alliance in Europe affects the security of the region?

Before the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative
After the NATO Field School	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative

9.2. If a change occurred, is there a particular experience (field trip, brief, lecture etc.) you would attribute that to? Please describe below.

Section 6

1. What is your overall impression of the United Nations?

<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Negative
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2. What is your overall impression or image of United Nations-NATO cooperation?

3.1. How do you view the defence Policy Review plan to increase female presence in the CAF from 15% to 25% over 10 years with an increase of 1% annually?

3.2. Do you think they have the resources and will necessary to achieve it? Why or why not?

4. What do you think about the defence budget increase to 32.7 billion from 18.9 billion over the next ten years?

5. How important is it that Canada invest in maintaining/enhancing interoperability with NATO allies and partners?

Not at all important		Neutral		Very Important
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

6. How confident are you that the federal government will implement the Defence Policy Review?

Not at all confident				Very confident
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Section 7

1. How did you feel about the accommodations during NATO Field School? Did you prefer the hotel or hostel?

2. What did the NATO Field School do well? What could be improved upon? Please provide recommendations for the future of the program.

Appendix E.

NATO Field School Start of Term Focus Group Plan

Thank you all for coming tonight/today. I realize that it was quite a long day.

I just want to set some rules for the focus group so essentially, this will run very similar to a classroom setup where everyone will wait their turn to speak and I will moderate the discussion. However, it is important to note that you are not being marked so feel free to speak your own opinions on the subject.

In addition, I will be recording these interviews to ensure what you say is transcribed accurately. However, the transcripts will have names and other identifiers removed to protect your identity.

We will first conduct a brief icebreaker, just so everyone in the room can get acquainted.

3 minutes or less

Are you/ How are you familiar with the Canadian Armed Forces (Friends serve, in the news etc.)

Are you/ how are you familiar with NATO?

10 minutes

What do you think is the biggest security threat facing Canada today?

Do you think that Canada is doing enough to deal with that threat? Is there more they can do?

On the topic of threats, you identified, do you feel that Canada can effectively deal with these threats alone or do they need help? (Probe NATO, UN etc. depending on answers)

What role do you think Canada should play internationally? (Write Down)

5 minutes

What is your overall impression of NATO?

What role do you think they play in the current climate?

Is there something you think should be their priority of NATO? (Probe: do you think it is a priority for them)

30 minutes

I would like to run through 2 scenarios. Each should take about 10-15 minutes to complete. (this will take longer but I am saying this so that they think and discuss faster than if I said a longer amount of time. I am trying to avoid them overanalyzing.)

The first scenario is as followed. In a major Canadian city, there have been a series of terrorist attacks. The first occurring in sporting arena in the downtown core where 3 shooters attacks individuals attending an event inside the arena. One of the suspects were shot and the two other suspects escaped. The second occurred two

hours later where an attacker blew up bridge leaving many trapped beneath the rubble. The third attack happened in a restaurant where a lone suspect opened fire in a crowded restaurant. There have been at least 30 casualties from these attacks and several more people have been injured. The motives behind these attacks remain unknown and no one has claimed responsibility. You are responsible for managing this crisis and have been granted full control over all agencies and their available resources.

The questions I want you to answer is what needs to be done based on the information provided and who needs to do it. I will give 5 minutes to discuss with a small group (3-4) and then will discuss a bit more as a group. Please write down your answers on the sheet of paper in front of you.

See what they say, probe about efficiency and whether the CAF would play a role in group discussion.

The second scenario is more international in focus. Refugees are flooding into Europe from Eritrea, a small African Nation bordering the Red Sea. This is due to the extreme oppression of the Eritrean government on the basic human rights of its citizen such as the freedom of mobility and freedom of speech. As well, military tension has increased between Eritrea and Ethiopia as gunfire was exchanged between government forces on their shared border over a territorial dispute. Italy is overwhelmed by the influx of refugees and does not have the appropriate resources to deal with it. Assuming that you have full access to all possible resources or agencies, what should be done and who should do it?

Hear their responses, probe about feasibility and how effective these different strategies can be.

(If time), Do you feel that the government and Canadian society is interested in the issues and organizations we discussed today?

Appendix F.

NATO Field School End of Term Focus Group Plan

Review the rules from the first focus group, stress the necessity for focus group anonymity (do not discuss questions and things discussed with other people not in the focus group)

15 minutes

What is your overall impression of the CAF? Does this differ between the branches. (Probe for why they think this way and what informs their perceptions)

How was your experience interacting with them? Did they change your perceptions? In what ways? (Probe: positive or negative, specifics)

Do you feel that the CAF is a welcoming place for diversity?

15 minutes

What is your overall impression of NATO? (probe for what they think of NATO)

What role do you think they play in the current climate?

How was your experience interacting with NATO? Did they change your perceptions? In what ways?

5 minutes:

How well do you feel the CAF is doing on strategic communications?

How well do you think NATO is doing on strategic communications?

10 minutes

What do you think is the biggest security threat facing Canada today?

Do you think that Canada is doing enough to deal with that threat? Is there more they can do?

On the topic of threats, you identified, do you feel that Canada can effectively deal with these threats alone or do they need help? (Probe NATO, UN etc. depending on answers)

What role do you think Canada should play internationally?

Have these significantly changed since the start of the program? Is there a particular experience that you can attribute that change to?

15 minutes

What do you think could be done to improve the NATO Field School?

Are there things you enjoyed or did not enjoy?

Appendix G.

SFU ARTS Sample Data Collection

The SFU Arts Sample data collection took place from November 2017 to January 2018. It consisted of getting participants to fill out one online anonymous survey that took roughly 15-20 minutes to complete.

To recruit participants for this research project, I solicited classes in the political science department at SFU to take part in the study. Recruitment in these classes was done by giving 5-10 minute presentations detailing the aims of the research project (research questions and importance to the wider society), the time required to participate and the consent process.¹¹³ This presentation also made clear that participation in the research project was completely voluntary and anonymous so that failure to participate would not affect their grades or relationship with their professor. These presentations also allowed students to ask questions about the research in general and any concerns they may have had about participation in research.

Table 1. A list of the classes I presented and their size.

Recruitment Classes	Size of Class	Date of Presentation
Political Science 141: War, International Cooperation and Development	70 (approx..)	November 27, 2017
Political Science 449: Selected Topics in International Relations II (Modern Warfare)	17	January 8, 2018
Political Science 373: Human Security	16	January 13, 2018
Political Science 121: The Administration of Justice	168	January 15, 2018
Political Science 443: Nuclear Strategy, Arms Control, and International Security	6	January 18, 2018
Political Science 349: Selected Topics in International Relations (Intelligence and International Security)	25	January 30, 2018

Table 2: Demographic Breakdown of Samples

Age	
1982-1991	1992-2001
4	35

¹¹³ See Appendix H for the recruitment script.

Appendix H.

SFU ARTS Sample Data Collection

Alexandra Richards

November 15, 2017

General Greetings and Introduction

- Hello, my name is Alexandra Richards. I am a Masters student in the political science department at SFU. I am currently conducting research for my MA research project and am currently trying to recruit participants.

I will provide you some details about my Research:

- My research focuses on Millennials (Individuals aged 16-35) and the possible impact they may have on defence and security policy in the future.
- The reason why this is important is that Millennials are often ignored in the policy making process despite being the largest generation in Canada today. O
- This research fills a gap in the current literature in defence and security and may provide insight into the future of defence policy in Canada.

Participation in Research

- What I am asking you to do is to take an online survey that asks you questions about your opinions of defence issues in Canada. This survey consists of multiple choice and write-in questions that tests your awareness of and ask your opinion on defence and security issues in Canada. It should take roughly 20 minutes to complete and is completely anonymous.

The risks to participation in research are:

- Low risks of identification
- You may feel uncomfortable answering some of the questions but will be given the opportunity to skip most of the questions

There are also benefits to participation in research such as:

- You get to take part in research giving you insight into what research can look like in political science
- Provides you an opportunity to reflect on these issues
- The content is somewhat related to class material

Participation in this research is completely voluntary:

- You will be asked to consent at the start of the survey . However, once you consent you cannot withdraw your responses after consent as there is no way to extract responses from dataset as it is an anonymous survey so please be aware of that when consenting to participate.
- It is also important for you to know that Failure to participate or participation in research will not impact your relationship with the professor or any other authority figures (if applicable) in the course.

Ask if any questions. Thank them for their time, • Tell them the link to the survey will be distributed by their professor and provide them with email to contact in case of questions.

Appendix I.

SFU ARTS Sample Data Collection

The SFU Arts Survey was an online survey. To give the most accurate depiction about what the survey looked like, I have provided screenshots of what the survey looks like on the webpage.

Millennials' perspective on defence and security issues in Canada

- This preview shows all your questions on one page, the actual survey delivery will display one question per page for clarity
- Answer the required questions and click "Submit" to see what the "submitted" questions look like
- Click Edit to change an answer
- Click Close when you are finished previewing

Millennials' Perception of Defence and Security Issues in Canada

Thank you for your interest in this research. Before you participate in research, we will review the purpose of research and what participation in research means to you including the risks so please read the 3 pages carefully. If you have any questions about participation in research, please contact the primary investigator, Alexandra Richards (ajrichar@sfu.ca) or her Graduate Supervisor, Dr. Alexander Moens (moens@sfu.ca). Thank you.

Purpose of Research and Details about Participation

This survey is designed to look at how Millennial students view defence and security issues in Canada. The reason why this is important is that Millennials are increasingly influential in policy making in this area. This survey will ask you a series of questions (both written and multiple choice) that will check your awareness and opinion on defence and security issues and will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. This survey is completely anonymous meaning that that we will not be collecting or extracting any personal information about you if you choose to complete the survey beyond your age demographic.

Risks and Discomforts

We do not foresee any physical harm or discomfort from your participation in this research. You may experience embarrassment or minor psychological distress from not knowing the answers to some of the questions on the questionnaire. These risks are similar to those that can be felt in any test or quiz situation.

Privacy and Risk of Identification

Due to the survey being anonymous, there is a very low risk of identification from this survey. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your surveys will be stored in password protected computer files (soft copies and data analysis) and only research staff will have access to this information. At the end of the study, the data will be archived in case of ongoing queries about any published article may result. It will continue to be held in locked facilities or in password protected files. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Q1 . Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any point during the survey. If you are uncomfortable or do not wish to answer a question, you will be given the option to skip that question with the exclusion of the age demographic question. If at any point, you feel you do not wish to complete the survey you can close the survey tab in your browser to exit the survey. It is an anonymous survey meaning that we will not be collecting or extracting any personal information about you if you choose to complete the survey beyond your age demographic. Due to this, there is a very low risk of being identified from your participation in this survey. However, this means that after you consent to take part in this survey, you will not be able to withdraw your responses from the research project as it is impossible to do so. By filling out this survey/questionnaire, you are consenting to participate in this research project and fully understand the risks associated with that.

- Yes
- No

Q2 . Between, what years were you born?

- 1960 or earlier
- 1961-1971
- 1972-1981
- 1982-1991
- 1992-2001

Q3 . Have you recently seen, read or heard anything about the Canadian Armed Forces?

- Yes
- No

Q4 . If YES, what have you seen, read or heard?

Q5 . Overall, how familiar would you say you are with the Canadian Armed Forces?

- Very Familiar
- Somewhat Familiar
- Not Very Familiar
- Not at all familiar

Q6 . What is your overall impression of the people who serve in the Canadian Armed Forces?

- Strongly Positive
- Somewhat Positive
- Neutral
- Somewhat Negative
- Strongly Negative

Q7 . What image or impression comes to mind when you think about the Canadian Armed Forces?



Q8 . If a young person you know, such as a family member or friend, told you that he or she was joining the Canadian Armed Forces, how would you view that decision?

- Very Favourable
- Somewhat Favourable
- Neutral
- Somewhat Unfavourable
- Very Unfavourable

Q9 . To what extent do you think the Canadian Armed Forces is a source of pride for Canadians? Please use the five-point scale below, where "1" means not at all a source of pride, "3" is neutral, and "5" means very much a source of pride.

- 1: Not at all a Source of Pride
- 2
- 3: Neutral
- 4
- 5: Very much a source of pride

Q10 . When you think of Canada's military, would you say it is modern or outdated? Please use the five-point scale below, where "1" means very outdated, "3" means neither outdated or modern, and "5" means very modern.

- 1: Very Outdated
- 2
- 3: Neither Outdated or Modern
- 4
- 5: Very Modern

Q11 . Do you feel that Canada's military is:

- Significantly Underfunded
- Somewhat Underfunded
- Receives the Right Amount of Funding
- Somewhat Overfunded
- Significantly Overfunded

Q12 . Have you recently seen, read or heard anything about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?

- Yes
- No

Q13 . If YES, what have you seen, read or heard?

Q14 . Overall, how familiar would you say you are with NATO?

- Very Familiar
- Somewhat Familiar
- Not Very Familiar
- Not at All Familiar

Q15 . What is your overall impression of NATO?

- Strongly Positive
- Somewhat Positive
- Neutral
- Somewhat Negative
- Strongly Negative

Q16 . When you think of NATO, would you say NATO is modern or outdated in its objectives? Please use the five-point scale below, where "1" means very outdated, "3" means neither outdated or modern, and "5" means very modern.

- 1: Very Outdated
- 2
- 3: Neither outdated or modern
- 4
- 5: Very Modern

Q17 . What image or impression comes to mind when you think about NATO?

Q18 . What are all the branches of the Canadian Armed Forces?

Q19 . Name and/or describe one past, present or future operation/role that was undertaken by the Canadian Armed Forces internationally?

Answer :

Q20 . Name and/or describe one past, present or future operation/role that was undertaken by the Canadian Armed Forces domestically?

Answer :

Q21 . Can you name 5 NATO member states?

Q22 . What do you think is the most pressing policy area facing Canadians and Canada today?

Q23 . There are a number of possible areas where the Government of Canada could focus the efforts of the Canadian Armed Forces. Which of the following areas do you think should be the TOP priority of the Canadian Armed Forces?

- Internationally
- The North American Continent
- Domestically

Q24 . What do you think is the biggest threat to the security of Canadians and Canada at this time?

Q25 . Do you think that the Canadian Armed Forces are equipped to deal with this threat? Please explain why or why not. 1-2 sentences is enough.



Q26 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: Ground combat roles in support of United Nations and NATO Missions.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q27 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: Air or naval combat roles in support of United Nations and NATO Missions.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q28 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: Non-Combat support roles in support of United Nations and NATO missions. This could include things like medical assistance, communications and logistical support, or transportation.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q29 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: Peace support operations.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q30 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: Disaster relief or humanitarian aid in response to a request for help from another country.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q31 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: Training the militaries or police forces of other countries.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q32 . There are a number of roles the Canadian Armed Forces COULD play internationally. How strongly do you agree or disagree that the Canadian Armed Forces should participate in: . Missions that target drug, weapons, or other illegal trafficking activities in international waters.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q33 . Please rate the extent of which you agree or disagree with the following statement: I believe that Canada's membership in NATO is important for Canadian security.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q34 . Please rate the extent of which you agree or disagree with the following statement: I think the world is safer today than it was a decade ago.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q35 . Please rate the extent of which you agree or disagree with the following statement: As a member of NATO, Canada should use military force to protect other NATO countries from security threats when necessary.

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Somewhat Agree
- 3: Neutral
- 2: Somewhat Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

Q36 . How do you view the defence Policy Review plan to increase female presence in the CAF from 15% to 25% over 10 years with an increase of 1% annually? Do you think they have the resources and will necessary to achieve it? Why or why not? (Write-In)

Submit

Close