“Serve Canada with Men like These”:
Masculinity, “Peacekeeping,” and National Identity in Cold War Canada, 1956-1959

by

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Abstract

This paper explores the ways in which the construction of militarized masculinities in Cold War Canadian media reflected the hegemonic masculinities and broader social trends of the period. This paper focuses specifically on the recruiting materials produced for and by the Canadian Army between 1956 and 1959, the time of the Suez Canal Crisis and the beginnings of “Canadian peacekeeping.” Through the mobilization of modern and anti-modern masculine identities attached to hegemonic and idealized Cold War Canadian masculinities, the Army created the image of the “Modern Warrior” to portray itself as an occupation and culture for “real Canadian men.” This identity simultaneously corresponded with Canada’s new “peacekeeping” identity. By presenting certain images of Canadian manhood as the “ideal” Canadian identity and by associating this “ideal” masculinity with military service, the Army’s recruitment advertisements conflated Cold War rhetoric of service, defence, national citizenship, cultural belonging, and “ideal” ethnicity with a Canadian identity available only to a specific (and often exclusive) segment of society. Because military service has long been considered the crux of citizenship, these advertisements (re)entrenched patterns of middle-class, heterosexual, Anglo-Saxon masculine power and dominance in a time of social uncertainty and cultural anxiety through the reaffirmation of this group’s “privilege” to serve the nation.

Key Words:
Canada; Cold War; military recruitment; masculinity; gender; media representations; advertising; identity; nationalism; anti-modern modernism; peacekeeping; Suez Canal Crisis
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Introduction

Be Prepared, Be Prepared, Be Prepared – For Your Future and Canada’s:

There’s a healthy outdoor life for you in the Army – a chance to see new places, become a leader, make lasting friendships, learn new skills, become fit and strong … a man’s life!

1956 Canadian Army Recruitment Ad

What vision of masculinity suited this new bipolar world, so suffused with the overhanging Armageddon to come? In a sense, the imagery of the Cold War had come full circle to that of the Middle Ages: believers versus heathens in combat for the soul of civilization. What was civilian and what was military, what in the sphere of public behaviour and what private, in a world where state-sponsored paranoia encouraged a constant search for the “subversives” among us (or them)?

Leo Braudy

From Chivalry to Terrorism

Masculinity and manhood in 1950s Canada were complicated and highly politicized. Although Canadian men enjoyed greater social freedom and faced fewer gender-defined boundaries than women in this period, they nevertheless had to contend with the restrictions of normalized and idealized masculine identities. Much has been written on the experience of North American women in the Cold War period, but the experiences of North American men, and Canadian men in particular, and the ways in which they negotiated the culturally defined notions of masculinity and manhood in their daily lives have largely been ignored. Thus, the historical and critical study of masculinity and the recognition of masculinity as a powerful historical process are relatively new ventures. As Christopher Dummitt notes:

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Until recently, historians had not seriously considered men’s gendered identities. The omission was not a minor one … the omission meant that historians had neglected one of the primary ways that power operates and is symbolized. Some conservative historians have lamented the loss of unity brought on by the proliferation of historical topics in the turn to social and cultural history since the 1970s. Yet the comforting national historical narratives that they lament were part of (and not incidental to) a broader process of making men’s power seem natural by making the historical process of its creation invisible.5 [emphasis added]

To avoid replicating processes that normalize gender hierarchies, many researchers from all disciplines are reframing the ways gender is conceptualized to question the supposed “naturalness” of gender identities, and of masculinities in particular.6 As Sanjay Srivastava explains, engaging with constructions of masculine identities in critical ways is “an exploration into the naturalization of the category ‘man’ through which men have come to be regarded as ungendered and as the ‘universal subject of human history.’”7

The early years of the Cold War are often viewed as a time of general political and social anxiety. Of paramount concern for many was the re-establishment of pre-war social structures and predominately, the reinforcement of supposedly “traditional” gender roles in work, family, and society. Although men and women negotiated and modified gender identities and expressions in everyday life, gender roles in their ideal constructions often became fixed and unwavering. Television shows, films, and books, political and cultural rhetoric, the opinions of “experts,” and advertising all contributed to the normalization of a specific family structure with corresponding gender-defined responsibilities.8 These idealized notions of what it meant to be a

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5 Dummitt, The Manly Modern, 17.
man or woman lead to collective and individual concerns over the ability or inability to live up to these idealized and, in many cases, unattainable identities.

As in other times of social upheaval and cultural change, many Canadians imagined that white masculinity and white Canadian men’s racialized and gendered dominance were severely threatened in the postwar period by processes of modern life. This provoked fears of a supposed postwar “crisis of masculinity.” Modernity, domestication, and suburbanization all, it was feared, “feminized” boys and men, resulting in the eradication of a “pure” or “authentic” masculinity and the moral and physical decline of the nation. In a country faced with the threat of nuclear war, the physical and moral health of the nation was vital and thus the “crisis” of men (and masculine power) was also the crisis of Canada. Whether these fears were grounded in any semblance of truth is debateable. Nevertheless, the alleged “crisis of masculinity” affected the construction of masculine archetypes in the postwar period in numerous ways.

These gender ideals and anxieties were of particular concern to the Canadian military. The recruitment campaigns of the 1950s portrayed the Canadian military as an avenue to re-establishing one’s masculinity, both implicitly and explicitly. As Mike O’Brien states, “in many cultural and historical contexts, warfare has been seen as a quintessentially masculine activity,” and this was no different in Cold War Canada. As a continuation of the long-standing tradition of linking male citizenship with military service, Canadian society and the military conflated Cold War conflict and the military with notions of masculinity, and more specifically, with a

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11 For example, see Mark Moss, Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Moss describes the ‘cult of manliness’ prevalent in education, media, literature, and culture in Victorian and Edwardian Ontario, which influenced the development of young boys who as men eagerly enlisted in the military when the First World War broke out in 1914 to ‘prove’ their masculine worth.
hegemonic masculinity predicated on the belief that military service was an automatic validation of manhood. As a result, military recruitment campaigns of the Cold War era played off of this ideal of a “militarized masculinity.”

These Cold War gender anxieties and the “crisis of masculinity” led to the social constructions of idealized masculine identities. These identities were then mobilized by advertising agencies in various marketing campaigns, including those for the Canadian military. This paper will question how the media produced in Cold War Canada reflected and (re)enforced the construction of specific gendered identities. By focusing specifically on the recruiting materials produced for the Canadian Army between 1956 and 1959, this paper will investigate the ways in which the Army’s advertising campaigns projected images of culturally idealized and hegemonic masculine identities, thereby creating the image of the “Modern Warrior.”

Part I of this paper discusses the methodology of my media analysis and the identity, media, and gender theories that frame and influence this research. Part II explores the historical relationship between masculine identities and military culture, and the historical themes and events of Cold War Canada that contributed to the construction of specific masculine identities in both military culture and Canadian society. Part III delves into a semiotic reading and media analysis of the recruitment documents produced for and by the Canadian Army in the late 1950s, and an examination of the ways in which these ads reflected and contributed to cultural constructions of hegemonic masculinity. Finally, Part IV will conclude with a rumination on the implications of this postwar hegemonic masculinity, its connections to Cold War Canadian militarism, and the development of the national “peacekeeping” identity and mythology in Canadian culture.
PART I: Methodological and Theoretical Frameworks

Methodology

This paper approaches the construction of masculinities in Cold War Canada through the military recruitment documents produced for and by the Department of National Defence (DND) and the Canadian Army in the late 1950s. Militaries, as organizations and cultures, are particularly interesting and important subjects to consider in the study of gender and identity, as they have historically been and continue to be “a site for the creation and propagation of ideas about masculinity” and “the nexus of gender and citizenship.”\(^\text{12}\) As an interdisciplinary study, this research draws from works of cultural, gender, and military historians and theorists, as well as the fields of media studies and semiotics. This interdisciplinary methodology emphasizes the interconnectedness of civilian and military culture and the impact of media in the production and construction of masculine military identities. An interdisciplinary study such as this also fosters a more comprehensive understanding of the “big picture” and the historical processes at work in Cold War Canada that shaped civilian society and the military institution throughout the 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century and beyond.

The primary focus of this research is the collection of military recruitment documents, particularly those produced for and by the Canadian Army between 1956 and 1959, which are housed at the archives of the Canadian War Museum. Military recruiters utilized many forms of media, and thus the Museum’s collection includes newspaper and magazine print ads, information brochures, and radio and television spots. This paper considers and analyzes the literal and symbolic meanings, messages, and imagery of the print ads in newspapers and magazines and the scripts for radio and television commercials. Through a semiotic and literary

media analysis, the written language, diction, and imagery of these ads are analyzed for denotative and connotative meanings, with particular attention paid to the ways in which men, women, children, soldiers, masculinity, nation, citizenship, service, and employment are represented and understood, and the ways in which the language and images are gendered or imbued with characteristics associated with a hegemonic masculinity specific to Cold War Canada.

This paper focuses on the English-language military recruitment documents produced in the 1950s, with specific attention given to those produced for and by the Canadian Army. This is a methodological choice to privilege Anglophone advertisements, based partly to my own limited ability to accurately translate the symbolic meanings of the Francophone advertisements and to fully appreciate their cultural impact. The choice to focus only on the Anglophone recruiting documents also rests with the fact that the idealized and “normative” Canadian identity, and thus the targeted audience of the majority of these Cold War military recruitment documents, was an English-speaking person of British descent, as will be discussed later in this paper.

It is also important to note that although these advertisements were commissioned by the Department of National Defence, and may reveal the Army’s “espoused values,” they may not accurately represent the Army’s values-in-use, organizational culture, or identity. Rather, these recruitment advertisements symbolize the message(s) that the Army wished to present to the Canadian public to make itself an appealing option to postwar Canadians. Furthermore, the recruitment campaigns would have also influenced the kind of individual who enlisted, who in turn would have brought their own values and norms to the organization, thus affecting the military identity.
Another valuable primary source for this research is the widely read\textsuperscript{13} Maclean’s Magazine. Many of the more elaborate recruitment advertisements were produced specifically for Canadian magazines like Maclean’s. While some ads were crafted for the specific audiences of magazines devoted to farming, labour movements, or the skilled-trades,\textsuperscript{14} those produced for Maclean’s were particularly geared towards the magazine’s desired audience, predominately those belonging (or those aspiring) to the urban/suburban, middle-class, and Anglo-Saxon Canadian sector of the population – who in many ways represented the ‘ideal’ Canadian population in the postwar period.\textsuperscript{15} Various Maclean’s articles are used throughout this paper for purposes of contextualization.

Very little scholarly work has been undertaken on the construction of gender in military advertising in the Cold War period or, more generally, on the ways in which the media have historically represented the Canadian military and its culture.\textsuperscript{16} This oversight represents a significant gap in the study of Canadian cultural and military history and ignores the powerful historical and cultural processes that exist between Canadian society and the military. This paper represents one reading of the symbolic and literal messages of the Army’s recruiting documents


\textsuperscript{14} The Canadian War Museum’s collection of postwar Army advertisements includes detailed records of which advertisements appeared in which publications or on which television of radio stations, as well as their frequency, placement, and time slots. For example, farming and labour magazines often targeted the fathers of teenage boys with reference to the development of good skills and training; magazines which focused on music had specific ads promoting service with military bands; and ads in engineering magazines, quite rightly, highlighted the opportunities for engineers in the Canadian military.

\textsuperscript{15} The targeted or ideal readership of Maclean’s Magazine in the 1950s is evident in the types of products advertised (consumer and luxury goods such as cars, boats, alcohol, cigarettes, televisions, household cleaners and renovation supplies, high-end jewellery, watches, and clothing, as well as life insurance, financial investments, and travel), all of which represented the affluence (real or desired) of the white middle-class. The subject matter of the magazine’s articles also represents the views, concerns, and values of a largely Anglophone, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class Canadian audience, as the articles centered largely on questions of immigration, Canadian identity and nationalism (i.e. a British nationalism), suburbanization, physical and mental health, Canadian history, and culture, politics, and art.

from the 1950s and one interpretation of how they reflected and shaped idealized gender norms in that specific cultural context. This paper will complement the emerging body of work on Canadian masculine identities in the Cold War, while simultaneously bringing the influence of the Canadian military institution and culture into the historical conversation.

Just as feminist readings and analyses of media representations of gender have been driven by the desire to understand “how images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality, domination, and oppression,” and particularly the ways these representations impact women, so too is this study an attempt to interrogate the ways that representations of gender in media, and particularly in advertising, have influenced gender identities and normalized masculine supremacy and hegemony. By rendering the invisibility of men’s gender construction visible, this research is meant to challenge, question, and deconstruct the cultural processes by which white, heterosexual, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglophone men were portrayed in the media in ways which reinforced their claims to privilege, citizenship, violence, and power in the 20th century and beyond.

Myth, Media, and the Construction of Identity

Identity, as Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets explain, is “the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.” Antonio Gramsci believed that specific ideologies succeed because they construct subjects by creating new identities to be occupied. Similarly, Stuart Hall argues that “identities are never completed,

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19 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 56.
never finished” and are “always in the process of formation.”

Rather than being permanent or static, identities are always in a process of evolution, subject to the influence of external factors. Identity is also influenced by personal and collective histories, as “identity is always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation.” However, while identities are always linked to the past, they are never wholly defined by it. Identities are composed of multiple discourses, which emphasize the many compromises made between differences and similarities in the process of finding identities to which one can belong.

Some scholars have questioned whether ‘identity’ remains a topic worthy of scholarship and study. These theorists, as Linda Martin Alcoff explains, “express a worry that the very concept of identity involves domination because it presumes sameness, thus excluding difference.” For many Cultural Studies scholars, including Paul Gilroy and Lawrence Grossberg, the notions of ‘identity’ and especially racial identity are the consequences of the political, economic, and social agendas of colonialism, as the supposed differences of identity are nothing more than the continuation of the colonial project. Other scholars, such as Judith Butler, question whether identities formed around race, gender, or sexuality – especially those identities that historically have been subject to marginalization or those defined as the subaltern – should be embraced, celebrated, and used for social and political empowerment; or if these

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21 Gill, Gender and the Media, 56.
identities should be dismantled and deconstructed because they represent hegemonic and
dominant power over different, and therefore vulnerable, peoples. In this vein, accepting one’s
identity is practically equivalent to accepting dominant discourses and performing identities and
roles that those with power have crafted to suit their needs.

Despite these criticisms, however, the study of identity and the historical and
contemporary processes of power that shape individual and collective identities is still a worthy
pursuit. Scholars must, as Stuart Hall explains, “theorise identity as constituted, not outside but
within representation” and think of media “not as a second-order mirror held up to reflect what
already exists, but as that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of
subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak.” The evolution of
identities, and the specific historical circumstances that brought them about, are equally
important to consider.

Because of their malleability, identities are subject to influence by the hegemonic
mobilization of external political, social, cultural, and economic forces. Hegemony, first
theorized by Antonio Gramsci, refers to the invisible cultural and ideological power that exists
between classes and other socially divided and hierarchical groups. This power can be cultural,
social, racial, linguistic, and political. As Gill explains, hegemony signifies the processes that
allow certain groups to assert social, political, and cultural leadership and authority in society.
However, hegemony does not imply domination; rather, hegemony relies on winning the

28 Stuart Hall, “Cultural identity and diaspora,” in Identity, Community, Culture, Difference,
30 Gill, Gender and the Media, 55.
approval or consent of the people. One of the ways this is done is through representations in the media.

Media and the messages presented by news, film, literature, music, and advertising have profound impacts on the creation and evolution of identities. The consumption of media is one of the principal ways in which individuals encounter and confront cultural norms that influence personal and collective identities based on gender, class, race, religion, and nation. As Douglas Kellner argues:

The products of media culture provide materials out of which we forge our very identities; our sense of selfhood; our notion of what it means to be male or female; our sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality; and of “us” and “them.” Media images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values: what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil. Media stories provide the symbols, myths, and resources through which we constitute a common culture and through the appropriation of which we insert ourselves into this culture.

However, this is not to say that the media function or should function as a mirror to reality. This idea has been challenged by many media scholars as naïve and fraught with potentially damaging consequences for the understanding of gender/media relations. Rosalind Gill states that “[r]ather than reflecting reality … the media are involved in producing or constructing particular versions of reality in order to make them ‘real’ and persuasive.”

Advertisements are particularly powerful influences on identity creation. As Gill explains, “advertisements do not work by imposing meanings upon us or by manipulating us in some crude way. They create structures of meaning which sell products not for their use value,

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31 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 55.
34 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 44.
35 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 44.
[or] their functional value as objects, but in terms of ourselves as social beings.”

Advertising relies on the use of the mythic, or what Roland Barthes has called “depolaritized speech” and the “transformation of history into nature.” Through a series of sign-making systems, whereby certain ‘signs’ are imbued with specific ‘signified(s)’, each with a culturally determined value or level of importance, advertising constructs mythologies around certain products, companies, or organizations by endowing them with meanings that appear to be both “natural and eternal.”

At the national level, the media help create what Duncan S. Bell calls the national ‘mythscape’ or “the page upon which the multiple and often conflicting nationalist narratives are (re)written.”

One of the primary ways that advertisements speak to their audiences is through “interpellation.” First theorized by the French Marxist scholar Louis Althusser in 1971, interpellation is the process through which an identity or sense of self is drawn into and shaped by the dominant ideologies within a society. Individuals respond to interpellation because it “is the price for recognition” by others, and doing so allows people to feel that they “belong” to a society or culture.

As David Gauntlett explains, interpellation often takes place when a person connects with or is “hailed” by a media text; this connection “means that the text has interpellated us into a certain set of assumptions, and caused us to tacitly accept a particular approach to the world.” Thus, the concept of interpellation may be particularly useful when studying advertising, as it could be argued that advertisers interpellate or beckon potential consumers by establishing semiotic links between the product and the consumer’s current or

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36 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 50.
37 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 49.
38 Gill, *Gender and the Media*, 49.
41 Alcoff, “Who’s Afraid of Identity Politics?” 321
42 Gauntlett, *Media, Gender, and Identity*, 27.
desired identity. In the case of military recruitment advertisements, the advertisements’ messages ‘hailed’ Canadian men who identified (or wished to identify) with the representations of hegemonic and idealized masculinity and thus recognized themselves as the “subject” of the ad. However, Hall and other scholars have critiqued interpellation’s attribution of power to grand ideologies and institutions, and its dismissal of the power of individual determinism.\(^\text{43}\)

The notion of ‘belonging’ and the desire to belong is key to the construction of identity. Benedict Anderson’s theory of “imagined communities” is related to this need to belong. Anderson defines the nation as “an imagined political community,” saying that it is “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of this imagined communion.”\(^\text{44}\) The nation and the national or cultural collective identity are therefore created and maintained by a “shared set of ideals and myths,” which unite an otherwise disparate group.\(^\text{45}\) The pertinence of “imagined communities” extends beyond the nation and can also be applied, in certain ways, to understanding other collective identities, including those defined by gender, race, religion, or organization.

The media produce discourses which bind individuals together through their similarities, creating these “imagined communities.” As Sandra Whitworth argues, in the case of national identities:

National identity is constructed through the use of images and ideals – through discourses – that give coherence and integrity to an otherwise disparate group of people … These discourses help set the boundaries of both the inside and outside of the state, delimiting not only who belongs but also how that state differs from “others.”\(^\text{46}\)

\(^\text{43}\) Gauntlett, Media, Gender, and Identity, 27.
\(^\text{46}\) Whitworth, Men, Militarism, & UN Peacekeeping, 14.
“Imagined communities” and national identities are also shaped by exclusions. As Bell argues, to identify oneself as a part of a particular nation or group, and to be recognized by others in this way, is necessary “for the formation of the inside/outside, self/other, us/them boundaries that define the topography of nationalist sentiment and rhetoric.”47 “Imagined communities” and national identities are therefore shaped as much by similarities as they are by differences and the dichotomies produced by the “gaze of the Other.” Individuals and societies define themselves less by what they are, and more by what they are not.48 As Hall asserts, “the notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense. As a process, as a narrative, as a discourse, it is always told from the position of the Other.”49 ‘Black’ defines ‘white’ and ‘masculinity’ defines ‘femininity’, and it is through these dichotomies, and through the recognition and acceptance of ‘difference’ between self and ‘Other’, that meaning and values are bestowed onto certain identities, and withheld from others.

**Defining Masculinity(-ies): Gender Theory and Hegemonic Masculinity**

As Christopher Dummitt states, gender is “a historically changing set of concepts and relations that gives meaning to differences between men and women”50 and those who resist classification. Gender is a social construct51 reflecting the cultural attitudes, perceptions, and values that are placed on bodies to demarcate difference, establish hierarchies, and bestow power in any given society. Judith Butler, one of the leading scholars in post-structuralism and gender

47 Bell, “Mythscapes,” 64.
49 Hall, “Old and New Identities,” 49.
50 Dummitt, The Manly Modern, 15.
theory, calls this process “gender performativity.” According to Butler, gender is a performance or a “sequence of acts,” and is, usually, assigned at birth and continued throughout one’s life. As Butler explains in her seminal 1990 text, *Gender Trouble*:

> Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural thing. A political genealogy of gender ontologies, if it is successful, will deconstruct the substantive appearance of gender into its constitutive acts and locate and account for those acts within the compulsory frames set by the various forces that police the social appearance of gender.

Thus, different genders and their associated characteristics are imposed upon bodies at birth as a result of biological markers, and over time and through cultural repetition and performance come to constitute an identity. Notions of masculinity and femininity are neither “natural” nor inherent, and their meanings are contingent on time, place, and context. Additionally, the gender binary and the assumption that one can only be *either* masculine/male or feminine/female, with no space in between, is also a result of cultural context. People consciously and unconsciously adhere to socially defined and culturally dependent “gender scripts,” which dictate which gender identities are acceptable and how they should be displayed.

However, gender is now commonly understood to be a fluid and flexible configuration, incorporating multi-faceted identities that defy the boundaries of the gender binary and are independent of either biological sex or sexual orientation. As such, there exist a range of gender identities within and between the various conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity. The gender binary as it is commonly understood is a decidedly Western

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construction. In contrast, many non-Western societies, including many North American indigenous cultures, have long acknowledged the existence of the “two-spirited,” or those who simultaneously embody both masculine and feminine characteristics. Cultural context is key to understanding how gender is constructed.

Masculinity is loosely defined as the possession of qualities, characteristics, and attributes that have traditionally been associated with biological maleness. As Srivastava clarifies, masculinity is “the socially produced but embodied ways of being male.” Masculinity manifests in certain mannerisms, ways of speaking, social interactions, and behaviours that are usually presented or imagined as being superior to femininity, masculinity’s perceived antithesis. Masculinity is a performance – a masquerade – rather than an essential or inherent identity.

In the modern western world, masculinity commonly carries connotations of strength, physical agility, virility, aggression, ruggedness, and heterosexuality, as well as responsibility, competence, and authority. Although aspects of masculinity can be exhibited by any gender, men are the most likely to be held to and judged by the culturally dictated and often unattainable paradigms of idealized masculinity. It is also crucial to note that there exist a variety of masculinities, varying with age, race, class, ethnicity, language, education, and religion, and their meanings and values fluctuate across time and space.

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57 Brown, Enlisting Masculinity, 19.
62 Gill, Gender and the Media, 30.
Sociologist and gender theorist R.W. Connell first theorized the concept of “hegemonic masculinity”\textsuperscript{65} or the struggle for gender-based dominance,\textsuperscript{66} as an extension of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony. Hegemonic masculinity is the highest form of idealized masculinity in any given culture and refers to the “norms and practices which are most valued by the politically dominant class and which help to maintain its authority.”\textsuperscript{67} In its most basic sense, hegemonic masculinity bestows power and privilege onto certain groups of men and subordinates women (and others) in patriarchal societies through cultural and political processes. Hegemonic masculinity relates not only to hierarchies imposed between men and women; hierarchies are also constructed between different groups of men and between various masculine identities based on sexuality, race, age, occupation, and class.\textsuperscript{68} As such, “masculinity” does not refer to a specific type of man, but rather, as R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt argue, “a way that men position themselves through discursive practices.”\textsuperscript{69}

While it is highly unlikely that the hegemonic masculinity will be the most common masculinity, the hegemonic masculinity in any society is often the idealized masculinity, or the most popular constructed image of “manhood” and common understanding of what it means to be a “man” in a particular time and place. The hegemonic masculinity is a status to which most men aspire but few will ever attain, as a result of factors like race, class, education, occupation, and sexuality.\textsuperscript{70} Employment (both professional and manual), physical fitness and athletics, and,  

\textsuperscript{65} In Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity, there can never be a corresponding hegemonic femininity, as all forms of femininity will be considered subordinate in some way by the patriarchal power structures which dominate society. See Sandra Whitworth, \textit{Men, Militarism, and Masculinities}, 175.

\textsuperscript{66} Greig, \textit{Ontario Boys}, xiii.


\textsuperscript{69} R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” \textit{Gender \\& Society} 9, no. 6 (December 2005): 841.

\textsuperscript{70} Brown, \textit{Enlisting Masculinity}, 20.
most importantly, military service have often been portrayed and imagined as avenues to achieving masculine power and privilege and to affirming a man’s place in the world.\textsuperscript{71} As the “cultural ideal,” the hegemonic masculinity is actively and persistently endorsed by institutions of power and popular culture through the production of “exemplary masculinities.”\textsuperscript{72} In the 1950s, military service was portrayed as a realization of manhood or as an “exemplary masculinity,” through the connections made between military culture and the hegemonic masculinity of the time in popular culture – white, heterosexual, middle-class, Anglophone, and simultaneously modern and anti-modern. These representations, as Grieg argues, contributed “to the continued production, reproduction, and rejuvenation of patriarchy” in the mid to late 20\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{73}

\textbf{PART II: Historical Contexts}

\textbf{Martial Masculinities in Canada: An Overview}

Military service, encompassing qualities of leadership, courage, allegiance and assertiveness, has historically been viewed as a “vital part of male citizenship,”\textsuperscript{74} creating a legacy of masculinity rooted in martial power that has persisted throughout the 20\textsuperscript{th} and 21\textsuperscript{st} centuries. Although speaking in the context of the American military, Melissa T. Brown argues that there exist strong historical and symbolic ties between military service, masculinity, and the “transformation of boys to men” in society.\textsuperscript{75} As she states, “of all the sites where masculinities are constructed, reproduced, and deployed, those associated with war and the military are some

\textsuperscript{71} See Deborah Cowen, \textit{Military Workforce: The Soldier and Social Citizenship in Canada} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
\textsuperscript{72} Grieg, \textit{Ontario Boys}, xiv.
\textsuperscript{73} Grieg, \textit{Ontario Boys}, xiv.
\textsuperscript{74} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 115.
\textsuperscript{75} Brown, \textit{Enlisting Masculinity}, 4.
of the most direct.”76 Although comparisons between the cultures of the American and Canadian military should be made with caution, Brown’s argument for the connections between militarism, masculinity, and masculine rites of passage are also applicable to postwar Canadian military culture.

In From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity, Leo Braudy traces the historical connections between masculine identity and military culture in the Western world. In particular, he links the vital relationship between masculinity, physical athleticism, and patriotism that gained influence in the 19th century:

As fears of national degeneracy grew throughout the century, the link between sports and national vitality, first promoted at the time of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, became even more important … Increasingly, sports and athletic games in the industrialized nations were emphasized as both a physical and moral preparation for war … Amid the new burdens of empire, sports could be the energizer and the purifier, creating the right sort of man, but also the right sort of soldier-imperialist, bringing civilized order and fair play to the frontier, along with rituals of initiation, physical pain, and manly stoicism that were not unlike those undergone by the more barbarous foe.77

In the Canadian context, masculinity and military service, primarily in the militia, have historically been intrinsically intertwined. Like other physical and dangerous occupations, such as the tough, manual labour in steel mills and the rugged, outdoor work of bush camps,78 the military has long been imagined as occupying a similarly harsh and demanding environment. Hazardous working conditions have often been viewed as a means to prove one’s masculinity – the rougher and more dangerous the work, the tougher the man.79

As urbanized, white-collar work became more prevalent and less prestigious throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, fewer men engaged in physical labour and as a result, more and more

76 Brown, Enlisting Masculinity, 21.
77 Braudy, From Chivalry to Terrorism, 339-343.
Canadian men, especially from the Anglophone middle-class, turned to the military and the militia not only as “a badge of respectability, but [as] a clear affirmation of manliness.”

Although in the years before the First World War, professional soldiers in Canada were denounced by the Canadian public and judged as men who could not succeed in any other line of work, the militia was, by contrast, comprised of “hard working farmers who were pure of motive and moral.” As such, the militia represented and was imagined as a respectable space for “true” Canadian men.

As Mike O’Brien argues, beginning in the 19th century, ‘manliness’ came increasingly to be constructed in militaristic terms, the ‘warrior’ becoming the quintessential ‘masculine’ figure. This often led to an emphasis on the “primitive” in defining an “authentic” martial masculinity, which stood in contrast to the potentially feminizing effects of modern civilization, especially in middle- and upper-class Victorian Canadian society. Matthew Barrett observes that the Canadian public exalted Gabriel Dumont, the famed Metis general of the 1885 North West Campaign, as an embodiment of heroic masculinity because of his “rugged manliness” and military strength and skill.

Dumont was venerated in late Victorian Canadian society despite his “racial inferiority” as an indigenous person precisely because his “primitiveness” was romanticized as a form of the “authentic” masculine identity ostensibly lost in modern “civilized” society.

This nostalgia for a romanticized “naturally Canadian” ruggedness is further explained by the “militia myth”: the “notion that highly motivated amateur soldiers were more effective in

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84 Barrett, “‘Hero of the Half-Breed Rebellion,’” 79.
modern warfare than regular troops,” and that citizen soldiers purportedly made better citizens.\textsuperscript{85} The militia also provided men from both urban and rural areas with an “exclusively male bastion”\textsuperscript{86} and gave them access to sports and male friendship. Furthermore, the militia fostered national and regimental pride.\textsuperscript{87} Building off of this is the 19\textsuperscript{th} century idea of “Muscular Christianity,” which, as O’Brien explains, stressed “the link between physical strength and prowess and moral restraint and self-control.”\textsuperscript{88} Thus, military service through “socially respectable” organizations like the militia provided Canadian men with “appropriate” avenues to exhibit the romanticized and “primitive” masculine traits of physical force and violence, while simultaneously upholding their “civilized” and modern identities as citizens, workers, and family men.\textsuperscript{89}

The World Wars simultaneously affirmed and challenged these notions of martial masculinity. In the First World War, years of institutional, cultural, and social pressure to conform to a nationalized and militarized masculinity led many young Canadian men to join the fight.\textsuperscript{90} At the onset of First World War, traditional conceptualizations of masculinity, citizenship, and patriotism were mobilized for recruiting purposes and the young men who had been taught to equate masculine identity with imperialism, nationalism, and military service through formal education, books, and toys were thus conditioned to “answer the call.”\textsuperscript{91} However, these idealistic imaginings of national masculine power were soon shaken by the realities of war, as “shell shock,” other combat and stress-related mental and physical injuries,

\textsuperscript{85} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 120.
\textsuperscript{86} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 127.
\textsuperscript{87} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 128-129.
\textsuperscript{88} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 119.
\textsuperscript{89} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 119.
\textsuperscript{90} Moss, Manliness and Militarism, 3.
\textsuperscript{91} Moss, Manliness and Militarism, 3-5.
and desertion forced society to question traditional notions of physical masculinity and courage.  

Following the Great Depression, fighting in the Second World War was also seen as a means to reclaim a masculinity “damaged” by men’s inability to provide for their families during the economic downturn. However, martial masculine identities in the Second World War became more nuanced and flexible in practice than in previous conflicts. Paul Jackson describes how martial masculinity in the Second World War often transcended the fears of “effeminacy” or homosexuality, which had marked the anxieties of previous periods; instead, masculinity was redefined through combat effectiveness, unit cohesion, and morale. Although traditionally masculine qualities like robustness, adventurousness, and courage were still highly valued in the military, more gender-neutral characteristics such as kindness and humour became increasingly more important than sexual orientation.

Martial masculinities, like other constructed identities, are thus not static. In a more contemporary American context, Brown argues that “masculinity is still a foundation of the appeals made by the military, but that each branch deploys various constructions of masculinity to serve its particular personnel needs and culture, with conventional martial masculinity being

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92 Hayes and Goodlet, “Exploring Masculinity,” 42; see also Teresa Iacobelli, Death or Deliverance: Canadian Courts Martial in the Great War (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).
94 Paul Jackson, One of the Boys: Homosexuality in the Military during WWII (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010). Soldiers and officers in the Second World War often protected their queer comrades from the homophobic state and from the labels that could destroy their careers and lives. “Martial spirit” and masculinity had less to do with sexuality and more to do with cohesion and effectiveness. These homo-social and homosexual relationships were not always seen as antithetical to conceptualizations of masculinity or “martial spirit,” and if it did not affect the effectiveness of the unit, it was often of little consequence to the other members of the military unit. In combat, military men judged a man’s masculinity more on his ability to be a good soldier – his trustworthiness, his honesty, his courage – and his value to the unit, and were less concerned with whom he had sexual or romantic relationships. As long as a soldier embodied the “martial spirit,” demonstrated commitment to the common goal, and was not a detriment to the cohesion and morale of the unit, many officers and fellow soldiers accepted their homosexual comrades and protected them from punishment or humiliation.
95 Hayes and Goodlet, “Exploring Masculinity,” 54.
only one among them.”\textsuperscript{96} Military cultures and the specific image of “warrior-hood” are influenced by the historical, political, and cultural context in question, as “changing military functions may change what types of masculinity are associated with soldiering.”\textsuperscript{97} As militaries around the world, and Canada included, have taken on more and more “military operations other than war”– including peacekeeping – in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the projected image of the “soldier” has had to change to fit their new roles. As Brown explains, “the idea of soldiers who ‘kill people and break things’ may be dysfunctional for a military that is attempting to keep rival factions from violating a cease-fire agreement or training a national police force.”\textsuperscript{98} Thus, a military’s functional role influences military culture and identity construction. However, this can result, as it did in the Canadian military in the Cold War period, in the emergence of two (or more) ideological and cultural factions: those who accept the changing functional role and adapt the military culture accordingly; or those who reject the changing function and culture and turn inwards and away from modernization, leading to a re-entrenchment of “traditional” and non-progressive ideologies.

\textbf{The Canadian Military in the Early Cold War and the “Invention of Peacekeeping”}

Despite the victories in both Europe and the Pacific, despite the postwar boom economy, 1950s [North] America is riddled with images of both personal and national weakness. One form of solace for that sense of frailty was the re-creation of heroes from the warrior tradition.

Leo Braudy
\textit{From Chivalry to Terrorism}\textsuperscript{99}

After the Allied victory in 1945, many Canadian soldiers and their families believed that their time of national duty and service was over. At the end of the Second World War, the

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\item \textsuperscript{96} Brown, \textit{Enlisting Masculinity}, 1.
\item \textsuperscript{97} Brown, \textit{Enlisting Masculinity}, 23.
\item \textsuperscript{98} Brown, \textit{Enlisting Masculinity}, 23.
\item \textsuperscript{99} Braudy, \textit{From Chivalry to Terrorism}, 495.
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Canadian military was one of the largest in the world and over 475,000 men and women had served with the Canadian Army. As such, the military remained a vital component of and cultural influence in Canadian society in the early postwar years, leading to what Deborah Cowen calls a “deeply militarized postwar culture.” Although the Army’s Regular and Reserve personnel were reduced to just over 15,000 by 1947, the majority of Canadians in the postwar period had experienced war, combat, and the culture of the Canadian military either first-hand or through family members and friends, and were thus affected and shaped by these war experiences in some fashion. As a result, the early Cold War years witnessed a convergence of the military and militarism with the political and cultural lives of Canadians.

Although the Canadian population was largely ambivalent towards the military in the immediate aftermath of World War II and the years of pain and sacrifice, increasing hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union necessitated a Canadian Defence Policy that included a permanent military force which, while small compared to the numbers of the war years, was ten times greater than what had been in place before the outbreak of the Second World War. The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, and the intensification of the Cold War throughout the late 1940s necessitated Canadian military action and national re-armament. Alliances with the United States and European nations and ties to the United Nations demanded international Canadian military involvement during the 1950s and throughout the Cold War. At the same time, however, national defence and preparation for a possible Soviet attack at home were the

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101 Cowen, Military Workforce, 61.
102 Kasurak, A National Force, 11.
103 Cowen, Military Workforce, 72.
105 Kasurak, A National Force, 12.
principal objectives of the Canadian military. 106 “Defence against help” or Canada’s attempts to prevent the unwanted intervention or “help” in defence planning from the United States was also a crucial concern for the Canadian government in the postwar years. 107 As Adrian Preston argues, in the period following the Second World War, it was “a necessary and inescapable condition of modern warfare and international politics that armed force and military power should be used not so much to promote and conduct organized violence within or without state boundaries as to deter or contain it.” 108

In the rearmament and reorganization of the 1950s, the Army faced many difficulties. As Peter Kasurak explains, “[the Army] had to raise, deploy, and sustain one brigade to fight in Korea and another to meet NATO commitments [in Europe] while the country continued in peacetime mode” and it also “had to determine how to meet the challenge of nuclear weapons – in other words, adapt to a totally new technology and type of war.” 109 For the most part, the Army had little difficulty recruiting soldiers to fight in Korea between 1950 and 1953, as it was “fortunate” to have a large pool of experienced World War II soldiers from which to draw. 110 Many veterans and the young men who believed they had “missed their chance,” being too young to have fought in World War II, enlisted to fight in Korea. As one Canadian officer from the Korean War explained, many of the first recruits volunteered “not out of patriotism but because they were unhappy or uncomfortable in civilian employment, or wished to leave home in search of adventure.” 111 Thus, joining the Army in the postwar years had less to do with

107 Kasurak, A National Force, 11.
109 Kasurak, A National Force, 12.
110 Kasurak, A National Force, 19.
national duty, and more to do with the desires of Canadian men to prove themselves as “real men.”

In the years following the end of the Korean War, the Canadian government and military authorities, as well as the largely apathetic Canadian public, began to question the relevance of the Army’s ground troops in the nuclear age. As Desmond Morton argues, “by the early 1950s, the proud role of the reserve army had evaporated” and the popularity of the militia had deteriorated.112 After the Korean War, Army enlistment rates began to drop as better employment opportunities emerged and, as Cowen states, “the material incentives that had long been the basis for drawing recruits into the military [became] available to the general population as a part of the new pan-Canadian citizenship.”113

Army recruiters therefore had to develop and employ a variety of new recruitment schemes to meet the needed numbers. These changes included lowering the physical fitness and education standards required for officers and designing advertisement campaigns to appeal to a new generation of Canadian men.114 Air defence against potential Soviet attacks was the number one priority for national security and as a result, the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) received the bulk of the shrinking national defence budget, making enlistment in the Army even less appealing.115 As the 1950s neared its close, the changing nature of war and the waning public interest in the Canadian Army led to a deep ambivalence towards the military in Canadian society. As Kasurak states:

The Cold War presented fundamental challenges to Canada and its army – challenges that raised the basic questions of what armies were for, whether they had a place in the nuclear age, and, if an army was indeed useful, whether the population was prepared to support it. The failure to integrate the state, the army, and the people in a common

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113 Cowen, Military Workforce, 120.
114 Kasurak, A National Force, 12.
purpose would result in decades of confusion, the waste of vast resources, and the near destruction of the Canadian Army. Although the army was not solely responsible for its struggle to define its strategic purpose, its professional weaknesses would play a significant role in the crisis.116

In 1956, with the outbreak of the Suez Canal Crisis, the Canadian Army found a new, but ultimately minor role in peacekeeping. Throughout the 1950s, Cold War tensions between the Soviet Bloc and the Western powers had been mounting in the Middle East. Hostilities came to a head on July 26th 1956, when Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser declared the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company to finance his government’s Aswan Dam project after failing to secure international funding from either the United States and Britain or the Soviet Union.117 The nationalization of the Suez Canal not only had practical ramifications for Britain and other Western countries, as it was the “lifeline of the empire,”118 and instrumental for trade and commerce between Britain and the rest of the world; it also carried significant symbolic weight as a manifestation of European imperialism and Egyptian oppression and represented the ultimate Egyptian rejection of Western ideology.

By nationalizing the Suez Canal, President Nasser, who had risen to power following a military coup in 1952, immediately became the target for official condemnation and denunciation, especially in Britain.119 In retaliation for this break with the West and to reclaim the Suez Canal from the Egyptian nationalists, Britain and France colluded with Israel to invade Egypt.120 As Maloney explains, “the British and French developed a secret agreement with Israel. By going to war with Egypt, Israel would create a ‘threat’ to the Canal, prompting the

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118 Carroll, Pearson’s Peacekeepers, 8.
119 Jeff Hulbert, “Right-Wing Propaganda or Reporting History?: The Newsreels and the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956,” Film History 14, no. 3-4 “War and Militarism” (2002): 263.
intervention of an Anglo-French peacekeeping force to ‘protect’ the Canal and separate the ‘belligerent’ forces.”\textsuperscript{121} On October 29\textsuperscript{th}, the Israeli forces invaded Egypt and the following day, the British and French governments issued an “ultimatum” to the Egyptians and Israelis to establish a ceasefire.\textsuperscript{122} Although the UN Security Council demanded that the British and the French abstain from the use of force, the Anglo-French troops began an air campaign over Egypt on October 31, sending in military paratroopers to “separate” the two warring parties in early November and re-establish European control over the Suez Canal.\textsuperscript{123}

The actions of Britain, France, and Israel threatened to split the Commonwealth and NATO and dangerously exacerbated the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{124} Not only would the dissolution of Anglo-French relations with other NATO members, especially the United States, have been detrimental to the functioning of NATO and the United Nations\textsuperscript{125}; it would also have fuelled the Soviet Union’s claims of Western weakness and would have given the Soviets an opportunity to exploit the debacle for purposes of communist expansion in the emerging Third World.\textsuperscript{126} As Kilford states, the Soviet Union and the United States were both “outraged” at being “kept in the dark and caught by surprise” by the British, French, and Israeli collusion, and the Soviet Union threatened to take military action against the European nations if the matter was not resolved.\textsuperscript{127} Thus, the UN and NATO were in urgent need of a solution to remedy the situation, to end the fighting, and to preserve the international and national images of Britain and France.

\textsuperscript{122} Maloney, \textit{Canada and UN Peacekeeping}, 62.
\textsuperscript{123} Maloney, \textit{Canada and UN Peacekeeping}, 62.
\textsuperscript{124} Maloney, \textit{Canada and UN Peacekeeping}, 62.
\textsuperscript{125} Carroll, \textit{Pearson’s Peacekeepers}, 12.
\textsuperscript{126} Maloney, \textit{Canada and UN Peacekeeping}, 62.
The solution came at the suggestion of Lester B. Pearson, then the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs. Pearson, as Maloney explains, proposed the formation of a legitimate, impartial international force, which could be used to replace the Anglo-French troops in Egypt, “thus allowing the British and the French to withdraw from their publicly stated position that they were a ‘peace force.’”\(^\text{128}\) For his successful negotiation of the crisis and the implementation of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), Pearson was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize, earning national and international praise and respect for himself and Canada.

On November 7th, a ceasefire was called and the United Nations, based on Pearson’s suggestion, deployed the first official United Nations peacekeeping force under the direction of Canadian General E.L.M. Burns to the Suez Canal Zone,\(^\text{129}\) to “secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities.”\(^\text{130}\) By February 1957, UNEF’s duties expanded to include patrolling the Egyptian-Israeli border following the final withdrawal of Israeli troops.\(^\text{131}\) The United Nations selected ten nations to contribute personnel to UNEF, which at its height consisted of some 6000 troops from Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, India, Indonesia, Norway, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.\(^\text{132}\) Canada initially selected the Queen’s Own Rifles to form part of the peacekeeping contingent, but Egyptian officials, concerned about Canada’s ties to the British Empire, balked at the idea of a blatantly British (at least in name and dress) infantry battalion acting as an impartial party.\(^\text{133}\) Instead, Canada was allowed to contribute communications and logistics personnel, and later armoured units, selected from the Canadian military and assigned

\(^{128}\) Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping*, 62.


\(^{130}\) Carroll, *Pearson’s Peacekeepers*, xx.

\(^{131}\) Carroll, *Pearson’s Peacekeepers*, xx.


for one-year tours of duty with UNEF.\textsuperscript{134} The Canadian contingent, stationed initially in Abu Suweir and El Ballah, and later at Camp Rafah, consisted of approximately 900 Army personnel, who provided communications, transport, engineering, and administrative support to the entire UNEF contingent.\textsuperscript{135} Additionally, more than 200 members of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) were stationed in Italy and Abu Suweir and were responsible for the transport of supplies between the contingents’ native countries and Egypt.\textsuperscript{136} UNEF remained in Egypt until May 1967, when after ten years of relative peace, tensions between Egypt and Israel erupted again and President Nasser demanded UNEF’s immediate withdrawal from the region.\textsuperscript{137}

The Impact of the Suez Canal Crisis and UNEF on Canadian Society and the Canadian Military

All the messages a soldier receives about appropriately masculine soldierly behaviour are fundamentally at odds with what is expected in a peace operation.

Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*\textsuperscript{138}

The Suez Canal Crisis was, in many ways, a historical turning point for many Western nations. As Carroll states:

[The Suez Crisis] defined the inability of Britain and France to reclaim their status as great powers, and it signaled the approaching end of Britain’s moment in the Middle East. Britain’s inability to mount a successful military campaign to unseat a tinpot dictator in Egypt was an inglorious end to the majestic empire upon which the sun, at one time, never set. For France, Suez was yet another failed attempt to hold on to its colonial territories, bookended by the loss of Indochina in 1954 and the granting of independence to Algeria in 1960.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{134} Hillmer and Rawling, “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations,” 460.

\textsuperscript{135} Kilford, *The Other Cold War*, 60.

\textsuperscript{136} Kilford, *The Other Cold War* 60.

\textsuperscript{137} Carroll, *Pearson’s Peacekeepers*, xxii.

\textsuperscript{138} Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 16.

\textsuperscript{139} Carroll, *Pearson’s Peacekeepers*, 3.
In the Canadian case, by contrast, the Suez Canal Crisis, the creation of UNEF, and the legacies of both have had a very different impact on how Canada politically, militarily, and socially came to define itself in the latter half of the 20th century. Politically, the Suez Canal Crisis marked Canada’s burgeoning independence as a “middle power”; socially, Canada’s actions initially divided the nation ideologically, but overtime came to define a significant part of the constructed “Canadian identity,” at least in the Canadian imaginary; and militarily, the Suez Canal Crisis and the establishment of UNEF resulted in the creation of new roles and duties for the Canadian military as “peacekeepers” in the 20th century, setting precedents for the structure of future UN peacekeeping missions. Thus, as McKay and Swift note:

"If Suez was indeed a defining moment for Canada-as-peacekeeper and a high point for Canadian foreign policy, it was, to say the least, controversial at the time. It would remain so as Canadians squabbled over peacekeeping and its legacy. Those who view the 1956 crisis through a Cold War lens see Canada acting as a geopolitical realist, doing the right thing by calming NATO’s turbulent waters. Idealists see it as the start of a long and honourable tradition of peacekeeping by a middle power uniquely suited to the task. From a political standpoint, the Suez Canal Crisis and Canada’s role in it were defining moments in Canada’s rise as a “middle power.”"

The Suez Canal Crisis created an avenue for Canada to respectfully separate itself from two of its greatest influences: Britain and the United States. As Carroll argues, “Canadian policy at the UN attempted to extricate the British from an untenable position in the Middle East and to bridge the gap between the United States and United Kingdom.” Although the opponents of the Liberal government saw Canada’s actions as the “ultimate betrayal” to the British motherland, Canada’s refusal to support the British invasion of Egypt represented an important step in Canada’s “coming of age” and, by demonstrating that a nation could question British

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142 Carroll, *Pearson’s Peacekeepers*, 38
policy and yet remain within the Commonwealth, Canada set an important precedent for political independence.\textsuperscript{143} As Whitaker and Hewitt argue, Canadian leadership “made it clear that the rules of the past no longer applied in the era of the Cold War.”\textsuperscript{144} Canada’s stance on the Suez Canal Crisis told the world that Canada “would no longer be a ‘colonial chore boy’ who chimed in with a ‘Ready, Aye, Ready’” whenever Britain called for action.\textsuperscript{145}

Canada’s involvement in Suez also had a profound impact on Canadian society and its national identity. In more recent years, Canadian peacekeeping has been heralded as a pillar of Canadian cultural identity and as a respectable international role for a middle power nation in the polarized world of the Cold War.\textsuperscript{146} To many it confirms nationalistic views of Canadian moral superiority, especially in contrast to the militaristic United States. In the 1960s and 1970s and then again in the 1990s, Canadians glorified the military’s peacekeeping role in national history and for many, it remains a defining aspect of what it means to be Canadian. Through this glorification, avenues of national remembrance and commemoration mythologized the history of Canadian peacekeeping and in doing so, often obscured public awareness of Canada’s military actions in the Cold War period and overlooked the importance of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and NORAD (North American Aerospace Defense Command) in Canada’s international and national military roles. This process of mythologization created a narrative, which, in the case of Canadian peacekeeping, came to form one of the historic and cultural foundations of the “national identity.”

The climate at home in Canada in 1956, however, was not as supportive of Canada’s

\textsuperscript{143} Carroll, \textit{Pearson’s Peacekeepers}, 39.
\textsuperscript{144} Reg Whitaker and Steve Hewitt, \textit{Canada and the Cold War} (Toronto: James Lorimer \& Company Ltd., 2003): 135.
\textsuperscript{145} Whitaker and Hewitt, \textit{Canada and the Cold War}, 135.
\textsuperscript{146} See McKay and Swift, \textit{Warrior Nation}. 
actions as later glorification would imply. At the time of the crisis, the Liberal government found itself under attack at home because of the relatively neutral political stance it had taken in regards to supporting the British, French, and Israeli invasion of Egypt.\textsuperscript{147} The Conservative opposition and its supporters condemned the Canadian government for forsaking its British and French allies in their time of need.\textsuperscript{148} Furthermore, the more recent glorification of peacekeepers conceals the growing rift between the Canadian public and the Canadian military during the Cold War period and the mounting civilian indifference to Canadian Cold War military operations. As previously discussed, although Canadian society was “deeply militarized” and influenced by military culture, Canadians were nevertheless apathetic towards the military (especially the Army) and its actions.\textsuperscript{149} Canada’s peacekeeping role in Suez in the months and years following the crisis soon lost the public’s interest, despite being widely acclaimed by the international community and applauded by the majority of Canadians in 1956. As Carroll argues, despite the initial excitement surrounding Pearson’s Nobel Prize and its implications to the construction of the Canadian identity, “the [UNEF] force was, for all intents and purposes, forgotten.”\textsuperscript{150}

Finally, the Suez Canal Crisis and the creation of UNEF also changed the face of the Canadian military. As the first official UN peacekeeping mission in which Canada was involved, UNEF set the precedent upon which all other 20\textsuperscript{th} century peacekeeping missions were based. In the years following Suez, the Canadian military believed that the best peacekeepers were well-trained general-purpose soldiers; it was not until the 1990s and the “Decade of Darkness” following the revelations of the Somalia Inquiry that the Canadian Forces acknowledged that peacekeeping required more specialized training and the proper development of “contact skills,”

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\textsuperscript{147} Whitaker and Hewitt, \textit{Canada and the Cold War}, 135.
\textsuperscript{148} Whitaker and Hewitt, \textit{Canada and the Cold War}, 135.
\textsuperscript{149} See Kasurak, \textit{A National Force}, “Chapter 1: The 1950s: A Professional Army?”
\textsuperscript{150} Carroll, \textit{Pearson’s Peacekeepers}, xxi.
\end{flushright}
such as negotiation and mediation techniques, institutional knowledge of the United Nations, expertise in public relations and humanitarian aid, and mission specific knowledge, to name a few.\textsuperscript{151} Although peacekeeping was not the military’s priority in the Cold War period, Suez and later deployments created the need for the Canadian military to function in ways it had not before and to assume official responsibilities that were, in many ways, beyond the training of the Canadian military. These new responsibilities represented different and difficult challenges.\textsuperscript{152}

During the Suez Crisis of 1956, the Canadian soldiers selected for duty with the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) transformed into peacekeepers almost overnight. As Carroll explains, “[t]here was little time for briefings, let alone specialized peacekeeping training,” as “officials in Ottawa had no idea as to the conditions or situations in which the soldiers might find themselves.”\textsuperscript{153} For many soldiers, the transition from Army life to UNEF and later UN peace forces was a difficult and frustrating experience. Fundamentally, the role of a peacekeeper resembled something akin to the work of a diplomat, rather than the duties of a soldier or police officer, and it was “a hard, monotonous mission without clearly defined victories.”\textsuperscript{154} Canadian soldiers who were involved in peacekeeping set aside their tanks and machine guns and armed themselves with “maps, binoculars, radios, jeeps, light side arms, and the power of personality and persuasion.”\textsuperscript{155} Grant argues that because the military trained soldiers for war confrontations and conditioned them to “react with force and to pursue victory aggressively,” soldiers often found it difficult “to adjust to the equally demanding requirements of peaceful third-party


\textsuperscript{152} Grant, “The History of Training for Peacekeepers,” 436.

\textsuperscript{153} Carroll, \textit{Pearson’s Peacekeepers}, 116.


\textsuperscript{155} McKay and Swift, \textit{Warrior Nation}, 145.
intervention.”156 Because the peacekeeping role was considered to be only one component of Canadian Cold War policy and an extension of the nation’s commitments to the UN and to NATO,157 peacekeeping remained a minor part of the military’s goals, despite the later revisionism in popular memory and Canadian culture. As Wagner argues, a more appropriate term for these soldiers who served in the proxy conflicts of the 1950s and 1960s would be “Cold Warriors,” as they were, for the most part, neither neutral nor unbiased in their Western beliefs and motives.158

In the mid-twentieth century, as Kilford argues, Canada’s military leadership viewed Canada’s increasing military involvement in UN peacekeeping missions as a distraction that diverted the attentions of the Canadian government and public away from Canada’s principal role in NATO and its main goal of securing national defence against possible Soviet incursions.159 Peacekeeping was also seen as a drain on its military’s already scarce resources.160 The Suez Crisis and the deployment of Canadian military personnel to UNEF marked the beginning of a change in national military policy that led to Canada’s involvement in dozens of peacekeeping and military assistance deployments over the next fifty years,161 and ultimately led to the entrenchment of the “peacekeeping identity” in the Canadian imagination.

**Canadian Military Culture and Recruitment Practices in the Cold War**

Despite the Canadian public’s ambivalence and the changing nature of warfare and defence in the Cold War period, the Army’s initiatives throughout the 1950s to maintain and

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158 Wagner, “The Peaceable Kingdom?” 46.
159 Kilford, The Other Cold War, 56-57.
160 Kilford, The Other Cold War, 56-57.
161 Kilford, The Other Cold War, 59.
increase recruitment rates were by and large successful. By lowering education and fitness standards, offering better and more competitive incentives, and crafting advertising and marketing plans to reach their targeted markets, the Army accomplished its goal of building a larger Army; however, because of the lowered standards, the quality of recruits was, overall, merely satisfactory.\textsuperscript{162} In a period of great prosperity with a competitive job market, the Army struggled more and more in the postwar period to attract Canada’s best and brightest young men.\textsuperscript{163}

This was also the period of the “professionalization” of the Canadian military,\textsuperscript{164} and careerism motivated many men to enlist in the Army in the postwar years. Serving in the Army was increasingly viewed by many Canadians as an occupation with good pay, benefits, and the opportunity for promotion, as well as a stepping stone to better prospects beyond the Canadian military. Few saw the Army as a vocation, a way of life, or a manifestation of national duty and honour. As the retired Brigadier-General David Broadbent argues, the rise in civilian standards and values in the postwar era supplanted military values and beliefs, resulting in a “crisis of the military ethos.”\textsuperscript{165}

The Canadian military, like the society that sustains it, is an amalgamation of several military cultures.\textsuperscript{166} One of the greatest influences on Canadian Army culture until the late 1960s (and in many ways, beyond) was British martial and regimental tradition. This emphasis on British military culture paralleled a more widespread – especially in the Canada’s upper classes – postwar “Anglophilia” that had a profound influence on Canadian society and culture.\textsuperscript{167} This

\textsuperscript{162} Kasurak, \textit{A National Force}, 12.
\textsuperscript{163} Kasurak, \textit{A National Force}, 12.
\textsuperscript{164} Preston, “The Profession of Arms in Postwar Canada,” 189.
\textsuperscript{166} Preston, “The Profession of Arms in Postwar Canada,” 194.
\textsuperscript{167} Jeffrey D. Brison, \textit{Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in
resulted in an emphasis on “character” – with the understanding that “character” referred to men who were white, Christian, Anglophone, and of “good genetic stock” – rather than an emphasis on knowledge or expertise, as “the army persisted in attempting to recruit the ‘right sort’ of individual.” Writing in 1996 and demonstrating the continuation of this postwar logic well into the 1990s, Major C. R. Shelley echoes this sentiment and states that “war is the profession of soldiers, and only those of sufficient ‘character’ are likely to meet its heavy demands.”

Because appropriate military ‘character’ was defined by a specific class, race, language, and religion, the postwar Canadian military culture aligned with the norms of British-Canadians, affecting policies, including its recruiting practices, in a range of obvious and more subtle ways. Anglophone men of British descent dominated the Canadian forces, especially in the officer classes, until the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism necessitated the Canadian military to re-evaluate its recruiting practices. Even so, in 1966, 73% of Canadian officers were Anglophone and of British origin, with only 12.5% of officers representing the Francophone population. The percentages in the enlisted ranks also showed a disparity, although not as great, in linguistic representation, with the native English-speaking population totalling 63% and the native French-speaking population making up 20.3%.

Although French-Canadians were considered “second-class citizens” at this time, they nonetheless were still subject to large-scale marketing campaigns to increase enlistment.

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172 Cowen, *Military Workforce*, 104. The remaining percentage would have been men who were not ethnically British or French, but who were most likely still of European descent.
However, the Canadian military refused to place ads in “foreign language” newspapers in the 1950s, because as Cowen argues, “language was also a means of regulating ‘race’ and ethnicity in the armed forces.”\textsuperscript{175} This was a result of the widespread assumption that language was usually indicative of citizenship status and that people who spoke neither English nor French were inherently “aliens” and thus could never be “Canadian.”\textsuperscript{176} This belief shaped recruiting practices well into the 1970s, as a result of the Army’s traditionalist practices and its emphasis on the British regimental system.\textsuperscript{177}

Many believe that military cultures often exist as subcultures or cultures separate and distinct from their host society.\textsuperscript{178} Influenced by its ethos and its espoused values, the military emphasizes service to nation before self, the lawful and ordered application of violence, and the acceptance of the military’s unlimited liability.\textsuperscript{179} These factors thus differentiate those within the military organization and culture from those outside of it. While there most certainly exists a distinction between the military and wider society, it is also important to consider the ways in which military and civilian cultures have and continue to affect each other. As such, the Cold War rearmament of the Canadian military can be seen as an influence on the wider national culture of Canada. As Deborah Cowen argues,

In post-war and early Cold War Canada, the military became enmeshed in the everyday lives of citizens and a powerful symbol of national identity. It contributed to the production and regulation of gender norms, and was the model for many forms of social discipline that extended far beyond the bounds of the base and into the workplace, the sports field, and the classroom. The military funded and coordinated cultural events, produced television and radio sports programs, and published wilderness survival manuals for sportsmen. Its ads appeared in newspapers and mass transit from coast to

\textsuperscript{175} Cowen, \textit{Military Workforce}, 104.
\textsuperscript{176} Cowen, \textit{Military Workforce}, 105.
\textsuperscript{177} Cowen, \textit{Military Workforce}, 105.
coast, and the presence of recruiters was expected at fairs, parades, and sporting matches. The military presence in the lives of young Canadians was particularly powerful, and was geared to long-term war preparedness and recruiting efforts.\(^{180}\)

National cultures impact organizational cultures, like those of the military, but organizational cultures can also impact national culture.\(^{181}\) Thus, in the period spanning from approximately 1945 to 1960, Canadian society was intrinsically shaped by the Canadian military and vice versa. Army culture in this period reflected and reinforced the general social and cultural trends of wide civilian society, especially those surrounding gender identities and gender-specific roles. Thus, the culture of the Canadian Army in the 1950s can be seen as a product of the civilian culture from which it emerged.

**The Postwar Period and the “Return to Normalcy”**

In general, the years following the end of the Second World War signified the beginning of a period of widespread social and economic prosperity that most Western nations, and Canada included, had not experienced since the 1920s or perhaps even prior to the First World War.\(^{182}\) By 1950, Canadians had left behind the rationing, frugality, and general austerity that had marked, and in many cases disrupted, their childhoods and youths. As Doug Owram notes, the generation that was raised in the Great Depression and who matured in the years surrounding the Second World War “could scarcely remember a time in which home life had not been threatened.”\(^{183}\) More than anything else, young Canadians yearned for “home,” as a place of independence and security and as a symbol of “the good life.”\(^{184}\)

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Despite the progress, modernity, and general prosperity in Canadian society in the early postwar years, the end of the Second World War also ushered in a period of renewed social and political conservatism in the Western world. In Canada, the aging adult population, the returning veterans, general economic prosperity, American cultural influence, anti-communist propaganda, and the suppression of “radicalism” entrenched many conservative ideologies surrounding political, economic, cultural, and family life. Postwar reconstruction policies aimed to integrate the large group of dislocated veterans into the “domestic norms of family and home and work life.” The desire for and preservation of a “normalcy” rooted in the protestant, British tradition – shaped more by nostalgia than by actual memory – had a profound effect on Canadian society, leading to what Mary Louise Adams has called “the revival of domesticity.” Nowhere was this more apparent than in the idealization of the nuclear family.

The idealized image of the “nuclear family” – a suburban, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class family, with a respectable, dependable, breadwinning father and a subservient, nurturing, stay-at-home mother who together worked as a team to care for their family – was promoted in the media as the aspirational ideal and is emblematic of this Cold War cultural conservatism. The ideal of the nuclear family not only eased concerns over the changing demographics of postwar Canada due to working women and immigration; in the face of communist incursion and

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186 Cowen, *Military Workforce*, 64.
190 As “Our Thinning British Blood Keeps on Thinning,” a short article which appeared in the November 22, 1958 issue of *MacLean’s Magazine*, noted with considerable concern: “From 1951-1956 the number of people of British ancestry in Canada increased through births and immigration by 10%. But Germans increased 36%, Dutch 46% and Italians a thumping 98%. In seven years Britons have accounted for only 32% of our immigration total. The result has been to depress the percentage of Britons in the population from 50% to 46%. If things keep going the same way for the next 20 years, by 1980 Canada will be less than 40% British.” Immigration of non-Britons, even if these immigrants were still ‘white’, was nonetheless presented in a way which implied that the postwar immigration of people from Germany, the Netherlands,
nuclear annihilation, the nuclear family came to symbolize the continued success of democracy and the Western way of life as the place where children would be born and raised with the values and norms of the “Free World.”¹⁹¹ Young Canadians optimistically approached the postwar years as a time to reassert more “traditional” social and family values nostalgically associated with the pre-war and pre-Depression years.¹⁹² The postwar period was also a time to find stability, security, and happiness in both the public and private spheres.¹⁹³ As such, many Canadians desired to return to that which was imagined as recognizable, stable, and secure to protect their families and their way of life from dangers both at home and abroad.¹⁹⁴ Desire for a unified “nation” and national cohesion was paramount.¹⁹⁵

As Whitaker and Marcuse argue, “one leading social manifestation of the new conservatism was the rush to return to the traditional patriarchal family.”¹⁹⁶ The years of financial depression and war had brought about a significant change in family structures, as working mothers and unemployed or absent fathers had disrupted traditional gender divisions and family organization. Thus, following the end of the war, there was a general desire for both men and women to return to familiar family structures, with many men resuming their breadwinning role and many women returning to the domestic sphere. There were, of course, variations to this general trend, as numerous women continued to work outside the home and many men took greater interests in family life.¹⁹⁷ However, as Whitaker and Marcuse contend:

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¹⁹² Greig, Ontario Boys, ix.
¹⁹³ Greig, Ontario Boys, ix.
¹⁹⁴ Dummitt, The Manly Modern, 4.
¹⁹⁵ Adams, The Trouble with Normal, 4.
¹⁹⁶ Whitaker and Marcuse, Cold War Canada, 15. Here, “traditional” implies the British-Canadian family structure of the pre-war years.
¹⁹⁷ See Joan Sangster, “Invoking Experience as Evidence,” The Canadian Historical Review 92, no. 1 (March 2011):
The “official” image of women was that of stay-at-home wives and mothers. Men, as businessmen, administrators, workers, or soldiers, were responsible for looking after the dangerously insecure world beyond the home, while women tended the home fires. These were the deeply conservative images that reinforced conservative trends elsewhere in Canada.\textsuperscript{198}

In the popular imagination of the time and influenced by the overarching social climate of the Cold War, traditional gender binaries solidified the ideal of the “nuclear family” as the ultimate weapon against communist incursion.\textsuperscript{199} The reassertion of “traditional” pre-war social values cemented conventional gender roles (at least in theory) in the home and workplace, entrenching long-standing conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity, the gender binary, “appropriate” sexuality, and what it fundamentally meant to be a man or woman, with little room for deviation. It is to this specific theme of gender constructions in the Cold War period that this paper will now turn.

**Gender Anxieties, the “Crisis of Masculinity,” and Anti-Modern Modernism**

The 1950s were the pinnacle of modernity and North American progress. For most North Americans, life had never been better. Despite this often progressive social modernity, however, Canadian society retreated into a state of cultural, political, and economic conservatism that entrenched the patriarchal power structure. Christopher Greig argues:

Canadians confronted a profoundly gendered insecurity, instability, and anxiety brought about by Depression era and wartime disruptions in marital, family, and labour relations, rapid postwar economic changes, mass migration from countryside to city as well as renewed overseas immigration, the emergence of the Cold War, and the looming threat of atomic annihilation.\textsuperscript{200}

\textsuperscript{198} Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 15.
\textsuperscript{199} McPhail, “What to do with the ‘Tubby Hubby,’” 1035.
\textsuperscript{200} Greig, *Ontario Boys*, x.
As such, notions of sexuality and gender were re-defined in the postwar years and harkened back to an earlier, pre-war and pre-Depression period. “Normalcy” was the word of the era. The “ideal” couple and their idealized sexualities and genders were portrayed in media, advertising, and social imagination as heterosexual, white, middle-class marriages, with a breadwinning husband and father who worked in the city and a nurturing wife who spent her days in the suburban home, caring for her husband and children. Men and women were seen to be fundamentally different and occupying distinct, yet complementary, gender-defined roles.

Postwar constructions of ideal Canadian masculinity began in boyhood. The ideal boyhood, as Greig explains, “stressed teamwork, selflessness, eagerness, honesty, fearlessness, and emotional toughness.” Involvement in such organizations as the Boy Scouts, camping, and participation in sports were seen as avenues to instilling the “right” kind of masculinity in boys and young men. Canadian society imagined that activities such as these, which encouraged the development of ruggedness, self-sufficiency, and physical, moral, and emotional strength, would, as Greig explains, transform (white) boys into “the kinds of citizens capable of governing, protecting, and defending the nation, and of course, maintaining and regulating the social order.” In other words, these “masculine” activities transformed boys into the “right” kind of men, who were capable and prepared to fight for the security of postwar Canada’s seemingly fragile democracy.

Ties between appropriate masculinity, physicality, and the military were also shaped at the formative age. Beginning in the early 20th century and continuing into the postwar period, the

201 Greig, Ontario Boys, 1-2.
202 Greig, Ontario Boys, x.
204 Greig, Ontario Boys, x.
205 Greig, Ontario Boys, 4.
Boy Scouts movement and its military influence emphasized the importance of instilling in young boys the skills and morals that would combat “national degeneration” and prepare them with the masculine identities needed to be “real” men. Additionally, popular culture and advertisements throughout the early- to mid-20th century depicted boys participating in hockey, baseball, and other “manly sports,” or playing with military and cowboy themed toys. Thus, from a young age, “boys were encouraged to see themselves as warriors and soldiers who ‘took action’ against an enemy threat,” normalizing and reinforcing the traditional masculine roles of protector and defender in the modern era.

Ideal masculine identities in Cold War Canada were more complicated than usually imagined and often represented conflicting notions of what it meant to be a good man, husband, and father. The desire to reassert the patriarchal power of men in postwar society necessitated men to act as the family’s principal breadwinner, provider, and protector. But the increasing emphasis on family life, material consumption, and the quest for the “good life,” especially for those of the middle-class or those who aspired to the middle-class ideal, complicated men’s otherwise straightforward identities. Postwar Canadians viewed “masculine domesticity” and engaged fatherhood as integral to the production of ‘normal’ boyhood and the development of ideal masculinity. The hegemonic masculine identity, represented in entertainment, media, and advertising, simultaneously embodied the “traditional” masculine role of economic provider and the “new” masculine character of the “good” father and husband. The postwar “modern” man

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206 Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism*, 364.
was thus both a financial and emotional provider, acting as his wife’s partner in the home and taking a greater interest in the development and growth of his children.\footnote{Rutherford, “New ‘Faces’ for Fathers,” 242.}

However, these dualistic and sometimes conflicting notions of what constituted appropriate masculinity led some to believe that Canadian society was experiencing a “crisis in masculinity.” Some scholars argue that the fears of a “crisis of masculinity” in postwar Canada were brought about by larger Cold War anxieties surrounding the perceived dangers of a Soviet attack and nuclear fallout, female dominance in the home and their presence in the workforce, and the influx of immigration of Eastern and Southern Europeans and others, all of which threatened the patriarchal, white, middle-class nuclear family norm upon which “democracy” was believed to be based.\footnote{McPhail, “What to do with the ‘Tubby Hubby?’” 1027.}

These fears of modernity were also rooted in concerns over the postwar “Americanization” of Canada. In the face of American cultural, political, and economic influence, Canadian elites feared the loss of the “authentic” (i.e. British) Canadian culture. As Jeffrey Brison argues, many Canadian elites saw “the United States as the breeding ground of corruption, materialism and immorality” that if left unchecked, would defile and permanently alter Canadian society for the worse.\footnote{Brison, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada, 74.} These beliefs in Canadian moral and spiritual superiority, especially in contrast to the United States, and “the strident Anglophilia of ‘cultured’ Anglo-Canadians” were linked with the cultural desire to return to a pre-modern way of life.\footnote{Brison, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada, 74.}

As Brison explains,

\begin{quote}
At the heart of many elite Canadians’ attitudes towards the United States was a deep-seated ambivalence about an emerging mass culture that seemed to overwhelm traditional values and notions of community and replace them with something akin to a civic religion based on individualism, material progress, technical rationality, and science …
\end{quote}
Anti-Americanism and anglophilia were two related manifestations of a sometimes desperate, but ultimately successful, attempt by members of the Anglo-Canadian elite to maintain and to reformulate their economic, political, and cultural dominance in a changing environment.\textsuperscript{215}

British heritage and culture were thus just as important to Canadian civilian society in the postwar period as it was to the organization and culture of the Canadian Army.

The suburban home itself, another symbol of the “Americanization” of postwar Canada, was also perceived to threaten men’s gendered identities. Critics warned against the dangers of suburban living, claiming that it “brought isolation, a loss of community, and an enervating existence in the in-between land that was neither city nor country.”\textsuperscript{216} In fact, even the Canadian Army expressed concerns over the diminishing level of national fitness, framing the “war on obesity” as a matter of concern for national defence.\textsuperscript{217} The “feminization” of men as nurturing and engaged caregiving father-figures further exacerbated the belief that men were becoming soft, weak, and unable to properly defend and protect Canadian interests, both physically and mentally. Maclean’s articles from the 1950s reflect these anxieties: “Why We Are Losing the Cold War”\textsuperscript{218}; “The Truth about Impotence”\textsuperscript{219}; “Are We Breeding a Nation of Invalids?”\textsuperscript{220}, “Are We Eating Too Much?”\textsuperscript{221}; “How Sick/or Healthy/Are Canadians?”\textsuperscript{222}, “Our Thinning British Blood Keeps on Thinning;”\textsuperscript{223} and “You Take the Suburbs … I Don’t Want Them.”\textsuperscript{224}

\textsuperscript{215} Brison, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada, 74-75.
\textsuperscript{217} McPhail, “What to do with the ‘Tubby Hubby?’” 1031.
\textsuperscript{218} Bruce Hutchison, \textit{Maclean’s}, April 15, 1950.
\textsuperscript{219} Morton Hunt, \textit{Maclean’s}, May 15, 1950.
\textsuperscript{220} Doris McCubbin, \textit{Maclean’s}, April 2, 1955.
\textsuperscript{221} No author, \textit{Maclean’s}, June 11, 1955.
\textsuperscript{222} David MacDonald, \textit{Maclean’s}, October 27, 1955.
\textsuperscript{223} No author, \textit{Maclean’s}, November 22, 1958.
\textsuperscript{224} Hugh Garner, \textit{Maclean’s}, November 10, 1956.
These fears surrounding suburban life and modern white collar and managerial work were not unique to postwar Canada and were most likely influenced by similar thinking in the United States. Best-selling American authors and researchers often wrote of the ill effects of suburbia with particular emphasis on postwar modernity’s impact on masculine identities. David Riesman’s 1950 study, *The Lonely Crowd*, C. Wright Mill’s 1951 analysis, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*, and William H. Whyte’s 1956 book, *The Organization Man* explored questions related to the “overcivilization” of American middle-class men, the weakening or “feminization” of men in white-collar, managerial, and office work, and the alienation and isolation brought about by modern life. The themes expressed by social critics such as these carried over into fiction, appearing most notably in Sloan Wilson’s 1955 novel *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, and the 1956 film of the same title starring Gregory Peck. The novel and the film, both immensely popular with North American audiences, represented these cultural concerns of American postwar alienation and disillusionment and the loss of masculine power and control in an era of corporatization and bureaucratization.

White-collar work was also seen as a threat to men’s health. Men’s physical fitness and overall health are codified as visible identifiers of masculinity, with connotations of strength, productivity, and virility. The danger of the “Tubby Hubby” was a source of much concern, and journals and newspapers devoted numerous articles to men’s slim down regimes, diets, and exercise plans. As McPhail argues, the “physical fitness plans and diets directed at white, middle-class men during the early Cold War period can be understood as tools of abjection,”

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230 As McPhail explains, “abjectivity” is the “confrontation with the feminine.” As neither muscle nor bone, fat serves no “utilitarian purpose,” and is thus associated with femininity and weakness. To reassert male
whereby the removal of feminine fat from the public sphere re-established the dominance and purported normalcy of the white, middle-class Canadian family.” In popular culture, fat men became symbolic representations for failed masculinity and indications of the nation’s lack of preparation for the future. McPhail argues that “much of the worry about men’s ‘atrophying muscle’ and ‘expanding pot-bellies’ was rooted in Cold War crises of impending war, the feminization of the economy, and [the] challenge to [the] white, middle-class nuclear family typically engendered by post-war immigration.”

As Dummitt notes, “as often as postwar Canadians equated masculinity with modernity, they also, paradoxically, suggested that being modern was antithetical to being masculine.” As a result of these fears surrounding the “crisis of masculinity” brought about by the trappings of modern life, physical exercise and wilderness immersion were viewed as antidotes to the negative effects of modernity. This marked the re-emergence of an “antimodern modernist” movement. As many scholars have acknowledged, this “crisis in masculinity” and the “antimodern” movements were not unique to the postwar period; rather, they were a continuation of cultural processes tied to late 19th century and 20th century modernism.

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232 McPhail, “What to do with the ‘Tubby Hubby?’” 1030. Fears of Soviet attack and nuclear fallout unquestionably raised concerns about the physical ability of Canadian men to defend and rebuild the nation and the rhetoric of civil defence promoted the maintenance of fit masculine physiques as a matter of national importance. The feminization of the workforce also generated concerns about men’s breadwinning roles. Not only were more women entering the workforce (despite commonly held beliefs to the contrary) and assuming jobs previously held by men; men were becoming heavier, and therefore feminized, by the sedentary, white-collar work that was the “antithesis of the ‘rugged individualism’” on which notions of middle-class masculinity were founded. Finally, the arrival of non-white, non-Anglo families in the postwar period disrupted the traditionally held notions of nuclear family structure, gender norms and divisions of labour, and ultimately, what it meant to be “Canadian” in the Cold War period. (McPhail 1031-34).
233 Dummitt, The Manly Modern, 5.
The “antimodern modernism” movements\textsuperscript{234} were not an outright rejection of the modern world, but were instead a means of negotiation between the past and future, and a way to “come to terms with modernity … by moderating it through the inclusion of pre-modern physical and psychological zones of retreat.”\textsuperscript{235} Lynda Jessup argues that antimodernism, especially in the historical context of the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, describes the “pervasive sense of loss,” which often accompanied times marked by great excitement for modern advancement and progress.\textsuperscript{236} Antimodernism, as Jessup elaborates,

was in effect a critique of the modern, a perceived lack in the present manifesting itself not only in a sense of alienation, but also in a longing for the types of physical or spiritual experiences embodied in utopian futures and imagined pasts. As such, it embraces what was then a desire for the type of ‘authentic,’ immediate experience supposedly embodied in pre-industrial societies – in medieval communities or ‘Oriental’ cultures, in the Primitive, the Traditional, or the Folk.\textsuperscript{237}

Connected to the antimodern modernist movements, which manifested in visual and literary culture as well as in everyday life, were the “crises of masculinity.” Historically, cultural anxieties surrounding the imagined “failings” of men or masculinity have often emerged in times of great social upheaval, cultural change, or modern progress – especially if it appears that these changes result in the disempowerment of men. For example, in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century many social critics in North America and Europe believed that modernity, leisure, and urbanization created generations of “soft” men, especially in the upper classes.\textsuperscript{238} At the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and


\textsuperscript{236} Jessup, “Antimodernism and Artistic Experience,” 3.

\textsuperscript{237} Jessup, “Antimodernism and Artistic Experience,” 3.

\textsuperscript{238} Braudy, \textit{From Chivalry to Terrorism}, 339.
brought about by similar factors, a comparable “crisis of masculinity” emerged in the face of the declining pay and prestige of white-collar work, the waning status of the middle-class, and the increasing number of women entering the clerical work force.\textsuperscript{239} The “crisis” at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century led to a surge in the militia’s popularity, as well as an emphasis on sports and outdoor activities.\textsuperscript{240} Out of shape and out of touch with their primitive selves, men were, supposedly, in dire need of reconnection with their “authentic” masculine identity.\textsuperscript{241} By the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the abilities to play sports well and to engage with nature and “wilderness” had become indicators of masculinity for men of all classes; and for men with the resources and gumption, “foreign exploration and combats with nature were yet another way to restore manly challenge to an excessively civilized world.”\textsuperscript{242}

This trend continued throughout the first half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and into the 1950s, where rejection of modern suburbanization led to a resurgence of the anti-modernist movement in North America. Thus, the postwar Canadian “crisis of masculinity” and the related “anti-modern modernism” were not entirely unique to the time or place. As a continuation of similar earlier movements, the postwar anti-modern modernist movement was characterized by men (and women to a lesser extent) seeking escape and rejuvenation in their leisure time from the ills of modern life. As a result, there was a widespread “back to nature” movement within all classes but predominately within the urban and suburban middle-class. This in turn was connected to an increased emphasis on the importance of physical activity and engaging with wilderness to prove one’s strength and virility.\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{239} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 127.
\textsuperscript{240} O’Brien, “Manhood and the Militia Myth,” 129.
\textsuperscript{242} Braudy, \textit{From Chivalry to Terrorism}, 344.
\textsuperscript{243} Wall, \textit{The Nurture of Nature}, 32-34.
To varying degrees of danger and risk-management, Canadian middle-class men increasingly turned to “the great outdoors” in their leisure time to reaffirm their masculine dominance.\footnote{Wall, \textit{The Nurture of Nature}, 177.} For the daring, these activities included mountain climbing, camping, and canoe expeditions\footnote{See Dummitt, “Risk on the Rocks.”}; for the less adventurous, hiking, cottaging, road trips, and even barbecuing fulfilled the desire to escape the domestic and “feminine” suburban home.\footnote{See Christopher Dummitt, “Finding a Place for Father: Selling the Barbeque in Postwar Canada,” \textit{Journal of the CHA} 9 (1998): 209-223 and Peter A. Stevens, “Roughing it in Comfort: Family Cottaging and Consumer Culture in Postwar Ontario,” \textit{The Canadian Historical Review} 94, no. 2 (June 2013): 234-262.} Often, and especially in the case of the less risky activities such as cottaging and hiking, men embarked on these expeditions with their wives and children – thus enabling them to simultaneously reaffirm their “primal” masculine identities in nature while personifying the engaged and caring father figure.\footnote{Stevens, “Roughing it in Comfort,” 235.} These dual masculine identities were similarly portrayed in the advertisements produced for and by the Canadian Army.

\textbf{PART III: Media Analysis}

\textit{“Serve Canada with Men like these”}\footnote{“Serve Canada with Men like these,” recruitment advertisement by Corporal Delphis Cormier, \textit{The Star Weekly}, Toronto ON, 9 May 1953. Canadian War Museum Archives, Ottawa ON, 54F 4 8.4. This recruiting advertisement appeared as a full page spread in The Star Weekly newspaper, featuring five servicemen in uniform with a brief biography of each man’s (heroic) military service.}: Military Recruitment Documents, 1956-1960

As Marcel Danesi argues, advertising functions on the premise that sales, public support, and, in the case of the military advertisements, enlistment will increase when products or organizations are “linked to lifestyle and socially-significant trends and values.”\footnote{Marcel Danesi, \textit{Messages, Signs, and Meanings}, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2004): 255.} Governments, companies, and other organizations all use advertising to associate themselves with favourable
“images” that will endear them and their messages to their desired audience.\textsuperscript{250} By creating “sign-making systems,” whereby specific meanings are attached to symbols and language, the Canadian military uses advertising to garner support and persuade men and women to enlist. This is done through the use of both verbal and non-verbal techniques.\textsuperscript{251}

In contrast to war propaganda, which “[comes] into being when there [is] an audience to be convinced that war, along with its human and economic sacrifices, must be fought,”\textsuperscript{252} the military recruitment documents from the postwar period were designed to persuade Canadian men that joining the military was a respectable and rewarding career choice that also had a larger, national “purpose” – in fact, “Serving with a Purpose” was one of the Canadian Army’s official slogans. The military, as Cowen explains, also “became increasingly entrepreneurial, and began to see itself as an employer in a competitive labour market.”\textsuperscript{253} As noted previously, the Army had difficulty attracting young men who the Army officials viewed as “desirable” to fill its ranks after the end of the Korean War, and as a result, had to drastically change its educational and physical standards and its recruiting practices to convince Canadian men that joining the Army was a worthwhile endeavour.

As Cowen argues, Canadian military recruitment campaigns in the postwar period “saturated the public sphere but relied on intimate and highly gendered ‘private’ identities” to persuade young men to join the ranks.\textsuperscript{254} While military recruiting was often a very public affair – taking place in high schools and recruiting offices, and through newspaper, magazine, television, and radio advertisements – recruitment also relied on appeals made on emotional

\textsuperscript{250} Danesi, Messages, Signs, and Meanings, 255.
\textsuperscript{251} Danesi, Messages, Signs, and Meanings, 226.
\textsuperscript{252} Braudy, From Chivalry to Terrorism, 377.
\textsuperscript{253} Cowen, Military Workforce, 115.
\textsuperscript{254} Cowen, Military Workforce, 62.
levels to the mothers, wives, and sweethearts of men of recruiting age. Women’s approval of and “gratitude” to soldiers, and thus their role in reaffirming manliness, was one of the many attractions of military life.

The advertisements from the 1950s also played to men’s own concerns surrounding their gender performance and national citizenship in their work and home lives. The advertisements attempted to attract men to the Army by establishing symbolic and rhetorical links between military service, the hegemonic and ideal masculine identities of the time, and ideas surrounding national citizenship and a gendered and racialized Canadian civility. Through promises of purposeful employment, the attainment of the “good life,” and development of physical strength and fitness, these ads portrayed the Army as an identifiable occupation and lifestyle for “real Canadian men” – or at least, the idealized or hegemonic definition of “real men,” and the racialized and cultural definition of “Canadian.”

The advertisements presented the Army as being both modern and anti-modern, with emphases on technology, the development of skills, and the achievement of the “good life” (the ‘modern’) and through historic connections to the physicality and strength of the “authentic” warrior identity (the ‘anti-modern’). I argue that these two identities converged in Cold War Canadian society to create the image of the “Modern Warrior,” an identity easily transferable to Canada’s newfound peacekeeping identity and entangled in processes of a new postwar imperialism and ideal ethnicity and citizenship. This identity-creation was part of the larger postwar trend whereby hegemonic or ideal masculinity represented middle-class, Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual men who simultaneously embodied the modern and the anti-modern.

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As result of this duality, the ads produced for the Canadian Army in the 1956-1959 period largely reflected two main messages. The first message claimed that through service, men would attain the training necessary to succeed in Army or civilian life and, through the Army’s good pay and benefits, would still be able to ensure economic stability for themselves and their families. This would enable them to achieve “modern manhood.” The advertisements’ second message implied that the Army, through its emphasis on physical fitness, outdoor life, “legacy,” and a rugged “martial masculinity,” would enable modern men to preserve or perhaps reclaim their “virile masculinities” from the threats of consumerism, suburbanization, and managerial work. Thus, these advertisements conflated ideal national identity, citizenship, national defence, and military service with two fundamental aspects of postwar hegemonic masculinity: the breadwinning, successful, “modern” family man; and the rugged, strong, and self-sufficient “anti-modern” man – both of which were linked with a white, heterosexual, middle-class Anglo-Saxon masculinity. The recruiting documents presented the Army as an avenue to achieving the hegemonic masculine identity of the time through a variety of ways.

Recruitment advertisements in newspapers specifically targeted young men by placing the ads either in the classifieds section or in the sports pages. These ads were brief and to the point, explicitly stating how a career with the Army would provide “the right” young Canadian men with the skills, experience, and confidence that would enable them to lead successful lives. Modern and anti-modern messages were delivered simultaneously, thus appealing to both “modern” and “anti-modern” men, and those men who personified both. Most of the simple newspaper advertisements used similar rhetoric and emphasized the moral, physical, and occupational benefits of joining the Army. They often also included information regarding the
local recruiting station and a coupon that young men could send away for additional information.

“The Next 3 Years and Your Future,” a 1957-58 ad from a Montreal newspaper states:

THE NEXT 3 YEARS AND YOUR FUTURE
As a proud member of the Canadian Army you can prepare yourself for a fine future. The Army offers you:
- Healthy outdoor life
- Travel and adventure
- Useful trades and skills
- Opportunities to learn how to supervise men
- Good pay and opportunities for promotion
- 30 days paid holidays

After the first three years you may return to civilian life better equipped for the future or better still, make an Army career in the service of your country.

To be eligible you must be 17 to 40 years of age, and able to meet Army requirements. Mail the coupon below, telephone or visit your local recruiting station.

This ad stresses the aspects of the Army that would appeal to most urban or suburban men in the postwar period, by drawing on qualities and attributes that corresponded with both the modern and the anti-modern traits of postwar idealized masculinities. Through reference to technical training, leadership development, competitive pay, and a good work/life balance, the ads like this one spoke to young men who hoped to marry, start a family, buy a home, and enjoy the “good life” of postwar Canadian prosperity. Thus, this ad is directed towards young men thinking of the future. The word “future” is used three times and its repetition stresses the opportunities for which a young soldier can hope, or even expect, in this military career path. Military service is presented as a form of male education, implying that it is a necessary stepping stone, or rite of passage, to achieving masculine maturation, success, and respect. At the same time, the ad would also have spoken to men who perhaps rejected or resisted the idealized family life and the potentially ‘emasculating’ effects of suburbia and managerial work. For men who

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yearned for adventure, travel, and physically and mentally challenging work, the Army’s promises of “healthy outdoor life” and “travel and adventure” would have proved appealing.

Larger and more comprehensive advertisements utilized similar techniques and the use of photographs and illustrations reinforced the Army’s messages. “Give Me the Outdoor Life,” an advertisement that appeared in magazines and as a large newspaper ad in 1956 features an image of numerous young, white, athletic men, presumably recruits, engaged in a competitive tug-of-war under the watchful eye of their older commanding officer (fig. 1). The photograph is accompanied by the following message:

Give me the OUTDOOR LIFE …

You can have a newer, fuller, outdoor life with a real future … In the Canadian Army. If you want a steady job … a career with a future … and can meet the high standards set by the Canadian Army, there is a world of opportunities open to you. Here is a challenging career … with a purpose … good companions … opportunities for advancement and adventure … good pay. The years when you are young are THE GREATEST YEARS OF YOUR LIFE – make the most of them as a proud member of the Canadian Army.

The modern and the anti-modern appeals of the Army are both stressed in this ad. Along the lines of Althusser’s theory of interpellation, the ad speaks directly to the reader through the use of the second person and implores the reader to imagine himself as one of these soldiers.

This advertisement makes promises that men will find “steady jobs” and careers in the Army that offer challenging work, good pay, and opportunities for promotion, emphasizing how the Army will enable young Canadian men to achieve the “good life,” to support a family, and to prepare for the future. Again, the ad emphasizes the military’s role as a grooming place for “ideal” Canadian manhood – principally a Canadian manhood rooted in the ideal Anglo-Saxon

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258 The use of ellipses is used here, and throughout the rest of this section, as it appears in the advertisements – not to acknowledge my own editing. The use of ellipses appears to have been a stylistic trend of these advertising agencies. Almost all of the print ads from this time use ellipses in this way, presumably for dramatic effect.

racial and ethnic culture. At the same time, the advertisement stresses aspects of the anti-modern, as the Army’s “outdoor life” and the potential for adventure are made explicit in both the literary text and the photograph imbued with symbolism. The ad’s text makes offers of “challenging” and “purposeful” employment that is both “newer” and “fuller” than other monotonous and unrewarding white-collar jobs. More “traditional” incentives of Army life – purposeful service, good companions, pride in identity – are also explicitly mentioned.

Depicting the tops of white canvas tents, a cloudy sky, and grass beneath the young men’s feet, the accompanying photograph also makes direct links with the anti-modern by highlighting the nostalgic, romanticized relationship between the Army and nature, the “outdoors,” and the “authentic.” The image of this Army camp gestures to a pre-modern, primeval camp, where warriors of another age would have prepared their bodies and minds for battle. The men in this modern camp likewise prepare for war, building strength and group morale for the inevitable battle that lies ahead. While the image of the men engaged in a tug-of-war competition certainly carries connotations of the ideological “tug-of-war” between the West and the Soviet Union, and Canadian men’s roles (and “purpose”) in maintaining this fine balance, the image also underlines the importance of comradeship, teamwork, and the homo-social environment. Young, white, and dressed identically in white shirts and dark kilts, the young men in the photograph are all the same: they are part of a specific “Canadian brotherhood” available only to men, and only to the men who can “meet the high standards set by the Canadian Army” based on education, language, race, and ability. These are the “good companions” who constitute the Canadian Army, and together, their strength, courage, determination, and physical ability will enable them to overcome any odds.
Other advertisements linked the modern and the anti-modern idealized masculine identities more explicitly with tropes of honourable service, national defence, the Army’s role in securing “peace,” and the protection of the Canadian people and culture. “Serving with a Purpose,” an advertisement for Army Day that appeared in the May 10th, 1958 issue of *Maclean’s* and in the May 1958 issue of *Reader’s Digest*, appealed to Canadians on a more nationalistic level:

Serving with a Purpose … Today the Canadian soldier is truly serving with a purpose. Standing on guard, both at home and abroad, in the Canadian Arctic, in Europe and the Middle East, he is protecting our way of life and all we hold dear, by acting as a shield against aggression, as insurance for peace. Highly trained, he is fully prepared to meet the demands of any emergency to the utmost of his ability … proudly fulfilling a vital task in our community life. His is a life of adventure … of comradeship … of variety … with excellent opportunities for advancement and the privilege of serving with a purpose. ²⁶⁰

Pictured above the message is an image of a young, white, athletic, and handsome soldier in uniform who crouches to be eye level with a young boy, who looks to be about five years old (fig. 2). Smiling, the soldier hands the little boy a toy Jeep complete with toy soldier figurines. The boy shyly accepts the gift, obviously awe-struck to be meeting this soldier. The boy’s dog stands behind him and a young girl, presumably his older sister, smiles and watches the encounter.

The children’s gendered roles are no coincidence: while the soldier focuses his attention on the young boy, the girl stands beside and slightly behind the soldier, merely observing the encounter. Her positioning and apparent approval are interesting: if this image is to be read as the welcoming of the young boy into the society of militarized men, his sister’s obvious happiness and satisfaction with the encounter symbolizes the importance of female approval and gratitude, women’s roles in convincing their sons, husbands, and sweethearts to join the Army and in

bearing witness to masculine heroism, and the gendered system whereby women must rely on men for protection and defence.

The scene also takes place in a domestic, suburban setting, as the backdrop is an attractive two-storey home with a sprawling lawn. Because of the setting, the image implies that the soldier is either the children’s father, or that one day he could father similar children. While serving his country, this soldier remains active within the community and as a result, he embodies the family-oriented characteristics of the idealized “modern” masculinity of the engaged breadwinning father. However, the encounter between the soldier and the children, while gesturing towards the domestic, is firmly situated outdoors and thus beyond the feminized sphere of the home. Although he is pictured in a fatherly or potentially domestic role, the soldier’s presence outside the home helps to preserve his virile and rugged masculinity.

The advertisement’s rhetorical message corresponds with the image’s narrative. “Serving with a purpose,” the modern Canadian soldier fulfils the “vital task in our community life,” by acting as “a shield against aggression” and “insurance for peace.” The ideal soldier, as portrayed by this advertisement, is one who protects (white) Canadian families, the Canadian way of life, and “all we hold dear,” especially the safety and innocence of children, from the incursion of the West’s communist foes. This ad also stresses the modern aspect of the military by stating the high level of training, skill, and preparation required, as well as emphasizing the opportunities for career promotion. Simultaneously, it draws attention to the anti-modern aspect of life as a soldier. By stating that the soldier’s life is one of adventure and travel in such far-off and exotic locales as the Canadian Arctic, Europe, and the Middle East, the ad reminds the reader that a soldier is more than this domestic image implies.
Other advertisements used similar techniques and vocabulary to tie the military directly to idealized masculine identity through the physical positioning of men and women. As part of a 1958 advertising series with four variations, “Today’s Career Soldier and what he means to Canada,” was produced specifically for *Maclean’s* and for the magazine’s largely white, middle-class readership. This ad features an illustration of a white Canadian soldier off duty, lounging in his expansive backyard with his wife and son (fig. 3). The soldier holds a radio transmitter on his lap and his son, wearing his father’s Army cap, holds a receiver to his ear. Pictured behind them and, like the little girl in the previously discussed ad, physically separated from the men is the soldier’s wife who speaks to her son through the transmitter’s other receiver. Juxtaposed with this image of family domesticity is the face of a young white man in Army uniform, staring directly at the reader with a furrowed brow and serious expression. The text reads:

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Today’s Career Soldier and what he means to Canada –
For the Canadian soldier himself the modern Army brings those material things a man appreciates most: steady employment … good pay … openings for advancement of many kinds. But the greatest satisfaction of all is one that can’t be measured in dollars and cents. He does a man’s job in safeguarding the Canada we all cherish … A Canada developing, in security and peace, her own vast resources and the chance for all her people to enjoy the good things of life. A Canada respected throughout the world.261
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Like the soldier in the advertisement previously discussed, this soldier simultaneously embodies the modern and the anti-modern. Although he is dressed in his Army khakis, he is enjoying leisure time with his white, middle-class family or the satisfaction “which can’t be measured in dollars and cents.” Again, the soldier is depicted in this domestic setting *outside* the home, thus reasserting his virile masculinity. Relaxed and leaning up against a large tree trunk, this soldier is at ease in a natural environment, connoting the anti-modern masculine attributes of ruggedness and self-sufficiency. He is similarly at ease being with and engaging with his family,

representing the modern manifestations of idealized hegemonic masculinity of the professionally successful yet emotionally engaged father and husband.

Their leisure time, however, is visibly influenced by the soldier’s connection to the Army as this otherwise domestic image is saturated with military symbolism. The man’s uniform and the radio transmitter, the source of the family’s amusement and presumably one of the instruments used by the soldier in his work life, are both obvious symbols for the Canadian Army. The soldier’s son also wears his father’s Army beret, insinuating that he too, one day, will follow in his father’s footsteps to have a “man’s job” in the Canadian Army. This gestures to the Army’s cultural role in transforming boys to men, national service as a masculine rite of passage, and the Army as a “brotherhood.” Although the soldier’s wife is present and engaged in the family activity, she sits apart from them and is slightly removed from the father-son relationship. As in other ads, it is the relationship between the soldier and the young boy that is most important – for the development of young boys into the “right” kind of men and for the future of the military and the nation.

The ad explicitly describes Army employment as a “man’s job,” and ties it to conceptualizations of safeguarding, protection, and defence – the “traditional” roles of men and the Army. Through the images and the rhetoric of good pay, steady employment, and opportunities for advancement, this ad directly speaks to the idealized masculinity of the middle-class family men who want to engage in life with their families and to maintain a healthy work/life balance. The image of the soldier’s serious face nevertheless denotes that this man is a dedicated Canadian warrior, ready and willing to defend Canada and what it represents. The ad implies that this scene of white, middle class, suburban family life is Canada. This man protects
and enjoys “the good things in life” that all Canadians “cherish.” He is the strong and
courageous warrior fighting for his home and family.

Other variations of the “Career Soldier” recruitment series focus less on family life.
While still highlighting the modern aspects of postwar manhood, “Today’s Career Soldier in
Canada’s Northland” focuses more explicitly on the anti-modern masculinity rooted in a
“warrior” identity of Canadian Cold War soldiers. This anti-modern warrior identity is
accentuated by the imagery of the “Canadian northern wilderness,” as armoured trucks with
snow tracks easily traverse a desolate, frozen landscape (fig. 4). Alongside this image is the same
stern face of the white soldier. Wearing a fur-lined hood, the soldier appears physically and
mentally prepared for his Arctic mission. His appearance is reminiscent of the “great explorers”
of the Arctic, other white men intent on conquering nature for political and national purposes; as
result, the soldier’s image implies that his is a distinctly “Northern” or “Canadian” masculine
identity predicated on competence in the “wilderness.” The accompanying text reads:

Today’s Career Soldier in Canada’s Northland –
Instantly ready to move to Canada’s defence, whenever and wherever the threat may
come, today’s career soldiers are among the most mobile in our history. Trained in the
specialized arts of Arctic warfare, tough, skilled, resourceful, they are the spearhead of
Canada’s defence … of the defence of the free world. Their service to Canada is beyond
praise … and Canada rewards them well; not only with excellent pay and prospects, but
also with a healthy out-door life full of adventure and comradeship.262

While the Army’s “excellent pay and prospects” are briefly mentioned, they are almost
superfluous, or a bonus to the Army’s many other compensations. The composition of the final
sentence places more emphasis on the “healthy out-door life full of adventure and comradeship,”
connoting that these “anti-modern” advantages are more valuable than the “modern” incentives.

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Advertising Ltd., Ottawa. Canadian War Museum Archives, Ottawa, ON, 58C1.31.2.
Speed, mobility, and skill are stressed. The Canadian soldier of the Cold War is the culmination of Canada’s “history” of militarism and white conquest, and the realization of Canada as a world player with whom to reckon. Although the soldiers have been “trained,” warfare is a likened to a “specialized art,” connoting an innate Canadian and masculine talent or aptitude for combat and violence. However, these “natural instincts” are highly disciplined and controlled and are thus “civilized.” The Canadian soldiers who protect and defend national interests in Northern Canada are also “the spearhead” of national defence. Through this metaphor, Canadian soldiers are conflated with weapons and denotations of violence. Canadian soldiers do not merely use weapons; they *are* the weapons of Canada and the free world, thanks to their specialized training and naturally tough and resourceful characters, ready to act “whenever and wherever the threat may come.”

Another ad from this 1958 recruitment series, “Today’s Career Soldier in the Middle East,” depicts an easily identifiable scene of Canadian UNEF peacekeepers at a patrol outpost in the Egyptian dessert (fig. 5). A United Nations’ flag flies above them, with a quintessentially “Egyptian” image of a camel and a Bedouin man walking behind the men. Adjacent to this peacekeeping scene is an image of a young, white man (the same man who appears in all the “Today’s Career Soldier” ads) who wears a collared work shirt and a military cap with the insignia of the United Nations. Again, the man looks directly at the reader with an unwavering and determined expression. The advertisement’s text implores the reader to enlist through reference to national identity, pride, and international prestige:

Today’s Career Soldier in the Middle East –
The Canadian soldier in the Middle East is proudly and efficiently doing a job of vital importance to the peace of the world. Canadian soldiers are members of the truce supervisory teams along the Arab-Israel borders, the United Nations observer group in Lebanon and form a part of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza Strip and
Sinai Peninsula. In UNEF he is referred to by comrades of other countries as “the real backbone of UNEF.”

The soldier himself in our modern Canadian Army has the things that a man appreciates most – job security – good pay – a healthy outdoor life with variety and openings for advancement. His greatest satisfaction however comes from the sure knowledge that his is an important role in the growing responsibilities of Canada.263

While this ad makes use of the same rhetoric of job security, good pay, opportunities for promotion, and a “healthy outdoor life,” it differs from some of the other recruitment marketing tactics by highlighting the national and international prestige and respect that comes from serving with the Canadian Army. The diction used in the advertisement sets a tone of stoic, humble masculinity. The Canadian soldier’s job is one of “vital importance,” integral not only to the maintenance of peace and the prevention of nuclear war; his job is also one of safeguarding and protecting Canada’s role as an important “middle power” and taking on the nation’s “growing responsibilities.” The cultural context also impacts the construction of masculinity in this advertisement. Produced in 1958, two years after the Suez Canal Crisis and the deployment of Canadian soldiers with UNEF, this ad capitalizes on the positive international response, UNEF’s success, and Pearson’s Nobel Peace Prize.

The importance of the “gaze of the Other” in evaluating the soldier’s identity is also evident, as it is through the voice of the non-Canadian or the “comrades of other countries” that the Canadian soldier, and Canada by extension, is described as the “real backbone of UNEF.” The Canadian soldier, though “proudly and efficiently doing a job of vital importance” and “sure” in the “knowledge that his is an important role,” would never be so ill-mannered and immodest as to brag about it – this would infringe on the Canadian soldier’s masculine gentility, respectability, and claims to ‘civilization’, and by extension, that of Canada. The “gaze of the

“Other” allows the praise to seem genuine, not self-interested. It is thus not only representative of what other nations (supposedly) think of Canada; it is integral to the construction of a Canadian identity founded in a humble, and therefore morally superior, recognition of international importance. The Canadian soldier in the Middle East is presented as an ideal man bearing the burden of Canada’s newfound obligations as a “peacekeeper,” a middle power, and a player on the world stage, as he strongly, quietly, and stoically performs his duty to the nation. Canada’s moral (and racial) superiority and willingness to perform its duty through peacekeeping is reminiscent of the “White Man’s Burden.” Like the imperial soldiers of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the white postwar Canadian soldier/peacekeeper brings civilization and salvation to the “dark corners” of the world. This dichotomy of civilized/uncivilized is made explicit through the juxtaposition of the white Canadian peacekeepers with the Egyptian “native” and his camel, who is symbolically depicted as standing behind the Canadian peacekeepers, reinforcing the perception that his is a “backwards” or undeveloped culture in need of Western assistance.

The “Canada’s Career Soldier in Europe” advertisement operates on similar pretences. Above the text is a depiction of an armed soldier in uniform, speaking with a young boy on an empty street (fig. 6). Based on the architecture and the boy’s clothing, and confirmed by the text below, the scene takes place in Germany where Canadian soldiers were stationed as part of the postwar NATO commitment. Like the other “Career Soldier” ads, this scene is placed beside an illustration of the white soldier staring at the reader with the same hard expression. He wears an

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264 Rudyard Kipling first used this phrase in “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands,” his 1899 poem written about American Imperialism in the Philippine-American War. “The White Man’s Burden” refers to the imperialist belief that it was the duty of Europeans (principally British imperialists) and later Americans to colonize, civilize, and “save” the “savage dark races” of the world from themselves.
Army beret and a military uniform complete with shirt and tie. Below these images, the text reads:

Canada’s Career Soldier in Europe –
To Europeans, the soldier in the Canadian Brigade of the NATO forces is visible assurance of Canada’s determination to support the causes of peace and the free world. Respected for his ability as a fighting soldier, he is proving himself to be an ambassador of goodwill. While he enjoys the material things a man appreciates most: travel and adventure … good pay … opportunity for advancement … job security, his greatest satisfaction is the knowledge that he is doing a worthwhile man’s job.265

Like the career soldiers in Canada and the Middle East, the Canadian soldier in Europe represents the “Modern Warrior” by simultaneously embodying the modern and anti-modern. He is still a “fighting soldier,” capable of physical force and violence, but now he is “proving himself to be an ambassador of goodwill,” corresponding with the Canadian Army’s “re-branding” of itself as an intermediary peacekeeping force, a fitting role for a “middle power.” This rhetoric is reinforced through the image of the soldier engaging with the young German boy. Although the soldier is in uniform, wears a combat helmet, and carries a rifle, his rough, warrior image is softened by his crouching position, his smile, and his arm wrapped around the young boy’s shoulders. The soldier’s rifle is loosely held in the crook of his other arm, indicating that although the soldier is prepared for violence, he does not have to use it to accomplish Canada’s goals and commitments.

Again, it is through the “gaze of the Other” that the Canadian soldier is viewed in this manner. It is through the eyes of the (Western) Europeans, protected by the Canadians and other NATO forces from the Communist forces threatening their borders, that the Canadian soldier is viewed as the “visible assurance … of peace and the free world.” In this advertisement, the Canadian soldier is viewed, and admired, in the eyes of the child. The absence of the young

boy’s parents (or any adults for that matter) emphasizes the soldier’s dual role as both protector and provider of innocence and freedom – to children overseas and at home in Canada – and reinforces the capacity of Canadian leadership and the power and strength of the Canadian military. This distinctly “Canadian” work of providing peace and freedom is also, as the ad asserts, a “man’s job” that is “worthwhile” and more meaningful than other middle-class jobs. The Canadian soldier, because of his “Modern Warrior” masculine identity and his embrace of both the modern and the anti-modern, is therefore equated with the hegemonic masculine identity.

The television and radio advertisements from this period reflected postwar constructions of ideal masculinity with an added touch of drama. The script for a 1958-59 television commercial reveals rhetorical myth creation similar to that produced in the print advertisements:

On the fringe of the battle in Korea … in the camps at home … the Canadian Army takes particular care of the spiritual welfare of its men, and of their health. For good morale and sound physique are essential to be able to undertake the rigorous training that makes the Canadian Infantryman one of the finest soldiers in the world. The Army also provides for the recreational need of the soldier, so that he may enjoy, off duty, the companionship of some of the finest young men in Canada. In fact, the Canadian Army offers the right man all he needs to lead a full and useful life.266

Appealing directly to the “right man,” this television commercial script presents the Canadian infantryman as a virtually perfect specimen of Canadian masculinity. He has “good morale” and “sound physique,” the combination of which make him “one of the finest soldiers in the world.” The commercial creates a narrative of international and national heroism and proficiency through its reference to international conflicts such as Korea and to the responsibilities of national defence. Furthermore, the ad also stresses the benefits to be found within the Army culture: recreational activities, good companionship of “the finest young men in Canada,” and the skills

and “rigorous” training needed to succeed in all aspects of life – not just in the military environment. As in other ads, the Army is presented as an education in “appropriate” masculinity. This education or masculine rite of passage will allow Canadian men to lead “full and useful” lives, implying that other postwar jobs are without meaning or purpose.

Another television spot, entitled “The Man of Many Parts,” also focuses on employment opportunities. The script of the storyline outline reads:

Behind his parade ground polish, the Canadian Infantry soldier is a man of many parts. He may be an anti-tank Gunner, or operate a radio set. If he is an exceptional marksman, he may be a sniper. If he is mechanically minded, a driver. He may also be a mortar man, or a machine gunner. Yes, the Canadian Infantry offers the right man training in a variety of employments. It may also give him an opportunity to travel with some of the finest young men in Canada. Men required must be able to meet Army test requirements and able to make good the tough training that has made Canadian Infantry soldiers world famous. So, if you want more information about a career that can widen your horizons and make you the man of action you’ve always wanted to be, phone, call or write to your Army Recruiting Station.267

Although the Canadian Infantry soldier is “a man of many parts,” this advertisement only reflects certain facets of a militarized, masculine identity. The soldier can be an anti-tank gunner, a radio operator, a sniper, a driver, a mortar man, or machine gunner; essentially, the soldier can be many things, as long as the occupations align with traditional conceptualizations of gender-specific roles. These roles befit a “man of action,” and are all related to violence, weaponry, or technology, fields traditionally reserved for “the right man.” Travel, adventure, and widened horizons are also mentioned, as is the Army’s homo-social environment, comprised only of Canada’s “finest young men” who can meet the Army’s standards for physical fitness and intelligence. Together, these men create an “imagined community” that takes pride in their identity and duty. Utilizing the ‘mythic’, this ad also plays to national pride and the postwar

desire for Canada to be recognized as significant and influential; as the ad describes the Canadian Army as “world famous,” the desire for international recognition is obvious.

Finally, radio advertisements also mobilized the postwar cultural anxieties and idealized gender constructions to promote enlistment in the Army. With a more conversational tone, radio ads like “An Invitation to the Active Young Man” appealed to young men through the use of the second person and through an emphasis on the benefits of Army service that would help them achieve an idealized masculine identity:

Here is an invitation to the active young man. Make the next three years the greatest years of your life … by joining the Canadian Army. You will receive special training and education, gain new skills and develop your leadership qualities. This will prove invaluable no matter where you go. The Army will help you mature, make you more alert and help you achieve top physical condition. You will meet enthusiastic young men like yourself from every part of Canada. If you decide to return to civilian life you will return better equipped … proud that you have trained to help defend your country. If you stay in the Army you can build a rewarding career with its excellent pay, pension plans and many opportunities for advancement.268

Like the ads produced for newspapers, magazines, and television, the radio ads emphasized a mix of modern and anti-modern traits. The ad stresses training, education, skills and leadership qualities – all of which prepared “the right” young Canadian man for a successful career “no matter where you go.” This ad is an exclusive “invitation” only for “the active young man.”

Furthermore, this ad draws on a cultural legacy that connected masculinity and military service, and linked masculine maturation and the transformation of boys into men with Army culture and employment. In these advertisements, Army service promised the achievement of a more “primal” masculinity, with promises of improving alertness, physical strength, and agility. The ad also highlights that by joining the Army, a young man could find other like-minded – and culturally, racially, and ethnically similar – “enthusiastic young men … from every part of

268 “An Invitation to the Active Young Man,” Department of National Defence, Canadian Army radio spot, May 1956. Montreal, QB. Canadian War Museum Archives, Ottawa, ON, 58C1.31.2.
Canada,” who would create a “brotherhood” to combat the feminization of the public and private spheres in civilian life.

Regardless of the medium through which the advertisements were delivered, the main messages remained the same. Through rhetoric, symbolism, and explicit declarations, the Army presented itself as a means to achieving the idealized or hegemonic masculinity of postwar Canada. The Army was presented as modern, through association with technological advances, progress, careerism and the future; and anti-modern, through reference to an “authentic” warrior identity linked to physical strength, bravery, competence in the natural “wilderness,” and the history of Canada and the military’s national legacy. For the most part, this multifaceted “anti-modern modernist” identity would have appealed to many heterosexual, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon men, or men who aspired to this hegemonic ideal, impacting who enlisted with the Army and how soldiers understood themselves as military men in the postwar context.

**PART IV: Implications and Conclusions**

**Myths and Realities: Implications for the Imagined Canadian Identity**

The military recruitment documents and the messages they presented had a large impact on the constructions of postwar Canadian identity and the creation of national mythologies. These documents were produced in a period of great social anxiety surrounding the appropriate roles and futures of Canadian men and during a time when the Canadian military expanded its international presence and took on a newfound identity as “peacekeepers.” In the years following the Suez Canal Crisis and the deployment of Canadian soldiers with the United Nations peacekeeping force, a national mythology surrounding Canada’s “peacekeeping identity”
emerged, shaping how Canadians came to view themselves and their place in the international arena.

Peacekeeping’s glorification and mythology stand in juxtaposition to the reality of peacekeeping’s perception at the time of its conception and its infancy in the mid-20th century and in the realities of Canada’s Cold War military involvement. Despite the international acclaim in the 1950s and 1960s that surrounded United Nations peacekeepers and Canada for its leading role in international peace missions, peacekeeping and its memory did not resonate with the average Canadian as a touchstone of the national identity until decades later. ²⁶⁹ Far from peacekeeping’s exalted status in the 1980s-1990s era (and even beyond), in the supposed “Golden Age” of Canadian foreign policy, Canadian civilians – at least from the military’s perspective – generally viewed Canada’s “peacekeeping” and military action as part of its NATO and UN Cold War commitments, with vague antipathy and ambivalence. ²⁷⁰ Even for the soldiers themselves, Canada’s peacekeeping commitments were predominately viewed as “business as usual,” and although missions like Suez presented new challenges and required the development of new skill sets, they nonetheless remained merely one component of Canadian Cold War policy. ²⁷¹

In spite of Canada’s Cold War peacekeeping reality, the mythology of peacekeeping was, and continues to be, a pervasive and influential force in the Canadian imaginary. In the words of Duncan S. A. Bell, “we should understand a national myth as a story that simplifies, dramatizes, and selectively narrates the story of a nation’s past and its place in the world, its historical

²⁶⁹ Carroll, Pearson’s Peacekeepers, xxi-xxii.
eschatology: a story that elucidates its contemporary meaning through (re)constructing its past.” In the Canadian imaginary, as Sandra Whitworth argues:

The image of Canada as peacekeeper … has long served as one of the “core myths” of Canada’s “imagined community.” That myth locates Canada as an altruistic and benign middle power, acting with a kind of moral purity not normally exhibited by contemporary states and confirms Canada’s premiere status as one of the most experienced peacekeeping countries in the world.273

The peacekeeping myth is fundamental to Canada’s self-identification as a nation of importance trying to separate itself from the United States and Britain. David Jefferess argues that the representations of “Canada as peacekeeper” and the peacekeeping mythology reflect “a nostalgic hunger for national distinction.” As such, Canada’s peacekeeping mythology is rooted in a nostalgia for Canada’s Cold War middle-power status, as much as it is in national glorification and historic revisionism.

But there is a darker side to Canada’s peacekeeping legacy, as white masculine supremacy and violence enacted by white or “Northern” men against non-white “Others” was sanctioned under the guise of Canada’s military or “peacekeeping” role. Just like imperialist projects were influenced by the concept of “the White Man’s Burden” in the 19th and early 20th centuries, peacekeeping has been and often continues to be entangled with legacies of colonialism, racial and cultural superiority, and gendered power structures, whereby predominately white men from the global north bring “peace, order, and good government” to the “dark corners” of the world.275 This colonial legacy complicates Canada’s claims to moral superiority because, as Whitworth explains:

272 Bell, “Mythscapes,” 75.
273 Whitworth, Men, Militarism, & UN Peacekeeping, 85.
Canadian representations of nation and military depend on the benign and altruistic image of Canada as peacekeeper – an image that is fundamentally at odds with the roles soldiers are expected, and indeed were created, to perform … Soldiers are not born; rather they are made, through training, institutional expectations, psychological conditioning, and a variety of material and ideological rewards.\textsuperscript{276}

Thus, despite the romanticism of the peacekeeping mythology, Canadian “peacekeepers” in the postwar period were always first and foremost soldiers, whose activities represented coercive projections of national state power. These soldiers were trained and conditioned in an environment that encouraged and celebrated a particular kind of masculine identity, which applied to only a certain segment of the Canadian population. By routinely directing the calls for military service towards white, heterosexual, middle-class men of Anglo-Saxon descent, the social privileges and power attached to military service remained within the hegemonic group – who also held the majority of Canada’s coercive power.

Following the unification of the Canadian Armed Forces in 1968, Cold War Canadian soldiers (who were simultaneously Canada’s “peacekeepers”) were conditioned to a certain kind of military culture which emphasized “traditional” martial values, increasingly characterized by homophobia, racism, and sexism.\textsuperscript{277} In particular, the Canadian Army saw unification as part of the larger bureaucratization and “Americanization” of the Canadian military and as a destructive influence on the Army’s distinctive culture, traditions, and regimental systems. As a result, the Army embraced what it believed to be a more “authentic” or “traditional” military culture.\textsuperscript{278} As the 20\textsuperscript{th} century neared its close, this “traditional” military culture moved further and further away from the values of civilian Canadian society – a society becoming increasingly uninterested in military endeavours, especially under the Liberal governments of Pierre

\textsuperscript{276} Whitworth, \textit{Men, Militarism, \& UN Peacekeeping}, 86.
\textsuperscript{277} See Whitworth, \textit{Men, Militarism, \& UN Peacekeeping} and Razack, \textit{Dark Threats \& White Knights}.
\textsuperscript{278} See English, \textit{Understanding Military Culture} and Kasurak, \textit{A National Force}. 
Trudeau\textsuperscript{279} – and retreated more and more to an anti-modern, hypermasculine, “warrior” culture and identity.

The peacekeeping mythology largely obscured the reality of Canada’s military culture, cloaking its unsavoury activities and conservative values in the nostalgic and romanticized image of “Canada the good.” When it was revealed in 1993 that Canadian soldiers of the Canadian Airborne Regiment – “peacekeepers” from one of Canada’s most prestigious regiments – not only partook in racist, homophobic, and sexist initiation rituals and were involved in neo-Nazi white supremacy groups and gangs, but that during a peacekeeping operation and humanitarian mission in Somalia, they had routinely engaged in the abuse and humiliation of children and youths, taken “trophy” photos of bound and hooded Somali children, tortured and murdered Shidane Arone, a sixteen-year old Somali youth, and fatally shot another unarmed Somali man, Canada’s peacekeeping mythology was shaken to the core.\textsuperscript{280} The subsequent cover-up by the upper echelons of the Canadian Army and the Canadian government’s premature termination of the Somalia Inquiry before it could complete its mission led to further disillusionment.\textsuperscript{281}

As Razack argues, “for a brief moment in national history, modern peacekeeping revealed its sordid colonial origins,” as Canadian soldiers – or “peacekeepers” – had “acted more like conquerors than humanitarians, and their actions underscored the meaning of Black bodies both here and there, historically and in the present.”\textsuperscript{282} While the Somalia Affair and the violence, racism, and hatred of the Canadian Airborne Regiment towards the Somalia population under their purported “protection” may have challenged Canada’s “peacekeeping identity” and other mythologies of Canadian social equality and altruism, the peacekeeping mythology

\textsuperscript{279} McKay and Swift, \textit{Warrior Nation}, 180.
\textsuperscript{280} Razack, \textit{Dark Threats & White Knights}, 4-7. See also McKay and Swift, \textit{Warrior Nation}, 196-206.
\textsuperscript{281} McKay and Swift, \textit{Warrior Nation}, 197.
\textsuperscript{282} Razack, \textit{Dark Threats & White Knights}, 4.
nonetheless survived the crisis and continued to inform many Canadians’ identities in an abstract way. As Razack argues, “the official story that emerged from the spectacle of the Somalia Affair – a spectacle that began with photos of the violent death of a Black man in custody and Black children bound and humiliated – was that of a gentle, peacekeeping nation betrayed by a few unscrupulous men.”

It was these individual men, a few “bad apples,” who were to blame – not the Canadian military culture or training, nor the Canadian society which had created these men and their values. In fact, in the years following the Somalia Affair, the Canadian military and Canadian people were portrayed as the real victims of the tragedy – not the Somali people – as the racism behind the violence all but vanished from the public memory.

It was, as Razack states, “violence transformed into gold.”

The Somalia Affair revealed an insidious side of peacekeeping, exposing the potential consequences of the military culture and the masculine identities which it fostered. As Whitworth acknowledges:

[The Somalia Inquiry] does not mean that all male military peacekeepers are beasts, that every individual soldier is violently homophobic, racist, or sexist. It does mean, however, that all soldiers have been subjected to the message that they have been given license to express these things, to act upon them, especially if that is what it takes to perform their duties as soldiers. Lying at the core of peacekeeping is a contradiction: on the one hand, it depends on the individuals (mostly men) who have been constructed as soldiers, and on

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283 Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights*, 7.

284 Master Corporal Clayton Matchee and Private Kyle Brown, both Cree men from the Canadian Prairies, remained at the centre of the Somalia Affair and were charged and arrested for the torture and murder of Shidane Arone. Although six white men were also charged with aiding and abetting in the torture and murder or for negligent performance of duty, it was the two men of colour who were directly connected with the war crimes, leading to questions of ‘whiteness’ and motivations of racial violence. Contemplating why men of racial minorities would engage in violence against other minorities, and how Matchee and Brown bore the brunt of the accusations and consequences, Razack argues that “the terms and conditions of membership in a white nation include that men of colour must forget the racial violence that is done to them … Joining the nation also requires that men actively perform a hegemonic masculinity in service to the nation. This masculine ideal includes engaging in acts of racial domination … For racial minority men, joining the nation requires, then, both forgetting racial violence and engaging in racial violence” (90). For more, see Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights*, “Chapter 3: ‘Outwhiting the White Guys?’ Men of Colour and the Murder of Shidane Arone.”


286 Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights*, 7.
the other hand, it demands that they deny many of the traits they have come to understand being a soldier entails.\textsuperscript{287} [emphasis added]

The specific depictions and portrayals of hegemonic masculinities in military recruitment documents in the Cold War period were not accidental. They were part of a larger institutional and national project of re-enforcing and replicating systems of gendered, religious, racial, linguistic, and classed power, whereby white, heterosexual, Anglophone, middle-class men were routinely placed in positions of authority and influence. As Cowen argues, “Canadian citizenship in the post-war period was broadly organized around norms of whiteness and Anglophone identity,”\textsuperscript{288} and directly or indirectly, these military recruitment documents, and the military culture they represented, influenced who in Canadian society held claim to national citizenship and who could identify with narratives of belonging. By linking military service and peacekeeping – and by extension, national belonging and citizenship – with postwar hegemonic masculinities, military recruitment practices bestowed more privileges to and placed greater value on white, heterosexual Canadian men with ‘ideal’ masculinities, re-entrenching the hegemonic masculine identity.

In the context of Cold War anxieties and the desire to return to what was believed to be “normal” in the face of changing demographics, gender roles, and ideas of national identity, these military documents were merely one small component of larger social structures and cultural processes that informed the belief that white, heterosexual, Anglophone, middle-class men hold unparalleled (and often uncontested) hegemonic power in society, with authority over women, people of colour, homosexuals, and immigrants, with the social sanction to enact violence without consequence.

\textsuperscript{287} Whitworth, \textit{Men, Militarism, & UN Peacekeeping}, 3.
\textsuperscript{288} Cowen, \textit{Military Workforce}, 105.
Conclusion

As Melissa T. Brown argues, “when it comes to popular culture and ideas about gender, the military is not a thing apart from society.” Building on this line of thought, this paper has argued that cultural context dictates the ways in which the media portrayed military culture and national service in 1950s Canada. In the case of the Canadian Army, the recruitment material produced for and by the Army in the latter half of the 1950s mobilized the postwar cultural anxieties surrounding gender regulation and the “crisis of masculinity,” fears of communism and immigration, and changing definitions of nation, to reflect and shape the idealized masculine identities of Canadian society and ultimately to attract the “right” men to military life. The military advertisements reveal not only how the Canadian Army utilized and re-enforced pre-existing tropes of hegemonic and ideal masculinity, but also how they worked to construct and produce militarized masculinities which in turn impacted masculine identities in civilian society.

Overall, through the use of specific language, imagery, and rhetoric, these ads depicted the Canadian Army as an avenue to achieving or regaining one’s masculinity at a time when many feared that (white) masculinity was “in crisis.” The ads produced for the Army portrayed it as an occupation for the “modern man,” by emphasizing family life, salary, benefits, training and opportunities for promotion. The ads also presented the Army as a place for the “anti-modern man,” or the man who turned away from the suburbanization and feminization of the private sphere, the rise in managerial, sedentary white-collar work, and the disconnect from nature that characterized the modern postwar period, to reclaim his supposedly “authentic” masculine identity. Military advertisements merged these two seemingly contesting idealized masculine identities – the successful, breadwinning, family-oriented “modern man,” and the rugged, self-

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289 Brown, Enlisting Masculinity, 24.
sufficient “warrior” – to create the image of the “Modern Warrior.” This image of a Canadian soldier who was benevolent and kind, but tough, strong, and forceful when required, coalesced with Canada’s burgeoning “peacekeeping” identity of the stoic, well-trained, and well-mannered intermediary and appealed to many white, heterosexual, Anglophone, Anglo-Saxon, middle class Canadian men. While these ads may not represent the Army’s official doctrines, espoused values, or values-in-use, they do reveal how the media represented the Army to Canadian civilians, and how Canadian society would have understood the Army and its culture in the Cold War period and beyond. This paper has attempted to deconstruct and critically examine the subtle (and not so subtle) ways that media representations and other cultural processes influenced gender identities and normalized white masculine supremacy and hegemonic power as “natural” in the past and present. Because military service has long been considered the crux of citizenship, these Cold War advertisements worked towards (re)entrenching patterns of middle-class, heterosexual, Anglo-Saxon masculine power and dominance by reaffirming this group’s claim to military service, the ultimate “national privilege.” By targeting a certain type of Canadian based on gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, citizenship-status, and language, the Canadian Army not only influenced who enlisted, but also who was (and often continues to be) viewed as a “real Canadian” capable of defending and protecting the nation.
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Figures

Figure 1: Give Me the Outdoor Life
Figure 2: Serving with a Purpose
Figure 3: Today’s Career Soldier and What He Means to Canada
Figure 4: Today’s Career Soldier in Canada’s Northland
Today’s Career Soldier in the Middle East

The Canadian soldier in the Middle East is proudly and efficiently doing a job of vital importance to the peace of the world. Canadian soldiers are members of the truce supervisory teams along the Arab-Israel border, the United Nations observer group in Lebanon and form a large part of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza Strip and Sinai peninsula. In UNEF he is referred to by his comrades of other countries as “the real backbone of UNEF”.

The soldier himself in our modern Canadian Army has the things that a man appreciates most—job security—good pay—a healthy outdoor life with variety and openings for advancement. His greatest satisfaction however comes from the store knowledge that his is an important role in the growing responsibilities of Canada.

Figure 5: Today’s Career Soldier in the Middle East
Figure 6: Canada’s Career Soldier in Europe