THE MILITARY AS A PROFESSION:
AN EXAMINATION

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"One of the most dangerous rocks which in the course of associations formed ... is 'professionalism'. It is a danger to avoid which requires the utmost watchfulness and caution. It is not necessary here to go so far as to say that "professionalism" when confined strictly to its own bounds is an evil; but...."[1]

"To introduce into such societies the professional element is to make discord of harmony.... The professional... has come to be looked upon as a man not to be implicitly trusted, and in many instances he has brought this damaging suspicion deservedly upon himself."[2]

Contemporary society, according to John Ralston Saul, a noted writer and intellectual but perhaps better known as the husband of the current Canadian Governor-General, is "tightly held in the embrace of a dominant ideology - corporatism."[3] Few would argue with his assertion. Many however, would take issue with his interpretation and analysis of the implications of the grip of that ideology upon the individual. Ralston Saul claims that the "acceptance of corporatism causes us to deny and undermine the legitimacy of the individual" which results in passivity and conformity.[4] Concurrent with corporatism assuming society's ideological crown, is the rise to prominence of a managerial class of white-collar technocrats and the blind reverence, presumably caused by passivity and conformity, of the socially-constructed meanings of the words "profession", "professional," "professionalization" and "professionalism."

Ralston Saul is not passive nor does he accept or conform to the prevailing wisdom or certitudes of "enormous, specialized, technocratic elites". Rather than reverence, he views professionals much like the opinionated and passionate journalist who, over one hundred and fifteen years ago, examined the deleterious effects of "professionalism" on his organization and is responsible for the above quotations. Perhaps not as polemical, but nonetheless accusatory, Ralston Saul's perspective of professionals is jaundiced, acerbic and encapsulated by his sarcastic assertion that "[t]ruth is not in the world, it is the measurements made by

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professionals."[5]

Not all opinions of the professions or professionalism reflect such critical or pejorative perspectives. Indeed, in a society arguably not only embraced by corporatism but seduced and ravished by the corporate ethic, professionalism is viewed in a decidedly positive light. The adjective "professional" provides a key example. It is often applied to people, practices and concepts deemed moral, upright and virtuous, as in "professional status", "professional standing", "professional ethics", "professional standards", and "professional courtesy". A cursory glance through assorted dictionaries and thesauri provides objective descriptions of profession and professionalism, any one of which a twenty-first century, middle-class parent would want her child to achieve. Funk and Wagnall's describe profession as "an occupation that involves a liberal, scientific or artistic education or its equivalent, and usually mental rather than manual labor; ...."[6] Under the entry "professional", Roget's Thesaurus includes sub-lists with the titles "expert", "accomplished", "scholastic", and "skilful". Even an unabashedly Marxist, and therefore searingly critical examination of the professions, such as Ivan Illich et. al. Disabling Professions asserts that "the professionals, that is the skilled and learned experts who apply their knowledge to the affairs and in the service of others, are traditionally held in high esteem."[7] The Internet provides further evidence of society's infatuation with professionalism. Web sites abound with law societies, medical associations, teachers, architects, bankers, builders, nurses, accountants, economists, and investment brokers' organizations, each eager to display their bright and shining professional codes on billboards that litter the side of the road on the electronic information highway.

Further compounding the complexities of the meaning and interpretation of the word

profession and its derivatives is the variety of cultural, chronological, and theoretical contexts in which they have been examined. From Holmes's exhaustive study of the roots of professionalism in Augustan England to Schmidt's indicting analysis of contemporary North American professionals and the "soul-battering system that shapes their lives",[8] the meanings of professionalism are nuanced, multivarient, and in a constant state of change. Complicating matters further are the theoretical polar opposites of structural-functional and conflict perspectives and the sliding scale between them which have variously influenced, informed, and in some cases dictated studies of the professions.[9] Clearly the nature and meaning of professionalism is therefore ideologically, culturally, theoretically, and chronologically specific. Eliot Friedson, in a theoretical discussion of the contemporary professions that examines classification and criteria, articulates the problems associated with definition:

> "... I do not think the problem can be solved by struggling to formulate a single definition which is hoped to win the day. The concrete, historical character of the concept and the many perspectives from which it can be legitimately viewed, and from which sense can be made of it, preclude the hope of any widely accepted definition of general analytic value."[10]

In the context of various conjunctures of meaning, this paper has dual foci. First, its dimension and purpose is the examination of the conceptual topic of "professionalism". By reviewing an extensive body of literary, historical and sociological research and writing on the subject, the objective is to provide greater understanding of and insight into the origins, evolution, and significance to contemporary society of the forms and functions of professionalism. The specialized vocabulary of specialized groups, more specifically sociology and the military, is not a central feature of this examination, though by necessity it often overlaps with these. Rather, it is the generic or lexical meaning of "profession" and "professionalism"

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which, conceived and adapted in specialized contexts, has become common in descriptions of wider areas of contemporary thought and experience that forms the analytic nucleus. Within this component of the paper, the inquiry alights upon, and penetrates to varying degrees, the topics of historical semantics, cultural and literary history, the history of ideas, and social criticism. Intrinsic to this inquiry is the identification, discussion, and in some cases the analysis of common strands of thought that inform meaning in the most general discussions of the practices and institutions which are grouped as contemporary society. Second, the understanding and insight gleaned will be applied to an analysis of the Canadian military professional.

As might be expected, the etymological origins of "profession" have been muddied by the passage of time. Historian Samuel Haber, in the Preface to his exhaustive study of the professions in eighteenth and nineteenth-century America, discusses the derivation and evolution of profession. He claims that "profession meant any work that afforded a livelihood."[11] According to Haber, the word originated at the time of the Roman Empire when citizens declared their occupations so that tax gatherers might assess appropriate levies. Furthermore, Haber states that all occupations were professions. Unfortunately, in a work that is otherwise excellently substantiated and footnoted, the author supplies no reference for these statements. Although this constitutes only a minor sin of documentation, it is compounded by a quantum leap of lexical and historical logic when Haber inexplicably omits the following seventeen hundred years and jumps in his discussion to the mid-eighteenth century definitions of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Although Haber is singled out for criticism here, other studies are as culpable for inadequate historical and contemporary definition, lack of explanation in the development and significance of the use of the word, and, in the context of the modern usage of the word, a

failure to clarify why particular occupations came to be labelled professions by their members and recognized as such by the society in which they existed.[12]

Despite the lack of understanding of why usage developed as it did, dictionaries provide an invaluable chronology of meaning. Most indicate that in English, the word profession derived from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' Middle English verb "profess", meaning to make public declaration of solemn religious vows.[13] The word first appears in the Middle English Ancren Riwle, also known as Regula Inclusarum and more contemporarily as "The Nun's Rule". Attributed to Bishop Richard Poore who held the See of Salisbury from 1217 to 1229, and reputedly wrote the Ancren during this time, it provides a code of rules for women seeking seclusion and a life devoted to the practices of religious observance. Poore, who was born in Tarrent, Dorsetshire, composed the rules for the nuns of his home town, including his sister. Although the Anglo-Saxon language is obscure, the meaning is unmistakable: "Non ancre ... ne schal makien professiun, bet is, bihoten ase hest, bute breo binges, bet is, obedience, chastete, & studestabeluestnesse."[14] Corroboration of the notion of profession as an avocational calling of a higher nature is found in the following century when the Shipman, Chaucer's designated tale-teller of the evening on the road to Canterbury, declares: "Nat quod this Monk by god and by seint Martyn... This swere I yow on my profession."[15] "Profession" finds further exemplification of its chronologically contextualized meaning in the Book of Common Prayer in the Collect for the Third Sunday After Easter: "Grant unto all those who are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's Religion that they may avoid those things that are contrary to their profession."[16] Central to the meaning of profession in the thirteenth and fourteenth century then, is the public declaration of religious faith. Further, the acts associated with and subsequent to that declaration

are what comprise a specific and particular profession.

Although the meaning of profession to the twenty-first century inhabitant appears far removed from the medieval meaning of the public declaration of taking of religious vows, a significant point of conjuncture is evident. Implicit to the Ancren, Chaucer, the Book of Common Prayer, and to other works of the time is the notion that profession involves a commitment to a calling or vocation exclusive of, but not necessarily independent from, commercial occupation - an idea that finds resonance in many sociological studies of contemporary society. In his study of the meaning of professionalism and the criteria by which an occupation or activity may be judged to be professional, sociologist Wilbert Moore recognizes "the calling" as a defining characteristic of the professional. Unfortunately, Moore's scholarly inquiry concerns itself only with the state of the professions in the 1960s, and while his analysis includes attempts to quantify and subject the idea of a higher calling to empirical scrutiny, it provides little insight into the motivations of an individual considering a cloistered existence.[17] Despite his chronological delimitation, Moore nevertheless articulates a timeless characteristic of a "profession" which has survived subtle changes and shifts of meaning.

Over the next six centuries, the words "profess" and "profession" maintained their core meaning of declaring one's intention of taking the vows of a religious order, but gradually their scope and intent broadened. According to the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, by the late 1300s any open promise, announcement, affirmation, avowal or acknowledgement of an opinion, belief, or practice constituted an act of profession.[18] Usually though, such declarations embraced, if not spiritual allegiance, then a closely allied corporeal virtue. A line from Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene, an epic poem that exhibits characteristics such as holiness,

temperance, chastity, friendship, justice, and courtesy, provides an illustration: "Yet did her face and former parts professe A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee."[19] By the early 1600s however, the act of profession also embraced and was associated with less uplifting notions. In Shakespeare's dark tragedy <u>King Lear</u>, Regan, one of the treacherous daughters of the king, deceitfully professes that nothing matters to her but her father's love and that she has become "an enemy to all other joys."[20] Perhaps in Regan's case the religious and spiritual act of profession is designed to obscure baser and more selfish motives. Nevertheless, the hitherto pristine idea of profession has been tainted and associated with alternative meanings and interpretations.

Precisely how and why the act of profession expanded to include darker thoughts and actions of humanity is not clear, but a brief explanation provides insight to the structural and linguistic changes in the English language at this time, and the political and cultural zeitgeist which informed them. The turn of the sixteenth century marked a great upheaval in English society, foremost of which was the start of the English Renaissance and the gradual transition of the usage of Middle English to Early Modern English. The reign of Henry VIII and the Protestant Reformation reduced the domination of Latin in churches and schools, and Early Modern English flourished with the influence of the printing press, improved education and communication, and the importation of foreign words from the European Renaissance. In the words of historical linguist, John Nist, "... the entire period of Early Modern English [1500-1650] was one of linguistic innovation and experiment."[21] The concurrent rise of professional writers fostered further change. Popular essayists, poets and playwrights such as Francis Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton, Marlow, and Spenser contributed to an immense enrichment in vocabulary,

experimentation with morphology, refinement of syntax, use of particular idiomatic

constructions and changes in pronunciation. In adopting a "free, flexible and daring" style, many

of the writers, as commoners, democratised language and literature.[22] In this milieu, the meaning

of profession expanded to include approximations of its contemporary usage.

By the middle 1500s and early 1600s the meaning of profession extended to an

occupation in which the practisers of that occupation professed themselves to be skilled.

Alternately it became associated with a particular vocation "in which a professed knowledge of

some department of learning and science is used in its application to the affairs of others ...."[23]

Implicit in this latter definition is the idea of *altruistic purpose*. Closely allied with the notion of

a higher calling where the individuals involved in the act of professing devoted themselves to the

service of God, altruism inherently involved service to others. Altruistic purpose represents the

second significant point of conjuncture between the evolving sixteenth and seventeenth century

meaning and contemporary definitions.

In a 1967 study of the characteristics of professions, Kleingartner, a professor of

Industrial Relations, suggested that a professional's primary orientation is "toward the

community rather than self interest."[24] Kleingartner's research drew heavily on two particular

and widely quoted authorities. The first, a pioneering and exhaustive history of English

professional life by Carr-Saunders and Wilson, traced the development of professions from pre-

industrial society to the date of publication of their work, 1933. Of particular significance, the

authors noted that although the characteristics of the professions altered over the centuries as

they assumed a more secular orientation, and the transition was made from ecclesiastical

protection in medieval Britain to the protection of the community in contemporary industrial

society, the altruistic component of a profession remained unchanged.[25] Kleingartner's

influences also included early twentieth-century American sociologist Abraham Flexner.

Flexner's work represents one of the earliest attempts to systematically classify the

distinguishing attributes of a profession. His work was not without flaws. According to his

suggested criteria, only medicine, law, engineering, literature, painting and music qualified as

professions - a dubious assertion and one that sparked controversy and debate.[26] Despite this

problem, Flexner identified one criterion that finds unequivocal acceptance among his peers and

contemporary scholars - altruism.[27]

The centrality of altruism's role in the professions is at once obvious and subtle. Most

researchers' findings reflect the former and are encapsulated by pre-World War II political

scientist T. H. Marshall's observations. Although Marshall's primary concern was the salience of

the individual as opposed to "a great corporation under government control" in the then existing

professional institutions, he clearly defines altruism as fundamental to professionalism:

> "... the individual is the true unit of service, because service depends on individual
> qualities and individual judgement supported by responsibility which cannot be
> shifted onto the shoulders of others. That, I believe is the essence of professionalism
> and it is not concerned with self-interest, but with the welfare of the client."[28]

The opinion that the professions are actuated by the common good has been restated

throughout the decades since Marshall's work. In the 1950s, Talcott Parsons suggested that

while business and the professions were similar in many respects, a distinguishing feature of the

professions was their collectivity-orientation rather than self-orientation. In the 1970s Paul

Halmos claimed that professional ethics provided a fount for a new moral order and that

professional service had penetrated all aspects of industrial society, including business. In the

1990s Steven Brint noted that "professionals are considered to be distinct from business

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executives and managers" and that professional "services" can involve teaching, healing and advocating in court.[29] Halmos' and Brint's studies of ethics and morality in the professions appear informed by the notable sociologist Emile Durkheim and suggest an aspect of the more subtle roles and manifestations of altruism and service orientation to contemporary society.

Durkheim opined that while the professions, as monopolistic oligarchies, might be viewed as socially harmful, their control of technology might result in some form of meritocracy, which might also be viewed as a positive force in social development. In the latter case, professionals and the practice of professionalism would counteract the forces of laissez-faire individualism and state collectivism. In Durkheim's structural-functionalist opinion, the disintegration of the traditional moral order, initiated and perpetuated by the division of labour in industrializing societies, might be addressed by the construction of moral communities based on occupational categories. Furthermore, he recommended that professional life should become a "moral milieu," the strength of which would be applied to forging cohesion in societies "lacking in stability, whose discipline it is easy to escape and whose existence is not always felt...."[30] How and why the professions, by their intrinsic nature situated at the epicentre of trade, industry and commerce, would operate this way without being counter-influenced by the corporatist ethic, Durkheim did not explain. His research, however, suggested that despite the environment in which they flourished, professionals were distinct and "almost entirely removed from the moderating effect of obligations."[31] In the contemporary context of a series of corporate stock scandals and insider trading, Durkheim's views are at best dated, at worst, naive and flawed.

Closely allied with the concept of professional altruism has been the contention that the professions serve as a stabilizing force against disruptions that threaten the democratic process,

both nationally and internationally - an assertion that finds resonance in the philosophy and actions of the Canadian military. The idea, explored by a number of researchers, is most eloquently articulated by Carr-Saunders and Wilson who, from an overtly structural-functionalist perspective, commented on what effect the professions had on British society. Professional organizations, they claimed, had members who were conscious of the past and in their occupational endeavours:

> "they inherit, preserve and hand on a tradition. They know that nothing is to be achieved in their own sphere by destruction or revolution, and they assume that the same applies in other spheres. Professional associations are stabilizing elements in society. They engender modes of life, habits of thought, and standards of judgement which render them centres of resistance to crude forces which threaten steady and peaceful evolution.... The family, the church, the universities, certain associations of intellectuals, and above all the great professions stand like rocks against which the waves raised by these forces beat in vain."[32]

Although the world of human affairs has changed considerably since the early 1600s, when the word professionalism evolved to include elements of altruism, the strands of latent meaning, including sincerity, courtesy, chivalry, and the denial of self-interest, remain constant and timeless entities which inform contemporary definitions of profession.

While the definition of profession evolved to encompass aspects of altruism, by the 1600s other semantic strands were discarded. One such casualty was the duality of meaning; the act of professing and the practice of a particular profession applied specifically to the learned professions of divinity, law, and medicine, and also significantly to the military profession. By 1605 this duality of meaning had eroded, and when Francis Bacon pondered why the great seats of learning in Europe were "all dedicated to professions and none left free to the Arts and Sciences at large", he confirmed that a new meaning had been forged from the old. More specifically, the act of professing, present since the thirteenth-century, became disassociated with

emerging interpretations.

Historian Geoffrey Holmes concluded that Bacon's observation implicitly contained two ideas, "both of which were firmly implanted in the seventeenth century mind."[33] If Holmes had reviewed the then contemporary sociological literature on the professions, he might have added that the two ideas remained entrenched for the next four hundred years and remained firmly implanted in the twentieth-century mind. The first presupposed that a profession included rigorous and extended training, primarily intellectual in nature. The second suggested that the intellectual training was vocational, and the profession attained was an occupation or a livelihood. The two ideas represent the third and fourth points of conjuncture between evolving historical meaning and contemporary interpretation.

Bacon's musings on the syllabuses covered by the great European universities need explanation and qualification. The occupations that existed in Bacon's day - law, medicine, and the clergy - are contemporarily accepted as professions and are often referred to as "learned," such learning being primarily academic. Prior to the foundation of universities however, the training in and learning of specialized branches of knowledge came from apprenticeship to a master practitioner. In law, the practice of training at one of the Inns of Court continued until at least the start of the eighteenth-century. In the United States, even as late as the 1970s, it was possible to read law and be admitted to the bar in some states without university training. Other grey areas existed where apprenticeship provided the means by which youths of respectable families qualified to become apothecaries, surveyors, architects, music or writing masters, and even clerks in government service. Nevertheless, Bacon's observations were correct about medicine and the clergy. By the turn of the eighteenth century, ordination into the priesthood of

the Anglican Church necessitated a degree from Oxford or Cambridge, and a university

doctorate of medicine absolutely qualified physicians.[34] These professions provided the

educational yardsticks by which other professions were measured in the following centuries.

In the post-industrial age formal educational qualifications in the form of university

degrees or college diplomas are the general rule for the professions.[35] In 2002, almost every

accountant, architect, clergyman, dentist, doctor, engineer, judge, lawyer, librarian, natural

scientist, optometrist, pharmacist, social scientist, social worker and teacher employed in Canada

has a diploma or degree. In a discussion of the role of education in the professions, sociologist

Wilbert Moore suggests that "in the contemporary United States the minimal educational

requirement [to be considered a professional] be placed at the equivalent of the college

baccalaureate degree."[36] He further explains that a degree in and of itself would not qualify the

holder for professional status, but that the process of obtaining the degree must include formal

training and the acquisition of specialized knowledge.

Analysis and discussion by sociologists and historians of the essential nature of formal

training and the transfer of specialized knowledge is wide-ranging, and given the range of

occupational professions, understandably vague. Ernest Greenwood, however, in his discussion

of the concept of professionalism, identifies the possession of a "systematic body of theory" as

the first of five elements that form the distinguishing attributes of a profession. Greenwood

claims that the element of superior skill differentiates a professional from a non-professional and

that the skills that characterize a profession flow from "a fund of knowledge that has been

organized into an internally consistent system called a body of theory."[37] According to

Greenwood, a profession's body of theory is comprised of several "abstract propositions" that

delineate phenomena defining the profession's focus of interest. Theories studied in the course of a university education provide a foundation that professionals apply in the course of their work. Furthermore, prior mastery of theory is imperative to the acquisition of professional skill. In the words of Greenwood: "Preparation for a profession, therefore, involves considerable preoccupation with systematic theory, a feature virtually absent in the training of the non-professional."[38]

Geoffrey Holmes's second point about Bacon's observation on the condition of European universities, that professional training was vocational in nature, is closely allied with the first and particularly salient in the twenty-first century. Contemporary universities throughout the world include many or all of the "professional" disciplines in their courses of study. In contrast to the nineteenth century, when the future leaders of the British Empire's economic, social, and political life were provided only with a liberal-arts education that relied heavily on antiquity, today's students can gain particular, esoteric, but useful knowledge and skills in a variety of schools and programs, and in completing a degree. Bachelor's, Master's and Doctoral degrees are offered in, among others: law, medicine, dentistry, teaching, divinity, business, industrial relations, nursing, social work, commerce, and archival and library science. Undeniably vocational in nature, the possession of one of these degrees, in addition to the practice of some aspect of the discipline as a means of livelihood, is a high indicator of professional status.

The attainment of professional status by individuals engaged in a similar vocation, by necessity produces a collective mentality. Researchers loosely refer to this mentality and its corporeal manifestation by a variety of names and titles, each of which has its own shade of meaning. For the purpose of this discussion, the terms, "culture," "organization," "community,"

and "association" are synonymous, as each concerns itself with occupational control and autonomy, division of work, and the common values and beliefs derived from the relationship of the professional to the economy and the means of production.

In the twenty-first-century, after decades of bitter conflict between worker organizations and company ownership, most occupations have ceded the right to exercise control over their work and its outcome to administrators. In contrast, most established professions such as doctors and architects have managed to maintain control of the right to be arbiters of their work performance. Other occupations such as nursing and social work, that seek professional status and its concurrent autonomy, have fought to attain those same rights. Both the old and the new professions justify their positions by claiming that their organizations are the only ones who know enough to evaluate their practice correctly and ensure that work performance meets basic standards. Whether struggling to maintain or attain control, the contention has produced a collective mentality which in turn has led to occupational organization. These organizations concern themselves with terms and conditions of employment criteria for joining the profession, the evaluation of performance, and the consequences of violating professional codes.

The preceding delimited examination of the distinct attributes of a profession and their succeeding application to the military is but a springboard to understanding the role of the contemporary Armed Forces in Canadian society. By comprehending the nature of professionalism, can the assertion be made that poorly paid soldiers engaged in a skilled and demanding, yet low prestige occupation that requires a comprehensive code of conduct, be professionals? The answer is a qualified, no! But this does not suggest that they are not.

Does the military, then, constitute a "profession"? If so, does the term apply to everyone in the military, or only to specific members or groups? We can attempt to answer these questions by looking to our chronology of the meaning of "profession", and to literature on the military as a profession.

Probably the most often-quoted writer on the military as a profession is Samuel Huntington (1957). Although he wrote around the middle of the twentieth century, he is still widely quoted today by researchers and in institutions of higher learning. Huntington's fundamental position is that "The modern officer corps is a professional body and the modern military officer a professional man."[39]

According to Huntington, *any* profession has three defining characteristics: expertise, responsibility, and corporateness. Expertise means in part "specialized knowledge and skill in a significant field of human endeavour...."[40] Responsibility emphasizes the professional as performing a service that is essential to society: "The client of every profession is society, individually or collectively.... The essential and general character of his service and his monopoly of his skill impose upon the professional man the responsibility to perform the service when required by society."[41] Corporateness is explained in part as: "The members of a profession share a sense of organic unity and consciousness of themselves as a group apart from laymen. This collective sense has its origins in the lengthy discipline and training necessary for professional competence, the common bond of work, and the sharing of a unique social responsibility."[42]

Huntington then shows how "the vocation of officership" is a profession according to these defining characteristics. His position that a military officer is a professional is based on the

following[43]:

expertise: The military is a profession because the specialized expertise of the military officer is "the management of violence". According to Huntington, "The direction, operation, and control of a human organization whose primary function is the application of violence is the peculiar skill of the officer."

responsibility: "The expertise of the officer imposes upon him a special social responsibility.... his responsibility is the military security of his client, society.... the officer corps alone is responsible for military security to the exclusion of all other ends."

corporateness: "Officership is a public bureaucratized profession. The legal right to practice the profession is limited to members of a carefully defined body.... The functional imperatives of security give rise to complex vocational institutions which mold the officer corps into an autonomous social unit."

Huntington does not consider all military members to be military professionals. Firstly, in his view only officers are military professionals. He therefore does not consider enlisted (non-commissioned) members to be military professionals because they do not meet (in his opinion) the three defining characteristics of a profession. Secondly, only full-time, career, *operational* officers who are engaged in or are being groomed in "the management of violence" are true military professionals. He excludes Reserve Force officers (who are not engaged in a life-long, full-time military career), and non-operational officers (including those who are professionals in other fields, e.g., military doctors, lawyers), as only operational officers are engaged in the management of violence, which "distinguishes the military officer *qua* military officer from the other specialists which exist in the modern armed services... they are basically auxiliary vocations...."[44]

Anthony Hartle (1989) agrees with Huntington that the officer corps constitutes a profession, "because it possesses to the greatest degree the characteristics usually cited for a

profession."[45] He focuses on expertise, career commitment, and the concept of "noblesse oblige" in officers. In his view, "The concept that officers must meet higher moral requirements... is where we will find the essence of military professionalism."[46] This is echoed in the writings of Martin Cook (2000): "Only when the military articulates and lives up to its highest values can it retain the nobility of the profession of arms."[47]

According to Hartle, a profession is distinguished by five characteristics - systematic theory, authority, community sanction, ethical codes, and a culture - and the (American) military "appears to possess all five attributes, but that observation requires support."[48] He agrees with Huntington on the difference between military professionals and other military specialist officers: "A practical distinction thus exists between the purely military professional and the supporting cast that provides services not wholly particular to the military."[49] However, he is not as absolute as Huntington in his categorization of who is a military professional (i.e., career officers engaged in the management of violence), preferring to view professionalism as a matter of degree. Therefore, for example as Byers (1973) suggested: "Enlisted personnel who have made a career commitment, especially non-commissioned officers, should certainly be included within the profession."[50]

The concept of "profession" has changed, as we have seen, although key themes have remained over time. To summarize, key conjunctures and elements in the concept of profession have been: 1. to "profess" religious vows to God and His service (13th, 14th century); 2. commitment to a "higher calling" or "vocation", independent from a commercial "occupation"; 3. the notion of a higher calling to God was broadened to emphasize the notion of a higher calling to the service of society, i.e., the element of "altruistic purpose" (16th, 17th century); 4.

professions were seen by many to constitute a stabilizing force in society; 5. professions required rigorous and extended training, primarily intellectual in nature; 6. the intellectual training included vocational content, enabling the professional to have a means of livelihood; 7. professional training required (for the most part) a university or college degree or diploma (19th century); 8. professional skill and expertise were derived from the learning and application of a "systematic body of theory"; and, 9. professionals were given the right by society to control their work.

There are links between the first definitional element ("to profess") and current Canadian Forces ritual and practice. For example, every new member of the Canadian Forces is required to swear an "Oath of Allegiance" to the Queen of Canada (Commander-in-Chief). Until relatively recently, it was a solemn oath (i.e., before God), but in keeping with evolving Canadian laws, a new member now may elect to make a "Solemn Affirmation", which does not include reference to God. Another reflection of the importance of religion in the Canadian Forces is found in the giving and safe-guarding of Queen's and Regimental "Colours" - the flags and symbols of a military unit's history, battle honours, duty, traditions, and esprit de corps. Every new Colour is publicly consecrated to the service of God and country by a member of the clergy when it is given to a unit. When a Colour is retired or laid-up, it is done so honourably and publicly, entrusted to custodial care in a sacred or public building.[51]

The next several key variations over time (commitment to a higher calling or vocation, and "altruistic purpose") are solidly reflected in the literature on military professionalism. Prevailing themes are derived from the *uniqueness* of the military profession, e.g., functions, obligations, core values, military ethos, and ethical codes of the profession.

According to Canada's Army (1998), "Canadian soldiers are members of the profession of arms by virtue of the obligations and duties they assume, the military ethos which governs their service, and the function they fulfill.... The possession, use, and control of lethal force is what gives the military profession unique standing and import within the broader society it serves."[52] There is no distinction here between commissioned and non-commissioned members as professionals (but one is implicit between operational and non-operational soldiers).

The military "ethos" is fundamental to the nature of the military profession. There are many definitions of this concept, ranging from the general "characteristic spirit of a community, people, or system"[53], to the military "an all-encompassing military philosophy and moral culture derived from the imperatives of military professionalism, the requirements of the battlefield and the demands war makes on the human character."[54] Wenek (2002) describes the purpose of the military ethos as being "largely regulatory, since it establishes the appropriate way of thinking and feeling about things - how members of the military should approach the challenges of experience, and how they should conduct themselves in performing their professional role."[55] This view reflects another description, in which "the military ethos forms the basis of all aspects of service in the Canadian Forces, setting forth the principles and ideals which men and women of the Canadian Forces must subscribe to...."[56]

Descriptions of sets of core values fundamental to the military ethos include: integrity, courage, loyalty, selflessness, and self-discipline (Canadian Forces)[57] ; and duty, honor, personal courage, integrity, loyalty, respect, and selfless service (U.S. Army).[58] No matter how they are listed, the core values not only reflect those desired of all members of society, but are absolutely essential in the military professional for him or her to function effectively.[59] As General Sir John

Hackett said:

> "... the military virtues - fortitude, endurance, loyalty, courage, and so on - these are good qualities in any collection of men, and enrich the society in which they're prominent. But in the military society, they are *functional necessities*, which is something quite, quite different. I mean, a man can be false, fleeting, perjured, in every way corrupt, and be a brilliant mathematician, or one of the world's greatest painters. But there's one thing he can't be, and that is a good soldier, sailor, or airman." (italics added for emphasis)[60]

Lack of core values was painfully evident in the unprofessional conduct of certain Canadian Forces members in Somalia in 1993, where the commission of inquiry emphasized that "a failure of military values lies at the heart of the Somalia experience."[61] Along with core values, the fundamental foundations of the military ethos are "service" and "unlimited liability", where "the concept of 'service' is central to the ethos of the Canadian Forces...."[62] Robert Near reflects this point when he states that the mission of the Canadian Forces "is one of service before self, including embracing the concept of 'unlimited liability'. In order to develop such commitment, the Canadian Forces must be oriented to an ethos based on traditional military virtues."[63] This of course speaks directly to "altruistic purpose" of the professional, but in a unique way, because of the nature of "service before self" and unlimited liability:

> "Under this unwritten clause of the military contract, Canadian Forces members are obliged to carry out duties and tasks without regard to fear or danger, and ultimately, to be willing to risk their lives if the situation requires.... This liability is what most distinguishes the Canadian Forces institutionally and its members from the rest of Canadian society."[64]

The notion of a social "contract" is very important here. Members of the Canadian Forces expect, and are expected, to risk their lives when necessary in the service of their country. This

speaks to altruistic motive and to a higher calling independent from a commercial occupation: "None of the experts believe that material considerations can or should be the primary basis for military service. There is not enough money in the world to repay military people for being separated from their families, for working long hours, undertaking dangerous duties, and being deprived of everyday comforts that others take for granted."[65] The concept of "contract" is *moral* in nature:

> "In a democracy, the profession of arms implies the existence of a moral contract between the soldier and the broader society which the soldier serves and of which he is a part. This contract is one of mutual trust, confidence, support and reciprocity. In Canada, it requires that Canadian Forces' members be provided the tools and resources to do the job expected of them.... in return for the service they give and the unlimited liability they assume, they should expect to receive approbation and positive recognition...."[66]

Charles Moskos (1977; 1988) characterized the above motivation as being "institutional", but his research suggested that U.S. military members were becoming more "occupational" in their motives for serving, e.g., concerned about extrinsic rewards, career advancement, etc. He considered military service as a calling, but attributed this "I/O shift" largely to external influences on the military organization of increased employment of civilian workers and unionization.[67] One differentiation is that "professionals see their task as a "calling" and have diffuse jobs that they perform more or less autonomously. Occupations are characterized by persons who are most often employed in a structure working to produce an outcome."[68] Huntington noted that no profession meets all of the characteristics of the *professional ideal*, and that officership "probably falls somewhat further from the ideal than either [medicine or law]."[69]

However, it still remains that "One cannot explain or justify self-sacrifice for the public good that military (and other professional) service often requires by relying on forms of

discourse borrowed from the marketplace."[70] In paraphrasing John Ralston Saul, Near makes the point that "the ethic of the businessman is self-interest, while that of the soldier is self-sacrifice."[71] One writer took the absolute position that the professional "is not supposed to be interested in sordid money."[72] This harkens back to an earlier 18th century English view that the military "was a profession only because being a military officer was an occupation fit for the life of a gentleman. In the twentieth century, this idea of the profession was no longer relevant."[73] The ideas of a calling, and service to society are still important in the concept of a profession, especially the military profession.[74]

The concept of "professional military ethic" is closely related to "military ethos". According to Hartle (1989), "A professional ethic is a code which consists of a set of rules and standards governing the conduct of members of a professional group."[75], and "The professional military ethic (PME) is the implicit or explicit set of rules and standards accepted by military professionals, taught to entering soldiers... and generally held up as the model for professional conduct."[76] A distinguishing feature of a professional military ethic is that it provides *moral* guidance for action and conduct. Professional ethical codes have three critical functions: "(1) they protect other members of society against abuse of the professional monopoly of expertise, (2) they define the professional as a responsible and trustworthy expert in the service of his client, and (3) in some professions they delineate the moral authority for actions necessary to the professional function but generally impermissible in moral terms."[77] This is particularly salient for the military profession, given the functions it is expected to perform in the service of society.

Taking this further, "the controlled use of violence is what differentiates the professional military from the armed mob but the *ethical* use of violence is what differentiates the

professional military from the mercenary. Failure to incorporate the ethical component can lead to the conclusion that the military does not represent or contain a profession"[78] Underlying the importance of this are the formative foundations of the professional military ethic: "the values of society, the exigencies of the profession, and the laws of war."[79] Again, the military exists to serve society, the demands placed on military professionals are unique, and the military must meet these demands ethically, responsibly, and competently.

Cook (2000) points to a possible contradiction between "the high moral purposes of military service... [and] the true reality that military people and organizations exist solely to serve the tribal interests of the state."[80] He resolves this by adopting Michael Walzer's concept of the "common life": "Over a long period of time, shared experiences and cooperative activity of many different kinds shape a common life. The protection [of the state] extends *not only to the lives and liberties of individuals but also to their shared life and liberty*, the independent community they have made, for which individuals are sometimes sacrificed."[81] In this way, the higher moral purpose of the military transcends narrow "tribal interests", in the interests of the common life and human welfare.

Bound up in the military ethos and professional military ethic are moral obligations of the military professional. Given the unique requirements of the military profession, "It is well understood that physical and moral courage matters in the military.... Increasingly, attention is being paid to the need for moral courage in business and in government as well."[82] Nicholas Rescher discusses the diversity and complexity of military obligations, describing five levels or foci of obligation (chain of command, Service, nation, civilization, humanity at large), and noting that "at one point or another, every officer faces difficult choices among competing

obligations."[83] He has no definitive solutions for this, suggesting that every officer must think and act as a responsible officer, citizen, and human being. He closes with the idea that "in the larger scheme of things, the quality of moral courage is no less desirable and no less admirable in a military officer than the quality of physical courage."[84]

Michael Walzer describes two kinds of military obligation: hierarchical (up and down the chain of command), and non-hierarchical ("As a moral agent, [the officer] is responsible *outward* - to all those people whose lives his activities affect.")[85] He notes that officers are trained from the beginning to be responsible to superiors and for subordinates in the chain of command. He suggests, however, that they must also accept responsibility for their military activities that affect people who are not in the chain of command, e.g., civilian non-combatants, even if it means having to "impose added risks on the soldiers for the sake of the civilians."[86] This is based on the moral requirement that the military professional accept risk as part of his or her role.

Continuing our examination of the military profession through the rubric of changes in the meaning of "profession", we note that in the 16th/17th century in particular, professions were seen to require rigorous and extensive education and training, and that in the 19th century, it was generally accepted that for most professions this would include obtaining a university or college degree or diploma. Such preparation of the military professional was the foundation of Huntington's *expertise*, in that it is "acquired only by prolonged education and experience... intellectual in nature... a segment of the total cultural tradition of society" and it "consists of two phases: the first imparting a broad, liberal, cultural background, and the second imparting the specialized skills and knowledge of the profession."[87]

The nature of professional training and education for officers is a current subject of

discussion. Of current debate also are the expected roles, functions, and responsibilities of military officers in a 21st century world. These two subjects are not separate, and must be addressed together, as the former must effectively prepare officers for the latter.

Holder & Murray (1998) observed that "... the profession of arms is the most challenging not only in physical terms but in the intellectual demands it places on military leaders.... professional military education (PME) will be pivotal in determining the effectiveness of the U.S. Armed Forces in the next century."[88]

We have said that according to Huntington, the peculiar expertise of the military professional was "the management of violence". Morris Janowitz mostly agreed with Huntington at the time on the characterization of a profession, but held that the military must be a part of society and not separate from it.[89] One dimension of this view relates to the broadening functions of the military, where Janowitz saw the military "as an instrument of international relations in a world in which the distinction between peace and war and between political and military activity have become increasingly difficult to draw."[90] This changing and broadening of the military function has been increasingly reflected in the literature, from Charles Moskos'ethic of the "constabulary force"[91], to James Burk (2001), one of whose themes reflects this broadening trend: "... the military profession's role has expanded over the course of the last century, widening from the management of violence early in the century to encompass the management of defense following the Second World War and the management of peace after the Cold War."[92]

The departure from Huntington's relatively narrow view of the nature of the military professional is also evident in the work of Janowitz, who suggested that there are different types of professionals, i.e., heroic leaders, military managers, and military technologists, all with

differing roles.[93] With respect to the Canadian Forces, the trend around the time of unification

was that there was "a shift away from the application of force in the traditionally accepted

military sense toward greater reliance on functions which require either very limited force or

none at all."[94]

In discussing moral challenges of the military profession, Shamir & Ben-Ari (1999)

commented: "... military leaders increasingly find themselves in controversial circumstances,

wherein they are called to operate on morally uncertain grounds and to face ethical dilemmas....

military leaders need to be better educated in approaching and resolving ethical dilemmas."[95]

One initiative in the Canadian Forces to this end was the Defence Ethics Program.[96]

Romeo Dallaire observes the lack of acknowledgement of the primacy of conflict

resolution today by a Canadian officer corps. His vision of the Canadian officer corps goes

beyond Huntington's management of violence:

> "Our officers must be dedicated to the profession of arms. They must be adaptable,
> inquiring and innovative in a widening spectrum of complex and ambiguous
> environments. In short, they should represent a seamless thread of mutually
> reinforcing, broad military and societal skill-sets and intellectual competencies.
> Collectively, the Canadian Officer Corps must be multi-disciplined and mentally
> agile in originating, reinforcing, and implementing complex integrated (political,
> economic, social and security) operations successfully within conditions of severe
> time limitations, transparency and resource constraints."[97]

Wenek echoes this in discussing "the warrior-technician-scholar-diplomat identity of the

new professional type we are looking for" in the postmodern military, a military where

responsibilities are broadened to include global order and security (not just national), and

prevention and rebuilding (not only or primarily war-fighting).[98] David Segal (1993) spoke of a

soldier-statesman-diplomat model of professionalism, where warriors must be scholars, and

suggested that "... the range of military activities that military professionals will be called upon to perform will be broadened... [and] is likely to have political implications at lower levels of organizational functioning."[99]

Professional military education is accomplished in several ways, three of the key ones being institutional education, operational experience, and self-development.[100] In a survey of three levels of General officers, McGuire (2001) found that all considered "operational assignments" to be the most important, but that senior Generals placed more importance on "self-development or individual study" than did the lower two levels.[101] In his essay *The Art of Leadership* (1973), General Jacques Dextraze, a former Chief of Defence Staff, listed "knowledge" as one of the four essential ingredients of successful leadership (the others being loyalty, integrity, and courage). His emphasis of the importance of self-development is consistent with McGuire's findings: "... no one who claims to be a leader can sit back and hope to operate effectively with what is probably obsolescent knowledge. Formal education alone is not good enough. Self-education is the answer."[102]

In addressing the convergence of peace, conflict, and war, David Last makes a convincing case for the need for broader, intellectual education of the Canadian Forces officer to meet changing needs: "Officers need to understand the way in which violence interacts with society in peace, conflict and war, and how those conditions can be manifested simultaneously.... They need to have a strong intellectual grasp of strategy and intellectual planning early in their careers.... And they need to understand all of the instruments - military, political, economic, and informational - at society's disposal...."[103] He makes a convincing case for not only "technical knowledge", obtained primarily from military training institutions, but also for knowledge from

the humanities and social sciences, obtained through broad-based education, which "...shared with people from other walks of life, builds relationships that are subsequently useful and broadens the base of intellectual tools available to the individual."[104]

The Canadian Forces officer corps was found short in a 1997 study, which determined that "In Canada, 53.3 per cent of our officers have a bachelor's degree, and 6.8 per cent a higher university degree (master's degree or doctorate)."[105] This finding certainly did not support the perception of Canadian Forces officers as "professionals" by definition, and was somewhat embarrassing, at least to those officers who considered themselves to be professionals in Canadian society. This total of approximately 60 per cent was compared to the American military officer corps, where a total of approximately 90 per cent were found to have university degrees. As part of a series of reforms, the Canadian Forces recently has "made a Bachelor's degree a prerequisite for a commission, and expect the officer corps to be fully degreed within 10 years."[106] Someone was paying attention.

Cook emphasizes the need for trust between society and the military: "Only if the connection and trust between the populace and the military are maintained can military service remain the honorable and respected profession of arms that causes good people to enter service and to advance to senior levels of leadership."[107] However, the concept of service to society has broadened too. The trust of and confidence in the military, not only by its society, but also increasingly of the larger world, is critical. Okros (2001) notes that as a profession, the U.S. military must have the support and confidence of the American people and the members of the military itself. He goes on to state: "For Canada, in addition to these same two constituents, the military, as a profession, must also maintain the support and confidence of allies and

international organizations which call upon Canada's military."[108]

Looking back over the changing and contemporary meanings of the concept of profession, both in general and as applied to the military, it can be generally stated that yes, the military is a "profession". However, depending on one's view, this may be applied to only officers who are engaged in the management of violence (e.g., Huntington), officers and non-commissioned officers who demonstrate the attributes of a professional (e.g., Hartle), or any members of the military who are engaged in trying to support global order and security in peace and war (e.g., Dallaire). Looking at the evolving key elements and conjunctures of the meaning of the concept, members of the Canadian Forces officer corps would seem to have the attributes of professionals, i.e., commitment to a "calling" in the service of others, high moral standards, rigorous and extended education and training, a "systematic body of theory", and autonomy.

However, one key distinguishing characteristic of being a professional in Canadian society is related to intellectual preparation, and that is the university degree, which for most civilian "professionals", is but a first step to gaining certification, credentials, and recognition. It is encouraging to see that the Canadian Forces has instituted policies and professional development programs in which all commissioned officers will be required to obtain university degrees. The importance of critical thinking and intellectual development is now officially recognized and the Canadian Forces is being transformed "into a learning organization as part of our response to the ambiguous, unpredictable and dangerous challenges of future military operations."[109] Only then will military officers begin to be truly recognized and accepted by other professionals, but much more importantly, such education and preparation will be extremely and increasingly important in preparing them intellectually and cognitively for the

broadening challenges and responsibilities that they will face in the twenty-first century. The

values, ethos, and professional military ethic reflected in the following quote are crucial and

timeless. However, even more will be required of military professionals in the 21st century.

> "The profession of arms is an honourable profession. The members of Canada's armed forces are honourable people, dedicated to serving their country and their fellow citizens. As Canada prepares to enter a new century, the Canadian Forces will be challenged to meet the expectations of Canadians and to live up to the standard of service that has been set by their predecessors in uniform through two world wars and forty years of peacekeeping. It was that sense of honour, underpinned by the values of duty, courage and service to Canada, that took the First Canadian Corps to victory at Vimy Ridge.... Those are the values that will sustain the Canadian Forces into the next century."[110]

ENDNOTES

1.Canadian Wheelman, Vol. II, No. I, October 1884.

2. Canadian Wheelman, Vol. II, No. XIII, July 1885.

3. Saul, John Ralston (1995). The Unconscious Civilization. Concord, Ontario: House of Anansi Press Ltd., p. 2.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 9. Ralston Saul claims that the size and prosperity of the elite (read professionals) allows an interiorized and artificial vision of civilization. Thus, society takes seriously only what comes from the specialized sectors of professionals.

6.Funk and Wagnall's Standard College Dictionary (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., 1982) 1075.

7. The Publishers, in the Foreword to Ivan Illich, Irving Kenneth Zola, John McKnight, Jonathan Caplan, Harley Shaiken, Disabling Professions (London: Marion Boyars, 1977) 9.

8.Geoffrey Holmes, Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982) and Jeff Schmidt, Disciplined Minds (Lanham, Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

9. Originally associated with anthropology and the theories of B. Malinkowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, structural-functionalism has been more recently adopted by the discipline of sociology as a means by which contemporary society can be examined. According to the theory, societies or smaller units such as organizations or communities are conceptualized as systems and an attempt is made to explain particular features or components of their social structure in terms of their contribution (function) to the maintenance of the system as a viable entity. Thus ritual and ceremonial practices, common among military and professional groups, can be explained as serving to reinforce shared beliefs and values and in so doing maintain solidarity among different groups in a society. In contrast, conflict theory originated as a critique of structural-functionalism on the basis that the latter neglects empirical evidence that conflicts of interest are inherent in all human society. Conflict theorists hold that the stability of societies is a result of direct or indirect coercion, manipulation and exploitation of less powerful groups by more powerful groups.

10.Eliot Friedson, Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy, and Policy (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 5.

10.Samuel Haber, The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991) x.

12. Most contemporary sociological research on the professions omit or have cursory analysis of the historical antecedents of the nature and meaning of "profession" and "professionalism".

13. As examples see definitions of the word "profess" and its derivatives in Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966) and The Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia Vol. VI (New York: The Century Co. 1897).

14.Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology.

15.Geoffrey Chaucer, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer 2nd Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 157. Chaucer's irony and opinion of the religious profession are evident as the monk is engaged in the seduction of the wife of an acquaintance when he makes this declaration.

16. Book of Common Prayer Collect for the Third Sunday after Easter.

17. Wilbert E. Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 7-9.

18. Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology.

19.Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, Book 6 Canto 6 Line 10.

20.William Shakespeare, King Lear Act I, Scene I, Line 66.

21.John Nist, A Structural History of English (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), 213.

22. Ibid. 237.

23. Oxford Dictionary of Etymology 247.

24. Archie Kleingartner, Professionalism and Salaried Worker Organization (University of Wisconsin: Industrial Relations Research Institute, 1967) , 5.

25. A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933).

26. Abraham Flexner, "Is Social; Work a Profession?" School and Society I, (June 26, 1915), 901-911.

27. The word altruism is not always used. Other terms include "service ideal" "service orientation" See Bernard Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions" Daedalus, 92 (Fall 1963). Robert Storey, Professional Leadership (Pasadena: Castle Press, 1958). Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, II (July 1957), 45-55. Harold Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" The American Journal of Sociology, 70 (September 1964) 137-158.

28. T. H. Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Economic Structure and Social Policy", Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science (August 1939).

29. Steven Brint, In an Age of Experts: The Changing Role of Professionals in Politics and Public Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

30. Emile Durkheim, Professional Ethics and Civic Morals (London: 1957), 8.

31. Ibid. 10. In the 1920s, R. H. Tawney, in an examination of English society, sought an expansion of professionalism as an antidote for what he saw as an increasingly "acquisitive society." He thought that rampant individualism had subverted the needs of the community and that professionalism could subjugate the primacy of self-interest. See R. H. Tawney, The Acquisitive Society (London, 1921)

32. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, op. cit. , 497. See also Marshall, op. cit. , 170. Marshall argued that professions had the agency to "find for the sick and suffering democracies a peaceful solution to their problems." See also K. Lynn, "The Professions" Daedalus (1963) 14. Concerned with threats to global stability in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Lynn suggested that professional institutions were "an important stabilising factor in our whole society and through their international associations they provide an important channel of communications with the intellectual leaders of other countries, thereby helping to maintain world order."

33. Geoffrey Holmes, Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 3.

34. For a detailed examination of the transition from apprentice to student in the professions see Chapters 8 and 9 in W. J. Reader, <u>Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England</u> (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).

35. This point is almost universally agreed upon when discussing criteria for professions.

36. Wilbert E. Moore, in collaboration with Gerald W. Rosenblum, <u>The Professions: Rules and Roles</u> (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970) 11. Moore adds that since many of the older and learned professions require training beyond a baccalaureate degree, and even a postgraduate degree may not qualify as professional standing, the minimum standard that he suggests may be too low.

37. Ernest Greenwood, "The Elements of Professionalization" in <u>Professionalization</u> Howard M. Vollmer, Donald L. Mills eds. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 11.

38. Ibid. Greenwood's cites the writing of treatises on legal, musical and social work theory but none on punch-pressing, pipefitting or bricklaying as evidence.

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40. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

41. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

42. Ibid., p.10.

43. Ibid., pp. 11-17.

44. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

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46. Ibid., p. 18.

47. Cook, Martin L. (2000). Moral foundations of military service. <u>Parameters</u>, Spring 2000, pp. 117-129.

48. Hartle (1989), p. 19. Models of what constitutes a "profession", additional to those previously cited, can be found in, e.g., Hall, Richard H. (1969) <u>Occupations and the Social Structure</u>. New Jersey: Englwood Cliffs; Millerson, Geoffery (1964). <u>The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation</u>. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Marshall, T.H. (1977). The recent history of professionalism in relation to social structure and social policy. In

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66. <u>Canada's Army</u> (1998), p. 45.

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