Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping: What Do Canadians Think?

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Abstract

Recent surveys have demonstrated that Canadians value Canada’s role as a peacekeeper and peacemaker in an international context. Additionally, research has demonstrated decreasing public support for Canada’s involvement in military combat interventions in other parts of the world. However, awareness and understanding of nonviolent alternatives appear to be lacking. This survey examines Canadian public’s awareness and understanding of unarmed civilian peacekeeping as an alternative to sending armed troops, and whether the public would support Canada in utilizing unarmed civilian peacekeepers (focusing on mediation, negotiation, relationship and peacebuilding activities) as part of its response to violent global conflicts. The results reveal that Canadians believe unarmed civilian peacekeeping would be more effective in tasks such as reducing human rights abuses, preventing further armed conflict and promoting lasting peace. Respondents also believe the practice would benefit Canada’s reputation as a peacemaker and leader. This paper concludes with recommendations for proponents and advocates of the incorporation of unarmed civilian peacekeeping into the official policy of the Canadian government.
Introduction

Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping is a term used to describe a growing trend of utilizing non-military personnel to perform various roles to reduce violence between warring factions. The goal of unarmed civilian peacekeeping is similar to that of traditional peacekeeping: to prevent direct violence through influence or control of the behavior of potential perpetrators, through the use of military or civilian forces (Schweitzer 2009, Koko and Essis 2012). Whereas traditional peacekeeping operations, best known by United Nations Blue Helmets, seek to reduce violence through the implicit or explicit threat of using violence or military force against those who do not comply, unarmed civilian peacekeepers utilize nonviolent strategies to influence parties to refrain from violence. Nonviolent forms of influence include the power of moral authority, economic and political leverage, media attention, specialized training in nonviolent strategies (such as mediation and relationship building), and the power of numbers (Schirch 2006).

In the past twenty years, there have been a number of non-governmental organizations that have implemented unarmed civilian peacekeeping missions throughout the world, including countries such as the former Yugoslavia, Guatemala, Israel/Palestine, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, South Sudan, among other locations. The largest of these organizations include Nonviolent Peaceforce and Peace Brigades international. Although several European nations such as Germany and the Netherlands are developing units of specially trained civilians to conduct civilian peacekeeping (Schirch 2006), no such capacity currently exists within the Canadian government or military. Additionally, the United Nations has recognized the efficacy of unarmed civilian peacekeeping and in recent years has participated in the research and support of unarmed civilian peacekeeping practices (United Nations 2012a, United Nations 2012b).
Why Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping: Recent Historical Trends and Preliminary Research

Since the end of the cold war, national and international responses to war and large scale violence have transformed considerably (Evans 2004, Paris, 2004). The centuries-old notion of “victor’s justice” has morphed into innovative strategies of peacebuilding and reconciliation, which not only seek to deter the direct violence of warfare, but also to understand and remediate the underlying social and economic determinants of the violent conflicts. This trend has been accompanied by new research that has demonstrated that nonviolent campaigns are more likely to achieve their goals than violent ones (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011), that acts of reconciliation are more successful than conventional counter insurgency strategies in reducing terrorism (Chenoweth and Dugan, 2010), and that third party military assistance (such as Canada’s role in Libya) generally leads to an increase in violence against civilians (Wood et al 2013).

Paralleling the new emphasis on peacebuilding and the recent research supporting nonviolence is the evidence that utilization of and support for violent strategies is on a consistent and globally pervasive downward trajectory (Pinker 2011, Human Security Report 2010), as measured by a variety of indicators, including the reduction in the number of wars and war related deaths and public support for the military. Additionally, research has provided convincing evidence that humanity in general is developing a growing intolerance to all forms of violence, including war (Pinker, 2011). This trend is exemplified in Canada by a recent poll showing that Canadians generally do not support their military to be used for active combat in places such as Afghanistan and Mali (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2013).

Najjab (cited in Armstrong 2011) demonstrated that the reverberations of strategic nonviolent practices can be manifest throughout a society. During the nonviolent movement of the second intifada, research indicated domestic violence decreased; as men and women worked collaboratively in
strategic nonviolent campaigns; men learned the benefits of nonviolence and women became connected and empowered - essentially breaking the cycle of domestic violence. When the nonviolent campaigns ended, the rates of domestic violence increased again. Howes (2013) summarizes these trends by positing that military practices that rely on the use or threat of violent methodologies have remained largely unchallenged for centuries. These practices, however, have faced considerable scrutiny in the past 20 years due to peace research – convincing many that practices such as torture, the death penalty, the war against terrorism and even conventional warfare in general, are ineffective.

Unarmed civilian peacekeeping strategies include a variety of nonviolent techniques that are implemented in order to reduce the violence perpetrated by warring parties. Unarmed civilian peacekeeping strategies include: strengthening ceasefires by providing a deterrent presence (interposition), monitoring and reporting human rights abuses, protective accompaniment of human rights and civil society leaders, building relationships with and between disputants, providing “safe zones” for civilians, rumor management, and partnering with local civil society groups to build strategies for long term violence reduction (Muller and Buttner 1996, Schirch 2006).

Although unarmed civilian peacekeeping is a relatively new phenomenon, burgeoning research has demonstrated its efficacy on a number of different levels. Unarmed civilian peacekeeping has been shown to be less expensive than traditional peacekeeping and more effective at breaking the cycle of violence and in achieving lasting peace (Schirch 2006). For example, Nonviolent Peaceforce played a crucial role in the brokering and monitoring of the October 2012 Peace Accords between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front – accomplishing this without weapons (Nonviolent Peaceforce 2012). A recent study on their mission in Philippines demonstrated that communities with an unarmed civilian peacekeeping presence received measurable benefits. Community members reported a greater sense of security and safety, improved ability to manage conflict during and after
peacekeeping presence, and increased capacity to build community relationships (Nonviolent Peaceforce 2011). Philippine undersecretary Rafael Seguis adds that civilian communities caught in war zones were particularly welcoming of peacekeepers who came without weapons, as many of the citizens had been traumatized by recurring confrontations between armed groups (citied in United Nations 2012a). Evaluation of the Nonviolent Peaceforce operations in South Sudan indicates that the civilian population benefited from the presence of unarmed civilian peacekeeping by learning ways to deal with cattle conflicts without violence, and by mitigating the effects of rumors which in the past had lead to violent confrontations (Nonviolent Peaceforce 2013).

Unarmed peacekeepers gain the acceptance and engagement of local civil society members in the process of achieving lasting peace in a way that traditional peacekeeping operations cannot (United Nations 2012b). The importance of peacekeepers creating space for civil society to contribute to the overall peace effort is captured by Guehenno, who states: “The journey from war to sustainable peace is not possible in the absence of stronger civilian capacity. Without this capacity, there may be breaks in the fighting, but resilient institutions will not take root and the risk of renewed violence will remain” (cited in United Nations, 2012b).

Testimonies from Sri Lankan peace activists attest that their unarmed civilian peacekeeping mission there saved the lives of many local leaders (Schirch 2006). Before the peacekeepers established their presence, many local leaders were killed or disappeared. However, international accompanier presence deterred violent attacks from militants; even though the foreigners did not carry weapons. Wallace (2006) goes further by suggesting that, based on her interviews in Sri Lanka, local militia members were not only deterred from committing killings and kidnappings but actually “transformed” by the commitment to nonviolence that was displayed by the unarmed peacekeepers. Wallace (2006)
suggests that the effectiveness of unarmed civilian peacekeeping would be significantly improved if missions received funding comparable to current United Nations peacekeeping operations.

**Purpose of study**

There is currently an active movement within Canada to have unarmed civilian peacekeeping incorporated into the Canadian government’s foreign policy and practices, through such organizations as the Canadian Department of Peace Initiative and The Civilian Peace Service Canada. While growing empirical evidence supports the effectiveness of unarmed civilian peacekeeping, some lobbyists suggest that such evidence is not sufficient to mobilize politicians and policy makers to change long-held practices; strong public support is a necessary antecedent (Barry *et al* 2013, Rock *et al* 2012). With this in mind, it is important to note that there is no literature to demonstrate whether unarmed civilian peacekeeping has any support, let alone recognition, from the public in Canada or any other jurisdiction. Therefore, determining whether the Canadian general public understands and supports the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping may provide valuable information to those who hope to see this practice utilized more formally by our government.

The purpose of this study is to explore and describe Canadian public opinions on unarmed civilian peacekeeping. Included in this investigation is an analysis of demographic relationships to opinions expressed; however, no a priori hypotheses have been stated. Therefore, instead of drawing conclusions from the statistical analyses, analyses will be discussed in terms of possible further hypothesis testing research.

**Methodology**
Ethical approval for this study was granted by Selkirk College Research Ethics Committee. The telephone survey was conducted in May 2013. 400 Canadians were randomly selected based on land line telephone numbers, in order to achieve 95 percent confidence intervals of 4.9 percent.

A list of fourteen questions (collecting nominal and ordinal data) was developed to address three broad research questions for respondents: a) are Canadians familiar with the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping? b) do Canadians think unarmed civilian peacekeeping is an effective strategy to reduce violence? and c) are Canadians supportive of their government adopting unarmed civilian peacekeeping as part of its foreign policy?

Participants were asked whether they were familiar with the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping. The telephone survey question was formulated to test recognition or familiarity of the concept (surveyors defined peacekeeping for the participants and then explained the difference between conventional and unarmed civilian peacekeeping) rather than ability to define it, as recognition was considered more realistic. This is based on a preliminary literature review on public support of unarmed civilian peacekeeping, which determined that outside of small activist circles, Canadians are unfamiliar with the terminology (Godbout 2012). Additionally, it is doubtful many Canadians would recognize the term unarmed civilian peacekeeping, as there is ongoing discussion even among practitioners and scholars as to how to arrive at an agreed-upon nomenclature (T. Wallis, personal communication, November 30, 2012).

After the definition of unarmed civilian peacekeeping was given, participants were presented with seven tasks of peacekeeping, and asked whether they thought the task would be better accomplished by traditional or unarmed peacekeeping operations (See Table Three). Participants were also asked to rate their support (on a scale of 1 to 5) of outcomes if Canada were to formally adopt unarmed civilian peacekeeping as part of its foreign policy (See Table Four). Following this, participants
were asked if they would support diverting federal funds currently used for conventional peacekeeping operations to support the establishment of an unarmed civilian peacekeeping service (see Table Five). Finally, participants were asked if they had any additional comments or opinions they wanted to express. Demographic variables of age, education and gender were also collected.

Pearson Correlation Coefficient and Chi Squared Analysis were used to determine any statistically significant relationships between participant demographics and responses.

Results

Table One displays the demographic breakdown of the survey participants according to the variables of gender, education, and age. Table Two displays the participants’ response to the question of whether they recognize the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping, after having received a definition by the surveyor. A sizable minority (40 percent) of respondents stated they were familiar with unarmed civilian peacekeeping. Demographic breakdown revealed that younger respondents and men were more likely to be familiar with the concept (add statistical significance and add education here).

Table Three displays participants’ perceptions comparing the effectiveness of unarmed versus conventional peacekeeping, utilizing seven outcomes, or measures of operational success, such as the ability to prevent further conflict. Testing for relationships between responses and demographic variables revealed scattered statistically significant relationships. Among them were several statistically significant associations between the variables of gender and education and five of the seven outcome variables (see Table Three). However, age and previous knowledge of unarmed civilian peacekeeping appeared to have little correlation with the outcome variables.

Table four displays the participants’ opinions on a number of potential consequences if Canada were to adopt unarmed civilian peacekeeping as part of its foreign policy, using a 5 point scale. The
responses to the five questions were fairly consistent, with the average responses (mean) ranging from 3.54 to 4.18, demonstrating that in general, participants agreed that adopting unarmed civilian peacekeeping would have positive consequences for Canada.

Table Five displays respondents’ opinions on whether they agree to diverting funds from traditional peacekeeping operations to support the establishment of a Canadian unarmed civilian peacekeeping service. Opinions were more varied, (mean 3.12) but were significantly correlated to age and education.

263 participants provided additional comments and opinions. A qualitative analysis of these responses generated a number of clusters or themes - four of which consisted of a minimum of fifteen responses. The first theme comprised 26 comments that generally supported the topic of unarmed civilian peacekeeping, as captured in the following: “Good idea to go non-armed” and “This is an innovative idea”. Twenty-six other comments comprised a second theme: support for Canada’s current peacekeeping operations and armed forces. This support was captured in comments such as the following: “proud of our legacy of peacekeeping” and “very proud of Canadians playing the role of peacekeepers”. A third theme that emerged (16 comments) was a sense of concern that unarmed civilian peacekeeping would put Canadians participating in unarmed peacekeeping operations at risk: “It is crazy to have peacekeepers not able to protect themselves” and “unarmed seems dangerous for the peacekeeper”. A final theme (15 comments) is reflected in suggestions that Canada should put more focus on domestic issues rather than foreign conflicts: “There is enough poverty here in Canada – we should be helping our people first.”

**Discussion**

In general terms, the survey demonstrates a higher than expected familiarity with the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping and overall agreement that unarmed civilian peacekeeping would be successful in achieving goals such as reducing violence and improving Canada’s image. However, results
were less decisive with regards to support for the funding of an unarmed civilian peacekeeping force at the expense of Canada’s current peacekeeping operations. The following section expands on this discussion under the headings of: Canadian Public Familiarity with Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping; Demographic Correlations with Support for Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping, Unarmed or Armed: Which is Better; Benefits of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping are Acknowledged; and Final Thoughts.

1. Canadian public familiarity with unarmed civilian peacekeeping

The significant minority (40 percent) of participants who stated they recognized the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping is initially a bit surprising, considering the specific topic almost never makes its way into the mainstream media (Godbout 2012). Perhaps this percentage is supported by participants’ recognition of the tenets of unarmed civilian peacekeeping – mediation, relationship building and accompaniment – all of which may be becoming increasingly familiar to the Canadian public. With the surge in Canadian capacity in international mediation (Hoffman 2013), proliferation of community-based programs in public schools and peace studies education in public and post secondary institutions (UNESCO, 2002), it stands to reason that awareness of nonviolent practices are seeping into the awareness of average Canadians.

2. Demographic Correlations with Support for Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping

Pearson Correlation Coefficient and Chi Squared Analyses demonstrated a number of statistically significant correlations between demographic variables and opinion. However, no overall pattern seemed to emerge. For the questions on which method (unarmed versus armed) would be more effective, women and people with higher education were more likely to support unarmed peacekeeping (see Table Three). With regards to describing potential benefits of unarmed civilian peacekeeping, younger respondents and women were more likely to support unarmed peacekeeping as well (see Table
Participant familiarity with unarmed civilian peacekeeping was only correlated with one of the twelve variables (Prevent further armed conflict) from Tables Three and Four.

It is not surprising to report that respondents who reported higher education, younger age or female gender were more likely to support unarmed civilian peacekeeping as other research indicates that older people and men are more likely to support our traditional military (Clements 2012, Headley and Reitzig 2012). However, these individual correlations were not consistent and further hypothesis-testing studies are warranted to further understand how demographics are associated with support for unarmed civilian peacekeeping.

3. Unarmed or Armed: Which is Better?

Table Three reveals Canadian opinions on comparing the effectiveness of unarmed versus armed peacekeeping. In six of the seven questions, unarmed peacekeeping was considered to be more effective than conventional armed peacekeeping. Additionally, in the same six of seven cases, the majority of respondents believed that unarmed civilian peacekeeping was either more effective or equally effective (range 53% - 71%). In fact, at least two thirds of respondents believed that unarmed peacekeepers would be equal or better than traditional peacekeeping in attaining longer term goals of reducing global violence, achieving lasting peace and breaking the cycle of violence in protracted conflicts.

Unarmed peacekeeping did not receive majority support on only one outcome: the ability to allow humanitarian aid to reach those in need. Almost half of respondents believed that armed peacekeepers would be more effective. This result may reflect the impact of recent high profile cases of humanitarian workers being abducted by armed militant groups. The Canadian public sentiments are probably reinforced not only by media images of civilian abductions by militants, but also by positive images of armed peacekeepers posing with happy children who are receiving much needed rations. Canadians
strongly identify their armed forces with the task of delivering humanitarian aid (Sjolander 2009). Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) argue that our faith in the military as a means to conquer malevolent forces is embedded in our collective culture.

4. Benefits of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping are Acknowledged

Table Four demonstrates that in general, respondents believed that adopting unarmed civilian peacekeeping would have a positive impact on Canada. On outcomes ranging from Canada’s image as a peace maker, a leader and innovator, respondents offered support for the notion of adopting unarmed civilian peacekeeping into Canada’s repertoire.

However, Table Five demonstrated a reticence to back a specific and tangible step to adopting unarmed peacekeeping. When asked about diverting funds from traditional peacekeeping to finance an unarmed civilian peacekeeping strategy (Table Five), the mean score (3.12) is relatively low. In fact, over one-fifth of respondents strongly disagreed with the proposed funding rearrangement. There are several different perspectives to explain this stance. First of all, Canadian support for their armed forces in general, and Canadian peacekeeping missions specifically, is very high (Berdahl and Raney 2010, Sjolander 2009), and peacekeeping is still deeply seen as entrenched in military operations – one that involves the use of arms (Earle 2009). Perhaps, then, the responses displayed in Table Five are more reflective of a fear of diverting resources away from something that is honored and revered rather than a lack of support for financing unarmed civilian peacekeeping. Future research may warrant the exploration of how Canadians or others would support the incorporation of unarmed civilian peacekeeping in ways that did not involve a perceived weakening of traditional mechanisms. On the other hand, perhaps more effort needs to be focussed on challenging entrenched societal attitudes which steadfastly support military over nonviolent strategies- attitudes which Chenoweth and Stephan call outdated (2011). Finally, the responses may simply reflect a lack of understanding that unarmed
civilians. Peacekeeping is actually a cost-effective alternative to traditional armed peacekeeping.

Regardless, the implications of these responses to the question of diverting funds are noteworthy for advocates of incorporating unarmed civilian peacekeeping into Canadian foreign policy.

5. Final Thoughts: What We Have now is Working; Peacekeepers need Arms for Protection

The open-ended comments that participants offered at the end of the survey warrant further reflection. As noted in the previous section, the final open-ended comments overall supported the findings of the survey questions that unarmed civilian peacekeeping is supported by Canadians. In addition, two other major themes emerged: concern that being unarmed would place Canadian peacekeepers in harm’s way, and strong support for current conventional peacekeeping operations.

Firstly, the concern about the danger of unarmed civilian peacekeeping may simply be a function of poor understanding of the actual role of unarmed civilian peacekeeping personnel. Comparing the danger levels of armed versus unarmed peacekeepers would be difficult as mission circumstances vary greatly. Two thousand two hundred and thirty one United Nations (armed) peacekeepers have been killed since 1990 (United Nations, 2013) as compared to only four unarmed civilian peacekeepers in the same time frame (M. Duncan, August 3, 2013, personal communication).

Although a meaningful comparison of these figures is difficult due to the disparate denominators and differing conditions in which the two forms of peacekeeping operate, it is worthwhile to further discuss the four unarmed civilian peacekeeping deaths. All of the four unarmed civilian peacekeeping deaths since 1990 were of members of the International Solidarity Movement, an organization that provides a peacekeeping role in Palestine. However, Goy (2012) aptly notes that International Solidarity Movement is an organization that combines peacekeeping with the additional roles of advocacy and solidarity. According to Goy’s research, advocating for an oppressed group and “taking sides” in one’s peacekeeping role significantly increases the level of danger in which peacekeepers are placed. These
activists’ tactics have included nonviolent action, civil disobedience and confrontation of armed soldiers. For these reasons, other major unarmed peacekeeping groups like Peace Brigades International and Nonviolent Peaceforce adhere to strict policies of non-partisanship and abidance with local laws. This author was unable to identify any deaths of unarmed civilian peacekeepers since 1990 with organizations that adhere to these two principles. Therefore, in the absence of reliable methods to compare death rates of armed versus unarmed peacekeepers, it is nonetheless significant to note that no deaths have occurred since 1990 among nonpartisan unarmed civilian peacekeeping groups.

Nonetheless, the results of this survey demonstrate that the perceived danger of unarmed civilian peacekeeping needs to be addressed in order to gain greater public support. More research needs to be conducted to compare the levels of danger between unarmed and conventional peacekeepers, coupled with more education about the relative safety of engaging in unarmed civilian peacekeeping.

**Conclusions**

Recent history has recorded a number of significant trends that impact how nations respond to violent conflicts in other parts of the world. These trends include the following: a global reduction in most forms of direct violence (including fewer wars and war-related deaths) accompanied by a growing global intolerance of violence; new evidence supporting the superior effectiveness of nonviolent strategies over traditional military options; and a shifting emphasis away from “victor’s justice to reconciliation and peace building which address underlying social and economics determinants of violent conflicts. In such a global context, it is therefore paramount for nations to re-evaluate long-held practices which rely on the traditional belief that armed response is necessary and efficient in solving large scale conflicts. Such a reflection must consider evidence-based research on effective and improved outcomes, as measured by financial resource utilization and human costs, including suffering and death.
Unarmed civilian peacekeeping is one such option which has grown in use in the past twenty years. Recent research has demonstrated the effectiveness of utilizing specially trained and unarmed civilians in achieving the goals of peacekeeping, at a reduced cost and with improved longer term outcomes, particularly with regards to breaking cycles of violence.

This survey of 400 Canadians demonstrates a substantial segment of the Canadian population state they are familiar with the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping. This relatively high level of familiarity is perhaps the result of the proliferation of nonviolent practices and education in our Canadian institutions, including public and post secondary education, criminal justice and family welfare systems.

While current opinion polls reveal that Canadians are generally against war in general, and do not support their troops engaging in combat missions, there is less information available to determine what alternative solutions might be endorsed. This study provides the unique demonstration that Canadians in general, support the utilization of unarmed civilian peacekeepers as part of their government’s foreign policy. The respondents believed that unarmed civilian peacekeeping would be more successful than traditional armed peacekeeping in preventing further armed conflict, preventing human rights abuses reducing small arms trade and breaking the cycle of violence. Respondents also indicated that adopting unarmed civilian peacekeeping would improve Canada’s image as a peacemaker as well as a leader and innovator on the global scene. Two important issues to be addressed, as identified by this study’s respondents, include the fear that unarmed peacekeepers could be placed in situations of undue danger, and ongoing support for traditional peacekeeping missions.

This study provides relevant issues to ponder for proponents of a Canadian unarmed civilian peacekeeping service. While there is now growing evidence of the effectiveness of nonviolent techniques, evidence-based research is usually insufficient in and of itself to lead to policy change –
public support is usually a key factor. This study demonstrates that public support is present in Canada. However, the author suggests public support could be further consolidated by considering three important issues. Firstly, concerns regarding the perceived dangers of unarmed civilian peacekeeping need to be addressed in public education campaigns, while future research needs to demonstrate further empirical evidence of the safety of peacekeeping without arms. Secondly, because of strong and entrenched public support for Canada’s traditional peacekeeping legacy, those promoting the incorporation of unarmed civilian peacekeeping into Canadian foreign policy will likely achieve greater success by working with the conventional peacekeeping establishment, rather than apart from it. This would include commitment to maintaining and establishing working relationships with United Nations Peacekeeping personnel as well as Canadian peacekeeping personnel. The promotion of unarmed civilian peacekeeping that is set in an “anti war” context may be interpreted in a negative light. Thirdly, Canadian expertise in negotiation strategies such as unarmed civilian peacekeeping already exists (Carment 2013, Hoffman 2013), thereby offering tangible support for practical ways to achieve this goal.

Canadians view themselves as peacemakers in the international area. However, rather than simply being content with perceived past successes, it is time to invigorate this peacekeeping image with innovative and evidence-based practices while ensuring Canada’s legacy as a peacekeeping nation continues. Because of Canada’s robust democratic infrastructure and the willingness of politicians and policy makers to represent the views of the public, there is considerable potential for public influence on foreign policy.
References


Table 1
Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school or less</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college or university</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed college/technical school</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Completed university</td>
<td>34%</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-39</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 400

Table 2
Recognition of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeepers: Participants responses when asked whether they were familiar with the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unarmed civilian peacekeepers are specially trained peace professionals that are put in similar situations as armed peacekeepers. Before this explanation, had you heard of unarmed civilian peacekeepers?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>40-59</td>
<td>39%</td>
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<tr>
<td>60+</td>
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<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (N=376)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or less</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or trade school</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>63%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Completed university</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Total N = 400
Table 3
Armed or Unarmed Peacekeeping Missions: Which type is more likely to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Armed</th>
<th>Unarmed</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result in lower human rights abuses¹ ²</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent further armed conflict¹ ²</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow humanitarian aid to reach those in need¹ ² ³</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work towards longer term goals of reducing global violence¹ ²</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work towards longer term goals of reducing small arms trade¹ ²</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve lasting peace¹ ²</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break the cycle of violence in long drawn-out wars¹ ²</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. denotes statistical significance with gender (<.05, Chi Squared Analysis)
2. denotes statistical significance with education (<.05, Chi Squared Analysis)
3. denotes statistical significance with recognition of UCP (<.05, Chi Squared Analysis)
Table 4
If Canada incorporates Unarmed Peacekeeping into our international defense policy, on a scale of 1-5, what impact will this have on:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada's image as a peace keeper</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>1.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada's image as a leader</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>1.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada's image in terms of innovation</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>1.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cost of peacekeeping missions</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>1.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood of other countries requesting Canada's assistance</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>1.112</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1. denotes statistical significance with age (<.05, Pearson Correlation Coefficient)
2. denotes statistical significance with gender (<.05, Chi Squared Analysis)
3. denotes statistical significance with education (<.05, Pearson Correlation Coefficient)
Table 5
Do you agree with the Canadian government diverting resources from its conventional military budget to fund a Canadian unarmed civilian peacekeeping force?

1. denotes statistical significance with age (<.05, Pearson Correlation Coefficient)
3. denotes statistical significance with education (<.05, Pearson Correlation Coefficient)