

CAN SOLDIERS BUILD PEACE? A HUMAN SCIENCE APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING CANADIAN SOLDIERS' EXPERIENCES IN PEACE OPERATIONS DEPLOYMENTS

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Soldiers play an important role in the peacebuilding triangle; they act on behalf of intervening third parties that wish to limit hostility and build local capacity in conflict spaces. Using results from a hermeneutic phenomenological study of twelve Canadian soldiers' experiences in peace operations deployment, the paper contends that an interpretive understanding of the soldier's deployment experiences can contribute to more effective long-term sustainable peacebuilding. Understanding the lived experiences of the deployed soldier uncovers themes of humanization, multiple skills and informal third party functions that contribute to micro-level peace. Incorporating these themes into future soldiers' peace operations roles could bring into being a peace builder identity that better fits the requirements for post-conflict peacebuilding.

INTRODUCTION

How can soldiers more effectively contribute to long-term sustainable peacebuilding? External military forces play an important role in post-conflict peacebuilding.¹ They carry out peacekeeping, peace enforcement, stabilization, and reconstruction mandates during peace operations.² They formally represent third parties, such as the United Nations or groups of cooperative states, as they work to limit hostility and build local capacity.³ Soldiers have interaction with an affected population as a result of peace operations deployments, even though that military-other contact can

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challenge the structural, cultural, and gendered components of building sustainable peace.⁴ I contend that understanding the deployed soldiers' experiences in peace operations may help to uncover some of the ways that external military forces could more effectively contribute to long-term sustainable peacebuilding. Using findings from a phenomenological study of twelve Canadian soldiers' peace operations experiences, I argue that the soldiers' lived experiences illustrate how military forces can access important peacebuilding roles. Amplifying these roles could bring into being a new military identity that better fits the requirements for post-conflict peacebuilding. In this paper, I first outline the role that informal peacebuilders play in transforming conflict and explain the "human science" method of investigating lived experiences.⁵ Next, I highlight different aspects of each soldier's experiences in peace operations deployment. Finally, I connect the soldiers' lived experiences with peacebuilding expectations and discuss some implications for future peace operations.

THE ROLE OF A PEACE BUILDER

Post-conflict peacebuilding often features a dominant military culture alongside an international culture that validates liberal ideology, neoliberal economic approaches, and a view of peace that shapes international action on the ground.⁶ For example, Severine Autesserre in her research on international peacebuilding in the Congo identifies that this dominant international peacebuilding culture influences intervener understandings of a conflict, and therefore affects conflict resolution outcomes.⁷ The recommendations for corrective action typically call for hybrid approaches that validate local as well as external concepts of peace to ensure sustainability. John Paul Lederach's integrative approach suggests that sustainable peacebuilding affects the individual involved in a conflict and his relationship with the other parties to the conflict. Sustainability requires the transformation of the underlying social conditions engendered by the conflict and the way that groups are conditioned to handle conflicts.⁸ External military forces are not normally assessed from this integrated peacebuilding perspective. The military is seen as a power archetype that practices a certain kind of peace that perpetuates a security dilemma.⁹ Johan Galtung posits that everyone is a carrier of peace strategies, but problems arise within the state system where "us/them" polarizations and a security approach, which fixates on deterring or destroying an enemy, diminish peace culture.¹⁰ Achieving peace requires a

peacebuilder, someone who overcomes the mental and behavioural dualisms that feed the security approach, makes contact with the appointed enemy, displays cognitive and emotional disobedience with the structure of polarization, and reverses self-other dichotomies.¹¹ In doing this, the peace builder 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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Louise Diamond and John McDonald make similar observations in their systems approach to peacebuilding, noting that successfully dealing with conflict requires more than government personnel and procedures.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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 peace builders assume that power lies with decision makers and with the people at the grassroots level, value personal relationships with others, and understand that peace and development are partners.¹⁹

Citizen peace builders 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.²⁰ William Ury's third side role taxonomy is one way of organizing the effect of citizen peace builders.²¹ 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. They can prevent conflict by enabling others to meet their basic needs (The Provider), give skills to handle disputes (The Teacher), or help forge relationships (The Bridge-Builder). They may resolve conflicts by helping parties reconcile their interests (The Mediator), determine rights (The Arbitrator), balance the power between parties in a conflict (The Equalizer), and help to repair injured relationships (The Healer). Ordinary people may also help to contain a conflict by paying attention to it (The Witness), set limits on the fighting (The Referee), and provide protection (The Peacekeeper). External military forces have no legitimacy, standing, or authority to pursue these third side functions. Their mandates limit intervention expectations to conflict settlement, violence abatement, and state building functions. However, as Johannes Botes points out, in keeping with Diamond and McDonald's Track 4 approach, informal roles manifest when people act outside of their profession. Proximity to the conflict allows informal peace builders to enter into a continuing relationship with the disputants as they utilize a range of intervention tools and methods.²²

Searching for the Peace Builder in the Soldier's Lifeworld

From as early as 1960, Morris Janowitz theorized that soldiers would reject any expectation that they fulfill constabulary-like peacekeeping functions.²³ Studies such as those by Volker Franke reinforce Janowitz's observations that soldiers derive their identity and way of work from their group culture.²⁴ It is likely that the "warrior," the soldier who has trained intensively to destroy a foreign enemy, will reject the "peacekeeper," the soldier who is expected to employ humanitarian and police-like strategies during international peace operations.²⁵ According to Franke, soldiers may order their personal and group identities by denying the peacekeeper identity, becoming hyperinvested in the warrior identity, differentiating between warrior and peacekeeper based on ideas of military professionalism, or transcending the warrior and peacekeeper identity by accepting a superordinate identity.²⁶ This ordering signals that soldiers do not automatically assume a modality that fits the requirements for post-conflict peacebuilding. Peace builders

employ empathy and transformative attitudes to build sustainable peace at various levels of conflict through strategies that help to prevent, solve, or contain conflicts at all levels of interactions. Does the deployed soldier experience peacebuilding in this way?

Hermeneutic phenomenology addresses the ontology of the human being by paying attention to the lifeworld and its reflection in Da-Sein, the being within.²⁷ The lifeworld is the realm of consciousness or subjectivity, which scholars use to show the multiple ways in which a being exerts its presence.²⁸ 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,²⁹ and Jurgen Habermas uses the lifeworld to describe how participants in communication reach an agreement or understanding.³⁰ 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.³¹ If everyone is a carrier of peace strategies, as Gal-tung contends, phenomenological inquiry could uncover the peacebuilding experiences of the soldier, accessing what is overlooked in other kinds of research about military participation in post-conflict peacebuilding. By paying attention to the lifeworld of the deployed soldier, we engage with the soldier's perspective and uncover the motives and explanations behind his actions.³² Together, the bracketed descriptions of the soldier's spatiality, temporality, relationality, corporeality, and materiality illustrate the what-it-is of peace operations deployment. Showing that this lifeworld exists is a key aspect of the phenomenological logic. Scholars confirm the Husserlian logic that the lifeworld is the member's perspective into the social world, but some argue that it can only be accessed by "a hermeneutic approach that picks up on members' pre-theoretical knowledge."³³ For example, Pierre Bourdieu refers to the lifeworld, which he uses to identify people's relationship to their symbolic and cultural capital as well as their physical and social space but he makes the point that understanding of the lifeworld is interpretive, a process of *reflex reflexivity* that engages the observer's presuppositions.³⁴ Understanding the essence of the soldier's peace support deployment involves interpreting his experiences from structural observations that relate the parts, the what-it-is of deployment, to the whole, the demands of post-conflict peacebuilding.

The five lifeworld referential dimensions of spatiality, corporeality, temporality, relationality, and materiality, are revealed using the two-part phenomenological reduction method that focuses on identifying the lifeworld and then interpreting the lifeworld encounter.³⁵ After conducting multiple interviews with twelve retired Canadian soldiers, I created lived experience descriptions (LEDs), narratives of the soldiers' experiences, and anecdotes (short, punchy and simple stories about a single event constructed from the LEDs).³⁶ The soldiers were each deployed for at least six months to one or more United Nations peacekeeping missions in Cyprus, Egypt, Lebanon, or the former Yugoslavia in the early and mid-1990s, as well as NATO-led stabilization and reconstruction operations in the Balkans from the mid-1990s to early 2000s, and Afghanistan between 2003 and 2014. Interview questions focused on each soldier's peace operations experience, his training and deployment preparation, his identity formation and role transition experiences, and his hopes and fears for the future.

THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF PEACE OPERATIONS DEPLOYMENT

The Lived Space Experience (Spatiality) of Deployment

Spatiality defines the qualities of the space, and how space shapes the phenomena and impacts the lived body.³⁷ The soldiers' LEDs illustrate the way that the feeling of the space is experienced through lived other interactions. A common theme among the participants is that it was the felt space outside the military base that shaped their deployment memories. Patrolling duties or travelling from one point to another for meetings or other work-related purposes enabled the soldiers' interaction with the local lived other, non-belligerents whom they saw as people in need of protection or help. RS, a UN peacekeeping veteran, describes his experience in the former Yugoslavia when his official work took him away from the base.

We discovered that we needed completely different skill sets than those that we had received in the military because we were largely dealing with interpersonal relations. Ultimately, that is what it was about, me sitting across the desk from a Serbian warlord, and my counterpart sitting across the desk from either a Bosnian or a Croat warlord. We were talking to them on a one-to-one basis about what was happening and trying to reason with them and trying to come up with higher grounds arguments about

stopping the killing. In most cases, we had to learn as we went along. We discovered that the skill sets that we formally trained in did not help us. That training helped us get in the door because we had credibility, we had weaponry, and we had the uniforms. So we got in the door because there was that level of respect. But beyond that, it was, in many cases, the people who made up the teams. The ones that did the best in that liaison job were the ones that had had some kind of greater interpersonal relationship experience. In the case of interpersonal relationships and selling a concept, the used car salesman was more valuable than the person with combat team experience. (RS)

Away from the protected space of the military base, RS experienced the authentic conflict space. He and his team had to rely on interactions with local people in that felt space for their movement and survival. That unbunkered space helped him to identify the need for diverse skills, outlooks, and approaches that would better serve the deployment scenario. He makes the point that personality, problem-solving, and communication skills were more relevant in certain off-base circumstances of dealing with the lived other.

The soldiers' stories illustrate the ways that their interactions with people in a less contrived setting than the military base created opportunities for human connections. For some, that interaction came through their official duties, as RS experienced. But most of the soldiers described their felt space experiences as informal encounters that occurred when they voluntarily traveled into the locals' lived space for shopping, recreation, or physical exercise. Participants described those off-base experiences as replication-worthy encounters which helped to give them a sense of purpose. For instance, JR, a NATO veteran, describes how it was during his walks outside of the base that he felt the fulfillment of the SFOR mandate. He described the beauty of seeing children playing, young people going out and about in the evenings and "doing what young people should be doing" as a replication-worthy memory of his deployment in Bosnia.

The Lived Body Experience (Corporeality) of Deployment

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.³⁸ The corporeality of the encounters cannot be separated from the off-base interactions. A number of the participants described instances where kindness and compassion from the lived other in the off-base deployment space reinforced their humanity; in those instances, the soldiers described feeling cared for and feeling that their presence was appreciated. For example, RS shares this experience working “behind enemy lines” during his deployment 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. It 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 UN peacekeeping mission violated the local people’s trust. The situation made him lose faith in other UN peacekeepers that he thought had no “human rights base,” a view that feeds his current perceptions about peacekeeping. All of the soldiers shared stories like RS’s where they described the ways that their interactions with local people helped them to develop a sense of purpose despite the hardships of deployment. They also highlight the ways in which community responsiveness helped to shape their actions and a sense of accountability to local people. For instance, DF, a NATO operations veteran, 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 traveling 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 connections between lived other and lived body experiences that are also connected to the felt space. He describes feeling cared for and at the same time feeling accountable to the local people for the kind of peace the military mission might achieve. 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.

The Lived Other Experience (Relationality) of Deployment

Relationality is the lived other experience that is attached to the lived space. While corporeality speaks to how we present ourselves in the felt space, relationality attends to how we are with the lived other in that space. Max

van Manen contends that we approach each other in space-bodily arrangements that underscore the way that we physically and socially interact.³⁹ The soldier's stories of interaction demonstrate how informal their positive lived other interactions tended to be. For example, this anecdote from MB, a UN peacekeeping and NATO operations veteran, about an encounter in Bosnia illustrates the unofficial aspects of military-other interactions:

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 peace builder function, enacting Ury's concept of a third side 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 during ISAF:

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 a third side Equalizer for the woman in the Afghan big market.

The Lived Time Experience (Temporality) of Deployment

Actions have temporality because they contain internalizations of lived experiences that are directed towards the future. It is in the past-present-future compressions 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.⁴⁰ These soldiers' rejection of UN peacekeeping operations and the peacekeeper identity is underpinned by their lived time experiences. In thinking about the desired future, participants drew upon their previous experiences in international operations, calling to mind the other military forces that they worked with as well as the local people that they interacted with in each deployment space. As in other studies about Canadian peacekeeping identity,⁴¹ my research participants identify peacekeeping as a romanticized political term that disguises the complex and dangerous work that they do on the ground. Soldiers who had been deployed as UN peacekeepers felt that the peacekeeper identity was a fraudulent mischaracterization of the work that they did in the deployment space. MB 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 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, which were mainly non-combat and administrative. 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. His feelings about peacekeeping are different from TB, a UN peacekeeping veteran, who has this to say:

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 of "no peace to keep," though different from MB's feeling of "not doing much" for peace, signal some of the lessons that the participants draw on as they deny the peacekeeper identity. For these two participants, the concept of Canada going back to peacekeeping meant returning to ineffective operational structures and missions.

Participants who deployed exclusively on NATO missions held a similar view about public commentary that Canada should or may go back to UN peacekeeping. These participants feared that returning to peacekeeping, as opposed to continuing with NATO-led hybrid operations, would mean a reduction in military infrastructure and resources. For example, a number of participants had concerns about the outcomes of the 2016 Canadian Defence Policy Review, which was underway at the time of the data collection

interviews. Drawing on his experience of how equipment is used to fulfill military tasks in deployment, JR points out that a basic force deployment package is reflective of Western standards and minimal efficiencies like moving around, feeding soldiers, or taking care of sanitation and hygiene in the deployment space. JR is fearful that going back to peacekeeping would mean scaling down CAF infrastructure, which would affect its usefulness. DF illustrates his temporality in this statement:

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 Golan Heights and Cyprus type missions, which do nothing but erode your military capability because you’re not employed properly, you’re not equipped properly, it’s 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? 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 does not see UN peacekeeping missions as a valuable contribution to international peacebuilding. Past experiences lead to perceptions that the preferred way to engage in peacebuilding is through UN approved but NATO-led peace operations.

The Lived Thing Experience (Materiality) of Deployment

Materiality depicts how anything (an event, a mindset, a tool, a deed, or an experience) becomes—or is expressed—as extensions of the soldier’s lived body; it also illuminates the character of the felt space and lived other experiences.⁴² Martin Heidegger alludes to the totality of lived thing experiences in his concept of useful things. Heidegger examines the lifeworld as special worlds of useful things, or equipment, which manifest when Da-Sein, the being within, partakes of the general structure.⁴³ Useful things manifest themselves in the activities to which they are put to use; and their effectiveness is defined in relation to other useful things that characterize the general

structure.⁴⁴ Thus, peace operations are experienced as belonging to a body of useful peacebuilding architecture that exists but remains largely unnoticed until there is a breakdown.⁴⁵ The soldiers define their usefulness in their LEDs. For example, nearly all of the participants used the words “cogs in a machine” in their deployment narratives. But these contrasting ways of operating in the lived space as told by CW, a NATO operations veteran, illustrate the varying ways that the soldiers are, individually and collectively, useful things. He explains:

When we first went into Afghanistan in 2001, there were a couple of hundred thousand boys in schools. There were no girls being schooled in what one would consider the traditional manner. If they wanted to be educated, it was done at home by a father with liberal views or by a mother or somebody else who would teach the girl. By 2007, things changed significantly. The nice part about it was that there were now hundreds of thousands of young girls being schooled. There were girls in their late teens and early 20s that were going back to school because they had never been to school. They were going to school to get educated. The girls were obvious because when they went to school wearing a uniform. Outfits with black bottoms, black top and a white kerchief on their heads. You would see them, all these little white heads going to school. It looked like a field of daffodils. (CW)

CW's anecdote addresses the scope of the ISAF mandate in Afghanistan; but the return of children to school, particularly girls, stands out for him as a positive moment in the deployment experience. For him, this was one area where NATO's achievements became a personal reference of his own deployment usefulness. CW tells this other story of usefulness:

John was a Sergeant in one of the Bosnian task forces. He was in charge of a section that would spend a lot of time in one particular valley. The people in this valley would call him King John because every time he went out on patrol, he would load up his vehicles with stuff for the village: water, clothing, food, schoolbooks, whatever he could get his hands on. He would go out and distribute it among the villagers. When it was coming to the end of John's tour, one of the elders came to the headquarters to find out if there were other Canadians coming in to replace him. John was loved so much; the people were willing to make

him their own personal king. (CW)

King John is a different representation of military materiality. As part of the NATO mission, which in CW's words was there to "stand on necks" in order to enforce peace, King John had another dimension of usefulness. His tools for doing the mandated peace operations job are his weapon and combat skills; but he takes on an informal role as Ury's third side Provider, bringing things to the villagers that help to satisfy their basic needs.

The soldiers' materiality also reinforces a formulated identity that rejects the "peacekeeper," that expectation of constabulary-like functions, but declares itself as something other than a mere "warrior" that is trained to destroy a foreign enemy. This statement from DF gives meaning to a common assertion from participants that they are "soldiers first":

When you are a deployed soldier, you are the weapon. We used to say that the C7 rifle is not the weapon, it is a tool. I am the weapon. The fact that I have a rifle only makes me a more effective weapon. My status of being a weapon is my attitude, my training, my capability, and my morale. And don't think for a second, that morale means being happy. My morale is my ability to succeed despite the odds. So if we prepare for the highest end of the spectrum, which is combat, chances are we can fill in the other roles along that continuum from benign disaster assistance, to assistance to the civil authority and aid to the civil power. Think of the FLQ Crisis or the Oka Crisis or the floods and ice storms and things like that, all the way up to combat. That is what a combat capable, multi-purpose force looks like. It is a well-trained soldier who knows he is the weapon. (DF)

DF illustrates his lived body and lived thing orientation by claiming that the soldier is the primary weapon. He suggests that the soldier is dynamic, and should be valued for all of the skills and experiences which make the soldier *the* weapon. The soldier responds to a variety of circumstances using different tools, ideas, or deeds to achieve conflict settlement or transformation outcomes as determined by the felt space and his lived other encounters.

CAN SOLDIERS BUILD PEACE?

The soldiers' lived experiences reflect three themes that are congruent with the identification of a peacebuilder. There is an emphasis on humanization, multiple skills, and informal third-party functions. Humanization is the

recognition of human characteristics, as well as acting with human kindness towards another being. The soldiers' lived other experiences illustrate this concept of humanization, and that it is both the soldier and the lived other that are humanized in positive encounters. The soldiers described experiences where kindness and compassion from the lived other in the deployment space reinforced their humanity. In those instances, they felt that they were cared for, and that their presence was appreciated, even though they were occupying the felt space of the local lived other. The interpersonal connections helped to depolarize relationships and instilled a sense of accountability and purpose. This understanding of humanization could guide thinking about how soldiers can more effectively contribute to peacebuilding. It has been shown that dehumanization is one of the many hidden effects of armed conflict and external military interventions.⁴⁶ However, uncovering the lived experiences of these twelve soldiers illustrates the ways that some soldiers humanize and prevent further micro-level acts of structural or cultural violence. For instance, Janie Leatherman, in her study of sexual violence and armed conflict, observes that the places where military interveners and local belligerent forces perpetrate dehumanizing sexual violence on local populations are the expected safe spaces in conflict: hospitals, clinics, schools, farm fields, and homes.⁴⁷ These are the same kinds of physical spaces where the soldiers in this study situate their own recollections of helping and feeling that they have done a good job to restore or preserve the dignity of the local people. The soldiers' appreciation of their own and the lived other's humanity suggests that they understand that deployment is 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.

Some may find this theme of humanization surprising given the perception that military culture itself is based on rituals and processes that employ dehumanization and deindividuation techniques to separate the soldier from his civilian identity.⁴⁸ There are also challenges to claiming humanizing actions on the part of soldiers when they operate in a felt space that is already contextualized by cultural, gender, and economic power asymmetries that can violate and subvert local concepts of peace. Iris Marion Young alludes to this in her concept of masculinist protection.⁴⁹ The soldiers may be reinforcing the Hobbesian logic of state supremacy, seeing themselves as good

soldiers that protect women and children from “bad guys” and an evil other that creates hostility. For Young, this is representative of masculine domination that takes the form of protection by a sovereign authority; it speaks to the role of soldiers in the world polity as well as the historical, political, and social structures that define those roles. Still, the impact of that humanization should not be overlooked. As Regina Titunik points out, the construct of war has shaped the military institution and its culture; yet presumptions about the distinctions between masculinity and femininity arise from a lack of understanding about the methodology of warfare.⁵⁰ Military culture is unique, but not devoid of what has become academically characterized as feminist values; tenderness, protectiveness, nurturing, self-sacrifice, and submissiveness are in keeping with the art of warfare, which involves getting large numbers of people to perform together like a machine in the face of threats.⁵¹ Soldiers could contribute more effectively to peacebuilding if they amplify personal experiences of humanization and treat it as a peace operations objective.

Acknowledging the soldier’s multiple skills is another theme that could contribute to more effective military participation in peacebuilding. The soldiers’ lived thing experiences and the lived body expression of the soldier first credo offers an understanding of what it means to be a soldier deployed in a peacebuilding scenario. Despite the differences in mission type and deployment tasks, all the participants had experiences where they used non-combat skills to reduce tension and resolve conflicts. For instance, listening is an informal conflict resolution skill, but it is essential in the soldiers’ toolkit; they point out that it is in the process of listening and sharing with local people that they come to understand the lived other and his motives for action. Listening helped to shape the soldiers’ sense of purpose and their future actions, including delaying more aggressive responses, which in turn helped to support macro-strategic conflict settlement goals. By using multiple skills and approaches beyond specialized military technology, the soldiers acted as more than an instrument for violence abatement.

Overall, the experiences suggest that planners can never truly separate combat roles from non-combat or contact roles in deployment. Paul Diehl and others have identified that conflict rarely, if ever, fits into neat phases of pre-violence, armed conflict, ceasefire, and post-agreement.⁵² As such, the military skills that are deployed cannot be neatly specified. Though some may argue that special peacebuilding training for soldiers who are tasked

with engaging with civilian entities and non-belligerents are relevant for today's peace operations environment,⁵³ these soldiers' lived experiences demonstrate that even with specific combat tasks, military-other contact is inevitable and requires more than what is commonly expected of the warrior. Just as planners must ensure multimodal and multifunctional third-party interventions address the local perceptions of peace, each deployed soldier must have the skills and mentality to transit through the compressed operational reality where humanitarianism, peacekeeping, low-intensity combat, and reconstruction are part of the same deployment context.⁵⁴ Soldiers can more effectively contribute to peacebuilding if they are all, regardless of combat or civil-military mandates, equipped with conflict resolution and transformation skills.

Acknowledging these multiple skills also leads to an understanding that soldiers can build peace by engaging in a variety of informal peace builder roles. The soldiers, even those who served on UN peacekeeping missions, reject the peacekeeper identity. They disdain the notion of being defined by an ability to act in a constabulary-like function, and they hold on to the soldier first identity. They talk about their usefulness as military professionalism that delivers well trained, multidimensional soldiers who are enhanced by a range of resources and complemented by other actors. Once the whole, the essence of the lived experiences suggests identity differentiation wherein soldiers split their military identity into situation specific sub-identities that rationalize their peacebuilding work as military professionalism.⁵⁵ Yet the LEDs also highlight the potential for soldiers to assume informal peace builder roles that, if vitalized by planners and practitioners, could effectively contribute to long-term peacebuilding. For example, the story about King John illustrates the deployed soldier's reality of being a third side Provider. Other examples of Ury's third side roles are seen throughout the study. These roles are unofficial, informal, and unacknowledged; but they remind us that the soldier, through his locus with people at the grassroots level of a conflict, is now a part of the conflict dynamic and has the potential to shape the conflict or add new dimensions to it.

Studies about the structural and cultural violence of military intervention demonstrate the ways that soldiers' micro-level actions can create or worsen conflict dimensions.⁵⁶ Attention to the informal, third side peacebuilder potential captured in this hermeneutic study could be a relevant starting point for re-evaluating military purpose and attitudes in deployment. But there

are some challenges associated with validating or attempting to formalize these soldiers' third side illustrations. Chief among them is reconciling the premise that peacebuilding requires a neutral humanitarian space in which aid and humanitarian support should not be militarized. Scholars point to the military's partial and political mandate driven by interests in state building and vanquishing of the evil other as a problem that harms humanitarian outcomes.⁵⁷ Still, understanding that soldiers transit into these informal peace builder functions can help us better organize thinking about the role they play at the micro-levels of conflict. Bourdieu's concept of habitus suggests that people act as agents by becoming accomplices in the pressures that structure their reality.⁵⁸ For the soldier in peace operations, his role as a peace agent is limited by structures that are internalized and incorporated through social learning and role expectations. Engaging in third side roles during deployments may only be a tactical expression of peace agency that is meant to deliver a sense of purpose for the soldier but it reinforces that incorporating humanization, multiple skills, and a peace builder ethic into peace operations objectives could contribute to more effective long-term peacebuilding.

CONCLUSION

There is emerging work on the benefits of adding conflict resolution, negotiation, and dispute settlement skills to the military's list of competencies for good civil-military coordination.⁵⁹ This study contributes to those discussions by drawing attention to the Canadian soldier's lived experiences of peace operations, and it demonstrates that soldiers who are not mandated for civil-military interfacing also engage in peacebuilding work. There is a need for further study to determine the peacebuilding efficacy of individual soldiers; future research on the lived experiences of local people who have been in contact with Canadian soldiers in peace operations deployment could be one starting point. Nevertheless, this lived experience study aids current understanding about military involvement in peacebuilding by first identifying the peace-relevant experiences of the deployed soldier, and then connecting those experiences to expectations for post-conflict peacebuilding. Understanding the soldier's deployment experiences from a peace builder frame shows that some soldiers are aware of the direct and indirect violence outcomes of a conflict. The participants in this study identify what it means to be a soldier in post-conflict peacebuilding where humanization, multiple

skills, and informal peace builder functions help to underscore the essence of peace operations deployment. Further consideration of these themes could help external military forces contribute more effectively to peacebuilding.

ENDNOTES

1. Various conceptualizations of peacebuilding range from the view of peacebuilding as long term conflict transformation efforts to the view of peacebuilding as preventative and early warning mechanisms. Another view is peacebuilding as conflict transformation that is driven and owned by locals, rather than external experts who implement state building based on Western liberal influences. In this project, I use peacebuilding in a narrow sense to refer to long-term processes where a range of activities that are aimed at post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation take place. Military forces participate in this kind of peacebuilding through peace operations.
2. Peace operations are defined by the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as operations that incorporate a spectrum of civilian and military efforts including conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace enforcement, and peacekeeping. These peace support efforts serve different purposes at different times in the unfolding political process. See *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* (New York, NY: Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, 2008), 19; *Allied Joint Doctrine for the Military Contribution to Peace Support* (AJP-3.4.1 (A)) (NATO Standardization Office: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2014), 3.
3. Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). Doyle and Sambanis describe this third-party role as an essential aspect of the peacebuilding triangle.
4. Beatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press Inc, 2005); Sarah Mendelson, *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005); Kathleen Jennings, "Life in a Peace-Kept City: Encounters with a Peacekeeping Economy," *Journal of Intervention and*

Statebuilding 9, no. 3 (2015): 296-315. These are examples of studies that highlight the power asymmetries of external interventions.

5. Max van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (London, ON: Althouse Press, 1990), 11. Van Manen uses “human science” to describe the ways that phenomenological research is a systematic, explicit, self-critical, and intersubjective study of lived experience.
6. Roger Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); David Chandler, *Peacebuilding: The Twenty Years Crisis, 1997 – 2017* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Mac Ginty is one of many scholars who critique the liberal one-size-fits-all approach to peacebuilding. Chandler argues that the state building fixation of peacebuilding has contributed to its own demise.
7. Severine Autessere, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge University Press, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
8. John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 82-83.
9. Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 2; 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; Johan Galtung, Carl G. Jacobsen, and Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 103. In his discussions of the peacebuilding triangle, Galtung argues that the goal is not to abolish the military; we should seek to give it new tasks that would enhance peacebuilding outcomes.
10. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 14.
11. Galtung, “Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation,” 29.
12. 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; Elise Boulding, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000).
13. Boulding, *Building a Global Civic Culture*.
 14. Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi, *Violence: Analysis, Intervention, and Prevention* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), Figure 9.1.
 15. 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.
 16. Lederach, *Building Peace*, 74-85.
 17. Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, 3rd Edition (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1996).
 18. Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, 60.
 19. 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.
 20. Edward W. Schwerin, *Mediation, Citizen Empowerment, and Transformational Politics* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1995). See also the edited volume 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).
 21. William Ury, *Getting to Peace: Transforming Conflict at Home, at Work, and in the World* (New York, NY: Viking).
 22. Johannes Botes, "Informal Roles" in *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention*, eds. Sandra Cheldelin, Daniel Druckman and Larissa Fast, (New York, NY: Lexington, 2003) 210-219.
 23. Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1960).

24. 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); 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.
25. 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), 33-34.
26. Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping," 41-46.
27. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1962). Heidegger uses Da-Sein to refer to this concept of being.
28. Edmund Husserl, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy, First Book*, trans. Fred Kersten (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998). Edmund Husserl originally used the concept of the lifeworld to describe the setting of the natural attitude.
29. 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.
30. 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).
31. Max van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice: Meaning Giving Methods in Phenomenological Research and Writing*, (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014), 302-307; Max Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience*, 101-106. Spatiality, materiality, relationality, corporeality, and temporality are heuristic devices that help to define the lifeworld.
32. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1947), 94-95. Weber contends that we need explanatory and motivational understanding of observable action.

33. Jurgen Habermas and Steven Seidman, *Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989), 188.
34. 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), 608.
35. Sebastian Luft and Soren Overgaard, *The Routledge Companion to Phenomenology* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012). See the above edited volume by for analyses of the various dimensions of phenomenological philosophy originating from Husserl and Heidegger. Edmund Husserl originally proposed the concept of the two-part phenomenological reduction. Martin Heidegger later clarified the reduction, proposing that it should avoid purist descriptions of phenomenon by going to interpretations of the encounter.
36. Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience*, 63; Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*, 250-252.
37. See Bourdieu, *The Weight of the World*. See also Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*, 305.
38. 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); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). 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.
39. Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience*, 104-105; Alfred Schutz, *The Phenomenology of the Social World*, trans. George Walsh and Frederick Lehnert (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967). Schutz makes a similar point with his concept of we-relationships in the second reference.
40. Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*; See also Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.
41. Jack Lawrence Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping*

- the Peace*, 2nd Edition (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2011).
42. Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*, 307.
 43. David Cerbone, *Heidegger: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2008), 37-38); Max van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice*, 35-43. Cerbone explains Heidegger's concept of useful things as the being's relationship to activities, roles, and goals that together defines its existence.
 44. Cerbone, *Heidegger: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 40.
 45. Cerbone, *Heidegger: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 36-37. In Heidegger's philosophy, noticing the thing comes after breakdown, when the useful thing loses its handedness or purpose.
 46. Sarah E. Mendelson, *Barracks and Brothels* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2005); Sherene Razack, *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
 47. Janie L. Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2011), 9, 89.
 48. Phillip Zimbardo, *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil* (New York, NY: Random House Inc., 2007); Gwynne Dyer, *War: The New edition* (Toronto, ON: Random House Canada, 2004). Zimbardo and Dwyer identify some of the dehumanizing military training strategies.
 49. Iris Marion Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29 no 1 (2003): 1-25.
 50. Regina Titunik, "The Myth of the Macho Military," *Polity* 40 no 2 (2008): 137-163; Regina Titunik, "The First Wave: Gender Integration and Military Culture," *Armed Forces & Society* 26 no 2 (2000): 229-257.
 51. Titunik, "The First Wave," 239-240.
 52. Paul Diehl, *Peace Operations* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2008); Paul Diehl and Daniel Druckman, *Evaluating Peace Operations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2010).

53. 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; 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.
54. Charles C. Krulak, "The Three-Block War: Fighting in Urban Areas," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 64 no 5 (1997): 139; John Agoglia, "Learning to Fight the Four-Block War: How Commanders Learn "Non-Military" Jobs," in *Beyond the Three-Block War*, eds. David Rudd, Deborah Bayley, and Ewa K. Petruczynik (Toronto, ON: The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 2006) 27-35. Krulak notably refers to this compressed time and space as the three-block war. Agoglia adds a fourth element to the time-space compression: governance, reconstruction and economic development activities.
55. Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping," 45.
56. Razack, *Dark Threats and White Knights*.
57. Lara Olson, "Fighting for Humanitarian Space: NGOs in Afghanistan," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 9 no. 1 (2006): 1-28; Volker Franke, "The Peacebuilding Dilemma: Civil-Military Cooperation in Stability Operations," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 11 no. 2 (2006): 5-26. Olson describes how local and international NGOs working in Afghanistan perceived that the militarization of aid contributed to insecurity for NGO employees and scapegoating of NGOs for failures in the overall aid effort.
58. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.
59. 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. In addition, see for example items in note 53.