EXPLORING THE LINKAGES BETWEEN CANADIAN SOLDIERS' PEACE SUPPORT DEPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES AND PEACEBUILDING THROUGH HUMAN SCIENCE RESEARCH

Patlee Creary, University of Manitoba.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the link between twelve Canadian soldiers' deployment experiences and their hopes and fears for future peace support missions. The research contributes to the literature on peacebuilding, but it is different in that the objective is to understand how soldiers arrive at their deployment disposition when they act as third party interveners in post-conflict settings. I examine the soldiers' lifeworld and then I apply that analysis to the requirements for building sustainable peace. The research innovatively combines the hermeneutic phenomenological approach with conflict transformation ideas in order to draw attention to the hidden ways that soldiers can help to build peace; thus, the study shines a light on the way that third party interveners who have a mainly conflict management and settlement function can do other things that will either support or destabilize future peace support operations. The future vision aspect of the study ignites conversation about the ways that we can vitalize the small, but positive, peacebuilding effects of military presence in a conflict space. As we think about where Canada has been and where Canada should go with peacekeeping and other types of peace support deployments, this research can help practitioners, planners, and researchers to organize thinking, training, and practice for the future.

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INTRODUCTION

From as early as 1960, Morris Janowitz theorized that soldiers would reject any expectation that they fulfil constabulary peacekeeping functions.[1] Studies such as those by Volker Franke reinforce Janowitz's observations that soldiers derive their identity and way of work from their group culture.[2] Franke uses social identity theory to formulate four ways that soldiers can order their personal and group identities: they may engage in peacekeeper identity denial, hyperinvest in a warrior identity, differentiate based on ideas of military professionalism, or they may achieve identity transcendence.[3] The different identities signal that soldiers do not automatically assume a modality that fits the requirements for post-conflict peacebuilding. They may act on behalf of third parties, carrying out peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and stabilization and reconstruction operations as different types of peace support deployments; but when judged from a transformative peacebuilding perspective that prioritizes building capacities and local relationships, military forces are found wanting.

Yet, a significant part of post-conflict peacebuilding is the communicative arrangement that conflict parties engage in as they make sense of their interests and address the conflict causing problems.[4] Genuine peacebuilders employ empathy and transformative attitudes to build sustainable peace at various levels of conflict through transformative strategies that help to informally and unofficially prevent, solve, or contain conflicts at all levels of interactions.[5] Can a deployed soldier do this? I hypothesize that peacebuilding roles are not out of reach for soldiers in deployment; the roles can be apprehended through understanding the soldier's lifeworld where

his lived experiences determine the meaning of phenomenon. By combining the hermeneutic phenomenological approach with conflict transformation ideas like the citizen peacebuilder and informal peacebuilding roles, this study draws attention to the hidden ways that soldiers can help to build peace. Phenomenological interview data is used to generate future peace support goals that could ignite further research and conversations about the ways that we can vitalize the small, but positive, peacebuilding affect of the deployed soldier.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Intervention case studies and operation evaluations are examples of macro-level approaches to examining military peacebuilding contributions. These studies proceed from an operational perspective, drawing on the structural and organizational aspects of the violence abatement and post-conflict stabilization role that soldiers play.[6] Macro-level approaches are useful for designing operational theories and typologies and they draw needed attention to the distinctions between the conflict settlement and transformative peacebuilding goals that military and civilian interveners strive for, but they do not illustrate the experience of soldiers in peace support deployment. There is, however, an abundance of personal stories and memoires from soldiers describing their lives in the military and their experiences in international missions.[7] While these accounts depict deployment realities, the authors do not connect the deployment experiences with peace or conflict theories or concepts. Memoires and personal stories by themselves lack the analytical fervour of narrative research procedures even though they have the potential to orient practitioners and researchers to the conflict resolution needs and the peacebuilding values held by the storytellers.

Unlike macro-level studies and personal memoires, phenomenology provides an opportunity to take stock of the soldier's narrative of experience and draw meanings from the

experience that could inform future thought and practice. This "human science" approach eschews theory building as it promotes interpretive understanding of the ways that beings encounter phenomena.[8] Phenomenology is both a research method and a philosophy of human science inquiry that describes the meaning of a thing as several people experience it. Lisa Cosgrove and Maureen McHugh describe phenomenological research as "*both* a commitment to the articulation of individuals' lived experiences *and* a commitment to analyzing the socio-political context in which experience is always embedded."[9] Phenomenology is used frequently to investigate the lived reality of soldiers as well as their families' experiences with things like military deployment, separation, and post traumatic stress.[10] Recent researchers have turned to phenomenological studies of the soldier's deployment experience in order to draw connections between peace, conflict, and work behaviours. For example, Marie Shaw and Mark Hector studied ten American males returning from military deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan and found that the soldiers held self-views of themselves as good guys and peacemakers during their deployment.[11] Peter Jensen and Duncan Simpson studied nine male soldiers' experiences of killing during hand-to-hand combat, finding that the soldiers viewed killing as necessary to preserve their own life, even though killing by hand-to-hand combat is more physically taxing.[12] Stephanie Westlund investigated eleven Canadian veteran's experiences with PTSD and found that nature was a significant component of their rehabilitation and recovery.[13] Additionally, John Tsukayama analyzed the experiences of fourteen American military and intelligence veterans who observed, objected to, or perpetrated abusive violence in deployment theatres and found that the veterans' encounters with abusive violence were tied to their experiences of fear, frustration, anger, and mission pressure.[14]

Phenomenology addresses the ontology of the human being by paying attention to the lifeworld and its reflection in Da-Sein, Martin Heidegger's description of the entity within.[15] The lifeworld is the realm of consciousness or subjectivity, which scholars use to show the multiple ways in which a person exerts his presence.[16] For example, Manfred Halpern contends that there are personal, political, historical, and sacred faces to our being, and he argues that the challenge of transformational politics is to engage all the facets of the being in order to build peace,[17] and Jurgen Habermas uses the lifeword to describe how participants in communication reach an agreement or understanding.[18] The goal of hermeneutic phenomenology is to describe experiences by bracketing the lived space (spatiality), lived body (corporeality), lived time (temporality), lived other (relationality), and lived thing (materiality) aspects of the lifeworld.[19] Spatiality defines the qualities of the space and how space shapes the phenomena and impacts the lived body.[20] Corporeality is bodily feelings and emotions that come from encounters with the lived other. Emotions like cheerfulness, anxiety, and empathy incarnate themselves into the body and are expressed physically as actions or inactions, emotions, and perceptions.[21] Actions have temporality because they contain internalizations of lived experiences that are directed towards the future. Max van Manen points out that it is in the past-present-future compression of lived time that things stick and memories are created; these memories thereafter influence our perceptions and leave traces on and in the lived body.[22] Relationality is the lived other experience that is intertwined with the lived space as beings interact with each other in bodily form. While corporeality speaks to how we present ourselves in the felt space, relationality attends to how we are with the Other within that space. Thus, van Manen contends that we approach each other in space-bodily arrangements that underscore the way that we physically and socially interact.[23] Materiality depicts how any thing (an event, a mindset, a tool, a deed, or

an experience) becomes or is expressed as extensions of the lived body or is used to signify attachment to a lived space. These five lifeworld referentials intertwine, making it impossible to render Da-Sein's orientation to a task or space as an "intelligible freestanding time slice."[24]

A phenomenological outlook allows for small-scale investigation of the soldier as a being and the being as a peacebuilder. The military is seen as a power archetype that practices a certain kind of peace.[25] The soldier, as a military member, has locus within an affected population and oftentimes, as macro-level studies show, military-other contact can challenge the structural, cultural, and gendered components of building sustainable peace.[26] Military inversion for peacebuilding is problematic because it creates a paradox of process and outcome that can destabilize liberal constructions of peace and peacebuilding. Yet, as John Paul Lederach points out, peacebuilding can occur descriptively and prescriptively across four independent dimensions: personal, relational, structural, and cultural.[27] The personal dimension refers to change effected in and desired for the individual. The relational dimension depicts the changes effected in and desired for the relationship. The structural dimension highlights the underlying causes and the patterns and changes in social conditions engendered by the conflict. The cultural dimension refers to the changes in the cultural patterns of a group and the way that those changes influence the development and handling of the conflict.[28]

According to Johan Galtung, the military's security prescriptions, which are themselves conflict stimulating and precipitating rather than conflict avoiding and transcending, perpetuate a security and peacelessness dilemma.[29] Nevertheless, he argues that the goal is not to abolish the military; the goal of peacebuilding is to give the military new tasks that would enhance positive peace outcomes.[30] Galtung further conceives that everyone is a carrier of peace strategies, but problems arise within the state system where polarizations and the security approach diminish

peace culture.[31] Acting to achieve peace requires a peacebuilder: someone who overcomes the

mental and behavioural dualisms that feed polarizations, who makes contact with the appointed

enemy, displays cognitive and emotional disobedience with the structure of polarization, and

reverses self-other dichotomies.[32] In doing this, the peacebuilder creates self-sustaining cycles of

peace that counteract the war culture, war behaviour, and war structure. Elise Boulding makes a

similar argument in her calls for creating a global civic culture that counteracts the warrior

culture.[33] She conceives that peace research is a constant search for common security which,

along with a stable peace, is a learning process. Transformational peacebuilding requires a peace

culture wherein new learning processes can take hold.[34] The peacebuilder should reflect

transformational characteristics as part of his peace psychology. Specifically, he should build

trust through dialogue, maintain cross-cultural contact, have agency and empowerment, and

engage in new ways of thinking while practicing mutual respect and interdependence.[35] This is in

keeping with Vicenc Armengol's ten bases for a culture of peace, which includes satisfying basic

human needs, breaking free from old myths and symbols, demilitarizing political behaviour,

feminizing culture, respecting cultural identities, and vitalizing what is small.[36]

Following Boulding's concepts, Lederach observes that the long view of conflict requires

architecture that recognizes and integrates specific roles and functions as well as corresponding

activities that lead to constructive conflict transformation over time.[37] Louise Diamond and John

McDonald make similar observations about peacebuilding, noting that dealing successfully with

conflict requires more than government personnel and procedures.[38] Peacebuilding goes beyond

the typical state-as-actor framework of Track 1 approaches; it requires multiple tracks, one of

which is Track 4: the private citizen or peacemaking through personal involvement.[39] Track 4

diplomacy describes the various ways in which individuals become involved in peace and

development activities as citizen diplomats and special interests groups, among other things. Track 4 peacebuilders work within the assumption that power lies with decision makers *and* with the people at the grassroots level, they value personal relationships with others, and they understand that peace and development are partners.[40] Citizen peacebuilders exist as a global and transnational participatory community that is based on interpersonal connections among people who are psychologically, socially, and politically empowered to overcome the economic-political-military bureaucracies that dominate relations within a conflict space.[41] William Ury's third side role taxonomy is one way of organizing the effect of citizen peacebuilders. Ury contends that every conflict features a third side, ordinary people who can prevent, manage, or contain destructive conflicts by enacting any of ten types of informal peacebuilding roles.[42]

METHOD

The objective of this study is to learn the participants' lived experience of peace support deployment and to see how their experiences influence their visions for future operations. If anyone can be a carrier of peace strategies, as Galtung contends, phenomenological inquiry should uncover the ways that these soldiers experience peace and amplify the peacebuilding practices that are taken for granted or overlooked in other kinds of research. I employed the phenomenological reduction, a two-part process comprising the epoché-reduction, which brackets experience descriptions as narrative data, and the reduction-proper, in which the researcher analyzes the data to interpret the meaning of the experiences.[43] Twelve former Canadian soldiers were recruited for this study using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Each soldier deployed to one or more military operations in the former Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and Afghanistan between 1990 and 2014.[44] The participants have an

average of 29 years of service among them and each person spent at least six months in their deployment location.

Data gathering was divided into two phases of multiple interviews. Phase one interview questions focused on the soldiers' peace operations experience, their training and deployment preparation, and their identity formation and role transition experiences. Phase two interview questions focused on the soldiers' replication-worthy experiences and their hopes and fears for the future. The interviews were recorded and the results transcribed; those transcripts were then used to create pieces of narrative data called lived experience descriptions (LEDs) as well as anecdotes, a shorter, punchier description of a single event drawn from the LEDs.[45] To ensure trustworthiness of the data, each subsequent interview was used to member check the researcher's interpretations of the lived experiences identified and each meeting provided opportunities for the participants to provide more details about an experience. Information from each follow up interview was used to thicken the LEDs.

Each transcript was examined for significant statements that help to identify the essence of a participant's lived space, lived time, lived thing, lived other, and lived body experiences. Table 1 shows some selected examples of significant statements and the related formulated meanings derived during the data analysis. The formulated meanings were then used to create experience themes and the LEDs were clustered around these themes. Then the narratives were examined to identify the ways that they demonstrate encounters with conflict transformation and peace culture.[46] Table 2 shows some selected examples of theme clusters and the formulated meanings derived from this aspect of the data analysis. Learning themes that could inform future peace support operations were thereafter generated based on an interpretive framework organized around Lederach's and Galtung's transformative peacebuilding logic.

Table 1: Selected Significant Statements and Related Formulated Meanings

Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning
• "...We always had this little girl waiting for us..."	➤ The soldier's presence elicited feelings of safety and trust.
• "...They just wanted to be kids so we would play with them and hang out with them..."	➤ Informal interactions with non-combatants stem from a perception of what is normal; trust from children is important.
• "... We had to work with these guys, teach them how to talk to people here..."	➤ Self-other relationships "here" are different from relationships "over there".
• "I am a soldier that was sent on a peacekeeping mission. I am not a peacekeeper."	➤ The soldier is a constant; his employment is flexible, dictated by others.

Table 2: Selected Theme Clusters and Related Formulated Meanings

Theme Clusters	Formulated Meaning
• I am the weapon • "No peace to keep"/peace is dirty work	➤ Peace is something that has to be fought for; the soldier is useful equipment to accomplish any task – how he does it depends on the nature of his tools at hand.
• Other soldiers do not have the empathy • "It's because I am Canadian"	➤ Canadian-*ness* is valuable; the Canadian soldier is different from others.

FINDINGS

The participants' lived other and lived space experiences reflect peacebuilder actions, even

though their lived thing, lived body, and lived time experiences reinforce a "soldier first"

identity. When asked to describe a deployment experience that they felt was worthy of

replication in future operations, each participant drew upon some instance of self-other

interaction with local people in their natural setting. The stories of interaction demonstrate how

informal and mundane these positive lived other experiences can be. For example, this anecdote

from MB tells of his informal and personal encounter with third side peacebuilding in Bosnia:

> When we were there, we tried our best to stay in shape. Behind the camp there was a hill. My buddy and I would hike up the hill together every day at around 1700 hours. There was always this little girl waiting for us to come up to walk her home from school. She would wait for us to come up and then she would walk with us until she got to her home. We did not get to go out much to go traveling around Bosnia, outside of the routine work, but it was nice to get out of the confines of the camp and just see reality. Of course there are always these little markers around the place for mines and you are passing these bombed out houses here and there that used to belong to Muslims who had been driven out, but we always had this little girl waiting for us. She would not say anything to us. She would just start walking as soon as we got to her and then she would leave us when she got to her home. (MB)

MB's perception is that the military presence offered a sense of safety and trust for the little girl.

His story also illustrates the places where interveners interact with people in the conflict space. It

is during an unofficial walk through the area that he fulfills an informal peacebuilding function

as Peacekeeper for this little girl. Other participants describe similar third side influences when

they informally engage with others outside the base. For instance, KD has this to say about her

experience in Afghanistan:

> I loved being off the base when we were in Afghanistan. There were plenty of opportunities to interact with people on the base, but outside the base I got to meet people in their own reality. For example, ISAF headquarters had a woman's market inside the base gates where women could come and market their goods once a month. That was nice for those women, but outside of the base there were big markets where you would only find a couple of women. In these markets, there might have been 200 vendors and maybe only one or two of them would be women, not counting the several dozens of women that are there helping their husbands. One of the vendors I met was a single woman. She told me how hard it was to even get a decent stall because the men would want to take her stall if it was a good one or in a good location. She really had to put up with a lot. She had to be brave to run her stall. I would buy as much from her as I could, just to support her. (KD)

KD's narrative resonates with a number of other participants who describe many instances of

being empathic, culturally sensitive, and willing to engage with local people on an interpersonal

level in their authentic lived space, away from the contrived environment of the military base. In

this story, KD talks about her attempts to, informally and personally, act as an Equalizer for the women in the Afghan big market.

Given these experiences, what do the participants imagine military deployments and peacebuilding operations are likely to look like in thirty years' time?[47] Lederach's elicitive approach values the resources that are present in the setting as it relies on people's natural knowledge and their way of being and doing.[48] As we think about where Canada has been and where Canada should go with peacekeeping and other types of peace support operations, it is important to understand the lessons that these soldiers learned from their deployment experiences. Five learning themes were formulated from the analysis: (1) humanizing the soldier and the peacekept;[49] (2) harnessing multiple warrior skills to win the peace; (3) leading with Canadian standards; (4) forgetting the peacekeeping rhetoric; and (5) preparing for the long war.

Humanizing the soldier and the peacekept

A number of the participants described instances where kindness and compassion from the lived other in the deployment space reinforced their humanity; in those instances, the participants described that they felt that they were cared for and that their presence was appreciated. For example, RS shares this experience working "behind enemy lines" while doing UN peacekeeping work in the former Yugoslavia:

> We ended up working behind what was perceived as "enemy" lines because we were working with the Serb warlords to try to push our way through to open up humanitarian corridors at certain points along the cease-fire line. There was no infrastructure for our team, so we sort of had to make our way to various places to get to the warlords and we would have to find a place to stay wherever we could. One thing that struck me was that whenever we came into a village, the local people – people who had lost everything - were always willing to help. These people would kill their last chicken in their yards to give us a meal when they had nothing themselves. (RS)

RS's experience shows one of the ways that peace can present itself to the deployed soldier. Peace is a feeling of trust and safety that comes from the help that local people offer when the

soldier's basic survival needs are at stake. RS points out that for him the situation goes both

ways; his experience of being with the Serbian people and being dependent on them for survival

made him critical of the way that the Serbs were branded as the "bad guys" in the conflict. He

was also distressed by the way other soldiers in the multinational mission would violate the local

people's trust. The situation made him lose faith in other UN peacekeepers that he thought had

no "human rights base."

A number of participants shared stories like RS's as they described the ways that their

interactions with local people helped them to develop a sense of purpose, despite the hardships of

deployment. The participants' experiences also highlight the ways in which community

responsiveness helped to shape their actions and accountability to people in the deployment

setting. For instance, DF tells this story about a lived other encounter in Kosovo:

> The greatest experience was coming into a town across the Kosovo border. We pulled up
> our column, put tail to bumper and got out. We had been travelling for hours with hatches
> down to get there. It was hot. Hot. Absolutely miserable. We were soaked through with
> sweat, tired, grimy, dirty, and stinking of diesel. We heard this chanting. We did not
> know what the hell was going on. We did not know where it was coming from, because
> we were kind of around a blind curve in a heavily wooded area in this tiny town. So we
> got ready, we had weapons loaded; everyone had one round up the spout. And then we
> realized it was the villagers. The whole village came out. They are coming up the road
> and they are chanting, "NATO, NATO, NATO," and their faces are filled of hope. And
> there was this little girl and her older sisters, four of them, and they were handing out a
> few roses. I was wearing a different uniform than the other guys, so this little girl, she
> must have been three or four years old, comes up to me. The older ones were just kind of
> pushing her towards me, but you could see that she was kind of shy. So I got down on
> one knee so that I am at her height, took my helmet off, put my rifle behind me, and she
> came up and gave me a rose. And with the group you had these eighty year old men who
> were pushing these mangy, minging Russian cigarettes on you, but you had to take it and
> they are going to light it for you. It was like the celebration cigar. It was a great feeling. I
> will never forget that feeling ever. Then I also felt at the same time a little bit of sadness.
> I am thinking, "We're not going to be able to fulfill all your expectations". You just knew
> it. But at the time I thought, "Just enjoy the moment". That was tremendous. (DF)

DF's story provides insight into the lived body experience of feeling cared for and at the same

time feeling accountable to the local people. He explains that he enjoyed the feeling of welcome

and support, but he dreaded that the villagers' expectations might have been more than what the operation could deliver.

Harnessing multiple warrior skills to win the peace

The participants' experiences illustrate the need for the peace supporting soldier to have multiple skills, many of which may not normally be associated with military operations. Combat training, military discipline, expertise with military equipment, knowledge about the laws of war and rules of engagement are the more obvious skills associated with military work. Listening and communication skills are deemphasised, but they are the staples of interpersonal interactions. Participants accentuate the value of listening skills in their LEDs. For instance, FL shared this story from his Bosnia deployment:

> A chap came into our headquarters. Everyone presumed he was mentally ill. The guards, of course, would not let him into the base and so he was at the guardhouse by the entrance. He was not going away and he was getting agitated. People became concerned that there were going to be problems. I went out there with an interpreter and I talked to him..., well I listened to him through the interpreter. He was concerned that the NATO forces were spying on him; that we were following him and we were going to kill him or his family or something. I spent about 90 minutes or something like that with the guy, just listening to him and talking with him. Finally, he left and he was not agitated anymore. He seemed to have been reassured; it may have only been for that moment - I do not know, but that incident stands out in my mind as the time when the soldiers in the guard house and the interpreter realized that we were all there to help. Taking this time to spend with this guy and reassure him and listen to him helped to resolve the problem. I felt satisfied that I had done what I should have done. (FL)

FL's story shows how authentic listening takes effort and time but it pays dividends in conflict transformation, albeit on a small scale and at the lowest levels of military-other interaction.

The participants envision that in the future, all soldiers would possess combat and communication skills as a package of warrior skills that draw on the diversity of military members, including women and reserve soldiers. For example, RS had this to say about the reserve soldier:

> I think our military in Bosnia and Afghanistan did really well because we relied on a lot of the interpersonal experiences that people had outside of the military. Reservists, generally speaking, have that kind of skill set. These are the people that can do out-of-the box thinking that is not necessarily leading you to a military solution but they can solve the problem. They did not live their whole life on an army base or in a military community. They live in society and they have to interact with civilians on a daily basis. If you are stuck in the Royal Military College and you go to a series of postings where you are kind of living, breathing, and partaking of everything within a military bubble, you are less qualified for the kind of conflict that you are going to be facing in the future. If you can use the huge amount of civilian knowledge and interaction that our reservists have, living and breathing and partaking in the community and their social circles, their work circles, which are generally non-military, then we can bring those interpersonal and non-military skills into future conflict resolution. (RS)

For RS and most other participants, out of the box thinking and the ability to speak civilian are reserve skills that can be harnessed to reinforce Canadian military capabilities. In addition to reserve force qualities, KD sees healthy scepticism and tolerance as aspects of Canadian military diversity that can also be put to positive use. She had this to say:

> I think our tolerance for people who are less tolerant in general of religion, gender, everything else like that, is diminishing. I think that with better communication comes less tolerance for people who are, in my opinion, unfair. We need to keep people inquisitive and understanding that they should have some degree of scepticism of what they read. They should feel free to question their leaders. That is what you want in your militaries, for them to do the best things, the best way. We need people who can ask, "What do we need now" and "how far out can we think". (KD)

KD sees the appointment of Canada's first female combat arms general as indicative of the expectation that the future Canadian military is enriched by diverse perspectives. As more women climb the ranks of military structure and become more involved in peace support operations, more diverse voices and opinions will be counted.

Leading with Canadian standards

Participants hoped for a future force where troops would be organized under a credible military authority that would ensure that those involved in peace support operations achieve and practice a pre-determined standard of military professionalism. The military authority would also ensure that troop contributing nations (TCNs) making up the intervening force have sufficient

capabilities and resources to address the security needs in the deployment space, adhering to

standards set by Western, advanced militaries such as Canada's. MB explains why this standard

is important:

> There has to be a credible military authority that has full control over the troops under their command so that countries cannot say, "Oh, well, we're not buying into those rules. We'll look after disciplining our own people". There has to be uniformity. Uniformity of rules, uniformity of action, so it looks like it is a monolith and not a bunch of social clubs operating on their own rules and trying to get it together. When it is not uniform, they spend all their time coordinating with each other instead of looking after the mission at hand. That authority would also make sure that the resources afforded to the individual soldiers are the same too, so that you do not have a huge disparity between this country and that country. It does not encourage any kind of solidarity when you have one group over here making two bucks a day, and one group over here making $1400 a day. (MB)

The participants agreed that there should be no major operational or ethical disparities among

troops in multinational peace support operations. They imagined having a central military

authority, something along the lines of a security organization like NATO, which ensures a

common standard for training and resources in the interest of interoperability, as a method to

deal with the uneven distribution of resources and the disparate standards among TCNs.

Consequently, participants feel that military budgets and spending on the military support

infrastructure would have to change to facilitate the ideal future peace support operation. TCNs

would have to be on an equal footing in terms of the resources, equipment, and skills that they

possess. Drawing on the events that unfolded in Haiti in 2010 as a result of a cholera outbreak

attributed to Nepalese peacekeepers, JR had this to say about the need for TCN standards:

> A few years ago, we saw the Nepalese introduce a new strain of cholera in Haiti. That probably happened because they were not fully equipped to do what they had to do. This gets back to a simple little thing like your own sewage treatment capacity. But that is expensive; it is hard to bring that last little piece of support with your force. Again, that expectation that it would be provided should be there based on the standard that one would aspire to. If you do not have that standard to aspire to, it is pretty hard to get there. These poor Nepalese guys in Haiti are accused of bringing cholera, which came from them crapping in the river. If you are from a farming village in Nepal, which is probably very cramped with little or no infrastructure, why would you go for a sewage treatment

plant if you have no idea what that is? You probably cannot aspire to a standard if you do not have any idea that it exists. (JR)

JR's example illustrates the ways that military standards, resources, and equipment, beyond weapons, are critical to building peace in a conflict space. Failing an evening out of resources, developed states would have to commit to fill the resource gaps of other military partners.

Forgetting the peacekeeping rhetoric

Participants feel that any future operation mandate would need to reflect that peacekeeping is a misleading and ineffective description for military deployments, even those that include operations where troops are designated as UN forces and wear a blue beret or blue helmet. Contributors to this study describe peacekeeping as a political and romanticized term that disguises the complex and dangerous nature of their work on the ground. For example, TB's compares his experiences in different UN operations:

> For me, Cyprus was the classic peacekeeping deployment where you had Greeks here, the Turks over here and the UN in between. It was literally that simple. There, we had a peace to keep. The UN declared no man's land and we patrolled it. I had a sector that I was responsible for and there was not a lot of drama associated with that. The former Yugoslavia was far more complex. Here I am in this place that has devolved into four countries that were based exclusively on ethnic lines. I have to deal with various cultures, ethnic backgrounds, governments, and organizations that declared themselves as government. It took me several months to figure out who was who in the zoo. (TB)

TB's lived time experience shows the evolving needs of the post-cold war conflict era and its lack of fit with the practices of UN peacekeeping. Yet, even in so-called traditional peacekeeping missions participants found themselves in a compromised role. They point out that peacekeeping and the peacekeeper identity was a fraudulent mischaracterization of the work that they did in the conflict space. MB, a former UN peacekeeper and NATO operations veteran had this to say:

> When I hear peacekeeper, I feel like a bit of a fraud because I do not think we were doing that much. It occurred to me when I was deployed to Egypt that the Egyptians did not move because it was not in their best interests at the time and the Israelis did not want to take Cairo. To come back home and have people say "oh, you were doing peacekeeping", well, I think for me not really. I was driving a truck back and forth across the desert - that

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was pretty much what I was doing. I did not see it as peacekeeping. Even in Lebanon, where there was a significant civil war going on; we were just sitting on the periphery of it, hoping it did not overrun us. So I felt like a bit of a fraud wearing all that UN stuff but not living up to what I had perceived peacekeeping to be. (MB)

Here, MB describes how he felt like a fraud due to a mismatch of his own peace contributing expectations and his deployment functions. Seeing himself as being deployed to help, MB felt that he did not live up to his own expectations of what it means to keep the peace.

Canadian participants described that they experienced their UN peacekeeping deployments as one of many aspects of a multidimensional job and so they lamented a future in which Canada could "go back to peacekeeping". They worried that talk about peacekeeping signalled a reduction in military infrastructure and resources, and so they hoped that calls for Canada to go back to peacekeeping would not be heeded. For example, a number of participants had concerns about the outcome of the 2016 Canadian defence policy review. JR had this to say about the range of deployment needs that are curtailed when people think of peacekeeping in its current, limited form:

To have one battalion ready to go they have to be at a state of high readiness. To be at a state of high readiness means that you can actually roll out the door in a politically expedient amount of time, which would be in the order of days, a week maybe or two, but not months. So you have to have all this vast amount of individual training going on behind the scenes and churning people through units and stuff. You will need a lot of troops to keep relatively few people at high readiness. When we deploy people, we have to take care of them. You need preventative medicine people to deal with environmental health problems and local diseases. Everybody goes potty every day; you cannot go to a place and do it out in the fields, it is not allowed in the western world. So you need sewage treatment plants, you need potable water, and you need water treatment plants. To run this you need vast amounts of diesel fuel. You need people to handle all these things. You need trucks to pull these things; you need airplanes to fly the trucks that pull these things and the people. Then you need to feed the soldiers and so you have the whole food services thing, which takes time to set up. You need the ability to drive around; you cannot be tethered to an airport, so you need vehicles, not just armored vehicles but also logistics vehicles. Depending on the environment you are going into, the vehicles may need to be mine protected. That means they will weigh more, which means they are harder to fly, which means they have less capacity, so you will need more of them. You need the whole medical structure. You need helicopters. These are basic needs; there is

nothing particularly elegant here; we have not gotten into attack helicopters, fighter jets, and the rest of it yet. This is just a basic force package. It is what has to be ready to go. (JR)

JR draws on his experience of how equipment was used during his deployments to fulfil various military tasks. He notes that the basic force deployment package is reflective of Western standards and the requirements for minimum efficiency in the deployment space. He, like other participants, is fearful that going back to peacekeeping would mean scaling down military infrastructure, which in the end would lead to a less deployable and less efficient Canadian force. This point from DF also illustrates the usefulness that participants see disappearing with talk about going back to peacekeeping:

> I fear that we are going to go back to what we have always termed traditional peacekeeping. I think that the defence review that is coming out is playing to those who are saying, "What we do, we want to do well, but we are not going to do everything". I think that is smart. But my fear is that politically that gets turned into the Golan Heights and Cyprus type missions, which do nothing but erode your military capability because you're not employed properly, you are not equipped properly. It is not really serious what you are doing. That is not what your military is all about, because when we were called to go to Afghanistan for real action, man, did we have a lot of lessons to learn. Are we going to train for peacekeeping and still pretend we are part of NATO? If you withdraw from that, my fear is, we withdraw from our collective security requirements, and we do things to become the boy scout of the world again but in the end, we are not helping our own nation and we are not helping world stability. (DF)

DF hedges his fears for the future on the outcome of the current defence policy review. To him, going back to peacekeeping will benefit neither Canada nor international peace and security.

Preparing for the "long war"

Although participants were unanimous about their feelings about peacekeeping, they were divided on how the future force's success should be measured. They concur that lived other interactions between soldiers and the peacekept were important aspects of winning the peace in a conflict space, and they agreed that peace could only be achieved with multiple international, national, and grassroots partners working together. Any future peace support mission requires a

multidimensional and multifunctional soldier. Nevertheless, participants disagreed about what a

military operation could be expected to accomplish given the "long war" that is necessary for

sustainable peace. Some participants felt that intervening forces had an obligation and duty to

remain for as long as it takes to get to the agreed upon targets. For instance, JR had this to say:

> My future force is going to have to be capable of going in for the long term. It is a
> complete load of bullocks for anybody to think seriously that it would take a year or two
> to deal with a problem that has been generations in the making. It cannot be done even
> for over a generation sometimes. So, this whole thing, this future force thing is dependent
> on us having completely new mechanisms than what exist now. What we have cannot do
> this. There has to be a change in the political structure to do this thing. (JR)

To JR, the prevailing practices of short-term interventions cannot build sustainable peace. In

accordance with a transformation motive, most Canadian participants felt that any future force

should be prepared and organized for long term deployments. CW explains it thus:

> We went into Afghanistan in 2001 and we declared victory and came home in 2014. Hey,
> they are still fighting in Afghanistan and they are still killing people and they still need
> help, but we are not there because we do not have the stomach for the long war. It is not
> just Canadians; it is basically Western democracies that no longer have a stomach for the
> long war. It is in today and home by Christmas and everything will be good because we
> are going to bomb the shit out of them and they are going to come to the peace table and
> we are all good. Well guess what, we are not all good; you cannot make these kinds of
> decisions on political expediency. You have to have the wherewithal to go in there; you
> must ensure that you have that strategic plan to take the operation from first boots on the
> ground to the last boots on the ground with a prosperous country or a country that is
> much better off than it was economically, militarily, politically, people going to school,
> functioning hospitals, literacy going up, birth deaths going down, all that kind of stuff
> before you went in. That takes a while; it is not a day or two. If we are not prepared to go
> in there for the duration then we should not go because all you are doing is creating other
> issues. (CW)

CW is critical of the short term approach and he, like a number of other contributors, worries

about interventions happening without appropriate planning and a long view of the conflict.

Participants with similar views emphasize the need for military forces to remain and continue to

work towards further peacebuilding goals alongside other agencies and partners.

In contrast, a few participants felt that the best any future peace support operation can be expected to accomplish, after ridding itself of the peacekeeping discourse, is a specific strategic target such as a reduction in the number of violent incidences or removal of violent actors, after which the soldiers exit and some other entity takes over. Participants who had this vision of the future imagined that the Canadian military would engage in short-term deployments guided by a specific outcome that allows the military to retain its war fighting specialization. This would allow other organizations and agencies to focus on the reconstruction and stabilization work. For example DF airs this view that even in comprehensive security operations, the military must do the job that it is uniquely trained and equipped to do:

> I see the constituent pieces of the puzzle doing the jobs they are trained to do. Many times, we go in there and we are using the military to do things that we were not designed for. For example, the military engineers are building the school; well military engineers are for mobility and counter mobility operations. Why did we pave the road in Kandahar? It is because we did not like driving on IEDs. You should not be using the military for infrastructure and economic development; you should be using your military for security. For everything else, you have the NGOs, you have the diplomats. That is why we have Foreign Affairs, the diplomatic side of the house; that is why we have CIDA, the development side of the house; then you have the military and you have various NGOs. You see, everybody has a seat at the table and I think they all have to be at the same table, you need an overall coordination; but everybody knows their place. (DF)

DF places emphasis on appropriate coordination of all actors, not on militaries becoming a jack-of-all-trades that can fit various roles. He sees the military as a specialized security instrument; if the security situation allows for a change in the way that soldiers will be used in the deployment space, then soldiers are no longer required. Here, participants who share DF's views see some other entity such as contractors, police, or corrections services, taking on the security reform, training, and disarmament jobs that have become part of contemporary military missions.

LINKING THE LESSONS, EXPERIENCES, AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The spatial, temporal, material, relational, and corporeal dimensions of these soldiers'

experiences inform learning themes that can be used to better understand the expectations for

military behaviour and the conduct of peace support operations. For instance, the learning theme

of humanizing the other can be understood alongside existing literature about the hidden effects

of armed conflict and military interventions. Janie Leatherman, in her study of sexual violence

and armed conflict, observes that the places where some military interveners as well as local

belligerent forces perpetrate sexual violence on local populations are the expected safe spaces:

hospitals, clinics, schools, farm fields, and homes.[50] These are the same kinds of physical spaces

where the participants in this study situate their own recollections of helping and feeling that

they have done a good job in restoring dignity to the local people. Participants feel that positive

and informal interactions with everyday people helped to reinforce a sense of obligation for the

job at hand, thus creating feelings of accountability and reinforcing the need to "do no harm".

The participants' appreciation of their own as well as the lived other's humanity suggests that

they understand that peace support operations are not just about separating two warring factions,

halting violence, or facilitating security sector reform. They agree that their role in the

intervention was also about caring about the people caught in between the fighting forces or who

have suffered the effects of long term violence. The contributors imagine that in the ideal future,

the soldier would return from peace support deployments feeling that he did something right; he

would use one-on-one interactions with members of the local population, especially women and

children, in their authentic space to gauge his peacebuilding impact.

The learning theme of harnessing multiple warrior skills implies that there is a new way

to understand the "go anywhere" and "do anything" mentality that the soldier first credo entails.

Participants imagine that the future peace supporting soldier will be a warrior for peace; he would be principled, well trained, a good communicator, continuously seeking new knowledge about the conflict, its representations and solutions, and he is disciplined enough to know when to pack away the combat skills and bring to the fore other traits that are equally important to his multidimensionality and effectiveness. For instance, listening is an informal skill but it is essential in the warrior toolkit; participants point out that it is in the process of listening and sharing with local people that they come to understand the Other and his motives. Listening helps to shape their sense of purpose and their future actions, including delaying more aggressive or "kinetic" responses; this, in turn, works to support macro-strategic goals. Canadian participants speak of this flexible approach to their role as a skill possessed by the strategic corporal, Charles Krulak's embodiment of the multidimensional, multicapable, and multifunctional soldier who has the ability and mentality to translate macro-strategic operational goals into interpersonal, combat, and non-combat activities that support the greater mission.[51]

The participants also feel that diversity of skills and people would ensure the future forces' credibility, which is ultimately measured by local people through their judgement of the soldier's actions on the ground. The LEDs draw attention to the idea that being a credible force for peace is more than a securitizing concept of using legitimate force to stop violence. Credibility involves a combination of traits ranging from being well trained, well armed, and willing to use force when necessary, to being useful to the people in the conflict space. Credibility also requires the exercise of physical and emotional discipline, demanding the judicious use of skills other than combat and tactics in the "fight for peace". Thus, just as planners must ensure that intervention operations are multimodal and multifunctional, designed to help the vulnerable and end the crisis through sustainable measures; the soldier in future peace support deployments

must have the skills and the trustworthiness to differentiate the people who need the peace from the people who disrupt the peace.

My research participants experienced peacebuilding as mundane and mostly non-mandated activities that happen in the everydayness of doing their jobs as soldiers who were trying to win the peace. Their experiences reflect Franke's differentiation and transcendence categories of military identity management.[52] The participants speak of their usefulness and commitment to peace as military professionalism and Canadian-*ness* that sets them apart from other military forces. Because the participants in this study vision a future force that pays attention to its interpersonal interactions while addressing the crisis of the deployment space, selecting the right people for the job is also an important lesson for future peace support operations. Participants see addressing the unequal distribution of resources and skills among multinational contributors as an important first step for improving future peace support missions. Additionally, the future images acknowledge the interpersonal dimensions that soldiers bring as a result of their locus in the conflict setting; but it places a premium on the official ways that planners can improve opportunities for military peacebuilding participation. Planners should select the right people for the job of peace support and all of the participants saw Canada as one of only a few states that were qualified to do that job. The participants see the Canadian military as an organization that could lead other armed forces in interventions standards, but not as peacekeepers; a new picture of the Canadian soldier as a principled warrior needs to emerge. That soldier engages a number of personal and psychological approaches to peace; but he is well supported by advanced military infrastructure and is equipped with tools to make him an instrument of peacebuilding that is deployed as government decision makers see fit. These observations from the learning theme of leading with Canadian standards reflects aspects of

Galtung's concept of choseness,[53] but it also creates an agenda for investigating how a soldier's level of empathy for people in the deployment space correlates with his peacebuilding affect during deployment.

Finally, the learning themes of forgetting peacekeeping and preparing for the long war signal the reality of intervention operations for these soldiers. Should Canada go back to its peacekeeping role or should it chart a new course for international peace and security by foregoing its UN peacekeeping legacy? There is a historical structure that frames the discourse about the way that Canadian soldiers are involved in peace support operations. Writing in the *Canadian Military Journal*, Lane Anker refers to Canadian deployments under Operation Athena in June 2003 as a type of peacekeeping operation.[54] Drawing on a broad framework that transmutates peacekeeping into peacebuilding through military operations other than war, Anker argues that Canadian public opinion about peacekeeping remains mired in anachronistic understandings of peacekeeping. The average Canadian continues to perceive peacekeeping as UN missions involving blue-helmeted troops monitoring buffer zones. Citing a number of studies, among them a GPC International survey conducted in 2003, which found that 81 percent of Canadians supported participation in peacekeeping operations, and a 2003 poll by Eksos, which found that only 43 percent of the Canadian public supported Operation Athena, Anker argues that views of peacekeeping still need updating.[55] The LEDs show the realities of contemporary operations and highlight the disconnections between the soldiers' lived experience and public and political perceptions. Canadian participation in Afghanistan from 2001-2014 was its largest overseas deployment since the Balkans. The shift in focus from UN blue helmet operations to multinational, UN-approved but often US-led operations continues to challenge the Canadian public psyche. A 2016 hybrid telephone and online survey of 1000 people conducted

by Nanos Research found that 74 percent of respondents thought that Canadian participation in UN peacekeeping was a good or very good use of Canadian forces personnel and equipment.[56] Tod Strickland shows that belief in traditional peacekeeping remains persistent, even with the changing nature of Canada's involvement in war and conflict since 2001.[57] My research participants worry that a continued peacekeeping focus will render future peace support interventions ineffective by reducing deployment standards and capabilities.

Further Research

This study is useful in its uncovering the participants' deployment experiences and for connecting their experiences to peacebuilding practice, but there are some limitations. First, the findings are not generalizable and therefore cannot be used to formulate theory or predict behaviours. Generalizability was never a goal of phenomenology and so some other kind of research must be done to see how these peacebuilding characteristics are represented in a larger sample of deployed soldiers before one can assert that Canadian soldiers are peacebuilders. What this study offers, however, is a set of factors that could be used to formulate future studies as part of an evolving discourse about Canadian deployment experiences and CAF contributions to peacebuilding. Future research may, for example, use the experience descriptions and future goals as a basis for an action research project involving planners and practitioners in an evaluation of how informal role engagements influence peace operation outcomes. Another limitation of the study is the visioning exercise. I asked the participants to draw on their most hopeful and optimistic vein; but in describing their outlook, most of the participants qualified their responses and visions with words like "ideally" and "in a perfect world". My participants felt that, as Boulding cautions,[58] the requirement to be optimistic was too dreamlike; they described their own ideas as "utopian" and "naive". While a few participants freely imagined the

best future outcome, most framed their images as hopes that the worst would not come to pass.

For instance, interviews for this project were concluded in September 2016, shortly after the

British referendum to leave the European Union (BREXIT) and prior to the US presidential

elections. Participants considered these issues, with many hoping that the United States would

not become retrogressive or renege on its global commitments to the international organizations

like the UN and NATO. Further research could determine how these political changes may alter

the sample group's expectations for future peace support and Canada's role in the world.

CONCLUSION

Confirming that anyone can be a carrier of peace strategies, the participants in this study

transited into informal peacebuilding roles in instances of non-mandated, everyday interactions

with local people in their natural setting. In each instance of interaction the participants described

feelings of empathy and care, and the context of interaction was always small-scale and personal.

That the participants would go back to these deployment experiences to find replication-worthy

memories and lessons for the future shows that the interpersonal and emphatic connections

between a soldier and the lived other is a valued aspect of these veterans' role encounters in the

deployment space. Nevertheless, the narratives draw attention to the way that even these soldiers

take their peacebuilding contributions for granted. They describe their peacebuilding encounters

in linguistic constructions like "being the security blanket", "restoring normalcy", and "being a

small cog in a big machine", but the hermeneutic inquiry uncovers the interpersonal and

individual contributions that each soldier makes towards peace in the deployment space.

Understanding the soldier's deployment experiences from a peacebuilding frame further

shows that soldiers are aware of the direct and indirect violence outcomes of conflict. The

participants identify what it means to be a soldier in these contexts: empathy helps them to

humanize the lived other and multiple skills help them to navigate changing situations and to respond to people accordingly. The participants' equipment experiences and lessons learned over time are important shapers of their visions for the future and they see these equipment experiences as significant aspects of the military peacebuilding commitment for any future operation. These findings ignite questions about how these lived experiences can be incorporated into the training and deployment qualifications of future soldiers. There is emerging work on the addition of conflict resolution, negotiation, and dispute settlement skills to the military's list of capacities as well as growing interest in peacekeeper profiles and the capacities needed for good civil-military coordination.[59] This study contributes to those discussions by drawing attention to the soldier's perceptions of peace support that comes from his lived experiences, and it highlights that soldiers who are not mandated for civil-military interfacing can engage in transformative peacebuilding through various informal peacebuilding functions. This low-level aspect of military-other interaction needs further study to determine the peacebuilding efficacy of individual soldiers; but it provokes thought about the soldier's peacebuilding ethics and the training and recruitment standards that will benefit future peace operations.

[1] Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

[2] Volker Franke, "Warriors for Peace: The Next Generation of US Military Leaders," *Armed Forces & Society* 24 no 1(1997): 33-57; Volker Franke, *Preparing for Peace: Military Identity, Value Orientations and Professional Military Education* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999); and Volker Franke, "Generation X and the Military: A Comparison of the Attitudes and Values between West Point Cadets and College Students," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 29 Summer (2001): 92-119.

[3] Volker Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping," in *The Psychology of the Peacekeeper: Lessons from the Field*, eds. Thomas W. Britt and Amy B. Adler (London, England: Praeger, 2003), 31-52.

[4] See John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

[5] William Ury, *Getting to Peace: Transforming Conflict at Home, at Work, and in the World* (New York, NY: Viking).

[6] See for example Paul Diehl, Daniel Druckman, and James Wall, "International Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution: A Taxonomic Analysis with Implications," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 no 1 (1998):33-55; Paul Diehl, *Peace Operations* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2008); Paul Diehl and Daniel Druckman, *Evaluating Peace Operations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2010); and John Braithwaite, "Evaluating the Timor-Leste Peace Operation," *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 16 no 3-4) (2012): 282-305, accessed September 10, 2016 doi:https://doi.org/10.1163/18754112-1604005.

[7] Examples include Carol Off, *Ghosts of the Medak Pocket: Canada's Secret War* (Canada: Random House, 2004); Romeo Dallaire and Brent Beardsley, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda (*Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada, 2004); John Conrad, *Scarce Heard amid the Guns: An Inside look at Canadian Peacekeeping* (Toronto, ON: Dundun Press, 2011).

[8] Max van Manen uses human science to describe the ways that phenomenological research is a systematic, explicit, self-critical and intersubjective study of lived experience. See Max van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (London, Ontario: Althouse Press, 1990), 11.

[9] Lisa Cosgrove and Maureen McHugh, "A Post-Newtonian, Postmodern Approach to Science: New Methods in Social Action Research, " in *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, eds. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 2008), 78.

[10] See for example Teresa W. Yambo, Mary E. Johnson, Kathleen R. Delaney, Rebekah Hamilton, Arlene Michaels Miller, and Janet A. York, "Experiences of Military Spouses of Veterans with Combat-related Posttraumatic Stress Disorder," *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 48 no 6 (2016):543-551, accessed January 9, 2017 doi: 10.1111/jnu.12237.

[11] Marie Shaw and Mark Hector, "Listening to Military Members returning from Iraq and/or Afghanistan: A Phenomenological Investigation, "*Professional Psychology - Research & Practice 41* no. 2 (2010):128-134.

[12] Peter Jensen and Duncan Simpson, "A Qualitative Analysis of the Experience and Impact of Killing in Hand-to-Hand Combat," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 27 no. 4 (2014): 468-473, accessed September 15, 2015, doi: 10.1002/jts.21938.

[13] Stephanie Westlund, *Bringing Nature to Consciousness in Peace and Conflict Studies through a Phenomenological Analysis of Veterans' Narratives of Nature and Recovery*, PhD Dissertation, (University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB: Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace Justice, 2012).

[14] John Tsukayama, *By Any Means Necessary: An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis Study of Post 9/11 American Abusive Violence in Iraq*, PhD Dissertation (St. Andrews, UK: University of St. Andrews, 2014).

[15] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1962).

[16] Edmund Husserl originally used the concept of the lifeworld to describe the setting of the natural attitude. See Edmund Husserl, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy, First Book*, trans. Fred Kersten (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998).

[17] Manfred Halpern, "A theory for Transforming the Self: Moving beyond the Nation-State," in *Transformational Politics: Theory, Study, and Practice* eds. Stephen Brimm Woolpert, Christa Daryl Slaton, and Edward W. Schwerin (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1998), 45-56.

[18] Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Volume 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1987).

[19] Spatiality, materiality, relationality, corporeality, and temporality are heuristic devices that help to define the lifeworld. See Max van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice: Meaning Giving Methods in Phenomenological Research and Writing*, (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014), 302-307, and Max van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (London, Ontario: Althouse Press, 1990), 101-106.

[20] See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, trans. Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson, Susan Emanuel, Joe Johnson and Shoggy T. Waryn. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). See also Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*, 305.

[21] Maurice Merleau-Ponty contends that the mind is grounded in body subjectivity. Similarly, Bourdieu uses body subjectivity in his concept of *habitus*, noting that the body is exposed and endangered in the world, requiring its acquisition of dispositions that make it open to the world. See for example Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception,* trans. Charles Smith (London: Routledge, 1962); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); and Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[22] Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*; See also Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice.*

[23] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience*, 104-105. Alfred Schutz makes a similar point with his concept of we-relationships. See Alfred Schutz, *The Phenomenology of the Social World*, trans. George Walsh and Frederick Lehnert, (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

[24] David Cerbone, *Heidegger: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2008), 65.

[25] Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 2.

[26] See for example research by Sarah E. Mendelson, *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005); Paul Higate, "Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation," *Men and Masculinities* 10 no 1 (2007): 99-119; and Kathleen M. Jennings, "Life in a 'Peace-kept' City: Encounters with the Peacekeeping Economy." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 9 no 3 (2015): 296-315, accessed September 16, 2016 doi: 10.1080/17502977.2015.1054659.

[27] John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997)*.*

[28] Lederach, *Building Peace*, 82-83.

[29] Johan Galtung, "Introduction: Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation - The TRANSCEND Approach," in *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, eds. Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 14-32. See also Johan Galtung, Carl G. Jacobsen, and Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 103.

[30] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 12.

[31] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 14; See also Galtung, "Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation".

[32] Galtung, "Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation," 29.

[33] See for example Elise Boulding, *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1988); Elise Boulding, "Can peace be imagined?" in *A Peace Reader: Essential Readings on War, Justice, Non-Violence and World Order*, eds. Joseph J. Fahey and Richard Armstrong (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1992), 377-390; and Elise Boulding, C*ultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

[34] Boulding, *Building a Global Civic Culture*.

[35] See Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi, *Violence: Analysis, Intervention, and Prevention* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), Figure. 9.1.

[36] Vincenc Armengol, "Ten Bases for a Culture of Peace," in *Peace Culture and Society: Transnational Research and Dialogue*, eds. Elise Boulding, Clovis Brigagao, and Kevin Clements (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 119-123.

[37] Lederach, *Building Peace*, 74-85.

[38] Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, 3rd edition (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1996).

[39] Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, 60.

[40] Diamond and McDonald do not name members of the military as part of the citizen diplomacy framework; they treat soldiers as government actors that serve the purpose of implementing conflict settlement and conflict management targets through Track 1 interventions like UN peacekeeping.

[41] Edward W. Schwerin, *Mediation, Citizen Empowerment, and Transformational Politics* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1995). See also the anthology by Stephen Brimm, Christa Slaton, Daryl, and Edward W. Schwerin *Transformational Politics: Theory, Study, and Practice* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).

[42] Ury, *Getting to Peace*, lists Peacekeeper, Bridge-Builder, and Equalizer, among ten third side peacebuilding roles.

[43] Husserl originally put forward the concept of the two-part phenomenological reduction. Heidegger later clarified the reduction, proposing that it should avoid purist descriptions of phenomenon by going to interpretations of the encounter. See Sebastian Luft and Soren Overgaard, *The Routledge Companion to Phenomenology (*New York, NY: Routledge, 2012) for analyses of the various dimensions of phenomenological philosophy originating from Husserl and Heidegger.

[44] An additional four soldiers, three Jamaican and one American, as well as two "experts" contributed to the overall study. Information from these participants is not included in this report on Canadian deployment experiences.

[45] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience*, 63; Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*, 250-252.

[46] See Linda M. Johnston, "Narrative Analysis," in *Doing Research: Methods of Inquiry in Conflict Analysis*, ed. Daniel Druckman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 277-291.

[47] Boulding uses the 30 year future in her future vision exercise. I asked participants to vision a force 30 years into the future, in keeping with Boulding's image workshop guidelines. See Boulding, *Building a Global Civic Culture*, 172-176. The phase two interview questions were adapted from Boulding's workbook.

[48] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 67.

[49] Christopher Clapham, "Peacekeeping and the Peacekept: Developing Mandates for Potential Intervenors," in *Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), 34-57 uses peacekept to describe the recipients of UN peacekeeping interventions; Jennings, "Life in a 'Peace-kept' City", also uses the term to describe the demand side of UN peacekeeping.

[50] Janie L. Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2011), 9, 89.

[51] Charles C. Krulak, "The Strategic Corporal: Leadership in the Three-Block War, *Marines Magazine* 83 no 1 (1999)*.

[52] Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping."

[53] Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27 no. 3 (1990): 297.

[54] Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," *Canadian Military Journal* 6 no 2 (2005): 23-32.

[55] Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," 27.

[56] See Taline McPhedran, *Majority support peacekeeping missions in active fighting areas: Nanos Survey*. CTVnews.ca, October 13, 2016, accessed June 27 2017, http://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/majority-supports-peacekeeping-missions-in-active-fighting-areas-nanos-survey-1.3114666.The margin of error was ±3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

[57] Tod Strickland, *From the Boers to the Taliban: How Canadian Attitudes towards War have Changed (JADEX Papers; no. 3) (*Kingston, Ont.: National Defence, Directorate of Land Concepts and Designs, 2011).

[58] Boulding, *Building a Global Civic Culture*, 106-108.

[59] See for example Thomas Matyok and Cathryne Schmidt, "Is there room for peace studies in a future-centered war-fighting curriculum?" *Military Review* May-June (2014): 51-55; Steve Moore, "Religious Leader Engagement and the Comprehensive Approach: An Enhanced Capability for Operational Chaplains as Whole of Government Partners," in *Security Operations in the 21st Century: Canadian Perspectives on the Comprehensive Approach*, eds. Michael Rostek and Peter Gizewski (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011), 179-193; and Gary Lloyd and Gelie Van Dyk, "The Challenges, Roles, and Functions of Civil Military Coordination Officers in Peace Support Operations: A Theoretical Discussion," *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 35 no. 2 (2007): 68-94.